

SKETCHING THE EARLY 20th CENTURY
HIJAZ-JAWI ISLAMIC SCHOLARSHIP
THROUGH THE COMMENTARY LITERATURE
A Preliminary Study on Muḥammad 'Alī al-Mālīkī's
Inārat al-Dujā

Asep Nahrul Musadad | UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta - Indonesia
Muhammad Fauzinudin Faiz | UIN Kiai Haji Achmad Shidiq, Jember - Indonesia
Corresponding author: mufaddin@uinkhas.ac.id

Abstract: This article seeks to highlight some important accounts on the intellectual history of *Hijāz-Jawī* Islamic scholarship by examining the *syarḥ* (gloss or commentary) literature. The work under investigation is *Inārat al-Dujā Syarḥ Tanwīr al-Hijā Nazm Safīnat al-Najā* written by Muhammad 'Alī al-Mālīkī al-Makkī (1870-1945 AD/1287-1364 AH). This book is a commentary (*syarḥ*) on *Tanwīr al-Hijā Nazm Safīnat al-Najā*, a notable work by Ahmad Qusyairi bin Ahmad al-Siddiq al-Fāsuruwānī al-Lāsimī (1892-1972 AD/1311-1392 AH), a prominent *Jawī* scholar of the early 20th century who had established a correspondence with Muhammad 'Alī al-Maliki. Beginning with the initial exploration on what might be called “the trans-regional scholarship of *Safīnat al-Najā*”, this paper highlights the collaboration between 'Alī al-Malīkī and Ahmad Qusyairi al-Fāsuruwānī through *Inārat al-Dujā*, including the historical sketch behind the publication of the work, some important aspects it contains, and its significance for the larger picture of the early 20th Century *Hijāz-Jawī* Islamic intellectual history.

Keywords: Muḥammad 'Alī al-Mālīkī, *Inārat al-Dujā*, Aḥmad Qusyairī al-Fāsuruwānī, Hijaz-Jawi, Muslim intellectual.

Introduction

Suffice it to remark that the scholarly writings produced throughout the post-classical Islamic intellectual tradition (6th-13th AH/12th-19th CE) were dominated by what are currently known as

“multi-layered commentaries” or “super-commentaries”.¹ Many consider these works as the results of intellectual endeavor that took place while Islamic civilization was in stagnation and decline.² According to this viewpoint, intellectual activities at the time were primarily focused on copying old gems with little originality and innovation. As a result, the writing tradition was limited to serving as a commentary/gloss—with marginal authority—on earlier authoritative works.

It is almost perfectly clear that this view is reflecting the old declinist narrative on Islamic history which claims have already been evaluated.³ In this regard, some historians have questioned the notion of “Golden Age of Islam” that is conventionally believed to have lasted between the 7th to 13th Centuries. Marshall Hodgson, for instance, considers this a *cliché* that deserves to be questioned, considering that the post-Baghdad period has witnessed the more dynamic progress both politically and intellectually.⁴ Ahmed and Larkin have also contested this declines view attached in the tradition of gloss/commentary literatures, arguing that the claim is not based on a

¹ In this article, we follow Asad Q. Ahmed and Margaret Larkin in using the term “commentary” to refer to large works known as *sharḥ*, *ḥaṣhiya*, *taqrīr*, *taḥrīr*, etc, as well as Mahmood Kooria who uses “commentary” for *sharḥ* and “super-commentary” for *ḥaṣhiya*. He even identifies 13 categories of Syafi’i texts in which *sharḥ* is one of them. See Asad Q. Ahmed and Margaret Larkin, “The *Ḥaṣhiya* and Islamic Intellectual History,” *Oriens* 41 (2013), p. 213; Jon McGinnis and Asad Q. Ahmed, “Rationalist Disciplines in Post-Classical (ca. 1200–1900 CE) Islam,” *Oriens* 42, ¾ (2014): pp. 289–291; Mahmood Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation: Shafi’i Texts across the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022): pp. 10, 74–5.

² Thomas Bauer views the devaluation of post-classical Islamic literature as an idea developed in orientalist and colonialist scholarship that aims at justifying colonial interference in the Islamic world to the so-called civilize a decadent and dying civilization. See Thomas Bauer, “In Search of ‘Post-Classical Literature’: A Review Article,” in *Mamluk Studies Review* 11, 2 (2007): pp. 137–167; Ahmed El Shamsy, “*Ḥāsiyyah* in Islamic Law; A Sketch on Shāfi’ī Literature,” *Oriens* 41 (2013), p. 301; Ahmed and Larkin, “The *Ḥaṣhiya*,” p. 213.

³ See for instance, Marshall Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam and World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Kholed el-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Ahmad Dallal, *Islam without Europe: Traditions of Reform in Eighteenth Century Islamic Thought* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); Recep Senturk, “The Decline of the Decline Paradigm: Revisiting the Periodisation of Islamic History,” in Bacem Dziri/Merdan Güneş (eds) *Niederangsthesen auf dem Prüfstand* (Berlin: Peterlang, 2020): pp. 213–327.

⁴ Hodgson, *Rethinking World History*, pp. 97–125.

close study of these literatures. Instead of being in stagnation, they emphasize that the post-classical Islam is a dynamic phase in Islamic intellectual history.⁵ Mahmood Kooria's latest research on the circulation of Syafi'i texts across Indian ocean and the Mediterranean has currently provided the more sophisticated argument for this.⁶

Syafi'i *fiqh* is one of the most frequently studied objects in this regard. Ahmed El-Shamsy, in this context, emphasizes that the commentarial tradition especially that of *hasyiya* has become the catalyst for the scholarship after the time of two Mamluk authoritative Syafi'i scholars (*al-syaikebayn*); Abu Zakariyya al-Nawawi (d. 676/1277) and his older colleague 'Abd al-Karim al-Rafi'i (d. 623/1226). Since then, all post-Nawawi jurists were in the third layer and had only two options; either to weight (*tariḥ*) the opinions of the two masters or to write based on al-Nawawi's two most authoritative commentators; Ibn Hajar al-Haitami (d. 974/1566) and Syamsuddin al-Ramly (d. 1004/-1596), or commenting on another previous basic Syafi'i texts, as represented by Ibrahim al-Bajuri (d. 1276/1860) and the likes.⁷ One of the characteristics of this scholarship, according to El-Shamsy, is the absence of direct citations to the pre-Nawawi *fiqh* literature, including to the work of al-Syafi'i himself, due to the belief that credible access to Syafi'i scholarship in the first five centuries of its existence was only accessible to the two masters.⁸

El-Shamsy, on the other hand, claims that the post-Nawawi scholarship - which is accommodated by the commentary literatures - was a time when significant dynamics occurred in the intensity of debate and opinions in Syafi'i scholarship. Hasyiya is "the central teaching text for Islamic law and the one and only genre that allowed jurists to formulate comprehensive statements covering all topics of Islamic legal doctrine," he claims.⁹ However, not only limited to the post-classical times, the continuation of *hasyiya* tradition in the 20th Century is confirmed by El-Shamsy although he asserts that the status of these literatures was no longer "the sole fount of authoritative teaching", but due to the emergence of printing press that rediscovers

⁵ Ahmed and Larkin, "The *Hāshiyā*," pp. 213-214.

⁶ Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*.

⁷ El-Shamsy, "*Hāshiyā* in Islamic Law," pp. 292-294.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁹ *Ibid.*

the Islamic classical texts, the jurists and muftis started to consult to the pre-Nawawi works.¹⁰

While the existing studies on commentary literature and Islamic law seems to exclusively address the *hasyiya* in the Arabic-speaking world, the case of non-Arabic speaking does not get the scholarly attention it deserves.¹¹ Kooria's study¹² is perhaps among the earliest works to fill this lacuna. He examines how a *cosmopolis of Islamic law* was formed through commentarial works in the oceanic network. Utilizing the *Annales* approach, he also establishes the argument for the *lounge durée* of Shafī'i tradition from 13th until 20th Century. His recent study covering some important Syafī'i texts such as *Minhaj al-Talibin*, *Tuhfat al-Muhtaj*, *Nihayat al-Muhtaj*, *Qurrat al-'Ain*, *Fath al-Mu'in*, *I'anat al-Talibin* and *Nihayat al-Zayn*.

In the light of previous research findings, this article tries to examine the continuation of commentarial tradition in the 20th Century Southeast Asian context through the *Jawi-Islamic scholarship*.¹³ The work under investigation is *Inarat al-Dujā Sharḥ Tamwīr al-Hijā Nazm Safīnat al-Najā*¹⁴ by Muhammad 'Ali bin Husain al-Mālikī al-Makki (1870-1945 AD/1287-1364 AH), a charismatic cleric the Mecca of Moroccan descent who became one of the teachers for some *Jawi* students, including the famous Muhammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī al-Makki (1915-1990 AD / 1333-1410 H). What makes the book privilege is the fact that it was a *sharḥ* on *Tamwīr al-Hijā Nazm Safīnat al-Najā*, the Arabic poetic work on Islamic law composed by Ahmad Qusyari al-Lāsīmī al-Fāsuruwānī (d. 1894-1972 AD/1311-1392 AH), a great

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 304.

¹¹ One of the representative journals that specifically paid more attention on post-classical Islamic literature is *Oriens: Journal of Philosophy, Theology and Science in Islamic Societies*, which has also dedicated some special issues on "multi-layered literatures" in Islamic world. The commentaries in the context of non-Arabic-speaking regions seems to have not received attention so far. See <https://brill.com/view/journals/orie/orie-overview.xml>, accessed on October 4, 2022.

¹² Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*.

