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Nawawî al-Bantânî; An Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition

Abstraksi: *Nawawî al-Bantânî 1230-1314H/1813-1897 tidak ragu lagi adalah salah seorang 'ulamâ' Indonesia yang paling menonjol dalam abad 19. Berkat kedalaman ilmunya, dia pernah menyandang status sebagai Imâm Haramayn, yang mengajar di Makkah dan Madinah, selain juga pernah diundang untuk menghadiri dan memberikan ceramah dalam semacam diskusi keagamaan di Universitas al-Azhar, Kairo. Dia juga adalah penulis sangat produktif yang menghasilkan lebih dari 100 karya setidaknya dalam sembilan bidang ilmu Islam: tafsîr, fiqh, usûl al-dîn, 'ilm tawhîd, tasawwuf, sejarah Nabi, tatabahasa Arab, hadîth, dan akhlâq.*

Menurut penulis, kemunculan al-Bantânî sebagai 'ulamâ' besar berkaitan erat dengan tradisi pesantren. Pertama, pendidikan awalnya dia peroleh di lingkungan pesantren di kampungnya dan wilayah sekitarnya. Setelah merasa bahwa dia harus menuntut ilmu lebih banyak lagi barulah ia pergi ke Makkah, di mana dia belajar dengan beberapa 'ulamâ' terkenal Makkah. Kedua, kitab-kitab al-Nawawî kemudian banyak beredar di lingkungan pesantren, sehingga pada gilirannya memberikan sumbangan penting bagi perkembangan intelektualisme Islam di kalangan pesantren.

Lebih dari dorongan personal untuk belajar di Makkah, beberapa faktor internal lebih luas di Indonesia, menurut penulis turut mendorong kalangan santri untuk mengirim anak-anak mereka ke Tanah Suci. Setidaknya ada dua faktor penting berkenaan dengan hal ini. Pertama adalah Perang Diponegoro (1825-1830) di Jawa, dan kedua adalah Perang

Padri (1825-1837) di Sumatera Barat. Kedua perang melawan kolonialisme Belanda ini merupakan simbol perlawanan kaum Muslim Indonesia terhadap ekspansi kekuasaan Eropa. Penulis berargumen, bahwa keilmuan al-Bantânî, yang merupakan keturunan raja-raja Kesultanan Banten, juga dipengaruhi oleh situasi politik yang tidak menguntungkan tersebut.

Demikianlah, setelah menuntut ilmu di Makkah, al-Bantânî kembali ke kampungnya pada 1833; tetapi ia merasa tidak betah, sehingga akhirnya kembali ke Mekkah pada 1855. Di sinilah dia menetap secara permanen, dan mengabdikan dirinya dalam pendidikan dan pengajaran Islam, khususnya bagi murid-murid asal Indonesia. Murid-muridnya ini pada gilirannya banyak yang menjadi 'ulamâ' dan tokoh-tokoh pesantren. Bagaimana hubungan antara al-Bantânî sebagai guru dengan murid-muridnya secara terinci diungkapkan penulis dalam tulisan ini.

Selanjutnya penulis membahas secara ringkas pandangan al-Bantânî dalam empat bidang: tafsîr, Sufisme dan akhlâq, hukum Islam, dan tawhîd. Dalam bidang tafsîr, al-Bantânî dikenal melalui karya monumentalnya berjudul Tafsîr al-Munîr, atau Tafsîr Marah Labîd. Tafsîr yang terdiri dari dua jilid ini ditulis dalam bahasa Arab. Menurut penulis, tafsîr ini mewakili aliran "neo-klasik" dalam tradisi tafsîr, yang berbeda dengan tafsîr "moderen" sebagaimana ditulis oleh 'ulama seperti Muhammad 'Abduh.

Sejauh menyangkut tasawwuf, al-Bantânî tidak menyuruh atau melarang murid-muridnya untuk memasuki tarekat. Dia kelihatannya berusaha bersikap netral. Tetapi terlepas dari hal ini, al-Bantânî diketahui merupakan pengikut Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, tokoh pendiri Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah wa Qâdiriyyah. Selain itu, al-Bantânî sendiri menulis beberapa karya tentang tasawwuf. Tasawwuf yang dia anut adalah tasawwuf yang dikembangkan Imâm al-Ghazâlî. Sedangkan dalam bidang hukum Islam, tidak mengherankan kalau al-Bantânî adalah penafsir dan sekaligus pembela madzhab Syâfi'î. Dalam konteks ini, dia menafsirkan dan memperjelas karya 'ulamâ' besar Syâfi'î, seperti al-Ramlî dan Ibn Hajar. Dalam bidang tawhîd, al-Bantânî adalah tipikal Asy'ariyyah. Meski demikian, dia menekankan pentingnya penggunaan akal dalam memahami Tuhan, di samping wahyu al-Qur'ân itu sendiri.

Dalam kesimpulannya, penulis secara implisit berargumen bahwa al-Bantânî selain mengikuti tradisi 'ulamâ' di masa silam, secara kreatif juga mengembangkan cara-cara sendiri, khususnya dalam upaya untuk menyampaikan pesan-pesannya secara lebih efektif. Dengan begitu dia dapat dipahami kaum santri di tanahairnya.

نووى البنتانى عالم كبير من تقليد بسانترين

الخلاصة: نووى البنتانى (١٢٣٠ - ١٣١٤ هـ/ ١٨١٣ - ١٨٩٧ م) دون شك أحد علماء إندونيسيا البارز في القرن التاسع عشر. بناء على علو كعبه العلمى فقد حمل لقب إمام الحرمين الذى قام بالتدريس فى مكة المكرمة والمدينة المنورة، بجانب أنه دعى للحضور وإلقاء محاضرة فى صورة مناقشات دينية فى جامعة الأزهر، القاهرة. فإنه كذلك مؤلف ألف أكثر من ١٠٠ كتاب على الأقل فى تسع مواد من العلوم الإسلامية مثل التفسير والفقہ وأصول الدين وعلم التوحيد والتصوف والسيرة النبوية وقواعد اللغة العربية والحديث والأخلاق.

حسب رأى الكاتب، إن ظهور البنتانى كعالم كبير إنما يرجع إلى المعهد التقليدى الأول، وقد حصل على تعليمه الأول فى المعاهد الموجودة فى قريته وما حولها. وبعد شعوره بضرورة زيادة علمه فذهب إلى مكة المكرمة حيث تعلم هنالك لدى بعض العلماء المعروفين ثم كتب النووى كثيرة الانتشار فى أوساط المعاهد الدينية مما أدى إلى تثقيف إسلامى لتلاميذ تلك المعاهد.

علاوة على الرغبة الشخصية للتعلم فى مكة المكرمة، فإن العوامل الداخلية فى إندونيسيا أقوى دفاعا حسبما يرى الكاتب فإن تلك العوامل الداخلية دعت كثيرا من المسلمين يرسلون فلذات أكبادهم للتعلم فى الأراضى المقدسة. وعلى أقل تقدير فإن هنالك دافعين هامين فيما يخص بهذه المسألة. الأول، حرب

ديفونيجورو (Perang Diponegoro ١٨٢٥-١٨٣٠) فى جاوة والثانى حرب فادرى (Perang Padri ١٨٢٥-١٨٣٧) فى سومطرة الغربية. فهاتان الحربان ضد توسع السلطة الأوربية إنما تصور عن مدى علو شعور المسلمين لمحاربة الاستعمار الأوربى، ولى فى ذلك حجة بأن علم البتانى الذى هو من سلالة ملوك سلطنة بنتان، إنما فيه تأثير عن الحالة السياسية الداخلية غير المرعبة تلك.

هكذا، بعد تعلمه فى مكة المكرمة رجع إلى قريته عام ١٨٣٣، ولكنه لم يشعر باطمئنان حتى رجع مرة أخرى إلى مكة المكرمة فى سنة ١٨٥٥، حينذاك ألقى عصا تسياره الدائمة وكرس نفسه خدمة للتربية الإسلامية وتعليم الشريعة ولاسيما للطلاب الآين من إندونيسيا. وهؤلاء الطلاب بالتالى أصبحوا علماء وزعماء المعاهد الإسلامية. والعلاقة الموجودة بين البتانى وطلابه يوضحه الكاتب فيما يلى بالتفصيل:

بالتالى يبحث الكاتب باختصار نظرية البتانى فى أربع مواد وهى التفسير والتصوف والأخلاق والأحكام الإسلامية والتوحيد. من ناحية التفسير قد عرف البتانى عن طريق مؤلفه الخالد تحت عنوان تفسير المنير أو تفسير مره لا بد. هذا التفسير مكون من جزأين كتب باللغة العربية. وحسب قول المؤلف، إن هذا التفسير ينوب عن المذهب التقليدى الجديد فى العادة المتبعة فى التفاسير، ومختلف عن التفسير الحديث كالذى كتبه العلماء مثل محمد عبده.

فيما يتعلق بالصوفية، فإنه لم يأمر ولا ينهى تلاميذه عن الدخول فى الطرق الصوفية، ففى الظاهر أنه محايد، ولكن خروجاً من هذه الحالة فمن المعروف أنه من أتباع الشيخ أحمد خطيب سمباس، زعيم مؤسس الطريقة النقشبندية القادرية. وغير ذلك، وقد كتب البتانى بعض الكتب عن التصوف، والتصوف الذى يعتنقه هو التصوف الذى ينشره الإمام الغزالى، بينما فيما يخص مجال الحكم الإسلامى، لا غرابة أن البتانى مفسر ومدافع عن المذهب الشافعى. فى هذا

السياق إنه فسر وأوضح أعمال كبار العلماء الشوافع مثل الرملى وابن حجر. وفي مجال التوحيد، فالبنتانى صورة من الأشعرية، رغم ذلك، فإنه يؤكد أهمية استعمال العقل لمعرفة الله بجانب الوحي الإلهى: القرآن نفسه. فالخلاصة، أن الكاتب ضمناً يستدل بأن البنتانى بجانب اتباعه تقاليد علماء العصور السابقة، إنه كذلك قام بإيجاد طرق خاصة به وبالأخص سعيه لإعطاء توصيات أكثر فعالية، وبذلك يستطيع أن يفهمه طلاب المعاهد فى وطننا.

