

***JĀWAH ḤADĪTH* SCHOLARSHIP IN THE NINETEENTH  
CENTURY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ADAPTATIONS  
OF *LUBĀB AL-ḤADĪTH* COMPOSED BY NAWAWĪ OF BANTEN  
(d. 1314/1897) AND WAN ‘ALĪ OF KELANTAN (d. 1331/1913)**

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### **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself from the results of my own work, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text. It has not been submitted for any other degree except as specified.

Muhammad Mustaqim Mohd Zarif  
December, 2007

## ABSTRACT

Ḥadīth scholarship and its erudition among the *Jāwah* or the Muslims from the Malay Archipelago (the term applied to them in the Hejaz) in the periods prior to the twentieth century is almost a neglected area of study on Islam and its development in the Southeast Asian region. While this may be surprising considering the sublime status and influence of ḥadīth on the religious outlook of the Jāwah, perhaps the dearth of surviving materials on ḥadīth and its study during these periods might have also aggravated this apparent gap in their religious and intellectual history in the pre-modern era.

However, this study proposes that despite the feasibility of an early presence of ḥadīth studies and its scholarship among the Jāwah, it was actually in the nineteenth century that significant development in its scholarship and discourse took place through *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. This is a collection of four hundred traditions attributed to al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), which has managed to attract serious scholarly interests from two important Jāwah scholars in Mecca namely, Nawawī of Banten (d. 1314/1897) and Wan ‘Alī of Kelantan (d. 1331/1913), who undertook their adaptations and commentaries of the text.

Even though both scholars shared similar cultural and scholarly milieu of Arabia, their approaches, methods, and choices of languages in commenting on the text are markedly divergent. The fact that both works are still being distributed and read until the present day indicates their significance and relevance as an influential legacy of Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse in the nineteenth century.

Thus, this study examines the important issue of ḥadīth scholarship in the nineteenth century through the case of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and a comparative study of its two commentaries as mentioned above. Although the primary focus of discussion is on their methods on ḥadīth and selected religious views as presented in their commentaries, the anonymities surrounding the origin, authorship and significance of the base work is also analyzed. In turn, this has lead to a more detailed account on the place and influence of these works on the general development and characteristics of Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse in the nineteenth century which also had their impacts in later years.

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## CONVENTIONS

In general, the transliteration method of Arabic words and names in this study is based on the system used in the *Oxford's Journal of Islamic Studies*. An exception to this is made for words and common terms utilized in modern English such as Islam, Quran, or ulema. Similarly, this also includes the word Jāwah (as opposed to *Jāwa*) so as to differentiate its distinctive use as a term in this study from its common connotative inference to the sub-ethnic group of Javanese (or *Jawa* in Malay) so as to avoid any unnecessary confusion.

Arabic proper names, including *Jawi*-based names of the Jāwah prior to the twentieth century are generally spelt and transliterated according to their Arabic equivalents, such as ‘Abd Allāh instead of Abdullah, and so on. However, modern names are presented according to their romanized form whenever available, such as Mahmud Yunus, Muhammad Hasby Ash-Shiddieqy, and others.

Except for ḥadīth and Jāwah as common terms employed in this study, all other non-English words are italicized and every foreign term has been glossed and/or briefly defined the first time it appears. The plural of the Arabic word is simply formed by adding an ‘s’ to its singular form, thus ḥadīth becomes ḥadīths instead of aḥādīth, and so forth. Again, an exception to this is made to the term Jāwah as a common term adopted throughout this study, instead of its singular form *Jāwī* which denotes a particular individual. Dates are presented according to the Islamic Lunar Calendar and followed by the Gregorian Calendar, which are separated by a ‘/’ or backward slash, such as 256/869.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|               |                                                                            |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Awqāf         | Central Library for the Islamic Manuscripts, Ministry of Endowments, Egypt |
| Azhar         | al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya, Egypt                                            |
| <i>BKI</i>    | <i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>                        |
| BL            | The British Library                                                        |
| DBP           | Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka                                                   |
| <i>EI</i>     | <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> (new edition)                                |
| EUL           | Edinburgh University Library                                               |
| <i>GAL(S)</i> | Brockelmann's <i>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</i> and Supplements  |
| <i>JAAS</i>   | <i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i>                                |
| <i>JIS</i>    | <i>Journal of Islamic Studies</i>                                          |
| <i>JMBRAS</i> | <i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>        |
| <i>JSEAS</i>  | <i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i>                                  |
| PNM           | Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia                                               |
| <i>TBG</i>    | <i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>               |
| UBL           | Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden                                            |

## INTRODUCTION

In the periods prior to the emergence of independent nation states in the twentieth century, the term Jāwah (sing. *Jāwī*) was more commonly employed to signify a unique representation of a racial identity that transverses beyond the complexity of the geographical, cultural, linguistic, and ethnicity of the Malay Archipelago<sup>1</sup>. In this regard, Jāwah in its general sense is perhaps a more accurate cultural and racial identifier for the whole populace of the Malay Archipelago region in the pre-modern period and in many ways less problematic than the complexity of the term Malay, despite their occasional interchangeability in terms of meaning<sup>2</sup>. Yet, due to its significance and role as the *lingua franca* of the Jāwah and main vehicle for the spread of Islam in the Archipelago, the Malay language is also commonly known as the language of the Jāwah or *bahasa Jawi*<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it should also be noted that in its limited context, this term could also be used to refer exclusively to the inhabitants of the Island of Java as opposed to its connotation discussed above. Similarly, due to its complexity, the term Jāwah as employed in this study could also refer specifically either to the Jāwah colony in Mecca, or the Muslim community of Southeast Asia at large. Whenever appropriate, this will be aptly specified throughout this study to avoid ambiguity on the matter. For more details on the origin and usage of Jāwah as a term, see for instance: *EI*, s.v. “Djāwī”, 2: 497; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1931), 6, 215; Michael F. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The umma below the Winds* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 13ff.; Michael Feener and M. F. Laffan, “Sufi scents across the Indian Ocean: Yemeni hagiography and the earliest history of Southeast Asian Islam”, *Archipel* (Paris) 70 (2005): 185-208; and Iik Arifin Mansurnoor, “Contemporary European Views of the Jawah: Brunei and the Malays in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries”, *JIS* 9, 2 (1998): 178-209.

<sup>2</sup> The term Malay evolved significantly over a period of time to denote a complex yet unique conception of a nation (*bangsa*) in its modern sense. A reflection of this can perhaps be seen from the case of a local born of mixed parentage of Indian or other foreign origin who was more likely to be known as a *Jawi Peranakan* rather than Malay. For more discussion on this issue, see: Anthony Reid, “Understanding Melayu (Malay) as a Source of Diverse Modern Identities”, *JSEAS* 32, 3 (2001): 295-313; Leonard Y. Andaya, “The Search for the Origins of Melayu”, *JSEAS* 32, 3 (2001): 315-330; R.O. Winstedt, *The Malays: A Cultural History* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1950), 4; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 79; and Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> It is also important to note that in the periods prior to the twentieth century, a modified Arabic script known as the *Jawi* script was utilized extensively in the writing of the Malay language, and this could also explain why it is also known as *bahasa Jawi* as mentioned above. For more details, see: *EI*, s.v. “Indonesia: vi. Literatures”, 3: 1230-1235; Hashim Musa, *Sejarah Perkembangan*

More importantly, the intensification of islamisation of the Jāwah since the sixth/thirteenth century has also led to the expression of a new type of literary system known as Malay literature in which Malay was almost exclusively employed as a medium of philosophical and religious discourse of the Jāwah. Here, it is pertinent to note the role of Islam as the unifying force among them, and it is in this sense that Malay literature became not only their common heritage, but also one of their biggest and most significant achievements<sup>4</sup>.

In describing this correlation between Islam and the concurrent development of Malay literature, it is worthwhile to note that despite earlier contact with Islam, it was not until the middle of the sixteenth century which was known as the period of “conversion of the soul” that significant development in it was observed<sup>5</sup>. To be more specific, it was during this period that first saw the emergence of the learned treatise in the form of *kitab Jawi* among the Jāwah<sup>6</sup>. Compared to other works in belletristic prose, hagiography, narratives (*hikayat*), poem, and history, the *kitab Jawi* is markedly characterized by its highly logical and learned methods of expression and linguistic style, and this makes it hierarchically superior than the

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*Tulisan Jawi* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1999), 8 ff.; S.M.N. al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1969), 27-29; and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 229.

<sup>4</sup> Vladimir Braginsky, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004), 1-2. Here, it is also pertinent to note that despite the predominance of Malay, there were also a few occasional works written by the Jāwah in Arabic which can be generally regarded as a part of the corpus of the Malay literature. Nonetheless, this does not include other types of regional literatures such as Javanese and its like which were written in other scripts and languages.

<sup>5</sup> In his typology on the phases of islamisation of the Malay Archipelago, al-Attas has suggested that it was during the periods between the ninth/fifteenth to twelfth/eighteenth centuries that saw the increasing influence of philosophical mysticism, metaphysics and other rational and intellectual elements that dominated the religious discourse of the Jāwah, hence the term “conversion of the soul” as compared to the outward manifestation of faith or the “conversion of the body” which characterized the early periods of islamisation of the region. See: al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement*, 29-30.

<sup>6</sup> In this sense, *kitab Jawi* can be generally described as religious and juridical works and treatises composed using the *Jawi* script, with main emphasis on the three-fold Islamic knowledge, namely creed, jurisprudence, and Sufism, together with the disciplines pertaining to it. See: *EI*, s.v. “Indonesia: vi. Literatures”, 3: 1230-1235.

genres of literature existing at that time. Not only that, but the fact that it comprises the greater dimension of the overall system of the Classical Period of Malay literature indicates its far reaching influence, function, and practicality among the Jāwah especially in the formulation of their *Weltanschauung* and religious outlook<sup>7</sup>.

However, in analyzing the nature of Jāwah scholarship as presented by the *kitab Jawi*, it is pertinent to note that even though many of their thought and ideas could not be considered as original or innovative, yet it was mainly through their creative adaptation and representation of the established religious and intellectual heritage of the Arab and Indo-Persian learning to suit the needs and conditions of their countrymen that renders their works invaluable in the intellectual and religious history of the Jāwah at that time; a characteristic which is also observed by leading scholars and researchers in the field<sup>8</sup>. Moreover, in his assessment, Braginsky has clearly described the nature of this intellectual and religious “borrowing” as

dynamic processes of selective appropriation and subsequent adaptation, re-shaping and transfiguration of what was appropriated and its indigenization, rather than a simple, static borrowing<sup>9</sup>.

As such, apart from sustaining popular needs for legible and comprehensible religious manuals in local tongues, perhaps this secondary and somewhat clichéd mode of Jāwah religious scholarship might have also found its provenance from

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<sup>7</sup> According to Braginsky, the history of traditional Malay literature can be divided into the periods of Old Malay literature (ca. 14<sup>th</sup> century), Early Islamic Period (14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries), and Classical Period (until the first half of the nineteenth century). See: Braginsky, *The Heritage*, 35, 314-374.

<sup>8</sup> See for instance, Azyumardi Azra, “Ulama Indonesia di Haramayn: Pasang Surut Sebuah Wacana Intelektual-Keagamaan”, *Jurnal Ulumul Qur’an* 3, 3 (1992): 79; Virginia Matheson and M.B. Hooker, “Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition”, *JMBRAS* 61, 1 (1988): 18-19; M.B. Hooker, ed., *Islam in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 8-22; and Mohd Nor Ngah, *Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars* (Singapore: ISEAS, 1983), 2 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Braginsky, *The Heritage*, 9.

their increased affiliation with the Sunni milieu of Arabia from the eleventh/seventeenth century onwards. This is tenable considering the predominance of orthodox theological and legal schools as represented by Ash‘arism and Shafi‘ism at the heart of their religious outlook. In Sufism too, a more practical and “sober” aspects of it as propounded by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and others is generally in favor despite the controversial yet compelling influence of the *waḥdat al-wujūd* (Unity of Existence) doctrine in Aceh earlier in this century<sup>10</sup>.

Hence, it is hardly surprising to find that the nature of their religious works is immensely influenced by that in Arabia especially in the forms of commentaries and gloss-style writings, which subtly reflect their underlying conviction on the notion of compulsory acquiescence (*taqlīd*) to the previous authorities as opposed to independent exercise of rationalization and reasoning (*ijtihād*)<sup>11</sup>. In this regard, it is also interesting to observe that despite the rich and diverse literary heritage of the Jāwah, much attention was focused on the promulgation of practical and doctrinal issues of religious practices and understanding. As a result, the *kitab Jawi* is mainly preponderated by works related to creed (‘*aqīda*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), and towards a much lesser degree; Arabic grammar, Quranic exegesis (*tafsīr*), methods of its recitation (*tajwīd*), ḥadīth, and others.

In this regard, although ḥadīth was an indispensable source of their religious views and methods, it was usually integrated into these practical subjects in the

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<sup>10</sup> For a detailed discussion of this doctrine and its impact on the religious thought of the Jāwah, see for instance: Peter G. Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses* (London: C.Hurst and Co., 2001), 105-138; and S.M.N. al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays* (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 21-29. See also Chapter Four below.

<sup>11</sup> This can be reflected from the general stereotyped attitude in the nineteenth century scholarly milieu of Mecca where innovation or making what is new was perceived as “the work of the heretic”. For details, see: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 187-197.

forms of religious and legal evidences, authoritative commandments, as well as righteous moral guidance. It might be due to this reason that the idea of separate works on ḥadīth or its technical aspects as a subject of composition did not gain much popularity among the early writers. Apart from a few works and compilations, no real progress in ḥadīth scholarship as an independent subject of study is observed.

It was only in the thirteenth/nineteenth century that a significant development in ḥadīth and its studies started to take place. Perhaps, this was partly due to the efforts and contributions of the earlier Sufi-ḥadīth teachers in Arabia who have successfully infused in the Jāwah the significance of studying ḥadīth not only as a tool for practicing the religion, but also as an advanced intellectual and spiritual pursuit worthy of attention<sup>12</sup>. Hence, apart from a dramatic increase in the production of ḥadīth works both in quantity and mode, considerable attention was also given towards studying ḥadīth works and its technical sciences (*muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth*) at a higher level of study, especially in Mecca. It was also during this period that saw the re-emergence of past ḥadīth works by the Jāwah in published form, especially with the spread of print technology in the Middle East and elsewhere in the Muslim world.

In a similar manner, it was amidst this new wave of development and changes that saw the widespread publication and dissemination of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* (Quintessence of Prophetic Traditions). It is a collection of four hundred Prophetic ḥadīth in forty chapters concerning various practical aspects of the religion and

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<sup>12</sup> For details on this matter, see for instance: John O. Voll, “Ḥadīth Scholars and *Tarīqahs*: An Ulama Group in the Eighteenth Century Ḥaramayn and Their Impacts in the Islamic World”, *JAAS* 15, 3-4 (1980): 264-273.

commonly attributed to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)<sup>13</sup>, which existence could be traced back a few hundred years earlier in the Archipelago, and its widespread influence as an important ḥadīth and religious manual among the Jāwah at that time, especially in the absence of a more canonical and authoritative ḥadīth collections prior to the twentieth century.

Nonetheless, despite its popularity, concerns were also voiced regarding the content of the book. Apart from containing errors and mistakes, some of the ḥadīth were also not of the highest status of reliability. In addition to that, the very essence of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was by large shrouded with ambiguity. This is particularly true in the case of its authorship, as well as its rightful status amidst the larger corpus of ḥadīth literatures. Hence, what it needed was an intellectual and authoritative clarification; and such explanation could only come from the learned teachers of the highly respected place, that is, Mecca; a practice which actually symbolized the continuation of the intellectual networking and transmission of ideas from the Middle East to the Archipelago that began a few centuries ago<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> He was one of the most celebrated and prominent scholars famed for his extensive expertise in various aspects of the religious sciences including Quranic exegesis, ḥadīth, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), history, Arabic language and literature, as well as aspects of medicine and variant readings of the Quran (*‘ilm al-Qirā’āt*). His impressive list of works, which exceeds four hundred works of various sizes and subjects, greatly enhanced his reputation as one of the most prolific Muslim authors of all time, and enlivened his influence among the Muslims until the present day. For details of his life and works, see for instance: E.M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), vol. 1; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Taḥadduth bi Ni‘mat Allāh*, ed. E.M. Sartain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), vol. 2; *Husn al-Muḥāḍara fī Akhbār al-Miṣr wa al-Qāhira* (Cairo: Maṭba‘a Idārat al-Waṭan, 1882), 1: 188-195; Ibn al-‘Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1931), 8: 51-55; and Brockelmann, *GAL* (Leiden: Brill, 1943-1949), 2: 180-204, S2: 178-198.

<sup>14</sup> A detailed discussion on the intellectual interactions and transmission of ideas between the Jāwah and the Middle Eastern scholars can be seen in: Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulama’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Australia: Allen and Unwin, 2004), 20 ff. Similarly, for examples of some of the issues referred to about the scholarly communities in Mecca, see: Nico Kaptein, “Sayyid ‘Uthmān on the Legal Validity of Documentary Evidence”, *BKI* 153, 1 (1997): 85-

Only this time, it is pertinent to observe that towards the middle of the nineteenth century, a considerable number of the Jāwah had already settled down in Mecca forming their own community, and many of whom formed an important link with the whole structure of the religious learning system in Mecca as teachers and scholars. Thus, it was not surprising that a few notables among them such as Nawawī of Banten and Wan ‘Alī of Kelantan took the matter seriously and dedicated their time to comment on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*.

However, despite basing their scholarly careers in Mecca and residing there all their lives, the orientations and approaches of their writings were somewhat disparate. Even their choice of language was dissimilar; the former wrote extensively in Arabic, while the latter preferred the Malay language. Nonetheless, both of their works survived the test of time and were still being widely used and printed up until the present day; albeit the differences in terms of their views, methods, and distribution. Based on this, it could be said that these two works represent among the most important legacy of Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse in the nineteenth century; a period of time that saw the emergence of the modernist movement as opposed to a more traditional way of Islam.

### **Objectives of the Study**

In the light of the above discussion, it is the aim of this study to analyze and expound the important issue of ḥadīth scholarship and its writings in the nineteenth century, which is undertaken through the case of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and a comparative study of its two most important commentaries by the Jāwah mentioned

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102 (esp. 86-88); and Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Al-Fatawal Fathaniyah Syekh Ahmad al-Fathani* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999), 3 vols.

above, i.e. *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl al-Ḥathīth bi Sharḥ Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* by Nawawī as well as *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb wa Munabbihāt al-Qulūb* by Wan ‘Alī. Apart from focusing on their methods in approaching ḥadīth and its appraisal, a selection of their religious views as presented in their commentaries are also comparatively analyzed within the prevalent trend of Islamic scholarship at that time. At the same time, the anonymity surrounding the origin, authorship and significance of the base work, i.e. *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as an alleged work by al-Suyūṭī is also discussed in detail. Ultimately, this leads to a more detailed account on the place and influence of these works on shaping the general development and characteristics of Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse especially in the nineteenth century, and also their impacts in the years to come.

### Significance of the Study

Issues relating to Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship prior to the twentieth century are almost a neglected area of Islamic studies. Existing studies and works concerning the Jāwah in the religious sphere are mostly confined to creed, thought, mysticism, history, and Quranic exegesis only despite the importance of ḥadīth as part of their religious outlook<sup>15</sup>. In fact, as far as is known, there is no comprehensive work discussing the issue of Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship in the nineteenth century or that

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<sup>15</sup> For examples and lists of some of the works and studies conducted on the various aspects of Jāwah Islamic thought and related matters, see: Hashim Musa, *A Brief Survey on the Study of the Malay Sastera Kitab on Malay-Islamic Thought* (Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Melayu Universiti of Malaya, 1999); Braginsky, *The Heritage*; Riddell, *Islam*; Azra, *The Origins*; R.O. Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* (Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, 1991); S.M.N. al-Attas, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A Sixteenth Century Malay Translation of the ‘Aqā’id of al-Nasafī* (Kuala Lumpur: UM Press, 1988); and *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: UM Press, 1970); Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam Ulama Asia Tenggara Jilid 1* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2000); and *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Asia Tenggara Jilid 1* (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985); Hilaluddin Abdullah, *Takhrij Hadith Kitab al-Jawhar al-Mawhub wa Munabbihat al-Qulub Karangan al-Shaykh ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Kelantani* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2005); and others.

which focuses on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its two most important commentaries as proposed in this study<sup>16</sup>.

In a way, this is hardly unexpected considering the dearth of materials on ḥadīth and its studies in this period which might have been one of the main causes that contributed to this apparent lacuna. In addition, controversies surrounding the origin of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its authorship are virtually untouched by the academics, despite its popularity among the Jāwah and its important role in the development of hadith studies and its discourse among them, especially in the periods prior to the twentieth century. In this regard, it is also useful to note that despite the availability of a number of studies on Nawawī undertaken by present

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<sup>16</sup> On the contrary, most of the studies conducted on ḥadīth only attempted to briefly survey the development of its writings among the Jāwah as done by Wan Mohd Shaghir, or describe its usage and position in certain religious works such as Fauzi's study on the function of ḥadīths in the works of Dāwūd al-Ḥaṭṭānī (d. 1263/1847), or analyze its origin (*takhrij al-ḥadīth*) and status of authenticity in certain ḥadīth works such as Mohd Muhiden's study on Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's (d. 1068/1658) *al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyya* and Urwatul Wusqa's study on Nawawī's *Naṣā'ih al-'Ibād*. In this regard, although both Nor Azini and Mohamad Kamil's studies are based on Wan 'Alī's *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, they are only concerned with the description and status of the eschatological ḥadīths from the last chapter of the book in terms of its authenticity. Likewise, Hilaluddin's study is only limited to demonstrating the types of ḥadīths available in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* based on a study of 601 of its ḥadīths in terms of their authenticity and origin according to the methods of the Sunnis. Even so, his method of categorizing the ḥadīths in the book is fairly problematic, as he does not distinguish between the original ḥadīths of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and those supplemented by Wan 'Alī. On the other hand, the present study aims towards understanding how *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was transmitted and utilized by both Nawawī and Wan 'Alī as a ḥadīth discourse among the Jāwah in the nineteenth century, which is mainly historical in its approach and one that extends far beyond the particularity of ḥadīth analysis. In short, it has been demonstrated how these works discussed above are essentially divergent from the present study both in their aims and approaches, and do not incorporate important issues raised here. For the details of these studies, see: Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, "Perkembangan Penulisan Hadith 'Ulama' Asia Tenggara", *Pengasuh* 546 (Jan-Feb 1997): 28-31; Fauzi Deraman, *Kedudukan Hadith dalam Karya-karya Shaykh Dawud al-Fataniy* (Ampang: Penerbitan Salafi, 2002); Mohd Muhiden Abd. Rahman, *Syikh Nuruddin al-Raniri dan Sumbangannya kepada Pengajian Hadith: Kajian terhadap Kitab al-Fawa'id al-Bahiyyah fi al-Ahadith al-Nabawiyyah* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Malaya, 2003); Urwatul Wusqa Tabrani, *Kajian Ḥadīth Kitab Naṣā'ih al-'Ibād* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2004); Nor Azini Che Mat, *Hadith-hadith Syurga dan Neraka dalam Kitab al-Jawhar al-Mawhub Karangan Syikh Wan 'Ali ibn Wan 'Abd al-Rahman, Kutun: Takhrij dan Ulasan* (B.A. academic exercise, University of Malaya, 1998); Mohamad Kamil Abd. Majid, "Gambaran Nikmat Syurga di dalam Kitab al-Jawhar al-Mawhub", *Pengasuh* 523 (Oct-Nov 1992): 49-55; Hilaluddin, *Takhrij Hadith*, and others.

day researchers and historians, none discuss his views and contribution to ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse among the Jāwah<sup>17</sup>.

Therefore, in the light of this unmistakable gap in the religious and intellectual history of the Jāwah prior to the twentieth century, the present study proposes that it was actually in the nineteenth century that significant development in their ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse took place through *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its two main commentaries as mentioned above. Apart from rousing and characterizing the course of ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse in this period of transition, they have also had their impacts on the subsequent development of its studies in the following centuries. It is in this context that the need and importance of a detailed study on this subject is attempted here.

### **Scope of Discussion**

The focus of this study revolves primarily around ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse based on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its two Jāwah commentaries as mentioned above. Specifically, it is pertinent to note that the scope of ḥadīth scholarship as employed here is mostly confined to their methods of its selection, appraisal as well as gradation in terms of its acceptance (*maqbul*) or rejection (*mardūd*) which are reflected through an analytical and comparative study of their conceptions of *isnād* (chain of transmission) and related aspects of its technical sciences.

Yet, due to their almost sacrosanct predication towards ḥadīth as a reliable historical and religious authoritative source which is manifest from their orthodox

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<sup>17</sup> For examples of these works, see: Asep Muhammad Iqbal, *Yahudi dan Nasrani dalam al-Quran: Hubungan Antaragama menurut Shaykh Nawawi Banten* (Jakarta: Teraju, 2004); Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī of Banten: Texts, Authority, and the Gloss Tradition* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1997); Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawi al-Banteni's Salālim al-Fuḍalā'* (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1992); and others.

Sunni disposition as well as their approach towards it, no detailed discussion on this issue will be raised in this study. Thus, this also justifies the adoption of the traditional model of ḥadīth criticism as developed and widely employed by ḥadīth scholars and the orthodox Sunni communities as the basis for discussion so as to better reflect and empathize with the social and religious milieu of the scholars under study<sup>18</sup>.

In the same way, the importance of these works as part of the Jāwah religious and ḥadīth discourse will also be analyzed through their formulation of ideas based on the themes of the ḥadīths. In the case of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in particular, this is evidenced through the various stages of its adaptation both in terms of its content and form until the nineteenth century. As for its two main commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī, this will be demonstrated through their methods in ḥadīth as well as some of their key religious ideas as presented in their commentaries<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> It is important to note that apart from the traditional model of ḥadīth criticism of the Sunnis as employed in this study, there are also thriving development of modern scholarship on approaching ḥadīth as a historical and religious source and its criticism. In their analysis of ḥadīth, prominent modern and western scholars have employed a varying approaches of source criticism ranging from the studies of *isnād*, the actual ḥadīth text (*matn*), and/or a combination of both aspects with an equally varying degree of conclusion and/or attitude towards the authenticity of ḥadīth and its origin, which is not necessarily in conformity with the traditional model of the Sunnis. Examples of these can be seen from the important works of scholars such as I. Goldziher, J. Schacht, and more recently G.H.A. Juynboll, F. Rahman, and H. Motzki, among others. For further details and discussions, see: Harald Motzki, ed., *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), xiii-liii; and “Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey”, *Arabica* 52, 2 (2005): 204-253; Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam: The Authenticity of Muslim Literature from the Formative Period* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), 8-50; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 9-76; John Burton, *An Introduction to the Ḥadīth* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994) 148 ff.; and others.

<sup>19</sup> However, it should also be noted that it is beyond the scope of this study to analyze their methods in procuring a particular religious ruling from a ḥadīth, as this was in their cases, do not necessarily rely on the literal content of the ḥadīth, rather it involves a more complex and comprehensive method of argumentation according to their affiliated schools in *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* (methods of *fiqh*). For details of this, see Chapter Four below.

However, it should be stressed again that while many of these ideas cannot be considered as groundbreaking or original, they were nevertheless an important indication of the prevalent trend of religious scholarship which have also had its impact in the twentieth century. It is in this regard that a historical discussion on their biographies and works is deemed as essential and highly relevant to this comparative study, considering their primary role in the promulgation of religious ideals based on ḥadīth among the Jāwah that transcended beyond the borders of the Malay Archipelago. Following this, this study is divided into five chapters as follows:

1. Chapter One examines the important issues surrounding *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in terms of its authorship, historical origins, as well as its adaptations by the Jāwah until the end of the nineteenth century, which is attempted through an analytical and textual study of some of its available copies both in manuscript and published forms. At the same time, its significance and importance as a ḥadīth discourse is also emphasized through its commentaries, especially by the Jāwah.
2. Chapters Two and Three provide a closer look on Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī as the two main Jāwah commentators on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, respectively. Thus, apart from the historical and contextual presentation of their origins, careers and works; their methods in ḥadīth as well as some of the religious views from their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* form as the central point of discussion in these chapters.
3. Chapter Four undertakes a comparative analyses of their ḥadīth methods and religious ideas as presented in the preceding chapters while highlighting

their role and main contribution to the field of ḥadīth and its scholarship based on the prevalent religious and scholarly trends in the Muslim world at that time both in Arabia as well as in the Malay Archipelago.

4. Chapter Five examines the eminence and influence of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī in characterizing Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse in the nineteenth century. At the same time, a retrospect survey on ḥadīth works and its studies among the Jāwah throughout the centuries is also presented to assess the role and impact of these works on the general development of its scholarship and discourse until the twentieth century.

#### Notes on Sources

Due to the multilingual nature of the subject matter, a wide range of literatures and sources in a variety of languages and forms have been consulted and utilized in the composition of this study. Apart from the *kitab Jawi* of the scholars under discussion, various other related works written by scholars and historians in the related field in the western languages as well as those in Malay and Arabic especially by Roff, Snouck Hurgronje, Van Bruinessen, Riddell, Azra, Wan Mohd Shaghir, and others are indeed invaluable and vital for the completion of this study<sup>20</sup>.

However, more importantly, the pioneering aspect of this study can perhaps be observed through the attempt to trace, bring together and study some of the manuscripts and editions of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Malay and

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<sup>20</sup> The complete listing of these works can be consulted in the bibliography section of this study.

others, as well as its assorted catalogues and indexes in a number of languages as preserved in the various libraries and repositories across Europe, the Middle East, India, and Southeast Asia; a feature which has never been attempted before in any study on this subject<sup>21</sup>. Ultimately, this has not only provide a greater degree of certainty in uncovering some of the anonymities surrounding the work in terms of its authorship and origin, but also helped in generating a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of its history, significance and utilization by the Jāwah as part of their ḥadīth discourse.

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<sup>21</sup> However, it should also be noted that the various public and private libraries in the present day Saudi Arabia, especially in Mecca are potentially valuable in preserving the heritage of the Jāwah scholars although at present, published catalogues of their collections are yet to indicate any significant evidence on the two scholars studied here. Unfortunately, these libraries are inaccessible and should be considered as beyond the limit of this research. For more information, see for instance: Geoffrey Roper, ed., *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* (London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1994), 3: 3-50.

## CHAPTER ONE

# *LUBĀB AL-ḤADĪTH*: ITS AUTHORSHIP, THEME AND IMPORTANCE

### 1.1. Preface

The enthusiasm shown by the Muslims, especially the Sunnis, to preserve the legacies of the Prophetic traditions have led to the burgeoning of a corpus of religious literatures that are not only focused on the compilation of ḥadīth, but also incorporated other related aspects of its criticism, commentaries, transmission, methods of selection, and so on. Even in the first/seventh century, it is estimated that there were hundreds of ḥadīth booklets in circulation, and by the following centuries would have reached thousands of works in various sizes and features<sup>1</sup>. However, out of these works, six are considered by the Muslims to be the primary and canonical sources known as *kutub al-sitta*, with that of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/869) and Muslim (d. 261/874) occupying its topmost echelon; both in terms of authenticity and reliability<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> M. M. al-A‘zamī, *Studies in Ḥadīth Methodology and Literature* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2002), 101 ff.; and M.Z. Ṣiddīqī, *Ḥadīth Literature: Its Origin, Development and Special Features* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), 6-13. However, according to some modern scholars, it was only fairly later, i.e. about two hundred years after the death of the Prophet, that significant development of ḥadīth works and the appearance of its systematic collections could be substantiated. For more details, see: Berg, *The Development of Exegesis*, 48-50; Burton, *An Introduction to the Ḥadīth*, 119; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 33-39; and others.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the remaining four works that constitute the canonical collections are: the *al-Jāmi‘* of al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), and the three *Sunans* of Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888), al-Nasā‘ī (d. 303/915) and Ibn Māja (d. 273/886). For a detailed discussion on the superiority of al-Bukhārī and Muslim among the Sunnis, see for instance: Abū ‘Amr ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrzūrī, *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986), 18, 28; and Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī, *Nuzhat al-Naẓar Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, n.d.), 41-45.

At the same time, there are also myriads of secondary ḥadīth compilations and works containing a great number of traditions based on the earlier and primary sources, which gained much popularity among the Muslims in the later periods of Islamic history, though not necessarily of similar status in terms of reliability, such as al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) collection of *Forty Ḥadīth (arbaʿīn)*, to name a few. For each, its merit lies in the methods of ḥadīth selection adopted by its author, and it is due to this that it can also sometimes function as a storehouse for spurious and weak traditions. Nonetheless, it is observed that some works are found to be more prominent in certain geographical areas than in other places; which might perhaps be due to the authors' reputation and/or sometimes even out of convenience and necessity.

It is in this context that *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, a compilation of four hundred ḥadīths in forty chapters concerning various aspects of the religion<sup>3</sup>, should be perceived and understood. An analysis will be attempted here on the various issues surrounding it in terms of its authorship, origin and contents, so as to better appreciate its significant role as an important ḥadīth discourse among the Jāwah until the nineteenth century despite its ambiguity, as will be discussed in the remaining chapters of this study.

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<sup>3</sup> The topics covered in this work range from creed and rituals to *taṣawwuf* and other general matters. To be exact, there are two chapters concerning creed (i.e. the virtues of the testimony of Belief; and Faith), thirteen on rituals (i.e. the virtues of ablution; brushing one's teeth; calling people to prayers; praying in congregation; Friday and its prayers; fasting; obligatory prayers; recommended prayers; alms giving; marriage; and the vices of adultery; homosexuality and wine drinking), eleven on *taṣawwuf* (i.e. the virtues of remembering God; praising God; repentance; poverty; humility; silence; sustaining from excessive eating, sleeping and relaxing; laughing; remembering death; remembering life after death and its perils; perseverance during calamity), and fourteen concerning various issues of general nature (i.e. the virtues of knowledge and scholars; reciting the name of God; praying for the Prophet; mosque; wearing turban; charity; greeting people; supplication; asking forgiveness; archery; good conduct to one's parents; the rights of children; visiting the sick; and the vices of wailing over the dead).

## 1.2. Authorship and Origin of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*: An Analysis

In analyzing the issues concerning the origin of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its authorship, a few considerations must be taken into account. First of all, there is a need to discuss the verity of the claim that associated al-Suyūṭī as the author of the work, as is generally assumed. This is particularly the case considering the discovery of various editions of the work and its derivatives, whether in the manuscript or printed forms that could indicate otherwise. Hence, this necessitates a more thorough examination of some of these versions of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* so as to shed some light on its origin and development throughout the history. As such, only then would its true author(s) be verified and its provenance confirmed with some certainty. At the same time, it will also provide a more profound understanding on its role in the development of ḥadīth discourse, especially among the Jāwah.

### 1.2.1. Is *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* a work by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī?

It is observed that existing printed copies of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* attribute with certainty that it is indeed a compilation of ḥadīth made by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. Even in the more well-known editions, where *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is accompanied by its commentaries either in Arabic or in other languages, no ambiguity has been raised regarding its authorship. As a matter of fact, they all clearly ascribed it as a work of al-Suyūṭī, and this has almost become an accepted view among scholars and general readers alike<sup>4</sup>. However, the present study wishes to challenge this view. As far as the evidences are concerned, it is proposed here that there are actually strong

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<sup>4</sup> For details and examples of some of the most important editions and commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, see further below.

reasons to believe that this attribution to al-Suyūṭī is entirely a case of mistaken identity. This will be expounded in the three-fold aspects of analysis as follows.

First of all, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was never recorded as one of al-Suyūṭī's works in the earlier sources. Even in the places where he discussed his literary feats and scholarly accomplishments, al-Suyūṭī has never even mentioned it<sup>5</sup>. More interestingly, a number of major indexes and bibliographical dictionaries also do not include it as part of his works, or even simply mention its existence at all<sup>6</sup>. In this regard, it is pertinent to note that although a recent scholarly study on al-Suyūṭī has raised some skepticism regarding its authorship primarily due to this reason<sup>7</sup>; yet, without concrete and relevant evidences, it is but mere a speculation that could not repudiate the popular view on the matter.