¹³ Here we adopt the term coined by Moch. Noor Ichwan in his study on Qur'anic exegesis and *Jawi* literature. See Moch. Nur Ichwan. "The End of *Jawi-Islamic Scholarship*," in Lalita Sinha (ed) *Rainbows in Malay Literatures and Beyond* (Pulau Pinang: Universiti Sains Malaysia, 2000).

¹⁴ Muhammad 'Ali bin Husain al-Mālikī, *Inarat al-Dujā Syarḥ Tamwīr al-Hijā Nazm Safīnat al-Najā* (Singapore & Jedah: al-Ḥaramain li al-Tibā'ah wa al-Nasyr wa al-Tauzī', n.d).

scholar from Lasem, Central Java who settled in Pasuruan, East Java. The work was a monument for such “trans-regional collaboration” linking *Jawi*-Islamic scholarship and Hijaz authority at the dawn of the 20th Century under what we might call “the scholarship of *Safinat al-Najab*”.

In the broader sense, this article aims at reviewing the early twentieth-century Islamic intellectual tradition in Malay-Indonesian archipelago which is dominated by the study of the transmission of Islamic modernism¹⁵ and rarely pays attention to the transmission of old *haramain* network which actually remained at work at that time.¹⁶ It attempts to conduct a preliminary study on Muhammad ‘Ali al-Maliki’s *Inārah al-Dujā*, including a study its historical background, some important aspects it contains, and the meaning of the work for the intellectual history of Islam in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago in the early twentieth century.

From Hadramaut to Batavia: The Trans-regional Scholarship of *Safinat al-Najā*

Safinat al-Najab,¹⁷ written by Sālim ibn Sumayr al-Ḥadramī al-Batāwī, which is glossed in many commentary literatures, is one of the most important works in studying the history of Islamic *fiqh* in the 19th and 20th Century Malay-Indonesian archipelago and the rest of the

¹⁵ See for instances, Michael Laffan, *The Making of Indonesian Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1991); Jajat Burhanuddin, “Aspiring for Islamic Reform: Southeast Asian Requests for *Fatwas* in al-Manar,” *Islamic Law and Society* 12 (2005); Yon Machmudi, Frial R. Supratman, and Mehmet Ozay, “Turkish Laicism In Indonesia’s Newspapers (1920-1940) and its Influence on Indonesian Secularists and Muslims’ Thoughts,” *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 15, 1 (2021); Miftahudin, *Sejarah Perkembangan Intelektual Islam di Indonesia: Dari Abad XIX sampai Masa Kontemporer* (Yogyakarta, UNY Press, 2017).

¹⁶ Among those few works are Mohammad Redzuan Othman, “The Role of Makka-educated Malays in the Development of Early Islamic Scholarship and Education in Malaya,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9, 2 (1998); Arif Zamhari, “Defending Islamic Tradition: Theological Responses of the Hadrami Majlis Taklim Groups toward the Salafi-Wahabi Preaching Movement in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 16, 1 (2022); Zāinul Milal Bizawie, *Sanad Dan Jejaring Ulama-santri (1830-1945)* (Tangerang Selatan: Pustaka Compass, 2016) and Ahmad Ginanjar Sya’ban, *Mabahkaryah Ulama Nusantara* (Tangerang Selatan: Pustaka Compass, 2017).

¹⁷ Sālim bin Sumayr al-Ḥadramī al-Batāwī, *Matn Safinat al-Najab fi mā Yajibu alā al-‘Abdi li Maulāh* (Beirut: Dār al-Minhāj, 2009).

Islamic world in general. *Safīnat al-Najāh*, written in earlier part of 19th Century, is one of the most popular texts for the beginners (*al-mubtadi'in*) who want to learn Shāfi'ī *Fiqh*, as well as the *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī*¹⁸ which is commonly used as the beginner's guide to the Ḥanafī school, *Mukhtaṣar al-Allamāh Khalīl*¹⁹ in the Malikiyyah, and *Mukhtaṣar Khiraqī*²⁰ in the Ḥanbalī school.

In the history of Islamic *fiqh*, *safīnah* is actually a specific term in the region of Ḥaḍramaut, Yemen, to refer to a work that contains a variety of material in a non-systematic package, but yet attracts the readers, considering that the content was addressing daily religious routine, so that the material becomes a guideline in the reader's daily life. This kind of writing is well-known among compilers of *fiqh* materials, especially in that region. *Safīnat al-Najāh* is one of the most popular *safīnah*-type work that contains material on basic religious teachings.²¹

The author, Sālim ibn Samir al-Ḥaḍramī al-Batāwī, was born in Dzī Aṣbaḥ, Ḥaḍramaut, Yemen and died in Batavia, Jakarta, Indonesia, in 1855 AD/1271 AH, and was buried there, hence he has two *nishbas*. His full name is Sālim ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Samir al-Ḥaḍramī al-Syāfi'ī. At first, he studied religion under his own father, 'Abdillāh ibn Sa'd ibn Sumayr al-Ḥaḍramī. He learned the Qur'an at a young age until he became a teacher with the title *mu'allim*, an honorific title in Ḥaḍramaut for those who diligently teach the Qur'an.²² In addition to that, he also studied *al-'ulum al-sharī'ah* (religious sciences) with his father and several prominent teachers in the valley of Ḥaḍramaut. After reaching maturity in knowledge, he dedicated

¹⁸ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qudūrī al-Ḥanafī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1997).

¹⁹ Khalīl bin Ishāq al-Mālikī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Allamāh Khalīl* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1981).

²⁰ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khiraqī, *Matn Mukhtaṣar al-Khiraqī* (Tāntā: Dār al-Ṣaḥābah li al-Turāth, 1993).

²¹ 'Abdul Wahhāb Ibrāhīm Abū Sulaimān, *Manhaj al-Baḥth fi al-Fiqh al-Islamī; Khaṣā'isubū wa Naqā'isubū* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Hazm, 1996), p. 240.

²² Sayyid 'Umat al-Jailiani, "Tamhid," in Muhammad bin 'Ali Ba 'Atiyyah, *al-Durrah al-Yatimah Syarh al-Sabbah al-Tsaminah Nadẓm Safīnah* (Hadramaut: Maktabah tarim al-Hadisyyah, 2014), p. 19.

himself to teaching and disseminating the knowledge he had acquired, so that his name was raised in Ḥaḍramaut.²³

It should be noted that, in addition to his intellectual legacy, he was heavily involved in political affairs. He lived during the Katsriyyah dynasty's reign (1379-1967 AD/781-1387 AH). He was even sent to Singapore to buy advanced weapons for Ḥaḍramaut.²⁴ However, as the political upheaval intensified, he became dissatisfied with the policies and resigned from the palace. He decided to emigrate and traveled to India, eventually arriving in Batavia, Netherlands East Indies, home to the largest Hadrami colonies. He lived there until he died.²⁵

He wrote several books, the most well-known of which are *Safīnat al-Najāh fī mā Yajibun alā al-'Abdi li Maulāh* and *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīyyah fī al-Zajri 'an Ta'āṭi al-Ḥiyāl al-Ribawīyyah*. The first is his monumental work, which is widely regarded as the foundational work of Shafi'i *fiqh* throughout the Islamic world. This work has been commented upon by many scholars in various parts of the Islamic world in various formats. It should also be noted that *Safīnat al-Najāh* is a work that has been refined over time. The original text by Salim ibn Sumayr only contains material on religious principles (*uṣūl al-dīn*) and material on worship (*'ubūdiyyah*) up to the chapter on *ṣakat*.²⁶ When the text was glossed for the first time by Nawawī al-Bantanī (d. 1897 CE) in 1861 CE/1227 AH under the title *Kāsyifab al-Sajā alā Safīnat al-Najā*, he added a chapter on fasting (*shaum*).²⁷ For about five decades, the widespread standard text of *Safīnat al-Najā* was the Nawawī's version. Later on, the book was also enhanced by several other commentators

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Harold Ingrams, a British colonial administrator who visited Hadramaut in 1936, says that Singapore and Java are home to the largest Hadrami colonies. The political dynamics in Yaman usually involve these two regions, given that many important Hadramaut figures have relations and assets in these two regions and even certain officials live there. One such example is the transfer of weapons from Singapore to Hadramaut during internal disputes. The weapon imports have been carried out since the time of Salim bin Sumayr until the time when Ingrams visited Hadramaut. Harold Ingrams, "Political Development in the Hadramaut," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs)* 21, 2 (1945), p. 243.

²⁵ al-Jailiani, "Tahmid," pp. 19-20; Ingrams, "Political Development," p. 236.

²⁶ Sālīm bin Sumayr al-Ḥadramī *Matn Safīnat al-Najā*, p. 8.

²⁷ Muhammad bin 'Umar Nawawī al-Jāwī al-Bantanī, *Kāsyifab al-Sajā alā Safīnat al-Najā* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Hazm, 2011), p. 481.

by adding a chapter on *Hajj*, among them was Aḥmad Qusyairī al-Fāsuruwāni in his *Tanwīr al-Ḥijā Nazm Safīnat al-Najā* which he completed in 1925 CE/1343 AH. Later on, the text of *Safīnat al-Najā* was also refined by Muḥammad bin ‘Alī Bā ‘Aṭīyyah in his book *Ghayat al-Munā Syarḥ Safīnat al-Najā*²⁸ which he completed in 2006. In it, he completed the text of Nawawī's version with a chapter on pilgrimage (*hajj*).

