

## AUTHORSHIP OF THE *JĀWĪ* 'ULAMĀ' IN EGYPT A Contribution of Nawawī Banten and Haji Hasan Mustapa to *Sharḥ* Tradition

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### Abstract

*Nawawī of Banten (1813–1897) and Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852–1930) are two important figures of Malay-Indonesian Muslim scholars ('ulamā') who have been widely studied. However, personal proximity of these two 'ulamā' seems to escape from scholarly discussion. Seen from the light of scholarly commenting (sharḥ) tradition, this study on the other hand attempts to show their personal proximity between the senior teacher and young student when they lived in Mecca in the late nineteenth century. The sharḥ tradition of these two 'ulamā' particularly through appear in Nawawī's al-'Iqd al-Thamīn that aims to comment on Mustapa's work, Al-Fath al-Mubīn, and Mustapa's al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya, a response to Nawawī's al-Shadra al-Jummāniyya. These two Arabic books (s. kitāb; p. kutub) were published in Cairo, Egypt. This article further argues that the sharḥ tradition situates authority and reputation as the epicenter of scholarly discussion between the two 'ulamā' who were influential among the Jāwah community. It also argues that these two Sundanese scholars contributed significantly in the transmission of Islamic learning in the early twentieth century Middle East. Their works show a scholarly reputation which delivers insights on exceptionality of Islamic and Malay archipelagic issues and serve as a global contribution of Malay-Indonesian 'ulamā' to the triumph of Islamic learning traditions.*

[*Navawī Banten (1813-1897) dan Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930) merupakan dua figur ulama yang sudah banyak dikaji. Tetapi, belum banyak sarjana yang mengungkap kedekatan keduanya. Kajian ini berusaha menunjukkan kedekatan antara guru senior dan murid mudanya ini selama di Mekah pada abad ke-19 dilihat dari karya keduanya yang saling memberi komentar (sharh). Navawī dalam al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn mengomentari karya Mustapa, Al-Fath al-Mubīn. Sebaliknya, Mustapa dalam al-Lum’ah al-Nūrāniyyah mengomentari karangan Navawī, al-Shadrah al-Jummāniyyah. Kedua kitab tersebut dicetak di Kairo. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa keduanya saling mengakui otoritas keilmuannya melalui komentar atas kitab yang ditunjukan bagi siswa pemula terutama komunitas Jāwāb. Kajian ini menegaskan bahwa kedua ulama Sunda ini memiliki sumbangan penting dalam transmisi keilmuan Islam awal abad ke-20 di Timur Tengah. Karya keduanya menunjukkan reputasi keilmuan secara internasional yang tetap berpijak pada kekhasan isu keislaman dan kenusantaraan. Sebuah kontribusi global ulama Nusantara terhadap warisan tradisi keilmuan Islam.*]

**Keywords:** ‘Ulamā’, Sharh, Jāwī kitāb, Arabic, Cairo

## Introduction

One of critical view point to the study of the Malay-Indonesian ‘ulamā’ networks in the Middle East is the overemphasizes studies on well-known figures.<sup>1</sup> The dominant studies tend to focus on biographical studies of ‘ulamā’ while neglecting their Islamic networks through books (*kitābs*). Consequently, the *long durée* and complexity of the transmission of Islamic learning and ideas failed to comprehensively illustrated.<sup>2</sup> This article attempts to show one of the complexities of the learning network in the *kitābs* of the Malay-Indonesian ‘ulamā’ printed in Egypt at the late nineteenth century which have gained international

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Knysh, “Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), an Apologist for “waḥ dat al-wujūd,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1995, pp. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern “ulamā” in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Honolulu: ASAA-Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai’i Press, 2004).

reputation. It examines works by two Sundanese scholars, Nawawī of Banten (1813–1897) and Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852–1930) engaged in commenting (*sharḥ*) tradition. Nawawī in *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* (precious necklace) comments on Mustapa's work, *Al-Fath al-Mubīn* (real victory). On the other hand, Mustapa comments on Nawawī's works, *al-Shadra al-Jummāniyya* (pearl particles) in his work, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* (sparkle of conscience). Both *kitābs* were printed in Cairo. *Al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* was published by Maktabah al-Wahhābiyyah in 1300/1883 when they settled in Mecca. Meanwhile, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* was printed later by the publisher Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī in 1941.<sup>3</sup> Both Arabic books are part of what is called the *kitāb Jāwī* or *kitāb kuning* (yellow book).

*Al-Fath al-Mubīn* to which Nawawī commented was Mustapa's first work at the beginning of his career as a 31-year-old young scholar. This book is a composition of Arabic poetry (*manẓūma*) on the *kitāb* of al-Sittīn Mas'ala (60 issues) written by an Egyptian scholar, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Zāhid al-Miṣrī (d. 818/1415).<sup>4</sup> It is an Islamic jurisprudence work (*fiqh*) of the Shāfi'ī school that discusses 60 issues of *fiqh*, from cleanliness, prayer, alms giving, fasting to pilgrimage (*hajj*). Al-Sittīn Mas'ala is one of the books that has been given a lot of comments (*sharḥ*) by the Muslim scholars, even the comments were later given glosses (*ḥāshiyah*). One of *sharḥ* works that has many glosses (*ḥāshiyahs*) is *Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Mashbūrah bi al-Sittīn Mas'ala* by al-Ramlī (d. 957/1550). There are at least seven *ḥāshiyahs* of the al-Ramlī's *sharḥ*.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, both Mustapa's

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Nawawī al-Jāwī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn Sharḥ Manẓūma al-Sittīn Mas'ala al-Musammāh bi Al-Fath al-Mubīn* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah al-Wahhābiyyah, 1883/1300); Muṣṭafā bin 'Uthmān al-Jāwī, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya Sharḥ 'ala al-Shadra al-Jummāniyya* (Cairo: Shirkah Maktabah wa Maṭba'ah Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlāduh bi Miṣr, 1941/1360); Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt al-'Arabīyyah wa al-Mu'arrabah*, Vol. II (Cairo: Maṭba'ah Sarkīs bi Miṣr, 1928/1346), p. 1881.

<sup>4</sup> Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, Vol. 2, trans. Joep Lameer (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018), p. 98–9.

<sup>5</sup> 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Habashī, *Jāmi' al-Shurūḥ wa al-Ḥawāshī*, *Mu'jam Shāhid li Asmā' al-Kutub al-Mashrūḥah fi al-Turāth al-Islāmī wa Bayān Shurūḥihā*, Vol. III (Abū Ḍabī: al-Majma' al-Thaqafi, 2004), p. 9–1806.

*Al-Fath al-Mubīn* and its comment, Nawawī's *al-Iqd al-Thamīn*, enjoyed an important position in the tradition of Arabic *kitābs* of *al-Sittīn Mas'ala* which was influential in the Middle East during the course of late nineteenth century. These works not only shows the personal proximity between Nawawī and Mustapa in maintaining scholarship transmission of Southeast Asian '*ulamā*' (*Jāwah* or *Jāwī*) through the *sharḥ* tradition of the *kitābs*, but also shows the important contribution of Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*' to the continuity of the Islamic learning tradition.<sup>6</sup> The publication of their works in the form of Arabic book printed in Cairo attested their scholarship reputations recognized by Middle Eastern scholars at their times. Both Nawawī and Mustapa represent the reputation of the Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*' who served as teachers for many students in Mecca in transmitting the Islamic intellectual tradition connecting the Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian '*ulamā*'.<sup>7</sup>

Some scholars have reviewed the contributions of Nawawī and Mustapa in the Islamic scholarship tradition in Malay Archipelago, yet their personal proximity and scholarly exchange through the *sharḥ* tradition of their *kitābs* have escaped from their attention. Both Mulyati and Abd. Rahman's works which discussed Nawawī's contribution, for instance, did not mention Mustapa as one of most important disciples of Nawawī.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, Wijoyo, who was also followed by Iqbal, incorrectly mentioned *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* as Nawawī's work based on the catalog of *Dalīl al-Kitāb al-Miṣriyya*.<sup>9</sup> In fact, I will explain later,

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<sup>6</sup> C.C. Berg, "Djawi," B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, Vol. II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 497.

<sup>7</sup> Basri, "Indonesian '*ulamā*' in the Haramayn and the Transmission of Reformist Islam in Indonesia (1800-1900)," *Ph.D. Thesis* (University of Arkansas, 2008), p. 164.

<sup>8</sup> Sri Mulyati, "Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawī al-Bantenī's *Salālim al-Fuḍalā*," *Thesis M.A.* (Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1992), p. 35; Abd. Rahman, "Nawawī al-Bantani; An Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition," *Studia Islamika* Vol. 3, No. 3, 1996, pp. 81-114.

<sup>9</sup> Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten: texts, Authority, and the Gloss Tradition," *Thesis Ph.D.* (Columbia University, 1997), p. 98, 105 & 392; Asep Muhammad Iqbal, *Yahudi & Nasrani dalam Al-Quran, Hubungan Antaragama Menurut*

the work was composed by Mustapa who commented on Nawawī's work, *al-Shadra al-Jummaniyya*. Likewise, many scholars who studied Mustapa's thoughts and works such as Rosidi, Jahroni and Millie did not discuss the personal proximity of Mustapa and Nawawī in depth. Two of Mustapa's works, both *Al-Fath al-Mubīn* and *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* are also not mentioned at all.<sup>10</sup> Rosidi even considered that Mustapa's works printed in Egypt were not important just because these works received less attention of other Muslim scholars<sup>11</sup> despite the fact that Mustapa's works are listed in several printed book catalogs in Egypt showing the significance of his works. Meanwhile, Wangsaatmadja, who was later quoted by Kartini, mistakenly stated that Mustapa's work printed in Egypt is *Fath al-Mu'in* (sic!), it should be *Al-Fath al-Mubīn*.<sup>12</sup> Previous studies of Rohmana also discussed more about Mustapa's role as an informant for C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) when the former serves as the Chief-Penghulu of Bandung.<sup>13</sup> This article tries to analyze Mustapa's work in his early career as a Muslim scholar as well as a student of Nawawī while in Mecca. It is a scholarly activity of Jāwī scholars at the heart of Islamic scholarship at the late of the nineteenth century which adds to the explanation of Snouck Hurgronje in his popular book, *Mekka*.

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*Syaikh Nawawī Banten* (Jakarta: Teraju, 2004), p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> Ajip Rosidi, *Haji Hasan Mustapa jeung Karya-karyana* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1989); Jajang Jahroni, "The Life and Mystical Thought of Haji Hasan Mustafa (1852-1930)," *Thesis M.A.* (Leiden University, 1999); Julian Millie (ed.), *Hasan Mustapa: Ethnicity and Islam in Indonesia* (Monash Publishing University, 2017).