In part, this might explain why many other succeeding studies persisted in maintaining it as part of al-Suyūṭī's works. Perhaps, their reservation on this issue is also due to their dependence on the published copies of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, with his name clearly printed as the author, without much scrutiny on its content, style of writing, and so on<sup>8</sup>. Nonetheless, despite the lack of a consensus of opinion among scholars and researchers on this matter, it is sufficed to note at this point that the attribution of the work to al-Suyūṭī can be said to be quite recent and is not found in the earlier and more primal bibliographical and historical sources.

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<sup>5</sup> See for instance: al-Suyūṭī, *al-Taḥadduth*, 2: 105-136; and *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, 1: 190 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See: Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zumūn 'an Asāmi al-Kutub wa al-Funūn* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d.), 2: 1540; Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs, *Mu'jam Maṭbū'āt al-'Arabiyya wa al-Mu'arraba* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfat al-Dīniyya, n.d.), 1: 374 ; and Brockelmann, *GAL*, S2: 933.

<sup>7</sup> See: Badī' al-Sayyid al-Liḥām, *al-Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī wa Juhūdih fī al-Ḥadīth wa 'Ulūmih* (Damascus: Dār Qutayba, 1994), 183.

<sup>8</sup> For example, see: Iyād Khālīd al-Ṭabbā', *al-Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī Ma'lamat al-'Ulūm al-Islāmiyya* (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1996), 383; and 'Abd al-Ḥakam al-Sayyid 'Atlam, "al-Suyūṭī Muḥaddithan" in *Ḥayāt al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, ed. Maḥmūd Shalabī (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1998), 325.

Secondly, it is also argued that *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* does not fit in with the general style of al-Suyūṭī in composing ḥadīth works. This is because all his ḥadīth works of various sizes, themes, and styles seem to share a few common features that reflect his attitude towards ḥadīth and its utilization in religious contexts, such as mentioning the sources of ḥadīth he quoted with its *isnāds* or through the use of a systematic scheme of symbolism<sup>9</sup>.

In a similar manner, al-Suyūṭī would also try to avoid from narrating forged traditions (*ḥadīth al-mawḍūʿ*) in any of his work. In fact, his uncompromising and stern attitude on this matter is so apparent that he has even suggested various measures of punishment for those who habitually narrate these forgeries in their writings<sup>10</sup>. However, while comparing these salient features of ḥadīth writings with that of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, one cannot help but notice the unmistakable gap that defy its common linkage with the rest of al-Suyūṭī's ḥadīth works. Not only that its ḥadīths lack any type of information on their sources and origins, there are also a number of forgeries despite its author's intention to include only the authentic traditions, as will be seen later on. This clearly contradicts the general style of al-Suyūṭī as presented above and therefore, it is hardly appropriate to associate him as the rightful author of the work.

Thirdly and perhaps most importantly, there are substantial evidences on its origin, as discovered in this study, that defy its association with al-Suyūṭī. In fact, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is a work by a different author; yet interestingly, due to its being

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<sup>9</sup> Some of his ḥadīth works such as *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr* are characterized by an extensive use of symbols as a quick and economic way of pointing out the source and location of ḥadīth without the need of much space and writing. Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 1: 560-561. For more details on his views and methods in ḥadīth, see also: al-Ṭabbāʿ, *al-Imām al-Ḥafīẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, 157-166.

<sup>10</sup> See: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb al-Rāwī fī Sharḥ Taqrīb al-Nawawī* (Mecca: Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz, 1997), 2:450-454.

subjected to various stages of adaptation and rendering in different places, the essential information regarding its author has become somewhat obscured and ambiguous, as will be discussed below. As such, it can be reasonably proposed that any attribution of its authorship to al-Suyūṭī is not only inaccurate and misleading, but also of later invention as copies of the work and its commentaries bearing his name started to be disseminated all the way from the nineteenth century until the present day.

Yet, it is interesting to observe how this misattribution gained an unchallenged and all-round acceptance from scholars since it first appeared perhaps sometime in the nineteenth century, especially if this claim was made by an influential figure whose credibility and scholarly position does not naturally instigate skepticism and suspicion from the scholarly communities. In fact, in this regard, it is even not too far-fetched here to suggest Nawawī's role and involvement in this matter as the published editions of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* prior to his *Tanqīḥ al-Qawī* contain different information regarding its author<sup>11</sup>. If this is the case, then there is no reason for his readers, especially the Jāwah, to doubt his opinion on the matter considering the popularity of al-Suyūṭī as an authoritative religious figure to them and whose works were influential and widely disseminated in the Archipelago.

For instance, the first ever complete commentary of the Quran rendered into the Malay language by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel (d. 1104/1693) was largely based on *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, a work which al-Suyūṭī co-authored with his teacher Jalāl al-

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<sup>11</sup> In illustrating this further, it is interesting to note that while the original listing of al-Suyūṭī's works by Brockelmann does not include *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, it is only found to be mentioned later on in the supplement due to its commentary by Nawawī. See: Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2: 180-204, S2: 189. On the high-standing status and credibility of Nawawī in the nineteenth century scholarly circles, see Chapter Two below.

Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 870/1465). In fact, its influence as a popular and standard textbook of studying the Quranic exegesis can also be observed throughout various *pondoks/pesantrens*<sup>12</sup> in the Archipelago<sup>13</sup>. Similarly, his treatises on death and life in the afterworld as well as other eschatological-related matters have also received due attention from various Jāwah writers at least until the early part of the twentieth century<sup>14</sup>. As all are followers of Shafi‘ism and Sunnism, it is more convenient for them to rely on him for the authoritative view of the religion be it on Quranic exegesis, creed, or any other aspects.

More importantly, this misattribution could have also perhaps arose from the confusion with another of al-Suyūṭī’s work bearing similar title, i.e. *Lubb al-Lubāb fī Taḥrīr al-Ansāb* or simply known as *al-Lubāb*. Although categorized as a work related to ḥadīth, it is actually of a different nature than the work under study here, as it is a compendium of earlier works on the toponyms and soubriquets of scholars and ḥadīth narrators<sup>15</sup>. Nonetheless, considering the late adoption of the print technology among the Muslims and their reliance on handwritten copies made by students and scribes alike, there is still a possibility for mistake on this matter. As

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<sup>12</sup> These are among the most common words used in various parts of the Malay Archipelago referring to the traditional Middle Eastern *madrassa*-inspired system of education in which the religious sciences stand at its heart. There are also other local variations apart from the ones mentioned above, such as *dayah*, *meunasah*, and so on.

<sup>13</sup> For detailed studies on this issue and the influence of *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, see: Peter Riddell, “The Sources of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*”, *JMBRAS* 57, 2 (1984): 113-118; and Anthony H. Johns, “Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile” in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Quran*, ed. Andrew Rippin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 257-287.

<sup>14</sup> To be more specific, his *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr bi Sharḥ Aḥwāl al-Mawtā wa al-Qubūr* was translated into Malay by Dāwūd al-Faṭānī as *Kashf al-Ghumma*; while his *Durar al-Ḥisān fī al-Ba‘th wa Na‘īm al-Jinān* was a major reference in Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Muḥammad al-Faṭānī’s (d. 1331/1913) *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya*. See: Fauzi Deraman, “Karya-karya Ḥadīth dalam Tulisan Jawi”, *Journal of Usuluddin* 7 (1997): 169; and Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya pada Menyatakan yang Ghaib-ghaib daripada beberapa Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyya* (Singapore: Sulaymān Mar‘ī, n.d.), 2.

<sup>15</sup> It is actually an abridgment of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī’s (d. 630/1232) *Kitāb al-Lubāb fī Ansāb al-‘Arab*, which in itself, is also a summary al-Sam‘ānī’s (d. 450/1058) *Kitāb al-Ansāb*. See: Edward Van Dyeck, *Iktifā’ al-Qumū ‘ bimā huwa Maṭbū’* (Qum: Maṭba‘at Bahman, 1988), 72-73.

such, it is be possible that one of these copies of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* might have wrongly attributed it to al-Suyūṭī.

Whatever the reason, it is nevertheless interesting to note that perhaps, due to its association with al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* continued to become an important ḥadīth manual among the Jāwah, worthy to be studied and commented upon by scholars in various parts of the Archipelago all the way until the twentieth century and beyond. In a similar manner, it might also be due to the virtue of its only commentary in Arabic by Nawawī that sustained *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*'s reputation and circulation among the Arab readers until the present day. Had it been otherwise, it might not have been able to attract much attention to it, especially considering its ambiguity and uncertainty on the status of some of its traditions as compared to other more authoritative canonical ḥadīth collections.

### **1.2.2. The origins of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its editions**

In the foregoing discussion, it is demonstrated how *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* could not have possibly been a work by al-Suyūṭī despite popular belief on the matter. While this in itself is quite significant, it has also inadvertently led to a more crucial question regarding the real author(s) of the work, which will be addressed here. In attempting to analyze this issue, Nawawī will be taken as the starting point due to his significant role in the history of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as will be seen further below. In retrospect, it is found that the periods between the first and the last quarter of the nineteenth century had seen an increasing interest in the publication and dissemination of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*-related work among the Jāwah in the Middle East as well as in the Archipelago.

In the first instance, a work in ḥadīth entitled *Shifā' al-Qulūb* (Remedy for the Hearts) was published in Mecca in 1300/1882. Although its title is markedly distinctive, its general structure conforms to that of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. This can be seen from the similarity in the prefatory remarks of both works where the authors expressed their intentions of compiling a number of Prophetic ḥadīths of authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) status and credible narrations, yet omitting their *isnāds* for the sake of brevity and ease of reading, as well as presenting a total of four hundred ḥadīths divided equally into forty chapters. However, due to the fact that *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was composed in Arabic and that *Shifā' al-Qulūb* is in Malay, there are certain explanatory wordings added by the author of the latter, although these, in general, do not change the structure and aim of the book as discussed above<sup>16</sup>.

Not only that, but a general survey of their ḥadīth contents and organization of chapters reveals remarkable similitude between these two works, albeit some variations of the ḥadīth texts, as will be discussed in details further below. In addition, the authorship of *Shifā' al-Qulūb* is also attributed to “an unknown past scholar of Aceh” who completed it in 1225/1810<sup>17</sup>. As far as is known, this is the only stand-alone printed edition of the work ever published in Mecca and elsewhere.

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<sup>16</sup> In *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, its translated preface in English (all translations are mine) is as follows: “Verily I intend to compile a book on the ḥadīths of the Prophets and narrations of *ṣaḥīḥ* and credible *isnāds*, but I have omitted the *isnāds* and I have organized the book into forty chapters, in each chapter ten ḥadīths and I named it *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*”. Compare with the following preface of *Shifā' al-Qulūb* translated from Malay: “I, a destitute of all God’s creatures, intend to compile a number of Prophetic ḥadīths of *ṣaḥīḥ* and credible *isnāds*, yet I have omitted all the *isnāds* and modified the literal wordings of the ḥadīth texts in favour of their intended meanings, so as to make it easier for the people to write it as well and not be weary (by its length), and I have made it as a book and I named it *Shifā' al-Qulūb* which means the Remedy for the Hearts, and I have included in it four hundred Prophetic ḥadīths in forty chapters”. See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 2-3, and Anonym., *Shifā' al-Qulūb* (Mecca: Maṭba‘at al-Mīriyya, 1882), 2.

<sup>17</sup> Compare between: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 2-77, and Anonym., *Shifā' al-Qulūb*, 1-24.

On the other hand, it is also pertinent to note that Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Āshī<sup>18</sup>; an enthusiastic editor of Jāwah religious works, has also included it as part of his compendium entitled *Jam' Jawāmi' al-Muṣannafāt*. In this *festschrift* dedicated to the previous generations of Acehnese scholars and their works, al-Āshī has included a total of ten treatises of various subjects including *fiqh* (four titles), Sufism (four titles), and ḥadīth (two titles). Here, *Shifā' al-Qulūb* is categorized as a ḥadīth work, but attributed to a certain Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Āshī who completed it in 1225/1810<sup>19</sup>. In comparison with the previous edition of the work, it is probable that al-Āshī's compendium is considerably later than the stand-alone version and perhaps, even based on the earlier Meccan edition. Regardless, his attempt to identify the author of *Shifā' al-Qulūb* was not very successful, and did not help much in resolving the anonymity shrouding this matter.

In a similar manner, Ismail Che Daud has also unexpectedly and briefly addressed this issue while listing out some of the prominent Jāwah scholars in his book. According to him, *Shifā' al-Qulūb* was compiled by a Shaykh 'Abd Allāh ibn Ismā'īl, who completed it in 1225/1810<sup>20</sup>. However, this extra information provided by him is not backed by any credible reference and at present, could not be verified. This is particularly the case considering the only extant manuscript of *Shifā' al-Qulūb*, which originated from the northern side of the Malay Peninsular some time

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<sup>18</sup> At present, not much is known on his life and biographical details except that he originated from Aceh and spent years of his life studying in Mecca and Egypt. Apart from his editorial activities with his teacher Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī (d. 1325/1908) in Mecca, he was also known to have composed works of his own such as *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān* in methods of Quranic recitation, and others. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, "Syekh Ismail bin Abdul Mutalib al-Asyri: Ketua Pelajar Melayu Pertama di Mesir", *Dakwah* (Sept. 1993): 51-54.

<sup>19</sup> See: Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Āshī, ed., *Jam' Jawāmi' al-Muṣannafāt* (Penang: al-Mu'arif Press, n.d.), 2-3, 44-63.

<sup>20</sup> Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu (1)* (Kota Bharu: MAIK, 2001), 26.

in the nineteenth century, does not supply any information at all regarding its author<sup>21</sup>. It is also important to note that at the same time, this work is also commonly mistaken by some as a work of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658)<sup>22</sup>, and has even been erroneously attributed to al-Ghazālī in some of its copies<sup>23</sup>. As such, in the light of the above discussion, it can be concluded with a certain degree of confidence that *Shifā' al-Qulūb* is a work by 'Abd Allāh of Aceh about whom nothing is known apart from his name, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

It should also be noted that at about the same time, a work entitled *Lubāb al-Ḥaḍīth* or simply *Kitāb al-Lubāb* was also extant among the Jāwah. As its title indicates, the work is found to be similar to the one discussed here both in terms of its structure as well as its organization. Yet in its published editions, whether stand-alone or at the margins of Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī's *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya*, it has been described as a summarized version of *Shifā' al-Qulūb*. Not only that, but its

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<sup>21</sup> This manuscript is in the possession of the National Library of Malaysia (PNM) and catalogued as MSS2758. It is also worthwhile to note that another copy of the manuscript (catalogued as MI106) at the Islamic Art Museum of Malaysia (IAMM) completely resembles that of PNM in its provenance, date, anonymity and owner (of the copy), except that it is incomplete compared to the former. Yet, as the whole manuscript in the IAMM's collection is not available for consultation, information presented here is entirely based on its previous and possibly outdated catalogue of the previous owner. See: Anonym., *Shifā' al-Qulūb* (PNM: MSS2758), foll. 1-14; PNM, *Katalog Manuskrip Melayu Koleksi PNM Tambahan Kedua* (Kuala Lumpur: PNM, 2002), 101-102; and Engku Ibrahim Ismail and Osman Bakar, eds., *Bibliografi Manuskrip Islam di Muzium Islam Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 1992), 112.

<sup>22</sup> See for instance: Hamdan Hassan, *Naskhah-naskhah Islam di Dayah Tanah Abec Aceh* (unpublished paper, Faculty of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, 1977), 16. In fact, it is important to note that while al-Rānīrī, a famous scholar of Indian origin, has also written a short treatise with the same title, its subject matter is entirely different from the work discussed here as it focuses exclusively on refuting the *wujūdīyya* in their pantheistic notion of God during his sojourn to Aceh. See: Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, *Shifā' al-Qulūb* (UBL: Cod.Or.5741), fol. 81v. For details of his life, work and influence, see: 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī, *al-I'lām biman fī Tārīkh al-Hind min al-A'lām* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), 5: 623; and Azra, *The Origins*, 52-69.

<sup>23</sup> See: Dra. Zunaimar and Tgk. M. Dahlan al-Fairusy, *Katalog Manuskrip Perpustakaan Pesantren Tanoh Abec Aceh Bcsar* (Banda Aceh: Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Aceh, 1993), 2: 21.

author is also said to be a Shaykh Muḥy al-Dīn al-Āshī<sup>24</sup>. This however, clearly contradicts a possibly earlier manuscript copy of the work, which does not supply any information at all regarding its author nor describe it as a summary of *Shifā' al-Qulūb*<sup>25</sup>. Thus, the description furnished in its printed editions must have been a late addition by the editor responsible for publishing the text, who assumed its similarity with the (possibly) available printed editions of *Shifā' al-Qulūb*.

Regardless, there are strong reasons to believe that this description is in fact, misleading and inaccurate. On the contrary, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* has actually preceded *Shifā' al-Qulūb* in terms of existence for at least a few centuries earlier. This is because the earliest known copy of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* discovered in Aceh dated around 1094/1683 as a work of an anonymous author<sup>26</sup>. This is also supported by the fact that a later copy of it has also made a reference to the monetary system used in the Sultanate of Aceh when translating the term gold coin (*ḍīnār*) mentioned in one of its ḥadīths<sup>27</sup>. Thus, it is suggested that *Shifā' al-Qulūb* is actually a considerably later rendering of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, possibly also of Acehnese origin, and this explains the unanimous attribution of the toponym al-Āshī to the various speculations regarding the identity of its author, as discussed before.

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<sup>24</sup> See: Muḥy al-Dīn al-Āshī, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* (Singapore: Sulaymān Mar'ī, n.d.), 1; and Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak, *Penerbitan dan Percetakan Buku Melayu 1807-1960* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1998), 410. It should also be noted, however, that at present, the real identity and existence of the above-mentioned figure could not be verified in available historical and biographical sources on the matter.

<sup>25</sup> See: Anonym., *Kitāb al-Lubāb* [sic] (PNM: MSS2247), foll. 12v.-76v.; and PNM, *Katalog Manuskrip Melayu Koleksi PNM* (Kuala Lumpur: PNM, 2000), 3.

<sup>26</sup> See: Wamad Abdullah and Tgk. M. Dahlan al-Fairusy, *Katalog Manuskrip Perpustakaan Pesantren Tanoh Abec Aceh Bcsar* (Banda Aceh: Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Aceh, 1980), 1: 4. Unfortunately, this manuscript is not accessible during the course of this research due to constraints in resources, time, and accessibility to Aceh.

<sup>27</sup> See: Anonym., *Kitāb al-Lubāb* [sic] (PNM: MSS2247), fol. 37r.

In an attempt to further trace the origin of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* within the larger context of Islamic intellectual history, it is also pertinent to note the existence of other works bearing similarities to the one discussed here in many respects, such as *Muwāḏib Khayr al-Kalām Sayyid al-Abrār*, *Lubāb al-Akḥbār*, *al-Lubāb fī al-Akḥbār*, as well as *Lubāb al-Akḥbār min Aḥādīth al-Maṣābīḥ bi ‘aynih*<sup>28</sup>. First of all, in terms of content, all are intended as compilations of four hundred authentic ḥadīths equally divided into forty chapters. Likewise, their whole structure and the organization of the chapters correspond to that of the former, save for a few minor variations. In fact, the deliberate disposal of *isnād* from every single ḥadīth cited for the sake of brevity and simplicity, which is also peculiar to the former, characterized the overall methods of ḥadīth narration in these works.

In this manner, despite the variations in the physical wordings of their titles, these works actually refer to the same connotation that constitutes their very essence and theme, i.e. the Prophetic ḥadīth. This is because, both the terms ḥadīth and *khavar* are perceived by ḥadīth scholars as synonymous, and have been used interchangeably throughout history<sup>29</sup>. At the same time, it is also found that even in the case where the word ḥadīth is employed in the title, there still exist variations

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<sup>28</sup> It is also attributed by Sarkīs as *Lubāb al-Akḥyār*. However, this is believed to be inaccurate, as it is based only on the (possibly mistaken) printed version of the work as indicated in the text. On the contrary, references to numerous copies of the work whether printed or in the manuscript form have indicated its rightful title as *Lubāb al-Akḥbār*. See: Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 1: 374; and compare with *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* (EUL: Or.MS.432); (BL: IO ISL2341/2); and (Lahore: Maṭba‘ Sulṭānī, 1872). See also: Fu‘ād Sayyid, *Fihrist al-Makḥṭūṭāt: Nashra bi al-Makḥṭūṭāt allafī Iqtanathā al-Dār min Sanat 1936-1955* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1962), 2: 275; Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007), 13: 119-120; Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici Della Biblioteca Vaticana: Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani* (Citta del Vaticano: 1935), 22-23; Āghā Burzugh al-Ṭihirānī, *al-Dḥaṇ‘a ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī‘a* (Tehran: Kitābkḥāna Islāmiyya, 1967), 18: 275; and W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin: A. Asher and Co., 1897), 2: 177-178.

<sup>29</sup> See for instance: Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī, *Nuzhat al-Nazar*, 23.

between its singular (*Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*) and plural forms (*Lubāb al-Aḥādīth*)<sup>30</sup>. As such, it can be concluded that not only these works are of similar origin, but also the more recent edition is an adaptation or rendering of the earlier ones.

As a matter of fact, it is relevant to note the existence of a manuscript entitled *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* dated 711/1311, possibly of Egyptian provenance<sup>31</sup>, which is believed to represent the earliest known copy of the work and one that forms the basis for its later adaptations including the fairly recent *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and *Shifā' al-Qulūb* by the Jāwah. Despite this, it is still, nonetheless, difficult to pinpoint the exact dating of its composition, although it is not too far to suggest here that it might have been composed some time between the sixth/twelfth and eighth/fourteenth centuries. This is because thus far, no earlier copy of it has been discovered, and there is no mention of it in earlier sources relating to ḥadīth and ḥadīth-related works. But, perhaps more importantly, one of the ḥadīth references from which many of its ḥadīths are derived, was only composed during the sixth/twelfth century, as will be discussed below.

Correspondingly, it is also interesting to note the link between the variations in the title of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its geographical distribution among the Muslims throughout the ages based on available resources on the matter. Apart from its earliest known copy as discussed above, many of its subsequent editions since the tenth/late fifteenth century are known as *Lubāb al-Akḥbār*, especially those of the

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<sup>30</sup> See: al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya, *Fihris al-Kutub al-Mawjūda bi al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya ilā 1364/1945* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Azhar, 1946), 1: 547; and Gazi Husrev Bey Library Sarajevo, "Online Manuscripts Database", [http://www.ghbibl.com.ba/index.php?option=com\\_wrapper&Itemid=8](http://www.ghbibl.com.ba/index.php?option=com_wrapper&Itemid=8) (accessed 1<sup>st</sup> October 2007).

<sup>31</sup> *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Awqāf: Rasā'il 70-4). See: Central Library for the Islamic Manuscripts, <http://www.awkafmanuscripts.org/1/1/2/2/70-4/data.asp> (accessed 8<sup>th</sup> October 2007).

Indo-Persian origin<sup>32</sup>. In contrast, works bearing *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as their titles are found to be more common since the twelfth/eighteenth century and usually of Arab provenance<sup>33</sup>.

In addition to its origin, the all-important issue of the authorship of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is also surrounded in ambiguity. In its earliest known copies, no information regarding its author is supplied at all<sup>34</sup>. However, later on, it is suggested that *Lubāb al-Akhbār* was composed in Arabic by a person known only as Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh. It was then translated into Persian by another person named Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad who also rendered its prefatory remarks in the same language, while his son, i.e. Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd, made an interlinear translation of the ḥadīth into Hindi while retaining the original Arabic and the earlier Persian translation<sup>35</sup>. Unfortunately, without proper and more specific information on these individuals, it is almost futile to try and ascertain their exact identities and credibility.

Similarly, other suggestions have also included attributing it to al-Suyūṭī, as discussed previously, as well as to one Hibat Allāh ibn ‘Aṭā’ al-Mulk ibn Ḥāmid al-

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<sup>32</sup> Witkam, *Inventory*, 13: 119-120; Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti*, 22-23; al-Ṭihirānī, *al-Dhau‘a*, 18: 275; Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften*, 2: 177-178; *Lubāb al-Akhbār* (EUL: Or.MS.432); Otto Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London: Stephen Austin and Sons, 1877), 1: 48; Hermann Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1903), 1: 1431-1432; Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore* (Patna: The Superintendent, Government Printing, 1928), 14: 59-60; and others.

<sup>33</sup> See for instance: al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya, *Fihris al-Kutub*, 1: 547.

<sup>34</sup> *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Awqāf: Rasā’il 70-4), foll. 36v-40r; and Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti*, 23.

<sup>35</sup> See: *Lubāb al-Akhbār* (EUL: Or.MS.432), foll. 1<sup>a</sup>-2<sup>b</sup>; Loth, *A Catalogue*, 1: 48; Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian*, 1: 1431-1432; Charles Stewart, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the Late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1809), 164; and Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian*, 14: 59-60.

Qarawī<sup>36</sup>. However, considering the late eighteenth century copy of *Lubāb al-Akhhbār* of which the latter view is probably based<sup>37</sup>, this study believes that it is not plausible enough to explain the anonymity of its much earlier versions as discussed above. Hence, it is partly due to this that might explain why *Lubāb al-Akhhbār* did not receive due attention from the scholarly circles; especially among ḥadīth scholars who put much emphasis on the integrity and credibility of a narrator or compiler as a main criteria for acknowledging the merit of a work on ḥadīth.

However, despite this ambiguity, especially in its possibly Arabian or Egyptian origin of which not much is known, it is, nevertheless, interesting to get a glimpse of its spread in the Indo-Persian milieu over a period of time. In its earliest known copies which dated around the tenth/fifteenth century, *Lubāb al-Akhhbār* was bound together with other works in Arabic and Persian to comprise a compendium of treatises on various aspects of the religion. Copies of these treatises have also been in the possessions of some of the rulers of the Persian Safavid Dynasty such as Ṭahmāsib (r. 930-983/1524-1576), and later on Ḥusayn al-Ṣafawī (r. 1105-1134/1694-1722). Due to this, it is hardly surprising to note that some has even categorized it as a ḥadīth work that belongs to the Shi‘ite intellectual and religious heritage<sup>38</sup>.

Thereafter, from the eleventh/late seventeenth century onwards, manuscript copies of the works are all found to be of Indian origin and discovered in various

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<sup>36</sup> See: Witkam, *Inventory*, 13: 119-120; Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften*, 2: 177-178; P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in The Netherlands* (The Hague: Leiden University Press, 1980), 169; and Brockelmann, *GAL*, S2: 937.

<sup>37</sup> See especially: Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften*, 2: 177-178.

<sup>38</sup> Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti*, 22-23. For details of the Persian copy, see: al-Ṭihirānī, *al-Dhār‘a*, 18: 275.

regions in the Subcontinent<sup>39</sup>. In addition, its first ever printed edition was also accomplished in Mumbai in 1280/1863 and later on in Lahore in 1289/1872, and has since undergone a series of reprint over the years. As a matter of fact, it is observed that until the present day, *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* is only known to be published in India, and this explains the trilingual nature of the printed edition to include the Arabic, Persian and Hindi languages so as to cater to the needs of the inhabitants of the Subcontinent<sup>40</sup>.

Based on the foregoing discussions, it has been demonstrated how *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* could not be the work of al-Suyūṭī. As a matter of fact, it traces its origin back to *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* in the eighth/fourteenth century as a compilation of ḥadīth by an anonymous author. At the same time, it is also pertinent to note the early appearance of the work in the Malay Archipelago, i.e. since the eleventh/seventeenth century in Aceh, which was also subjected to a series of adaptation and rendering to suit its new surroundings. Nevertheless, it was not until considerably later that it started to invite serious attention from scholars, as will be discussed below.

### 1.2.3. Commentaries and Translations of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*

Although *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its renderings have gained some popularity among the Jāwah in the various parts of the Archipelago, it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that serious scholarly commentaries on it began to appear.

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<sup>39</sup> See, for instance: Loth, *A Catalogue*, 1: 48; Stewart, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 164; EUL, *Oriental Manuscripts: A Continuation of the Descriptive Catalogue of 1925 by Hukk, Ethe and Robertson* (unpublished handlists no. H8.23/H9: Or.MS.430-Or.MS.653, EUL, n.d.); and Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian*, 14: 59-60.

<sup>40</sup> See: Edward Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1922), 86; Loth, *A Catalogue*, 1: 48; Brockelmann, *GAL*, S2: 933; Anonym., *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* (Mumbai: Maṭba‘ Ḥaydarī, 1870); and (Lahore: Maṭba‘ Sulṭānī, 1872).

Of these, two stand out as the most prominent; i.e. *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* by Nawawī and *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* by Wan ‘Alī. While the latter was completed in 1305/1888<sup>41</sup>, there is no indication of when exactly the former was composed. Nonetheless, it is suggested here that it was Nawawī who was the first to comment on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in a scholarly manner. This is because; in the introductory remark of his commentary, Nawawī has stated clearly that to the best of his knowledge the base work has not been known to be commented upon by any scholar, and it is due to this reason that various discrepancies and mistakes prevail in the text<sup>42</sup>.

As such, he undertook great responsibility towards it, not only as an annotator to the ideas presented in the ḥadīths, but more importantly as an editor to the very structure of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its content. Furthermore, he also attempted to ascertain the origin and/or status of each ḥadīth mentioned in the work, which is apparent throughout his commentary. All this is accomplished entirely in Arabic in an attempt to attract further scholarly attention on the matter. Yet, in the absence of an authoritative and correct edition of the work, he was forced to refer to various available copies of the text to come out with his own version of it, which he hoped would contain lesser mistakes than the previous ones<sup>43</sup>.

In fact, it is reasonable to suggest here of his familiarity with the existing Malay renderings of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and *Shifā’ al-Qulūb*, as well as some of its Arabic and Indo-Persian editions. To substantiate this, it is pertinent to analyze

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<sup>41</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb wa Munabbihāt al-Qulūb* (Penang: al-Mu‘ārif Press, n.d.), 229.

<sup>42</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl al-Ḥadīth bi Sharḥ Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut: al-Maktabat al-Thaqāfiyya, 1985), 2.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

some of the main differences between Nawawī's and earlier versions of the work. For instance, while he ascribed the last ḥadīth in Chapter Forty as a saying of the Prophet, at the same time he did not also deny its probability as a Divine inspiration (*ḥadīth qudsī*) as found in "some of the copies". It would be interesting to note that out of the various copies of the work analyzed here, only the Arabic and Indo-Persian versions of the work that attributed it as a form of *ḥadīth qudsī*<sup>44</sup>.

Similarly, he also acknowledged the variation on the organizational sequence regarding the ḥadīths on the "Prohibition of Wailing over the Dead" between the thirty eighth and the thirty ninth chapter of the work as was found in some of its copies. Here, he must have referred specifically to the printed versions of *Shifā' al-Qulūb* where the chapter preceding the one discussed here is missing, or to the printed version of *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* where Chapter Thirty Nine is missing and all its ḥadīths are combined together in the foregoing chapter<sup>45</sup>. Yet, it is also found that he has also included a ḥadīth in Chapter Eleven which, according to him, was omitted in some of the versions<sup>46</sup>. As this ḥadīth is not found in the copies analyzed in this study, it is suggested here that Nawawī might have also in his possession other versions of the work not discussed here. Hence, it is probable that he might have also found an ascription to al-Suyūṭī in one of these versions, which might explain his opinion on the latter as the rightful author considering the problem of anonymity surrounding the authorship of the work in all of its versions.

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<sup>44</sup> Compare between: *ibid.*, 77; and anonym., *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Azhar: *Majāmi'* 172), fol. 71<sup>a</sup>; *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* (Lahore: Maṭba' Sulṭānī, 1872), 79; (EUL: Or.MS.432), fol. 65<sup>b</sup>; and (BL: IO ISL2341/2), fol. 44<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 73; and compare between anonym., *Shifā' al-Qulūb*, 21-22; al-Āshī, ed., *Jam' Jawāmi'*, 61-62; and anonym., *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* (Lahore: Maṭba' Sulṭānī, 1872), 72-77.

<sup>46</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 27.

Nonetheless, based on the afore-mentioned discussions on the matter, it has been sufficiently demonstrated how this attribution could not be substantiated.

On the other hand, in Wan ‘Alī’s commentary, one could hardly find any actual comparison of the various available versions of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* or analysis of its mistakes. In fact, it focuses mainly on the messages and lessons from the ḥadīths composed entirely in Malay, which are further supplemented by a multitude of other traditions, narrations, and sayings of scholars without much emphasis on the technicalities relating to their origin and/or status of authenticity. Yet, more significantly, it has been found that *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* constitutes an important source for the commentary, despite Wan ‘Alī’s apparent silence of his indebtedness to Nawawī<sup>47</sup>.

In this regard, it is highly tenable that this dependency might have also involved the content of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as edited by the latter considering the exact similitude between them in terms of its structure and the total number of ḥadīth<sup>48</sup>. If this is the case, then it might justify Wan ‘Alī’s casual manner towards the physical aspects of ḥadīth in the base work since this has been accomplished previously by Nawawī through his edition of the text. Based on this, it is reasonable to assume Nawawī’s antecedence over Wan ‘Alī in composing their respective commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*.

At the same time, it is also pertinent to note the significance and influence of Nawawī’s commentary in the subsequent development of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*

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<sup>47</sup> For examples and details on this matter, see Chapter Three of this study.

<sup>48</sup> In an extensive comparison of the text of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* between Nawawī’s and Wan ‘Alī’s, it is found that in both commentaries, the base work contains exactly 405 ḥadīth divided into forty chapters. Even the wordings and organization of their ḥadīth are the same, which clearly indicate their shared origin.

among the Jāwah. Apart from *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, all other known translations and commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* until the twentieth century are dependent on his edition of the work; not only in the structure and the content of the ḥadīth, but also in attributing it to al-Suyūṭī. Here, it is important to observe that in its translation into Madurese<sup>49</sup> by ‘Abd al-Majīd Tamīm of Pamekasan, it is found that the author has not only based his work on Nawawī’s, but also explicitly expressed his conviction that all the ḥadīth mentioned is reliable and does not contain any fabrication as it has been edited by the latter. In this edition, the entire Arabic text of the ḥadīth is faithfully reproduced, and to it is added a concise and straightforward interlinear translation in Madurese. At the end, a postscript is also inserted explaining the importance of adhering to ḥadīth to safeguard against unlawful innovation (*bid‘a*) and the precedence of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as a repository of Prophetic wisdom, among others<sup>50</sup>.

Nawawī’s work was also translated into Javanese by Ṣāliḥ Mustamir ibn Nūr al-Ḥājjawī as *Qawl al-Mughīth ‘alā Tarjamat Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. According to the author, the work is especially composed to assist the local population (who do not have the privilege of understanding the Arabic original) in performing their religious deeds. In addition to the Arabic text which corresponds to that of Nawawī’s, a side-by-side translation and sometimes a short explanation in Javanese is also included from a variety of sources relevant to the text. Nonetheless, to date,

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<sup>49</sup> It is a regional language for the people that inhabit the Island of Madura; which is situated at the northeast of Java in present day Indonesia.

<sup>50</sup> See: ‘Abd al-Majīd Tamīm, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth li al-‘Allāma Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Terjemah Madura* (Surabaya: ‘Awḍ ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī, 1980), especially 92-95.

only the first ten chapters of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* are known to be translated in this edition<sup>51</sup>.

Finally, it is also found to be translated into Sundanese<sup>52</sup> by Muḥammad Ḥasan Baṣrī ibn ‘Abd Allāh. In many ways, this work is actually an abridgment of Nawawī’s *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, even though its author has deliberately combined and/or omitted some of the ḥadīth found in the original so as to round it up to exactly 400 in total. In the same way, modification of the original commentary by Nawawī is also evident throughout the work, and to these selected phrases in Arabic are appended their translation and explanation in Sundanese together with other information relating to the status of ḥadīth and so on<sup>53</sup>.