Biography

Born in 1230 A. H/ 1813 AD in Banten, West Java, and raised in a religious Muslim family, Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Nawawî al-Bantanî al-Jâwî, later known mostly as Shaykh Nawawî, was a man of religious knowledge. He died in 1314 A.H./ 1897 AD in Makkah where his tomb is found next to that of Khadijah, *umm al-mu'minîn*, the wife of the Prophet, located in Ma'la.¹ Every year on the Thursday of the last week of Shawwâl, the *haul*² ceremony is held in his neighborhood, Tanara,³ Banten, West Java by large numbers of people.

The atmosphere in his family contributed to Nawawî's high learning tradition. He obtained his first lessons from his father, 'Umar ibn 'Arabî, a district *pengbuhul*⁴ (a religious functionary who had authority under the Dutch colonial rule to deal with daily religious affairs including Islamic marriage). His mother, Jubaidah, a Tanara citizen, was also reported to be religious, caring, and loving. It probably would have been different had Nawawî been educated in a family in which Islamic knowledge and values were not appreciated. Like other Muslim fathers, Nawawî's father was responsible for the first and early education of his children. Together with his brothers, Nawawî studied the subjects of *'ilm al-kalâm*, *nahw*, *tafsîr* and *fiqh*. His father's cultivation would more or less shape Nawawî's habits. The further education that Nawawî received was from an *'âlim* in Banten, Hajj Sahal, and later on he, together with his brothers, moved farther East in Karawang meeting with Raden Hajj Yusuf.

Nawawî's prestige as an *'âlim* did not arise alone without his own continuing efforts.⁵ Since childhood, he had been a serious and active student, otherwise he would never have memorized the entire Qur'ân.⁶ He was never satisfied with the knowledge he had acquired. Nawawî left the country for Makkah when he was 15. According to the Dutch scholar, Snouck Hurgronje, who met and interviewed him in person, Nawawî and his brothers made the pilgrimage to Makkah while they were quite young. Nawawî alone remained in Makkah for about three years. In the Hijâz he was educated by, among others, Sayyid Ahmad ibn Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Nawawî, in Makkah,⁷ Sayyid Ahmad Dimyâtî, in Makkah, Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan, in Makkah, Shaykh Muhammad Khatîb Sambas al-Hanbalî, in Madinah.

From Madinah, Nawawî also traveled to Syria and Egypt to further his studies.⁸ His dissatisfaction in obtaining knowledge and his feeling that seeking knowledge was his main obligation were basically part of his character. This character is of course in accordance

with the hadîth, which most Javanese Muslim children learn by heart: "To seek knowledge is incumbent to every male and female Muslim" (*Talab al-'ilm farîdhab 'alâ kulli muslim wa muslimah*).⁹

Around 1833, Nawawî went back home to West Java with extensive knowledge of Islamic science. Seeing Nawawî as a young and sympathetic 'âlim who had just returned from the holy city, the youngsters in his community were greatly interested in getting to know him closer and studying with him. No activities are reported of young Nawawî other than learning and teaching during these two decades. At this point Nawawî had the chance to cultivate his knowledge through teaching in homes and mosques. He also taught students at his father's *pesantren*, Islamic traditional boarding school.

However, Nawawî did not feel at home in his own neighborhood. He decided to go back to the Haramayn permanently in about 1855, as indicated by C. Brockelmann.¹⁰ Nawawî might have felt that living in the Haramayn was more promising and, indeed, it has been an obsession for many Javanese Muslims to spend their lives and die there. Javanese Muslims called Makkah *al-Mukarramah*, the venerable city and Madinah *al-Munawwarah*, the enlightened one. In nineteenth century Java, these had become a central world for every Muslim. The Ka'bah has been a real *qiblah* and deeply deemed a link between Allâh and his creatures, while Madinah, where Muhammad is buried, was a symbol of the holy and peaceful city of the Prophet.

In Javanese cosmology, as in Southeast Asian cosmology in general, the center of the cosmos, the link between the world and supernatural phenomena plays a very important role.¹¹ Even other places such as graves of respected dead persons, mountains, caves, and forests, have been considered as both sacred and central for obtaining knowledge, *ngelmu*, and inspiration. After Islam became the major religion of Java, those functions were soon Islamicized. However, the wise *Wali Sanga* ("Nine Saints"), generally regarded as the early preachers of Islam in Java, and their followers did not mean to overthrow them; rather they substantiated, modified and colored them with Islamic values. Hence, it is understandable if most Javanese 'ulamâ' still view such places as being worthy sites for making *du'â'*. Apart from this, there was a *keramat* in certain places, Nawawî himself, for example, refers to *keramat* (Ar., *karâmah*, unnatural or magical occurrences), and *khâriq al-'âdah* when he interprets the word *humâlika*.¹² The two words, as a matter of fact, are key words in the Sunnî 'ulamâ's arguments against modernists who denied the sacredness of such vicinities.¹³

Some circumstances might have encouraged Nawawî's final departure to Makkah. He lived in a period that was characterized by the difficult intervention of the Dutch colonial government in Javanese socio-religious life on the one hand and the rise of self-identity and respect among the local oppressed on the other.

Early in the nineteenth century, the Dutch made travel for *hajj* pilgrimage difficult by heavy taxation and passport restrictions, and various weakening regulations continued through the century. However, the development of better transportation and growing stability in the Dutch East Indies led to significant growth in the number of pilgrims. Their numbers increased from some two thousand a year at mid-century to between seven thousand and eleven thousand by the end of the century. This is true especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which diverted the main South East Asia-Europe sailing routes to the Red Sea.¹⁴

At least two major events should be noted as background to the Muslim's struggle in Indonesia. Diponegoro (1785-1855) was a symbol of Javanese *mujâhidîn* and a reflection of Javanese self-reliance due to his famous struggle against the Dutch rule. He was usually considered to be one of the main "national" fighters who was able to encourage and consolidate the Indonesian people to take arms against the increasing encroachment of the Dutch. Although Diponegoro came from the neighborhood of the *keraton* (palace), which was usually suspected by the 'ulamâ', the war of Diponegoro (1825-30) involved 'ulamâ' with their *santris*, religious loyal students, on his side. This connection is not that unusual since Diponegoro himself also had a chance to obtain a *pesantren* education beforehand.

In another part of the archipelago, West Sumatra, there was also a major struggle launched by the *hajjis* (pilgrims) and 'ulamâ' called the *Perang Padri* (1822-1837) led by Imam Bonjol. Although the Dutch was able to suppress these two religious movements after a long period of war, the Dutch undoubtedly sustained major pain.¹⁵

Javanese by and large believed in the power of legacy. From the father's lineage, Nawawî was the descendent of the famous king Mawlânâ Hasanuddîn,¹⁶ the son of Mawlânâ Syarîf Hidâyatullâh (one of the celebrated Wali Sanga). Hasanuddîn forcefully and successfully repelled Dutch military ambition in West Java in the 17th century. This heroic linkage more or less affected Nawawî's world view as well. Therefore, Nawawî's migration to Makkah cannot also be separated from this background.

However, Nawawî's travelling to Makkah for good might also have been urged by his own inspiration as a man of knowledge to secure more intellectual freedom in the center of the Islamic world. In his mind he would not repeat his father's career as a *penghulu* living under the feet of the Dutch infidels. In this case Snouck Hurgronje wrote:

But Nawawî is no man's father-confessor. It is only natural that the man should rejoice in the difficulties caused by Aceh to the government, and in conversation, disagree with those pensioned officials who hold that the Java lands must necessarily be governed by Europeans. The resurrection of the Banten Sultanate, or of an independent Muslim state, in any other form, would be acclaimed by him joyously whether or not the insurrection was according to the Holy Law or took the form of undisciplined fanatical bands. For himself however, he would seek no political role, nor counsel such to others. It would however be impossible for him to do as was once done by his father, and is now done by his brother, Hajj Ahmad, in succession to his father: serve the infidel government even as a *penghulu*.¹⁷

That Nawawî was a man of knowledge is unquestionable. His intellectual and mental journey to the Hijâz, the center of the transmission of Islamic knowledge, was the best choice he ever made. He believed that knowledge was everything and with it, indeed, Allâh will better the quality of a human being. In particular, as he later indicated in his *kitâb*, those bestowed with knowledge and wisdom from God are the most excellent creatures.¹⁸ What he wrote is basically what he experienced academically. Through his scholarly life of continuous teaching and prolific writing his name has remained famous and alive.

Nawawî as a Teacher

In the 1870s, from Makkah Nawawî was invited to attend a panel discussion at the Azhar University, Egypt. Thanks to his *kitâbs* widely being used by contemporary Muslims, Muslim scholars at the Azhar asked him to present an honorary lecture in a panel discussion. Besides this, they also wanted to see him in person so that they could get more of a perspective and details about his works.

In addition to accepting the invitation, Nawawî, with his heavy schedule, was on route to 17 other countries. He was accompanied by Muhammad Yûsuf, his loyal student. Approaching al-Azhar University, they rested briefly and the teacher instructed the pupil to exchange costumes to "confuse" people. Wearing a particular privi-

leged format of dress belonging to the teacher, the student looked like a very respected *'alim*. In contrast, with his typical Javanese modest profile, the teacher in the student's dress looked like a humble and poor pupil. Furthermore, the teacher ordered the student to later act as if he were Nawawî and to give an introductory speech.

Entering the forum, everyone, including many leading *'ulamâ'*, passionately welcomed the imitation Nawawî by kissing his hands in generous homage.¹⁹ The pretended Nawawî was then honorably seated in a designated chair, while the real Nawawî had no reserved seat offered to him.

The time for the presentation now began. At the teacher's instruction that the student would be in charge at first and should make a very short speech, the student did so. He concluded his "*ta'âruf*" (introduction) with the excuse that he was not in good condition due to their unending travels and, therefore, asked his companion to talk on his behalf. The disguised, original Nawawî then amazed his audience with highly academic and eloquent Islamic messages such that a member of the audience mumbled: "*Mashâ Allâh*, his student was so good, I cannot imagine how wonderful it would be if the teacher presented the same topic, super, (*a'jib*)."²⁰ Finishing his job as the main lecturer, Nawawî was sincerely adored with spontaneous public applause. However, people's attention was still paid in full to the "simulated teacher" with salutations and hugs. Eventually, Nawawî, the real teacher, was so concerned that the subterfuge might be uncovered that he asked his student who was surrounded by folk to stay away from the public.²⁰

The story, developing from one Javanese *kiyai* (Javanese term for *'ulamâ'*) to another, signifies the basic character of the *santris*, namely to listen to the *kiyai* without any hesitation in whatever situation and with whatever reason. In addition, there is no room for argument in *kiyai-santri* personal relationships that have always been intimate and unique. A *kiyai*, according to the pesantren tradition, should emulate Nawawî who did not like to be praised since Allâh alone deserves to be praised. It is part of a *kiyai's* habits that he be a modest role model. The *kiyai* and the *santri* should imitate the ideal figure of Nawawî and his student, Muhammad Yûsuf.