The Arabic commentaries on *Safīnat al-Najā* are listed below. The first fourteen works are based on the identification made by Sayyid ‘Umar bin Hāmid al-Jailānī’s in his introduction to *al-Durrat al-Yatīmah*:²⁹

Table 1. List of Commentaries on *Safīnat al-Najā*

Title	Author	Format
<i>Nazm al-Sayyid ‘Abdillāh bin ‘Alī bin Ḥasan al-Ḥaddād</i>	‘Abdullāh bin ‘Alī bin Ḥasan al-Ḥaddād	<i>Nazm</i>
<i>Nazm al-Sayyid Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin ‘Alawī Bā‘aqil</i>	Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin ‘Alawī Bā‘aqil	<i>Nazm</i>
<i>Nazm al-Shaikḥ Ṣiddīq bin ‘Abdillāh al-Batuhānī al-Lāsīmī</i>	Ṣiddīq bin ‘Abdillāh al-Batuhānī al-Lāsīmī	<i>Nazm</i>
<i>Tanwīr al-Ḥijā Nazm Safīnat al-Najā</i>	Aḥmad Qusyairī bin Ṣiddīq al-Lāsīmī al-Fāsuruwāni	<i>Nazm</i>
<i>Al-Lu’lu’ah al-Ṣaminah Nazm Safīnah</i>	Muḥammad bin ‘Alī Bā Ḥannān al-Kindī	<i>Nazm</i>
<i>Al-Sabḥah al-Ṣaminah Nazm Safīnah</i>	Aḥmad Masyhūr bin Tāhā al-Ḥaddād	<i>Nazm</i>
<i>Kāsyifah al-Sajā alā Safīnat al-Najā</i>	Muḥammad bin ‘Umar Nawawī al-Jāwī al-Makkī	<i>Sharḥ</i>
<i>Al-Durrat al-Ṣaminah Ḥāsyiah alā Safīnah</i>	Aḥmad bin Muhammad al-Ḥaḍrawī al-Makkī	<i>Ḥāshiah</i>
<i>Nail al-Rajā alā Safīnat al-Najā</i>	Aḥmad bin ‘Umar al-Syātīrī	<i>Sharḥ</i>

²⁸ Muhammad bin ‘Alī Bā ‘Aṭīyyah, *Ghayat al-Munā Syarḥ Safīnat al-Najā* (Hadramaut: Maktabah Tarim al-Hadisyyah, 2008), p. 20.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 17-26.

Title	Author	Format
<i>Nasim al-Hayāh alā Safinat al-Najāh</i>	Abdullāh bin Auḍ bin Mubāarak Bukair	<i>Sharḥ</i>
<i>Inārat al-Dujā Syarḥ Tamwir al-Ḥijā Naẓm Safinat al-Najā</i>	Muḥammad ‘Ali bin Husein al-Mālikī al-Makkī	<i>Sharḥ</i>
<i>Wasilat al-Rajā Syarḥ Safinat al-Najā</i>	Ḥasan bin Umar al-Syīrāzī	<i>Sharḥ</i>
<i>Sullam al-Rajā bi Syarḥ Safinat al-Najā</i>	Uthmān bin Muḥammad Sa‘id Tunkal (Jambi)	<i>Sharḥ</i>
<i>Al-Durrat al-Yatimah Syarḥ al-Sabḥah al-Ṣaminah Naẓm Safinah</i>	Muḥammad bin Ali Bā ‘Atiyyah	<i>Sharḥ</i>
<i>Ghayat al-Muna Syarḥ Safinat al-Najā</i>	Muḥammad bin Ali Bā ‘Atiyyah	<i>Sharḥ</i>
<i>Nail al-Rajā Mandzumat Safinat al-Najā</i>	Abu Fauzi Muhammad Ma’sum bin Siraj al-Syirbuni (Cirebon)	<i>Naẓm</i>
<i>Fayd al-Hijā ‘ala Nail al-Rajā</i>	Sahal Mahfudz al-Hajjini (Kajen)	<i>Sharḥ</i>
<i>Al-Lali al-Mufradat ‘ala Safinat al-Najat</i> (manuscript)	Mansur bin Nasr Abdullah ‘Ulwan	<i>Naẓm</i>

Based on the above information, the engagement of *Jawi* scholars in the scholarship network of *Safinat al-Najāh* is evidenced by at least three works in the form of poetic-style (*naẓm*) and three works in the form of *sharḥ*. In addition to the listed works above, there are certainly many other works based on *Safinat al-Najāh* by Indonesian scholars that are not included in the list, especially the works that use local languages. As the title of the core text (*matn*) suggests (*safinah* literally means “ship”), this work is far from being local, rather it has itself sailed trans-regionally across the ocean, from Yemen to Batavia following the journey of its author. *Safina*, accordingly, is included in what Kooria refers to as the “Oceanic Shafi’i text”.³⁰

In this case, Sayyid ‘Umar al-Jailani emphasizes that *Safinat al-Najāh* is widely well-known in almost all parts of the Islamic world. It was used by both students and teachers throughout Haḍramaut and other

³⁰ Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, p. 310.

parts of Yemen. Likewise, in the pre-Wahhabi period, *Safīnat al-Najāh* was taught in several Meccan educational institutions such as al-Ṣaulatiyyah, Dār al-‘Ulūm, and Madāris al-Falāḥ. Not only in the Middle East, the book is also widespread in East African regions such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanzania, Kenya, Zanzibar, and Nigeria. The popularity of *Safīnat al-Najāh* has undoubtedly reached the Southeast Asian region, especially in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. It was even translated into local languages such as Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese.³¹ Martin van Bruinessen, based on Van den Berg’s previous survey, points out that *Safīnatun Najah*, together with *Sullam al-Taufīq* by Abdullah bin Hussein bin Tahir Ba ‘Alawi (d. 1272/1855), is the introductory text that tops the list in the majority of *pesantren*, especially in Java and Madura.³²

***Tanwīr al-Hijā* and Its Author**

The popularity of *Safīnat al-Najāh* as a beginner's text in Shafi‘i *fiqh* has produced multi-layered scholarship. In addition to the network of scholars based in Hadramaut and Hijaz, *Safīnat al-Naja* has also formed its own scholarship outside the “center”, namely in non-Arabic speaking regions. This is demonstrated, for example, by the commentary/gloss literatures on the *Safīnah* written in and by scholars in the Malay-Indonesian world and certainly in other parts of the Islamic world. In traditional Javanese Islamic educational institutions (*pesantren*), for example, many pedagogical textbooks based on *Safīnah* were composed by their authorities with their own characteristics. In Cirebon, West Java, for instance, Abu Fauzi Ma'sum bin Sheikh Siraj composed *Nail al-Raja Manzūmat Safīnat al-Naja* which was elaborated by Sahal Mahfuz’s *Faid al-Hija*.³³ Thus, one should not forget the countless works on *Safīnah* in the form of gloss and translation in various local languages that were almost entirely published only for their respective circle.

Being trans-regional from the very beginning, a reverse movement of *Safīna* scholarship took place in the early 20th Century when a Hijazi

³¹ al-Jailiani, “Tamhid,” p. 18.

³² Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat* (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012), p. 130.

³³ Sahal Mahfuz al-Hajini, *Faid al-Hija*. Digitalized by Ibn al-Dimaki, downloaded from https://archive.org/details/maktabahmilkutub_yopmail_20151024_1440 accessed on August 22, 2022.

scholar wrote a commentary on a text composed by a Javanese. In the eastern part of Java, Ahmad Qusyairi al-Fasuruwani composed *Tanwir al-Hija* which gained wider recognition by the author's collaboration with Muhammad 'Ali al-Maliki, the influential Hijaz authorities at that time who wrote a commentary on *Tanwir*, *Inarat al-Duja Syarb Tanwir al-Hija*, a work under investigation in this article. *Tanwir* contains 312 Arabic stanzas based on *Safinat al-Najah* with the addition of some material related to basic Islamic belief, *hajj* and *'umrah*, and a closing remark (*kehatimah*) on *tasawwuf* (ethic/sufism).³⁴

Until recently, this work was very popular among the Javanese *santri* (student at *pesantren*). Although not part of the compulsory reading, *Tanwir al-Hija* is studied in many *pesantren* especially in East Java, such as Madrasah al-Salafiyah Pasuruan, Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri, and many other *pesantrens*. This book along with its commentary, al-Maliki's *Inarah al-Duja* was even studied in several *pesantrens* in West Java, such as Pesantren Cipasung Tasikmalaya, as one of the alternative text books during the special Ramadhan session. Indeed, for most of student in *pesantren*, the word *Safinah* has always be referred to its glosses, rather than the very text (*matn*) of *Safinah* itself. While in the West and Central Java, the popular designation of *Safinah* mostly refer to Nawawi al-Bantani's *Kasyifah al-Saja*, in East Java, *Safinah* also refers to the stanzas which is al-Ahmad Qusyairi's *Tanwir al-Hija*.

The author of *Tanwir al-Hija*, Ahmad Qusyairi bin Siddiq, was born in Sumber Girang, a village in Lasem, Rembang, Central Java in February 7, 1894/Sya'ban 11, 1311.³⁵ This great cleric, who is also the father-in-law of Abdul Hamid, a charismatic cleric from Pasuruan, initially gained knowledge from his own father, Muhammad Shiddiq, a religious teacher in Lasem, before he continued to visit several Islamic learning centers, including the influential Pesantren Bangkalan, Madura. In Bangkalan, he studied with Kholil Bangkalan, his most influential clerics who was also the teacher of several famous Javanese religious leaders including Ahmad Qusyairi's own father, Muhammad Shiddiq from Jember, Hasyim Asy'ari from Jombang, and the likes. In addition, he also obtained religious teaching in Langitan (Tuban),

³⁴ Ahmad bin Siddiq al-Lasimi al-Fasuruwani, *Nazm Safinat al-Najat al Musamma bi Tanwir al-Hija* (Pamekasan: 'Awadl 'Abdullah al-Tamimi, 1979).