Based on these examples, one can clearly see the renewed surge of interest among the Jāwah in the Archipelago in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as an important ḥadīth manual right until the later part of the twentieth century. Partly by virtue of Nawawī’s efforts, it has regained its dynamism among the scholars as a fairly reliable compilation in ḥadīth that could benefit the local populace in their practice of the religion. Yet, in other places where Nawawī’s edition might not have been extant, it is also interesting to see indications of a similar trend with the Indo-Persian version of *Lubāb al-Akhbār* at least until the first quarter of the twentieth century. In addition to the already extant printed version of the work together with its Persian and Hindi translations, it was also found to be rendered into a few other

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<sup>51</sup> Ṣāliḥ Mustamir al-Ḥājawī, *Qawl al-Mughīth ‘alā Tarjamat Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* (Kudus: Maktaba wa Maṭba‘a Menara Kudus, 1969), esp. 2-3.

<sup>52</sup> It is a regional language of *Orang Sunda* or the Sundanese ethnic group who primarily inhabit the western part of the Java Island.

<sup>53</sup> Muḥammad Ḥasan Baṣrī ibn ‘Abd Allāh, *Talkhīṣ al-Qawl al-Ḥadīth fī Tarjamat Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* (Singapore: al-Ḥaramayn, n.d.).

regional languages including Pushto in 1908, and Tamil in 1904 and 1915<sup>54</sup>. In fact, all these indicate the significance of the work as a ḥadīth discourse, not only for the Jāwah, but also for the populace of the Indo-Persian continent until the twentieth century.

### 1.3. *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*: Theme and Content

In general, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is intended by its author as an instructional religious manual that aims to encourage its readers towards performing virtuous deeds while admonishing against the vices based on the examples shown by the Prophetic traditions. As with other works peculiar to this nature, it focuses mostly on the nonphysical and ethereal forms of rewards and punishments as means of motivation, rather than stressing on the rudiments of juristic and legalistic implications of physical acts of worship. As such, instead of discussing the conditions and methods of ablution for example, it concentrates on the rewards and benefits in the Hereafter for performing it. Due to this reason, many scholars categorized this kind of works as belonging to the theme known as virtuous supplementary deeds (*faḍā'il al-a'māl*), in which weaker ḥadīth is permitted to be employed as long as it does not impinge on the fundamental aspects in Creed and religious rulings<sup>55</sup>.

Nevertheless, despite this lenity, the unknown author of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* has made it clear that only the authentic ḥadīths are included in his work. As such, there

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<sup>54</sup> The Pushto translation was made by Muḥammad Ḥasan Kātib and published in Lahore in 1908 under the title of *Tuḥfāt al-Akḥbār Tarjamāt Lubāb*. As for the Tamil rendition, it is actually undertaken by two different authors in two separate works; firstly by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Qādir Mīrān under the title of *'Ubāb al-Akhyār Tarjamāt Lubāb al-Akḥbār* (Madras: 1904), and followed by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Ṣāḥib in 1915. See: Alexander S. Fulton and A.G. Ellis, *Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic Printed Books in the British Museum 1901-1926* (London: British Museum, 1926), 160; and *Second Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic Printed Books in the British Museum 1927-1957* (London: British Museum, 1959), 92.

<sup>55</sup> For a detailed discussion on this, please see Chapter Four below.

is no need to mention their isnāds, and at the same time, he could make it more concise and accessible to non-specialized readers. Conceptually, there are about four hundred ḥadīths in the work, which are almost equally divided into forty chapters. The topics covered range from creed and rituals to *taṣawwuf* and other general matters, as mentioned before. Yet, in reality, this is not necessarily the case as it is found that due to the ambiguity surrounding its authorship, the whole integrity and reliability of the work can also be questionable as it is more susceptible to modification and alteration in its text. As a matter of fact, by comparing various existing copies of the work, one can not only confirm this but also state with some confidence that at least, it has been subjected to a series of adaptation and modification over a period of time to suit with its new environment and purpose.

In the first place, the Indo-Persian versions of *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* are not uniformed in their ḥadīth content and in no way close to the four hundred figure as indicated above. While its seventeenth century copy has only 388 ḥadīths in forty chapters, a more recent version from the next century however, have only a total of 383 ḥadīths in forty chapters. Nevertheless, its entire printed version in the nineteenth century is seriously flawed as it omitted a complete chapter from the work altogether, causing it to contain only 378 ḥadīths in thirty nine chapters<sup>56</sup>. Likewise, the earliest known copy of *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* is also far from complete<sup>57</sup>, while its eighteenth century version only contains 344 ḥadīths in forty chapters<sup>58</sup>. More importantly, there are also traces of modification and tampering with the text

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<sup>56</sup> Compare between: *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* (EUL: Or.MS.432), foll. 66<sup>a-b</sup>; (BL: IO ISL2341/2), foll. 4<sup>a</sup>; and (Lahore: Maṭba‘ Sulṭānī, 1872), 1-80.

<sup>57</sup> Upon analyzing the first sixteen chapters of this copy, it is found that it lacks a chapter and has only a total of 124 ḥadīth out of the supposed 160. See: *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Awqāf: *Rasā’il* 70-4), foll. 36v-40r.

<sup>58</sup> See: *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Azhar: *Majāmi‘* 172), foll. 48<sup>b</sup>-71<sup>a</sup>.

including omission of ḥadīths and/or their addition, and so on. In addition to Prophetic ḥadīths that made up the bulk of the text, one would also occasionally find the sayings of scholars, Sufi masters, Jesus, and Companions of the Prophet (*ṣaḥāba*).

Interestingly though, despite the possibility of accessing the Arabic version of *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth*, it is suggested here that the Jāwah have actually rendered their own edition of it based on the Indo-Persian version of *Lubāb al-Akḥbār*, due to the conspicuous similarities in content between them, when it was disseminated for the first time in the Malay Archipelago through Aceh in the late seventeenth century to suit its new environment and correspond with the needs of the local populace. In fact, apart from retaining its title as *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* or simply *Kitāb al-Lubāb*, possibly due to the sanctity of the term ḥadīth as a religious term in Malay compared to *khavar* which signify almost every type of news and information, its authorship has, nonetheless, been evidently changed to a Muḥy al-Dīn with the toponym of al-Āshī, i.e. of Aceh; perhaps to make it more appealing and attractive to the locals.

More importantly, in order for the work to be accessible to the Jāwah, the Arabic text of the ḥadīths together with their translation into Malay was introduced and its Persian (and probably also Hindi) paraphrases were omitted altogether. In some of its copies, even the sequence of some of the chapters is also changed, but it is however, inconsequential to the overall structure of the work<sup>59</sup>. In terms of content, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* has about 397 ḥadīths evenly distributed in forty chapters, which is rather significant considering the lesser quantity of ḥadīths contained in its

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<sup>59</sup> See: Anonym., *Kitāb al-Lubāb* [sic] (PNM: MSS2247), foll. 31r-42r.

aforementioned Arabic and Indo-Persian versions. Perhaps, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was based on its more complete and untainted earlier versions, which might explain its extra ḥadīth content. Nonetheless, not all ḥadīths in the former are simply added to the latter, but some are also found to be omitted and/or replaced with another ḥadīth.

For instance, a ḥadīth in *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* stating that “sneezing three times consecutively is an indication of a strong faith in a person” is found to be omitted altogether from *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. While this might be primarily due to its illogical meaning and absurdity, it is also possible that retaining it will cause unnecessary controversies that could seriously injure its reputation among the vibrant scholarly circles in Aceh at that time<sup>60</sup>. On the other hand, there is also a ḥadīth dissuading women against wearing extravagant bangles and anklets, which is a fairly new addition to *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and not found in its previous versions<sup>61</sup>. This is because, although excessive bodily ornament for the womenfolk is almost inherent and customary in the popular culture of the Subcontinent, it might not necessarily be so among the Jāwah. In fact, the latter might have even perceived it as a sign of pretension and arrogance. If this is the case, then it might be justified to include this ḥadīth in order to discourage the readers from this harmful vice of the heart and enjoin them towards a more ascetic and pious life instead.

In any case, it should be noted that this work was also rendered and adapted for a second time (possibly also) in Aceh and completed in 1225/1810. Once again, its title was changed, and this time from *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* to *Shifā’ al-Qulūb*. In a

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<sup>60</sup> In fact, this ḥadīth can only be found in: *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* (BL: IO ISL2341/2), fol. 12<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> See: Muḥy al-Dīn al-Āshī, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, 74; and anonym., *Kitāb al-Lubāb* [sic] (PNM: MSS2247), fol. 46r. In a similar manner, it can also be found in: Anonym., *Shifā’ al-Qulūb*, 13; (PNM: MSS2758), fol. 7; and al-Āshī, ed., *Jam‘ Jawāmi‘*, 54.

similar manner, its new author is said to be a certain unidentified person by the name of ‘Abd Allāh; also of Aceh, and he has deliberately omitted all the Arabic text of the ḥadīths and included only their Malay translation in this work. However, compared to *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, it only contains about 372 ḥadīths in thirty eight chapters out of the intended original forty chapters. As its content is significantly reduced compared with that of the former, it is believed that any attribution to it as the origin of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in some of its published editions is erroneous as well as misleading and perhaps sensibly, it should be the other way round.

In reflecting on this further, it is interesting to note that apart from the two missing chapters, there are also a number of ḥadīths in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* not included in *Shifā’ al-Qulūb* as evidenced in various chapters throughout the work<sup>62</sup>. Yet, despite the shortage in the number of its ḥadīths, there are also some significant addition, replacement, modification, and repetition to the ḥadīths of the original. A striking example of this can be seen from the first chapter of the work, i.e. concerning the virtue of knowledge and scholars, where it has at least six additional traditions not found in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* to make up a total of eighteen ḥadīth in this chapter. By far, this is the most extensive of all the chapters and indeed of all the various versions of the work discussed above. Perhaps, the author might have felt the need to re-emphasize on the importance of education to the general populace which could have been marginalized by other enterprises in his time, and at the same time motivate students to persevere and struggle in the path

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<sup>62</sup> Examples of this can be seen particularly in chapters 6, 9, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 30, 31, 34, and 35 from the work. See: Muḥy al-Dīn al-Āshī, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, 28-32, 40-44, 66-74, 84-90, 106-113, 121-126, and compare with: Anonym., *Shifā’ al-Qulūb*, 7-10, 13-16, 19-21.

of knowledge with promises of extravagant rewards and virtues for the learner and the learned alike<sup>63</sup>.

More importantly, the third and decisive rendering of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was finally attempted by Nawawī some time in the second half of the nineteenth century in Mecca. Due to his reputation as a highly revered intellectual leader of the Jāwah colony in Mecca at that time, he was perceived by his fellow countrymen as an authoritative religious figure and whose opinions were regularly consulted and sought after in various issues on religion. Among these, several questions regarding the reliability, integrity and status of the ḥadīths in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, which might have caused some controversies, were also brought to his attention in the hope for a more definite and convincing solution. Realizing the significance of the work and its influence among his fellow Jāwah, he undertook the responsibility of providing a scholarly insight on the matter in the form of his commentary entitled *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*<sup>64</sup>. Apart from composing it entirely in Arabic, he also made a vital change regarding the author of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and attributed it to al-Suyūṭī as discussed above.

However in this work, one can find more than a simple commentary of the ḥadīths as it also attempts to address the issues that constitute the very heart of the problems of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, i.e. the authenticity of its ḥadīths as well as presenting its error-free edition through comparison with other versions as discussed before. Thus, it is not surprising to find his version of the work has a total

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<sup>63</sup> Examples of some of these ḥadīths are as follows: “He who dies while seeking knowledge will die as a martyr”, “He who dies in the course of seeking knowledge is exempted from the hellfire”, “Helping a scholar in need is like building the *ka’ba* seventy times”, “Helping a student in need will be granted massive rewards like the great Mountain of Uhud (in Madina)”, and others. See: Anonym., *Shifā’ al-Qulūb*, 3-4; and al-Āshī, ed., *Jam’ Jawāmi’*, 45-46.

<sup>64</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 2.

of 405 ḥadīths in forty chapters, which is by far, the most complete and extensive of all versions. Through his acquaintance with various versions of the work; including the Arabic and Indo-Persian editions, he was able to add, replace, and modify a number of ḥadīths in the work, especially omitting repetition and dubious traditions.

For instance, in the eighth chapter of the work, i.e. on the virtue of calling people to prayers (*adhān*), he omitted two traditions concerning the avoidance of leadership and becoming a leader found in the Indo-Persian and Jāwah editions, and introduced in their place, two other authentic traditions<sup>65</sup>. Here it is pertinent to observe that Nawawī might have perceived them as doubtful and thematically unsound, and this sufficed for him to replace them with more appropriate and reliable traditions through comparison with other editions of the work. As a matter of fact, assuming leadership and exercising it is actually encumbered upon men as part of their responsibilities to maintain an orderly and peaceful life. Yet for some Sufis and ascetics whose primary concern is with the afterlife, active participation in the public life is often denounced and perceived as an impediment to their goal, and it might be through their influence that these ḥadīths are included in the work<sup>66</sup>.

In the same manner, it is also worthwhile to note the case of a ḥadīth on the obligation to answer one's father in prayer as opposed to his or her mother contained in the evidently modified Indo-Persian versions of *Lubāb al-Akḥbār*. Even thematically, this ḥadīth is gender-biased and unsound, and might have found

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<sup>65</sup> The omitted ḥadīths are as follows: "Perform *adhān* even if you have to pay for it with gold and silver and avoid from leadership (*imāma*)" and "Perform *adhān* even if one is denied to do so, and avoid being a leader even if one is paid for it". See, for instance: *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* (EUL: Or.MS.432), foll. 16<sup>b</sup>-17<sup>a</sup>; anonym., *Kitāb al-Lubāb* [sic] (PNM: MSS2247), fol. 30v.; and anonym., *Shifā' al-Qulūb*, 8.

<sup>66</sup> On the influence of Sufism on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, see further below.

its origin in the patriarchal and perhaps, even tribal cultural system where superiority of man as the dominant gender gained an upper hand. This is because; it is a known fact that the status of a mother supersedes that of a father as demonstrated in a famous authentic ḥadīth on the matter<sup>67</sup>. As such, it is hardly surprising to find this ḥadīth to be completely omitted in its later renderings by the *Jāwāh*, save Nawawī who attempted to modify its content to include both parents and eliminate all traces of biasness and prejudice as can be found in the Arabic version, even though he did not furnish any detail on its origin and status of authenticity<sup>68</sup>.

Perhaps, one of the most striking features of Nawawī's rendering of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is his emphasis on presenting only those ḥadīths known either to be attributed to the Prophet or found its origin in the form of *ḥadīth qudsī*. Therefore, when faced with a possible number of non-prophetic sayings found in the original version of the work even when some are clearly attributed to Sufis or other scholars<sup>69</sup>, it is interesting to observe how these traditions are carefully analyzed on a case by case basis instead of being rejected altogether. In some cases, he would verify these sayings as the Prophet's even though he did not furnish any more details on its status and origin in other ḥadīth works.

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<sup>67</sup> The ḥadīth is as follows: "A man came to the Prophet and said: 'O Apostle of God! Who is more entitled to be treated with the best companionship by me?' the Prophet said: 'Your mother', the man said: 'Who is next?', the Prophet said: 'Your mother', the man further said: 'Who is next?', the Prophet said: 'Your mother', the man asked for the fourth time: 'Who is next?', the Prophet said: 'Your father'. See: M.M. Khān, *The Translation of Meanings of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Ankara: Hilāl Yayınları, 1976), 8: 2.

<sup>68</sup> See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 59, and compare with: anonym., *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Azhar: *Majāmi'* 172), fol. 66<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Examples of these non-prophetic sayings can be found in chapters 33, 34, 35, 38, and 40 of the following works: *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Azhar: *Majāmi'* 172), foll. 67<sup>a</sup>, 68<sup>b</sup>, 69<sup>b</sup>, 71<sup>a</sup>; *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* (EUL: Or.MS.432), foll. 52<sup>a</sup>, 60<sup>b</sup>, 65<sup>a</sup>; (Lahore: Maṭba' Sulṭānī, 1872), 67, 79-80; anonym., *Kitāb al-Lubāb* [sic] (PNM: MSS2247), foll. 64v-66v, 71v-72v, 75v-76r; Muḥy al-Dīn al-Ashī, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, 118-123, 126, 137-139, 147, 149; and anonym., *Shifā' al-Qulūb*, 19-24.

On the other hand, there are also several sayings which are simply removed from the work due to their dubious status and/or incompatibility with the themes of the chapters in the work, including “Graves of men is all but torture except the graves of the Prophet and the pious” and substituted with a more reliable and authentic ḥadīth on the matter<sup>70</sup>. Whenever possible, he would also try to identify the rightful author of a saying such as “If speech is comparable to that of silver, then silence is definitely golden” as the saying of Luqmān the Wise; a sage of the pre-Islamic era, and so on<sup>71</sup>. Based on this, it is obvious that Nawawī’s edition of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was manifestly distinctive and perhaps even more complete and precise in its content and ḥadīth selection as compared to its previous versions. As a result, it is hardly surprising that his edition of the work has become the basis not only for further commentaries and translations, but also in sustaining its survival until the present day.

In any case, it is pertinent to note the dynamism of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as a ḥadīth discourse among the Muslims not only in the Middle East and the Indo-Persian continent, but also for the Jāwah despite the anonymity and mystery surrounding its author and origin. Ironically, perhaps by virtue of its ambiguity, the work has been subjected to various aspects of adaptation, modification and rendering throughout its history, especially by the Jāwah (see Figure 1); even though it did not warrant proper attention and merit from ḥadīth scholars during its early stage of existence. As such, it is perhaps justified to deduce that apart from its general structure and themes, aspects pertaining to ḥadīth selection and its

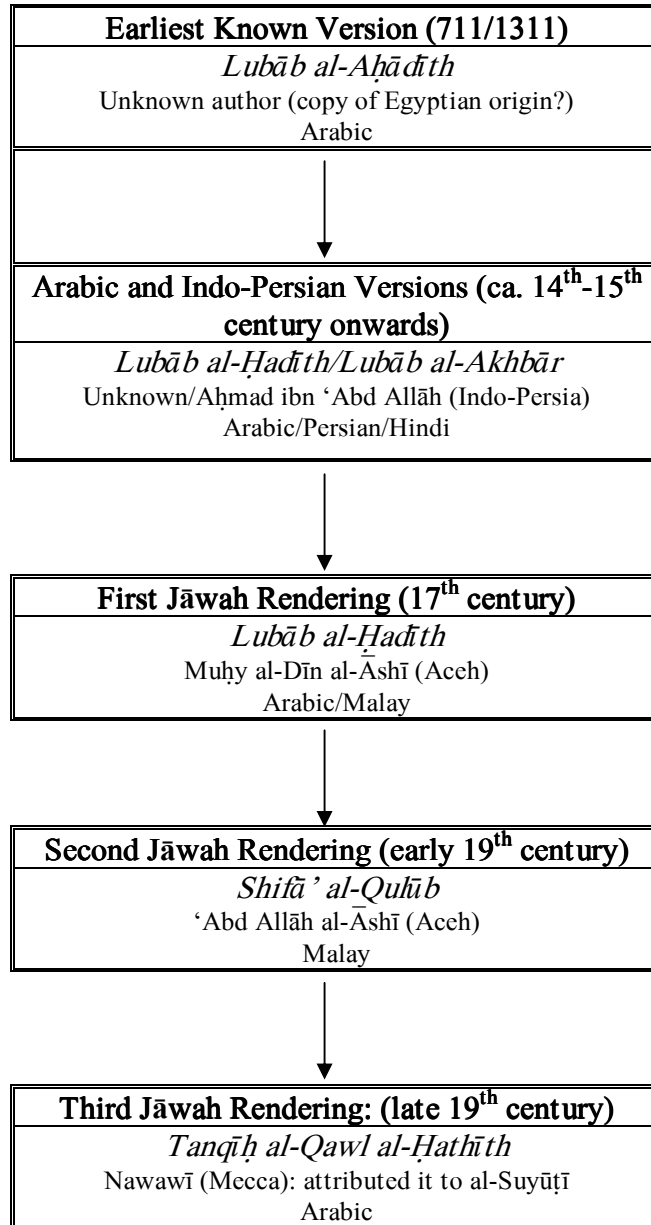
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<sup>70</sup> Compare between Muḥy al-Dīn al-Āshī, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, 138; anonym., *Shifā’ al-Qulūb*, 22; and Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 73. See also: *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Azhar: *Majāmi’* 172), foll. 69<sup>a-b</sup>, and compare with Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 70-71.

<sup>71</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 64-65.

presentation are always open for manipulation and exploitation to suit the social and cultural surroundings of the audiences as discussed before.

**Figure 1: The origin of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its renderings by the Jāwah until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century**



In this regard, it is interesting to note that even in the case where all its versions incorporated a specific ḥadīth, it does not however necessarily imply uniformity and consistency in terms of its wording and meaning. A striking example

of this can be seen in a ḥadīth where it is mentioned that “He who prays four *rak‘as* after the late night prayer ( *‘ishā* ) will get the rewards equivalent to spending the night of Decree (*laylat al-qadr*) in the Grand Mosque in Mecca”. First of all, there is a discrepancy between the various versions of the work on the timing of the prayer; while the Indo-Persian versions agreed that it should be performed before the night prayer, all the *Jāwah* and Arabic copies unanimously agreed otherwise as stated in the ḥadīth above. Secondly, with the exception to the printed editions of *Lubāb al-Akhhbār* that changed the place to the Grand Mosque in Jerusalem, all other versions agreed on the Mosque of Mecca as standard in the ḥadīth<sup>72</sup>. Regardless, it is suffice to see from this, traces of alteration and interpolation in various stages of the work that would have certainly reduced its value and reliability in the eyes of ḥadīth scholars.

#### 1.4. *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*: Its Importance and Significance

As a work that is characterized mainly by ambiguity and anonymity surrounding almost every important aspect of it, there is not much known on the origin and role of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as a ḥadīth discourse. Yet in the cultural milieu of Arabia and/or Northern Africa (Egypt) where it possibly originated, it is likely that its distribution as a practical manual of religious conduct was somewhat limited to specific Sufi orders (*ṭanīqas*) and/or segments of society at the popular level. This is because, its earliest known copy, which dated back to the eighth/fourteenth century was compiled amidst various practical religious pamphlets, including practical litanies

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<sup>72</sup> Compare between: *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Awqāf: *Rasā’il* 70-4), fol. 40r; (Azhar: *Majāmi‘* 172), fol. 59<sup>a</sup>; Muḥy al-Dīn al-Āshī, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, 63; anonym., *Shifā’ al-Qulūb*, 12; Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 33; and *Lubāb al-Akhhbār* (EUL: Or.MS.432), fol. 28<sup>a</sup>; (Lahore: Maṭba‘ Sulṭānī, 1872), 37.

of a certain Sufi, biography of the Prophet and his Caliphs, and so on<sup>73</sup>. Perhaps, it might be also due to its limited and restricted distribution, together with the anonymity of its authorship that might have eluded the attention of the ḥadīth scholars at that time as a ḥadīth work worthy to be analyzed and/or appraised.

On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that in its subsequent dissemination in the cultural milieu of Indo-Persia from the tenth/late fifteenth century, it might have received a considerable level of popularity as demands for an easier access to its Arabic content have led to the translation of its ḥadīth into Persian. Apart from its distribution to the general public, it might have also appealed to the interest of the dignitaries and royal families, especially as a copy of it as part of larger compendiums of various religious treatises in different subjects was found in the private libraries of some of the Safavid rulers<sup>74</sup>.

Moreover, as it was compiled amidst several works by Shi‘i authors, it was also considered as part of Shi‘ite religious and scholarly heritage<sup>75</sup>. Perhaps, it might be due to this and its relatively non-partisan content that contributed to its survival throughout the Pro-Shi‘ite Safavid rule. However, to simply categorize it as a Shi‘ite work based on this alone is perhaps unjustified and overstated. In fact, there is no indication of Shi‘ite ideology and thought that can be found in the work, whether in its content, selection, or style of ḥadīth narration. On the contrary, upon analyzing its theme and content, one could only trace influences of Sufism, which are manifest throughout the work. In the first instance, several of its chapters

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<sup>73</sup> For details, see: *Lubāb al-Aḥādīth* (Awqāf: *Rasā’il* 70-4). See also: Central Library for the Islamic Manuscripts, <http://www.awkafmanuscripts.org/1/1/2/2/70-4/data.asp> (accessed 8<sup>th</sup> October 2007). It is also interesting to note that even in the twentieth century, the publication of its commentary by Nawawī (that is *Tanqīḥ al-Qawā’id*) was also undertaken by a particular *ṭarīqa* in North Africa.

<sup>74</sup> See: al-Ṭihirānī, *al-Dharī‘a*, 18: 275.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

focused on the popular aspects of asceticism, which are dominant in the lifestyle of the Sufis such as poverty (*faqr*), humility (*tawāḍuʿ*), restricted consumption of food and drinks, refrainment from speech and leisure, constant remembrance of death, and so on.

In a similar manner, there are also present a number of ḥadīths which are known to be popular among the Sufis such as stressing on the virtue of the remembrance of God or *dhikr* over physical *jihād*; discouraging from assuming leadership, and the likes. But more importantly, there is also a ḥadīth where the Prophet is reported to have supposedly said that “the *sharīʿa* (Law) is my sayings; *ṭaṭāʿa* is my actions; poverty is my pride; hope is my companion; and fear is my vehicle”<sup>76</sup>. From this, it would be safe to assume that not only this work was widely distributed among the Sufis as a practical religious manual as discussed above, but it is perhaps reasonable to assert that its anonymous author too is a Sufi whose humility and fear of pride has caused him not to reveal his real identity in his work.

Regardless, it is important to note that the entire content of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* concerns primarily with the sphere of action ( *ʿamal*) as an integral part of religious devotion, which is not only limited to aspects of laws and ethics, but also incorporates familial relationship and social responsibilities towards one’s leader and nation. This and its relative negativity towards acquisition of leadership might have also enhanced its practical value as an important medium to cultivate a sense of religious and civil obedience among the populace. As such, it is not surprising to find that it was later compiled together with a Persian manual on kingship, i.e.

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<sup>76</sup> However, this ḥadīth is problematic as *ṭaṭāʿa* was not known to exist during the early stage of Islamic history, let alone in the lifetime of the Prophet. Thus, it is hardly surprising that it was later omitted by Nawawī. See: *Lubāb al-Akhbār* (BL: IO ISL2341/2), fol. 28<sup>b</sup>.

*Dhakhīrat al-Mulūk*<sup>77</sup>, and found in the personal library of Tippū Sulṭān (r. 1196-1214/1782-1799) in Mysore, India<sup>78</sup>.

It is also important to note that at about the same time, at least since the twelfth/seventeenth century, *Lubāb al-Akhhbār* have also found its way into various parts of India as indicated by the known manuscript copies of the work. Its appealing status as a repository of Prophetic ḥadīth might have also led to its wide distribution and utilization among the masses, which was greatly enhanced by the inclusion of Hindi paraphrase to the existing text. As a matter of fact, by looking into the historical context of ḥadīth studies in India at that time, one can also assert the important role of *Lubāb al-Akhhbār* as a manual of religious practice based on the ḥadīth, especially among the Sufīs<sup>79</sup>. This is because; prior to the ninth/fifteenth century, there was no real significance in the development of ḥadīth studies and its canonical collections in India. Apparently, even though conversion to Islam has begun in as early as the first/seventh century; the bordering states of India, which

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<sup>77</sup> It is a treatise on political philosophy and religious advices to kings furnished with traditions composed in Persian by ‘Alī al-Hamadhānī (d. 786/1385); an influential scholar and Sufi figure who migrated to Kashmir and settled there in 773/1371. For details of his life and influence, see: al-Ḥasanī, *al-I‘lām*, 2: 178-179; and Muhammad Ishaq, *India’s Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature* (Dacca: University of Dacca, 1947), 72-73.

<sup>78</sup> He was the only successor to the Khudādad Kingdom established by his father Ḥaydar ‘Alī which assumed the sovereignty of Mysore in southern India. Within the nineteen years of his rule, Tippū Sulṭān gained fame both for his bravery and patronage for learning. His personal libraries, which covered almost every aspect of the religious literatures in Arabic, Persian and Hindi totalled around two thousand volumes. Later on, his collections were transferred to the India Office Library. See: S.K. Allauddin and R.K. Rout, *Libraries and Librarianship during Muslim Rule in India* (New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House, 1996), 81-87; and Stewart, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, v, 164.

<sup>79</sup> In substantiating this, it is imperative to note the discovery of two manuscript copies of *Lubāb al-Akhhbār* dating from the eighteenth century as found in a Sufi shrine (*dargā*) library, i.e. Kitābkhāna Dargāt ‘Aliyat Mahdawiyya in Gujarat, India. See: Noor Microfilm Center India, “Catalogue of Microfilm of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts (Gujarat Libraries)”, <http://www.noormicrofilmindia.com/mahdaveh.htm>; <http://www.noormicrofilmindia.com/mahdaveh12.htm> (accessed 26<sup>th</sup> June 2007).

was marked by constant power struggles and specifically the reigning influence of the Ismā'īlīs, hampered much of the development of ḥadīth studies in the region<sup>80</sup>.

In explaining this further, it is argued that during the rule of the Delhi Sultanate (602-900/1205-1494), study of ḥadīth together with Quranic exegesis was greatly marginalized, and priority and authority was vested mainly in the studies of Hanafite *fiqh* and reason (*ra'y*) as a functional means to secure government services as jurists, judges (*qāḍīs*), *muftis*, and so on. Even in places where ḥadīth gained some currency such as Lahore and elsewhere, it is difficult to prove the existence and popularity of the canonical collections of ḥadīth compared to its secondary compilations such as *Mashāriq al-Anwār*<sup>81</sup> and others. Remarkably, it was the Sufi masters, such as the famous Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325), Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manīrī (d. 772/1370), 'Alī al-Hamadhānī, Zakariyyā al-Multānī (d. 666/1268) and others<sup>82</sup>, in their heartfelt love for the Prophet and his tradition that regenerated the spread of ḥadīth and inculcated its studies among their students in various cities such as Delhi, Bihar, Kashmir and Multan. However, ḥadīth works that they used or compiled during this period contained many spurious and fabricated traditions, which might have been caused by their dependence on the secondary ḥadīth sources and lack of access to its primary and more reliable collections<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>80</sup> See: Muhammad Ishaq, *India's Contribution*, 4-44.

<sup>81</sup> It is a collection of 2,253 selected ḥadīth from the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim compiled by al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī's (d. 650/1252); an Indian-born influential scholar and author of various works in ḥadīth. Prior to the tenth/fifteenth century, this work was widely utilized as an important ḥadīth text in India and has been subjected to a series of adaptation, commentaries and abridgment by various authors. See: al-Ḥasanī, *al-I'lām*, 1: 99; Muhammad Ishaq, *India's Contribution*, 218-231; and Maulavi Abdul Hamid, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore* (Patna: The Superintendent, Government Printing, 1925), 5: 94-95.

<sup>82</sup> See: Muhammad Ishaq, *India's Contribution*, 56-79. For further details on their life, works, and influence, see: al-Ḥasanī, *al-I'lām*, 1: 99-100, 2: 143-144, 193-196.

<sup>83</sup> For details and examples of some of the spurious ḥadīths circulated during this period, including Ratan al-Hindī's (d. ca. 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century) controversial collection of ḥadīths entitled *al-*

Based on this, it can be deduced that the limited availability of primary and canonical ḥadīth collections in the Subcontinent at that time have subtly led to the spread of secondary ḥadīth works as utilized by the Sufis and their followers to preach the Prophetic wisdom. While many of the ḥadīths in these works are questionable and even of doubtful nature according to ḥadīth scholars, they might have been considered otherwise by the Sufis due to their own distinctive methods in ḥadīth appraisal<sup>84</sup>. As such, it is within this environment that *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* might have gained its reputation among the Sufis and the general populace as a significant compilation of Prophetic ḥadīth in various practical aspects of the religion. In fact, by the middle of the nineteenth century, it was found to be printed in various major cities in India and reprinted several times due to the increasing demand for it, as indicated above.

However, in the light of the revival of ḥadīth studies in India from the tenth/fifteenth century onwards, ḥadīth have regained its importance, and studies on various aspects of it flourished mainly through the schools initiated by Aḥmad al-Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624), Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1176/1762), ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī (d. 1229/1884), and others<sup>85</sup>. It is within this sense of awareness and renewed perspective towards ḥadīth and its criticism that has given rise to objection and rebuttal against some of the secondary works such as *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* and others due to their spurious and baseless ḥadīth content. In the case of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its variations for instance, this is hardly surprising considering its

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*Risālat al-Rataniyya*, see: Muhammad Ishaq, *India’s Contribution*, 45-76; and al-Ḥasanī, *al-I’lām*, 1: 95-98.

<sup>84</sup> For a detailed discussion and comparison on the methods of ḥadīth scholars and Sufis in ḥadīth criticism, see Chapter Four below.

<sup>85</sup> For details of these figures, their schools and influences in giving the Indian tradition of ḥadīth studies its reformism tendency and distinctive character, see: *ibid.*, 80-187.

reliance on *Firdaws al-Akḥbār bi Ma'thūr al-Khiṭāb* for many of its ḥadīth sources as traced by its commentators later on<sup>86</sup>. At the same time, in an effort to undermine its influence among the masses, Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī's *Forty Ḥadīth* was also published to overshadow that of *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* as a more reliable alternative of authentic ḥadīth collection<sup>87</sup>.

On the other hand, it is also important to note the significance of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as a ḥadīth discourse in the Malay Archipelago considering the propinquity of its context of development to the Indo-Persian milieu prior to the twentieth century. The fact that it was subjected to stages of adaptation and rendering from the very beginning of its arrival in Aceh right until the end of the nineteenth century in Arabia is a clear evidence of its importance and role in shaping the course and development of ḥadīth studies and its discourse among the Jāwah until the twentieth century, as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

In summary, it can be deduced that in terms of reliability and status, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was not in itself a significant ḥadīth work worthy of mention compared with the other more authentic and well known compilations. Yet, considering the Middle Eastern social and scholarly environment in which it was developed; its spread as a popular religious manual in the Indo-Persia continent and the Malay Archipelago; as well its role in shaping the development of ḥadīth studies of the

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<sup>86</sup> It is a compilation of ten thousand ḥadīth without its *isnād* in various aspects of the religion by Shīrawayh ibn Shahardār al-Daylamī (d. 509/1115); a ḥadīth scholar of Persian origin. Yet, it is agreed among scholars that ḥadīths mentioned in this work should be approached with caution as it is known to contain a significant number of fabrication and spurious traditions. See: al-Daylamī, *Kitāb Firdaws al-Akḥbār bi Ma'thūr al-Khiṭāb* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1987), 1: 9-12; and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Ajwibat al-Fāḍila li al-As'ilat al-'Asharat al-Kāmila*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda (Ḥalab: Maktab al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyya, 1994), 111-112. See also Chapters Two and Three of this study.

<sup>87</sup> See for instance: Anonym., *Lubāb al-Akḥbār Mutarjam fī Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Mukhtār Ma'rūf bi Arba'īn al-Nawawī* (Lahore: Maṭba' Muḥammadī, 1874), 1-2.

Jāwah, it is justified to consider it as an important work in ḥadīth that is worthy of attention and study. In fact, this will be accomplished through a comparative study of two of its most important commentaries from the Jāwah in the nineteenth century, i.e. by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next two chapters.

## CHAPTER TWO

### NAWAWĪ OF BANTEN: HIS LIFE, WORKS AND THOUGHT

#### FROM *TANQĪH AL-QAWL AL-ḤATHĪTH BI SHARḤ LUBĀB AL-ḤADĪTH*

##### 2.1. Socio-historical survey of Banten up to the first half of the nineteenth century

Historically, Banten was an important region in the northwestern part of the island of Java<sup>1</sup>. In 932/1526, Sunan Gunung Jati (d. ca. 977/1570) with the help from Demak, succeeded in conquering it from the Hindu Pajajaran Kingdom, thus commencing the islamisation process of its population. Thereafter, he went on to conquer the port of Sunda Kelapa and changed its name to Jayakarta (or present day Jakarta), as well as Cirebon which was later made the capital of his own kingdom<sup>2</sup>.