<sup>11</sup> Ajip Rosidi, "Menjejaki Karya-karya Haji Hasan Mustapa," Ahmad Rifa'i Hassan (ed.), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia Telaah atas Karya-Karya Klasik* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> M. Wangsaatmadja, *Boekoe Dongeng Djeung Sadjarah Djoeragan Hadji Hasan Moestapa Hoofd Panghoeloe Pansioen Marboem Bandoeng* (TYP Dachlan Bektī Bandoeng, n.d.), p. 59; Tini Kartini, (et.al.), *Biografi dan Karya Pujangga Haji Hasan Mustapa* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Depdikbud Jakarta, 1985), p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Jajang A Rohmana, *Informan Sunda Masa Kolonial: Surat-surat Haji Hasan Mustapa untuk C. Snouck Hurgronje dalam kurun 1894-1923* (Yogyakarta: Octopus Publishing, 2018).

### *Jāwī Kitābs* in the Nineteenth Century Middle East

The nineteenth century witnessed a period of increasing wave of Islamization in Southeast Asian region. The wave was marked by the increasing number of pilgrims and the establishment of Islamic education institutions (*pesantren*) in the archipelago amid the suspicions of the colonial government.<sup>14</sup> The Malay-Indonesian immigrants known as the *Jāwāb* community (*aṣḥāb al-Jāwīyyīn*) were arriving at the Ḥaramain (Mecca and Medina) in a massive number. The colonial survey on pilgrims in 1880 shows that the largest number of pilgrims came from Java with 7219 people.<sup>15</sup> The demand for Islamic textbooks for *santri* in the *pesantren* and the *Jāwāb* community is also increasing. *Jāwī* scholars who became teachers in the Ḥaramain then wrote, translated and commented on the *kitābs* in order to fulfill the religious market demand. The Islamic books, known as the *Jāwī kitābs* or the *kitab kuning*, were written both in Arabic and Southeast Asian local languages with *Jawi* and *Pegon* scripts, such as Malay, Javanese, Sundanese and others.<sup>16</sup> Muslim scholars who have compiled a list of *Jāwī kitābs* written by the Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*' used the books as a teaching material in the curriculum of their *pesantren*<sup>17</sup> and several works of the Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*', such as the works

<sup>14</sup> William Roff, "South-east Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century," P.M. Holt, Ann K.S. and Bernard Lewis (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. 2 A (Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 170.

<sup>15</sup> J. Vredenburg, "The Haddj. Some of its features and functions in Indonesia", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Vol. 118, No. 1, 1962, pp. 140.

<sup>16</sup> Yumi Sugahara, "Towards Broadening the Audience: The Role of Authors and Publishers of *Jawi Kitabs* from the 19th to 20th Century in Southeast Asia," Yumi Sugahara (ed.), *Comparative Study of Southeast Asian Kitabs*, Papers of the Workshop held at Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan on October 23, 2011, p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> L.W.C. van den Berg, "Het mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs op Java and Madoera en de daarbij gebruikte arabische boeken," *TBG*, Vol. 31, 1886, pp. 518-55; Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu," *BKI*, Vol. 146, 1990, pp. 226-69; Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and Their Works*, version 2.3 (Seattle, Washington, 2012); Kawashima Midori (et.al.), *A Provisional Catalogue of Southeast Asian Kitabs of Sophia University (Second Version)* (Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures – Center for Islamic Area Studies, Sophia University, September 2015).

by Nawawī, have been incorporated as must-read *kitābs* at Al-Azhar University in Egypt until now.<sup>18</sup>

The business of *kitābs* publishing was flourishing in Southeast Asia and the Middle East along with the introduction of printing technology in the Islamic world at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Printing process of *kitābs* was first carried out in Singapore and Bombay (India) in the mid-nineteenth century. Arab traders from the Middle East later participated the business industry of publishing *kitābs* to serve Southeast Asian Muslims's market demand. They published *kitābs* for sale in bookstores in the Middle East and exported also to Java, where Arab traders also started their business of bookstores. These Arab traders also finally printed their own *kitābs* in Java to meet the demands of the local community later in the twentieth century.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to Singapore and Bombay, Cairo is one of the centers for the printing of *Jāwī kitābs* in the Middle East sale for Southeast Asian Muslims. The publication initially appeared in Būlāq, Cairo, then also spread to Mecca and Istanbul (Turkey), but Cairo remained the center of the printing business of *kitābs*. Several publishers have sprung up in Cairo since the early nineteenth century, such as Maṭba'ah Būlāq, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, al-Sharq, Ḥasan al-Ṭukhī, al-Azhariyyah, Maktabah al-Wahhābiyyah and others. There are several publishers of *Jāwī kitābs* in Mecca such as Maṭba'ah al-Taraqqī al-Mājidiyyah al-'Uthmāniyyah and al-Maṭba'ah al-Amīriyyah.<sup>20</sup> Various Arabic *kitābs* as well as the *Jāwī kitābs* from the Middle East were then sent to Singapore to be distributed to the archipelago.<sup>21</sup>

Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlāduh is one of surviving *Jāwī kitāb* publishers in Cairo. The publisher was founded by a Syrian migrant

<sup>18</sup> Adhi Maftuhin, *Sanad 'ulamā' Nusantara: Transmisi Keilmuan 'ulamā' Al-Azhar & Pesantren disertai Biografi Penulis Kitab Kuning* (Depok: Shahifa, 2018), p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Yumi Sugahara, "Towards Broadening the Audience," p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> Michael Laffan, "An Indonesian Community in Cairo: Continuity and Change in a Cosmopolitan Islamic Milieu," *Indonesia*, Vol. 77, 2004, pp. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Yumi Sugahara, "Towards Broadening the Audience," p. 25.



Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī in 1859. Not only does Al-Ḥalabī print Arabic *kitābs* of Middle Eastern '*ulamā'*', but it also publishes Malay-Indonesian's *Jāwī kitābs*. The al-Ḥalabī's *Jāwī kitābs* was often reprinted in Indonesia, although the reprinted version did not record the original year of al-Ḥalabī's publication. Al-Ḥalabī reached high production of *Jāwī kitābs* in the 1930s to 1950s. The publisher currently is run by the fourth generation. However, the bookstore of Al-Ḥalabī is no longer as busy as previously market situation. It only serves selling *kitābs* for the student needs of al-Azhar University. Several scholars who have visited the bookstore, such as Abaza (1980s), Laffan (2002) and Sugahara and Fathurahman (2011) found an old building behind the Al-Azhar Mosque with a number of *Jāwī kitābs* left piling up dusty.<sup>22</sup>

In 2011, when visiting the publisher, Fathurahman had recorded that there were about 55 *Jāwī kitābs* printed by al-Ḥalabī since its foundation. However, the list of published books by al-Ḥalabī shows more than 80 *Jāwī kitābs* and some of the titles failed to identify.<sup>23</sup> The identified *Jāwī kitābs* are mainly on *fiqh*, then theology, morals, Qur'anic exegesis, Islamic mysticism, instrumental sciences, *ḥadīth*, hagiography (*manāqib*) and others. Some of the *Jāwī kitābs* are known to be still in print today. Fathurahman also shows that there are Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā'*' who have many *Jāwī kitābs* mostly published by various publishers in Cairo, such as Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Marbū Banjār al-Makkī, Nawawī al-Bantanī, Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī, Raden Mukhtār 'Aṭārid al-Būghūrī, Muḥammad Yāsīn ibn 'Īsā al-Fadānī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī, Muḥammad Zain ibn Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-'Āshī, Muḥammad Ṭayyib ibn Mas'ūd al-Banjārī, Sālīḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd al-Muṭ

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<sup>22</sup> Mona Abaza, "Indonesian Azharites Fifteen Years Later," *Sojourn*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2003, pp. 139-53; Michael Laffan, "An Indonesian Community in Cairo", pp. 20; Oman Fathurahman, "*Kitābs* from Cairo: An Overview of the New Collection of Southeast Asian *Kitābs* at Sophia University," Yumi Sugahara (ed.), *Comparative Study of Southeast Asian Kitābs*, Papers of the Workshop held at Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan on October 23, 2011, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> Oman Fathurahman, "*Kitābs* from Cairo," p. 40.



allib al-'Āshī, and Muḥammad Zain al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad al-Baidāwī al-Sumbāwī.<sup>24</sup> Other names of the '*ulamā'*' can also be mentioned here, such as Dāud al-Faṭānī, Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs al-Tūbānī, Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minankabāwī and others.<sup>25</sup> The names of these Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā'*' show that their regional origins are not only from Java, but also Sumatra, Borneo, Sumbawa, and even Patani (Southern Thailand). Unfortunately, Mustapa as an author of printed *kitāb* in Cairo, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*, was absent from names of these '*ulamā'*'.

However, unlike Mustapa's work, Nawawī's works received a wider attention of the publishers based in Cairo. The publishers' catalogs mentioned the author Nawawī and recorded that at least 38 Nawawī works were published by the Būlāq publisher, al-Ḥalabī and other publishers in Cairo.<sup>26</sup> His works generally are comments (*sharḥs*) or glosses (*ḥāshiyahs*) on classical Islamic learning books. Nawawī followed the tradition of his Muslim scholar predecessors by printing his books. He utilised the books in his teaching as basic reading for Southeast Asian students who devoted their studies in Mecca. Nawawī's works were among the earliest books printed in Cairo. One of these books is *Faṭḥ al-Mujīb*. The first edition of *Faṭḥ al-Mujīb* was published in 1276/1859 by the Būlāq publisher<sup>27</sup> and then republished in Mecca until the 1930s.<sup>28</sup> Nawawī reportedly visited Cairo in the 1870s.<sup>29</sup> Some of his works are still being reprinted in Cairo today.<sup>30</sup> This shows that there are many readers in the Middle East and Southeast Asia who used Nawawī's works as reading and teaching material for a long period.

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>25</sup> Michael Laffan, "An Indonesian Community in Cairo", pp. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt*, Vol. 2, p. 1883.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1881.

<sup>28</sup> Yumi Sugahara, "Towards Broadening the Audience," p. 25.

<sup>29</sup> Michael Laffan, "An Indonesian Community in Cairo", pp. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Abī al-Mu'tī Muḥammad bin 'Umar Nawawī al-Jāwī, *Nihāyat al-Zain fī Irshād al-Mubtadi'īn* (Cairo: Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 2011).

The above information on printed *Jāwī kitābs* shows that Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*' have contributed to the production of Islamic learning books printed in Cairo since the nineteenth century. They wrote, translated and commented on the Islamic books that had been circulating before, especially to meet the demands of the *Jāwah* community in the Ḥaramain, Cairo and Southeast Asia. These books are not only using Arabic, but also Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese with *Jāwī* and *pegon* scripts and demonstrate important roles of the '*ulamā*' of *Jāwī* in the transmission of Islamic scholarship in the Middle East that strongly connected to Southeast Asia.<sup>31</sup> This article will focus on Nawawī's work, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, and Mustapa's *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*, which were both printed in Cairo and show its important roles in the transmission of Islamic scholarship.

### **The Personal Proximity Between Nawawī of Banten and Hasan Mustapa in Mecca**

Nawawī is a Sundanese scholar who is well-known in the field of Islamic history studies. As a prolific writer, never once he wrote in Malay and Sundanese. Born in Tanara village in Western part of Java, Nawawī is one of Sundanese '*ulamā*' who has reserved as a scholarly patron of many '*ulamā*' in the Indonesian-Malay world. There are several Arabic biographical books record the name of Nawawī of Banten as the great scholar of Mecca to whom the title the master of Hijaz '*ulamā*' (*sayyid 'ulamā' hijāz*) in the nineteenth century attributed to him.<sup>32</sup> This title

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<sup>31</sup> Mohd. Nor bin Ngah, *Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1983), p. vii.