In the pesantren tradition students are called *santris*. They must emulate their *kiyai's* religious observances carefully, undergoing initiation periods involving the sacrifice of physical comforts (*tirâqah*), executing whatever tasks the *kiyai* orders and being unceasingly loyal

to him. This total obedience to the wishes of the master, originating in Middle Eastern mystical practices as well as in the indigenous pre-Islamic *guru*-aspirant relationship, finds its culmination in the peculiarly Indonesian doctrine of sainthood (*wali*). While the Middle Eastern concept denotes a pious, self-annihilating rejection of worldly life, the Javanese concept of sainthood retains a certain worldly function for holy persons (many of who had distinguished public service records), who were then retained in an advisory capacity by kings and princes.²¹

The above anecdote means a lot. Although the Middle East was the center of the transmission of Islamic knowledge, it was, surprisingly, not the real *qiblah* in the pesantren's tradition. With the emergence of Indonesian Muslim scholars, they competed equally with the hegemony of the Middle East as a center of Islamic intellectual transmission. Students who returned from al-Azhar, the most prestigious university in the Islamic world, were even doubted. The pesantren community generally suspected the way al-Azhar graduates understood Islamic law, a sensitive and dominant subject desired by the 19th century santris. Since the four *madhhabs* (schools of Islamic law) were taught equally in the university, the capacity and intensity of Islamic knowledge that the graduates attained was indisputable, yet their commitment to the Shafi'ite *madhhab* needed to be reevaluated. This could be seen from the way Hasyim Asy'ari, one of the prominent pesantren founders and a student of Nawawî, reacted to Muhammad 'Abduh's ideas. Hasyim disagreed with 'Abduh that the four *madhhabs* were no longer needed in the Islamic world. To Hasyim, the Qur'ân and hadîth have been absolute references for each Muslim, but without considering the legal thoughts formulated by the *madhhab* founders, one would not have a fine understanding of them.

The story also justifies the status of Nawawî as Imâm Haramayn, who had been teaching both in Madinah and Makkah since the 1860s. This epithet could also be found on the cover of his popular work, the two sizable volumes of *Tafsîr Marah Labîd* on the interpretation of the Qur'ân.

Nawawî's influence went beyond the locality he came from, because of the books he wrote and his dedication in Makkah to Indonesian students from different, remote places. More importantly, his works became major texts in the pesantrens and the pesantren community viewed Nawawî not only as a great scholar, but also as a Muslim hero. In the latter part of the nineteenth through to the first

half of the twentieth century, the pesantrens always opposed any foreign or colonial exploitation. In this respect, the pesantren community often employed symbolic terms such as “a holy war to drive away the *kuffâr*, the unbelievers”. Nawawî’s teachings on that matter shaped the political perspective among the pesantren community to defend the archipelago against foreign rule.

Yet another implication of the anecdote is that the pesantren community was given to humor. Other stories depict how enchanting it was when Nawawî was training his future student, Kholil Bangkalan, in the 1870s, and how his santris chatted and teased one another. To them meaningful jokes are an inseparable part of the social life that meant affection and intimacy between the kiyai and his students.

According to his disciple, ‘Abd al-Sattâr, Nawawî was a modest man, a *zâhid*, *mutawâdi*, and a helpful man.²² Snouck Hurgronje who personally interviewed him in Makkah wrote:

Nawawî described himself as the dust of the feet of those striving for science. He accepted the hand-kiss from almost all Javanese people living in Mecca as attribute to science, not to himself, and never refused an inquiry on the subject of the Divine Law. In social intercourse, he joined courteously in the conversation, rather than dominating it, and never started any scientific discussion without cause given by others. An Arab who did not know him might pass a whole evening in his company without ever discovering that he was the author of many learned Arabic works.²³

To Nawawî, to be humble does not necessarily mean to feel inferior. Rather, he was convinced that this world should be occupied by more teachers and students, since both were the real community, while others were *hamaj*, small flies.²⁴ As an educator, Nawawî was loving, tender and affectionate. Had he been otherwise, he would not have had so many students in a foreign country. In a situation where students were free to select any teachers they preferred, his students numbered no less than 200 every year. They were all of the opinion that Nawawî spent more than 15 years teaching in the Hijâz. This means that the overall of his number students is about 3000 Muslims, mostly coming from Indonesia. While he was teaching, particularly in the Ma’had Nashr al-Ma’ârif al-Dîniyyah in the Masjîd al-Haram, Nawawî was known as a sympathetic teacher, who explained this lectures clearly and deeply, and communicated well with his students.

Obviously Nawawî was a “democratic” teacher. The aforementioned anecdote about the discussion with his future student reveals

that he gave an opportunity to the student to express opposing ideas. Unlike authoritative education that is “teacher-centered,” Nawawî believed in the potentiality and the uniqueness of the individual. It is quite conceivable that this attitude was based on his own experience as a wandering student from Java to major educational centers. He always found a pattern of interactive transmission: teachers shared knowledge with listeners and the latter cultivated their learning through further reading, debating materials among friends (*muzâkarah*), and writing among talented students. Through his writing he successfully showed that the pesantren heritage was not just a “tradition of speech” without deeds and writing. It is true that the number of writers in the pesantren milieu could be counted on one’s fingers, such as Nawawî himself and his predecessor, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, ‘Abd al-Hamid bin Muhammad ‘Ali Kudus (the writer of *Latâif al-Ishârat*), Ihsan Muhammad Dahlan Kediri (the writer of the two volume *Sirâj al-Tâlibîn*),²⁵ Kiyai Saleh Darat (1820-1903), the productive writer of kitabs in Javanese, Mahfudz Termas and Khalil Bangkalan. Yet it is also true that, through these ‘ulamâ’, the tradition of classical *kitâbs* was appreciated, securely preserved, and even developed.

Nawawî had great influence on his pupils. Among those who were Indonesians were: K.H. Hasyim Asy‘ari, Tebu Ireng Jombang, East Java (founder of the Nahdatul Ulama-NU); K.H. Khalil Bangkalan, Madura, East Java; K.H. Ilyas, Serang Banten, West Java; K.H. Tubagus Mohammad Asnawi, Caringin, West Java.²⁶

How Nawawî impressed his students was best recounted by Asy‘ari’s student, Chaidar who learned directly from Asy‘ari. Teaching the main *kitâb* on *fiqh*, *Fath al-Qarîb*, after every ‘*ashr*’ prayer, the latter kept illustrating the life of his teacher with flowing tears showing pride and pleasant nostalgia. To Chaidar, this unconditionally indicated how deeply Asy‘ari loved his master Nawawî.²⁷ To adore a teacher in the Islamic learning tradition is part of getting the *al-irshâd al-ustâdh*, in the pursuit of the master’s guidance. ‘Alî ibn Abû Tâlib’s poems that had been very popular in this community legitimize this part of the requirement of seeking knowledge:

- 1) The pursuit of knowledge is not carried on without six things which I shall indicate to you through words that are clear:
- 2) Ingenious acumen, fervent desire, patience, sufficient sustenance, the Guidance of a teacher, and length of time.²⁸

To the pesantren community the *irshâd* is not limited to during the lifetime of the teachers, but also continues after his death. They

consider that useful knowledge is eternal. This is supported by the hadîth: "Whenever a person dies, his deeds are over, except for three things: perpetual charity, useful knowledge, or a good child who makes supplications for his (deceased) parents".²⁹ The status of knowledge obtained from a respected *ustâdh* such as Nawawî remains unequivocally special, due to the unique status of a teacher and due to a common understanding developed in the pesantren community that learning without a teacher's guidance means learning from an evil source.³⁰ Nawawî underlined the importance of the *'âlim* as a source of Islamic knowledge by quoting the hadîth: "(The value of) seeing an *'âlim* is more lovable (to the Prophet) than conducting a year's worship of fasting". An uncompromising warning from the Prophet was also forwarded: "Whoever does not suffer when an *'âlim* dies is an hypocrite, since there is no greater hardship than the death of an *'âlim*."³¹

Nawawî students, in fact, later became notable religious leaders when they returned to the archipelago. It is understandable that the greater numbers of his students in the Haramayn were originally from his own neighborhood, Banten, West Java.³² Snouck Hurgronje indicated that Nawawî was seen as dangerous by the Dutch because of his influence on Indonesian pilgrims, and because the authorities believed that he inspired them to rebel against the colonial government. The movement of Cilegon, known as the "peasants' revolt" of Banten, West Java in 1888, was apparently also spurred by his loyalists who had had the chance to meet the teacher while they were making the *hajj* in Makkah. The significance of the pilgrimage in 19th century Java was at least twofold: giving religious knowledge and virtuosity, and having a political and social impact in strengthening Islam in Indonesia. In this case, Nawawî's public teaching in Makkah and the fundamental message of the *hajj*, namely universal brotherhood and the equal treatment of people, were by and large implemented.³³

Nawawî's stand against the Dutch could be further seen from his explanation that certain activities such as prostrating oneself before statues, the sun, or other people are considered to be *riddat al-af'âl*, apostasy from Islam because of the act.³⁴ Snouck Hurgronje's account of Nawawî's preference to stay away from colonial rule should be understood in this context. Like other Muslims in the Islamic world, Nawawî, as a Muslim scholar with a strong commitment to the fate of the Muslim *ummah*, could hardly be imagined living under colonial rule without being aware of the suffering of his people in the distance. His other statement offers more of a clue to this: "Among

bad characteristics are to prioritize the rich over the needy and to get close to the Dutch, to be silent on the *inkâr*, (such as quietism on whatever colonizers did) while Muslims have the right and power to confront".³⁵

Nawawî's *Kitâbs*

Nawawî wrote on at least nine different fields of knowledge: *tafsîr*, *fiqh*, *usûl al-dîn*, *ilm al-tawhîd* or theology, *tasawwuf* or mysticism, the life of the Prophet, Arabic grammar, *hadîth*, and *akhlâq* or Islamic moral conduct.³⁶ The number of his works, as many writers indicated, exceeds one hundred. Due to the vast number of his books, this discussion will be restricted to a general description and the major themes of his works. To consider all his works is quantitatively beyond the scope of this study.