Thus, the Sultanate of Banten was established, and his son, Ḥasan al-Dīn (d. 977/1570) became its ruler. During his time, the port of Banten had already become important in West Java. His control over pepper producing areas succeeded in attracting various traders from as far as China and Europe<sup>3</sup>. After his demise, his heir, Yūsuf (r. 977-987/1570-1580) conquered Pakuwan, the capital city of the Pajajaran Kingdom, thus ending its rule in Java. During the reign of Sultan Agung Tirtayasa (r. 1061-1094/1651-1683), Banten's prosperity reached its peak. Nevertheless, the hostility between the Sultan and the Dutch East India Company

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<sup>1</sup> It was also formerly known as Bantam. At present, it is one of the provinces on the Island of Java, which is situated in the southeast of Peninsular Malaysia and Sumatera, south of Borneo (Kalimantan) and west of Bali. It is the fourth largest island in modern day Indonesia. Jakarta (formerly Batavia) is its main capital. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15<sup>th</sup> ed., s.v. "Java".

<sup>2</sup> H.J. de Graaf and Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Islam Pertama di Jawa* (Jakarta: PT Grafiti Pers, 1985), 147; and Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Tinjauan Kritis tentang Sajarah Banten: Sumbangan bagi Pengenalan Sifat-sifat Penulisan Sejarah Jawa* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1983), 121-122.

<sup>3</sup> On the importance and fame of Banten's port, see: Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 1: 166, 170; and De Graaf and Pigeaud, *Kerajaan*, 150-153.

(VOC) resulted in the conquest of Batavia by the latter in 1028/1619. Later, the conflict between him and his crown prince ‘Abd al-Qahhār or Sultan Haji (r. 1092-1098/1682-1687) also gave the VOC the opportunity to interfere in local politics, and this eventually led to its decline and loss of power and sovereignty over a period of time<sup>4</sup>.

In the religious sphere, the Bantenese are generally known as ardent followers of orthodox Islam compared with other parts of Java<sup>5</sup>. Even the rulers and the royal house of the Sultanate of Banten were proud of their Muslim orthodoxy<sup>6</sup>. Apart from the cursory influence of Hinduism in West Java, the Bantenese were also exposed to external views and the understanding of Islam through the frequent visits by foreign traders and adopted it into their lives and culture<sup>7</sup>. In fact, during

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<sup>4</sup> De Graaf and Pigeaud, *Kerajaan*, 155-156; Djajadiningrat, *Sajarah Banten*, 162-163; M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c.1300* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1993), 44-46, 78-80; Bernard H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of the East Indian Archipelago* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), 191; and H.J. de Graaf, “South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century” in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P.M. Holt, Ann K.S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 2A: 143.

<sup>5</sup> In Central Java, the Hindu Majapahit Kingdom fell into the hands of the Muslims as early as 882/1478. Nevertheless, a considerable number of its population still remained Hindu. Even as Muslims, they tend to differ in character compared to other Muslims in the Archipelago. Their division into the *abangan* and *santri* groups is unique. The former denotes a lifestyle reflecting religious beliefs and practices popular during the old Javanese periods, which is known as *kejawen* worldview with some adaptation to Islamic cultures. Though considered as superficial Muslims by their pious counterparts, they, nevertheless, had secured considerable support from some of the *priyayi*s (traditional Javanese civil servant class). The latter, however, adheres strictly to the tenets of the Sunni Islam, hence symbolizing the orthodoxy. As Roff has rightly observed, the relationship and competition among these groups, together with the presence of the Dutch in Java had contributed in shaping the identities of the Muslims in Central Java in the succeeding centuries. See: Thomas W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (London: Constable and Co., 1913), 384-385; William R. Roff, “South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century” in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P.M. Holt, Ann K.S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 2A: 155-156; Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 246-247; Howard M. Federspiel, *A Dictionary of Indonesian Islam* (Ohio: Ohio University, 1995), 1, 207, 232; and Vlekke, *Nusantara*, 201.

<sup>6</sup> The first four rulers of the Banten Sultanate had even adopted the title of *Mawlānā* in their names. The title signified association with religious scholars and mastery of certain level of esoteric as well as exoteric sciences. See: Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 249.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 385-386; and H.J. de Graaf, “South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century”, 2A: 143-144.

the rule of Yūsuf, many ulemas took part in the conquest of Pakuwan, and it was reported that a certain “Mawlānā Judah” (possibly from Jeddah) acted as the head of religious affairs. The influence of the *Paqih Najmuddin* (Chief Justice) was not only limited to the judicial sphere where he was in total control almost without any intervention by the ruler, but also comprised other principal matters such as administering the affairs of the government in cases where the sultan was not eligible to rule yet<sup>8</sup>.

Abū al-Mafākhir ‘Abd al-Qādir (r. 1037-1063/1626-1651) was perhaps among the first rulers to be granted the title of “sultan” by the Sharīf of Mecca in 1048/1638. Not only that, he was also known to have a fervent interest in religious knowledge. Apart from sending inquiries about various religious issues to notable scholars in the Archipelago as well as in the Arabia, he was also known to patronize scholars and provide them with various influential and respected positions in the sultanate. Thus, it is hardly surprising that during his time, Banten became an important centre of Islam in Java attracting ulemas from near and afar. Later on, Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (d. 1111/1699); a distinguished Jāwah ulema arrived at Banten. He managed to establish a personal connection with Sultan Agung, married his daughter and became influential both in religion and politics in the Sultanate<sup>9</sup>. Like his predecessors, Banten under Sultan Agung was developed as a centre of Islamic

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<sup>8</sup> This can be particularly seen from the case of the fourth ruler; Muḥammad (r. 987-1004/1580-1596). It should also be noted that even though the Banten Sultanate was dissolved at the turn of the nineteenth century, the office of *Paqih Najmuddin* was still retained by the Dutch until 1284/1868 albeit considerable reduction in power and jurisdiction. See: Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants’ Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course and Sequel. A Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia* (Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), 92-93, 103; De Graaf and Pigcaud, *Kerajaan*, 153-155; Djajadiningrat, *Sajarah Banten*, 39-41; de Graaf, “South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century”, 2A: 140; and Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 247, 253-257.

<sup>9</sup> See: Azra, *The Origins*, 88-89, 95-98; Ricklefs, *A History*, 78-79; and Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 249 ff.

activities in the Archipelago. Apart from being in the constant company of Muslim scholars and students, he also accompanied his son to perform the pilgrimage in Mecca and then continued to Turkey where he established connections with the leading powers of Islam<sup>10</sup>.

However, in the nineteenth century, there was a drastic change in the socio-political aspects of the society on the Java Island. In the first instance, the Sultanate of Banten had completely lost its power and sovereignty to foreign rule. Secondly, in 1225/1811, the British took over Java from the Dutch and instituted changes in policies that affected the position of traditional authority such as the land-rent system which undermined the taxation functions of the traditional ruling class. Furthermore, when the Dutch returned to Java in 1231/1816, they continued with this policy until it was finally stopped in 1238/1823. They also introduced other policies that resulted in inhuman exploitation of the Javanese peasantry<sup>11</sup>. Naturally, these instigated and lit the fire of uprising and rebellion against the Dutch. In 1240/1825, Dipa-Negara led a series of rebellions towards the colonial power. His call to arms was undertoned with a serious religious message that is one of *jihād* and religious purification. As such, a greater number of Muslim scholars took his side. Even when the uprising finally ended years later, the role and position of the Muslim scholars among the peasantry was strengthened and contributed to further the islamisation process of the people<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Azra, *The Origins*, 95-96; and Vlekke, *Nusantara*, 157.

<sup>11</sup> Roff, "South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century", 2A: 156-158.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 158-160; Ricklefs, *A History*, 115 ff.; and Clive Day, *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966), 127 ff. On Dipa-Negara, see: Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanegara and the End of an Old Order in Java 1785-1855* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007).

In the aftermath of the long wars, the Dutch introduced the Culture System as a means to ease their critical financial problems. But, this time they had reinstated the position and authority of the traditional aristocracy to ensure its success<sup>13</sup>. Even officials for religious affairs were accommodated to fit into regional administrative patterns, though with reduced power and authority<sup>14</sup>. Nevertheless, some ulemas chose to be independent from the government control and established their own religious institutions; from heading circles of religious rituals to establishing religious schools and mystical exercises.

With the fear of further rebellion and uprising, the Dutch short-listed local pilgrims returning from Mecca as well as visiting Arabs as the main possible masterminds of anti-government activities. As such, they tried to impose restrictions on the Arabs not to venture into the countryside as well as discouraging the locals to perform the *hajj* through the introduction of various rules and regulations<sup>15</sup> and this lasted up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Despite all these efforts, the government failed to curb the locals from visiting Mecca. Apart from performing the *hajj*, some of them even took the opportunity to complete their religious studies there. At the same time, the existence of a thriving Jāwah colony in Mecca has also enhanced the social intercourse and communication between the centres of Islam with the Archipelago where extensive transmission of ideas,

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<sup>13</sup> Under the system, the peasant was required, in lieu of tax, to cultivate on one-fifth of his land designated export crops for surrender to the government, or to provide a proportionate amount of labour for government-owned estates and other projects. Roff, "South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century", 2A: 161. See also: Day, *The Policy*, 249-278.

<sup>14</sup> Among the positions appointed include: i) Regency *Penghulu* who functioned primarily as *qāḍī* and had his powers limited to family law, *waqf* (endowment) and administration of oaths in secular courts, ii) District *Penghulu* who performed the similar functions at the district level, as well as iii) Village *Penghulu* whose roles were primarily concerned with supervision of marriage contracts and the upkeep of mosques. See: Roff, "South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century", 2A: 161-162.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 2A: 162, 171; and Arnold, *The Preaching*, 405-406.

teachings and reforms experienced by these students and the returning pilgrims had greatly influenced the religious life of the people back home<sup>16</sup>.

In short, life in the first part of the nineteenth century in Java, particularly in the western side of the Island, had been a difficult one for the locals. Apart from having to cope with the drastic changes in the political structures and policies, they had to also meet with the burden of the social and economic regulations imposed upon them. Apart from that, frequent interference from the government in their religious affairs had also become an obstacle that they had to face and tackle diligently in the light of recent development and changes. It was in this socio-political scene of Java that Nawawī was born and spent his early life. Like other local Muslims, he too might have had to face the hardship and bitterness of life and shared the same feeling and attitude towards the colonial rule, and this, undoubtedly, has helped in shaping and influencing the future direction of his life and career.

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<sup>16</sup> Arnold, *The Preaching*, 406-407; and Ricklefs, *A History*, 130. For a more substantive discussion on the influence of the Meccan religious and scholarly community on the Jāwah in the Archipelago, see the excellent works of: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*; and Nico Kaptein, *The Muhiimmāt al-Nafā'is: A Bilingual Meccan Fatwa Collection for Indonesian Muslims from the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Jakarta: INIS, 1997).

## 2.2. His life

Muḥammad Nawawī ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Arabī ibn ‘Alī was born in 1230/1813 in the village of Tanara in Banten<sup>17</sup>. His father, who was a *penghulu*, enjoyed a respectable position in the society, particularly in matters related to religion and its education<sup>18</sup>. Therefore, it is not surprising that his first formal education was at home, where his father taught him the basics of the religious sciences and recitation of the Quran. He then studied under Kyai Sahal; Yūsuf in Purwakarta, and others. In 1243/1828, he traveled to Arabia to perform the pilgrimage and then settled there to study for three years<sup>19</sup>. In 1246/1831, he went back to Banten and began his career as a teacher. He was also offered his father’s position as a local *penghulu*, but turned it down, and it was taken up by his brother Aḥmad Shihāb al-Dīn<sup>20</sup>. Apart from these, not much is known of his career and life during almost a quarter of a century in Banten.

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<sup>17</sup> He is also attributed the surname of Abū ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī. It could not, however, necessarily be inferred that he had a son by that name as assumed by some researchers. In contrast, he only had four children; all of whom were female. See: Chaidar, *Sejarah Pujangga Islam: Syekh Nawawi Albanten Indonesia* (Jakarta: CV Sarana Utama, 1978), 5-6; Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1881; ‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālā, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifin: Tarājim Muṣannifī al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya* (Lubnān: Maktabat al-Mathnā, n.d.), 11: 87; ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn* (London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2000), 2: 969-970; and Urwatul Wusqa, *Kajian Ḥadīth*, 1.

<sup>18</sup> Roff, “South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century”, 2A: 161-162; H. Sawabi Ihsan, ed., *Laporan Penulisan Biografi Tokoh Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 1979), 26; and Shalahuddin Hamid and Iskandar Ahza, *100 Tokoh Islam Paling Berpengaruh di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Intimedia Ciptanusantara, 2003), 87.

<sup>19</sup> Although it was also reported that he travelled to Syria, Egypt and even Dagistan to seek knowledge, more concrete evidences are needed to verify this. See: Shalahuddin and Iskandar, *100 Tokoh*, 87; Chaidar, *Sejarah Pujangga*, 5; and Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia*, 29.

<sup>20</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 270-271; and Abd. Rachman, “Nawawī al-Bantanī: An Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition”, *Studia Islamika* 3, 3 (1996): 87.

In 1271/1855, he migrated to Mecca and settled there permanently<sup>21</sup>. Although he did not oppose the Colonial power overtly, in the same way he did not cooperate with them too. Thus, he might have migrated to avoid being involved with the struggle against the Dutch ever-expanding power in Java<sup>22</sup>. In addition, the status enjoyed by Mecca as a sacred religious sanctuary, as well as its religious atmosphere and freedom might have also appealed to his migration there, where he would be free to concentrate on his scholarly pursuit.

Once in Mecca, he resumed his studies with the well-known ulemas at that time. According to Snouck Hurgronje<sup>23</sup>, he mostly attended the lectures of Yūsuf Sumbulāwaynī (d. ca. 1285/1868)<sup>24</sup>, Aḥmad al-Naḥrāwī (d. 1291/1874)<sup>25</sup>, and ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Dāghistānī (d. 1301/1884)<sup>26</sup>. He also learned from other ulemas such as Aḥmad Khaṭīb of Sambas (d. 1289/1872)<sup>27</sup>, Aḥmad ibn Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1304/1886)<sup>28</sup>, and others<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> It is worthwhile to note that Chaidar is of the opinion that Nawawī never returned to Banten after his departure to Mecca. As such, he contradicted with other sources on the matter. See: Chaidar, *Sejarah Pujangga*, 30-31; and Rafiuddin Ramli, *Sejarah Hidup dan Silsilah Keturunan Shaikh Nawawi al-Bantenī* (Banten: Yayasan Nawawi Tanara, n.d.), 4 Cf. Didin Hafiduddin, “Tinjauan atas Tafsir al-Munir Karya Imam Muhammad Nawawi Tanara” in *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia: Telaah atas Karya-karya Klasik*, ed. Ahmad Rifa’i Hasan (Bandung: Mizan, 1987), 40-41, and compare with *EI*, s.v. “Al-Nawawī: Muḥammad b. ‘Omar b. ‘Arabī al-Jāwī”, 7: 1040-1041.

<sup>22</sup> See: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 270; and Abd. Rachman, “Nawawī al-Bantanī”, 88-89.

<sup>23</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 268-269.

<sup>24</sup> He was a well respected Shafī‘ite ulema who taught in the Grand Mosque and produced a number of works in various religious subjects. His influence on Nawawī could be clearly seen from the latter’s reference to him in his works. See: al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 526-527; and Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia*, 58-59.

<sup>25</sup> He was a popular teacher among the Jāwah, and his treatise in creed entitled *al-Durr al-Faīd fī ‘Aqā’id Ahl al-Tawḥīd* was commented upon by Nawawī. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 263; and al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 2: 964.

<sup>26</sup> He was one of the Shafī‘ite scholars who originated from Dagistan but based his scholarly activities in Mecca. His teacher includes Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī (d. 1277/1860); a former *shaykh* of the al-Azhar. See: Muḥammad Yāsīn ibn ‘Isā al-Fādānī, *Ittiḥāf al-Barada bi Asānīd al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthiyya al-‘Ashara* (Damascus: Dār al-Baṣā’ir, 1983), 26; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 186, 207; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 421; and ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa Tarājim ba‘ḍ ‘Ulamā’inā fī al-Qarn al-Rābi‘ ‘Ashar li al-Hijra* (Jedda: Tihāma, 1982), 212.

<sup>27</sup> Originally from Sambas, Kalimantan, he went to study in Mecca and settled there permanently. He was initiated into the Shaṭṭariyya order by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn, and was later

In 1276/1860, he resumed his teaching career in his house, which was situated near by the Grand Mosque<sup>30</sup>. He was especially popular with the Jāwah students and it is said that his lectures were able to attract as many as two hundred students at any one time<sup>31</sup>. Among his most important and influential students were: Khalīl of Bangkalan (fl. 1321/1904)<sup>32</sup>, Ḥasan Muṣṭafā of Garut (d. 1348/1930)<sup>33</sup>, Muḥammad Hāshim Ash‘arī (d. 1366/1947)<sup>34</sup>, and others<sup>35</sup>. As for his

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elected as “*shaykh murshid kāmīl mukammīl*” and inherited the leadership of the Qādiriyya and Naqshabandiyya orders. He was also attributed to a manual on the practices of the Sufi order entitled *Fath al-‘Arifīn* (Triumph of the Gnostics). See: al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 526; H. Harun Nasution, *Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia*, s.v. “Ahmad Khatib Sambas”, 90; and ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa Tarājīm*, 71.

<sup>28</sup> He was a *mufī* of the Shafī‘ites in Mecca cum *shaykh al-‘ulamā’* (rector) of the Grand Mosque. He also wrote a number of works on ḥadīth and a few works in history and biography. See: ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa al-Athbāt wa Mu‘jam al-Ma‘ūjīm wa al-Mashīkhāt wa al-Musalsalāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982), 1: 390-392; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 164-165, 180, 184; Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2: 649-650, S2: 810-811; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 424-425; and Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām* (Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 1980), 1: 129-130.

<sup>29</sup> See: Raden Abū Bakar Djajadiningrat, *Tarājīm ‘Ulamā’ al-Jāwah bi Makka* (UBL: Cod.Or.7111), foll. 1-2; Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 72-76; and Asep, *Yahudi dan Nasrani*, 51-53.

<sup>30</sup> Available historical and biographical sources show that he never taught in the Grand Mosque as believed by some authors. See: Djajadiningrat, *Tarājīm ‘Ulamā’*, foll. 1-2; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 270; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 2: 970; Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 78 ff.; and compare with Chaidar, *Sejarah Pujangga*, 6.

<sup>31</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 270. See also: ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa Tarājīm*, 288; and Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1981), 95.

<sup>32</sup> He was one of the most influential scholars in the Island of Madura. Not much is known about him except that he was very prominent in the fields of Arabic grammar and morphology, and students flocked from all over Java to study under him. See: Shalahuddin and Iskandar, *100 Tokoh*, 240-241; and Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 80-81.

<sup>33</sup> He studied with Nawawī and other teachers, and was known as a creative author of poems and religious works in Sundanese. He was later appointed as *penghulu besar* (*Hoffd Penghocloe*) of Bandung. As many of his works are directed towards the Sundanese communities, he was also known as the literati of Sunda. See: Djajadiningrat, *Tarājīm ‘Ulamā’*, fol. 5; H. Harun Nasution, *Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia*, s.v. “Hasan Mustafa Garut”, 307; Shalahuddin and Iskandar, *100 Tokoh*, 318-323; and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 267-268.

<sup>34</sup> He was also known as *ḥaḍrat al-shaykh* due to his roles and contributions in the development of Islamic education in Java. He also helped to establish *Nahdlatul Ulama*, a nationalistic Islamic association of which he became the supreme head from 1344-1366/1926-1947. After his demise, he was decreed as a national hero. See: H. Harun Nasution, *Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia*, s.v. “K.H. Muḥd Hasyim Asy‘arī”, 309-310; and Shalahuddin and Iskandar, *100 Tokoh*, 1-20.

<sup>35</sup> For a complete list of his other students; especially those who came from Java, see: Djajadiningrat, *Tarājīm ‘Ulamā’*, foll. 2-10; and Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 80-88.

non-Jāwah students, the historian ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dihlawī (d. 1355/1936) was prominent. He helped to enliven his teacher’s memory in many of his writings<sup>36</sup>.

In addition to teaching, Nawawī was also a prolific writer. He produced a myriad of works ranging from small treatises on basic issues in *fiqh* to voluminous exegesis of the Quran. In the year 1314/1897, Nawawī died at the age of eighty four<sup>37</sup>. He was buried in the al-Ma‘lā cemetery in Mecca.

As a scholar whose career was spent largely in the Middle East, Nawawī has received recognition that spread beyond the borders of Arabia to India and the Malay Archipelago in the east. His reputation and position in the scholarly circles of the nineteenth century could be seen from the titles given to him, such as: *sayyid ‘ulamā’ al-ḥijāz*, leader of the Arabian scholars<sup>38</sup>, *‘ālim al-ḥijāz*, scholar of Arabia<sup>39</sup>, *shaykh mashāyikhinā*; teacher of our teachers<sup>40</sup>, *al-‘allāma al-fāḍil alladhī laysa lahu fī ma‘ārifih musāwī*; the most knowledgeable and noble person whose

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<sup>36</sup> Born and spent his entire life in Arabia, he was also known as an expert in history who also taught in the Grand Mosque. Among his works are: *Sard al-Nuqūl fī Tarājim al-Fuḥūl*, *Wulāt Makka ba’d al-Fāsī*, and others. See: al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 438-440; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 3: 354; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, 5: 221; and ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa Tarājim*, 196-199.

<sup>37</sup> There is a disagreement among scholars as to the exact date of his death. Most Indonesian writers attributed his death in 1314/1897, with the exception of Hamka, who ascribed it to 1305/1888. Nevertheless, this latter view could be rejected based on the account that he was still alive in 1305/1888 and the fact that he completed his work entitled *Naṣā’ih al-‘Ibād* in 1311/1893. A few Arabic sources, however, have wrongly ascribed the date as to be in 1312/1894. See: *EI*, s.v. “Al-Nawawī”, 7: 1040-1041; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, 11: 87; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 6: 318; Aḥmad Taymūr Bāshā, *Fihris al-Khazāna al-Taymūriyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1948), 3: 307-308; and Nawawī, *Naṣā’ih al-‘Ibād Sharḥ ‘alā al-Kitāb al-Mushtamil ‘alā al-Mawā’iz* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1938), 71.

<sup>38</sup> This title is ascribed on the cover page of his Quranic exegesis. See: Nawawī, *Marāḥ Labīd li Kashf Ma‘nā Qur’ān Majīd* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1980).

<sup>39</sup> Aḥmad Taymūr, *Fihris al-Khazāna*, 3: 307.

<sup>40</sup> Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, 104. He is also considered as one of the outstanding *pujangga* or *literati* of Indonesia.

scholarly achievements are incomparable<sup>41</sup>, and *al-Imām al-Nawawī al-Thānī*; the second Nawawī<sup>42</sup>.

In addition, he also functioned as an authoritative source of reference for the religious affairs happening back home<sup>43</sup>. Thus, it was only natural that he would attract suspicion from the Dutch as a political mastermind, especially in the light of the Bantenese rebellion in 1305/1888 where one of the leaders; Haji Wāsiṭ had been his student in Mecca<sup>44</sup>. At the same time, his influence among his fellow Jāwah can also be seen from the fact that many of his works are still being used in the various *pesantrens* in the Archipelago until today<sup>45</sup>.

In the Middle East, he was known as one of the prolific writers of the nineteenth century. Some of his works, which were published in various Arab

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<sup>41</sup> This title is mentioned by the editorial committee who were responsible for editing and correcting his works for publication. See: Nawawī, *al-Thimār al-Yāni‘a fī al-Riyāḍ al-Baḍī‘a* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Taḳaddum al-‘Ilmiyya, 1903), 95.

<sup>42</sup> According to Wan Mohd Shaghir, this title was given to him by his student Aḥmad al-Faṭānī due to his mastery over religious sciences. The first great Nawawī was none other than the famous Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf or commonly known as Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī; one of the most celebrated Shafī‘ite scholars of all time. He wrote many works on various branches of the religious sciences, especially on jurisprudence and ḥadīth. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, “Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani: Imam Nawawi Kedua”. *Dewan Budaya*, August 1993, 51; Brockelmann, *GAL*, 1: 496-501, S1: 680-686; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 8: 149-150; and Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, 13: 202-203.

<sup>43</sup> Sayyid ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Alawī (d. 1332/1914); the Honorary Adviser on Arab Affairs to the Dutch used to correspond with Nawawī asking for his advice and opinions in the form of legal rulings (*fatwā*) and decrees on various religious affairs in Java. See: Nico Kaptein, “Sayyid Uthman on the Legal Validity”, 91; Azyumardi Azra, “A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid ‘Uthman”, in *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean 1750s-1960s*, eds. Ulrike Freitag and William G. Clarence-Smith (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 262-263; and Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia*, 38.

<sup>44</sup> However, it is difficult to prove Nawawī’s direct involvement in the rebellion of Cilegon. Instead, in his extensive study, Kartodirdjo has demonstrated that apart from the other factors, it was mainly the Sufi order that catalyzed Islamic revivalism amongst the people, which later on, became political. Thus, figures like ‘Abd al-Karīm of Banten; the leader of the Qādiriyya-Naqshabandiyya order, and his relative Haji Marzūqī were often mentioned as those instigating the sense of *jihād* among the people. Yet, Haji Marzūqī left Banten shortly before the revolt and resumed his teaching career in Mecca. He even condemned Haji Wāsiṭ’s rebellion, although the Dutch have branded him and his teacher as prominent engineers of the rebellion. See: Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants’ Revolt*, 2-3, 144 ff., 163-169, 185-192, 262.

<sup>45</sup> See: Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 131-171; and Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 105-110. It is also important to note that a foundation named as “Yayasan An-Nawawi” was established on 31 January 1979 in Banten, Indonesia to honour his memory. See: Departemen Agama, *Ensiklopedi Islam di Indonesia*, s.v. “Nawawi Banten, K.H. (1813-1897)”, 2: 844.

printing presses, are still printed to the present day. More importantly, this fame has also earned him a place in major bibliographical and biographical dictionaries dealing with the history of the Muslims<sup>46</sup>.

### 2.3. His works

It is difficult to ascertain exactly when Nawawī commenced his career as an author. Although it might have begun earlier, available sources almost unanimously point out to Mecca as its starting point, with his earliest work found to be published as early as 1276/1860. However, it was only in 1286/1870 that he took a drastic change of course in career to concentrate more on writing to pursue his “personal ambition” and perhaps even as a means for extra financial gains concurrent with the rise of the print culture among the Muslims at that time. In accomplishing this, he had to limit his teaching career to the morning sessions only<sup>47</sup>.

As a result, although it is speculated that he wrote about one hundred and fifteen works, only about forty titles are traceable until the present day<sup>48</sup>. Regardless, in this study, as many as forty five of his works are identified<sup>49</sup>, and a closer look at these titles indicates that he had ventured almost into every aspect of

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<sup>46</sup> Among the works and dictionaries that mentioned his name and/or works are: al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 6: 318; Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1881-85; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, 11: 87; Louis Cheikho, *al-Munjjid fī al-Lughā wa al-A‘lām*, 12<sup>th</sup> ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, n.d.), 719; Ismā‘īl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Arifīn: Asmā’ al-Mu‘allifīn wa Athār al-Muṣannifīn* (Beirut: Dār Ihya’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 6: 394; Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2: 651-2, S2: 813-4; and *EI*, s.v. “Al-Nawawī”, 7: 1040-1041.

<sup>47</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 269-271.

<sup>48</sup> See: Departemen Agama, *Ensiklopedi Islam di Indonesia*, s.v. “Nawawi Banten, K.H. (1813-1897)”, 2: 843; Wan Mohd Shaghir, “Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani”, 51; Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 381-392; Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1881-85; Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2: 651-2, S2: 813-4; and *EI*, s.v. “Al-Nawawī”, 7: 1040-1041. However, many of the works mentioned in these sources need to be re-examined due to repetitions, misattributions, and so on.

<sup>49</sup> The analysis presented here differs from the previous studies in various ways, i.e. in the categorization of the works according to areas of studies, and in attempting to organize them in chronological order. In addition, a few more titles are also added to the existing list of Nawawī’s works.

the religious sciences including *tafsīr*, ḥadīth, *‘aqīda*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, history, Arabic Grammar, and so on<sup>50</sup>. Based on this, a twofold classification of his writing career is also attempted. The first phase signifies his early writing career before 1286/1870, while the second phase indicates the peak of his career from 1286/1870 to his demise in 1314/1897. It should be noted, however, that this classification is not final and conclusive. In contrast, it is merely an effort to analyze the course of his writing career more closely based on available details of his life and works, as will be explained below.

i) *Phase I: Pre-1286/1870*

In the period prior to 1286/1870s, Nawawī was known more as a teacher rather than a writer. However, this did not prevent him from writing a few works on the practical and fundamental aspects of the religion which were mostly used as textbooks in teaching his Jāwah students, such as his work on *fiqh* entitled *Kāshifat al-Sajā*. It was completed in 1277/1860 and contained discussions on the fundamental pillars of Islam<sup>51</sup>. Then, his *Fath al-Mujīb bi Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Khaṭīb* was also published in Būlāq, Egypt in 1276/1860. It is a small pamphlet on the rituals of the *ḥajj* according to the Shafi‘ites which were much sought after by students and perhaps, delegations visiting the Holy Lands to perform the rituals<sup>52</sup>. A year later, he also completed a commentary on the poems (*manẓūma*) on creed

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<sup>50</sup> Out of the forty five titles, only five are not discussed here as they are either known only by their incomplete titles or too concise to be considered as a proper work, such as: *al-Nafahāt*, *Qalā’id al-Mubtadi‘īn*, *Shurūṭ al-Iqtidā’*, *Taḥnīr al-‘Asīr*, and commentary on *al-Risālat al-Anīqa li al-Mutalabbisīn bi al-Ṭaiqa* by Sayyid ‘Uthmān al-‘Alawī. See: Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia*, 2; and Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 392.

<sup>51</sup> It is a commentary of Sālim ibn Sumayr al-Ḥaḍramī’s (d. 1270/1854) *Safīnat al-Najā*. It was published in 1292/1875 in Cairo. Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1884; *EI*, s.v. “Al-Nawawī”, 7: 1040; and Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 206.

<sup>52</sup> Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1883.

entitled *Manẓūma ‘Aqīdat al-‘Awwām* which was published as *Nūr al-Zalām*<sup>53</sup>. In aspects related to the history and hagiography of the Prophet (*mawlid*), he composed two works; *Targhīb al-Mushtāqīn*; a commentary of Ja‘far al-Barzanjī’s *Mawlid* (d. 1179/1765)<sup>54</sup>, and *Fath al-Ṣamad al-‘Ālim* in 1286/1869<sup>55</sup>.

It is interesting to note here that in this period, Nawawī was mostly preoccupied with teaching, and he ventured into writing only in his spare time to assist his students and fellow Jāwah in getting access to various elementary works on religious practice and understandings as discussed above. Yet, to accomplish his personal ambition as a serious author required a drastic change in his daily schedule; and he undertook it by limiting his teaching sessions starting from 1286/1870 onwards, thus signaling the beginning of a new phase in his scholarly career.

ii) *Phase II: 1286-1307/1870-1890*

This phase signifies a period of continuation and intensification in Nawawī’s career as an author. In fact, during the next twenty seven years, the number of works he produced rose drastically from a mere five titles in the last few years to an impressive forty five works of various lengths and subjects. For instance, in *tafsīr*, he wrote *Marāḥ Labīd li Kashf Ma‘nā Qur’ān Majīd*. Its significance lies in the fact that it marked the continuation of the Jāwah scholarly production of a complete *tafsīr* after a long gap since ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf of Singkel in the seventeenth century. It

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<sup>53</sup> Nawawī, *Nūr al-Zalām ‘alā al-Manẓūmat al-Musammā bi ‘Aqīdat al-‘Awwām* (Semarang: Maktabat al-‘Alawiyya, n.d.), 1, 46.

<sup>54</sup> It was completed in 1284/1867. Nawawī, *Targhīb al-Mushtāqīn li Bayān Manẓūmat al-Sayyid al-Barzanjī fī Mawlid Sayyid al-Awwālīn wa al-Akhiṭīn* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1952), 46.

<sup>55</sup> Nawawī, *Fath al-Ṣamad al-‘Ālim ‘alā Mawlid al-Shaykh Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1940), 1, 55.

was completed in 1305/1887 and published in Cairo in the same year<sup>56</sup>. Likewise, in ḥadīth, only one title is produced, which is *Tanqīḥ al-Qawf*<sup>57</sup>. However, much is not known of its exact date of composition. Yet, it was still widely published by printing houses in Egypt, Lebanon, and Indonesia until the present day<sup>58</sup>. It was also recently translated into the modern Indonesian language by Zaid Husin al-Hamid under the title *Terjemah Tanqihul Qoul*<sup>59</sup>.

In *aqīda*, he wrote eight more works. These include commentaries on renowned works such as al-Sanūsī's (d. 895/1490) *Umm al-Barāhīn*<sup>60</sup>; al-Samarqandī's (d. 373/983) *Masā'il*<sup>61</sup>; al-Bājūrī's pamphlet on *tawḥīd*<sup>62</sup>; al-Naḥrāwī's *al-Durr al-Faīd fī 'Aqā'id Ahl al-Tawḥīd*<sup>63</sup>; as well as various collections of *manẓūma* such as *Qāmi' al-Ṭughyān* (1296/1878)<sup>64</sup>; a treatise on *Manẓūma fī al-Tawassul bi Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā* (1302/1884)<sup>65</sup>; *al-Nahjat al-Jayyida li Ḥall*

<sup>56</sup> It is also known as *al-Tafsīr al-Munīr li Ma'ālim al-Tanzīl al-Musfir 'an Wujūh Maḥāsini al-Ta'wīl*. It should be noted that Steenbrink's assumption that it was written in the beginning of the 1880s contradicted the author's own words in his book. See: Nawawī, *Marāḥ Labīd*, 2: 475; and Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 122.

<sup>57</sup> It should be noted that Nawawī did not write a commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* as assumed by some. In contrast, it is written by Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī, or the "first" Nawawī. See: Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 391-392. Similarly, his *Naṣā'ih al-'Ibād* could not be categorized as a proper ḥadīth work due to its limited content of ḥadīth, compared with other narrations, advices and wise sayings of a general nature. See further below.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 392.

<sup>59</sup> It is worth mentioning that the printed edition of this translation does not entirely reflect the original work in the Arabic as the translator exercised much liberty in editing it, apart from not making a distinction between the ḥadīth from *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and the ḥadīth supplemented by Nawawī in his commentary. See: Zaid Husin al-Hamid, *Terjemah Tanqihul Qoul* (Surabaya: Mutiara Ilmu, 1995).

<sup>60</sup> He titled it as *Dharī'at al-Yaqīn 'alā Umm al-Barāhīn* (1303/1885). Sarkīs, *Mu'jam Maṭbū'āt*, 2: 1882; and Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 160.

<sup>61</sup> Nawawī, *Qaṭr al-Ghayth fī Sharḥ Masā'il Abī al-Layth* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1955).

<sup>62</sup> Nawawī, *Sharḥ Tījān al-Darā'ī 'alā Risālat al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī fī al-Tawḥīd* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1923).

<sup>63</sup> It was completed in 1294/1877 and contains approximately fifty six pages. Nawawī, *Faṭḥ al-Majīd Sharḥ al-Durr al-Faīd fī 'Aqā'id Ahl al-Tawḥīd* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1954).

<sup>64</sup> It is a commentary on Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībārī's (d. 928/1522) *Manẓūma fī Shu'ab al-Imān*. Sarkīs, *Mu'jam Maṭbū'āt*, 2: 1884.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 2: 1883.

*Naqāwat al-‘Aqīda* (1303/1885)<sup>66</sup>; and a compilation entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-Madaniyya fī al-Shu‘ab al-Īmāniyya*<sup>67</sup>. Many of these works are quite concise; ranging from fifteen to fifty pages and were usually used as textbooks by students at the core level and the general public in studying creed.