<sup>32</sup> Al-Shaikh 'Abdullāh Mirdād Abū al-Khair, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr al-Nūr wa al-Zubr fī Tarājīm Afāḍil Makkaḥ min al-Qarn al-'Ashir ilā al-Qarn al-Rābi* 'Ashr (Jeddah: 'Ālam al-Ma'rifah, 1406/1986), p. 504; 'Abdullāh bin 'Abdurrahman bin 'Abdurrahīm al-Mu'allimī, *Ālām al-Makkiyyīn min al-Qarn al-Tāsi ilā al-Qarn al-Rābi* 'Ashr al-Hijrī (Mekah: Mu'assasah al-Furqān li al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2000), p. 70-969; 'Umar Riḍā' Kaḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn Tarājīm Muṣannifīn al-Kutub al-'Arabīyyah*, Vol. 3 (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Risālah, 1993), p. 754 & 563; 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa Tarājīm Ba'd 'ulamā'inā fī al-Qarn al-Rābi* 'Ashr li al-Hijrah (Jeddah: Mamlakah al-'Arabīyyah

reflects his central position in the transmission of scholarship tradition in the Ḥaramain and its connection with Southeast Asian 'ulamā'. Nawawī's Southeast Asian students played important role in pioneering the establishment of many *pesantrens* in Java and making Nawawī's works part of its official curriculum. Thus, it is true that Nawawī has been popularly known as one of the architects of the *pesantren* tradition in Java.<sup>33</sup>

There are many scholars who have studied Nawawī's biography, thoughts and works.<sup>34</sup> However, studies on Nawawī's personal proximity to Mustapa who engaged in *sharḥ* tradition while living in Mecca in 1880s seems to escape from their scholarly attention. Brockelmann and Wijoyo, for instance, briefly mentioned the relationship between Nawawī and Mustapa in the context of Nawawī's work, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*.<sup>35</sup> The information of Nawawī's activities in Mecca mostly refer to C. Snouck Hurgronje's book entitled *Mekka* based on his almost one year field research in Jeddah and Mecca (August 1884-August 1885).<sup>36</sup> However,

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al-Su'ūdiyyah, 1982), p. 288.

<sup>33</sup> Abd. Rahman, "The *Pesantren* Architects and Their Socio-Religious Teachings (1850–1950)," *Ph.D. Thesis*, University of California Los Angeles, 1997, p. 254; Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The *Pesantren* Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java," *Ph.D. Thesis*, The Australian National University, 1980, p. 37.

<sup>34</sup> Chaidar, *Sejarah Pujangga Islam: Syech Nawawi Al-Bantani Indonesia*, Jakarta: Sarana Utama, 1978; Abd. Rahman, "Nawawī al-Bantani; An Intellectual Master of the *Pesantren* Tradition," *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1996, pp. 81–114; Didin Hafiduddin, "Tinjauan atas 'Tafsir Al-Munir' Karya Imam Muhammad Nawawī Tanara," Ahmad Rifa'i Hassan (ed.), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia Telaah atas Karya-Karya Klasik* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), p. 39–56; A.H. Johns, "On Qur'anic exegetes and exegesis: A case study in the transmission of Islamic learning", Peter G. Riddell and A.D. Street (eds.) *Islam: Essays on scripture, thought and society: A festschrift in honour of Anthony Johns* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 3-49.

<sup>35</sup> C. Brockelmann, "al-Nawawī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Arabī al-Jāwī," in B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht, (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, Vol. VII (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 1040–1; Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten," p. 196.

<sup>36</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, trans. J.H. Monahan with an introduction by Jan Just Witkam (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 287-92; Jan Just Witkam, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. A tour d'horizon of his life and work", in

some of Snouck's information actually based on a treatise written by Snouck's informant, Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (1854–1915), entitled *Tarājim 'ulamā' al-Jāwab*, a biography of the South East Asian 'ulamā' (Cod. Or. 7111) on 17 December 1887.<sup>37</sup> Sheikh Nawawī's name was listed by Aboe Bakar in the first list of 'ulamā' of *Jāwab* before other eleven names of 'ulamā', namely Haji Marzūqī, Sheikh Ismā'īl of Banten, Sheikh 'Abd al-Karīm of Banten, Sheikh Muḥammad of Garut, Haji Hasan Mustapa, Sheikh 'Abd al-Shakur of Surabaya, Sheikh Zain al-Dīn of Sumbawa, Sheikh 'Umar of Sumbawa, Sheikh Junaid of Batavia, Tuan Guru Haji Muḥtabā of Batavia and Haji Arshad bin' Alwān al-Bantanī al-Tanarāwī. The listing shows essential reputation of Nawawī in Aboe Bakar's eyes as a fellow Bantenese. However, this fact also shows Snouck's dishonesty, which does not mention Aboe Bakar's work as the source of his book.<sup>38</sup>

Snouck's *Mekka* manages the information provided by Aboe Bakar and his own ethnographic notes during his visiting, meeting and speaking directly with Nawawī. He wrote daily activities in Mecca in his diary between 29 September 1884–18 February 1885 (Cod. Or. 7112).<sup>39</sup> Both Aboe Bakar's diary and Snouck's *Mekka* conveyed some information about the background of Nawawī's family, his teachers as studying in Mecca and Java, and his teaching activities. A short informative biographical note by Aboe Bakar show Nawawī's humble live and his

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Arnoud Vrolijk & Hans van de Velde, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Orientalist*, (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2007), p. 18–25.

<sup>37</sup> Cod. Or. 7111. Arabic letters from Raden Aboe Bakar, including the *Tarājim 'ulamā' al-Jāwab*, Snouck Hurgronje's papers, the Leiden University Library, Oriental Literature and Manuscripts (O.L.G.).

<sup>38</sup> Michael F. Laffan, "Raden Aboe Bakar, An Introductory Note Concerning Snouck Hurgronje's Informant in Jeddah (1884–1912)," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 155 (1999), No: 4, Leiden, p. 527; Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia, The Umma below the Winds* (London-New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 63.

<sup>39</sup> Cod. Or. 7112. The Jeddah diary of C. Snouck Hurgronje 1884–1885, the Leiden University Library.

dedication to the production of Islamic knowledge.<sup>40</sup> Aboe Bakar writes:

وكان الشيخ نواوي قبل ذلك من مدة عديدة قد ألف كتباً ... ومدة ابتداءه في التأليف نحو خمسة عشر سنة فأكثر... وكذلك لم يزل في التأليف ومن تأليفه ما طبع بمصر المحروس كما شهدت فيه من تأليفه ومنها ما طبع بالمطبعة الميرية بمكة الحمية وأيضاً كما شهدت إن هيئته كهينة أحد الناس من الفقراء وهو كذلك فقير لكن من مثله في الحال يتهيئ أحسن منه خصوصاً فيما لا بد له وفي بعض ليلة من الليالي جئت عنده قدر ساعة ستة عربية في تلك الليلة فوجدته مؤلفاً في تفسير القرآن وكان جالساً على جلد النمر تحت الطاقة أو المنوار المكوّين وعند مسرجة صغيرة التكررة تنويرها له في التأليف وكانت تلك المسرجة مظلمة ونورها ضعيف لا ينبغي للكتابة عند أغلب الناس وهو لا يبالي منها ولا طلب أحداً من ذريته أو خداميه تصليح ذلك السراج والحال أنه كثير عنده من يستعد للخدمة.<sup>41</sup>

*Sheikh Nawawī before (attending the lectures of the 'ulamā' of Mecca) has been writing some books... he started writing the books as he was 15 years old... He then continued to write the books. There are some of his works that printed in Egypt as you can see from his works. Another Nawawī's works (also) printed by al-Mirīyyah publisher in Mecca. His performance, as you can see, is like one of the poors. He is also very poor. But, from the example of his performance, he prepares to be better than before especially to fit in proper order. In some of the nights, I (Aboe Bakar) once visited him at six in the evening (Arabic time). I found out that he was writing an interpretation of the Qur'an that night. He sat on the tiger leather under a bouquet or two bundles irradiated by a small lamp that shadowy irradiated his writing. The little light was too dark. The light is weak. It is not enough to (irradiated) the writing of ordinary people. He did not pay attention to the light. He did not ask any of his descendants or helpers to fix the lamp. Despite the situation, there are many people by his side who will be ready to help.*

As we read the above note by Aboe Bakar later appeared in Snouck's *Mekka*, we could assume that even though Snouck met Nawawī in person in 1885, some of Snouck's information in *Mekka* actually describes the situation that occurred two years later which originated from Aboe Bakar's note written in 1887. Snouck adds to the description of Nawawī in some parts of his *Mekka* such as Nawawī's prominence in intellectual activities that received praise from other 'ulamā'; his eloquence in speaking Arabic; the simplicity of his dress; his small body and Nawawī's reluctance to seek

<sup>40</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 287.

<sup>41</sup> Cod. Or. 7111. Arabic letters from Raden Aboe Bakar.

a position as the main teacher (*al-shaikh*) at the Holy Mosque. There is Snouck's famous phrase about Nawawī's modest: "he walks in such a way that the earth is the big book that he is reading. He describes himself as the dust at the feet of those who struggle to seek knowledge." According to Snouck, he is in fact different in the quality of his knowledge. The respect of all communities who learn to him to kiss his hand, his modest not to dominate the conversation and his inspiration for many people of Sundanese, Javanese and Malay to continually study Islam described by Snouck in depth.<sup>42</sup> Snouck also described Nawawī as a figure who was in favor of Acehnese's struggle against colonial government. He does not agree with the former colonial officials who argue that the land of *Jāwah* should be controlled by the European. On the contrary, Nawawī sided with the resurgence of the Banten sultanate or an independent Islamic state, even though he did not have any role in politics or encourage others to do. He could not do as his father and brother who were become the government officials of *penghulu*. Therefore, Nawawī personal ambition is only active in writing *kitābs*.<sup>43</sup> It is a position that would contrast with Mustapa who chose to work as the official of colonial government in Aceh and Bandung.