³⁵ Hamid Ahmad, KH. *Achmad Qusyairi bin Shiddiq: Pecinta Sejati Sunnah Nabi* (Pasuruan: Lembaga Informasi dan Studi Islam, 2017), p. 6.

Kajen (Pati), and Semarang. He used to teach Islamic instructions in the East Java, especially Pasuruan, Jember and Banyuwangi.

Not only was Ahmad Qusyairi al-Fasuruwani (hence al-Fasuruwani) involved in local religious activities, but he was also connected to the global network in Hijaz. He also went to Mecca to continue his studies for several months. Within three months, he managed to memorize all the Qur'an. Subsequently, he returned to Indonesia and returned to Mecca several times in order to perform the pilgrimage and another religious affair mostly related to the service of *hajj* pilgrimage. One should also note that al-Fasuruwani's settlement in Mecca was mostly related to the purpose of these affairs, since he is one of the Indonesian clerics at that time who has been one of the invited guests of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.³⁶ As such, through the affairs in the *haramayn*, he was able to establish important relationships with several masters there, including with 'Alī al-Maliki, one of the influential masters for Malay-Indonesian students in the dawn of the 20th Century. *Inārah al-Dujā* was ultimately one of the results of this close engagement.

It was notable that al-Fasuruwani was a well-known writer who was also famously skillful at composing Arabic stanzas. *Tanwīr al-Hijā* itself is one of his works that gain recognition from the religious authorities in Hijaz. The ability to compose Arabic poetry has become one of main characteristics of al-Fasuruwani's *oeuvre*. In the endorsement part (*taqrīd*) of *Inarat al-Duja* which is signed by six clerics and was attached in the first printed edition of *Inarat al-Duja* in July 11, 1959/Muharram 13, 1379 by the publisher Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi *wa Auladuhū* in Cairo, we found such an acknowledgement of al-Fasuruwani's expertise in composing Arabic stanzas.

“We have reviewed this high-quality work that has a great deal of wisdom and is easy to read, yet has a beautiful rhetoric in the string of words. We find that this work has showered its readers with a torrent of knowledge. It makes a lot of sense for the beginner and draws back the attention of the expert. This work has really contained important material both in the foundations and branches of religious teaching, and it is appropriate that it is titled: *Tanwīr al-Hijā Nazm Safinat al-Naja*. How could it not be, the composer of the stanzas who weave

³⁶ Thanks are due to Ahmad Ginanjar Sya'ban who provides this important information.

the crown of pearls in his words is a pious man of great dignity,
al-Ustadz al-Syaikh Ahmad bin Siddiq al-Lasimi al-Fasuruwani,
may Allah grant all his wishes in this world and the hereafter.³⁷

Al-Fasuruwani's passion and expertise in composing Arabic poetry is clearly reflected in his works. He wrote and delivered advices even polemics in the form of Arabic stanzas. He even expressed his mourning through poetry, as he composed poems on his way back from Mecca to Java when his son Ridwan died in 1971. When the polemics of Friday prayer (*kebutbah*) in non-Arabic language arose in Java, al-Fasuruwani was one of those who refused the translation of Arabic *kebutbah* and depended its Arabic language requirement.³⁸

He was also known as a preacher who actively delivered Islamic religious teaching in several areas in East Java. Indeed, he was one of the significant figures in the effort of Islamic religious proselytization in the eastern part of Java. While in Pasuruan, he taught at Pesantren Salafiyah, while after the proclamation of Indonesian independence, he also lived in Jathilan, Jember and Glenmore, Banyuwangi. In political sphere, he was also involved in several movements against colonial administrator. He was also reported to have been chased by the Japanese government due the accusation of anti-Japanese mobilization. His migration to Jember was also attributed to this. In spite of his ability to master foreign languages including Arabic and Dutch, for instance, he insisted on mainstreaming the Jawi-pegon script and rejected the use of Latin script endorsed by the colonial government at that time.³⁹

He wrote several important works in which he presented his creative approach both in Islamic pedagogical context and in responding to the contemporary religious issues at that time. His works including *Tannūr al-Hijā Mandzūmāt Safīnat al-Najā, Nazm*

³⁷ See the part of *Taqridh li Ba'dli Afadil al-Ulama* in Muhammad 'Ali al-Maliki, *Inārat al-Dujā*, p. 257.

³⁸ Ahmad, KH. *Achmad Qusyairi*, 107. See also Fathurrochman Karyadi, "Syair KH. Achmad Qusyairi: Berpolemik dengan Santun," in *Prosiding Mukhtamar Pemikiran Santri Nusantara (MPSN) Tahun 2019* (Jakarta: Direktorat Pendidikan Diniyyah dan Pondok Pesantren, 2019), pp. 436-453.

³⁹ Based on an interview with Ahmad Qusyairi's descendants. See "KH. Achmad Qusyairi: Hubungan dengan KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, Hingga Ijazah Mempermudah Haji." <https://pesantren.id/achmad-qusyairi-hubungan-dengan-kh-hasyim-asyari-hingga-ijazah-mempermudah-haji-11215/> accessed on October 1, 2022.

Waṣiyyah, *al-Risālah al-Lāsimiyyah fi Adab al-Akl wa al-Shurb*, *Idz̤bār al-Bishārah*, *al-Waṣīlah al-Harriyyah fi al-Ṣalawāt ‘ala Khair al-Bariyyah*, and a treatise on Friday prayer preaching (*kebutbah*).⁴⁰ He died in November 28, 1972/Syawal 22, 1392 AH at the age of 81 in Pasuruan. His tomb is located behind Al-Anwar Great Mosque, Pasuruan. Up to this day, the commemoration of his death (*haul*) is still carried out every year at Pesantren al-Shiddiqi, Glenmore, Banyuwangi, East Java.

There is still much accounts, however, that needs to be explored, especially in relation to the correspondence between al-Fasuruwani and ‘Ali al-Maliki, as well as his engagement with the Hijaz authorities in the early 20th Century, both in the context of scholarly networks and royal affairs. ‘Ali al-Maliki’s willingness to provide commentary on al-Fasuruwani’s work suggests an unusual relationship that went beyond the conventional relationship. A serious collaborative study may be needed to uncover the real figure of al-Fasuruwani and his important role in the scholarly and even diplomatic network between Hijaz and the Malay-Indonesian archipelago by exploring the data available in both countries.

Muhammad ‘Ali al-Maliki: A Maliki Jurist from Mecca

The Author of *Inārāt al-Dujā*, a commentary on al-Fasuruwani’s *Tanwīr al-Hijā*, Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn Husayn al-Mālikī al-Makkī was born in Mecca in 1287/1870 and died in the same place in 1368/1949.⁴¹ He came from an educated family of Moroccan origin. From the age of five, he became an orphan and was raised by his brother Muhammad bin Husain, a mufti of the Maliki school in Mecca. When he died in 1893 AD/1310 AH, al-Maliki was raised and guided by his other brother who was also a Malikiyya *mufti*, Syeikh al-‘Abid. At first, he studied at al-Azhar University, Egypt and briefly taught there after which he emigrated to Mecca at the suggestion of his teacher.⁴²

He studied Maliki *fiqh* with Shaykh ‘Abid and Shafī‘i *fiqh* with al-Sayyid Bakri Syata. Furthermore, he also studied *tafsir* with ‘Abdul Khaliq Ilah Abad, the author of *al-Iklīl Hashiah Tafsir al-Nasafi*, from

⁴⁰ Ahmad, KH. *Achmad Qusyairi*.

⁴¹ ‘Umar ‘Abdul Jabbar, *Siyar wa Tarajim Ba’di Ulama’ina fi al-Qarn al-Rabi’ ‘Asyara li al-Hijrah* (Jedah: Tihāmah, 1986), p. 260.

⁴² Muhammad Sa’id Mamduh, *Tasyrif al-Asmā’ bi Syuyukh al-Ijazab wa al-Simā’* (Beirut: 2013), p. 552.

whom he also obtained Hanafī *fiqh*. He also studied *hadīth* with Muhammad Abi al-Khudair al-Dimyati al-Madani, while he learned Hanbali *fiqh* from ‘Abd al-Quddus al-Nabulsi.⁴³ His *isnad* was exclusively collected by his student from Padang West Sumatera, Muhammad bin ‘Isa al-Fadani al-Makki (1990) in his book titled *al-Maslak al-Jalī fi Asānīd al-Shaykh Muhammad ‘Ali*.⁴⁴

In Mecca, he became one of the most renowned teachers teaching at the Masjid al-Haram, leading prayers and delivering sermons.⁴⁵ He is well-known for his knowledge of Maliki *fiqh* as well as Shafii *fiqh*. He has several works from both the Shafii and Maliki schools of law.⁴⁶ Sa’id Mamduh noted at least 40 works written by ‘Ali al-Maliki, including *Tabdīr al-Furuq wa al-Qawā’id al-Saniyyah fi Asrār al-Fiqhiyyah*, *Tadrīb al-Tullāb ila Qawā’id al-I’rab*, *Anwār al-Syurūq fi Ahkām al-Sundūq*, *Syams al-Isbrāq fi Hukm al-Ta’amul bil Isyrāq*, *Bulūgh al-Ummiyah fi Fatāwa Nawāzil al-‘Ashriyyah*, *Inārat al-Dujā Sharh Nadẓm Safīnat al-Najā* and many other works.⁴⁷

‘Ali Al-Mālīkī visited Indonesia twice, in 1925/1343 H and 1927/1345 H. According to ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdul Jabbar, he visited several places in Banjarmasin where some of his students came from. Being accompanied by his students, he traveled to Martapura, Amuntai, and several other areas. In each area he visited a special *majlis* provided to him. In addition, he also traveled to Surabaya, Solo, Jakarta and several other cities in Java. After that, he was asked to teach at Madrasah Dār al-‘Ulum al-Islāmiyyah in Mecca, an educational institution pioneered by ‘Abdul Muhsin bin ‘Ali al-Musāwi in 1934. He taught Mālīkī Fiqh, Ushul Fiqh, Tafsir, and Nahwu-Sharaf. He taught at Madrasa Dar al-‘Ulum as soon as it was opened until his death in 1949 AD/1368 AH.