Similarly, his works on *fiqh* are also quite substantive. In this period, five more titles of various issues are composed such as *Sulūk al-Jādda* (1300/1882)<sup>68</sup>, *Sullam al-Munājā*<sup>69</sup>, as well as *Nihāyat al-Zayn*<sup>70</sup>, *Qūt al-Ḥabīb al-Ghaīb*<sup>71</sup>, and *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*<sup>72</sup>.

In *taṣawwuf*, his commentary on al-Ghazālī’s *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* is perhaps the most important work he produced in this category. Completed in 1289/1873, it was initially published in Egypt, and later on in Indonesia<sup>73</sup>. In addition, he also wrote *Salālim al-Fuḍalā*<sup>74</sup> and *Miṣbāḥ al-Zulm*<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 2: 1885.

<sup>67</sup> It is a compilation based on al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Niqāya fī Arba‘at ‘Ashar ‘Ilm* and Ibn ‘Arabī’s (d. 638/1240) *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. See: Nawawī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Madaniyya fī al-Shu‘ab al-Īmāniyya* (Jakarta: Pustaka Mampir, 2006), 1.

<sup>68</sup> It is a treatise on various issues of the Friday prayer based on Sālim al-Ḥaḍramī’s *Lum‘at al-Mufāda fī Bayān al-Jum‘a wa al-Mu‘āda*. Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1883.

<sup>69</sup> It is a commentary on *Safīnat al-Ṣalā*; a pamphlet regarding prayers by ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī. It was first published in Būlāq, Egypt in 1297/1880. Ibid., 2: 1882; and Nawawī, *Sharḥ Sullam al-Munājā* (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya, n.d.).

<sup>70</sup> It is a commentary of al-Malībārī’s *Qurraṭ al-‘Ayn bi Muḥimmāt al-Dīn*. It was first published in 1297/1880 in Egypt. Ibid., 2: 1885; and Nawawī, *Nihāyat al-Zayn fī Irshād al-Mubtadi‘īn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2002).

<sup>71</sup> It is based on Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Ghazzī’s (d. 918/1512) *Faṭḥ al-Qaīb*. It was also published as *al-Tawshīḥ*. Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Katalog Besar Karya Melayu Islam (Jawi) Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah* (Kuala Lumpur: n.pb., 1999), 306.

<sup>72</sup> It is a commentary on *al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn*; a collection of sixty questions by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Zāhid (d. 819/1416) on various aspects of religious rituals, which was put into verse by his compatriot Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Uthmān of Garut. It was first published in Cairo in 1300/1882. Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1883; and EI, s.v. “Al-Nawawī”, 7: 1040.

<sup>73</sup> Nawawī, *Sharḥ Marāqī al-‘Ubūdiyya ‘alā Matan Bidāyat al-Hidāya li al-Ghazālī* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1924), 102.

<sup>74</sup> It is a commentary on al-Malībārī’s *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā’ ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā’*. It was first published in Cairo, in 1301/1884, and recently published by a printing press in Mumbai, India. Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1882; and Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 390.

<sup>75</sup> It is an annotation of ‘Alī ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Hindī’s (d. ca. 952/1545) *al-Manhaj al-Atamm fī Tabwīb al-Ḥikam*. Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1885.

At the same time, he also produced commentaries on works best described as textbooks for beginners comprising various themes of the so-called “foundations of the religion” (*uṣūl al-dīn*), such as: *al-Thimār al-Yāni‘a*<sup>76</sup>, *Bahjat al-Wasā’il*<sup>77</sup>, and *Mirqāt Ṣu‘ūd al-Taṣdīq*<sup>78</sup>. These works usually provide the readers with basic knowledge of faith, practical aspects of rituals as well as the fundamentals of ethics. They are usually characterized by the concise nature of their composition, in addition to the simplicity of the language used.

On history and *mawlid*, he wrote five more glosses including commentaries on the *mawlid*s of al-Barzanjī<sup>79</sup>, al-Qiṣṭillānī (d. 923/1517)<sup>80</sup>, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201)<sup>81</sup>, a short commentary on the *Burda* of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1295)<sup>82</sup>, and a work on the Prophet’s ascension to heaven (*al-isrā’ wa al-mi‘rāj*)<sup>83</sup>. Perhaps, these works were highly in demand by his readers as a popular manifestation of religiosity. In addition, recitation of events concerning the person of the Prophet is also seen as charitable and noble, with various other benefits. More

<sup>76</sup> It is a commentary on Muḥammad Ḥasb Allāh’s *al-Riyāḍ al-Baḍī‘a fī Uṣūl al-Dīn wa ba‘ḍ Furū‘ al-Sharī‘a ‘alā Madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī*. Though the printed copy dated back to 1299/1881, it could be composed earlier as it was requested by one of Nawawī’s brothers to be used as a textbook in Mecca. Nawawī, *al-Thimār al-Yāni‘a*, 2.

<sup>77</sup> It is a commentary on a pamphlet by Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-Ḥabshī. Nawawī, *Bahjat al-Wasā’il bi Sharḥ Masā’il* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1939).

<sup>78</sup> It is a commentary on ‘Abd Allāh Bā ‘Alawī’s (d. 1272/1855) *Sullam al-Tawfīq ilā Maḥabbat Allāh ‘alā al-Taḥqīq* (Cairo: 1292/1875). Nawawī, *Mirqāt Ṣu‘ūd al-Taṣdīq ilā Maḥabbat Allāh ‘alā al-Taḥqīq* (Singapore: al-Ḥaramayn, n.d.).

<sup>79</sup> It is titled as *Madārij al-Ṣu‘ūd ilā Iktisā’ al-Burūd* or *Asāwir al-‘Asjad ‘alā Jawhar ‘Aqd* (Cairo: 1296/1878). Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1884.

<sup>80</sup> This work is titled *al-Ibriz al-Dānī fī Mawlid Sayyidinā Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-‘Adnānī* and was printed in 1299/1881. Ibid., 2: 1881.

<sup>81</sup> The work is titled as *Bughyat al-‘Awwām* and completed in 1294/1877. Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Katalog Besar*, 294.

<sup>82</sup> Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Katalog Besar*, 303; and Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1885.

<sup>83</sup> Entitled *al-Durar al-Bahiyya fī Sharḥ al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-Nabawiyya*, it is a commentary of al-Barzanjī’s *Qiṣṣat al-Mi‘rāj*. It was published in 1298/1880. Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1882.

importantly, it depicts the glorious life and virtues of the Prophet and encourages people to emulate his righteous character<sup>84</sup>.

In the field of the Arabic language, he produced a considerable number of works especially on syntax (*naḥw*), morphology (*ṣarf*) and rhetoric (*balāgha*). On syntax, he composed *Fath Ghāfir al-Khaṭiyya* (1298/1881)<sup>85</sup>, *al-Shadharat al-Jummāniyya*<sup>86</sup>, and *Kashf al-Murūṭiyya ‘an Sitār al-Ajrūmiyya* (1298/1881)<sup>87</sup>. On morphology, he wrote *al-Fuṣūṣ al-Yāqūtiyya ‘alā al-Rawḍat al-Bahiyya fī al-Abwāb al-Taṣnīfiyya*<sup>88</sup>, and *al-Riyāḍ al-Fūliyya* (1299/1881)<sup>89</sup>. *Lubāb al-Bayān*<sup>90</sup> was his treatise on rhetoric. Apart from these, he also wrote on issues of a general nature such as *‘Uqūd al-Lujayn*<sup>91</sup>, *Hilyat al-Ṣibyān*<sup>92</sup>, and *Naṣā’ih al-‘Ibād*<sup>93</sup>.

Based on this, it can be observed that despite this extensive list of his works, ḥadīth was usually incorporated within the context of other religious issues and not separately. Thus, only *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* deals exclusively with it as an independent

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<sup>84</sup> On the importance and functions of *mawlid* recitation in religious practices in Mecca at that time, see: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 46, 117, 147, and 279.

<sup>85</sup> Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1883; and Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 138.

<sup>86</sup> Currently, the existence of this small treatise is not known. Fortunately, it was commented upon by Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Uthmān of Garut, which is printed and widely available. See: Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Uthmān, *al-Lum‘at al-Nūrāniyya Sharḥ al-Shaykh Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Uthmān al-Jāwī ‘alā al-Shadharat al-Jummāniyya li al-Shaykh Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1941).

<sup>87</sup> Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1884.

<sup>88</sup> *EI*, s.v. “Al-Nawawī”, 7: 1041.

<sup>89</sup> A.G. Ellis, *Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1901), 2: 355-356.

<sup>90</sup> He wrote it in 1293/1876 and was published in Cairo in 1301/1883. Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1884; and *EI*, s.v. “Al-Nawawī”, 7: 1041.

<sup>91</sup> It is a small work on the conjugal relationship which was completed in 1294/1877. Nawawī, *Sharḥ ‘Uqūd al-Lujayn fī Bayān Ḥuqūq al-Zawjayn* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1919), 2, 22.

<sup>92</sup> It is a commentary on a pamphlet on *tajwīd* entitled *Fath al-Raḥmān*. It was published in Mecca in 1304/1886. Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1882.

<sup>93</sup> It is a commentary on a collection of various advices which he completed in 1311/1893. Recently, it was also translated into the modern Indonesian language. Nawawī, *Naṣā’ih al-‘Ibād*, and I. Solihin, *Terjemah Nashaiḥul Ibad: Memuat 208 Makalah, 1072 Butir Nasihat Bagi Hamba Allah* (Jakarta: Pustaka Amani, 2002).

subject, and it is in this regard that has made it unique and worthy of discussion as will be discussed in detail below.

However, apart from the significant increase in terms of the number of works produced, no real exposition in terms of ideas and originality is observed. He began writing in the first phase as a teacher, whose concern was to provide simplified commentaries and glosses as textbooks for his students to gain access to the scholarly milieu of the Arabic speaking world, and he also ended his career mostly with the same consideration. Thus, this might explain his extensive use of Arabic in his works, which was not only for assisting his students to gain access to the original sources, but also in widening the scope of his readers to include the general Arabic speaking Muslims all around the world.

As such, one might find little or almost no reference to the affairs of the Jāwah in his works. Yet this does not mean that he was unaware or insensitive to the needs of his fellow countrymen. He might have avoided direct references to the happenings in his native country to refrain from arousing unnecessary disturbances and division among the Muslims, especially if it involved politics and the colonial power. But, he would readily present his opinions and produce works that will assist his fellow Jāwah in their daily religious practices when needed<sup>94</sup>. Thus, it could be said that the universal tendency of his writings originated from his passion to present an idealistic universal model of Islam based on the Quran and the ḥadīth; one that is not only exclusive to the Jāwah, but also suitable for other Muslims as well.

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<sup>94</sup> For instance, his *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* is composed out of the needs of the Jāwah community as discussed in Chapter One and also below.

In summary, as a writer, Nawawī should, perhaps, best be described as a textbook compiler and commentator more than a reformer or revolutioner of new ideas and thoughts in the nineteenth century. Almost all the writings he produced are either commentaries of famous works or simplified manuals on various aspects of the religion aimed for the use of students. In fact, he symbolized a continuation of the gloss writing tradition among the Muslims, which, due to its nature, does not encourage the dissemination of new ideas and thought on any religious issue discussed. However, it was mainly due to his students as well as his use of Arabic that helped the spread of his influence and works all around the world.

#### **2.4. *Tanqīh al-Qawl*: An analysis of ideas and thought**

Unlike Nawawī's other textbook-oriented works, the reasons for composing *Tanqīh al-Qawl* are distinctive in various ways. First and foremost, it is a commentary on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, a collection of ḥadīth widespread among his fellow Jāwah at that time. The various practical aspects of the ḥadīth presented in the book, together with the needs of the people in understanding and practicing it has further elevated its importance at the popular level of religious belief and practices encompassing creed, jurisprudence, ethics, and others.

Secondly, Nawawī found various errors and mistakes in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, apart from criticisms against a considerable number of weak ḥadīth (*al-ḥadīth al-daʿīf*) in it, thus raising the question of legality and reliability of practicing it in one's religious life. Having had these reasons in mind, he attempted to analyze the work critically. As the work has not been commented upon previously by other scholars, he found many errors in the book. Therefore, he felt obliged to not only

comment on the status and content of its ḥadīths, but also to produce an edified version of the text by comparing its various available versions and editions<sup>95</sup>. Perhaps, in this dual role undertaken by Nawawī, much of his energy and concentration is focused on editing the text and analyzing the status of its ḥadīths at the expense of its somewhat hasty and brief textual exegesis. In fact, one can also detect this in the title that he chose for the commentary, i.e. *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl al-Ḥathīth bi Sharḥ Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, which was written entirely in Arabic, and could be roughly translated into English as “A Quick Revision of Opinion in Commenting on the Quintessence of the Prophetic Traditions”<sup>96</sup>.

#### 2.4.1. General overview of his methods in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*

Like his other works, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* is strictly structured on a phrase-to-phrase basis. Each chapter is usually preceded with introductory verses from the Quran or selected ḥadīth from the Prophet relevant to the subject matter contained therein. Where needed, multi-dimensional discussions on issues of some importance are also employed, ranging from linguistic and grammatical analysis to textual and contextual understanding of the issue based on available sources including the use of narratives, pre-Islamic traditions, accounts of the Israelites (*isrāʾīliyyāt*), experiences of ascetics, mystical dreams of saints, and the likes<sup>97</sup>.

More importantly, apart from his critical edition of the text<sup>98</sup>, he also took the responsibility of tracing the origin of the ḥadīths in the larger corpus of religious

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<sup>95</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 2.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 56, 57, 64, 68 and 72.

<sup>98</sup> It is important to note that Nawawī’s “critical edition of the text” here signifies his attempt to compile and present an edified and error-free version of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* based on the various incomplete and varying copies of the work as has been discussed in detail in Chapter One above.

literature (*takhlīj al-ḥadīth*). This is due to the fact that all ḥadīths in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* are not mentioned with their *isnāds* or their sources of origin. This is very important as it assists in checking the validity of a ḥadīth and comparing it with other sources. At the same time, he also made clear the status of some of the ḥadīths based on previous authorities in the field whenever he could, and kept silent on others that he was not sure of, especially on the few last chapters of the book<sup>99</sup>.

On the sources of his commentary, there are at least forty five works that were referred to by Nawawī. Although these sources are thematically diversified, the main focus is given to ḥadīth sources, which account around sixty nine percent of his entire references. This seems justifiable as he had to trace back the origin of most of the ḥadīth mentioned in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in earlier ḥadīth literatures. Meanwhile, it is also possible to trace the few influential authors whom he constantly referred to, regardless of the themes and subjects of the study. They include al-Ghazālī, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166)<sup>100</sup>, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1565)<sup>101</sup>. To a certain extent, this indicates their influence and his dependency on their ideas and teachings, which played an important part in moulding his intellectual and religious horizon, as will be seen later. Table 1 illustrates the division of some of these references based on the subject of the studies.

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<sup>99</sup> This is observed particularly in chapters 33, 34, 35 and 38 of *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*.

<sup>100</sup> He is one of the most revered Sufi masters among the Muslims, from whom the Qādiriyya order takes its name. In addition, he was also proficient in ḥadīth and *fiqh*, and has produced few works in *taṣawwuf*. See: Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, 5: 307-8; Brockelmann, *GAL*, 1: 560-563; and Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya* (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma‘ārif, 1966), 12: 252.

<sup>101</sup> He is considered as one of the important later authorities of the Shafi‘ites. His opinions influenced many later jurists through his widely-distributed writings, which totalled more than twenty on various aspects of the religious sciences, especially on jurisprudence and ḥadīth. Although born in Egypt, he spent the last years of his life and scholarly career in Mecca until his death. See: Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 1: 81-84; and Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2: 508-511.

**Table 1: Sources of *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* according to Subjects**

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Sources according to Subjects</i> | <i>Quantity</i> |
|------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1          | Ḥadīth                               | 31              |
| 2          | General Issues                       | 5               |
| 3          | Jurisprudence                        | 3               |
| 4          | Sufism                               | 3               |
| 5          | Quranic Exegesis                     | 2               |
| 6          | Creed                                | 1               |
| TOTAL      |                                      | 45              |

Therefore, in analyzing Nawawī's ḥadīth scholarship and religious thought, the afore-mentioned approach and methods he adopted in composing *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* must be considered. This is to say that his views on ḥadīth and other religious issues must be constructed from various unstructured explanations, which are scattered throughout his seemingly fragmented commentary. Nonetheless, it is primarily in the field of ḥadīth scholarship that markedly distinguished this particular work with the rest of his other writings, which will be further discussed below.

#### **2.4.2. Nawawī's ḥadīth scholarship in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl***

During his early years of education in the Archipelago, Nawawī must have familiarized himself with the basics of the study of ḥadīth which was usually done through the medium of other religious manuals discussing issues like creed, jurisprudence and so on. However, as he furthers his education in the Middle East, he would have gained wider access in studying various ḥadīth compilations and their commentaries and especially benefiting from the lectures and congregations of various scholars in Mecca, which served as an important intellectual and cultural

melting pot for Muslims from all over the world. This can be reflected through the sources that he used in compiling his *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, where ḥadīth sources dominate the total number of references that he used<sup>102</sup>. It is also interesting to observe that these ḥadīth sources can even be further divided into several categories as follows:

*a) Primary ḥadīth collections*

Most of these works are compilations of earlier authorities on ḥadīth studies and are considered as primary and original sources. Among the works referred to by Nawawī include the canonical collections of *al-kutub al-sitta*, Mālik ibn Anas' (d. 179/795) *al-Muwatṭā'*, the *Mu'jams* of Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabrānī (d. 360/970), *al-Mustadrak* 'alā *al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim (d. 405/1014), Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān's (d. 354/965) *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the *Sunans* of 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Dār al-Quṭnī (d. 385/995) and Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1065), *Nawādir al-Uṣūl* of al-Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 293-298/905-910), as well as the *Musnads* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Aḥmad ibn 'Amr al-Bazzār (d. 292/904) and Abū 'Uwāna (d. 317/929).

More importantly, he was even officially authorized by some of his teachers to teach and convey some of these works to his students, linking him with the *isnāds* and chains of tradition of the previous ḥadīth scholars. These include the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, *al-Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan* of Ibn Māja, *al-Muwatṭā'* of Mālik, as well as the *Musnads* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820), and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/868),

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<sup>102</sup> For details on the structure of ḥadīth studies and curriculum of religious learning in the Grand Mosque in the early thirteenth/late nineteenth century Mecca, refer to: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 153 ff. especially 191-200.

respectively<sup>103</sup>. By having this access to the knowledge of the sources, his task of tracing the origin of ḥadīth in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* could be accomplished without much trouble.

#### *b) Popular ḥadīth literatures*

In some cases, however, the task of analyzing the origin and traces of a particular ḥadīth is based solely on secondary compilations by some influential scholars on various subjects. Apart from providing reliable access for information and analysis of previous scholars on the origin of a particular ḥadīth, these works serve as supplements to those primary ḥadīth sources that are not available and help speed up the process of tracing its origin. Examples include popular collections of Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī's *al-arbaʿīn*, *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*, and *al-Adhkār*; al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* and *Minhāj al-ʿĀbidīn*; ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's *al-Ghunya*; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqallānī's (d. 852/1448) *Bulūgh al-Marām*; al-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr* and *al-Durar al-Muntathira fī al-Aḥādīth al-Mushtahira*; al-Daylamī's *Firdaws al-Akḥbār bi Maʾthūr al-Khiṭāb*; as well as al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 430/1038) *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, and *al-Aḥādīth al-Zākiyāt* by Sīdī al-Bakrī<sup>104</sup>.

#### *c) Ḥadīth commentaries and glosses*

In addition, Nawawī also referred to selected commentaries and glosses of some primary and popular works on ḥadīth such as al-Qiṣṭillānī's (d. 1447-8/1517-8)

<sup>103</sup> Details of Nawawī's *isnāds* on these works can be found in: Muḥammad Mukhtār al-Dīn al-Falimbānī, *Bulūgh al-Amānī fī al-Taʾwīf bi Shuyūkh wa Asānīd Musnid al-ʿAṣr al-Shaykh Muḥammad Yāsīn ibn Muḥammad ʿIsā al-Fāḍlānī al-Makkī* (Jedda: Dār ʿIzzī, 1987), 20-21, 25, 40, 45, 54, 62, 66, 80.

<sup>104</sup> He might be Sayyid Bakrī ibn Muḥammad Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shaṭṭā (d. 1310/1892); author of the celebrated treatise on Shafīʿite jurisprudence entitled *Iʿānat al-Ṭālibīn*. However, the above-mentioned work is not traceable in the list of his works. See: ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa Tarājim*, 80-81, and compare with Sarkīs, *Muʿjam Maṭbūʿāt*, 1: 577-8; and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 185, 188-189, 283.

commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī; ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Munāwī’s (d. 1031/1621) and ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-‘Azīzī’s (d. 1070/1659) commentaries on al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*<sup>105</sup>; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī’s *Tanbīh al-Akhyār*, and a commentary on *al-Nawawī’s* forty ḥadīth by Ibrāhīm al-Shabarkhītī (d. 1106/1694)<sup>106</sup>. The reason for this is obvious. These works commented on some of the ḥadīths mentioned in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and provide greater analysis and discussion of similar ḥadīths on particular issues both in terms of their contents as well as the status of their reliability. This is particularly invaluable considering the *raison d’être* of his commentary is to discuss the ḥadīths contained in the book and correct their errors. Of these sources, it is found that primarily, the ideas and works of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī and ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-‘Azīzī influenced his general conception of ḥadīth study, both in terms of content as well as on technical terminologies.

Thus, the three categories of ḥadīth sources referred to by Nawawī are all inter-related and function as the back bone to his *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*. This is evident throughout his commentary as it is found that apart from the 405 ḥadīth contained in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, he has added 275 more ḥadīth in supplementing his commentary on the original work, making an overall total of 680 ḥadīths in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*. Apart from that, emphasis is also given on the technical aspects of ḥadīth sciences as well as a general approach towards a ḥadīth’s status of reliability and its implications on jurisprudence and other religious affairs. In general, for a ḥadīth to be reliable and acceptable to legalize religious and doctrinal affairs without any

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<sup>105</sup> The title of al-Munāwī’s work is *al-Taysīr bi Sharḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, while al-‘Azīzī’s is *al-Sirāj al-Munīr*. See: Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1325-6, 1798-9; and Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zumūn*, 1: 561.

<sup>106</sup> Its full title is *al-Futūḥāt al-Wahbiyya bi Sharḥ al-Arba‘īn al-Nawawiyya*. See: Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 1: 1096.

dispute, it must be within the acceptable spheres (*maqbul*), i.e. between *ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic) and *ḥasan* (agreeable). Other than these two categories, it would then be considered as rejected (*mardūd*), though of various degrees and implications<sup>107</sup>.

In the case of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, its author has stated in the preface to the work that he intended to compile in his book only those ḥadīths and traditions conforming to the *ṣaḥīḥ* standard based on reliable *isnād* as discussed before. As such, there is no further need to mention the full *isnād* of the ḥadīths so as to make it as concise as possible, and the reader can benefit directly from the contents of the ḥadīths, which are divided into forty chapters<sup>108</sup>. Despite this, doubt was raised against many of the ḥadīths as not conforming to the general standard of acceptance set by ḥadīth scholars. This might be primarily due to the differences in methodology and criteria of ḥadīth selection adopted by the author compared to the majority of other ḥadīth scholars. Realizing this, Nawawī implicitly stressed his standpoint over the matter. Instead of directly criticizing the author for his inconsistency, he tried to reconcile between the disputed ḥadīths in the book with the general principles of ḥadīth studies laid down by previous scholars. He made a general statement to this effect at the outset of the book:

This book [i.e. *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*] should not simply be dismissed because of the weak ḥadīths contained in it. Ibn Ḥajar [al-Haytamī] said that weak ḥadīths are acceptable in the sphere of *faḍā'il al-a'māl*, and on top of that, it is generally agreed by scholars that weak ḥadīths are legalized in this sphere of actions<sup>109</sup>.

It can be understood from this statement that since many chapters of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* are related to *faḍā'il al-a'māl*, the author is justified in his use of weak

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<sup>107</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 1: 55-57, 233; and Muhammad Abullais, *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth: Aṣṭuluhā wa Mu‘āṣiruhā* (Selangor: DarulSyakir, 2004), 144 ff.

<sup>108</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 3. See also Chapter One above.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 2.

ḥadīths in the book. Nevertheless, as a commentator of the book, Nawawī is obliged to check and verify the status and origin of each ḥadīth mentioned. In accomplishing this, he had to discuss several aspects, including the technical terms of the sciences of ḥadīth, from which it is possible to get a glimpse of his opinions on the subject.

#### **2.4.2.1. His position on *isnād***

The structure of a ḥadīth can be generally divided into two parts: *matn* and *sanad*. The former, according to Nawawī, signifies the textual part of a ḥadīth and its content, which stands at the end of the chain of transmission. However, in defining the latter, he made a further linguistic distinction between *isnād* and *sanad*. He viewed *isnād* as the chain of narration of a ḥadīth as a whole, whereas *sanad* signifies the medium of that narration. He illustrated this further by saying that the chain of transmission as a whole is called *isnād*, while the narrators in the chain are called *sanad*. In general use, however, these two terms are used interchangeably and do not entail any significant implication on the structure and status of a ḥadīth<sup>110</sup>.

He then stressed on the importance of *isnād* to ḥadīth by quoting sayings of scholars on the matter. *Isnād*, according to Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī, is an important weapon for a Muslim, for without it he cannot fight his enemy. Similarly, al-Shāfi‘ī also mentioned that he who studies ḥadīth without *isnād* is like a woodcutter looking for trees to cut in the darkness of the night without knowing their exact location and suitability<sup>111</sup>. As such, it is only fair to assume that Nawawī deliberately quoted these two sayings to indicate the significance of *isnād* as an

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 3; and al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 1: 22.

<sup>111</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 3.

indirect way of criticizing the author of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* who dismissed any need for mentioning *isnād* in his book. It is like saying that by omitting it, the author has created more controversies and objections regarding the ḥadīths in his book contrary to what he might have expected.

Based on this, it is clear that Nawawī believes in the supreme role of *isnād* in ḥadīth studies and its narration. As such, it is not surprising to find his own involvement in the *isnād* tradition of ḥadīth studies that linked him with the earlier generations of narrators up to the Prophet himself. However, in his *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* one will not find any indication of his involvement in the process of *isnād* and transmission of ḥadīth study apart from what has been discussed earlier. In fact, an example of this is furnished in his other work, where he mentioned two ḥadīths together with their *isnāds* that are linked to him for blessings (*baraka*). Even then, he did it in a passing manner, only quoting his direct teachers who conveyed the ḥadīth to him and the name of the *ṣaḥābas* who narrated the ḥadīth from the Prophet. According to him, the first ḥadīth is transmitted to him by one of his teacher in Madina; Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Khaṭīb al-Madanī all the way to Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī who heard it directly from the Prophet, while the second one is conveyed by both Aḥmad al-Marṣafī and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad Farḥat right up to ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ- a *ṣaḥāba* who heard it from the Prophet himself<sup>112</sup>.

However, records of later scholars have also indicated his association with the *isnāds* of a few complete ḥadīth works. Apparently, he was conveyed with these *isnāds* during his student years in Mecca upon his completion of studying those

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<sup>112</sup> See: Nawawī, *Naṣā’ih al-‘Ibād*, 2-3.

works with his teachers. What makes these *isnāds* particularly interesting is that they linked him with earlier authorities on ḥadīth study through generations of Malay scholars domiciled in Mecca, especially those who originated from Palembang and Kalimantan such as ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ibn ʿAbd Allāh/ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Falimbānī (d. 1203/1789)<sup>113</sup>, a certain Maḥmūd ibn Kinān from Palembang, Yūsuf; a son of Muḥammad Arshad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Banjārī (d. 1227/1812)<sup>114</sup>, and others<sup>115</sup>. Later on during his teaching career, he conveyed these *isnāds* to his capable and trusted students as a sign of having completed their studies with him. In this manner, the *isnād* tradition is kept alive as a symbol of authority and legitimacy for teaching its content, as well as a means of getting blessings from such important religious tradition.

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<sup>113</sup> He is described as the most prominent Palembang scholar in the early thirteenth/eighteenth century. For discussions on his biography and influence in the Malay world, see: Azra, *The Origins*, 113-117; G.W.J. Drewes, *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), 222-224; Riddell, *Islam*, 184-186; and Wan Mohd. Shaghir, “Syekh Abdus Samad al-Falimbani: Catatan Baru”. *Dewan Budaya*, March 1993, 38-40.

<sup>114</sup> He is one of the best known scholar of Kalimantan, whose manual on jurisprudence; *Sabīl al-Muḥtaḍīn li tafaqquh fi Amr al-Dīn* and other works gained wide acceptance and fame among the Jāwah up to this day. For details of his biography and his work, see: Azra, *The Origins*, 117-120; Tajuddin Saman, *Tokoh Ulama Nusantara* (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing, 1993), 27-32; and Wan Mohd. Shaghir, “Bahasa Melayu Bahasa Ilmu: Meninjau Kitab Sabīl al-Muḥtaḍīn oleh Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjārī”. *Jurnal Dewan Bahasa*. August 1990, 632-639.

<sup>115</sup> These *isnāds* were actually transmitted by Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī (d. 1410/1990) and recorded by his student. While providing invaluable insight on the intellectual networking of the Jāwah in the past centuries, they should, nevertheless, be approached with caution. This is primarily due to several inconsistencies detected in these chains of narrations that lead to confusion. For example, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī is said to be a direct teacher of Nawawī, even though historically they could not have possibly met as the former died in 1203/1789 and the latter was only born in 1230/1813. Similarly, ʿAbd al-Ghanī of Bima, a known teacher of Nawawī is solemnly put as his student. Apart from these, there is also an unsettled dispute among researchers as to the status of ʿAqib ibn Ḥasan al-Dīn al-Falimbānī; according to al-Fādānī he was a teacher of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, while others put him as his student. See: al-Falimbānī, *Buḥūḥ al-Amānī*, 20-21, 25, 40, 45, 54, 62, 66, 80; and Wan Mohd. Shaghir, “Syekh Abdus Samad al-Falimbani”, 38-40.

#### 2.4.2.2. Technical aspects of ḥadīth sciences discussed in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*

On the technical aspects of the sciences of ḥadīth, it is interesting to note that Nawawī supplemented quite an extensive list of these technical terms together with their definitions in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, an aspect of study seldom dealt with in detail by Jāwah authors prior to the twentieth century. This indicated his seriousness and mastery in the principles used by ḥadīth scholars in ḥadīth analysis and criticism (*naqd al-ḥadīth*) as many of these terms are only known to those properly trained in the studies of ḥadīth sciences. However, by including the discussion on these terms, he had opened a way for his readers to get a glimpse on the principles of ḥadīth study and understand them in an appropriate manner.

In an attempt to reconstruct these terms into a systematic and comprehensible scheme, a recent approach in methodical categorization of some of the terms used in the study of ḥadīth sciences is adopted. This signifies that any particular ḥadīth can be approached and analyzed from at least three different perspectives, i.e. in terms of its source, the number of its narrators, as well as the status of its authenticity<sup>116</sup>.

In terms of its source, a ḥadīth must originate from the Prophet himself. But sometimes, the words of a *ṣaḥāba* explaining the ḥadīth and even opinions of *tābiʿīn* (the generation that came after the *ṣaḥāba*) could also be found intermingled with the Prophetic traditions in various ḥadīth literatures. In principle, these are not of

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<sup>116</sup> This is due to the fact that many classical writings in *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* are focused on explaining endless list of terms used without much consideration for a more systematic scheme of classification. Partly, this was primarily caused by the methods of composition adopted by earlier scholars, especially their passion for gloss and commentary style of writing. Therefore, many contemporary Muslim writers adopted a new approach of presentation and classification to provide an alternative view of *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* as a subject of study. To be more specific, the present study is based on the typology of technical ḥadīth terms presented by Dr. Muhammad Abullais in his study with a slight modification for the purpose of this current research. See: Muhammad Abullais, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, 126 ff.

the same status of a ḥadīth, as they cannot be used to imply religious and legal rulings, thus necessitating special consideration in distinguishing clearly these sources. Three main categories are identified: *marfūʿ*, words originating from the Prophet; *mawqūf*, words of the *ṣaḥāba*; and *maqtūʿ*, words and opinions of the *tābiʿīn*<sup>117</sup>.

In *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, most of the ḥadīths are in the *marfūʿ* category, which Nawawī also identifies as ḥadīth or *khabar*. However, when there is a need to verify a tradition commonly mistaken as a ḥadīth of the Prophet, an appropriate term is introduced together with its definition. So, in this case, he explained that the saying and action of a *ṣaḥāba* should actually be known as *mawqūf* or *athar*, and it should not be confused with the ḥadīth of the Prophet<sup>118</sup>.

On the other hand, a ḥadīth is also classified in terms of the number of narrators transmitting it from one generation to another, such as *mutawātir* and *āḥād*<sup>119</sup>. The latter is also divided into *ghaīb*, if the ḥadīth is narrated only by one person at one particular level of *isnād*; *ʿazīz*, if it is narrated by two persons; and *mashhūr*, if it is by three or more persons but do not reach the level of *mutawātir*. In *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, only *ghaīb* is mentioned, and it is defined as a ḥadīth known only through one person narrating it. This classification of the *āḥād* category is mainly used for an illustrative and explanatory purpose, and does not necessarily imply a ḥadīth's status of authenticity. As such, a *mashhūr* type of ḥadīth can sometimes be

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 138-143.

<sup>118</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 46.

<sup>119</sup> *Mutawātir* is defined as any ḥadīth narrated by a large number of narrators at each level of *isnād* up to the point where it is impossible for them to conspire against the ḥadīth. In contrast, *āḥād* is simply defined as any ḥadīth which does not satisfy the conditions of *mutawātir*. Therefore, it is obligatory to accept *mutawātir*, compared to *āḥād* which varies in terms of its authenticity and acceptance based on the condition of the *isnād* and *matn* of the ḥadīth. See: Muhammad Abullais, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, 115-119, 125; and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqallānī, *Nuzhat al-Nazar*, 24-33.

authentic and at other times weak. Similarly, this also applies to the rest of the category. However, there is a tendency that a *ghaīb* type of ḥadīth should be approached with caution as it has but only one narrator transmitting it, thus diminishing the possibility of comparing it with similar tradition by other narrators. It is in this context that this term is introduced by Nawawī, possibly as a word of caution after failing to mention its rightful status of authenticity<sup>120</sup>.

Apart from these, perhaps the most important and well-known classification of ḥadīth is related to its status of authenticity. According to ḥadīth scholars, a ḥadīth can either be *maqbul* or *mardūd*. As a general rule, an accepted ḥadīth can be used in all aspects of religious activities and beliefs, whereas a rejected one should not be used in any aspect dealing with creed, jurisprudence and legal matters. However, as rejected ḥadīth is of varying degrees, some types could be tolerated to address aspects related to *faḍā'il al-a'māl*, history, and non-legal or creed aspects of the religious sciences<sup>121</sup>.

In his study of ḥadīths in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, Nawawī discovered almost every type of ḥadīth befitting the twofold classification as mentioned above. Aware that he is dealing with crucial technical terms in describing many of these ḥadīths, he decided to define the key terminologies for the benefit of his readers. As such, most of his definitions are straightforward, concise and as simple as possible. The types of *maqbul* that he discussed include: *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḥasan*. He defined the former as a ḥadīth transmitted by reliable and trustworthy narrators in an unbroken chain of transmission without any contradiction (*shudhūdh*) with other ḥadīths. Based on this definition, three important elements must be present for a ḥadīth to be

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<sup>120</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 63.

<sup>121</sup> For a detailed discussion on this issue, see Chapter Four below.

considered as authentic, i.e. continuous *isnād*, reliable narrators, and consistency of its content. A ḥadīth that defy any one of these conditions falls into the category of *mardūd*, and the most usual term applied for this category is *ḍaʿīf* for weak ḥadīth. It is simply explained by him as any ḥadīth that does not meet the standard of *ḥasan*<sup>122</sup>.