In addition to Snouck's *Mekka*, other information about the figure of Nawawī of Banten was also briefly narrated by one of his students, Sheikh 'Abd al-Sattār al-Dihlawī (1869–1936). He narrated his teacher in his work, *Nathr al-Ma'āthir fiman Adraktu min al-Akābir* (dissemination of people achievements that I get from great figures). The book tells the chain of knowledge (*thabat*) from his teachers in the Ḥaramain as Al-Dihlawī narrates:

ومنهم العالم الفاضل صحبه المؤلفات العجيبة شيخنا واستاذنا الشيخ محمد المشهور  
بشيخ نووي الجاوي البتني الشافعي المكي قرأت عليه بعض مؤلفاته وأجازني بجميع  
ما يجوز له رواية ودراية وبجميع مؤلفاته الذين بلغوا زهاء ثمانين مؤلفا منها التفسير  
في أربع مجلدات كبار وشرحي المولد البرزنجي النظم والنثر عن مشايخه المتهتبة في

<sup>42</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 289–90.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

إجازته وهو الآن في عشر السبعين حفظه الله.<sup>44</sup>

*Another one of them (my teachers) is a pious, a prominent, and had many extraordinary works, my shaykh, my great teacher, Shaykh Muḥammad who was known as Shaykh Nawawī al-Jāwī al-Bantanī al-Shāfi'ī al-Makkī. I read in front of him part of his works. He gave me license (ijāza) with all his licenses in the form of narrative chain (rivāya and dirāya) and all of his works which amounted about 80 books such as the book of Qur'anic commentaries in four large volumes and two comments (sharḥ) on maulid al-Barzanjī in the form of poetry (naẓm) and prose (nathr). He takes the licenses from his credible teachers in their licenses. He is now 80 years old. May Allah take care him.*

Al-Dihlawī wrote the above note in 1893 when Nawawī was 80 years old or four years before Nawawī died in 1897. In another work, Al-Dahlawī also wrote that he visited Nawawī's house and found about 200 students studying there.<sup>45</sup> However, both Snouck and al-Dihlawī did not elaborate on Nawawī's closeness to many of his students. Snouck, for instance, only briefly mentions one of his students, Mustapa, in his *Mekka*, which again cites Aboe Bakr's *Tarājim*.<sup>46</sup> Aboe Bakar stated:

السادس الحاج حسن مصطفى قاروة في السابق جاء لمكة وأقام بها مدة يسيرة وهو متعلم من البلاد عند مشائخ الجاوة ثم سافر ثم رجع مكة واجتهد في تحصيل العلم عند الشيخ نواوي وعند مشائخ العرب مثل الشيخ العفيفي والسيد عبد الله الزاوي والشيخ حسب الله والسيد بكر الشطا وكفى علمه لنسبة العلماء الجاوين في الفنون كالحاج أحمد بنتن وهو أي حسن مصطفى قد ألف رسالة في علم النحو وأقام درسا في داره للجاوة كعادة علماء الجاوة وكانت مدة جلوسه الآخر في مكة نحو عشر سنين وقد سافر الآن الى قاروة مدة سنتين.<sup>47</sup>

*The sixth ('ulamā') is Haji Hasan Mustapa of Garut. He had previously come to Mecca and stayed for a moment. He learned from the country where the shaiḥ of Jāwah lived. He then left Mecca and he returned again to Mecca and earnestly sought knowledge from Shaikh Nawawī (of Banten) and the Arab shaiḥs, such as Shaikh al-'Aḥfī, Sayyid 'Abdullāh al-Zawāwī, Shaikh Ḥasbullāh and Sayyid*

<sup>44</sup> Al-Syaikh 'Abd al-Sattār al-Dihlawī, *Nathr al-Ma'ātib fiman Adraktu min al-Akābir*, MS. al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, no number, p. 21.

<sup>45</sup> 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa Tarājim*, p. 288.

<sup>46</sup> Cod. Or. 7112. The Jeddah diary of C. Snouck Hurgronje 1884-1885, the Leiden University Library.

<sup>47</sup> Cod. Or. 7111. Arabic letters from Raden Aboe Bakar.



*Bakr al-Shatā. His knowledge is well enough and can be compared to other Jāwāb 'ulamā' in various fann (branches of knowledge) such as Haji Aḥmad Banten. Hasan Mustapa wrote a treatise on Arabic syntax (naḥw). He opened class at his home for the Jāwāb people as was the custom of Jāwāb 'ulamā'. His length of stay in Mecca on other occasions is about 10 years. He has been going to Garut now for two years.*

Aboe Bakar's information was later cited by Snouck in his *Mekka*. Snouck repeated and added the information. Mustapa is referred to as a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad of Garut. He first came to Mecca fourteen years earlier or if counted from the visit of Snouck (1885) means 1871. However, Snouck then was less accurate when mentioning Mustapa's book on Arabic poetry that was published in Cairo (sic!).<sup>48</sup> It perhaps is a book on the Islamic jurisprudence in the form of Arabic poetry (*manẓūma*), *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn*, which commented by Nawawī in *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*. It is different from the information of Aboe Bakar which correctly mentions that Mustapa had written a book on the Arabic syntax (*al-naḥw*) which was mistakenly read by Ajip, with the help of van Koningsveld, as *al-ḥ afir* (graphic arts).<sup>49</sup> The book of Arabic syntax is *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* which studied in this article.

Other mistake in Snouck's *Mekka* is his explanation that Mustapa had returned to Garut a few years earlier.<sup>50</sup> The *Mekka* is an anthropology report based on his visit to Mecca in 1885. Mustapa had not returned to Garut until August 1885. He was still in Mecca and had a short meeting with Snouck. Mustapa's letters reports his meeting with Snouck in Mecca in 1885. Both Snouck and Mustapa then returned at the end of 1885. Mustapa returned to Garut and Snouck returned to the Netherlands.<sup>51</sup> My question is, how could Snouck who still met Mustapa informed that Mustapa had returned to Garut a few years earlier? Snouck's confusion in his *Mekka* is actually because he did not carefully cite the writings of

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<sup>48</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 287; R.A. Kern, *Gewoonten en Gebruiken der Soendaneezen door Hadji Hasan Moestapa*, S-Gravenhage – Martinus Nijhoff, 1946, p. VI.

<sup>49</sup> Ajip Rosidi, "Menjejaki Karya-karya Haji Hasan Mustapa, p. 86.

<sup>50</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, p. 287.

<sup>51</sup> Jajang A Rohmana, *Informan Sunda Masa Kolonial*, p. 261.

Aboe Bakar (Cod. Or. 7111) which dated 17 December 1887 or two years after Mustapa returned to Garut. Aboe Bakar accurately informed his witness of Mustapa's return two years earlier (1885). However, that information actually become obsolete when it was cited by Snouck who visited in 1885.

However, both Aboe Bakar and Snouck did not narrate further the personal proximity of Nawawī and Mustapa. Aboe Bakar explicitly mentions that Mustapa then read up studied at Nawawī after coming back to Mecca (*thumma raja'a Makkah wa ijtahad fi tahsil al-'ilm 'ind al-Shaikh Nawawī*). Meanwhile, Snouck's *Mekka* only mentioned that Mustapa heard a lecture from *Jāwāb's* senior teachers who is likely Nawawī.<sup>52</sup> Nawawī was 72 years old when Snouck visited Mecca in 1885. Meanwhile, Mustapa is still young. He is 33 years old. The personal proximity of Nawawī and Mustapa during lived in Mecca is reflected in their works which commented on each other (*sharh*) and published in Cairo as I will demonstrate in below discussion.

### **On *Al-Iqd al-Thamīn***

As a prolific author, Nawawī wrote reportedly than 100 Arabic works.<sup>53</sup> However, there are no catalogs mentioning the titles of his hundred books, as al-Dihlawī reports only about 80 works. Several library catalogs in Cairo, London, Leiden, Cambridge and Jakarta have different data. The Sarkīs catalog, which contains Arabic books published in Egypt, lists 38 works; Ellis catalog in the British Museum Library (19 works); Leiden University Library (30); Brockelmann Catalog (40); and the Nushair Catalog (36).<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile, the Heer catalog lists 39 of Nawawī's

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<sup>52</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 287.

<sup>53</sup> Abd. Rahman, "Nawawī al-Bantani," p. 81.

<sup>54</sup> Yusuf Ilyan Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-Matbu'at al-'Arabīyyah wa al-Mu'arrabah*, Vol. 2, p. 1879-1883; Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, Supplement Vol. 2, trans. Joep Lameer (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018), p. 836-7; Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten," p. 92–95.

works printed in Cairo, Mecca and Bombay.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, the Sophia University catalog lists 22 titles printed in Cairo, Mecca, Beirut, Singapore and Indonesia. Some Nawawī's works were printed and reproduced by different publishers, from the early printed editions to contemporary printed editions.<sup>56</sup> Nawawī's works cover at least seven different Islamic subjects, namely Arabic grammar, theology, jurisprudence, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *taṣawwuf* and *sīrah*.

One of Nawawī's works that has not been studied by scholars is *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn Sharḥ Manzūmah al-Sittīn Mas'ala al-Musammah bi Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn*. The first edition of the book was published in Cairo by al-Maṭba'ah al-Wahhābiyyah in mid-Jumādī al-Thānī 1300/ April 1883.<sup>57</sup> Some catalogs, such as Brockelmann, Sarkīs and Heer, mention the book.<sup>58</sup> Some Indonesian publishers republished *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* and its *matn* (main text), *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn*, *Al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* was recently published by al-Nūr al-Burhānī in Sarang-Rembang in 2019.<sup>59</sup> The copy-editing of the Indonesian publishers seems less satisfying as we found several copyist-errors. Meanwhile, *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* was also published separately by the publisher Dār Turāth 'ulamā' Nusantara at Pesantren Manba 'al-Sa'ādah, Pati.<sup>60</sup>

As we briefly observe the cover of *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* published by al-Maṭba'ah al-Wahhābiyyah, we could find the name Mustapa is absent. Nawawī mentioned Mustapa's name at introduction part of

<sup>55</sup> Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors*, p. 50–55.

<sup>56</sup> Kawashima Midori (et.al.), *A Provisional Catalogue of Southeast Asian Kitabs of Sophia University (Second Version)*, 2015.

<sup>57</sup> Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, p. 24.

<sup>58</sup> Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt*, Vol. 2, p. 1881; Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, p. 836; Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors*, p. 52.

<sup>59</sup> Al-Shaikh Muḥammad Nawawī bin 'Umar al-Jāwī al-Bantanī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn Sharḥ 'alā al-Manzūmah al-Sittīn Mas'ala al-Musammah bi Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn li al-Shaikh Mustafā bin 'Uthmān al-Jāwī al-Qārūtī* (Rembang: al-Nūr al-Burhānī, 2019).

<sup>60</sup> Al-Shaikh al-'Allāmah Mustafā bin 'Uthmān al-Qārūtī, *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn Manzūmah al-Sittīn Mas'ala* (Pati: Dār Turāth 'ulamā' Nusantara Pesantren Manba' al-Sa'ādah, 2020).

the book as he wrote:

(أما بعد) فيقول الظالم لنفسه المعترف بذنبه محمد نووي الجاوي البتني هذا  
شرح على منظومة الستين مسئلة المسماة بالفتح المبين حررها من نسخة سقيمة  
الفقير مصطفى بن عثمان الجاوي القاروي وسميته العقد الثمين جعله الله نافعا  
للمبتدئين آمين.<sup>61</sup>

(*Ammā ba'd*). Having said that the wrongdoer of himself and known by his sin, Muhammad Nawawī al-Jāwī al-Bantanī, this is a comment (*sharḥ*) on a poetic form (*manẓūma*) from the book *al-Sittin Mas'ala* which is named *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn*. He compiled it from a weak text from al-Faqīr Mustafā bin 'Uthmān al-Qārūtī. I named it *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*. May Allah make it useful for beginners. Amen.