Inārat al-Dujā: A Trans-regional Collaboration

The quotation below is the acknowledgement of ‘Ali al-Maliki for his willingness to write a gloss/commentary on al-Fasuruwani’s

⁴³ Jabbar, *Sīyar wa Tarājīm*, pp. 260-261.

⁴⁴ Muhammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī fi Asānīd al-Shaykh Muhammad ‘Ali bin Husain al-Maliki al-Makki* (Jakarta: al-Syirkah al-Zāhiriyyah, 1405 H).

⁴⁵ Mamduh, *Tasynif al-Asmā’*, p. 552.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 555.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 555-558.

Tanwīr al-Hijā. It is not an overstatement to say that this work is representing the trans-regional collaborative work between al-Fasuruwani who asked 'Alī al-Malīkī, to write a commentary (*sharh*) on his own work. As will be elaborated below, this collaboration is a continuation of long tradition created by the master-student relationship connecting Hijaz authorities and Malay-Indonesian regions.

“The work called *Tanwīr al-Hijā* composed by the man of knowledge (*al-'alim*), the honorable (*al-fadil*) who is close to God (*al-rabbani*), Syeikh Ahmad bin Shiddiq al-Lasimi al-Fasuruwani, since many Javanese students are intensively memorizing it, and the benefit of this work is spread to those who seek for knowledge, and the author asked me to make a commentary of this work, in the manner it would make clear to the beginners and to spread it benefits to those who wish, I strongly accomplish what he has asked to me, by hoping for an appeal that is accepted, when it achieves what is hoped for from that commentary (*sharh*),” Muhammad 'Alī al-Malīkī⁴⁸

The transmission of knowledge in Islamic intellectual history is heavily preserved by the scientific network built by the relationship between teachers and students. Since the 17th century AD, students from *Jawi*/Malay-Indonesian archipelago (*ashab al-jawīyyin*) have studied in the Middle East, especially Mecca and Madinah (*al-haramayn*) as the “center” of Islamic learning. Azyumardi Azra has rightly emphasizes the position of *al-haramayn* as the largest meeting place for Muslims all over the world, making it one of the intellectual centers of Islam, where Muslim scholars, be it jurists, sufis, poets, philosophers, businessmen, and historians shared their knowledge and carried out various activities including trade affairs, politics, and religious matters.⁴⁹ This is exactly the reason behind the cosmopolite vision of the scholars who study or teach in this central of Islamic learning at that time.⁵⁰

Masjid al-Haram and *Masjid Nabawi* became two most important centers of intellectual activity in Hijaz. However, in its development, *madrassa* and *ribat* also emerged as more formal learning institutions.

⁴⁸ Al-Malīkī, *Inarat al-Dnja*, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Azyumardi Azra, “Networks of the *Ulama* in the Haramayn; Connections in the Indian Ocean Region”, *Studia Islamika* 8, 2 (2001), p. 83.

⁵⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai Press, 2004), p. 9.

The institution consists of a head, teaching staff, *qadi*, and several functionaries. Madrasah al-Ghiyatsiyah, built in 1411 AD/813 AH, for instance, divided its *fiqh* classes according to the four schools of Islamic law (*al-madhāhib al-arbaʿah*) and provided a quota of 20 students for each class.⁵¹ Later on, the scholars who taught in the *al-haramayn* were also often asked to answer religious questions from different parts of the world. As such, they usually have a special *majlis* (session) to discuss these contemporary problems. In some cases, they would issue a written *fatwa* and very rarely would they write a special book to address certain issues.⁵²

As noted by Azra, at the end of the 17th century, for instance, there was a *fatwa* from a *qadi* in Mecca regarding Sultanah Kamalat-Shah, stating that the Islamic Kingdom could not be led by a woman.⁵³ In addition to *fatwas*, teachers in *al-haramain* sometimes wrote a special book dedicated to answering the problems that *Jawi* students asked about. In the context of the 17th Century polemic of *wujudīyya*, for example, the book titled *Ithaf al-Zaki* by Ibrahim Hasan al-Kurani (1616-1690 AD), a great 17th Century sufi of Medina, is an evident for the engagement of *Jawi* students with Hijaz authority on religious issues in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. It was written in response to the question of how to understand al-Burhanfuri's *al-Tuhfab al-Mursalab*.⁵⁴ According to A.H. Johns, it is very likely that the question was first posed by 'Abdurrauf al-Sinkili (1615-1693 AD), a disciple of al-Qusyasyi and a friend of al-Kurani, who returned to Aceh in 1661 CE.⁵⁵ According to Naser Dumairieh's recent study, there are at least four al-Kurani's texts were written especially for his *Jawi* students in

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵² Azra, "Networks," pp. 89-90.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 90.

⁵⁴ It is one of the authoritative sources that shows the engagement of Malay-Indonesian archipelago with the polemics of *wahdatul wujud* in the 17th Century. It is also the work that inspired the birth of works on *tasawwuf-falsafi* in the archipelago. Al-Kurani is an interpreter and defender of Ibn Arabi's thought who was also well-known as a reconciler between shari'a and sufism. For the study on *Ithaf al-Zaki*, see Oman Fathurrahman, "Uslub al-Mazahib al-Sufiyyah al-Muhaddasah bi Indunisiyya: Mulahazat 'ala Kitab *Ithaf al-Zaki* li Syaikh Ibrahim al-Kurani," *Studia Islamika* 9, 1 (2001): pp. 139-158.

⁵⁵ Anthony H. Johns, "Kata Pengantar," in Oman Fathurrahman, *Ithaf al-Dhaki: Tafsir Wahdatul Wujud Bagi Muslim Nusantara* (Bandung: Mizan, 2012), p. viii.

Madinah or in response to the question from Malay-Indonesian world.⁵⁶

This tradition persisted in the 19th and 20th Centuries alongside the growth of religious concerns. We have seen, based on the existing studies, that the primary topic of the correspondence between *Jawi* students and their masters in *al-haramain* during the 17th and 18th Centuries was the theology and sufism, especially the polemic of *wujudyyah*. As will be further elaborated, entering the latter part of 19th and 20th Centuries, the issues were also expanded to Islamic jurisprudence on contemporary issues yet through the lens of traditional authorities based on four major school of Islamic law (*madzhab al-arba'a*) in traditional manner (master-student transmission).

It can be seen, for instance, in the correspondence between 'Ali al-Maliki and his students, including al-Fasuruwani. Like al-Kurani, 'Ali al-Maliki had also written a special work dedicated to his *Jawi* disciples, a treatise titled *Bulugh al-Ummiyah fi Fatawa Nawazil al-'Ashriyyah* that was completed in 1932 AD/1351 H. It contains a compilation of *fatwas* based on 13 questions from his *Jawi* students, including *fatwas* on *ijtihad* within a school of law, the meal at the seventh day of *tablilan* (ritual of praying for those who have died), the Islamic law perspective on playing soccer, painting, and other contemporary issues at that time.⁵⁷ What is more is a distinctive sort of collaboration within the context of the commentarial tradition between *Jawi* students and the *haramayn* authorities. *Inarat al-Duja Syarb Tanwir al-Hija*, which is the subject of this article, serves as proof of this. In fact, this kind of collaboration has a precedent back to the 17th Century. Ibrahim al-Kurani, for instance, had written a work entitled *al-Kasyf al-Muntazhar fima yarabu al-Muhtadar* in 1673, as verification and confirmation of a treatise titled *Sakarāt al-Maut* written by al-Sinkili who asked al-Kurani to review and validate his own work.⁵⁸

According to 'Ali al-Maliki's explanation, it appears that he kept close contact with al-Fasuruwani and *Jawi* students in general and *Inarab* was particularly written due to the *Jawi* students' enthusiasm for *Tanwir*, on the one hand, and the request of al-Fasuruwani himself, on

⁵⁶ Naser Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in Hijaz before Wahhabism: Ibrahim al-Kurani's (d. 1101/1690) Theology of Sufism* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), p. 136.

⁵⁷ Al-Maliki, *Bulugh al-Ummiyah fi Fatawa Nawazil al-'Ashriyyah*.