On *Tafsîr*

One of Nawawî's works which is highly admired by the Meccan and Egyptian 'ulamâ is the *Tafsîr al-Munîr li Ma'âlim al-Tanzîh* or, with its other title, *Marah Labîd Tafsîr al-Nawawî*. After the 985 page tafsîr consisting of two volumes was finished in 1886 (Rabî' al-akhîr 1305), he showed it to these 'ulamâ' to look over and to comment on it. The *kitâb* was finally published in Cairo in late 1305.³⁷ Considering his high achievement in *tafsîr*, the 'ulamâ' awarded him the epithet of *Sayyid 'Ulamâ' al-Hijâz*. Nawawî's career as an 'âlim in the Hijâz was so impressive that he expressed his gratitude to Allâh for this exceptional work by composing a collection of poems. One of the verses declares: "Undoubtedly, knowledge is a source of light which lights up the holder. Wherever the owner is, he will be respected."³⁸

Nawawî represents a non-Arabic speaker who wrote his tafsîr in excellent Arabic. Unlike Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), Nawawî stood for "a new classical" tradition of tafsîr, a tafsîr that still considers the works of medieval 'ulamâ' highly but at the same time addresses contemporary conditions. While the first was more influenced by the ideas of Mu'tazilî thinkers, the second was completely impressed by those of Sunnî 'ulamâ' in the Medieval period such as the works of Ibn Kathîr (born in 1300),³⁹ Jalâl al-Dîn Mahallî (d. 864/1460), Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûtî (d 911/1505), and the like. In addition, 'Abduh apparently developed more analytical strength, but in his works Nawawî relied on the references of the Qur'ân, the hadîth, opinions of the *Ashhâb*, and the trusted *salaf*.

The portrait of a tafsîr cannot be separated from its author's religious tendencies. Nawawî was like a nineteenth-century al-Ghazâlî in Javanese society; 'Abduh was, in contrast, more or less a nineteenth-century Ibn Rushd who promoted reason more than revelation. Interpreting *hidâyah*, God's guidance, 'Abduh did not forget to include *hidâyat al-'aql*. For him, God bestows humanity with such a *hidâyat al-'aql* that is better than anything else available to any creature. This *hidâyat al-'aql* can correct the faultiness of senses and tendencies by reasoning. Eyes notice a huge thing which becomes miniature at a distance, and an upright stick in water looks as if it were crooked. It is reason that can find and judge this defectiveness.⁴⁰ Nawawî used a different approach rendering the *hidâyat* as God's prestigious and privileged award in the manifestation of faith and *al-dîn al-haqq*,⁴¹ the rightful religion, to certain people who deserve it in His eyes after they have earnestly revealed their endeavors in words and deeds. Other Sunnî theologians such as 'Abd al-Layth al-Samarqandî were also in agreement with Nawawî that the *hidâyah* and the *tawfiq*, good fortune, is *sun'u al-rabb*, God's invention and *qadîm*, eternally pre-existent, in nature. The consequence of the two different thoughts is that 'Abduh was more detailed in "anthropological" issues, while Nawawî was more interpretive on "theo-centered questions."

Nawawî's major contribution to tafsîr is that he wrote a tafsîr when the Islamic world was not revealing signs of revitalizing this Islamic classical tradition. In his time there were only a few works of similar tafsîr produced. This situation was partly caused by internal reluctance among Muslims to write tafsîr because of the Prophet's reminder that whoever comments on something in the Qur'ân on the basis of his opinion is making a mistake. Also hell will be the resting place of anyone who falsely carries out tafsîr. Indeed, Nawawî himself was also deep in doubt for a long time before he decided to write the tafsîr, although many men approached him to convince him and to support his intention to write. Nawawî recognized the reminder of such a hadîth, and finally worked on the tafsîr by humbly confessing that he did this simply to continue the virtuosity of the *salaf* in preserving knowledge so that everyone is able to get benefit from it. He also cautiously recognized that he would never be able to compete with the *salaf*'s works, but he believed that in every period there should be enhancement and renewal, *tajdid*. Nawawî further prayed to God that his work be beneficial for his own hereafter. He fully realized that he was not free from human error. Therefore, he would accom-

plish the tafsîr carefully and relied in all his works on the explication of the Qur'ân itself from other verses, the Prophet's *hadith*, the *ashâb*'s opinions, and the *salaf al-sâlih*.⁴²

Typical in Nawawî's work is his special attention to the important value of knowledge. For instance, interpreting the main verse or the mother *surah* of the Qur'ân, *al-Fâtihah*, he asserts that the verse contains at least four fields of knowledge. First is the *tawhîd*, oneness of God, or theology. The divine attributes should be covered in the phrase *al-hamd lî Allâhi rab al-'âlamîn, al-rahmân al-rahîm*, and the Prophetic credentials are there in *alladhîna an'amta 'alayhim*. The Judgment Day is articulated in the *yaum al-dîn*. The second is Islamic law with the *'ibâdah* as the most important part. Basically Islamic law consists of both material and physical rules that correspond to life matters concerning the *mu'âmalat*, social life, and marriage. All this is contained in the meaning of *sirât al-mustaqîm* (straight fath). The third is the science of perfectness dealing with Islamic morality. This includes *istiqâmah*, straightness, in the right path as indicated in *iyyâka nasta'în*. The fourth is the history and the story of nations in the past. The victorious who need to be imitated entirely were the prophets while the losers and condemned were the non-believers. The former are included in *alladhîna an'amta 'alayhim*, and the latter are in *ghayr al-maghdhûb 'alayhim wa lâ al-dâllîn*.⁴³

The other important feature of the tafsîr, as is also seen in his other works, is that it emphasizes piety by conveying the teaching of the *'aqîdah*, creed, and *yaqîn*, belief in God and His guidance. This accentuation is quite transparent in place, especially in the *muqaddimah*, the introduction, and in the *khatîmat al-kitâb*, the conclusion. He always calls attention to the Almightyness of Allâh by praising His majesty, and mercy. Besides, Nawawî never forgot to include a message of *amar al-mar'ûf wa naby 'an al-munkar*, a reminder to Muslim readers by reinforcing the significance of God's words and promises in attaining two ecstatic lives by following the exemplary demeanor of the Prophets, the honest persons, the martyrs, and the venerable ancestors.⁴⁴ The message of *amar al-mar'ûf wa naby 'an al-munkar*, which was mostly found in Sunnî, Mu'tazilî, and Shi'î literature, signifies an encouragement to Muslims to retain better identity in the eyes of God and the people.

Nevertheless, Nawawî is realistic and sensible in the sense that one should interact with God in an ordinary way. It is not appropriate, for instance, if someone in a prayer requests God's forgiveness

for all mistakes committed by all Muslim brothers or asks for certain cash from the sky for the benefit of *fuqarâ'*. This is neither logical nor conforming to the *shari'ah* principles.⁴⁵

Yet another feature of his tafsîr is that it is illustratively interpolated with many interesting stories. Information on the *asbâb al-nuzûl*, the situational reasons for the verse's revelation, is abundant and comprehensive. All of this is supported by the eloquence and elegance of his writing style, in which no one denies that Nawawî has a strong background of Arabic literature and grammar. In line with this his tafsîr is imbued with the richness of linguistic explanation and also the introduction of different ways in the recitation of the Qur'ân by different *imâms* (the *qirâ'ah sab'ah*).

On Sufism and Akhlâq

According to Snouck Hurgronje, "Nawawî neither encouraged nor discouraged his students from joining *tarîqah*."⁴⁶ Despite this neutrality, Nawawî is usually acknowledged to have been an adherent of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas (d. 1878), the founder of the combined *Tarîqah al-Qâdiriyyah wa al-Naqshbandiyyah*.⁴⁷ The latter was born in Kalimantan Indonesia, and remained in Makkah as a preeminent teacher until he died. He wrote *Fath al-'Ârifîn*, Triumph of the Gnostics, which became one of the most popular and significant treatises on Sufism in the Malay world. The book provided practical guides for performing *dhikr*, an incessant repetition of certain words or formulas in praise of God, which is the main part of *tarîqah* activities. This sûfî master, in fact, influenced not only Indonesian pupils such as Nawawî, but Malaysian followers as well. Haji Muhammad Syah and Haji Fadil are two names to mention as indicated by Alatas. Upon becoming a master in Johore, Malaysia, the former recruited about fourteen thousand loyal disciples in the 1940s.⁴⁸

In considering Nawawî's themes of Sufism in his works, one cannot overlook Sambas as Nawawî's teacher. The intellectual and spiritual ties between master and disciple in Islamic transmission have always been, unquestionably significant. Along with this experience, it is difficult to follow Steenbrink's suggestion that Nawawî was among those who were against the *tarîqah* practices.⁴⁹ This assumption is rather inconceivable owing to the fact that Nawawî wrote some books on Sufism and *akhlâq* interchangeably and flexibly categorized. Had the latter books denounced Sufism and *tarîqah* practices, Steinbrink's premises would be fairly relevant.