The introduction clearly indicates that Nawawī mentioned that his work was a *sharḥ* of Mustafā bin 'Uthmān al-Qārūtī's. Rather than mentioning Mustapa's name in complete, Hasan Mustapa, Nawawī only mentions Mustapa's father name. It is perhaps because of the tradition of the Arabs to recall the last name, followed by names of father and grandfather. 'Uthmān is indeed the name of Mustapa's father following his pilgrimage to Mecca, whereas his previous name is Mas Sastramanggala.<sup>62</sup> Al-Qārūtī is an attribution to the birthplace of Mustapa in Garut in Western part of Java.

Mustapa's *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* is a poetry in the form of *qaṣīdab* on *al-Sittin Mas'ala* which is intended for students who learn *fiqh* at elementary level. The type of poetry uses a long metrum (*baḥr ṭawīl*) with a pattern *fa'ūlun mafā'ilun fa'ūlun mafā'ilun*.<sup>63</sup> The poetry form of *naẓm* was chosen to make it easier for the students to memorize accompanied by singing. Mustapa mentions that the total number of stanzas is 127 stanzas, but when I count the total number is 129 stanzas, consisting of an introduction (verses 1–8), the basics of faith (9–17), the basics of Islam (18–19), cleanliness (20–50), prayers (51–88), alms giving or zakat (89–107), fasting (108–112), pilgrimage (113–122) and closing remarks (123–129).

<sup>61</sup> Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Jajang Jahroni, "The Life and Mystical Thought of Haji Hasan Mustafa," p. 7.

<sup>63</sup> Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten," p. 200.

Mustapa compiled *Al-Fath al-Mubīn* in the year of *ghish* or 1300 H/1883. The word *ghish* is Arabic count of *ḥisāb al-jumal*, the count of numbers in the form of the letters *al-ghīn* is 1000 and *al-shīn* is 300, so that the total is 1300,<sup>64</sup> thus Wijoyo makes a mistake when mention that *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn sharḥ Al-Fath al-Mubīn* was published in 1296/1878.<sup>65</sup> Mustapa named his book with *Al-Fath al-Mubīn* (real victory) for his intention to define the book as the key for students to unlock the seal of knowledge. He writes at the beginning and concluding parts of his work:

وبعد فإني ناظم لقصيدة # تفوق عقود الدر في علو رتبة  
لتعليم أطفال ليسهل حفظها # وتنفع للطلاب حين البداية  
حوى نظمها ستين مسألة فذا # يبين ما لا بد منه بسرعة  
فروض كذا سنن كذا مبطل أتى # على المذهب النفيس للشافعية  
لبعض المجاورين في مكة الأغر # تولاه مولاه بأوسع رحمة  
وأبياتها سبع وعشرون بعدها # مائة ثم تاريخ سنة غش يجي وقي  
وسميتها الفتح المبين لأنها # مفاتيح خيرات لطلاب صحة

Furthermore, I compose the poem for *qasīdah* # beyond the overflow of promises in the highest order,

to teach children to easily memorize # and be useful for students when they are at the beginning level.

Its poem covers 60 issues. This # will explain something that must be done quickly.

The obligatory and optional one are these. The abrogation also came. # based on the noble school of *Syafi'iyā*.

For some people who close to the glorious city of Mecca # their rulers ruled with the breadth of grace.<sup>66</sup>

The number of stanza is 27, followed by # 100 (stanzas). Finished composed in *gish* year when my time arrived.

<sup>64</sup> Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, p. 23.

<sup>65</sup> Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten," p. 384.

<sup>66</sup> Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, p. 2-3.

*I call it Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn, because it # is an opener of goodness for students.*<sup>67</sup>

Mustapa's *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* was written using the form of *naẓm* or *manẓūma* on the *matn* of *al-Sittīn Mas'ala* or *Muqaddimah al-Zāhid* by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Zāhid al-Miṣrī (w. 818/1415). The following shows how Mustapa composes *naẓm* based on the text of al-Zāhid's *al-Sittīn Mas'ala*:

al-Sittīn Mas'ala by al-Zāhid	(قواعد الاسلام) شهادة أن لا إله إلا الله وأن محمدا رسول الله وإقام الصلاة وإيتاء الزكاة وصوم رمضان وحج البيت لمن استطاع إليه سبيلا <sup>1</sup>
Translation	The pillars of Islam: to testify that there is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, to perform prayers, giving zakat, fasting Ramadan and pilgrimage to the Kaba for those who can afford it
<i>Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn</i> by Hasan Mustapa	(قواعد الاسلام) (قواعد إسلام بخمس شهادة # بعهد وإقرار النبي برسالة) إقام صلاة ثم إيتاء زكاته # وصوم وحج المستطيع للكعبة <sup>2</sup>
Translation	:The pillars of Islam the pillars of Islam are five, to testify # accompanied by promises) (and pledges to the Prophet with his treatise to perform prayers, then giving zakat # fasting and pilgrimage to) (the Kaba for those who can afford it
<i>Al-'Iqd al-Thamīn</i> by Nawawī Banten	أي مباني الاسلام مركبة من خمس فلا يتركب الاسلام من غيرها الا اول شهادة متلبس بتوحيد الله تعالى والاقرار برسالة سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ومعنى العهد توحيد الله تعالى الثاني إقامة الصلاة المكتوبة الثالث إعطاء الزكاة لمستحقيها الرابع صوم رمضان حيث لا عذر الخامس قصد القادر إلى الكعبة بحج وعمره. <sup>3</sup>
Translation	That is, the principles of Islam are arranged in five things, so that Islam is not compiled from the other things. First, shahāda which conveyed with the confession of the oneness of God and pledged with the message of our leader Muhammad pbuh. The meaning of al-'ahd (the promise) is the confession of the oneness of God. Second, perform the obligatory prayers. Third, giving zakat to those who are reserve it. Fourth, fasting Ramadan if there is no sickness. Fifth, intended for those who can afford to go to the Kaba for <i>haji</i> and 'umrah

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

As *sharḥ* of *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn*, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* is arranged in the form of 24 prose texts. The poetic text in *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* is completely mentioned as we can find in other *sharḥ* works. *Al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* begins with an explanation of the six principles of faith and five pillars of Islam. It is then systematically divided into 4 *kitāb* (chapters), 13 *bāb* (sub-chapters) and 9 *faṣl* (sections). The four chapters are *kitāb aḥkām al-ṣalāh* (chapter of the legal of prayer), *kitāb al-ṣakāh* (chapter of zakat), *kitāb al-ṣiyām* (chapter of fasting) and *kitāb al-ḥajj wa al-'umrah* (chapter of *ḥajj* and *'umrah*). Based on these chapters, it is clear that the main discussion of *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* is focused on the issue of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

In contrast to Nawawī's *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, Mustapa's *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* is less known to scholars who mainly devoted their studies on Mustapa.<sup>68</sup> There is no catalog of *Jāwī* books mentioning the name of Mustapa as the author of *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* which is different from Nawawī's *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* that was mentioned in many catalogs.<sup>69</sup> It is not clear whether *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* was previously also printed in a separate edition or just a manuscript that was only printed in Nawawī's *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*. *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* was among Mustapa's first works at the beginning of his career in Mecca as a 31-year-old young scholar. Based on his personal proximity to Nawawī, it is reasonably true that Nawawī's *sharḥ* reveals his admiration to his student.

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<sup>68</sup> Tini Kartini (et.al.), *Biografi dan Karya Pujangga Haji Hasan Mustapa* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Depdikbud Jakarta, 1985); Edi S. Ekadjati, *Empat Sastrawan Sunda Lama, Riwayat Hidup, Riwayat Kepengarangan dan Konsep Sentral Karangan Mereka* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1994); Jajang A Rohmana, "Sundanese Sufi Literature and Local Islamic Identity: A Contribution of Haji Hasan Mustapa's Dangling," *Al-Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies* Vol. 50, No. 2, 2012, pp. 303-327; Julian Millie, "Arriving at the Point of Departing, Recent Additions to the Hasan Mustapa Legacy," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 170, 2014.

<sup>69</sup> Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt*, Vol. 2, p. 1879-1883; Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, p. 836-7; Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors*, p. 50-55; Kawashima Midori (et.al.), *A Provisional Catalogue of Southeast Asian Kitabs of Sophia University*, 2010; 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Habashī, *Jāmi' al-Shurūḥ wa al-Hawāshī*, Vol. 3, p. 1806-7.



### On *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*

In addition to *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, the scholarship interaction between Nawawī and Mustapa is also can be seen through Mustapa's *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* which is a *sharḥ* to the work of Nawawī's *al-Shadhrab al-Jummāniyyah*. *Al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* was printed in Cairo by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī in 1360/1941. It is different with *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* which is widely known by scholars, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* is barely known by scholars and absent from the catalogs of Sophia University (2010) and Heer (2012). It is only the catalog of *Dalīl al-Kitāb al-Miṣriyyah* that mentions this work, but it is said to have appeared later in the editions of 1391/1972 and 1403/1983.<sup>70</sup> The catalog mistakenly included *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* in the list of works of Nawawī, not Mustapa, thus confusing scholars who quoted it later.<sup>71</sup> However, a number of studies on Mustapa do not include *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* in the list of Mustapa works.<sup>72</sup>

On the last page of *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*, we could read a statement of an '*ulamā*' of al-Azhar who served as the head of the section confirmation (*ra'īs al-taṣḥīḥ*), Aḥmad Sa'ad 'Alī who wrote that the work has been given *taṣḥīḥ* on Monday 14 Syawal 1360/3 November 1941 in Cairo. The record also mentions the name of the publishing supervisor (*mulāḥiẓ al-Maṭba'ah*), Muḥammad Amīn 'Umar and the head of the publication (*mudīr al-Maṭba'ah*), Rustam Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī.<sup>73</sup> *Al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* consists of 16 pages. There is long title on front page, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya Sharḥ al-Shaykh Muṣṭafā bin 'Uthmān al-Jāwī alā al-Shadhrab al-Jummāniyyah li al-Shaykh Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī al-Bantani Raḥimahumallāh Ta'ālā*. Mustapa's name is not mentioned here as al-Qārūtī as in *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, but al-Jāwī as the Mustapa's title of

<sup>70</sup> Wuzārah al-Thaqāfah wa al-Ilām, *Dalīl al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī*, 1987-1972 (Cairo: al-Ḥayāh al-Miṣriyyah al-'Āmmah li al-Kitāb, 1988), p. 3588 & 603.

<sup>71</sup> Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten," p. 392.

<sup>72</sup> Ajip Rosidi, *Haji Hasan Mustapa jeung Karya-karyana*, p. 493-9; Jajang Jahroni, "The Life and Mystical Thought of Haji Hasan Mustafa, p. 110-4; Jajang A Rohmana, *Informan Sunda Masa Kolonial*, 28-31.

<sup>73</sup> Muṣṭafā bin 'Uthmān al-Jāwī, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*, p. 16.

his birth region from the archipelago. Mustapa gives his comment by giving an explanation of the *matn* (main text) placed in parentheses. This method is commonly practiced by Muslim scholars as found in Islamic reference books.