As such, in order to understand *mardūd*, the notion of *ḥasan* must be further clarified. Here one finds ambiguity in Nawawī's conception of the term. It appears from the definition that he gives in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* that it is a ḥadīth in which its narrators are known, such as originating from Hejaz, Syria, Iraq and so on<sup>123</sup>. Literally, according to this definition, the only criteria that matters here is the general information of the narrators in the *isnād*, while other factors are not considered at all. Indeed this could lead to confusion as it is discussed separately from other related terms such as *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḍaʿīf*. However, by referring to the concept of *ḥasan* as described by ḥadīth scholars, it appears that Nawawī is specifically defining it in comparison to *ṣaḥīḥ*. It is as if he wanted to say that *ḥasan* is in every way similar to *ṣaḥīḥ*, except that most of its narrators do not reach the highest level of reliability in the sense that their personalities are only superficially known from their place of origin. Therefore, its status is lower than *ṣaḥīḥ*, but is still considered as acceptable<sup>124</sup>.

Having explained this, the concept of *mardūd* can now be discussed. Theoretically, the types that fall under this category are said to be numerous and can reach as many as five hundred and ten types. In reality, however, only about

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 3, 24. See also: al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 1: 55-79, 178-189, 233 ff.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>124</sup> For a detailed conception of *ḥasan* as expounded by ḥadīth scholars, see for instance: Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, 29-40; and al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 1:178-232.

forty two types are frequently used and discussed<sup>125</sup>. The most frequent term used to describe ḥadīth in this category is *ḍaʿīf* as mentioned above. Nevertheless, specialized terms are used to describe specific situations and entailed various implications.

Out of these, one can further subdivide them into tolerable and non-tolerable. The former signifies specific types of ḥadīth that was rejected due to broken *isnād* or unreliability of its narrator's memory. In contrast, non-tolerable means that the ḥadīth is rejected due to the unreliability of its narrator's integrity and personality, or that it contradicts with other ḥadīths. The implication of these two categories is obvious; the status of tolerable types of *mardūd* can be elevated to that of *ḥasan* if they are supported by other stronger ḥadīths or that similar to them, thus rendering them into the accepted category of ḥadīth. On the contrary, the status of a non-tolerable ḥadīth could not be changed in any situation and remains rejected<sup>126</sup>.

Among the tolerable types of *mardūd* discussed by Nawawī are; *muʿallaq* and *munqaṭiʿ*. These two are related specifically to the conditions of broken *isnāds*. The former is a ḥadīth in which its *isnād* is totally omitted save the name of the *ṣaḥāba* that heard it from the Prophet. On the other hand, the latter means that out of the whole *isnād*, it is only broken by one narrator after the *ṣaḥāba*. Unfortunately, no other information pertaining to the status of these terms or their examples is supplied. Similarly, the non-tolerable types of *mardūd* also received a similar treatment from him. Only three types are mentioned and briefly defined. The first is

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<sup>125</sup> Muhammad Abullais, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, 160-161; and al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 1: 235-236.

<sup>126</sup> The supporting ḥadīths that can elevate the status of a tolerable *mardūd* ḥadīth are usually termed as *shāhid*. Even in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, reference to this term is made as an indication of this possibility. Muhammad Abullais, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, 157-159; and Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 26.

*matnūk*. It is defined as a ḥadīth narrated by only one person whose status is unanimously agreed by scholars to be unreliable. Then, a definition of *munkar* is given. It is explained as a ḥadīth in which its content is exclusively transmitted by only one person who has not reached an acceptable level of reliance and trust. If it contradict with another stronger ḥadīth narrated by a more reliable person, it then becomes *shādhah*; which is also rejected. However, if it does not contradict with other ḥadīths, then its status rests entirely on the reliability and integrity of its narrators<sup>127</sup>.

With this definition, Nawawī has almost typified *munkar* with *ḍaʿīf*, where the narrators in both cases are unreliable and caused its rejection. Here, it is interesting to note that although some scholars understood *munkar* as defined by Nawawī above, later ḥadīth scholars preferred to postulate it also as contradicting other ḥadīth so as to differentiate between it and the general type of *ḍaʿīf*. Thus, if an authentic ḥadīth contradict other authentic ḥadīths it is *shādhah*, whereas if a weak ḥadīth contradict other authentic ḥadīths it becomes *munkar*, and both are rejected<sup>128</sup>.

Apart from these terminologies, the fundamental difference between *ḥadīth qudsī* and the Quran is also stressed. According to Nawawī, both are similar in terms of their devotional value, as both are revealed from God. However, they are different in the sense that the wordings of *ḥadīth qudsī* originated from the Prophet though its meanings are of divine origin. In addition, the Quran is revealed as an

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<sup>127</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 23, 43, 50, 62.

<sup>128</sup> For details on this matter, see: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqallānī, *Nuzhat al-Nazar*, 52 ff.; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 2: 359-382; and Muhammad Abullais, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, 240-244.

inimitable miracle, whereas *ḥadīth qudsī* is not<sup>129</sup>. Unfortunately, apart from these, no other discussion on ḥadīth could be found from the book, thus limiting the possibility of further discussion and criticism on his views and understanding on the subject matter. Moreover, many of the definitions and discussions are not illustrated with examples from the ḥadīth that he commented upon, and this could hamper the readers to visualize his analysis and arguments on the ḥadīths in a more articulate and consistent manner throughout the book.

**Table 2: Summary of ḥadīth terminologies discussed in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl***

| Classification of ḥadīth<br>(in terms of)                         |                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (i)<br>Number of<br>Narrators                                     | (ii)<br>Status of<br>Authenticity                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | (iii)<br>Source                                                                            |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>gharīb</i></li> </ul> | Accepted<br>( <i>maqbul</i> )                                                            | Rejected<br>( <i>marḍūd</i> )                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>marfū‘</i></li> <li>• <i>mawqūf</i></li> </ul> |
|                                                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>ṣaḥīḥ</i></li> <li>• <i>ḥasan</i></li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>ḍa‘īf</i></li> </ul> <u>Tolerable:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>munqaṭi‘</i></li> <li>• <i>mu‘allaq</i></li> </ul> <u>Non-tolerable:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>matrūk</i></li> <li>• <i>munkar</i></li> <li>• <i>shādhdh</i></li> </ul> |                                                                                            |

Nevertheless, although much of the discussion on these fundamental aspects is short and scattered throughout the book, its significance in providing insights to Nawawī’s stands on the subject should not be undermined. A thorough understanding of the rudiments of ḥadīth studies together with the knowledge of

<sup>129</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 10, 29.

essential terminologies would suffice to indicate his mastery over the subject. Table 2 summarizes these terminologies as discussed by Nawawī, categorized according to the latest conception on the sciences of ḥadīth.

#### 2.4.2.3. Nawawī's evaluation on the status of traditions in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*

To analyze and rectify the traditions contained in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is one of the main priorities set by Nawawī in composing *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*. In accomplishing this, he adopted many of the approaches and terminologies of ḥadīth scholars such as tracing a ḥadīth's origin, comparing various versions of its text, studying the *isnād* for defect and so on. Thus, it is expected that a considerable number of these ḥadīths are ranked and given their status accordingly.

However, it is found that out of the 405 Prophetic traditions in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, only 79 are ranked and given their status of authenticity. This represents only about twenty percent of the total number of ḥadīth in the book. The rest are left uncommented, and are open for further study and analysis by other scholars. This might be due to the peculiar nature of these ḥadīths that might have originated from less popular and well known sources, and as such, it is difficult for Nawawī to trace and study them all. Whatever the reason is, the significance of his evaluation cannot be denied as it provides a glimpse on the status of ḥadīths contained in the book.

**Table 3: Nawawī's evaluation of ḥadīth in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth***

| <i>Status of ḥadīth</i> |                            | <i>Number of ḥadīth</i> | <i>Percentage (%)</i> |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>maqbul</i>           | <i>ṣaḥīḥ</i>               | 40                      | 51                    |
|                         | <i>ḥasan</i>               | 12                      | 15                    |
| <i>mardūd</i>           | <i>ḍa'īf</i> and its types | 27                      | 34                    |
| TOTAL                   |                            | 79                      | 100                   |

Table 3 indicates that contrary to the conviction of the author of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, not all ḥadīth in his book reach the acceptable standard for practice. In fact, they vary from authentic and acceptable to weak. As such, his method of omitting the *isnāds* of these ḥadīths is not fully justifiable as it ignites skepticism and controversy surrounding their status of authenticity. Furthermore, even though the rejected ḥadīths account for only thirty four percent from the total, some are categorized as non-tolerable *ḍaʿīf* that could not be used as a basis for religious beliefs and practices. In addition, even the existence of a larger portion of unranked ḥadīth in the book could not be traced to the earlier sources. This is a major flaw which are mainly contributed by the lack of textual integrity in the available editions and copies of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as well as the anonymities surrounding its authorship as previously discussed in Chapter One.

On the other hand, the ḥadīths supplemented by Nawawī in commenting *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* are also of various degrees of authenticity. Out of the 275 ḥadīths, only seventy six are mentioned of their status. Even so, only fifty seven are categorized as *maqbul* while the rest do not meet the required standard of acceptance. At a first glance, it would appear that Nawawī contradicts his own method of ḥadīth appraisal that he discussed in his commentary, but in reality he has his own justifications of doing so. First of all, these ḥadīths are meant only to supplement those contained in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and provide a basis for comparison and analysis. As such, they are not necessarily required to be of the highest standard of *maqbul*. Secondly, he has mentioned at the preface to his commentary that *ḍaʿīf* ḥadīths can be used in matters relating to extra-religious affairs with the exception

of creed and law. As *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* falls into this category, it justified his use of this type of ḥadīth.

Most importantly, as an avid believer and supporter of ḥadīth as the most important and legitimate source of Islam after the Quran, Nawawī's attitude towards it is not necessarily based on the direct analysis of the status of a particular *isnād* of a ḥadīth as discussed above. In this regard, the context and meaning of the *matn* of the ḥadīth is often influential in regulating his judgment of its acceptance or rejection. Although not explicitly mentioned, this can be traced throughout his *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* particularly through his reconciliatory attitude on the ḥadīths that he commented<sup>130</sup>.

Thus, even though a ḥadīth is ranked to be *mardūd*, its content is still accepted to present his view on the subject matter. This is also evident by the inclusion of various popular traditions without *isnāds*, as well as traditions deemed as fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*) by ḥadīth scholars. In this regard, the story of Abū Shaḥma<sup>131</sup> stands paramount<sup>132</sup>. Although these traditions are intended merely as an

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<sup>130</sup> See for instance: Ibid., 23.

<sup>131</sup> Abū Shaḥma is actually a surname attributed to 'Ubayd Allāh; a pious son of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph after the Prophet. The story is exceptionally long and filled with details to strike the emotions of its readers and marvel at the justice of 'Umar and the piety of the earlier generations of Muslims. It is narrated that once, Abū Shaḥma was accidentally intoxicated during his visit to one of his Jewish friends. While in this state of intoxication, he sexually harassed a woman and made her pregnant. Nine months afterwards, the woman came to his father (the Caliph) with a child in her arms requesting justice. As she has no witnesses other than herself, she resorted to take oath on the Quran page by page until 'Umar was finally convinced with her truthfulness. He then gave her some money and clothes to compensate for her unfortunate incident and enquired his son over the matter. When enquired, Abū Shaḥma pleaded guilty to harassing the woman and he was brought to justice. 'Umar sentenced him according to the Law, and he was to be publicly-flogged one hundred lashes for his crime. During the flogging, he constantly cried for mercy and finally died as the final lash of the whip landed on his body. Even though sad and heartbreaking for him to see the condition of his son, 'Umar upheld that it was only to atone for his son's sins in the Hereafter and to seek justice. Later that night, Ibn 'Abbās; one of the companions of the Prophet dreamt of meeting the Prophet who appeared to praise 'Umar for his justice and righteousness that led his son to paradise. Feeling happy with what he saw, Ibn 'Abbās went to spread the good news to 'Umar and the rest of the Muslims. See: Ibid., 52-54.

effective method of admonitions and advices, they are strictly condemned by the ḥadīth scholars who are against its notorious impact of spreading falsehood in the name of the Prophet. Thus, in this particular matter, he strayed from the principles and methods upheld by the majority of the ḥadīth scholars<sup>133</sup>.

In summary, Nawawī's role in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* is twofold. Apart from commenting on the ḥadīths and their meanings, he also acted as an editor of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, passionately comparing various versions of the text and correcting any mistake that he find in the book. In appraising its ḥadīths, he had mostly adopted the methods proposed by ḥadīth scholars, and had even allocated spaces for discussing various terminologies in ḥadīth studies. However, due to the constrictive nature of his phrase-by-phrase style of commentary, many of the discussions on these terms are scattered, and often too simplified to include the details as to why a ḥadīth is given a certain status of authenticity.

Similarly, not all ḥadīth in the book are properly ranked by him in terms of their authenticity. Many are left uncommented and even the status of many ḥadīths that he supplied are also unranked. While this might be prompted by his sacrosanct approach to ḥadīth, it might be also due to his conviction that because weak ḥadīth is generally acceptable in *faḍā'il al-a'māl* and *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is seen to fit into this category, it would not be necessary for him to be too strict on the matter. As a result, a number of fabricated narrations found its existence both in the original book and its commentary without proper notice or warning on their status. Nevertheless, for a concise commentary on the complex compilation of ḥadīth,

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<sup>132</sup> Another example of fabricated traditions found in the book is the story of the licentious nature of a woman of whom many of the previous generations of prophets originated. Ibid., 48.

<sup>133</sup> For a detailed discussion on this matter, see Chapter Four below.

*Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* is indeed in a class of its own, especially on its attempt to incorporate both content and ḥadīth analysis harmoniously without interrupting the whole structure of ḥadīth contained in the original book.

## **2.5. Some aspects of Nawawī's religious thought in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl***

It has been aforesaid that *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is a diversified collection of ḥadīth on various issues comprising creed, religious rituals and laws, Sufism and ethics, among others. It is intended as a guide for Muslims to practice their religious lives according to the examples shown by the Prophet and composed in a way to invoke the interest and awareness of its reader in an effective manner. As such, apart from commenting on various aspects of ḥadīths found in the book, Nawawī had also expounded on some of these issues, from which it is possible to get a glimpse of his standpoint and opinions particularly in vital areas of religious matters such as creed, jurisprudence, and Sufism.

### **2.5.1. Creed (‘*aqīda*)**

In terms of belief, Nawawī can be described as an avid follower and advocator of the Ash‘arite School of theology. This is also reflected in some of his works where he clearly described his theological inclination as being a purely Ash‘arite in terms of belief (*al-ash‘arī i’tiqādan*)<sup>134</sup>. However, in the case of *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, his stand can be deduced mainly from his discussion and selection of opinions while analyzing certain theological issues contained in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* such as the permanencies of those who commit grave sins (*al-kabīra*) in the hellfire. It appears

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<sup>134</sup> Nawawī, *Nihāyat al-Zayn*, 5.

that even though this issue was very much debated and discussed in the early centuries of Islam between the Mu'tazilites and the Ash'arites, its significance and implications are still relevant and worthy of discussion especially in directing the readers to the stand of *Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a*.

In general, the Mu'tazilites affirms that a grave sinner is neither a believer nor infidel, but belongs to an independent category between the two, although sometimes he is also described as an unbeliever by ingratitude and not by polytheism. In contrast, the Ash'arites champion the idea that all believers will go to paradise. Even the grave sinners among them will only be put into hellfire temporarily to be punished for their sins, but will ultimately be permitted to enter paradise by the Grace of God. For them, committing a sin, which is a physical bodily action does not affect one's belief which is situated in his heart, and they are reluctant to condemn any Muslim as an infidel based on this reason alone<sup>135</sup>.

In *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, this theological stand of the Ash'arites can be seen from the case of a ḥadīth where the Prophet said that "when a person dies, he will be shown (in his grave) his destination according to his deeds; if he deserves the paradise, he will then be granted its access; and if he deserves the hellfire, he will then be thrown into it; and each person will be informed of his final abode in the Hereafter". In commenting on this ḥadīth, Nawawī elaborated that there are actually three categories of man in this regard; those who sincerely believe (*mu'min*), the grave sinners among the believers (*murtakibī al-kabīra*), and the unbelievers (*kāfir*).

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<sup>135</sup> For details on the discussions and debates between the Ash'arites and Mu'tazilites regarding this issue and others, see for instance: 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Istanbul: Maṭba'at al-Dawla, 1928), 248-249; T. Izutsu, *The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology* (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1965), 40-56; and A.S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology* (Bristol: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1947), 79-83, 166 ff.

The first two groups will enter paradise by the Grace of God, while the last will dwell in the hellfire forever. Similarly, this stand is also emphasized by quoting the sayings of a celebrated Sufi master; ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī who typified the status of hellfire to grave sinners as similar to that of the prison for the wrongdoers, of which he will be freed from when the period of punishment is completed<sup>136</sup>.

In addition, some vital aspects of faith (*īmān*) and its relation to Islam are also expounded through the guises of the sayings of other scholars<sup>137</sup>. For instance, *īmān* is described as knowledge of God and His attributes and obedience to His injunctions as prescribed in the Law, whereas, Islam signifies general submission to God. As such, not every Muslim is a believer (*mu’min*) as some might be forced to become Muslim simply out of fear or other reasons. Undoubtedly, although *īmān* is of a higher status compared to Islam, the latter serves as a prerequisite for submission to God through the profession of the testimonials of faith (*shahādatayn*) and performance of other obligatory acts of rituals<sup>138</sup>. Thus, the gist of *īmān* lies in three interrelated aspects, that is, its conviction with the heart, pronouncement with the tongue, as well as physical implementation of the ritual acts. In this instance, he conforms to the standard definition of *īmān* as explained by the Ash‘arites that

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<sup>136</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 3, 73.

<sup>137</sup> Specifically, the sayings and opinions of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in his *al-Ghunya*, al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyā’*, al-Suyūṭī in *al-Niqāya*, as well as al-‘Azīzī in *al-Sirāj al-Munīr* formed the basis of his discussion on these matters. Ibid., 10.

<sup>138</sup> Nevertheless, out of the five pillars of Islam, the position of *shahādatayn* is central to the whole structure of Islam as without it, nobody can be called a Muslim. The rest of the pillars, i.e. obligatory prayers, fasting, alms, as well as pilgrimage serve as obligatory testimonials of the submission. Thus, anybody who rejects the obligation of these acts nullifies their *shahādatayn* and will be considered as nonbelievers. Ibid., 16, 30.

include physical actions of the obligatory rituals as its vital part as opposed to some sectarian opinions<sup>139</sup>.

This is then followed by the discussion on whether one's *īmān* can increase or decrease. Here, Nawawī adopted the view specifying that one's *īmān* is susceptible to changes, that is, it will increase with obedience and virtuous deeds and decrease with negligence and prohibited deeds. He also quoted the view of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī stating that this alone is not sufficient for a meaningful change of one's *īmān*, rather it must be accompanied by a complete submission to God's will and predestination (*qadr*) with perseverance (*ṣabr*), gratitude (*shukr*), contentment (*riḍā*), and total reliance on God (*tawakkul*)<sup>140</sup>.

As to the logic and possibility of changes in one's *īmān*, he quoted the arguments presented by al-Ghazālī. He said that in principle, action or deed is not part of faith, for existence (*mawjūd*) does not change or increase in its essence. Man is not said to increase based on the changes of his bodily limbs but rather his attributes such as beard and so on are said to have changed. Similarly, the essence of *īmān* remains unchanged. However, it is the deeds as one of its important aspects or attributes that are susceptible to changes according to situations<sup>141</sup>. Thus, the nature and intrinsic relationship between faith, good deeds and spiritual ethics is clearly demonstrated to constitute the perfection of one's faith. It is in this regard that any ḥadīth denying one's faith as being affected by one's wrongdoing should

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<sup>139</sup> There are divergences of opinions among the sectarian movements regarding the definition and meaning of *īmān* which entail various outcomes especially with regard to the observance of obligatory rituals in Islam. For a detailed discussion on this issue, refer to: Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa Ikhtilāf al-Muṣallīn* (Istanbul: Maṭba'at al-Dawla, 1929), 1:132-141; al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, 247-253; and Izutsu, *The Concept of Belief*, 57 ff.

<sup>140</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 16.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 16.

not be interpreted as renouncing one's faith in its essence, rather it denies the perfection of his faith<sup>142</sup>.

These are among the important issues on creed discussed thoroughly in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*. In fact, it is quite remarkable considering that out of the forty chapters in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, only two are related to creed. Regardless, it is sufficient to demonstrate the stand adopted by Nawawī in advocating the Ash'arite school of theology.

### 2.5.2. Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

Topics related to religious rituals and jurisprudence are quite substantial compared to other themes contained in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. This is probably due to its central importance in fulfilling one's religious life in terms of rituals and practices. Out of the thirteen chapters dedicated to this theme, nine are related to the devotional acts (*'ibāda*). These include topics of purification, prayers, fasting, alms, obligatory and recommended deeds. As for the remaining chapters, three are related to criminal punishment (*jināya*), while only one is dedicated to marriage (*munākaḥa*). Based on this, it is possible to discuss and analyze some of the approaches and standpoints of Nawawī on these matters.

Firstly, it is observed that he is purely an ardent follower of the Shafi'ite School of jurisprudence. This is primarily reflected by his preferred choice of opinions as well as the references he used in composing *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*. Among the authorities and jurists quoted by him include: al-Shāfi'ī, Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqallānī, al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, Abū Bakar al-Ḥaṣnā (d.

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<sup>142</sup> For instance, there is one ḥadīth where the Prophet said: "There is no faith (*īmān*) for he who is not trustworthy". Ibid., 15.

839/1435)<sup>143</sup>, al-Birmāwī (d. 1106/1694)<sup>144</sup> and others. Similarly, works championing the views and approaches of the Shafi‘ites are commonly referred to as the basis of his analysis and discussion of evidences and ideas. These include: *al-Majmū‘* and other works by Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī, *Fatḥ al-Jawwād* and other writings of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *Kifāyat al-Akhyār* by al-Ḥaṣnā, *Bulūgh al-Marām* by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī, treatises by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520)<sup>145</sup>, and so on.

Secondly, it is also common for him to try and establish any legal precept from the ḥadīths mentioned in the book. In this regard, he does not delimit himself to the chapters specifically related to jurisprudence only but also extends to ḥadīths in other themes as long as it is possible for him to do so. Examples of this kind of discussion include the rulings of abandoning the battle field, talking with a loud voice in the mosque, wearing a turban, greeting people (*salām*), answering one’s parents while in prayer, wailing over the dead and others.

In addition, traces of his discussion on the subject of *uṣūl al-fiqh* are also apparent throughout the book in his quest for rationalizing legal rulings from any particular ḥadīth according to the views of the Shafi‘ites. An example of this can be seen from his discussion on the implication of a word of command (*amr*) in ḥadīth; does it signify an obligation (*wujūb*) or implore recommended action (*nadb*)? According to Nawawī, it can signify either meaning based on specific indications

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<sup>143</sup> Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Arifīn*, 5: 236.

<sup>144</sup> He was Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad; former *shaykh* of the al-Azhar. He has written a few works such as *Ḥāshiyat al-Birmāwī ‘alā Sharḥ al-Ghāya li Ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzālī*, and others. See: Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 1: 552-3; and Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2:420.

<sup>145</sup> He was among the most prominent Shafi‘ite jurist, exegete, ḥadīth scholar, and *shaykh al-Islām* during his time. Among his works on jurisprudence include: *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muzanī*, *Manhaj al-Tullāb*, *Tanqīḥ Taḥrīr al-Lubāb*, and others. See: Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, 4: 182-183; and al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 3: 46-47.

within the ḥadīth or from comparison with other sources on the subject, as stipulated by the principles followed by the Shafi‘ites. As such, in the ḥadīth stating the “three things obligated upon every Muslim; washing one’s self for Friday prayer, brushing one’s teeth, and wearing perfume”, the word “obligated” here is legally implied as a mere recommendation through comparison with other ḥadīths. Similarly, in another similar ḥadīth asserting that “washing one’s self for Friday prayer is incumbent upon every adult”, the recommended legalistic ruling is acquired through an analogical comparison with the linguistic usage of the word among the Arabs<sup>146</sup>.

Thus, for Nawawī, an understanding of the text and context of the ḥadīth and its relation to the broader body of sources and evidences according to the criteria set by the Shafi‘ite school must be acquired prior to assigning any legal ruling so as not to be trapped with the rigid literal interpretation of the text that could hamper the whole conception and flexibility of Islamic Law<sup>147</sup>.

Finally, it is observed that at times, Nawawī adopted a comparative approach in discussing any disputed issue among scholars. Methodically, he would list down the opinions of previous jurists, present their arguments and discuss them based on available evidences or ḥadīths related to the issue. Nonetheless, as it was not customary for him to exercise *ijtihād* and procure his own ruling on any

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<sup>146</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 19, 25. See also: al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā min ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl* (Būlāq: al-Maṭba‘at al-Amīriyya, 1906), 2: 2 ff.

<sup>147</sup> A particular example in this regard is as follows: There is a ḥadīth from the Prophet stating that “looking at foreign women is among the cardinal sins”. In explaining it, Nawawī stated on the authority of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī that this is particularly so only if it is associated with lust and could necessarily lead to adultery. Otherwise, the preliminaries to adultery are all considered as minor sins as perceived through comparison of related evidences on the matter. Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 51.

religious issue, he would have to generally favour and uphold the opinion of the Shafi'ites, and often presents his own justifications for it<sup>148</sup>.

### 2.5.3. Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)

There are a number of chapters in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* that deals with themes related to *taṣawwuf*, and many of these are related to the best way that should be followed by Muslims in their lives such as repentance (*tawba*), humbleness (*tawāḍu'*), seclusion (*'uzla*), virtues of remembering God (*dhikr*), remembering death (*dhikr al-mawt*), perseverance (*ṣabr*), asceticism (*zuhd*), virtues of poverty (*fāqr*), as well as moderation in enjoying worldly pleasures such as drinking, eating, laughing, sleeping and speaking. These are the basic and practical methods that should be exercised by all Muslims to purify their actions and hearts in their quest for the path of God. Apart from these, no discussion on the theoretical aspect of Sufism is found in the book. Similarly, it would appear that Nawawī has also restrained himself from indulging in this matter while commenting on the book as it is targeted to the popular level of the society rather than at specialized groups.

For him, *taṣawwuf* generally means good behaviour (*adab*). This signifies emptying of the heart of all things except God and having contempt for everything else. The Prophet as a role model should be followed and imitated for he unites all *adab*, both internally and externally<sup>149</sup>. This in turn, reflects the importance of ḥadīth in the lives of Muslims both as sources of Laws and spiritual guidance. Nevertheless, the importance and function of the spiritual guide (*shaykh* or

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<sup>148</sup> An example of this attitude can be gleaned from his discussion on the issue regarding the permissibility of talking during the Friday's sermon. Ibid., 25.

<sup>149</sup> Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia*, 59-60.

*murshid*) should not be undermined, as he served as an intermediary between his disciple and God and guided him towards that goal in a correct manner<sup>150</sup>.

Although much of these issues are not discussed in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, its significance is apparent as it gives a general overview of Nawawī's conception of *taṣawwuf*. This is hardly surprising as he himself was a student of Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas; who was a famous master of the Qādiriyya and Naqshabandiyya orders. It might be from him that Nawawī has taken the pledge of allegiance (*bay'a*) specifically to the order of the Qādiriyya<sup>151</sup>. As such, this explains the frequent reference to the ideas and teachings of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* which encompasses various aspects of subjects and purposes from quotation of ḥadīth and its commentaries, to opinions and views on general issues including creed<sup>152</sup>. Apart from that, al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* has also an influence in providing definitions and supplementing ḥadīths in support of *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*<sup>153</sup>.

However, due to the nature and selection of topics in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, Nawawī is rather restricted in expressing his whole conception of *taṣawwuf* in a comprehensive manner. Even the practical ways of *taṣawwuf* mentioned in the book are not arranged chronologically in terms of its importance and precedence. It is as if all are equally important and must be practiced together to achieve the desired goal. Still, some are undoubtedly more important than the others and serve as key

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 87.

<sup>151</sup> In one of his works, Nawawī has clearly identified himself as belonging to this Sufi order. Furthermore, his passion and interest for commenting the *mawlid* literatures could also indicate his affiliation with the Qādiriyya order as they are widely-read during the order's gatherings. See: Nawawī, *Bahjat al-Wasā'il bi Sharḥ Masā'il*, 2; and J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 206.

<sup>152</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 3, 4, 5, 12, 14, 15, 16, 22, 24, 28, 36, 39, 40-47.

<sup>153</sup> See for instance: Ibid., 8, 16-18, 24, 25, 27, 29, 32, 39, 41, 43, 47, 50, 60, 61, 63, 66-69, 72.

elements in various practices of soul purification especially repentance<sup>154</sup>, and remembering God, among others. Thus, for the purpose of the present study, only these two concepts will be presented for analysis and example of his views on the matter.

According to him, repentance signifies returning from the state of wickedness in the eyes of Law to the state of piety to get closer to God and His paradise. It is not done merely by utterances of the tongue but rather it must be accompanied with sincerity and regret from within the heart and determination to abstain from the sins both physically and spiritually. Nevertheless, not all repentance is the same as they differ according to the levels and status of the person. For instance, the repentance of an ordinary person is usually from his sins, while the specialists (*khawāṣ*) will repent from the negligence of the heart. The ultimate form of repentance is exemplified by those specialized among the specialists (*khawāṣ al-khawāṣ*) who will repent for the mere inattentiveness of their hearts from remembering God<sup>155</sup>.

In the same way, remembrance of God also plays an important role in purifying the heart. When *dhikr* is deeply embedded within the very heart of man, it becomes a very powerful agent in guarding against impurities and evil thoughts. In fact, it is even explained that any devil trying to enter this kind of heart will be shocked and petrified in the same way like a man being possessed by the devil. However, this kind of *dhikr* is not simply attained by a mere utterance of the tongue

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<sup>154</sup> It is also worthwhile to note that in his other work, Nawawī described *tawba* as the key to all worship and the basis for all good things. Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia*, 90.

<sup>155</sup> Compare with the stages of repentance as presented by the early Sufi masters and al-Ghazālī. See: Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma' fi 'Ilm al-Taṣawwuf* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1960), 68-69; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Azhariyya al-Miṣriyya, 1898), 4: 37-39; and Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 46-48.

but rather it must be accompanied by a total consciousness and attentiveness of the heart at all times. According to Nawawī, it is like the heart is entranced in awe in front of the greatness and glory of God<sup>156</sup>.

He then went on to discuss the two levels of *dhikr*, i.e. *dhikr khafī* (inner *dhikr*) and *dhikr jahr* (outward *dhikr*). The former is undoubtedly the higher of the two. It means constant remembering of God by the heart through contemplation of His creation and pondering on religious issues that matter much for the people in their lives. As it is done silently within the heart, it is a secret between the person and his God which is communicated directly without the mediation of the angels. The latter, however, signifies outward remembrance of God through utterances by the tongue. It is of a lesser status compared with the former in the sense that it is susceptible to arrogance and pretension. However, Nawawī's attitude on this matter is clear; he implied that both levels of *dhikr* are important and superior in different circumstances. For instance, *dhikr jahr* is more beneficial for someone who has just began his journey towards mysticism, while *dhikr khafī* is more suited to the advanced individuals<sup>157</sup>. In this, he is clearly in favor of bridging the gaps and differences between religious practices as much as he can and harmonizing them together. It could be supposed that his effort in bringing together these two levels of *dhikr* may also be due to his practice of the Sufi orders and formulas as preached by his teacher Aḥmad Khaṭīb<sup>158</sup>.

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<sup>156</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 42-43.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 43-44.

<sup>158</sup> Even though the classification of *dhikr jahr* and *dhikr khafī* is traceable to earlier individual Sufi masters, it does not deny the possibility presented above, especially when considering their similarities with the rituals and *dhikr* practices of the Qādiriyya and Naqshabandiyya orders, which was combined together by Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas. See: Aḥmad Khaṭīb, *Fath al-ʿArifin pada Menyatakan Baiʿat al-Dhikr dan Silsilah al-Qādiriyyah dan al-Naqshabandiyyah* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-

Therefore, it can be summarized that Nawawī's conception of *taṣawwuf* is strictly focused on the Prophet as the model par excellence and the implementation of his behavior (*adab*) and teachings as presented in the ḥadīth. However, this does not delimit himself from associating with the Sufi orders especially the Qādiriyya and adopting the ideas of influential earlier Sufi masters such as al-Ghazālī and others that are based on the Prophetic traditions and in total compliance with the *sharī'a*. In addition, knowledge also plays an important role in one's advancement to be nearer to God as ignorance could lead to confusion and deception.

Therefore, in his scheme of religious understanding and practice, creed serves as the basic foundation that must be learnt by all individuals to enable them to know their God and His attributes as exemplified by the concept of *tawḥīd*. This is then followed by acquiring knowledge relating to the practical aspects of religious rituals and practicing it as prescribed by the Law as a necessary condition for man to be nearer to God. As rituals are obviously targeted towards the outer aspects of man, *taṣawwuf* is needed to purify the heart and guide man spiritually in his journey to God. All of these are equally important and must be practiced together at all times even when a person reaches the highest level attainable by him as explicitly shown by the Prophet himself<sup>159</sup>. As such, a complete harmonization between exoteric and esoteric dimensions of Islam is established according to the general stand points of *Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a*.

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Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1927), 3 ff.; Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 194, 201-202, 206; and Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia*, 85-89.

<sup>159</sup> In his other work, he classified Muslims into three categories; the worshipper ( *'ābid*), the knower ( *'ālim*), and the gnostic ( *'arif*). The highest level is the gnostic while the lowest is the worshipper. Nevertheless, the worshipper could elevate his position by seeking together the knowledge of *sharī'a*, *'aqida* and *taṣawwuf*. Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia*, 66-67.

## CHAPTER THREE

### WAN ‘ALĪ OF KELANTAN: HIS LIFE, WORKS AND THOUGHT FROM *AL-JAWHAR AL-MAWHŪB WA MUNABBIHĀT AL- QULŪB*

#### 3.1. Socio-historical survey of Kelantan up to the first half of the nineteenth century

Kelantan is one of the oldest Malay states in the Malay Peninsular<sup>1</sup>. More than two millennia ago, it was already known as an important economic centre frequented by travellers and traders from China and other places<sup>2</sup>. In terms of government, it was subjected to various rules and kingdoms from around the region including Sirivijaya, Majapahit, and eventually Malacca in 881/1477. In the centuries that followed, it was divided under numerous chiefs who did not have supreme power of the state, but owed their loyalty to either the states of Patani or Terengganu<sup>3</sup>.

In the late eighteenth century, Long Yunus (d. 1208/1794) was successful in unifying Kelantan under his rule. Even though this ended the period of territorial political factionalism, it also marked its growing dependence on Siam<sup>4</sup>. In fact, a

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<sup>1</sup> Kelantan is now one of the thirteen states and three federal territories that constitute the Federation of Malaysia. For a concise summary of descriptions of Kelantan at the turn of the twentieth century, see for instance: W.A. Graham, *Kelantan: A State of the Malay Peninsula* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1908); and Nelson Annandale, "The Siamese Malay States", *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* vol. 15 (1900): 505-523.

<sup>2</sup> Anker Rentse, "History of Kelantan I", *JMBRAS* 22, 2 (1934): 55; and Hsu Yun-T'siao, "Notes on Tan-Tan", *JMBRAS* 20, 1 (1947): 47-63.

<sup>3</sup> See: Rentse, "History of Kelantan", 56; and "A Historical Note on the Northeastern Malay States", *JMBRAS* 20, 1 (1947): 23-40; Graham, *Kelantan*, 38-39; Shahril Talib, *History of Kelantan 1890-1940* (Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, 1995), 12-14; and Saad Shukri Muda, Abdullah Qari Salleh, and Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, *Detik-detik Sejarah Kelantan* (Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press, 1971), 33.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Siamese documents, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, Kelantan was still a tributary state of Terengganu. When it requested to be independent from the latter, it was made a tributary state of Siam under the superintendence of Nakhon Si Thammarat. See: David K. Wyatt, "Nineteenth Century Kelantan: A Thai View", in *Kelantan: Religion, Society, and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974), 1-21.

failed attempt by the subsequent ruler, i.e. Muḥammad I (r. 1214-1252/1800-1837) to rebel has only led to its further subjugation under Siamese control. The civil war that followed the death of the childless Sultan in 1252/1837 further witnessed the dominant role of Siam in steering the course of the local politics and its influence in the selection of Kelantan's rulers<sup>5</sup>. In the aftermath of this event, Kelantan enjoyed over fifty years of political stability under the rule of Sultan Muḥammad II (1255-1303/1839-1886). Except for its control over foreign affairs, Siam did not interfere much in the internal affairs of the state, at least not until the last decade of the century<sup>6</sup>.