The fact is that, like Sambas, Nawawî subscribed to Ghazâlîan Sufism. He recommended people to adopt an *imâm* from among many *imâm al-tasawwuf* such as Imâm Sa'îd bin Muhammad Abû al-Qâsim al-Junayd. To him the latter was the prince of Sufism in the sense of both theory and practice.⁵⁰ The *sûfî* life style of piety and modesty without being extremely against worldly life was the main feature of this Sufism. It was rather an equivalency of the two lives and of the two complementary dimensions: the *sharî'ah* and Sufism. Analogously, al-Ghazâlî himself did not belong to a *tarîqah* group, yet his thoughts on Sufism, especially in *Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn*, were smoothly applicable in prevailing *tarîqah* congregations at large in the Islamic world. Nawawî exclusively introduced his students to the works of those *sûfîs* with whom ethics preponderates over the occult elements of mysticism.⁵¹ Snouck Hurgronje clarified this further:

The mysticism practiced by Nawawî himself is the moderate, ethical sufism of Ghâzâlî in the more formalistic shape that it adopted in later times. His literary activity again evidences this, for in 1881, there was a printed commentary by him on Ghazâlî's *Bidâyat al-Hidâyah* and in 1884 a commentary upon a mystic poem of Zayn al-'Âbidîn al-Malâbarî.⁵²

The 103 page kitab contains the essential elements of the cultivation of spiritualism by introducing passionate pietism and the refinement of moral conduct, *adab*, from the time when one is awake in bed at dawn until one goes back to bed. The book also emphasizes the importance of keeping one's physical organs away from committing an evil act that might adulterate an ideal clean mind. Besides a vertical relation between creature and God, the horizontal intercourse of brotherhood and harmonic social relations manifested in respecting one's rights and responsibilities is also studied in detail.⁵³

That Nawawî was more a man of ideas, who was endowed with unusual writing skills is confirmed through his works. He writes on Sufism not without a mission. His activity must have been driven by certain purposes. To understand why he composed is best seen in his own explication that it was for the benefit of the Muslim *ummah*, for his life in the hereafter, and also for earning a particular credit from God. With his books he also expected that Muslims would share the wisdom of Islamic knowledge for learning and practicing virtues so that they would be guided by Islamic principles. The identical value of knowing and actual performance results in getting close to God with His love.⁵⁴

The socio-cultural dimension should also be considered in that Nawawî, again like al-Ghazâlî, has been highly respected by the pesantren community due to his reputation as an influential teacher and to his guiding and helpful books. In this society *tariqah* practices were fundamentally flourishing. Had the aforementioned hypothesis Steenbrink's been reliable, the pesantren community which historically and ideologically adored *tariqah* development would never have forgiven Nawawî. In fact, the later part of the nineteenth century in Java witnessed the prosperity of Sufism, especially the Qâdiriyyah and the Naqshbandiyyah. In April 1879, L.W.C. van den Berg, a Dutch expert on Indonesian Islam, explained to the public of the Science and Arts community for Batavian Studies that he had located no traces of the Naqshbandiyyah *tariqah* in the archipelago. Four years later he corrected his own statement by confirming in detail that Naqshbandiyyah practices had been extensively carried out by Muslims in Aceh, Central Java, and East Java.⁵⁵ In the 1880s the Dutch Consul for Jeddah counted an average of more than six thousand Indonesian pilgrims making the *haji* each year. As had occurred before, hundreds of these pilgrims decided to stay longer or some to live in Makkah to study Islamic sciences. Among the subjects that were taken, the Naqshbandiyyah and the Qâdiriyyah *tariqahs* were the main choices. Perhaps some, as indicated by Snouck Hurgronje, preferred to repeat the *wird* and *dhikr* (with certain recitations) rather than learning difficult texts. Sufistic worship and practices had actually met the basic spiritual needs of Indonesian pilgrims.⁵⁶ Referring to this phenomena, since he was a former student of the founder of the combined Naqshbandiyyah and the Qâdiriyyah, as verified by Snouck Hurgronje,⁵⁷ it is not an exaggeration to say that Nawawî, as the master in the Hijâz through his actual teachings in public and through his published words more or less contributed to the growth of Sufism in Javanese society.

It is sufficient to consider some of Nawawî's principles as to what he himself said on this subject. He emphasized the perfectness of the individual as a creature who is in need of God's guidance. He declared that many people in his time ruined their faith by simply saying useless words. Unfortunately, they did not realize that they were violating Islamic rules and committing a major sin even by losing their status as Muslims.⁵⁸ They were requested to conduct themselves in accord with the *sharî'ah* (the law), and the *haqîqah* (the truth), the *zâhir* (the visible) and the *bâtin* (the concealed). While the *sharî'ah* and

the *tarîqah* are the *bidâyah*, the starting point, the *haqîqah* is the *nihâyah* (the end). Because the latter is the fruit of the *sharî'ah* and the *tarîqah*, it is called the *haqîqah*. In this case, the *sharî'ah* is the *bâtin* of the *haqîqah*. Both are certainly needed so that the *sharî'ah* without the *haqîqah* is fruitless, and the *haqîqah* without the *sharî'ah* is futile. A poem was quoted:

Tasawwuf is the way you purify yourself without any mud left,
 And follow the truth, the Qur'ân, and the religion
 It is, indeed, the way you see Allâh submissively,
 Repenting your sins all the time in deep grief.⁵⁹

Additionally, Nawawî used the metaphor of the *sharî'ah* as a boat, the *tarîqah* as the sea, and the *haqîqah* as a jewel. The latter should be located in the sea, while the depth of the sea is attained by means of the boat.⁶⁰ No doubt, the edification of spiritualism imbued with exemplary devotional practices that were adopted from the *salaf al-sâlih* is the main feature of Nawawî's Sufism. In line with this, he always stressed the significance of love, *mahabbah*, in a wide sense, namely to have affection for God with His words; His Prophet with the companions, the *ahl al-bayt*, and with the *ashâr* as well, and the *sâlihîn*.

Nawawî also discussed the individual as a part of society being a center of social interaction. Despite the fact that one should put forward one's best effort to reach God's mercy, one cannot disregard one's social life. In other words, Nawawî reminded us that both *haqq Allâh* and *haqq al-âdamî* should be equally honored. In terms of friendship as a part of social relations, "give and take" in a positive manner is highly recommended. Even involving oneself in an insecure situation for the benefit of one's fellows is advised. Again Nawawî cited a poem of 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib:

In fact, the true friend is the one with you
 and the one who harms himself to befriend
 And the one when an incorporated situation has to split both of you,
 He breaks up for your own good (and to get together sometime).⁶¹

Whether Nawawî was a *sûfî* in his daily habits or merely a *sûfî* scholar and supporter, could probably be seen in the concepts and themes of Sufism he forwarded. Besides the three of his *kitâbs* most cited in this present discussion, there were other *kitâbs* on the same topics, i.e. *Misbâh al-Zullâm*, *Qami' al-Tughyân*, and *Salâlim al-Fudalâ'*,

as listed by Brockelmann.⁶² It is suggested here that Nawawî's theoretical knowledge in this area was unquestionable, and at the same time, his basic appearance which Snouck Hurgronje characterized as that of a humble *'âlim* should be considered. Considering this eye-witness' record together with Nawawî's own words, it may be concluded that he was a *sûfî* in both theory and practice. Let him explain in his own words his modesty which is one of the main features of Sufism in the concluding part of his book on ethics:

If some mistakes and errors are found here,
wise readers are sincerely requested to correct them,
so that in the future none repeats my fault.
The truth is always the truth which should be served and followed,
while to err and to disremember is human.⁶³

On Islamic Law

No one argues that Nawawî was Shâfi'î minded. He was an important guardian of Shâfi'îtes for Javanese Muslims. His father's hope that his son would be a great Shâfi'î by naming him after a Shâfi'î scholar, Abû Zakariyâ al-Nawawî al-Dimashqî (d 675/ 1276), seems to have become true.⁶⁴ Nawawî clarified the works of great Shâfi'î *'ulamâ'* such as those of Muhammad Ramlî, and of Ahmad ibn Hajar both of whom he called *'umdât li al-muta'âkhir min al-'ulamâ al-Shâfi'î*, pillars for contemporary Shâfi'î *'ulamâ'*.⁶⁵ It is noteworthy that Nawawî was continually humble in promoting his works by declaring that his penmanship was nothing but excerpts from different writers.⁶⁶ Al-Bantanî not only explicated some Shâfi'î works, but he also illustrated his works with Shâfi'î anecdotes on the benefit of strengthening the Shâfi'îtes. He recounted a fascinating anecdote about the supremacy of Shâfi'î ideas:

An *'âlim* Man'ûsh al-Maghribî in his circle was skeptical. Major *'ulamâ'* of four *madhâbih* came to his circle. He disagreed with one of Shâfi'î theories that if there are two provisions, a judgment does not have to be made except to precede the second provision. As an example, if one says to a spouse that if she enters the house she will be divorced, the divorce will never happen without the entrance of the spouse. The *'âlim* said that there is no evidence in Arabic tradition for such an argument. In this circle there was Hamdân, a small boy, who suddenly said that what Shâfi'î said is absolutely right. Due to his young age the people around bothered and scolded him. However, the *'âlim* asked them to come down and to listen to what the child said, since according to him, there is no enmity between righteousness that is even coming from a little boy and themselves. The *'âlim* continued that the people in his period should

be grateful since they are different from the ancient generation in which none dared to correct any mistakes coming from the old, so the mistakes became an implemented *shari'ah*. The *'alim* then asked Hamdan to proceed with what he wanted to say. Hamdan said; "what do you say in this poem":

"If people seek help from us whenever they fear, indeed they will get it with the noble life"

Indeed, they would need any help, after they are frightened, not before. So what Shâfi'î said is valid and testified in the Arabic word. The shaiikh smiled and was satisfied with the answer, stating that the child was right. Hamdan said to himself that he thought he was unable to answer their question except he conceived as that imam Shâfi'î had moved Hamdan's tongue to answer. How beautiful is the *shir'*:

"Allâh has taken care of so many youngsters, that the old seeks help from them"⁶⁷

To Nawawî, being a Shâfi'î is not without reason. Those who are not part of *ahliyat al-ijtihâd al-mutlaq*,⁶⁸ are, indeed, bound to conduct *taqlîd*, to adopt the legal decision of a *madhhab*. However, those who are qualified to be the *mujtahid mutlaq* are not allowed to practice *taqlîd*. The *madhhab* of Shâfi'î has been known as more trustworthy and reliable, that of Mâlik as more adequate, that of Abû Hânifah as more massive, and that of Ahmad ibn Hanbal as more godfearing. Moreover, Shâfi'î was like a pearl showing up and overtopping in a happy life. The *dalîl* (reason) for conducting *taqlîd* is in the Qur'ân (16: 43, and 21:7): "Do ask the followers of the reminder, if you know not." The need for a *madhhab* should be restricted only to the four popular imâms. Therefore, it is not acceptable to adopt other than four such as Imâm Sufyân al-Thaurî, Sufyân ibn 'Uyainah, 'Abd al-Rahmân ibn 'Umar al-Awzâ'i. *Taqlîd* to the important *ashhâb* of the Prophet is not acceptable either, since none of their *madhâhib* were well collected well and retained in total.⁶⁹

To be *muqallid* or *mujtahid* was one of the sensitive and controversial issues in the nineteenth century. To a certain degree, those who disputed the possibility of making *ijtihâd* claimed that its gate had been sealed. Many important 'ulamâ' through the mid-20th century engaged in a direct or indirect discussion defending the importance of *taqlîd* for commoners. Nawawî left a very important principle of being a learned and critical *muqallid*. Had Nawawî discouraged being a *muqallid*, Javanese santris at large would never have glorified his reputation. Whether or not there had been a direct debate between Nawawî and 'Abduh, in which both of them were contemporary, it seems the two scholars designed and contributed important frame works for different understanding of Islam. While 'Abduh was more

concerned with modern issues and offered few suggestions on *fiqh*, Nawawî paid more attention to issues of daily life, especially those regarding *fiqh*. If the label of “*fiqh* oriented society” has been applied to Javanese santri Muslims by modern scholars,⁷⁰ Nawawî certainly deserves to be the early pioneer and draftsman of such a society.