The contents of *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* contain a brief and simple discussion about the syntax of Arabic or *naḥw*. It begins with a discussion on Arabic words (*lafẓ*) and sentences (*kalām*) (page 2), nouns (*ism*) (3), verbs (*fi'l*) (6), *mubtada'* and *ḵabar* (12), *na't* (13), subject (*fā'il*), types of objects (*maf'ūl*) (14), *muthannā*, *ḥāl* and *tamyīz* (14). Through his introduction, Mustapa starts his book with praises and prayers:

أما بعد : فيقول المفتقر لفتوح الرحمن، الغبي الجاوي مصطفى بن عثمان : هذا  
شرح لطيف على رسالة الشيخ محمد نووي قدوة الجاوين، ليهتدي به المبتدي إلى  
سبيل المتوسطين، قد أمرني المرة بعد المرة أن أشرحها فامتثلت بالفتوحات الإلهية،  
وسميته (( اللمعة النورانية، في الشذرة الجمانية )) وبالله التوفيق.<sup>74</sup>

*Ammā ba'd: the one who needs the conquest of the Merciful, the foolish Jāwī, Muṣṭafā bin 'Uthmān says, this is a gentle comment (sharḥ) on the treatise of Shaykh Muḥammad Nawawī. He is an example of the Jāwah people so that the beginner will be guided to the path of the middle (level). Nawawī told me repeatedly to let me comment on his work. I then followed the example of the book al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah (divine opening). I named it al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya fī al-Shadhr al-Jummaniyyah. Guidance is only from Allah.*

This statement shows that Mustapa humbly called himself a “foolish Jāwī”. He also called his comments a gentle commentary on Nawawī’s treatise. It is a tribute from a student for his highly respected senior teacher. He even called Nawawī a role model for the Jāwah people. This assessment is presumably based on the advanced knowledge and authorship of Nawawī witnessed in his daily life in Mecca as described by Snouck in *Mekka*.<sup>75</sup> In addition, Mustapa, like Nawawī, was seen humbly mentioning that *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* was intended for beginners so that they could move up to the intermediate level. He said that one of the reasons was because of his teacher’s order to comment on his work. It

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>75</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 287–92.

is an honor which Mustapa later fulfilled by seeing the example of the book *al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*. It is a comment work on the interpretation of *tafsīr al-Jalālain* by Sulaimān bin 'Umar al-'Ajīlī al-Shāfi'i or known as al-Jamal (d. 1204/1789).<sup>76</sup> Mustapa's method of comment is exactly the same as in *al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, namely using brackets for the main text and then the comments are placed outside the brackets. The purpose of composing *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* is also emphasized in the closing section. Mustapa states before closing with an apology for mistakes:

قلت: وكان سبب تأليفه لهذه الرسالة أنه ممن يربي أرواح الاخوان. ويؤدب دروس الصبيان. وترجي ودعا لهم ولنا بحصول المقاصد ونجاح الفوائد في كل شأن، ودليله أنه قال راجيا وتوصلا لاستجابة ما رجاه<sup>77</sup>

I (Mustapa) said: "and the reason for writing this treatise is the person who guides the souls of the brothers and educates the children. May there be hope and prayers for them and us for the results of that purpose and succeed in getting benefits in everything. Its argumentation is that he (Nawawī Banten) said as a hope and an intermediary (*tawaṣṣul*) to be granted what he expected.

This shows that *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* and *al-Shadhrab al-Jummāniyyah* are intended for elementary students. The beginner level in the tradition of *Jāwī kitābs*, as well known, is generally intended for children or students who are just beginning to learn about Islamic knowledge. Therefore, its language and explanation are short and simple so that it is easy to understandable. This is different with the *kitābs* of middle (*mutawassīf*) and higher (*'ālī*) categories in Islamic knowledge which use complicated language with extensive and in-depth discussion.

## The Local Issues of Malay-Indonesia Islam

The local issues of Malay-Indonesia Islam in the *Jāwī kitābs* are important to be explain because both Nawawī's *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* and Mustapa's *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* are mostly written for Southeast Asia

<sup>76</sup> Sulaimān bin 'Umar al-'Ajīlī al-Shāfi'i al-Shāhir bi al-Jamal, *al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah bi Tawdīḥ Tafsīr al-Jalālain li al-Daqa'iq al-Khafīyyah* (Beirut: Dār Ihya' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d.)

<sup>77</sup> Muṣṭafā bin 'Uthmān al-Jāwī, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*, p. 6–15.

students. These issues in these two books relate to the audiences who mostly the students of *Jāwah* community in Mecca. These local issues, for instance, can be seen in *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* which shows Nawawī's response to the case of *bedug* (large drum made from animal leather) and *kentongan* (small drum made from bamboo or wood). These two material usually stored at outside mosque that are used to summon to prayer. Nawawī allows the *bedug* to signify the prayer time and adds the Islamic magnificency. However, he considers *makrūh* and even *ḥarām* if it makes it a substitute for the praying call. Nawawī agrees with his teacher, Sayyid Aḥmad bin Zainī Daḥlān (1817-1886), the great mufti of Mecca.<sup>78</sup> Nawawī also forbade *kentongan* and chimes, because were used by Christians. In addition, he also allows the number of Friday prayers congregation by twelve people and even four people for residents living in remote place.

(فائدة) يجوز ضرب الطبل لاعلام دخول الوقت إذا كان لزيادة شعار الاسلام بخلاف ما إذا كان لمنع الشعار بأن جعل بدلا عن الأذان والإقامة بحيث لا يؤتى بهما فإنه حينئذ مكروه أو حرام كما أفتى بذلك مولانا السيد أحمد دحلان. ويحرم ضرب الناقوس والجرس لذلك والناقوس هو خشبة طويلة يضربها النصارى إعلاما للدخول في صلاتهم كما قاله العلماء.

فرع : إختار النووي القول بإنعقاد الجمعة بإثني عشر رجلا مكلفا حرا مستوطنا في محل الجمعة بحيث لا يسافر منه في شتاء وغيره إلا لحاجة من زيارة وتجارة واكتفى بذلك تقي الدين السبكي... وفيه مصلحة للمسلمين في المداومة على إقامة شعار الاجتماع واتفاق الكلمة وفي إظهار شعائر الاسلام. واختار المزني وأبو بكر بن المنذر والسيوطي وسليمان بن يحيى بن عمر الأهدلي القول القديم بإنعقاد الجمعة بأربعة... ومعلوم إذا جازت الجمعة بأربعة فجوازها بإثني عشر من باب أولى.<sup>79</sup>

The issue of *bedug* and *kentongan* was widely discussed among the Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*', especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in line with the emergence of reformist movement in Indonesia

<sup>78</sup> On Sayyid Aḥmad Zainī Daḥlān, see Nico Kaptein, *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is: a bilingual meccan fatwa collection for Indonesian muslims from the end of the nineteenth century* (Jakarta: INIS, 1997), p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, p. 16.

which rejects some local Javanese traditions.<sup>80</sup> Several Malay-Indonesian 'ulamā' in recent times discussed this issue in their works, as seen in the case of the debate between Hasyim Asy'ari, Nawawi's student, in his book *al-Jāsūs fī Bayān Ḥukm al-Nāqūs* (spies on the legal explanation of drum) and Faqih Maskumambang in *Haẓẓ al-Ru'ūs* (shaking the head). There are also other responses of 'ulamā' to the issue of *bedug* such as Raden Natadilaga from Cikampek, Nahrawi Banyumas and Muhammad Basyuni Imran from Sambas.<sup>81</sup> Likewise, with the issue of the number of Friday prayer congregants, several 'ulamā' have also engaged in debates on this issue. It can be seen in the cases of Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minangkabāwī and Sayyid 'Uthmān Betawi who discussed about Friday prayers in two adjacent mosques (*ta'addud al-jum'atain*).<sup>82</sup>

In addition, there is not only in Nawawi's *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, the local issues of Malay-Indonesia Islam are also found in Nawawi's *al-Shadhrab al-Jummāniyyah* which was commented by Mustapa through his *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*. One of these issues can be seen in Nawawi's response towards unbelievers which are used as examples of Arabic grammar on the types of *fi'l majzūm* (imperative verb) and *fi'l manṣūb* (subjunctive verb).

(نحو زيد يحلف) وهو فعل مضارع مرفوع بالضمة والجملة من الفعل والفاعل خبر زيد وللمنصوب بالفتح بقوله (أن لا يأكل) ناصب ومنصوب , وأن وما دخلت عليه في تأويل مصدر مجرور بالياء المحذوفة وقوله (لحما) مفعول لياكل , وللمجزوم بأحد الجوازم بقوله (لم يشرب) جازم ومجزوم وعلامة جزمه السكون وقوله (خمرًا) مفعول ليشرب , والمجزوم بحذف الالف بقوله (لم يرض) جازم ومجزوم وعلامة جزمه حذف الألف نيابة عن السكون لأنه من الأفعال المعتلة وقوله (حرامًا) منصوب على نزع الخافض أصله عن حرام , والمجزوم بحذف الياء بقوله (لم يزن) جازم ومجزوم

<sup>80</sup> Howard M. Federspiel, *Islam and Ideology in the Emerging Indonesian State: The Persatuan Islam (PERSIS), 1923-1957* (Leiden-Boston-Koln: Brill, 2001), p. 148.

<sup>81</sup> Ahmad Fauzi Ilyas, *Warisan 'ulamā' Nusantara, Tokoh, Karya dan Pemikiran* (Medan: Rawda Publishing, 2018), p. 541; G.F. Pijper, *Beberapa Studi tentang Sejarah Islam di Indonesia 1900-1950*, trans. Tadjimah dan Yessi Augusdin (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1985), p. 146.

<sup>82</sup> Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), p. 141-2.

وعلاوة جزمه حذف الياء نية عن السكون لأنه من الأفعال المعتلة وقوله (يبغي) جار ومجرور متعلق بيزن , والمجزوم بحذف الواو بقوله (لم يدع) جازم ومجزوم وعلامة جزمه حذف الواو نية عن السكون لأنه من الأفعال المعتلة وقوله (على كافر) المناسب لكافر جار ومجرور متعلق بيدع...

(المسلمون يبغيون) مبتدأ وخبر ويغضون فعل وفاعل مرفوع وعلامة رفعه ثبوت النون نية عن الضمة , لأنها أصل الرفع فأعرب بالنيابة لأنه من الأفعال الخمسة و(الكافرين) مفعول به , والمجزومة بقوله (لم يبغيوا) جازم ومجزوم وعلامة جزمه حذف النون نية عن السكون لأنه أصل في الجزم فأعرب بالنيابة لأنه من الأفعال الخمسة , والمنصوبة بقوله (أن يجلسوا) ناصب ومنصوب وعلامة نصبه حذف النون نية عن الفتحة لأنها أصل في النصب فأعرب بالنيابة لأنه من الأفعال الخمسة وأن وما دخلت عليه في تأويل مصدر مفعول ليبغيوا وقولهم (معهم) ظرف مضاف متعلق يجلسوا.<sup>83</sup>

The above explanation describes that Nawawī makes an example of an Arabic sentence which shows how to behave towards an unbeliever. He makes the example of the phrase *fi'l mazjūm* (imperative verb): *lam yada 'alā kāfir* (Zaid promised that he would not curse the unbelievers). However, in the next example he points out the limitation of not sitting with unbelievers: *al-muslimūn yabghadūn al-kāfirīn lam yabghū an yajlisū ma'ahum* (Muslims hate unbelievers, should not they sit with them). Mustapa as a commentator does not comment on the contents of the sentence other than only giving an explanation of the Arabic structure (*i'rāb*). Nawawī's explanation in his *al-Shadbrah al-Jummāniyyah* differs from other writings of Nawawī, such as *Fath Ghāfir al-Khaṭiyyah* who commented on the book of *al-Ājurūmiyyah* on Arabic grammar (*naḥw*) which did not mention any examples of infidels at all in the discussion of *fi'l mazjūm* (imperative verb).<sup>84</sup>

This shows that Nawawī's attitude tends to be different from that of Mustapa. Nawawī, as already explained, tended to take sides with the Malay-Indonesian Muslims against the European invaders who were

<sup>83</sup> Muṣṭafā bin 'Uthmān al-Jāwī, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*, p. 8–7.