In the religious sphere, even though Kelantan is said to be among the earliest Malay state to receive Islam<sup>7</sup>, it is difficult to ascertain its influence on the general populace in the periods prior to the twentieth century. The office of the *Muftī*, which often represents the supreme echelon of the Islamic judicial and religious system, was officially known to exist in Kota Bharu only during the 1290s/1880s or later<sup>8</sup>. Usually assisted by a *Qāḍī*, he tended over matters related to the *sharī'a*

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See also: Cyril Skinner, *The Civil War in Kelantan in 1839* (Singapore: MBRAS, 1966), 3-7; and Graham, *Kelantan*, 43-44.

<sup>5</sup> For details of the civil war, see: Skinner, *Civil War*, 1-68; and Graham, *Kelantan*, 47.

<sup>6</sup> The death of Tuan Long Ahmad in 1307/1890 renewed the disputes over the succession to the thrones of Kelantan. This time around, the interference of Siam resulted in the introduction of an advisory system of government in Kelantan, which continued until the state was finally incorporated under the British rule as part of the Unfederated Malay States, through the Anglo-Siamese or Bangkok Treaty in 1909. See: Shahril, *History*, 14-15.

<sup>7</sup> It is often proposed that Islam must have existed in Kelantan since the fifth/twelfth century. The basis of this claim lies in the discovery of a gold coin inscribed with the Arabic language at Kota Kubang Labu which presupposes the existence of an Islamic kingdom of some kind. See: Saad Shukri et. al., *Detik-detik Sejarah Kelantan*, 27-28.

<sup>8</sup> For the functions of the State *Muftī* and details of its administrative structure, see: Abdullah Alwi Hassan, *The Administration of Islamic Law in Kelantan* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1996), 2-5; and Ismail Che Daud, "Satu Abad Mufti-mufti Kerajaan Kelantan" in *Warisan Kelantan XIII*, (Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, 1994), 49-51. In addition, there was also the office of a *Hakim* or a Judge, whose jurisdiction was restricted to the criminal court, where a mixture of Islamic and Malay Customary (*Adat*) Laws were administered. See: William R. Roff, "The Origin and Early Years of the Majlis Ugama" in *Kelantan: Religion, Society, and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974), 106.

court, ritual observance and the administration of mosques and related matters in the state. However, for most of the rural population, the *surau* (or lesser mosque) represented an important religious institution at the village level throughout Kelantan. In fact, it was the centre of religious activities for rural Islam encompassing the performance of the daily prayers and other rituals, as well as the propagation of elementary religious and Quranic education<sup>9</sup>.

As such, the *imām*, as the head of the *surau*, is often considered as a religious leader for the rural community as a whole. His main functions included leading the daily and Friday congregational prayers, running of the mosque, settling of disputes concerning a religious law or practice, and even teaching the basics of religious sciences and Quranic recitations. In addition, he would also be responsible for solemnizing marriages, supervising divorces, performing funeral rites, as well as other non-religious administrative tasks<sup>10</sup>. Many *imāms* had performed the *ḥajj*, and this would greatly enhance their image and status among their fellow villagers<sup>11</sup>.

On the other hand, there was also a group of religious teachers in certain parts of Kelantan. They usually operated independently from the village *surau*, often within the *pondok* school that they established. Almost all of them possessed some knowledge of the Arabic language, had performed the *ḥajj* in Mecca, and even studied there. However, it is difficult to estimate the exact number of *pondoks* in

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<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that there are two types of *suraus*: *surau besar* (large) and *surau kecil* (small). The latter was usually a subdivision of the former, and the real difference between these two can be seen from the authorities yielded by their *imāms* in matters relating to *zakāt* taxation and marriage. Roff, "Early Years of the Majlis Ugama", 104-106.

<sup>10</sup> These included land alienation, supervision of produce taxes and assessment as well as the collection of the triennial *banci* or poll-tax. Even after the introduction of the district headmen system based on the Thai model in 1860s or 70s, the *imām* still retained relative authority in wielding jurisdiction alongside the newly designated *Tok Kweng*. See: Ibid., 105; and Shahril, *History*, 21-24.

<sup>11</sup> Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 7-9.

Kelantan during the first half of the nineteenth century. There was most probably only a small group of religious teachers at that time scattered in Kota Bharu and various parts of the state. As such, Patani was still the popular destination for those who desired to study the religion and its sciences<sup>12</sup>.

However, towards the end of the century, this situation was about to change. At the state level, there was increased concern for the better practice of Islam, especially during the reign of Sultan Aḥmad (r. 1303-1307/1886-1890). Adherence to public religious duties based on the *sharīʿa* was made obligatory, and certain practices deemed as irreligious were banned and outlawed. Improvements were also made to the existing religious institutions and new offices such as the *Pemeriksa Jumaat/Jemaah* (officers responsible for ensuring participation in public and the Friday congregational prayers) were introduced<sup>13</sup>.

Similarly, at the lower levels, there was an increase in the number of religious teachers and *pondoks* in Kota Bharu and neighbouring areas. Apart from the growing interest in the performance of *hajj*, the migration of Patani scholars and the increase in the number of Kelantanese ulemas had also contributed to the

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<sup>12</sup> For a detailed discussion on the *pondok* system in Kelantan at that time, see: Ihsan H. Ibagā, “Ulama’ dan Sistem Pondok di Kelantan Abad ke-19”, in *Dian Daiges* May 1979, no. 120, 20-25; and Mohamad Kamil Abd. Majid, “Dakwah Islamiyyah di Kelantan dari Zaman Long Yunus hingga Perang Dunia Kedua”, *Pengasuh* Mar-Apr 1993, no. 526, 38-48. Comparatively, the *pondok* system in Patani at that time was more advanced than that of Kelantan. From the establishment of its first *pondok* in the tenth/sixteenth century, Patani has since become the locus of traditional Islamic education for the region. It often functioned as a transitory point for students intending to further their studies in the Middle East. The teachers, who often had intellectual and kin relationship with the scholars in Mecca, were important in preparing their students and guiding them. Among the most influential ponds in the nineteenth century Patani were Pondok Pauh Bok and Pondok Bendang Daya. For details, see: Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani* (Bangi: UKM Press, 2002), 13-15; and Hasan Madmarn, *The Pondok and Madrasah in Patani* (Bangi: UKM Press, 2002), 12.

<sup>13</sup> Abdullah Alwi, *Administration*, 5-7. Nevertheless, it was only in the early fourteenth/twentieth century that real development on the administration of Islam and its institutions took place, as reflected in the establishment of the Council of Religion and Malay Custom or Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Kelantan (MAIK) in 1333/1915. See: Roff, “Early Years of the Majlis Ugama”, 101-152.

reasserting role of religion in the lives of the locals. Thus, it is not surprising that later on, Kelantan emerged as one of the most important locus promoting culture and intellectual advancement under the banner of Islam, rapidly eliminating the old image of debauchery and ignorance attributed to it in the earlier years<sup>14</sup>.

In summary, although Kelantan's politics was marked with uncertainty and turbulence in the first half of the nineteenth century, it did not pose serious challenges that threatened the social and religious lives of the populace. The peasantry, who constituted the lower strata of the social class and were generally unlettered<sup>15</sup>, had to depend on the rural *imāms* and teachers as their figures of religious authorities and rituals. The lack of proper religious institutions in Kelantan at that time has driven aspiring students to Patani and Arabia to seek religious knowledge. It was amidst this social and political environment that Wan 'Alī was born and spent his early years studying religious knowledge in his hometown and beyond. His past experiences might have made him realized the challenges and difficulties faced by his fellow countrymen in seeking religious knowledge, and in turn, motivated him to contribute to their advancement in his capacity as an ulema and author of religious works.

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<sup>14</sup> Roff, "Early Years of the Majlis Ugama", 107-110. This image is based on the description of Kota Bharu in 1253/1838 by Munshi Abdullah during his travel there. He said: "I observed in Kelantan an exceedingly large number of loose women. In the evening they came in droves to any place where foreign crafts were lying... There are pimps and ponces who come to all the boats and offer their services; in Kelantan that sort of business is not looked down on. And there are many cock fighters, and gamblers, and opium smokers too. But people who attend to their religious duty and observe the laws of God do not amount to two in a hundred". A.E. Coope, transl., *The Voyage of Abdullah: Being an Account of His Experiences on a Voyage from Singapore to Kelantan in AD 1838* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1967), 57. A similar observation was also made by Graham during his tenure in Kelantan. Graham, *Kelantan*, 32-33.

<sup>15</sup> In a survey on Kelantan at this time, it was roughly estimated that only 8 percent of the population was known to be literate. See: William R. Roff, *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States 1876-1941* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 2 and footnotes.

### 3.2. His life

Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-Ghafūr ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Izz al-Dīn, or Wan ‘Alī Kutan as he is commonly known, was born in Kutan Village in the district of Pasir Mas, Kelantan<sup>16</sup>. However, there is a dispute as to his exact date of birth; it is widely believed that he was born in 1252/1837<sup>17</sup>, but it was argued recently that it might have been much earlier than that, i.e. around 1235/1820. Though it is difficult to be certain, the later view seems more plausible and is the one adopted in this study<sup>18</sup>.

Not much is known about his childhood. Nonetheless, it is certain that he had spent a few years studying in various *pondoks* in Kelantan under teachers such as Ya‘qūb ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm<sup>19</sup>, and ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1289/1873)<sup>20</sup>. He has also travelled to study in Patani, but it was short-lived as it was politically unstable. As such, it is difficult to shed more detail on his visit there during this

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<sup>16</sup> See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya Ilmiah Hj. Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah mengenai Fikrah Wawasan Tokoh Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2004), 49; and Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, *Pengantar Sastra* (Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press, 1966), 163.

<sup>17</sup> See for instance: Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama’*, 177; and Abdul Halim Ahmad, “Pendidikan Islam di Kelantan”, in *Beberapa Aspek Warisan Kelantan*, ed. Khoo Kay Kim (Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, 1982), 12-13.

<sup>18</sup> This later view is actually presented by Wan Mohd Shaghir in his studies on the genealogy and Wan ‘Alī’s kinship. It is found that the ascription of the year 1252/1837 as Wan ‘Alī’s date of birth is contradictory to a known fact among his family members that he was considerably older than his wife and his sister in law. As they were both born in 1243/1827 and 1241/1825 respectively, it is impossible to put his birth to be ten years younger than his wife. On the other hand, it might also be added that Wan ‘Alī is said to be of similar age to Wan ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Wan Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī (1235-1312/1820-1895); another ulema from Patani. Thus, it is highly probable that Wan ‘Alī was also born some time in 1235/1820. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya*, 49-50; and Ahmad Fathy, *Ulama Besar*, 255.

<sup>19</sup> He was among the earlier batch of Kelantanese Meccan-educated ulemas in the nineteenth century. Apart from his teaching career, he was also appointed as a religious advisor to Sultan Muḥammad II. Almost all local students at that time would have learned under him before going abroad to advance their studies. See: Abdul Halim Ahmad, “Pendidikan Islam di Kelantan”, 3-7; and Abdul Razak Mahmud, *Ikhtisar Sejarah Kelantan* (Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press, 2005), 114-116.

<sup>20</sup> Better known as “Tok Pulau Chondong”, he received his education in Mecca especially from Dāwūd ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī and others. Upon his return to Kelantan, he established his own *pondok* that later became very famous. See: Abdul Halim Ahmad, “Pendidikan Islam di Kelantan”, 8-9; and Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama’*, 67-80.

time. When he was twelve, his parents brought him to Arabia, where he continued his studies with the Arab and Jāwah teachers in Mecca at that time.

His most important teachers were Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Rashīd (d. 1291/1874) in *taṣawwuf*<sup>21</sup>, Muḥammad Ḥaqqī ibn ‘Alī al-Nāzilī (d. 1301/1884)<sup>22</sup> in *taṣawwuf* and ḥadīth, ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī (d. 1315/1898)<sup>23</sup>, Muḥammad Amīn ibn Aḥmad Riḍwān (d. ca. 1319/1901)<sup>24</sup>, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī (d. 1335/1917) in *fiqh* and others<sup>25</sup>, and Aḥmad As‘ad al-Dihān (d. 1338/1920) in various aspects of the religious sciences<sup>26</sup>. Undoubtedly, his long study period in Arabia has done much in moulding his intellectual horizon and boosting his capacity as an ulema<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> He was a well known Sufi and disciple of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1253/1837); the founder of the Aḥmadiyya-Idrīsiyya *ṭarīqa*. He also composed *Awṛūd Sayyidinā Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd*, which is a collection of *dhikr* attributed to his shaykh. See: al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 451; Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 1: 16; and Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, 1: 39.

<sup>22</sup> He was a well known Sufi who wrote a number of treatises on various religious subjects including ḥadīth and Sufism. See: Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2: 641, S2: 746; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 2: 955-956; Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 1: 784-785; and Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, 9: 266.

<sup>23</sup> He was among the students of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī who established their career as teachers and writers in Mecca. In addition, he was also a *murshid* of the Shaṭṭāriyya Sufi order. See: Ahmad Fathy, *Ulama Besar*, 43-51; and Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Penyebaran Islam dan Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu Jilid 14* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2001), 40-54.

<sup>24</sup> He was an ulema in Madina whose fame was associated with his authority in transmitting the recitation of *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*, a collection of prayers composed by al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465). See: al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, 1: 132; and Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya*, 51.

<sup>25</sup> He was one of the most famous teachers of the Jāwah in Mecca who taught *fiqh* and *tafsīr* in the Grand Mosque. He also wrote a number of works including *al-Riyāḍ al-Baḍī‘a fī Uṣūl al-Dīn wa ba‘ḍ Furū‘ al-Sharī‘a*, which was commented upon by Nawawī of Banten; also one of his students. See: Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2: 651, S2: 813; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 371-372; al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, 1: 356; and ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa Tarājim*, 229-232.

<sup>26</sup> He was a teacher of *tafsīr*, ḥadīth and the Arabic language in the Grand Mosque. In addition, he was also appointed by the Ottoman Government to hold various administrative and judicial posts. He personally transmitted the recitation of *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* (Incantation of the Sea); a prayer of the Shādhiliyya to Wan ‘Alī. See: al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 434; ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa Tarājim*, 72-73; and Wan ‘Alī, *Lum‘at al-Awṛūd* (Kota Bharu: n.pb., n.d.), 106.

<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that at present, it is difficult to ascertain whether Wan ‘Alī had studied under Aḥmad ibn Zaynī Daḥlān; an important religious figure for the Jāwah in Mecca at that time. Although this is probable, yet there is no mention of this in any of the biographical sources consulted during the period of this study. Perhaps, he was not so much of an influence on Wan ‘Alī and his career, or possibly also for any other reason, any of which remains speculative due to the lack of materials on the matter.

Upon completing his studies, he continued to stay in Mecca and turned to teaching as his full time profession. The strategic selection of Mecca as the locus of his career has done much in elevating his status among the eyes of his countrymen, and they flocked to study under him, since he exclusively catered to the needs of the Malay students, and as such, became a starting point for pursuing their education in the Arabian environment at that time<sup>28</sup>. His image was further enhanced when he started to publish his own writings starting from the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards. As he wrote entirely in Malay, his works were readily accepted back home and are used extensively in various educational and religious circles, especially in Kelantan. In fact, he is commonly thought to be the pioneer in the field of writing religious works among the Kelantanese; an attribution that reflects his influence and position in the development of religious studies in Kelantan throughout its history<sup>29</sup>.

As such, it is hardly surprising that many students from the Peninsula and Patani selected to further their studies under his tutelage during their stay in Mecca. The most important among them included: Nik Maḥmūd Ismā'īl (d. 1384/1964)<sup>30</sup>,

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<sup>28</sup> It is said that Wan 'Alī used to return to teach *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf* at the Kota Bharu mosque. Nevertheless, this claim is much disputed and unsubstantiated. Similarly, he was also said to have taught in the Grand Mosque. However, this claim is not supported by any evidence. In contrast, Snouck Hurgronje, during his visit to Mecca can only confirm a few Jāwah teachers in the Grand Mosque; most of whom originated from various parts of present day Indonesia. The rest of them, however, usually taught in their houses. See: Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Hassan, "Approaches to Islamic Religious Teachings in the State of Kelantan between 1860 and 1940", *SARI* 1, 1 (1983): 83; and compare with Abdul Razak Mahmud, "Halaqat Kitab di Masjid Muhammadi" in *Warisan Kelantan XIII*, 30. See also: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 186-187; and compare with Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama'*, 178.

<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, it should also be noted that there were other local ulemas who were his contemporaries and contributed much to the development of Islamic studies in Kelantan. The most prominent among them were 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ or Tuan Tabal (d. ca. 1309/1891); author of various works on religion, among others. See: Riddell, *Islam*, 191-192; Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Katalog Bcsar*, 72-74; and Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama'*, 99-121.

<sup>30</sup> Known as Dato' Perdana Menteri Paduka Raja, he spent several years studying with Wan 'Alī, and others in Arabia. Upon his return to Kelantan in 1322/1904, he became an administrative

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Sa‘īd Khaṭīb (d. 1358/1939)<sup>31</sup>, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī (d. 1325/1908)<sup>32</sup>, Muḥammad Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad (d. 1351/1933)<sup>33</sup>, ‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad (d. 1372/1953)<sup>34</sup>, Wan Dāwūd ibn Wan Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī (d. 1354/1936)<sup>35</sup>, Wan Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (d. 1353/1935)<sup>36</sup>, Muḥammad Sa‘īd ibn Jamāl al-Dīn Linggi (d. 1345/1926)<sup>37</sup>, and Tengku Maḥmūd Zuhdī al-

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staff of the state and held several key positions and ultimately became the Chief Minister. He was also responsible for establishing MAIK in 1333/1915 alongside Tok Kenali and others. He also wrote a number of works on prayers, history and others. See: Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama’*, 178; Roff, “Early Years of the Majlis Ugama”, 125; and Wan Mohd Shaghir, “Datuk Nik Mahmud: Perdana Menteri Paduka Raja Kelantan”, *Utusan Malaysia*, 15 March 2004.

<sup>31</sup> He was also known as Dato’ Laksamana. He spent about twelve years of his life studying in Mecca and Egypt, including with Wan ‘Alī, and returned to Kelantan in 1331/1914. His profession back home was mostly related to administration and he used to hold several key administrative posts during his career such as Secretary of MAIK, and General Secretary to the State of Kelantan. See: Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama’ Semenanjung Melayu (1)* (Kota Bharu: MAIK, 1988), 221-232; and Nik Hasnaa Nik Mahmood, “Biografi Dato’ Laksamana Haji Mohammad b. Haji Mohd Said” in *Warisan Kelantan XXV*, ed. Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali (Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, 2006), 105-138.

<sup>32</sup> He was one of the most prolific Jāwah scholars who spent many years of his life studying in Patani, and later on in Mecca, Palestine, and Egypt. While in Mecca, he was taught and cared for by Wan ‘Alī who was also his uncle. His expertise on various aspects of the religious sciences is apparent through the impressive list of his works in Arabic and Malay. He was also described by Snouck Hurgronje as “a savant of merit” in recognition of his scholarly achievements. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Syekh Ahmad al-Fathani: Pemikir Agung Melayu dan Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2005), 2 volumes; Matheson and Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, 28-30; and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 286-287.

<sup>33</sup> Also known as Tok Kenali, he was famous for his contributions to the development of Islamic education and Malay cultural growth in Kelantan. Apart from being one of the founding members of Majlis Agama Islam and participating in its various activities such as the publication of the *Pengasoh* journal and others, he also strived towards improving the standards of Arabic and religious education in *pondoks* and similar schools throughout the Peninsula. See: Abdullah al-Qari Salleh, “To’ Kenali: His Life and Influence”, in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974), 87-110; Abd. Rahman al-Ahmadi, “Pokok Pemikiran Haji Mohamad Yusuf bin Ahmad al-Kenali (Tuk Kenali)”, in *Tamadun Melayu*, ed. Ismail Hussein, A. Aziz Deraman, and Abd. Rahman al-Ahmadi (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1995), 4: 1409-1426; and Ismail Mat. ed., *Ulama Silam dalam Kenangan* (Bangi: UKM Press, 1993), 30-37.

<sup>34</sup> He was also known as Tok Bachok whose *pondok* attracted students from all over the Malay peninsular, Patani, Sumatera and Aceh. See: Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama’*, 521-530.

<sup>35</sup> He was a son of a local religious teacher in Bendang Daya, Patani, and obtained much of his religious education at his father’s *pondok*. He then travelled to Mecca to study and eventually, settled there for the rest of his life. See: Ahmad Fathy, *Ulama Besar*, 263-264.

<sup>36</sup> Known also as Tok Padang Jelapang, his career was mostly concentrated in teaching and has not produced any literary work. See: Mohd Yusoff Ab. Rahman, “Pelajaran Ugama dan Kemunculan Ulamak Kelantan”, *JEBAT 5/6* (1975/6-1976/7): 99-100; and Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama’*, 325-335.

<sup>37</sup> He was famous for his active propagation of the Aḥmadiyya-Dandarāwiyya *ṭarīqa* in the Malay peninsular through his teacher Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dandarāwī (d. 1327/1909).

Faṭānī (d. 1375/1956)<sup>38</sup>. Even though they may not have exclusively studied under him, some of his methods and teachings might have also contributed in shaping their personalities and thoughts, whether directly or indirectly<sup>39</sup>. In fact, he was also known for his association with various Sufi orders in Mecca at that time, which was manifested in his work, *Lum‘at al-Awrād*<sup>40</sup>. In 1331/1913, Wan ‘Alī died in Mecca at the age of ninety three and was buried in the al-Ma‘lā cemetery.

In assessing his achievements and influence, it is important to note that although Wan ‘Alī spent years of his life in Mecca, his influence and fame seems to be limited to the Jāwah communities only, particularly those from Kelantan and Patani. In fact, they represented the focal point of his cultural milieu and interest, and this was reflected on his scholarly career where all his students were from the Malay Archipelago, and even his works were entirely in the Malay language. As such, it is hardly surprising that he was virtually unknown to non-Jāwah, even those in Mecca during his lifetime, and was not recorded in biographies or historical records written in Arabic or other languages. Nevertheless, one can find fragments

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He also used to study with Wan ‘Alī, and others in Mecca. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Penjelasan Nazham Syair Shufi Syaikh Ahmad al-Fathani* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1993), 120-125.

<sup>38</sup> Born in Bangkok, Thailand of a Malay aristocrat family, he received most of his education in Arabia and Egypt. His teaching career in Mecca was shortlived, and in 1343/1925 he migrated to Jambi and established his own school there. He was also appointed as a “*Shaykh al-Islam*” of Selangor in 1347/1929 until his retirement, where he returned to Mecca and died there. He also wrote a number of treatises on Arabic grammar and rhetorics. Ahmad Fathy, *Ulama Besar*, 278-280.

<sup>39</sup> An excellent example of this can be seen from the case of Tok Kenali, where he was described as being greatly influenced by Wan ‘Alī in the field of Sufism. See: Mohamad Kamil Ab. Majid, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Pemikir Islam 1* (Petaling Jaya: Budaya Ilmu, 1993), 286.

<sup>40</sup> The details of this work will be discussed below.

of dedication to him and his works in the form of poems written by his students in Arabic and Malay<sup>41</sup>.

Back home in the Peninsula, however, it was an entirely different story. Perhaps, it would be interesting to discuss his kinship as it might have contributed in enhancing his reputation among his fellow compatriots. This is highly understandable considering his familial relationship with a number of important Malay scholars of his time. He is related to Aḥmad al-Faṭānī<sup>42</sup>, Dāwūd ibn Ismā‘īl al-Faṭānī (d. 1355/1936)<sup>43</sup> and Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Faṭānī (d. 1333/1915)<sup>44</sup> through his wife Wan ‘Ā’isha, and at the same time, he is linked to Tuan Tabal through his sister<sup>45</sup>. As such, his family was well known as a large household of Malay ulemas and, therefore, highly respected by the people of Kelantan, Patani and elsewhere in the Peninsula.

Wan ‘Alī actually earned his status and fame based on his own merits and achievements. In the printed editions of his works, he is commonly referred to with honorary titles such as *al-‘ālim al-‘allāma*; the most knowledgeable among the

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<sup>41</sup> See for instance, poems composed by Aḥmad al-Faṭānī and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ibn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Faṭānī in the early editions of *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb* published in Mecca. Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Syikh Ahmad al-Fathani*, 1: 254-258; and Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama*, 180.

<sup>42</sup> Wan ‘Alī is reported to have been married twice; first to Wan ‘Ā’isha bint Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Faṭānī, a Jāwah of Patani origin domiciling in Mecca. Her sisters Wan Cik and Wan Maryam were both mothers of Aḥmad al-Faṭānī and Dāwūd ibn Ismā‘īl, respectively. From this marriage, he had three children; Ṣafiyya, Fāṭima and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. It is unclear when she died, but afterwards, Wan ‘Alī had also married another Wan ‘Ā’isha who was a Quran teacher in Mecca but hailed from Kelantan. However, this second marriage did not produce any children. Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya*, 50, 55-57; and Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama*, 186-187.

<sup>43</sup> He was often remembered as an editor of some of the *kitab Jawi* published in Mecca at that time. In Kelantan, however, he was quite prominent. Apart from being a *khaṭīb* (preacher) at the Kota Bharu mosque, he was also appointed as a religious teacher for the royal families. He married Wan ‘Alī’s daughter Fāṭima, and had three children. Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya*, 56-57; and Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama*, 371-384.

<sup>44</sup> Wan ‘Alī’s daughter Ṣafiyya married Muḥammad’s son; Muḥammad Nūr (d. 1363/1944). From this marriage, they had a number of children, some of whom lived in Mecca. Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya*, 56.

<sup>45</sup> Wan ‘Alī’s sister Wan Kalthūm is said to have married Tuan Tabal. Ibid., 58-60.

learned<sup>46</sup>, *al-‘ālim al-fāḍil al-kāmil*; the knowledgeable, noble and perfect<sup>47</sup>, and others. In fact, he was even emplaced as to be on the same status as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, and in certain aspects was said to surpass him<sup>48</sup>. His memory lives on among the locals until the present day, especially through his literary legacy and memorials dedicated to him by his descendants<sup>49</sup>.

### 3.3. His works

Wan ‘Alī’s career as a writer could have probably begun in Mecca some time in the 1290s/1880s. Altogether, he has authored a number of works, and most are initially published in the Middle East and later on reprinted in the Archipelago. It is also said that there still exist some of his unpublished works in the possession of his descendants in Mecca, but no further information is available to verify this claim<sup>50</sup>. His favourite subjects included ḥadīth, creed, litanies, and practical *taṣawwuf*. As it was his habit to mention the date of completion for each of his work, it is possible to list all his known and published works chronologically.

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<sup>46</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*.

<sup>47</sup> See for instance, the title page of: Wan ‘Alī, *Zahrāt al-Muīd fī ‘Aqā’id al-Tawḥīd* (Patani: Ben Halabi Press, n.d.).

<sup>48</sup> Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama*, 178.

<sup>49</sup> This includes the publication of his works by his grandson ‘Abd Qadir ibn Daud, as well as the establishment of a community hall in his memory in Kota Bharu by his descendant Nik Khadijah and her husband on 13 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1419/7<sup>th</sup> July 1998. Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya*, 56-57; and *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 110.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Ahmadi, *Pengantar Sastera*, 165.

*a. al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb wa Munabbihāt al-Qulūb*

Completed in as early as 1305/1888<sup>51</sup>, it marked the beginning of Wan ‘Alī’s career as an author. Apart from its content and subject matter, its significance lies in the fact that it is the most extensive work ever produced by Wan ‘Alī during his life time. In Mecca, it was published by Maṭba‘at al-Mīriyya, while in Egypt by the well known publisher; ‘Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī Press. In later years, it was mechanically-reproduced in Southeast Asia, particularly by al-Mu‘ārif Press in Malaysia, and Muḥammad al-Nahdī and Sons Press in Thailand.

Apart from the usual stand-alone 320-page edition, the book was also published on the margins of ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Palembang’s *Siyar al-Sālikīn*. In this form, it is distributed into four separate parts in two big volumes following the size of the other work. It is believed that this form of edition is published considerably much later, and an example of this can be found in the edition published in 1953 by Sulaymān Mar‘ī Press in Singapore.

Regardless, it should be noted that these later editions are exact reproduction and replication of the earlier Middle-Eastern editions, save a few changes in the publisher logos and other minor technicalities of the printing process such as binding, paper type, and so on. As for the content, it is faithfully reprinted without any change. In fact, it is observed that most of the Jāwah works printed in

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<sup>51</sup> At the end of the book, it is written as follows: “I have completed drafting this work on Tuesday night, 2 *Jamād al-Awwal* 1306 [4<sup>th</sup> January 1889]...”. It is, however, problematic as the given date corresponds to a Friday and not Tuesday night as he said. As such, it is proposed here that the correct date might be a year earlier, i.e. 1305/1888 where it corresponds with Monday night or “Tuesday night” as is generally referred to by the Malays. In a similar manner, it should be noted that both Md. Sidin and al-Ahmadi have wrongly presented the date of its completion and publication by placing it to be in 1885 and 1886 respectively. This contradicts its own author’s aforementioned statement as discussed. See: Ibid., 163; Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak, *Pencerbitan*, 404; and Wan ‘Ali, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 229.

the Middle East until the middle of the twentieth century are reproduced later on in the Archipelago in a similar manner.

The main problem, however, is in determining the exact timing of its publication as it is the habit of the publishers not to include any date or the number of its edition. As such, the only indicator of its survival is its availability on the shelves of various local religious bookstores, depending on the demand by the populace. Nevertheless, in the case of *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, it is found to be quite a popular reading material and this explains for its survival until the present day. More exceptionally, the work was also recently published in a new form, i.e. using the contemporary romanized Malay script as opposed to the traditional *Jawi* to widen the scope of its readership and attract the younger generations of Malays who find difficulties in reading and understanding old *Jawi*<sup>52</sup>.

*b. Zahrat al-Muīd fī ‘Aqā’id al-Tawhīd*

This is a small treatise on the Ash‘arite creed, which is meant as an introduction to more advanced works studied by the Jāwah, i.e. *al-Durr al-Thamīn* by Dāwūd al-Faṭānī<sup>53</sup> and *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* by Muḥammad Zayn al-Āshī (fl. 1170/1757)<sup>54</sup>. In

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<sup>52</sup> Currently, there are two romanized editions of the work published under differing titles, i.e. Noraine Abu, ed., *Al-Jauhar al-Mauhub Wa Munabbihat al-Qulub: Permata Pemberian yang Indah dan Menjaga Segala Hati yang Lalai* (Kuala Lumpur: al-Hidayah Publishers, 2005); and Muhd Labib and Syed Ahmad Semait, eds., *Bingkisan Mutiara untuk Hidupkan Hati yang Merana* (Singapore: Pustaka Nasional, 2004).

<sup>53</sup> It is his most famous work discussing Ash‘arite theology written in Malay in 1232/1817. Due to existing demands from local communities, the book is still in circulation in Patani and other southern Thailand Malay areas as well as the east coast states of Peninsular Malaysia. See: Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, *al-Durr al-Thamīn* (Patani: Ben Halabi Press, n.d.), 103; and Matheson and Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, 21-22.

<sup>54</sup> He was a well-known Achenese scholar in the eighteenth century. However, much of his biographical details are unknown, though it is certain that he spent years of his life in Mecca first as a student, then as an author and a teacher of the religious sciences. His students included ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Palembang, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjaī and Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, among others. He also produced a number of religious works. As for *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*, it is actually a Malay commentary of al-Sanūsī’s *Umm al-Barāhīn* that is still in print today. See: Muḥammad Zayn, *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*

addition to discussing the main topic of knowing God and His attributes, Wan ‘Alī had also appended a chapter on the virtues of knowledge and its possessors, as well as the benefits of professing the *shahādātayn*<sup>55</sup>.

Completed in 1310/1892 at ‘Arafa near Mecca, it was published in Maṭba‘at al-Mīriyya in 1315/1897. Its editor Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, who was also his student, has dedicated an eight-line poem in praise of the work and printed it on its title page. It was later reprinted by al-Kamāliyya Press in Kota Bharu from 1355/1936 until 1367/1947<sup>56</sup>. This indicates that the work used to be an important reading material in the first half of the twentieth century in the Peninsula as well as in Thailand<sup>57</sup>. However, at present, it is extremely rare to find this work in circulation, and only recently it is reprinted by Ben Halābī Press in Patani with a limited distribution in Kelantan.

*c. Lum‘at al-Awrād*

Completed on 4 *Jamād al-Awwal* 1311/13<sup>th</sup> November 1893, this work is a compilation of litanies and specialized prayers of the Prophet, his companions, as well as celebrated Sufi masters that will yield great benefits for attaining spiritual supremacy and bountiful rewards both in this world and in the Hereafter. There are

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(Patani: Ben Halabi Press, n.d.), 46; and Wan Mohd Shaghir, “Syekh Muhammad Zain bin Faqih Jalaluddin al-Asyī dan Pengaruh Bidayatul Hidayah Karyanya di Dunia Sepanjang Zaman”, *Dakwah*, February 1993, 53-55.

<sup>55</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *Zahrat al-Muṇīd*, 1-2.

<sup>56</sup> See: Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Katalog Besar*, 159.

<sup>57</sup> An evidence of its influence and circulation in Thailand can be seen from an incomplete manuscript copy of the work originated from Bangkok, which is available in the possession of the IAMM and catalogued as MI399. See: Engku Ibrahim and Osman Bakar, *Bibliografi Manuskrip*, 104.

at least thirty four prayers described in detail in the book, complete with their instructions and rituals including the famous *ḥizb al-baḥr*<sup>58</sup>, and others.

It is written that those who consistently practice the prayers will be granted their wishes, apart from attaining superhuman powers, divine blessings, and so on. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the book became a bestseller and an all-time favourite for many of the Jāwah who were awed by its wonders and magic-like offerings<sup>59</sup>. It also serves as an important manual for those seeking to practice the Aḥmadiyya Sufi order as it incorporates a specific section on its basic rituals as well as its legitimate chain of transmission to the Prophet.

*d. Majma‘ al-Qaṣā’id wa al-‘Awā’id*

It is a compilation of religious hymns, poems and invocations together with their correct methods of recitation and practice, which is explained in detail in the Malay language. There are at least eight hymns glorifying the Prophet, such as, the famous *qaṣīdas* of *Burda*, *Muḍarriya*, and *Munājāt al-Muḍarriya*, all by al-Būṣīrī, and ten different invocations proven to grant its readers various benefits such as healing properties, soul cleansing, magical powers, invisibility, and so on. According to Wan ‘Alī, even though the powers of these incantations are already proven, there are specific procedures that must be observed in reciting them to ensure their

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<sup>58</sup> It is a prayer composed of formulae advocated by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258); the founder of the Shādhiliyya Sufi order, which is believed to yield exceptional power and abilities such as invincibility from fire, drowning, disaster at sea and so on, provided it is recited in a proper and specific manner. See: Wan ‘Alī, *Lum‘at al-Awrād*, 94-106; and Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 216, 303.

<sup>59</sup> This work is still in circulation until the present day. In Kelantan especially, its printing is also advocated by his grandson ‘Abd Qadir, who took the initiative of publishing it in a friendly pocket-size booklet. Wan ‘Alī, *Lum‘at al-Awrād*, 1; and Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Katalog Bcsar*, 160.

effectiveness. By writing this in Malay, he hoped that many of his fellow countrymen can benefit from these prayers<sup>60</sup>.