Although Nawawî lived in Makkah, an Islamic city under the strong influence of Wahabism,⁷¹ compared with Makkan scholars he had quite a different view of visiting shrines. Nawawî did not discourage this activity, since he found legalization in Islam. He even encouraged Muslims to carry out special homage when visiting the Prophet’s grave. Legally this veneration is *istihbâban mu’akkadan*, strongly recommended. Visiting the Prophet’s shrine was identical with holding a dialogue, *tawajjuh*, with the Muslim leader and remembering his great achievement that needs to be completely imitated. A special mood and ethics were required in front of the Prophet’s sanctuary, since the Prophet still heard and saw anyone who visited it.⁷² Not just praising the Prophet is suggested, but also communicating with the *ashhâb* is promoted. In particular, Abû Bakr and ‘Umar, who were buried next to the Prophet, should be greeted with *al-salâm ‘alayk* together with their common epithets as *al-farûq* to ‘Umar.⁷³ In line with this, the idea of “*tawashshul*” is permissible. The latter is the activity of mentioning the Prophet’s name when one is making *du‘â’*. In performing the five daily prayers, a Muslim can even makes *du‘â’* to those who passed away: Muhammad, the prophets and the *sâlihîn*. Therefore, according to Nawawî *ziyârah al-qubr* (tomb visitation) is considered part of the Prophet’s *sunnah*.⁷⁴

To Nawawî *fiqh* is a very significant kind of Islamic knowledge, because no one could communicate with God in ritual worship unless it is actually learned. Nawawî produced different works on *fiqh*. *‘Uqûd al-Lujayn* is the most popular among santris, for it deals with the very basic concepts of a man and his wife’s life. Basically he emphasizes that the best husband is the one who is the best in his family eyes, while the ideal wife is the one who takes care of family’s matters. Nawawî’s message is clear for both. Their rights and duties are the main topic of the discussion. One may criticize this in terms of sexism; Nawawî gives more credit to males by quoting more hadîths on female responsibilities, but his treatment of males with different responsibilities should equally be considered. Nawawî was by no means a modern scholar who emphasize the equality of the couple as part of the issue of emancipation that developed later. He also rec-

commended the husband to be patient, kind, and sweet to his wife even if the latter makes a mistake. To illustrate this, he narrated an exemplary story about 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb who was very gentle to his family, even though he was a commander-in-chief and believed to be both violent and discourteous before becoming a Muslim.⁷⁵

Nawawî's other important books are *Sharh Sullâm al-Munâjat*, *Nihâyat al-Zayn fî Irshâd al-Mubtadi'în*, *Tashîh 'ala Fath al-Qarîb*, and *Sullâm al-Tawfiq*. These books can be viewed as the standardized works of a Shâfi'î scholar in which practical matters of daily life and behavior as well as essential elements of *'ibâdah* were comprehensively and wisely addressed. This practical reason and its historicity have in fact, been the main reasons why fiqh became a popular subject among *santris* in the nineteenth century and thereafter. Specifically, the Shâfi'î *madhhab* has long been introduced and implemented in Java throughout the centuries since the Wali Songo period.

On Tawhîd

It is narrated that the Dahrî⁷⁶ reached its peak in popularity in the period of Hammâd, the teacher of Abû Hanîfah (699-767 born in Kufa). The *'ulamâ'* had agreed that the *wujûd* of Allâh does not have a location. Hammâd was the only one of the *'ulamâ'* who could explain this position against the Dahrî. The latter asked the contemporary ruler to invite Hammâd to a public debate. Hammâd agreed to hold it on the following day. Hammâd's student, Abû Hanîfah,⁷⁷ noticed that his teacher was a little nervous. The teacher told him about the ongoing argument and that he had had a dream the previous night: He saw a very large house with a fruit tree outside. A pig came out from the house and ate the fruit, branches and leaves until nothing left except the trunk, and suddenly a lion came out from the tree to kill the pig. Abû Hanîfah said to his teacher that indeed Allâh had inspired him with knowledge of *ta'bir*. With this knowledge he understood that the dream is good for them and bad for enemies. Abû Hanîfah asked the teacher for permission to continue the *ta'bir*, the interpretation of the dream. According to Abû Hanîfah the house is the house of Islam, while the fruit tree is the *'ulamâ'*, the trunk is his teacher, and the lion that could defeat them is Abû Hanîfah himself. With the teacher's permission, the student would talk at the debate. The teacher was satisfied with the *ta'bir* and asked the student to attend the debate together with him. The time to debate came and everyone was sitting beside the teacher, while Abû Hanîfah stood up next to the teacher, with his hands holding the sandals that belonged to him and to the teacher. On the stage (*minbar*) the Dahrî asked who would answer questions. To the Dahrî's surprise, the young Abû Hanîfah said that the Dahrî might ask any question and should let anyone answer. The Dahrî humiliated the youth by saying that so many old persons, nobles, and people with honorary dresses and large sleeves had turned up, how dare the youth show up. Abû Hanîfah responded that Allâh would not award glory and high rank to the said people but to the *'ulamâ'* instead. The Dahrî then asked if the

youth would answer the questions. Abû Hanîfah answered "yes" with the help of Allâh. He also confirmed that Allâh is *mawjûd* when the Dahrî asked. Asked where is God, Abû Hanîfah said that "God does not take any place." To answer why this happens, he explained, "This situation also happens to your body." Abû Hanîfah asked in return if the Dahrî had a soul in his body. Answering "yes," the Dahrî was confused when Abû Hanîfah asked where the soul was located, "if it is in your head, stomach, or feet." Abû Hanîfah then held some milk asking if it had butter and where it lies. Abû Hanîfah explained that the existence of Allâh could be understood if one looks at the existence of such a soul and butter that do not need any space. The Dahrî further asked what happens before and after Allâh. Abû Hanîfah answered that there was nothing before and after Him. To explain this, Abû Hanîfah used fingers, by asking what does one find before the thumb and after the little finger? Thus there is none before and after Allâh. Eventually the Dahrî offered a conclusive question, namely "What is Allâh doing right now?". Before Abû Hanîfah answered he said that the Dahrî was odd; the latter as a questioner should be off the stage, while the answerer should be on the stage. Finally the Dahrî fulfilled Abû Hanîfah's proposal and the young scholar answered, "At present Allâh is paralyzing the *mubtîl*, the false like you, and elevating the righteous like me."⁷⁸

Although this story apparently supports Abû Hanîfah and his theological position, Nawawî was by no means a Hanafî. That the Ash'arites were among the most popular for the Javanese 'ulamâ' is indisputable. However, general Sunnî theologians such as the Maturidites were basically accepted. Nawawî was unquestionably a Sunnî theologian who accommodated most Sunnî thoughts against the Dahrî, and the Mu'tazilites. To him the two groups, including philosophers, tended to use a more rational approach than the main source of Islamic teaching: the Qur'ân and the hadîth.

One can comprehend that Nawawî was an Ash'ari from his kitab *Fath al-Majîd*. Nawawî referred to Ash'ari a couple of times by crediting him with the status of master or al-Shaykh Abû al-Hasan 'Alî al-Ash'arî.⁷⁹ Nawawî actually identified himself as the follower of Ash'arî in terms of *i'tiqâd*, dogmatic theology.⁸⁰ Nawawî further indicated that anyone who was not the *ahl*, the authority, including himself was required to exert taqlîd, to imitate either al-Imâm Abû Hasan al-Ash'arî or al-Imâm Abû Mansûr al-Maturidî.⁸¹

Like other Ash'arî writers, Nawawî introduced the *sifât* of Allâh containing the *wâjib*, the *mustahîl*, and the *mumkin*. In this case, he could be categorized as a *Sifâtiyyah* (attributist) theologian who understands that God has attributes that are known from His acts: these attributes cannot be denied. Just as His acts show that he is all knowing, powerful and willing, so also do they show that he has knowl-

edge, power and will.⁸² Although Nawawî was not the first to elaborate the *Sifâtiyyah*, it seems that he was the one who successfully and concretely upheld and popularized it among the Javanese santris. The popularity of this belief system was once again witnessed by nineteenth century Dutch scholars: Snouck Hurgronje and van den Berg. To date, Nawawî's *kitâbs*⁸³ on theology have been widely used in pesantrens and madrasahs.

Naqlî and the *'aqlî* reasons should both be applied. However, in the manner Nawawî explains the subject, it is somewhat dichotomized as revelation and reason. In addition, when there is polarity between them the first should be prioritized. Presenting everyone's duties, namely to be firmly convinced of anything related to the *wâjib*, the *mustahîl*, and the *mumkin* to the existence of God, Nawawî described this obligation as a summons from the sharî'ah, not a call of the *'aql*. The three attributes are ascribed to the Prophets as well and every *mukallaf* is obliged to bear them in mind.