<sup>84</sup> Muḥammad bin 'Umar Nawawī al-Jāwī, *Fath al-Ghāfir al-Khaṭiyyah 'alā al-Kawākib al-Jalīliyyah fi Naẓm al-Ājurūmiyyah*, MS. King Saud University, No. 1185, p. 16–13.

non-Muslim. He, for instance, was pleased with the difficulties that the Acehnese had created in the war against the Dutch infidels since 1873, disagreed with the land of *Jāwah* being managed by European colonizers and instead agreed to the revival of the Banten sultanate as an independent Islamic state. Although Nawawī did not have any role in political affairs or encouraged others to do so, because his father and brother were also Dutch government employees or *penghulu*. Therefore, his personal ambition is only in the field of writing.<sup>85</sup> This was different from Mustapa's attitude, who after returning to Priangan would be very close to the colonial side and even became Chief Penghulu of Kutaraja in Aceh (1893-1895). Mustapa gave a lot of information to Snouck Hurgronje regarding the war between Acehnese fighters against the Dutch infidels (*kaphê*).<sup>86</sup> This is a change in the attitude of a student in the future along with changes his position in various situation.

This explanation shows that although the works of Nawawī and Mustapa were published in Cairo, the local issue of Malay-Indonesia still getting attention of their works. This is relating to the readers who are mostly *Jāwah* community who live in Mecca and the Middle East. Both the works of Nawawī and Mustapa described some examples that discuss problems that have been heard and understood by them. This is one of the characteristics of *kitābs* that are important in the publication of the *Jāwī kitābs* in the Middle East written by the Malay-Indonesian Muslims.

### ***Sharḥ* Traditions and the Contribution of Malay-Indonesian 'Ulamā'**

There is an assumption that the works of *sharḥ* are considered something unoriginal, insignificant and uncreative. However, according to Wijoyo, this view is based on the perspective of the print culture in modern books where the text is almost separate from the author with a permanent form of writing so that the reader will judge the text independently. It cannot be used in assessing the *sharḥ* tradition. It needs

<sup>85</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 291.

<sup>86</sup> Jajang A Rohmana, *Informan Sunda Masa Kolonial*, p. 286.



to be placed in the context of the oral-aural tradition. It is a longstanding learning tradition in which a teacher is surrounded by students who hear him explain difficult sentences in the main text in the process of transmitting Islamic scholarship. Therefore, the presence of the *sharḥ* text cannot be separated from the main authoring authority connected with the previous network of texts and authors over the centuries.<sup>87</sup>

Therefore, it is important to read the works of *sharḥ* of Nawawī and Mustapa in the context of their contribution to the transmission of Islamic scholarship for the *Jāwāb* community in Mecca and the Malay-Indonesian Muslims in Southeast Asia. Nawawī's *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, as already explained, is a *sharḥ* on Mustapa's *Al-Fath al-Mubīn*. Mustapa's work is the first work at the beginning of his career as a 31-year-old young scholar who uses the form of Arabic poetry (*manẓūma* or *naẓm*) on the *matn* (main text) of the book *al-Sittīn Mas'ala* (60 issues) by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Sulaimān al-Qāhirī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Zāhid al-Shāfi'ī al-Miṣrī (d. 819/1416).

*Al-Sittīn Mas'ala* or also known as *Muqaddimah al-Zāhid* is the work of Shāfi'ī school on Islamic jurisprudence in the fiveteenth century which discusses 60 issues of *fiqh*, from *ṭahārah*, prayer, fasting, alms giving (*ṣakat*) and pilgrimage o Mecca (*hajj*). *Al-Sittīn Mas'ala* is a book that has a lot of commentary (*sharḥ*), gloss or commentary on commentary (*ḥāshiyah*) and even composed into Arabic poetry (*naẓm*).

There are at least twelve books of commentaries on *al-Sittīn Mas'ala*, namely *Is'af al-Qaṣīd li Tafhīm Masā'il al-Shihāb al-Zāhid* by 'Alī bin Muḥammad al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1460); *al-Iḥkām al-Muqarrib li al-Humam wa al-Ghulām Sabīl mā Yajib bih al-Ihtimām* by 'Abd al-Qādir bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin al-Muẓaffir (d. 892/1487); *Is'af al-Qaṣīd li Tafhīm Masā'il al-Shihāb al-Zāhid* dan *al-Māhid li Masā'il al-Zāhid* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505); *al-Nafā'is al-Mufaṣṣilah 'alā al-Sittīn Mas'ala* by an unknown 'ulamā' (*majbūl*); *'Iddah al-Maqāṣid min Muqaddimah*

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<sup>87</sup> Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten," p. 323–7 & 337–8.

*u al-Zāhid* by Muḥammad bin al-'Izz al-Hijāzī (d. 912/1506); *Sharḥ al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dairūtī (d. 921/1515); *Tadhkirah al-'Abid fī Sharḥ Muqaddimah al-Zāhid* by Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Salām (d. 931/1525); *Sharḥ al-Masā'il al-Sittin* by Muḥammad bin Sha'bān bin Abī Bakr bin Khalaf al-Dairūtī al-Shāfi'ī who known as Ibn al-'Ars (d. 949/1542); *Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Mashbūrah bi al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Abū al-'Abbās Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad bin Hamzah al-Ramlī (d. 957/1550); *Tadhkirah al-'Abid Sharḥ Muqaddimah al-Zāhid* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Sirbīnī (d. 977/1569); *Mawāhib al-Wāḥid Sharḥ Muqaddimah al-Zāhid* by Aḥmad bin Hijāzī al-Fashanī (d. abad 10); and *Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Ma'rūfah bi al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Aḥmad bin Aḥmad al-Sujjā'ī (d. 1197/1783).<sup>88</sup>

In addition to *sharḥ* works, there are some '*ulamā'*' who also wrote comment on commentary works or gloss (*ḥāshiyah*). The works of '*ulamā'*' which have many glosses are *Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Mashbūrah bi al-Sittin Mas'ala* by al-Ramlī (w. 957/1550) and *Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Ma'rūfah bi al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Aḥmad bin Aḥmad al-Sujjā'ī (w. 1197/1783). There are about seven glosses of the works of al-Ramlī, namely *al-Hawāshī al-Muḥkamah 'alā Sharḥ al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Muḥammad bin 'Umar bin Qāsim bin Ismā'īl al-Muqrī al-Buqrī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 1146/1733); *al-Futūḥāt al-Aḥmadiyyah al-Mutqinah 'alā Sharḥ al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Ḥasan al-Banhāwī (d. 1194/1780); *Ḥāshiyah 'ala Sharḥ al-Ramlī* by Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī al-Khalafī al-Banāwī (d. 1217/1802); *Ḥāshiyah 'ala Sharḥ al-Sittin Mas'ala li al-Ramlī* by Aḥmad al-Maihī al-Shibīnī al-Nu'mānī (d. 1263/1847); *Ḥāshiyah 'ala Sharḥ al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Yūsuf bin 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sunbulāwainī al-Sharqawī al-Makkī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 1285/1868); *Ḥāshiyah 'ala Sharḥ al-Ramlī* (1307/1889) by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Maṭarī al-Dimyātī al-Shāfi'ī who have title *Karīm al-Dīn*; and *Durar al-Fawā'id 'ala Sharḥ al-Shihāb al-Ramlī li Muqaddimah al-Zāhid* by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mukawī

<sup>88</sup> 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Habashī, *Jāmi' al-Shurūḥ wa al-Hawāshī*, vol. III, p. 7–1806; Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, p. 116.

al-Ghazālī (d. in the thirteenth century). Meanwhile, the comment work of al-Sujjā'ī only have one gloss or *ḥāshiyah*, namely by Ibrāhīm murid al-Shaikh Sulaimān al-Bujairamī (w. 1221/1806) in his *Ḥāshiyah 'ala Sharḥ al-Sujjā'ī 'alā Muqaddimah al-Zāhid*.<sup>89</sup>

In addition to both *sharḥ* and *ḥāshiyah*, the *al-Sittin Mas'ala* also composed to the form of Arabic poetry (*naẓm*). There are at least five works in the form of *naẓm*, namely *al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Naẓm al-Masā'il al-Sittin* by 'Abdullāh bin Makkī bin 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Maknī bi Abī al-Nūr; *al-Farā'id al-Mujmalah Naẓm al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Jamal al-Maḥallī (d. 1304/1886); *Ithāf al-Mubtadīn bi Naẓm al-Masā'il al-Sittin* by Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal (w. 1326/1908); *Naẓm al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Muḥammad al-Qādī al-Dimyātī; and *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn 'ala Muqaddimah al-Sittin Mas'ala* by Mustafā bin 'Uthmān al-Qārūtī or Haji Hasan Mustapa (w. 1348/1930). The latter work then commented by Nawawī in his *al'Iqd al-Thamīn* as studied in this article.<sup>90</sup> Following diagram describes the network of the works of *sharḥ*, *ḥāshiyah* and *naẓm* on *al-Sittin Mas'ala*:

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<sup>89</sup> 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Habashī, *Jāmi' al-Shurūḥ wa al-Ḥawāshī*, Vol. 3, p. 1807–8; Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, p. 117.

<sup>90</sup> 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Habashī, *Jāmi' al-Shurūḥ wa al-Ḥawāshī*, Vol. 3, p. 1808–9.; Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, p. 117.