⁵⁸ Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in Hijaz*, p. 122 and p. 153.

the other. To the best of our knowledge, *Inarab al-Duja* was printed for the first time in 1959 by the publisher Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi wa Auladuhu, Cairo, Egypt. As Snouck Hurgronje has pointed out, the “reading public” of Mekkah until the latter part of 19th Century was almost entirely supplied from Cairo where the Meccan writers printed their works.⁵⁹ *Inarab* was finished in 1933 one year after the declaration of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, when the Wahhabis were just beginning to pursuing their mission although they have not shown a significant influence in changing the educational landscape in the *haramain*, other than to establish educational institutions and criticize previous religious practices.⁶⁰

However, we are currently unable to locate any reliable information about the precise information of their correspondence, whether it occurred when al-Fasuruwani was in Mecca or when ‘Ali al-Maliki was on a visit to Indonesia. What is clear is that *Tamwir* was completed in 1925/1343, while *Inarab al-Duja* was finished eight years later, 1933 /1351 and was printed in 1959 with the certificate of review by the publisher Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi wa Auladuhu along with the one-page endorsement (*taqrīd*) from six religious clerics;⁶¹ Muhammad Isma‘il, Ibrahim Sa‘id, Mahmud Inayatillah, Rajab Basyir, Abdul Karim Muhammad, and Sa‘d al-Din Munir.⁶² In that first printed edition, *Inarab* was also printed along with two other tractates of ‘Ali al-Maliki, namely *Bulūgh al-Ummiyyah bi Fatāwa al-Navāzil al-‘Ashriyyah* and *al-Lum‘ah fi Bayāni ma huwa al-Rajīb fi Anwālī Waqt al-Jumu‘ah*.

Some Aspects of *Inārat al-Dujā*

Material Sources

Inārat al-Dujā is a commentary/gloss (*sharh*) on 312 Arabic stanzas composed by Ahmad Qusyairi. Like the manner of *sharh* literatures in general, all elaborations are based on one sentence or even one word contained in each verse as follows:

⁵⁹ Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca in the Latter Part of 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 179.

⁶⁰ Mamduh, *Tasyrif al-Asmā’*, pp. 50-51.

⁶¹ ‘Ali al-Maliki, *Inarat al-Duja*, p. 257.

⁶² We have not identified these six names due to limited information. However, they are certainly scholars who were active in the mid-20th century (decade of the 50s).

*Wa min shurūṭ al-ghuṣl wa al-wuḍū' * al-Islām wa al-tamyīz wa al-naqā'*
Qawla al-Nāẓim ḥafīẓahu Allāh: (wa min shurūṭ) ṣiḥḥab (al-ghuṣl wa al-
*wuḍū' * al-Islām) fa lā yaṣiḥḥ kull minhumā min kaḥīr li annahu*
'ibādah badanīyah li ghayr ḍarūrah wa lays huwa min aḥliḥā (wa) min
shurūṭ ṣiḥḥatibā ayḍan (al-tamyīz) fa lā yaṣiḥḥ kull min ghayr mumayyīz
ka ṭiḥl wa majnūn li mā dhukir ḥāl kaww mā dhukir (ma'a) isbtirāṭ
(naq') kull min al-mutawaddi' wa al-muḡhtasil.⁶⁴

After presenting an elementary explanation after a verse, he usually explores a particular issue by presenting a quotation from previous authorities mostly from Syafi'i literatures and in some portion also from Maliki sources. In many places, 'Ali al-Maliki also inserted some important notes with various wording; *tanbih*, *tatimmah*, *faidah*, and others. Based on the printed edition by al-Haramayn Publisher, which is the reference for this article, *Inārat* consists of 212 pages long.

The material source in *Inārat* is mostly relied on two works, Nawawi al-Bantani's *Kasyifab al-Saja*, the first commentary of *Safīnat al-Najā* which is identified by 'Ali al-Maliki by *sharḥ al-asl* or *sharīḥ al-asl*, and Ibrahim al-Bajuri's *Hashiyā Bajuri 'ala Sharḥ Ibn Qasim al-Ghaẓẓi 'ala Matn Abi Syuja'*. One can easily conclude that, except in the chapter on *uṣūl al-dīn* and *hajj*, the most cited reference is *sharḥ al-asl/sharīḥ al-asl* which is Nawawi's *Kasyifab*. What 'Ali al-Maliki does creatively is providing a discussion on a particular issue with a comparative approach which is mainly based on Syafi'i authoritative works along with the Maliki sources. As such, one can notice that 'Ali al-Maliki has first and foremost applied the rules of the hierarchy of reference authority in the Syafi'i school in elaborating Ahmad Qusyairi's *Tanwir al-Hija* which is indeed a Syafi'i text, yet with the touch of his Maliki background.

He frequently cited al-Nawawi and al-Rafi'i, the two masters of Syafi'i tradition, their commentators, Zakariyya al-Ansari, Ibn Hajar al-Haytami and Syamsuddin al-Ramli, along with the later post-classical

⁶⁴ The original version in Arabic says:

من شروط الغسل والوضوء * الاسلام و التمييز و النقاء
 قال الناظم حفظه الله: (ومن شروط) صحة (الغسل والوضوء * الاسلام) فلا يصح كل منهما من كافر لأنه
 عبادة بدنية لغير ضرورة وليس هو من أهلها (و) من شروط صحتها أيضا (التمييز) فلا يصح كل من غير
 مميز كطفل و مجنون لما ذكر حال كون ما ذكر (مع) اشتراط (نقاء) كل من المتوضئ والمغتسل
 See 'Ali al-Maliki, *Inarat al-Dnja*, pp. 60-61.

Syafi'i authorities such as Jalaluddin al-Suyuti (d. 919/1505) 'Ali bin Yahya al-Zayadi (d. 1024/1615), 'Ali bin 'Ali al-Syabramalisi (d. 1087/1676), Sulaiman al-Bujairimi (d. 1221/1806), Abdullah al-Syarqawi (d. 1227/1812), the teacher of 'Ali al-Maliki's father, Ibrahim al-Bajuri (d. 1276/1860), 'Ali al-Maliki's teacher Abu Bakr bin Muhammad Syata (d. 1310/1892), and the other authorities in Syafi'i *fiqh*. However, one cannot also ignore the smaller number of quotations from Maliki authorities such as Ibn Rusyd (d. 594/1198), Ibn 'Arafah (d. 804/1401), Muhammad al-Khursy (d. 1101/1690), Ibn Hamdun (d. 1232/1817), Muhammad al-Amir (d. 1232/1817), and the others.

It should also be noted that 'Ali al-Maliki provides a description in his explanations by conducting a comparative study of various sources on a single issue. On many occasions, he simply lists the different opinions⁶⁵ and some times, he makes a selection (*tarjīh*) from the different opinions.⁶⁶ In the context of quotation, he uses a direct indication of the source consulted. In this case, one can see how 'Ali al-Maliki is quite strict on the source indication. He almost never leaves out the direct citation of sources in the narratives of *Inārah*, either the name of the author, the book, or both. Franz Rosenthal asserts that this kind attitude reflects a critical approach. According to him, later Muslim scholars since al-Suyuti, felt that only direct and careful indication of the sources could secure them from the consequences of an uncritical attitude.⁶⁷

The issue of source material in *Inārah* suggests a genealogical tradition of oral knowledge preservation in the Islamic world. In order to preserve knowledge from the very beginning, the writing tradition of in Islamic scholarship presupposes a 'transcendent' meaning of the source of knowledge (and writing) itself. The author presupposes a material-spiritual connection in the preservation process, so that the source of knowledge, apart from having a physical meaning as a "quotation process", also means the self-attachment to the higher authority which even reaches the first authority, namely the Prophet Muhammad himself. This also explains the necessity of quoting

⁶⁵ 'Ali al-Maliki, *Inarat al-Duja*, p. 41, 44, and elsewhere.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80 and elsewhere.

⁶⁷ Rosenthal, *Etika Keserjanaan Muslim: Dari al-Farabi hingga Ibn Khaldun*, trans. Ahsin Muhammad (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), p. 104.

previous authorities as a form of chain-link as the basis to respond to new legal issues, on the one hand, and to preserve the existing knowledge, mainly in pedagogical context, on the other. While 'Ali al-Maliki wrote *Inārah* based on the consideration of *Tamwīr* as a textbook in Javanese Islamic *pesantrens*, of course he considered this aspect in *Inārah*; writing a *sharh* to preserve knowledge through its transmission. On the other side, *Inarah* contains what Walid Saleh refers to as— inherited corpus material⁶⁸—to be preserved as well as the basis in dealing with contemporary realities at that time, as he did when considering the Zaidiyyah *mazhab* that spread in the Yemeni region at that time,⁶⁹ issues related to giving alms for the contemporary descendants of Prophet Muhammad,⁷⁰ and the other issues.

One of the unique source issues in *Inarah* is the citation of al-Syafi'i's sayings. Although the majority is cited through secondary sources, we found at least one citation accompanied by an indication of the source that mentions al-Syafi'i's own work, *al-Risālah al-Uṣūliyyah*.⁷¹ It is highly probable that 'Ali al-Maliki had indeed consulted *al-Risalah*, given that this work was already published at least in the early 20th Century by the likes of Maktabah Bulaq (1908) and Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi (1940).⁷² Here, one can say about the influence of print culture in the traditional writing tradition in Syafi'i mazhab, although in its overall structure, *Inarah* remains a work written in a tradition that recognized certain authorities in the multi-layered scholarship in Syafi'iyyah tradition.

A Maliki Scholar Who Wrote Shafi'i Fiqh

One of the important salient features of *Inārah al-Dujā* is that the author is better known as a Maliki scholar, while the work he commented upon is a Syafi'i text. *Inarah*, then, is a monument not only to a trans-regional collaboration, but also to a trans-school of law.

⁶⁸ Walid A. Saleh, "Preliminary Remarks on the Historiography of Tafsir in Arabic: A History of the Book Approach," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 12 (2010), p. 14.

⁶⁹ 'Ali al-Maliki, *Inarah al-Duja*, pp. 33-34.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁷² Joseph E. Lowry, *Early Islamic Legal Theory: The Risala of Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 7. See also Ahmed El-Shamsy, *Rediscovering Islamic Classic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), pp. 232-324.