As in other of Nawawî's works, he never forgets to include a pious message on behavior. Every Muslim is recommended to maintain the phrase "*Lâ ilâh illa Allâh*" internally and externally, so that one can reach the highest degree of faith. To strengthen this argument, Nawawî quotes a Hadîth: "The phrase *Lâ ilâh illa Allâh* is the best mild-spoken reminder which I and earlier prophets ever pronounced. So please you, Muslims, preserve it by evoking the meaning until it mingles with your tongue and heart."⁸⁴

One of the major themes in Nawawî's *kitâbs* is the absoluteness of God. However, Nawawî does not belong to the Jabarites who denied that a deed is in reality to be attributed to an individual, but should be ascribed to God instead, and that consequently an individual has no power at all.⁸⁵ Like other Ash'arî and Sunnî writers, he placed himself in the middle between the two extreme poles of the Qadarites⁸⁶ and the Jabarites. Nawawî thus represented the nineteenth century Javanese 'ulamâ' who tried to refresh the medieval Islamic tenets on theology and to leave what is going on in that remote country to the absoluteness of Allâh with the concept of *tawakkal bi Allâh*.

Unfortunately, this situation has sometimes been used by modern scholars to condemn the inability of Ash'arism as an ideology and as a force to free people from colonialism. Ash'arism was not classified as a theology of liberation. However, it should be emphasized that the issue of colonialism in the country was typical of the Islamic world in which there was no effective power to withstand colo-

nialism among Muslims. In line with this the Ash'arites and the Maturidites, for reasons that will not be discussed here, have been major trends as the "religion of Muslims" through the centuries. It is noteworthy that Javanese Muslims were physically defeated but they did not lose their faith. In this context, Nawawî with his ideas on Ash'arism, should be credited, since with the philosophy of submission to God they were religiously independent. In this context, it is interesting to note that in Makkah, Nawawî was active in guiding an Islamic brotherhood called "Javanese Territory." This association was, in fact, suspected and inspected by the Dutch. It is also interesting that Nawawî prohibited Muslims from fraternizing with the colonizers and judged this action to be *haram*. However, he let them relate socially with non-Muslim colonizers for the sake of mutual benefit based on the principle of the brotherhood of mankind, *ukhuwwah bashariyyah*.⁸⁷

Conclusion

One may judge that Nawawî produced no more than a repetition of classical works by Sunni 'ulamâ' in the medieval period. However, it should be understood that even in the past those 'ulamâ' were also doing the same thing. What happen is that a dialogue among the 'ulamâ' in different places and durations was unavoidable. The intellectual interaction was manifested diversely: from total agreement that was disclosed by the later productive writer with his *sharh*, works of long elaboration and development, to "*barâkah* purposes" by re-writing and explaining what Nawawî's teachers and predecessors said. Evidently Nawawî used some anecdotes and favorable stories from cases that took place in the medieval period. With these, the Javanese santris were easily convinced and deeply impressed, since the ways were simple and in accordance with prevalent public interests, especially for the Javanese for whom myths cannot be split from the way they looked at life. Besides, the characters were regularly used to glorify santris' heroes as their models. Indeed, it should also be recognised that the nineteenth century author in the colonial era had digested and refreshed the most important works by medieval 'ulamâ'. This task could not be effectively accomplished unless Nawawî was a multi-disciplined student who concentrated his attention upon the scholarly world of learning, teaching, and writing, resulting in copious *kitâbs*. The available kitabs comprising standard Shâfi'î works in different fields are probably another reason why Nawawî occupied a special place in the Javanese santri intellectual tradition.

Endnotes

1. According to Chaidar, who visited Nawawî's tomb in 1976 and 1977, Ma'la is a few miles East of Masjid al-Harâm in Mecca and is at the crossroads of Masjid al-Haram and Mina. See Chaidar, *Sejarah Pujangga Islam Syech Nawawî al-Bantani, Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Sarana Utama, 1979), p. 51.
2. The haul or veneration ceremony in memory of a respected person is very popular among Javanese santri. To date, not only do 'ulamâ' acquire reverence through this ceremony, but also some *aghniyâ'*, rich people and devout people receive the same treatment.
3. As a matter of fact, Nawawî mentioned Tanara as his *baladan*, namely his village and his own rural community. See Nawawî, *Nihâyat al-Zain* (Egypt, 1938), p. 3.
4. As reported by Snouck Hurgronje, a *penghulu* was a *qâdî*, a *muftî*, a marriage organizer, a *zakâh* officer, an administrator, and a *nâzir* or director of a mosque. Snouck Hurgronje, *Kumpulan Karangan Snouck Hurgronje*, Indonesian version (Jakarta: INIS, 1992), pp. 83-88. It is noteworthy that the functions of the *penghulu* changed over time. Today their functions are greatly reduced to managing marriage affairs as is generally assumed by Javanese.
5. Some 'ulamâ' in Java were viewed as gaining knowledge without standard efforts such as through formal education. They were believed to gain knowledge by "ilmu laduni," knowledge that came down instantaneously from Allâh.
6. In the pesantren tradition, to be a *hâfiz al-Qur'ân* is ubiquitous. That Nawawî was one of the *huffâz* was witnessed by Snouck Hurgronje (See, Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 269). Even today some santris under 15 years old have memorized the Qur'ân under a *kiyai's* strict observation. It is remarkable that some santris could learn the 30 *juz* in less than two years (personal interview with some Javanese *huffâz* in July 1995).
7. As declared all and explained by Nawawî in *Fath al-Majîd*, 'Abd al-Rahmân was a very special teacher to him. Nawawî called him both *Shaykhî* and *Sayyidî*. Al-Nawawî, which is associated with the teacher's last name, is a place in Egypt.
8. Chaidar, *op.cit.* p. 5 So far no specific person in Egypt and Syria have been mentioned by any writers as Nawawî's teachers. However, it is highly possible that Nawawî audited some classes openly offered by different 'ulamâ' in the two places. The nature of Islamic education in this period enabled active students to meet different teachers in different locations.
9. Ibn Majah, *Muqaddimah*, p. 17
10. C. Brockelmann, "al-Nawawî", eds. M. Houtsma, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1938). See also Sri Mulyati, "Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawî al-Bantani's Salalim al-Fudala", Master of Arts thesis, McGill University, 1992. p. 28.
11. Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat* (Bandung: 1995), p. 42
12. Nawawî, *Tafsîr Marah Labîd*, on the verse 'Ali Imrân p. 96. The complete sentence is: "Zachariyah made *du'â'* in a place where Mary sat and Zachariyah saw the *karâmah*, the miracles, or at the time when Zachariyah observed the *khâriq al-'âdah*, an event beyond common usage, at her presence."
13. Sya'rani Ahmadi, a prominent Javanese 'âlim in Kudus Central Java and one of Nawawî's admirers, denoting the word *hunâlika* argues that if God denied the importance of such a place, He would never have included that word in this

- verse (personal interview in summer 1994).
14. M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), p. 123.
 15. Some important generals from the Dutch side were killed in the Perang Padri such as De Cock, Van Der Capellan, Cochis, and Michiels. In 1826 Diponegoro upset the Dutch in most of the battles in Java through his guerrilla tactics: hiding in forests and attacking the Dutch unexpectedly.
 16. Chaidar, *op.cit.* p.9 Also see *Republika*, "Shaikh Nawawi al-Bantani, Karyanya Mendunia," October 27, 1995.
 17. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, pp. 270-271.
 18. See Nawawi's *muqaddimah* in his *Nasâih al-'Ibâd* (Bandung: 1960), p. 3.
 19. To look up to an 'âlim is very common in the Islamic world. The way people pay respect varies from shaking hands by lowering their shoulders (especially in the Javanese Pesantren tradition) to kissing hands, the commonest way. The Pesantren community also regards kissing an 'âlim's hands as obtaining "barâkah." However, this physical veneration should not interfere with Islamic faith which requires oneness with God. Allâh alone they worship *in toto*.
 20. This story is translated and modified from Haidar, *Sejarah Perjuangan Islam*, pp. 85-86.
 21. See Abdurrahman Wahid, in "Principles of Pesantren Education," *The Impact of Pesantren* (Jakarta: P3M, 1988), pp. 197-203.
 22. Chaidar, *op.cit.*, 60-91.
 23. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p 271.
 24. Nawawî, *Marâqî al-'Ubûdiyyah*, p. 5.
 25. So far there is no reliable source disclosing the exact date of the biography of 'Abd al-Hamid bin Muhammad 'Ali Kudus and that of Ihsan Muhammad Dahlan Kediri. They must have been the contemporaries of Saleh Darat who wrote most of his *kitâbs* in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Personal interview with K.H.M. Sahal Mahfud, Kajen Pati Central Java, July 1995). The two *kitâbs* mentioned above, unfortunately, did not have any date of publication either.
 26. Ramli, *Sejarah Hidup*, 10-11. See also Chaidar, *op.cit.* p. 5. Asnawi here is not to be confused with K.H.R. Asnawi Kudus, Central Java. Although the latter also studied in Mecca this was in a different period, namely in the first quarter of 20th century. As recounted by Minan Zuhri, Asnawi's grandson, Asnawi stated that he never learned from Nawawi. Asnawi who married Nawawi's widow also admitted that he married her because he was not a student of Nawawi (personal interview with Minan Zuhri in December 1995).
 27. Chaidar, *op.cit.*, pp. 6-7.
 28. Al-Zarnuji, *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim-Tariq al-Ta'allum*, trans. G.E. Von Grunebaum (New York: 1947), p. 30. Although the *kitâb* was written in the early 13th century, it is widely used in the pesantren community, since it covers the main codes of conduct in the Islamic teaching-learning process. Categorized as the *kitâb* of *akhlâq*, it deals with major themes of Islamic education. Today the *kitâb* is used in the *thanaswiyah* (junior high school) level in *madrasahs* and pesantren all over Java. See Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, p. 163. In the fasting month of Ramadân the *kitâb* has also been widely used in pesantrens.
 29. This hadîth is reported by Muslims and much used by Sunnîs. See, Ahmadi, Sya'rani, *al-Farâid al-Saniyyah*, p. 15.