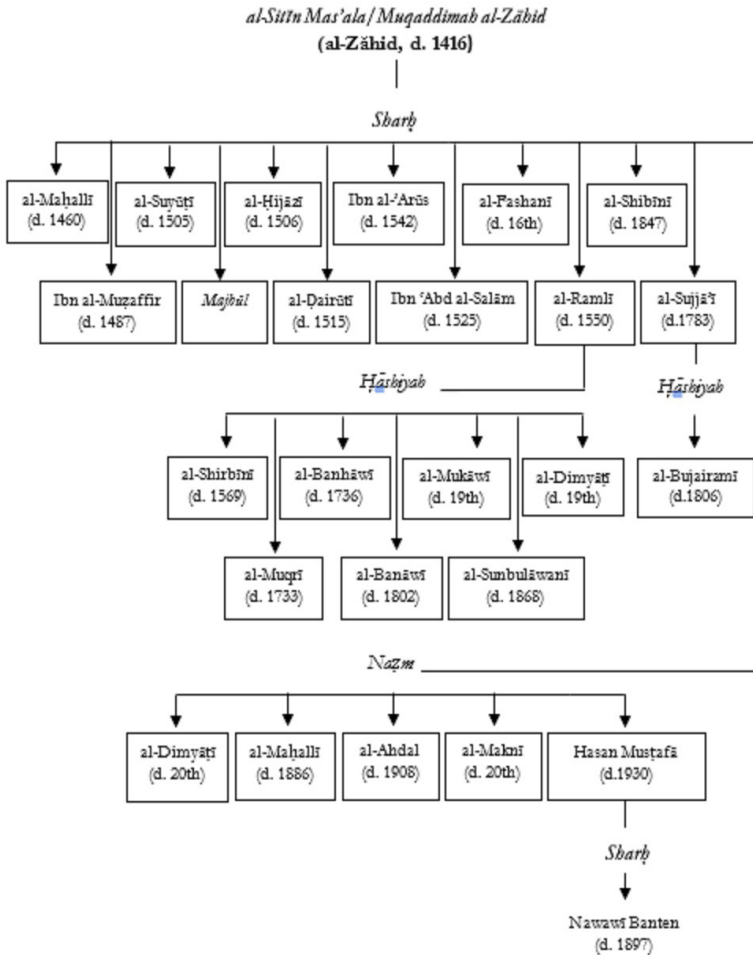


Diagram 1: *Kitābs network of al-Sittin Mas'ala (al-Ḥabashī, III: 1807–8)*

Based on the above diagram, it can be seen that Mustapa's *Al-Fath al-Mubīn*, which was commented by Nawawī in *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, has an important contribution in the transmission of Islamic scholarship transmission in the Middle East which has been going on for centuries. Both Nawawi and Mustapa continued the transmission of Islamic knowledge through their works as teaching materials for *Jāwāb* students

in Mecca. They continued the tradition of writing *kitābs* of *fiqh al-Sittin Mas'ala* which had learned not only in Mecca, but had also been taught for a long time by Muslim scholars at Javanese *pesantren*. Therefore, Nawawi and Mustapa were motivated to enter into the circle of the network of the *kitābs*.

According to van Bruinessen, the book *al-Sittin Mas'ala* is one of the basic books used in the *pesantren* curriculum in Java. This book is a short text of the type of *perukunan*, which is related to the basic doctrine and the five pillars of Islam. Van den Berg also included this book in his list of *pesantren* books.<sup>91</sup> This work was very popular in the nineteenth century Java and is mentioned in *Serat Centini*. However, *al-Sittin Mas'ala* is gradually not being used anymore and even many students do not know this book anymore.<sup>92</sup> The decline may be related to the increasing number of *fiqh* books written by other Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*' including Nawawī's works which is used in the curriculum of *pesantrens* in Java and al-Azhar University, such as *Murāqī al-'Ubūdiyyah*, *Kāshifāh al-Shajā*, *Uqūd al-Lujain*, *Nihāyah al-Zain*, *Sullam al-Munājāt* and others.<sup>93</sup>

*Al-Fath al-Mubīn* as the poetry work (*manzūma*) of *al-Sittin Mas'ala* is considered as Mustapa's contribution to the transmission of Islamic scholarship in the Middle East, especially as his effort at that time to facilitate the teaching of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) for his students from the *Jāwah* community in Mecca. Therefore, when Nawawī commented on Mustapa's *Al-Fath al-Mubīn*, there was a great reception of this senior teacher towards Mustapa's work which indicated a special position for him. Nawawī as an senior of Malay-Indonesian Muslim scholars in Mecca who experienced in writing many works of *fiqh* would greatly encourage his students continually to develop his Islamic knowledge. He was asked Mustapa to write works that could facilitate the teaching of *fiqh* in Mecca.

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<sup>91</sup> L.W.C. van den Berg, "Het mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs," p. 520.

<sup>92</sup> Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning," p. 249.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263–7; Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten," p. 372–8.

Nawawī as a senior teacher in Mecca had previously wrote many *fiqh* books, such as *Fath al-Mujīb Sharḥ al-Manāqib al-Ḥajj li Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī al-Khaṭīb* (Bulāq, 1276/1859), *Murāqī al-'Ubūdiyyah. Sharḥ Bidāyah al-Hidāyah li al-Ghaṣālī* (Dār al-Iḥyā 'al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1287/1873), *Kāshif al-Shajā' Sharḥ al-Safīnah al-Najā li Sālim bin Sumair* (1292/1875), *Mirqāt Su'ūd al-Taṣḍīq Sharḥ Sullam al-Taufīq ilā Maḥabbatillāh 'alā al-Taḥqīq li' Abdillāh al-Ba'lawī* (1292/1875), *'Uqūd al-Lujain fī Bayān Ḥuqūq al-Zawjain* (Maktabah al-Wahhābiyyah) 1296/1878), *Nihāyah al-Zain* (Maktabah al-Wahhābiyyah, 1297/1897), *Sullam al-Munājāt* (Bulāq, 1297/1897), *Sulūk al-Jāddah* (Maktabah al-Wahhābiyyah, 1300/1883) and *Qūt al-Ḥabīb al-Gharīb li al-Tawshīb* (1301/1884).<sup>94</sup> The last book is presumably written after *al'Iqd al-Thamīn*.

It is not only in *Al-Fath al-Mubīn*, as already explained, Mustapa was also encouraged by Nawawī to give comment (*sharḥ*) on his work, *al-Shadra al-Jummāniyya*. The result was a book entitled *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* as a *sharḥ* on Nawawī's *al-Shadra al-Jummāniyya*. Mustapa's *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya* that discusses that Arabic syntax (*naḥw*) is Mustapa's early work in the field of instrumental sciences. Mustapa have mastered *naḥw* very well when studying for years at several *pesantren* in Priangan.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, it was understandable if Nawawī as a senior teacher in Mecca asked Mustapa directly, whom he believed was able to comment on his work.

The mastery of Mustapa in Arabic grammar of *naḥw* is illustrated in his explanation which quotes Ibn Mālik's verse in the famous Arabic grammar book, *Alfiyah*, when explaining *maf'ūl lah* (causatice object) and *maf'ūl ma'ah* (concomitate object):

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<sup>94</sup> Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten," p. 172-196; Abd. Rahman, *The Pesantren Architects*, p. 127.

<sup>95</sup> Jajang A Rohmana, "Makhtutat *Kinanti* (*Tutur teu Kacatur Batur*): Tasawwuf al-'Alam al-Sundawi 'ind al-Ḥajj Hasan Mustafa (1852-1930)," *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2013, pp. 337.

(تنبيه) ينبغي التنبيه إلى أن المفعول له يجوز الجرى فيه على مقتضى حكمه إذا توفرت شروطه، والجر بمن إلا إن فقدت العلة فلا يجر (و) إما أن يكون (مفعولا) أي الحدث (فيه) أي الشيء كيوم نحو صمت يوم الخميس (و) إما أن يكون (مفعولا معه) كما قال ابن مالك :

ينصب تالي الواو مفعولا معه # في نحوي سيري والطريق مسرعه<sup>96</sup>

The teaching of instrumental sciences at Javanese pesantren includes *naḥw* (Arabic syntax), *ṣarf* (inflection, changes in word form) and *balāghah* (rhetoric). There are several popular books in *naḥw* that are used in the pesantren curriculum, namely *al-'Awāmil* by 'Abd al-Qāhir bin' Abdurrahman al-Jurjānī, *Jurūmiyyah* (*al-Muqaddimah al-Ājurūmiyyah*) by Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad bin Dāūd al-Sanhājī bin Ājurūm, *Imritī* (*al-Durrah al-Bahīyyah*) by Sharafuddīn bin Yahyā al-Ansārī al-'Imritī, *Mutammimah* by Shamsuddīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Ru'ainī al-Hattāb and *Alfiyyah Ibn 'Āqil* by 'Abdullah 'Abdurrahmān al-'Āqil.<sup>97</sup> Nawawī has two books related to the *naḥw* (Arabic syntax), namely *Kashf al-Murūṭiyyah* (1298/1880) which is the *ḥāshiyah* for al-Shanhājī's *al-Ājurūmiyyah* and *Fath al-Ghāfir al-Khaṭiyyah* 'alā al-Kawākib al-Jalīliyyah fī Naẓm al-Ājurūmiyyah (1298/1880) which is the comment of *manẓūmah* of al-Shanhājī's *al-Ājurūmiyyah*.<sup>98</sup>

These various *kitābs* on Arabic instrumental science seem to be one of the reasons why both *al-Lam'ah al-Nūrāniyyah* and *al-Shadra al-Jummāniyya* are less well known and not used at *pesantrens*. However, these works are a contribution of Mustapa and Nawawī in the field of Arabic grammar of *naḥw* which is connected to the Islamic scholarship tradition in the Middle East. It is a scholarship reputation recognized by international Muslim scholars for their works that was printed in Cairo.

<sup>96</sup> Muṣṭafā bin 'Uthmān al-Jāwī, *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*, p. 14.

<sup>97</sup> Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning," p. 241–2.

<sup>98</sup> Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten," p. 122.



## Conclusion

This study shows that the Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*' had an important contribution in the transmission of Islamic scholarship in the Middle East in the nineteenth century. Two works of Sundanese '*ulamā*' printed in Egypt, *al-'Aqd al-Thamīn* and *al-Lum'a al-Jummāniyya*, show the scholarship of Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*' at the heart of Islamic academia which gained an international reputation. The printing of these two works, along with the works of other Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*', accompany with other books written by Middle Eastern '*ulamā*', is an ample proof of the acceptance of publishers in the Middle East for the works of Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*'. These works were originally intended for students from Malay-Indonesian. Its simple language and local issues of Malay-Indonesian peculiarities in its explanations demonstrate that their works intended for an audience of the *Jāwāh* community.

In addition, the works of Nawawī Banten and Hasan Mustapa which mutually comment each other show the teacher-student relationship which has a privileged proximity in the process of inheriting the Islamic learning tradition for Nawawī, as a senior teacher, comments on Mustapa's *Al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* through his *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* and also shows Nawawī's recognition of the scholarship authority of his young student, Mustapa.

On the other hand, Mustapa also wrote his comments on Nawawī's *al-Shadra al-Jummāniyya* through his *al-Lum'a al-Nūrāniyya*. It is a senior teacher's encouragement for his young scholars to contribute to Islamic scholarship through works with Arabic as working language for students of the *Jāwāh* community in Mecca. The personal proximity between the two takes its root not on Malay-Indonesian and Sundanese solidarity but also an awareness to continuously develop Islamic scholarship. The collaboration between Nawawī and Mustapa in maintaining this Islamic learning tradition is an evidence of the important role of the Malay-Indonesian '*ulamā*' in the Middle East in the nineteenth century. At the meantime, the reputation of previous scholars is indeed a challenge for

**Jajang A Rohmana:** *Authorship of Jāwī 'Ulamā*.....

contemporary Indonesian '*ulamā*' who no longer have an important position in the tradition of Islamic scholarship in the Middle East.

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