Through this work, one can also witness the cosmopolite character of religious education which remains in *Hijaz* in the first part of 20th Centuries, at least before the takeover of Mecca by Wahabi armed group in 1400/1979 which is identified by Sa'id Mamduh as *abdats al-haram al-mu'limah* (the painful tragedy of holy-lands).⁷³ Although the Wahhabis entered Mecca in 1343/1924, they have not been able to fully control the old Meccan education system, although their controversies and polemics, including condemning local religious practices and destroying historical buildings, have begun to draw criticism from the local population and even from regions outside the Hijaz. They slowly built *madrasabs* and even universities to spread the teachings of Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab. Until the 70s, the old education system still had its place, until the tragedy of 1979 began to change everything. The curriculum of the Madrasah Darul 'Ulum led by Yasin al-Fadani, for instance, has since been intervened with the necessity to change the existing curriculum with the works of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab and Hanbali *Fiqh*. This historic *madrasah* for *Jawi* students was eventually closed after al-Fadani's death in 1991.⁷⁴

We can see that by the time of 'Ali al-Maliki, the four schools of Islamic law occupied the same space in Hijaz; they are studied in various *madrasas* and practiced in various *fatwa* commissions. 'Ali al-Maliki himself was a *mufti* of the Maliki schools of law who also studied the other schools, especially the Syafi'i *mazhab* and also wrote in Syafi'i *fiqh*. It leads to several implications. The comparative pattern in *fiqh* discourse is a special characteristic in 'Ali al-Maliki's elaboration. His *fatwas* in *Bulugh al-Ummiyah* reflects this comparative approach, where he examines it from the perspective of the four *Imams*.⁷⁵ In *Inarah*, he rarely discusses one issue through the lens of the four *mazhabs*. It can be seen, for example, when he discusses the title of the noblest city, whether it be Mecca or Medina.⁷⁶ In many ways, 'Ali al-Maliki was a true Syafi'iyya when writing *Inarah*, in that he used authoritative sources from that school, as has already been mentioned in the aforementioned source material analysis.

⁷³ Sa'id Mamduh, *Tasyrif al-Asma'*.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 53.

⁷⁵ al-Mālikī, *Bulugh al-Ummiyah*, pp. 213-242.

⁷⁶ Al-Mālikī, *Inarat al-Dujā*, p. 41.

However, his Malikiyya background remains a reality that shapes his comparative perspective in seeing at and discoursing on a legal issue. Although it is only present in small portion of *Inarab*, the Malikiyyah perspective sometimes became a “comparison” to the Syafi’iyya standing position in a disputed issue.⁷⁷ However, he principally adheres to the Syafi’i rules while elaborating each verse of *Tamwir*, as can be seen when he explains the skin contact (*al-lams*) between two different gender as something that invalidates the ablution (*wudhu*). In this case, he does not further problematize the differences between al-Syafi’i and al-Maliki on the meaning of *al-lams* which is skin touch for the former and sexual intercourse for the latter, thus, he explained the issue in Syafi’i matrix.⁷⁸ However, sometimes he also states his assessment of different alternatives from several opinions and ends up with the Malikiyya alternative, though not always the preferred one.⁷⁹

Istidrak: al-Fasuruwani's Verification on 'Ali al-Maliki's Claim

As a Maliki *mufti* who elaborates on a Syafi’i text, the author of *Inarab* naturally presupposes two quite different rules in two *madhbhābs*. It eventually becomes the basis of his pre-understanding in writing *Inarab*. In the discussion on the first pillar of Islam (*arkan al-iman*), that is saying the two sentences of *syahadat* (confession of faith), ‘Ali al-Maliki uses a cross-reference perspective in analyzing the issue. What is notable for him is that through this stanzas, al-Fasuruwani is considered to have departed from eight (8) rules that are considered to be authoritative (*mu'tamad*) among the Syafi’iyyah regarding the pronunciation of *syahadat*, namely; (1) containing elements of *al-nafy wa al-isbat* (negation and confirmation), (2) using the word *ayhadu* (I confess), (3) pronouncing *syahadat* in orderly manner, and (4) consecutive; in the sense that there is no long pause between the pronunciation of the two sentences, (5) the person who recites should be *aqil-baligh* (one who reach puberty and has responsibility in Islamic law), (6) the absence of any indication of infidelity in the person who pronounces the *syahada*, (7) pronouncing the sentences voluntarily and

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 63.

⁷⁹ al-Mālikī, *Inārat al-Dujā*, p. 172.

not under pressure, and (8) there must be a declaration (for non-Muslims) of what he has renounced from the old faith.⁸⁰

This made al-Fasuruwani moved to verify. Before the book was printed by the publisher (Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi), he asked the publisher to attach an additional note from him entitled *istidrak* (verification) placed at the end of *Inarat* in one particular page.⁸¹ In this case, 'Ali al-Maliki examined what is behind these stanzas both through the lens of Syafi'i and Maliki perspective. While the former set several requirements, the latter perspective does not require any of the eight rules proposed by the Syafi'iyyah. The most important thing in the Maliki perspective is to pledge the Oneness of Allah and the prophethood of Muhammad even if it comes from a child. In this case, al-Maliki indirectly assumed that al-Fasuruwani doesn't strictly follow the Syafi'i rules. This is due to 'Ali al-Maliki's understanding that the obligation to recite the *shahadat* according to al-Fasuruwani applies to both non-Muslims and Muslims. While on the one hand, there are certain rules in the Syafi'i *madhhab* related to the procedure for pronouncing the *shahadat*.

'Ali al-Maliki, in this case, considers al-Fasuruwani to have applied one standard for both Muslims and non-Muslims in the obligation to pronounce the *shahadat*. Al-Fasuruwani verifies that he still distinguishes between the two groups, along with the Syafi'i rules regarding both. All the conditions, for him, apply to non-Muslims, while only some of them apply to Muslims. In addition, what al-Fasuruwani emphasizes is the obligation to "pronounce" the two sentences both for Muslims and non-Muslims (*kafir-asliy* and *murtadd*), although the obligation for Muslims is only in their daily prayer. This verification indicates the critical feedback from the writer of core text, although it is unlikely that 'Ali al-Maliki, the commentator, had the opportunity to read the document.

The Early 20th Century "Traditionalist-Legalistic Block" of the Hijaz-Jawi Network

It is notable that the dawn of 20th Century has witnessed the emergence of new religious authority in the broader *Jawi*-Middle East network, since many *Jawi* students started to enroll their study in al-

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 212.

Azhar University, Cairo. As such, it led to the transfer of Muhammad Abduh's reform ideas to Malay-Indonesian world especially through *al-Manar* which also contributed to the correspondence between *Jawi* students and *al-Manar* authority that – due to the expansion of print culture in the Arab world – transcends the traditional manner; from master-student relationship expanding to writer-reader correspondence. It was then responsible for the modernist influence in the Islamic intellectual history in Malay-Indonesian archipelago since the dawn of 20th Century,⁸² a field that has attracted scholarly discussion.

One should also aware on the significant presence of Wahhabi community in Mecca at the dawn of the 20th Century. By 1343/1924, they began to open a new history of the holy lands, where they started to change the religious order by trying to homogenize the religious thought based on Muhammad bin ‘Abd al-Wahhab works and Hanbali *Fiqh*⁸³ which coincided with the interests of the Ibn Sau’d who had just captured the Hijaz region in 1932 and declared the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.⁸⁴ It also had a real influence on the Muslim landscape in the archipelago as demonstrated by the founding of *Nahdlatul Ulama* which responded to Wahhabi penetration in Mecca at the time.⁸⁵ On the other side, one should also aware of the Ottoman antagonistic policy toward traditional Islamic law in Mecca which eventually united traditional authorities to stand together.⁸⁶

Alongside the influx of Islamic reformism through the expansion of *al-Manar* and the latter emergence of Wahhabism in Mecca, the traditional *haramayn* circles remained at work through the traditional correspondence of *Jawi* students and their masters. The 19th Century, according to Kooria, was a moment for the formation of a “traditionalist-legalistic block against contemporary developments in

⁸² For the studies related to *al-Manar*'s legacy in Malay-Indonesian world, see, for instance, Burhanuddin, “Aspiring for Islamic Reform” and Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, “*Al-Manār* and the Ḥadhramī Elite in the Malay-Indonesian World: Challenge and Response,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17, 3 (2007).

⁸³ Mamduh, *Taswif al-Asmā'*, pp. 50-53.

⁸⁴ David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p. 72.

⁸⁵ Nur Khalik Ridwan, *Ensiklopedia Khittab NU: NU, Politik, dan Kebangsaan (1914-2019)* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2020), p. 36

⁸⁶ Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, pp. 376-377.

religious and political arenas”⁸⁷ in which “the whole traditional community united as a single body”.⁸⁸ *Inarab* is just the early 20th Century exponent of this tradition with the more complex synthesis. If Nawawi’s *Nihāyat al-Zayn* and Sayyid Bakri’s *I‘ānah al-Ṭālibīn* are the representative of multiple synthesis in 19th Century Syafi’iyya which reconciled the Meccan stream of *Tubfah al-Muḥtāj* and Cairene orientation of *Nihāyat al-Muḥtāj* through commenting upon the Indian *Fath al-Mu‘īn*, as Kooria has put it,⁸⁹ *Inarab* was a symbol for collaborative work across the school of *fiqh* (Maliki-Syafi’i) which strengthened the cohesiveness of that traditional block provided by the Hijaz-Jawi network. Accordingly, a closer study on *Inara* has strengthened Kooria’s thesis on that “traditionalist-legalistic block”, from multiple synthesis in Syafi’i tradition to the synthesis across the schools of Islamic *fiqh*.