30. This idea has largely been accepted by Javanese *santris* (personal interviews with some 'ulamâ' in Java, in summer 1994)
31. Nawawî, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
32. *Ibid.*, 10-11.
33. There are some studies on the *hajj* of Indonesian pilgrims, such as: Martin van Bruinessen, "Mencari ilmu dan Pahala di Tanah Suci", *Ulumul Qur'an*, no. 5, Jakarta, 1990. pp. 42-51; See also: Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "Profil Sosial Ekonomi Jama'ah Haji Indonesia", *Ibid.* pp 51-59.
34. Nawawî, *Sullâm al-Tawfiq*, p. 20.
35. Nawawî, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
36. See C. Brockelmann, *Encyclopedia*, *Ibid.* Also see van Bruinessen's collection on Kitab Kuning, Islamic Books in Arabic script published in Southeast Asia, 1987-1988. Brockelmann categorized Nawawî's works into seven subjects, while van Bruinessen divides them into nine.
37. Although Brockelmann place 1305 as the date of the book's publication, it is highly possible that the book was published in late 1305/ or in 1887, not in 1886. The printing of the *kitâb* in Cairo was the first publication which was followed by another edition in Lebanon and in Indonesia.
38. Imam Muhammad Nawawî al-Bantânî, *Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia*, p 423-424. Also a personal interview with Abdurrahman Wahid, an Indonesian intellectual born and raised in a pesantren family. His grandfather, Hasyim Asy'ari was a main student of Nawawî. This interview was conducted in summer 1994.
39. As witnessed by L.W.C. van den Berg, *Tafsîr Jalâlayn*, written by al-Mahalli and al-Suyuti, was the standard *tafsîr* used widely in Java.
40. Muhammad 'Abduh, *Fâtihat al-Kitâb*, p. 37.
41. Nawawî, *Marah Labid*, p. 3.
42. Nawawî, *op. cit.*, on its introduction p. 2.
43. *Ibid.*, pp 2-3. The complete verse of the Qur'ân is: 1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Merciful 2) Praise be to Allâh, Lord of the worlds: 3) The Beneficent, the Merciful: 4) Owner of the Day of Judgment. 5) Thee (alone) we worship; Thee (alone) we ask for help. 6) Show us the straight path: 7) The path of those whom Thou has favored; Not (the path) of those who earn Thine anger nor of those who go astray.
44. These are the *muflihûn*, those crowned with success who are released from God's rage and punishment who are the companions or the followers of the Prophets, see Nawawî, *Marah Labid*, pp. 3-4.
45. Nawawî, *Nashâih al-'Ibâd*, p. 3.
46. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 270.
47. Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p. 87-89.
48. S.M.N. Alatas, *Some Aspects of Sufism*, pp. 32-35.
49. Karel Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad 19*, pp. 134-136, 143-147. 185.
50. Nawawî, *Nihâyat al-Zain*, p. 7
51. Snouck Hurgronje, *Ibid.*
52. Snouck Hurgronje, *op.cit.* p. 272. Nawawî finished working on this *kitâb* on Saturday night, the thirteenth of *Dhu al-Qâ'idah*, 1285, (1868 AD).
53. The writer found the *kitâb* in the KITLV library, Leiden University, in September 1995. Unfortunately there was no date of publication on the yellowish *kitâb*.
54. Nawawî, *Nashâih al-'Ibâd*, p. 2, also Nawawî, *Sullâm al-Tawfiq*, p. x

55. van den Berg, "over de devotie der Naqsjibendijah in den Indischen archipel," TBG 28, 1883, p. 258.
56. van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*, p. 103.
57. Snouck Hurgronje, *op.cit.*, p. 268.
58. Nawawî, *Sullâm al-Tawfiq*, p. 15.
59. Nawawî, *Sharh Marâqî al-'Ubûdiyyah*, p. 4
60. *Ibid.*, p. 5
61. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
62. Brockelmann, *Encyclopedia*, *Ibid.*
63. Nawawî, *Sullâm al-Tawfiq*, p. 140.
64. As a matter of fact, al-Bantânî admired al-Nawawî here and there on his works.
65. Nawawî, *Nihâyat al-Zayn*, p. 3.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Nawawî, *Sharh Marâqî al-'Ubûdiyyah*, p.
68. A great legist formulating independent decisions in legal matters, based on the interpretation and application of the four usul as opposed to *muqallid*.
69. Nawawî, *Nihâyat al-Zayn*, p. 7
70. It seems it was Abdurrahman Wahid who coined and used that term quite often.
71. The Wahabites assumed that so many Muslims believed in miracles of the *awliyyâ'* that they could even help from their graves. Many visited the graves of *sâlihîn*, the good worshippers, not to get a lesson from their death or to pray for them but to pray to them and ask them for help. Many ask Ibn 'Arabi or 'Abd al-Qâdir Jîlânî or even the Messenger Muhammad for help just as they ask for help from Allâh. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahâb detected these activities and sharply condemned them as *harâm*. He started a reform movement by calling people to the pure faith, *aqidah*, to the Qur'ân and Sunnah, and to reject the innovations, *bid'ah* in Islam. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahâb himself was a Hanbalî.
72. One of the santri arguments that Muslims who died, especially the Prophet, can hear is in the Qur'ânic verse: "And call not those who are slain in the way of Allâh 'dead.' Nay, they are living, only you perceive not." (2:152).
73. Nawawî explained that Muslims should salute the consecutive *ashhâb* with: *al-Sâlâmu 'alaika yâ Abâ Bakr, Assalâmu 'alaika yâ khalîfah Rasûl Allâh wa shafiyahû wa thaniyyah fi al-ghar jazaka Allâh 'an ummat Rasûl Allâh khairan; al-salâmu 'alaika yâ Amîr al-Mu'mîn 'Umar al-farûq alladhî a'azza Allâhu bihi al-Islâm jazaka Allâhu 'an ummatî nabiyyihi khairan* (Nawawî, *Nihâyat al-Zayn*, p. 219)
74. Nawawî, *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.
75. Nawawî, *Sharh 'Uqûd al-Lujayn*, p.5
76. Nawawî explained that the Dahrî was a group who were affected by philosophers and denied the existence of God. They held to the eternity of time (*al-dahr*) and the universe. They did not believe in the Judgement Day. Because of this belief, they will go to Hell, See Nawawî, *Fath al-Majîd*, p. 7.
77. Living under two dynasties: the Umayyads and 'Abbasids, Abû Hanîfah did not take part in any political activity. When Yâzid ibn Hurairah, an Iraqi governor under the 'Umayyad Marwân ibn Muhammad, tried to promote him as a *qâdî*, he seriously rejected it which caused him to suffer torture. The same thing happened to him when he refused an offer from the 'Abbasid al-Mansûr to be a *qâdî* in Baghdad.

Abû Hanîfah devoted his life to studying Islamic law in depth and to teaching. His teaching activity was more intensive than his writing. Therefore, al-

Fiqh al-Akbar I, which is commonly attributed to him appears to be written by his pupils who directly and genuinely quoted his ideas. Among Islamic jurists, he was considered to have contributed a very significant element, since he was the first jurist to codify Islamic law by using *qiyas*, analogy, as the source. Applying Islamic law, he used some principles: Qur'ân, Sunnah, the *Ashhâb* opinions, *qiyâs*, *istihsân*, and local tradition.

While Ahmad ibn Hanbal was conventionally recognized as the founder of the term *Ahl al-Sunnah*, in fact, Abû Hanîfah had used the same term before him. This fact is commonly ignored. For example, in his letter to Uthmân al-Battî, Abû Hanîfah, while explaining his position towards evil Muslim against Kharijite extremism, described his own view as that of *Ahl al-'Adl wa al-Sunnah*.

78. Nawawî, *Fath al-Majîd*, p. 7.

79. The most explicit indication is when Nawawî narrated the following story about why Ash'arî left his master, Jubbâ'î, one of the important Mu'tazili leaders. Ash'arî was asking the teacher, "How would you judge on the case of three brothers: The first brother died old and remained pious. The second died old and became disobedient. While the third died as a child before *bâligh*." Jubbâ'î, answered: "The first would be in paradise, while the second would be in hell. And the child should be in paradise". Ash'arî asked again: "Will the child get the same place as his good brother does?" Jubbâ'î answered, "No, since the child had not yet done good deeds as his obedient brother had." "What if the child argued that had God given me more time to live, I would get better position, so that I could compete with my devout brother," Ash'arî debated. Jubbâ'î responded, "Allâh will answer, Indeed, I knew if I let you grow up, you would become an unbeliever and go to hell forever, that's why the best alternative is to have you deceased when you are young for your own good and safety from hell." Ash'arî still contended, "What if the disobedient together with hell dwellers said, "O God, the best choice for us is to die young, indeed, we would be satisfied to obtain an even lower position than that of the child's. So you should not let us live until we grew up since you already knew that we would be sinful after all." "So what will God's answer be?", Ash'arî insisted while Jubbâ'î was silent and confused after Ash'arî had torn down the rule that Allâh has to make *salah* or *aslah* (proper and more proper). The case presenting the bad luck of the residents of hell shows that God is unnecessarily making *salah* to them. (See Nawawî *Fath al-Majîd*, p. 39)

80. Nawawî, *Nihayât al-Zain*, p. 3.

81. *Ibid.* p. 7

82. See Shahrastânî, *Al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, Trans. edition by A.K. Kazi and J.G. Flynn, London 1984, p. 79.

83. Besides *Fath al-Majîd* which is much referred to, there are some other kitâbs written by Nawawî: *Tijan al-Durâri*, *Nur al-Zullâm*, *al-Futûhat al-Madâniyyah*, *al-Thamar al-Yanî'ah*, *Bahjat al-Wasâ'il*, *Kashifât al-Sajâ*, and *Mirqat Su'ûd al-Tasdiq*. Most of these kitâbs had no printing date. See van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, Islamic Books in Arabic Scripts Published in Southeast Asia, 1987-1988, p. 18-19.

84. Nawawî, *Fath al-Majîd*, p. 49.

85. There are two main groups of Jabarites: 1) the pure Jabarites who do not leave any deed at all to man, not even the power of fact; and 2) the moderate ones who admit that man has power, but maintain that it is power which is in no

- way effective, see Shahrastānī, *op.cit.*, P. 72.
86. The Qadarites are usually used and referred to as the Mu'tazilites. However, they themselves hold that the word Qadariyyah is ambiguous, and say that it should be used of those who believe that the *qadar* (determination) with respect to good and evil is from God. They thereby wished to avoid the ignominy commonly attached to the name because of a tradition that the Qadariyyah were the Magians of this community'. Shahrastānī, *op.cit.*, p. 41
87. See *Republika*, October 27, 95.

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