Through *Inarab*, we can also see that the commentary tradition remains important in the early 20th Century *Jawi*-Islamic intellectual history. The case seems to be unique due to the function of the commentary as the vehicle for the “trans-regional” collaboration which brought also the issue of “trans-regional religious authority”. Al-Fasuruwani’s request to ‘Ali al-Maliki can also be interpreted as an attempt at authorization made possible by the commentarial literature as the space to connect with each other. While in the broader picture, *Inara* was a representative symbol for the revival of “traditionalist block” in early 20th Century produced within the Hijaz-*Jawi* Islamic Scholarship that globally unified to respond to the religious developments brought by modernity.

Conclusion

Inārah is just one part of the *Safīnat al-Najā* scholarship that remains a promising area for further research. The fact that its author is a Meccan authority commenting on a text by a scholar from East Java is an important point in the global history of Islamic *fiqh*, where the dichotomy of center and periphery stands on the egalitarian line in the context of the contribution made to the establishment of the big tradition of Shafi’iyya. This article is a preliminary step that needs to be

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 282.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 109.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 209-210.

followed up by further research. Several aspects related to politics, economics, and a more serious and specific study of *Inārah* are still waiting to be explored. In the broader arena, a serious study on the scholarship of *Safīnat al-Najā*, both at the global and Malay-Indonesian context, remains a field that also deserves to be explored.[]

References

- Abū Sulaimān, ‘Abdul Wahhāb Ibrāhīm. *Manhaj al-Baḥth fī al-Fiqh al-Islāmī; Khaṣa’isubū wa Naqa’isubū*. Beirut: Dār Ibn Hazm, 1996.
- Abushouk, Ahmed Ibrahim. “*Al-Manār* and the Ḥadhramī Elite in the Malay-Indonesian World: Challenge and Response”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17, 3 (2007).
- Ahmad, Hamid. KH. *Achmad Qusyairi bin Shiddiq: Pecinta Sejati Sunnah Nabi*. Pasuruan: Lembaga Informasi dan Studi Islam, 2017.
- Ahmed, Asad Q. and Margaret Larkin, “The *Ḥāshiyā* and Islamic Intellectual History”, *Oriens*, 41 (2013).
- Azra, Azyumardi. “Networks of the *Ulama* in the Haramayn; Connections in the Indian Ocean Region”, *Studia Islamika* 8, 2 (2001).
- , *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai Press, 2004.
- Ba ‘Atiyyah, Muhammad bin ‘Ali. *Ghāyat al-Munā Syarḥ Safīnat al-Najā*. Hadramaut: Maktabah Tarim al-Hadisiyyah, 2008.
- , *al-Durrah al-Yatimah Syarḥ al-Sabbah al-Tsaminah Nadzḥ Safīnah*. Hadramaut: Maktabah tarim al-Hadisiyyah, 2014.
- al-Bantānī, Muḥammad bin ‘Umar Nawawī al-Jāwī. *Kāsyifab al-Sajā alā Safīnat al-Najā*. Beirut: Dār Ibn Hazm, 2011.
- Bauer, Thomas. “In Search of ‘Post-Classical Literature’: A Review Article”. in *Mamluk Studies Review* 11, 2 (2007).
- Bruinessen, Martin van. *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat*. Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012.
- Burhanuddin, Jajat. “Aspiring for Islamic Reform: Southeast Asian Requests for *Fatwas* in al-Manar”. *Islamic Law and Society* 12 (2005).

- Commins, David. *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2006.
- Dallal, Ahmad. *Islam without Europe: Traditions of Reform in Eighteenth Century Islamic Thought*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.
- Dumairieh, Naser. *Intellectual Life in Hijaz before Wahhabism: Ibrahim al-Kurani's (d. 1101/1690) Theology of Sufism*. Leiden: Brill, 2022.
- El Shamsy, Ahmed. "Ḥasyiyah in Islamic Law; A Sketch on Shāfi'i Literature". *Oriens* 41 (2013).
- . *Rediscovering Islamic Classic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020.
- El-Rouayheb, Kholed. *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- al-Fādāni, Muhammad Yāsin. *al-Maslak al-Jali fī Asānid al-Syaikh Muhammad 'Alī bin Husain al-Maliki al-Makki*. Jakarta: al-Syirkah al-Zāhiriyyah, 1405 H.
- al-Fasuruwani, Ahmad bin Siddiq al-Lasimi. *Nazm Safinat al-Najat al-Musamma bi Tanwir al-Hija*. Pamekasan: 'Awadl 'Abdullah al-Tamimi, 1979.
- Fathurrahman, Oman. "Uslub al-Mazahib al-Sufiyyah al-Muhaddasah bi Indunisiyya: Mulahazat 'ala Kitab *Ithaf al-Zaki* li Syaikh Ibrahim al-Kurani" *Studia Islamika* 9, 1 (2001).
- . *Ithaf al-Dhaki: Tafsir Wabdatul Wujud Bagi Muslim Nusantara*. Bandung: Mizan: 2012.
- al-Ḥadramī al-Batāwī, Sālim bin Sumayr. *Matn Safinat al-Najāh fī mā Yajibū alā al-'Abdi li Maulāh*. Beirut: Dār al-Minhāj, 2009.
- al-Ḥadramī, Sālim bin Sumayr. *Matn Safinat al-Najāh*.
- al-Hajini, Sahal Mahfudz. *Fayd al-Hija*. Digitalized by Ibn al-Dimaki, downloaded from https://archive.org/details/maktabah-tahmil-kutub_yopmail_20151024_1440, accessed on August 22, 2022.
- Hodgson, Marshall. *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam and World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Hurgronje, Snouck. *Mecca in the Latter Part of 19th Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

- Ingrams, Harold. "Political Development in the Hadramaut", *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs)* 21, 2 (1945)
- Jabbār, 'Umar 'Abdul. *Siyar wa Tarajim Ba'di Ulamā'inā fi al-Qarn al-Rābi' 'Asyara li al-Hijrah*. Jedah: Tihāmah, 1986.
- Karyadi, Fathurrochman. "Syair KH. Achmad Qusyairi: Berpolemik dengan Santun", in *Prosiding Mukhtar Pemikiran Santri Nusantara (MPSN) Tahun 2019*, Direktorat Pendidikan Diniyyah dan Pondok Pesantren, 2019.
- "KH. Achmad Qusyairi: Hubungan dengan KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, Hingga Ijazah Mempermudah Haji". Source: <https://pesantren.id/achmad-qusyairi-hubungan-dengan-kh-hasyim-asyari-hingga-ijazah-mempermudah-haji-11215/>, accessed on October 1, 2022.
- Khalīl bin Ishāq al-Mālikī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Allamāh Khalīl*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1981.
- al-Khiraqī, Abū al-Qāsim. *Matn Mukhtaṣar al-Khiraqī*. Tāntā: Dār al-Ṣahābah li al-Turāṣ, 1993.
- Kooria, Mahmood. *Islamic Law in Circulation: Shafi'i Texts across the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Laffan, Michael. *The Making of Indonesian Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Lowry, Joseph E. *Early Islamic Legal Theory: The Risala of Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- al-Mālikī, Muḥammad 'Ali bin Ḥusain. *Inārat al-Dujā Syarḥ Tanwir al-Hijā Naẓm Safinat al-Najā*. Singapore & Jedah: al-Ḥaramain li al-Tibā'ah wa al-Nasyr wa al-Tauzī', n.d.
- Machmudi, Yon, Frial R. Supratman, and Mehmet Ozay. "Turkish Laicism In Indonesia's Newspapers (1920-1940) and its Influence on Indonesian Secularists and Muslims Thoughts". *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 15, 1 (2021)
- Mamduh, Muhammad Sa'id. *Tasyrif al-Asmā' bi Syuyukh al-Ijāzah wa al-Simā'*. Beirut: 2013.

- McGinnis, Jon and Asad Q. Ahmed, “Rationalist Disciplines in Post-Classical (ca. 1200–1900 CE) Islam”, *Oriens* 42, 3/4 (2014).
- Miftahudin, *Sejarah Perkembangan Intelektual Islam di Indonesia: Dari Abad XIX sampai Masa Kontemporer*. Yogyakarta, UNY Press, 2017.
- Noer, Deliar. *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1991.
- al-Qudūrī al-Hanafī, Abū al-Hasan. *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1997.
- Ridwan, Nur Khalik. *Ensiklopedia Khittah NU: NU, Politik, dan Kebangsaan (1914-2019)*. Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2020.
- Rosenthal, Franz. *Etika Kesarjanaan Muslim: Dari al-Farabi hingga Ibn Khaldun*, trans. Ahsin Muhammad. Bandung: Mizan, 1996.
- Saleh, Walid A. “Preliminary Remarks on the Historiography of Tafsir in Arabic: A History of the Book Approach” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 12 (2010).
- Senturk, Recep. “The Decline of the Decline Paradigm: Revisiting the Periodisation of Islamic History”. in Bacem Dziri/Merdan Güneş (eds) *Niedergangsthesen auf dem Prüfstand* (Berlin: Peterlang, 2020).
- Sinha, Lalita (ed) *Rainbows in Malay Literatures and Beyond*. Pulau Pinang: Universiti Sains Malaysia, 2000.
- Zamhari, Arif. “Defending Islamic Tradition: Theological Responses of the Hadrami Majlis Taklim Groups toward the Salafi-Wahabi Preaching Movement in Contemporary Indonesia”, *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 16, 1 (2022)