In a way, this work is a continuation of *Lum‘at al-Awrād* that he composed ten years before, but with more specialized types of prayers and incantations. It was completed in 1320/1903, and published in Mecca at about the same time. However, it is the only edition of the work found so far, and was never known to be reprinted anywhere else in the Archipelago. Therefore, it is not surprising that it is now considered as a rarity, as opposed to the widely circulated *Lum‘at al-Awrād*.

Regardless, in analyzing the previously discussed works produced by Wan ‘Alī during his lifetime, it is imperative to note that all are written in the Malay language using the *Jawi* script and sometimes interspersed with Arabic. Apart from being intended as textbooks for his teaching circles in Mecca, these works could also serve as the much needed religious reading materials for the people back home. His earlier years of studies in the Peninsula might have enabled him to perceive the problems faced by his people in looking for appropriate reading materials, and in turn, tried his best to contribute as much as he could.

Writing them in the native language has made the works more accessible to a larger portion of the local populace, even though he personally did not live in Kelantan for the remaining part of his life. However, apart from the usage of the language, no specific reference to the locals or the problems they faced was mentioned in his works. Nevertheless, he is considered as to be among the pioneering writers who contributed to the development of Islamic education in Kelantan.

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<sup>60</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *Majma‘ al-Qaṣā’id wa al-‘Awā’id* (Mecca: Maṭba‘at al-Mīriyya, 1903), 2-13.

In terms of themes, his works are mostly focused on ḥadīth, creed, and a mixture of practical *taṣawwuf* and religious actions. The absence of *fiqh*-related works from his list is perhaps understandable considering his tendency towards attaining spiritual enlightenment more than the minutiae of legalistic issues discussed by jurists. Besides, the existing corpus of *fiqh* literature in *Jawi* script during his time was already thriving, especially through the contributions of prolific writers such as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī<sup>61</sup>. On the contrary, specialized works on litanies and prayers in Malay were quite rare. As such, writing on this theme will give his works the edge over the existing literatures during his time. Thus, it is no surprise that by 1320s/1900s, his works were highly in demand and circulated in various bookshops in Mecca and elsewhere<sup>62</sup>. In fact, this is but an indication of his success as an author of religious works; where some of them continued to play pivotal roles in the religious lives of the Malays until the present day.

### 3.4. *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*: An analysis of ideas and thought

As mentioned earlier, the *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* was Wan ‘Alī’s earliest venture as a writer. Yet, its position among his other works is of paramount importance. Not only that it is his most extensive work ever produced but it also serves as his only work that combines almost every important aspect of the religious sciences including ḥadīth, creed, *fiqh*, and others. In fact, in his later works, one could detect

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<sup>61</sup> Altogether, he is said to have composed a total of 101 works. Out of these, there are at least twenty works related to jurisprudence, such as *Munyat al-Muṣallī*; a manual on prayers, *Bab al-Nikāḥ* on matrimonies, *Ghāyat al-Marām fī Kayfiyyāt Adā’ al-Ḥajj fī al-Islām* on pilgrimage, and others. See: Mohd. Zain Abd. Rahman, “New Lights on the Life and Works of Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani”, *Studia Islamika* 9: 3 (2002), 83-117.

<sup>62</sup> See, for instance, the list of books sold in Maktabat al-Faṭāniyya in Mecca circa 1320s-1330s/1900s-1910s which was mechanically-reproduced in: Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama’*, 51.

captions and excerpts from *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, which are summarized, expounded, or copied verbatim<sup>63</sup>. The very nature of the book can be glimpsed from his own description of it, as follows:

These are valuable yet important words in translating (*tarjama*) *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. It has forty chapters and each contains ten ḥadīths. I have also excluded the mentioning of *isnāds* following its original, and have added to the ḥadīths words of advice and beneficial lessons extracted from the traditions and dicta of respected scholars. Thus, I named it *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb wa Munabbihāt al-Qulūb*...<sup>64</sup>

It is interesting to note that Wan ‘Alī has referred to his work as a *tarjama* of al-Suyūṭī’s *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. Although it could literally mean translation of the ḥadīth texts from Arabic into Malay, it actually goes beyond that literal connotation. In this context, it signifies a creative process of translation, adaptation and commentary so akin to the *kitab Jawi* style literature prior to the twentieth century<sup>65</sup>. The original ḥadīth texts are translated, expounded, and then supported with various traditions, opinions and practices of ulemas as indicated above. The focus of the entire work is geared towards understanding the lessons contained in the ḥadīths so as to admonish the faithful towards the real purpose and objective of life in this world. As such, the title for the work clearly reflects this as it is described to be as invaluable as “the Presented Jewel and Admonishers of the Hearts” (*al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb wa Munabbihāt al-Qulūb*).

As with his other works, its use of the Malay language instead of Arabic targeted both the Malay speaking readers in the Middle East and in the Archipelago. In Mecca, it catered to the needs of the newly arrived students from the Archipelago

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<sup>63</sup> See for instance: Wan ‘Alī, *Lum‘at al-Awṛād*, 53-54; and *Zahrat al-Mu‘īd*, 4.

<sup>64</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 2-3.

<sup>65</sup> See: Matheson and Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, 18-19, 42, 47.

who has yet to master Arabic and had to rely on teachers lecturing in their native language, as well as some of the more enthusiastic pilgrims during their visit there. More importantly, back home, it was accessible to the majority of the people who did not speak or understand Arabic or get the chance to visit Mecca.

In other words, in composing the work, Wan ‘Alī was primarily driven by his sense of responsibility as an ulema to convey religious messages to the people. For him, it was for the benefit of his countrymen in their native language, who at that time were very limited in their choice of religious literatures compared with their Arab brethren. In the same way, his choice of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* for spreading these teachings was inspired mainly by the promise of great rewards and bounties for those who teach and convey the ḥadīth of the Prophet<sup>66</sup>. To a certain extent, this also indicates the significance of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as an influential ḥadīth manual at that time.

#### **3.4.1. General overview of his methods in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb***

In terms of the style of writing, Wan ‘Alī has adopted the phrase-to-phrase method of composition throughout his work. This was felt to be more suited to the nature of the work, as it involves the translation of ḥadīth texts from Arabic into Malay, as well as the explanation of terms that may require more elaboration or that having specialized usage. As such, the Malay exposition will usually be preceded by the Arabic original texts, though there are also various cases where he simply omitted the Arabic and just presented the Malay translation. Frequent reference to the

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<sup>66</sup> Specifically, Wan ‘Alī has mentioned five sayings of the Prophet that encourage his followers to preserve and preach his traditions as a means for attaining piety, rewards, and noble status on the Day of Judgement. See: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 3.

Quranic texts, ḥadīths, as well as the narrations and opinions of scholars were also made in constructing the corpus of his commentary and expanding it to encompass other aspects of the religious sciences as well.

In addition, he also relied heavily on narratives including *isrāʾ ʿilīyyā*, dreams of saints, personal spiritual experiences of Sufis, and so on. The inclusion of these tales and stories in abundance in the book are meant to revivify the senses of its readers and awaken their conscience to heed the underlying messages and align their behaviours based on the prescribed mode of religious principles<sup>67</sup>. This subtle way of persuasion is more likely to appeal to the emotion of the masses rather than the reasons of the intellectuals, and suits perfectly with the condition and situation of the communities in Kelantan at that time. As such, it might be perhaps justified to consider the book as “less” academic in this particular sense, yet highly effective in the propagation and presentation of religious ideals.

More importantly, the book is actually composed to fulfil a more sublime purpose. In this instance, one could sense the thematic unity of the whole work, despite its unstructured and dispersed appearance at a glance. The chosen theme actually centred on the destiny of man. It begins with the purpose of his creation, functions, abilities, and thereafter, the course of actions that he must follow in order to achieve his ultimate bliss in the Hereafter. Along the way, he must also be aware of the dangers of straying from the divine guidance, as this will lead to sufferings and miseries.

In executing this, Wan ‘Alī had to introduce a prolegomena on the virtues of human intellect, which serves as the crucial prerequisite for responsibilities and

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<sup>67</sup> See for instance: Ibid., 10, 12, 15, 34, 38, 43, 45, 74, 86, 121, 141-148, and others.

accountabilities; a concluding remark on the events on the Day of Judgment (*qiyāma*); as well as a postscript on the attributes of paradise and its pleasures. All forty chapters of the actions of man in the form of virtues and vices contained in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* served as part of the course that must be faced by man during his journey in this life. His fate in the next world would be very much determined by his level of compliance to the principles as illustrated by the ḥadīths.

As for the sources of his book, Wan ‘Alī had a habit of mentioning some of the most important and frequently-accessed works, either through quotations of complete passages or through adaptation of ideas and opinions. Altogether, these sources totalled not less than fifty-seven works on various aspects of the religious sciences<sup>68</sup>.

Table 4 indicates that ḥadīth represented about forty-four percent of his sources for *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, thus making it the top of Wan ‘Alī’s choice of references for his great work. This is understandable given the nature of his work as a commentary of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, and this also reflected his passion for ḥadīth. However, the non-ḥadīth works, when combined together, made up the majority of the sources, thus explaining the basis and origins of many of the narratives illustrated in the book. Together, these sources played a significant role in giving *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* a distinctive character, though in terms of influence, some are more prominent than the others<sup>69</sup>.

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<sup>68</sup> It should be noted that in addition to the above numbers, there are a few more works that could not be identified or categorized properly despite of their being mentioned in the book. This is primarily due to the ambiguous and incomplete quotation of their titles and/or authors by Wan ‘Alī in his book.

<sup>69</sup> Details of the nature and types of the ḥadīth works referred to in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* will be discussed separately below.

**Table 4: Sources of *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* according to Subjects**

| No.   | Sources according to Subjects | Quantity |
|-------|-------------------------------|----------|
| 1     | Ḥadīth                        | 25       |
| 2     | <i>taṣawwuf</i>               | 10       |
| 3     | General Issues                | 8        |
| 4     | <i>Fiqh</i>                   | 6        |
| 5     | <i>‘Aqīda</i>                 | 4        |
| 6     | <i>Tafsīr</i>                 | 4        |
| TOTAL |                               | 57       |

In particular, the works and ideas of al-Ghazālī, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273)<sup>70</sup>, and his teacher al-Nāzilī are perhaps the best examples of this. As for al-Ghazālī, his multi-volume *Ihyā’* served primarily as a reliable source in providing a wide selection of narratives, opinions and sources on various religious issues for *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. In addition, it also exemplifies an authoritative example of a harmonious blend between the esoteric and exoteric dimensions of Islam within the legalized sphere of the *sharī‘a*. Thus, it was common for scholars educated in Mecca at that time, including Wan ‘Alī to be influenced by al-Ghazālī in their formulation of exemplary Islamic ideas and values<sup>71</sup>. In the same way, al-Qurṭubī’s *al-Tadhkira bi Aḥwāl al-Mawtā wa Umūr al-Ākhira* (Admonition on the Conditions of the Dead and the Matters of the Afterworld) or known commonly as *Tadhkirat al-Qurṭubī* was also significant and influential in shaping Wan ‘Alī’s perception on the conditions of life in the Hereafter.

<sup>70</sup> Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī was a prominent seventh/thirteenth century scholar and exegete (*mufasssīr*) from Cordova, Spain. He was well known for his multivolume juristic exegesis of the Quran entitled *al-Jāmi‘ li Aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, among others. For details of his life and works, see: Brockelmann, *GAL*, 1: 529, S1: 737; Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam Maṭbū‘āt*, 2: 1503-1504; and Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, 8: 239-240.

<sup>71</sup> See: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 11, 14, 36-37, 58, 106, 115-116, and 124.

Al-Nāzilī stood up at the top of the list as being among his most important teachers. Apart from referring to two of his teachers' works<sup>72</sup>, Wan 'Alī had also stated him as his point of authority for reciting the prayers to the Prophet known as *Ṣalāt al-Nāriyya* all the way to its founder 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn (d. 94/712)<sup>73</sup>. As such, it can be said that as a well-known Sufī master, his teacher has contributed much in enhancing the mystical and Sufistic flavour of *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* through his teachings and works.

It is very important to note though that there is a work that Wan 'Alī never mentioned despite its tremendous influence and significance to *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. In fact, this discovery is only made possible by having advanced knowledge of the work beforehand and comparing it with its verbatim translation in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. Indeed, this work is none other than *Tanqīḥ al-Qawā'id*; Nawawī's commentary on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* discussed above. In the first instance, Wan 'Alī based his work on the version of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* which was edited and compiled by Nawawī. This is apparent from the similarity of the ḥadīths in their works; both in terms of their numbers and contents<sup>74</sup>. As such, this partly explains why Wan 'Alī was not concerned much with technical issues of ḥadīth studies such as evaluating its status of authenticity, and tracing its origins as this was already done by Nawawī. As such, he might have also emulated Nawawī in attributing the work to al-Suyūṭī without any doubt.

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<sup>72</sup> These two works referred to by Wan 'Alī are *al-Budūr al-Musfira* on ḥadīth, and *Khazīnat al-Asrār Jalīlat al-Adhkār* on Sufism. See for instance: Ibid., 111, 203.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 30. He was one of the descendants of the Prophet known for his piety, humility and generosity. In addition, he was also reputed to be as one of the jurists in Madina, and regarded by the Imamite Shi'ites as their fourth *imām*. See: al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 4: 277; and Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 1: 104-105.

<sup>74</sup> As discussed previously in Chapter One.

In addition, Wan ‘Alī has even extended his dependency on Nawawī’s work in the realm of ḥadīth commentaries. It was his habit to scoop large sections of Nawawī’s own wordings from *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* and reproduce them in *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb* without any modification or alteration in terms of their contents, apart from translating them into Malay to fit into the context of his book<sup>75</sup>. What is more astonishing is that he never even mentioned this in his work. The closest indication of his “acknowledgement”, that these were not his own words occurred only once in the book, though in a completely ambiguous term where he ended a quotation saying: “*Demikianlah tersebut pada syarahnya*” (Thus it is written as such in its commentary)<sup>76</sup>.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact reason for his non-mention of Nawawī, yet it is still possible to hypothesize the possible motives of his action. It is possible that he might have been a student of Nawawī and, as such, did not feel the need to acknowledge his teacher’s work as he creatively adapted it into his own work and translated it into Malay. It could also be caused by the existing scholarly competition between them. If that is so, then it would be understandable why Wan ‘Alī would not want to acknowledge his main source. Nevertheless, whatever the motive is, he should have mentioned Nawawī as his main source, and indeed, it would not be an overstatement to assert that *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb* is actually a creative and extensive adaptation of Nawawī’s *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*.

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<sup>75</sup> See for example: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 14, 15, 25, 32, 39, 42-47, 49-52, 58, 59, 61-63, 68-70, 73, 74, 76, 82, 83, 85, 87, 89, 90, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98-101, 103-105, 123-131, 133, 134, 136-139, 141-143, 148-149, 151-157, 159-164, 167-180, 182-186, 188-190, 192, 194-199.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 39. In a similar manner, Wan ‘Alī did not acknowledge Nawawī’s work on *tafsīr* as one of his sources in composing *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb* even though there are striking resemblances between the two works in certain parts of the contents, wordings and sentences. For instance, compare between: Ibid., 66; and Nawawī, *Marāḥ Labīd*, 2: 651.

In short, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* is a unique and distinctive Jāwah scholarly product of the nineteenth century. Its status as the only commentary on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in the Malay language has made it an interesting subject of study, particularly that relating to ḥadīth studies and its scholarship as presented by its author. In addition, as the most important and extensive work written by Wan ‘Alī, it would be significant to get a glimpse of his standpoint on various religious issues presented therein. This would, undoubtedly, give a comprehensive view of his conception and attitude towards ḥadīth and its scholarship as one of the most fundamental sources of Islam.

#### **3.4.2. Wan ‘Alī’s ḥadīth scholarship in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb***

Despite possible earlier association with ḥadīth, it is only fair to assume that Wan ‘Alī’s advanced knowledge of it was mostly acquired during his long stay and extensive scholarly contact in Mecca which served as an important intellectual locus of Muslims at that time. In fact, his works especially *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* clearly indicate the level of his familiarity and proficiency with ḥadīth, where about forty-four percent of the sources used for composing the book are made up of a variety of ḥadīth works, as indicated earlier. These can be further divided into several categories as enumerated below.

##### *a) Primary ḥadīth collections*

These included primarily the following works: the canonical collections of *kutub al-sitta*, the *Mu‘jams* of al-Ṭabrānī, al-Ḥākim’s *al-Mustadrak*, Ibn Ḥibbān’s *Ṣaḥīh*, the *Sunans* of Sa‘īd ibn Manṣūr (d. 227/841), al-Dār al-Quṭnī, and al-Bayhaqī, the

*Musnads* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bazzār, and Abū Ya‘lā (d. 307/919). Although these sources are mentioned in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, it is still possible that some of them might have not been referred to directly by Wan ‘Alī. Instead, they could have been cited through later or more popular works containing ḥadīth, among other things. At any rate, it should also be noted that these works vary considerably from one another in terms of their reliability and status of authenticity.

*b) Popular ḥadīth literatures*

Among the main works in this category that Wan ‘Alī relied upon are al-Daylamī’s *Firdaws al-Akḥbār bi Ma’tḥūr al-Khiṭāb*, Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī’s *al-Adhkār*, its abridged version by al-Suyūṭī entitled *Adhkār al-Adhkār*, and al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’*. Besides, he also depended on al-Iṣfahānī’s *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’* and its summary; ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī’s *al-Ghunya*, and works on *tafsīr*. In addition, emphasis was also given to quoting ḥadīth from more general works including those relating to non-religious issues. As such, the status of the ḥadīth from these works are often questionable, especially considering that some of them are not even accompanied by valid credentials such as *isnāds* and so on. Examples of these books included Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Dumayrī’s (d. 808/1405) *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Lives of the Animals); Zakariyyā ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī’s (d. 682/1283) *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhḥūqāt* (Wonders of the Creations); and stories of the Prophets literatures (*Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā’*) by al-Kisā’ī (d. 904/1498) and others.

At the same time, Wan ‘Alī had also referred to Shi‘ite ḥadīth collections and exegetical works such as *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*<sup>77</sup>, and *Majma‘ al-Bayān fī Tafṣīr al-Qur‘ān*<sup>78</sup>. While being faithful to the Sunni community, it did not prevent Wan ‘Alī from referring to the traditions and ḥadīth narrated by the *Ahl al-Bayt*, i.e. the families and descendants of the Prophet as contained in these sources, which are found to be quite substantial in various sections of *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*.

### c) *Ḥadīth commentaries and glosses*

As for this category, there are only two works referred to by Wan ‘Alī, and these are; Nawawī’s *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, and a simplified commentary on al-Bukhārī by Ibn Abū Jamra (d. 559/1202)<sup>79</sup>. This is perhaps explainable considering his reliance on *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* as a mediator in supplying all required information and sources for his work. Thus, quotations and references to ideas and commentaries by famous figures and authorities such as Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī and al-‘Azīzī are always done through secondary means despite his apparent silence on his dependency and indebtedness to *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*.

Altogether, Wan ‘Alī had amassed hundreds of additional ḥadīths and traditions to supplement the original 405 ḥadīths mentioned in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. To be exact, an astounding total of 787 traditions are added by him in his commentary, thus making it a repository of an overall sum of 1,192 ḥadīth. Based on this, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb* could easily be considered as one of the most extensive ḥadīth

<sup>77</sup> It is a collection of traditions on the general aspects of guidance and advices composed by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Khuzā‘ī al-Shī‘ī. See: Ismā‘īl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn fī al-Dhayl ‘alā Kashf al-Zumūn* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 2: 133.

<sup>78</sup> It is a work on Quranic exegesis by al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī (d. 1153/1740); a prominent Shi‘ite scholar of the twelfth/eighteenth century.

<sup>79</sup> His full name is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik; a Malikite jurist and judge from Spain. For details of his life and works, see: al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 5: 319; and Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifin*, 8: 286.

works in the nineteenth century written in the Malay language. But, for a reader without prior knowledge of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, it is almost impossible to distinguish between the original ḥadīth and its supplements in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. The lack of a clear form of signage separating the two was also enhanced by the apparent attempt by Wan ‘Alī to incorporate all ḥadīths into a single body of textual coherence. Regardless, it should be noted that as indicated in the preface of the book, these supplementary traditions can be further divided in terms of their authorities and status of reliability into three categories, as follows: ḥadīth, general narrations (*riwāya* or *athar*), and general narratives (*ḥikāya*)<sup>80</sup>.

**Table 5: Categorical distribution of supplementary traditions in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb***

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Categories</i>                                    | <i>Quantities</i> |
|------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1          | Ḥadīth                                               | 554               |
| 2          | General Narrations ( <i>riwāya</i> or <i>athar</i> ) | 159               |
| 3          | Narratives ( <i>ḥikāya</i> )                         | 74                |
| TOTAL      |                                                      | 787               |

In general, agreeable ḥadīth implies religious and legal validity, while the latter categories do not. As such, they could not be held as reliable sources for the formulation of religious principles, especially in the fundamental spheres of creed and jurisprudence. As indicated in Table 5, Prophetic ḥadīths constituted the majority of the supplements in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* compared with the other

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<sup>80</sup> It is perhaps worthwhile here to note the difference between narration (*riwāya* or *athar*) and narrative (*ḥikāya*) mentioned above. It is mostly a difference of style rather than of substance that differentiate between these two categories. While *riwāya* or *athar* is usually known due to its style of narration that include a chain of transmission to any pious, religious or authoritative figure apart from the Prophet, *ḥikāya* is usually narrated devoid of *isnād*. Even in many cases, it lacks a credible source of authorship and provenance, and as such it is often difficult to verify its truth. On the other hand, *athar* is also known among some scholars, including Wan ‘Alī, to exclusively signify the dicta and action of the *ṣaḥāba*. Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 3. See also further below.

categories. However, most of them are not accompanied by their status of authenticity and sources. As such, it is important to analyze Wan ‘Alī’s attitude towards these ḥadīths as well as his methods and criteria of their selection. In the same way, functions of general narrations and narratives also need to be examined, as they are employed quite extensively in various parts of his work. Together, these will reveal his perception of ḥadīth and its studies as well as its position in his general scheme of the religious sciences.

#### **3.4.2.1. His position on *isnād***

In *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, most of the supplementary ḥadīths and traditions are mentioned devoid of their *isnāds*. In fact, this seems to be one of the main features of ḥadīth narration in the work, and only a few are supplied with vital information relating to their sources or *takhrij al-ḥadīth*. Similarly, the original traditions in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* have also excluded their *isnāds* following its original copy. In reality, Wan ‘Alī had no need to do so, considering that the main source of his *Lubāb*, i.e. *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, has already attempted to analyze and verify the status of the ḥadīths quite extensively. Yet, one problem remains. Without *isnāds*, it is difficult to investigate on the reliability of the supplementary traditions, especially in view of their variations and dissimilarities, both in terms of authority and legality on religious matters. Thus, this necessitates the need to analyze the position and roles of *isnād* in Wan ‘Alī’s scheme of ḥadīth studies.

To begin with, there is no direct discussion on the roles and importance of *isnād* in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. Though not explicitly mentioned, it is still possible to construct Wan ‘Alī’s general view towards *isnād* as reflected by his methods and

styles of composing his commentary. As such, it can be said that in general, *isnād* is perceived by Wan ‘Alī’ as a symbol of legitimacy and authority as it was the main medium through which a ḥadīth was transmitted from the Prophet to the generations after him throughout history. Nevertheless, it does not mean that it is the only *de facto* determinant in characterizing the status of a ḥadīth in terms of its authenticity and originality. In the same way, a ḥadīth need not necessarily be transmitted through consecutive chain of narrators right up to the Prophet in its physical form, as rather it could also be accomplished through spiritual connections. Thus, a ḥadīth can have no *isnād* but still be authentic at the same time if its narrator, who lives hundreds of years after the Prophet’s era, is a pious and godly person who received it directly from the Prophet in his dream<sup>81</sup>.

Based on this, it can be said that Wan ‘Alī’s notion of *isnād* is a fairly loose one and as such, does not fit into the definite formulation and criteria as stipulated by the majority of ḥadīth scholars. In reality, it is closer to the style of the Sufis and mystics as it is perceived more as an intellectual or spiritual genealogy, which is akin to the *silsila* or authoritative lineage of the Sufi orders. Thus, it functions primarily to give legitimacy in tracing the point of origin of a ḥadīth or teaching, and granting authority or *ijāza* for its transmission and practice to the next generations. As the bond is essentially spiritual and mystical in nature, it is often not applicable to criticism and analysis as proposed by ḥadīth scholars in their study of *isnād*.

Therefore, it is not surprising that *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* and Wan ‘Alī’s other works contain reflections of Sufistic approach to *isnād* or *silsila* as discussed

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 14-15.

above, whether in fragments or in its complete version. Apart from highlighting his point of authority, either from his immediate teacher or a few generations before him, it is also used to support his emphasis on the origin of legitimacy for a specific teaching and his place in the whole chain of transmission. Hence, this will give him a point of authority, which will be utilized to transmit it to the next level of recipients. Examples of this can be seen from his *ijāzas* to transmit and practice specific litanies and prayers such as *Ṣalāt al-Munjiya* and *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* from his immediate teachers<sup>82</sup>.

More importantly, he has also included the complete *isnād* or *silsila* of the Aḥmadiyya-Idrīsiyya *ṭarīqa*, and its legitimate linkage to the Shādhiliyya order which he traced back all the way to the Prophet, the Arch-angels, and ultimately God himself<sup>83</sup>. Ibrāhīm ibn Sālīḥ al-Rashīd is also mentioned as an important student of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs who is believed to have transmitted the teachings of the Aḥmadiyya order to Wan ‘Alī and other Jāwah including Tuan Tabal and Aḥmad al-Faṭānī<sup>84</sup>. The attention given by him in underlining his linkage to these *silsilas* is but an indication of their importance and significance compared with the absence of

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<sup>82</sup> For his *silsilas* of these prayers, see: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 30; and *Lum‘at al-Awrād*, 106, respectively.

<sup>83</sup> Wan ‘Alī has actually mentioned three different courses of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs’ *isnāds* or *silsilas*. First of all, he is linked to al-Shādhiliyya through an *isnād* consisting of at least twenty levels of transmission through Abū al-Qāsim al-Wazīr all the way to God. Secondly, he traced the origin of the teachings he received from ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tāzī and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dabbāgh, who received it from the mystical figure al-Khiḍr and ultimately the Prophet. Finally, he personally received the teachings and *dhikr* in a direct manner from the Prophet in the presence of al-Khiḍr. See: Wan ‘Alī, *Lum‘at al-Awrād*, 167-173.

<sup>84</sup> Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya*, 52. However, Wan ‘Alī is not known to have spread this *ṭarīqa* back home. In fact, Tuan Tabal was the only Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd’s disciple who spread Aḥmadiyya’s teachings in Kelantan and neighbouring areas. After his demise, it was renewed by students of al-Dandarāwī such as Muḥammad Sa‘īd of Linggi, and Muḥammad al-Azharī (d. 1358/1939). See: Pauzi Awang, *Tariqah Ahmadiyyah: History and Development* (Petaling Jaya: Persatuan Ulama Malaysia, 2001), 64, 78, 84; and Mark J.R. Sedgwick, *The Heirs of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs: The Spread and Normalization of a Sufi Order 1799-1996* (Ph.D. thesis, Universitetet I Bergen, 1998), 178. It is also worthwhile to note that Sedgwick’s research was recently published by Brill in 2005 under the title of *Saints and Sons: The Making and Remaking of the Rashīdi Ahmadi Sufi Order 1799-2000*.

any example indicating his association with the concept and functions of *isnād* as perceived by ḥadīth scholars in his works.

#### 3.4.2.2. Technical aspects of ḥadīth sciences discussed in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*

It is not the general style of Wan ‘Alī to discuss technical aspects of ḥadīth sciences in his works. In fact, there is no direct and detailed exposition on the terms and principles that constitute the critical aspects of ḥadīth study and its appraisal despite his apparent dependency on Nawawī’s *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* which is laden with definitions and discussions relating to the terminologies and technicalities of ḥadīth sciences. It does not, however, indicate that Wan ‘Alī is ignorant of the subject but rather it might be caused by his attitude and perception towards ḥadīth in general. As demonstrated above, his perception of *isnād* is characterized by his passion on the Sufistic style of narration, and this could fairly extend to include other technical aspects of ḥadīth sciences as well.

Nonetheless, a more thorough analysis on his methods as presented in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* is needed to verify this and construct his perspective and understanding on the roles and functions of *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth* in his general structure of ḥadīth study. As such, the previously-discussed three-fold methodical categorization of ḥadīth terminologies<sup>85</sup> will be critically employed as the basis for analysis, since a ḥadīth might be approached in terms of its sources, the number of its narrators, as well as the status of its authenticity.

As for the sources of ḥadīth, Wan ‘Alī has mentioned a few terms such as *marfū‘* to signify the sayings and actions attributed to the Prophet, and *athar* as

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<sup>85</sup> For the details of this categorization, see Chapter Two above.

words originating from the *ṣaḥāba*<sup>86</sup>. Apart from the latter that is briefly explained in the preface of his work, no other definitions or explanations are provided. As these terms constitute the basics in ḥadīth study and are almost known to every student of religious study, he must have, therefore, felt that there is no need for him to do so. However, it is pertinent to note his selection of words to indicate the *marfū‘* category, apart from using ḥadīth or similar terms<sup>87</sup>. This is important especially when considering that apart from Prophetic ḥadīth, other types of narrations are not legally binding or considered as a legitimate source in Islam. These words included the following: *khavar*, *riwāya*, *wārid*, and even *ḥikāya*<sup>88</sup>.

Although employed to indicate Prophetic ḥadīth, *khavar* could also mean a more general narration from the Prophet and others<sup>89</sup>. Similarly, the term *riwāya*, which literally implies any type of narration, must be complemented with proper accompaniments to specify its meaning<sup>90</sup>. If used on its own, it can create difficulties in tracing its origin. In the same manner, *wārid*, a general term not usually employed on its own in ḥadīth study, should also be approached with extra caution. This is because, like *riwāya*, it means literally as “stating something or mentioning it”, which is none other than narration in its general sense<sup>91</sup>. All these

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<sup>86</sup> This definition does, in fact, correspond to the view of the jurists from Khurasan and some scholars including Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī. However, for the majority of ḥadīth scholars, *athar* is seen as synonymous with ḥadīth, unless specified otherwise. See: al-Suyūṭī, *Tadhīb*, 1: 23, 249-251; and Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī, *Nuzhat al-Nazar*, 92.

<sup>87</sup> The phrases frequently employed to indicate this meaning included: *sabda Nabi* (the saying of the Prophet), *daripada Rasulullah* (from the Prophet), *hadis Nabi* (Prophet’s ḥadīth), *riwayat daripada Nabi* (narration from the Prophet), and so on. See: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 3, 11, 14, 17 ff.

<sup>88</sup> See, for instance, *Ibid.*, 18-19, 22-23, 41, 136.

<sup>89</sup> See, for instance: Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs* (Kuwait: Kuwait Government Press, 1972), 11: 125.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 38: 193.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 9: 295.

terms are employed in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* to signify both Prophetic ḥadīth as well as narration in its general sense.

However, it is observed that sometimes these terms were loosely used by Wan ‘Alī. There are many examples of this throughout the book, which makes it difficult to verify a problematic narration in terms of its authenticity and reliability. Perhaps, the most important and striking example of his ambiguity and inaccuracy in choosing appropriate terms can be seen from his use of the word *ḥikāya* in his work. When translated into Malay, it means *hikayat* or *cetera*, which, in fact, corresponds with its Arabic original signifying general story of a narrative nature<sup>92</sup>. However, it is used for both ḥadīth and general narratives in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* without any distinctive indications separating between them. As a result, he has inevitably downgraded the status and reliability of the ḥadīth to the level of mere narratives<sup>93</sup>, though it might not have been intentional on his part.

As for classifying a ḥadīth in terms of the number of its narrators, there is no mention of it in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, thus removing any possibility of discussion and analysis on the matter. As an accepted principle, in terms of its authenticity, a ḥadīth is usually categorized either as *maqbul* or *mardūd* as discussed previously. While there is no direct discussion on *maqbul* and its types apart from brief remarks here and there<sup>94</sup>, certain aspects of *mardūd* has certainly appealed to his interest, especially that relating to the permissibility of using weak ḥadīths (*ḍa‘īf*) in religious spheres.

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<sup>92</sup> See: Ibid., 37: 458-459; and Ibn Manẓūr al-Afrīqī, *Lisān al-‘Arab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 14: 191.

<sup>93</sup> For examples of this, see: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 18 and 23.

<sup>94</sup> There are a number of places where terminologies indicating *maqbul* and its categories such as *ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan*, and others can be found in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. Even so, these are readily labelled ḥadīths that Wan ‘Alī found in the sources where he took the ḥadīth from, and in which he copied without any comment. See for instance: Ibid., 52, 111, 121, 124, 130, 149, 176, 190, 204.

He began by reproducing excerpts from *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* on the authority of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī and others that a *ḍaʿīf* ḥadīth can only be utilized in the sphere of *faḍāʾil al-aʿmāl*, while matters relating to the lawful (*ḥalāl*) and prohibited (*ḥarām*) in Law must only be based on accepted ḥadīth. Although this is the general view of most jurists and scholars, Wan ʿAlī has his own understanding on the matter. For him, a ḥadīth, regardless of its status, can be used as a legitimate source in authorizing religious deeds and actions. He justified his viewpoint based on a ḥadīth of the Prophet urging every person to practice good deeds no matter how he received it. Similarly, Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī is also quoted by him as conveying the same message. In addition, he cited a dream of an unspecified pious person where the Prophet was supposed to have said that:

Anyone who practice any pious deed hoping for its benefits will attain its promised rewards and bounties even though it is based on a weak and unfounded ḥadīth (*ḍaʿīf bāṭil*), as verily by the existence of the *kaʿba*, it is from me and I have promised it <sup>95</sup>

Based on this, it is clear that Wan ʿAlī believed that as long as a narration is said to originate from the Prophet, it remains authoritative and legitimate regardless of its *isnād* or status of authenticity as understood by ḥadīth scholars. Even unfounded and weak ḥadīth is suitable for religious practices, hence relegating the needs and functions of the sciences of ḥadīth as tools for analysis and criticism. As a result, it is not surprising that *mawḍūʿ* and spurious narrations existed in abundance in his commentary, and even played a significant role in conceptualizing his views

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 15.

on issues including creed and eschatology, among others, despite their apparent contradictions and divergences from the general spirit of the religion<sup>96</sup>.

He has even “encouraged” these traditions to flourish by refusing to accept the methods outlined by ḥadīth scholars in identifying *mawḍū‘* and other baseless traditions by his overt criticism towards “a group of people”<sup>97</sup>, who rejected to practice certain ḥadīths based on unbalanced distribution between a particular deed and its rewards, as ignorant and sceptical to the unlimited mercy of God who has, in His capacity, the power to grant unlimited bounties and rewards for the deeds and actions of His servants. He also justified his standing by citing various Quranic verses and ḥadīths relevant to the subject<sup>98</sup>.

Similarly, sayings and traditions of pious generations after the Prophet are sometimes portrayed in his work as having legitimacy as a source for religious practices, at par with the ḥadīth. In particular, this can be clearly gleaned from his quotations of the sayings of the *Ahl al-Bayt* implying rewards and religious deeds for certain actions<sup>99</sup>. Although his reverence and love for the *Ahl al-Bayt* has led him to allude to Shi‘ite sources, he was, however, careful enough to avoid any traditions relating to creed or those contradictory to the general views of the Sunnis.

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<sup>96</sup> Among the examples of spurious narrations and traditions in the book, see: Ibid., 131, and 134-136. In fact, it is observed that his description of paradise and its rewards is not based on concrete evidences and need to be checked for its reliability and conformity with the accepted religious views on the matter. See: Mohamad Kamil, “Gambaran Nikmat Syurga”, 55.

<sup>97</sup> Although not specifically mentioned, there is a strong indication that it actually refers to ḥadīth scholars. This is because; they have formulated several principles to detect signs of *mawḍū‘*, among which included such ḥadīth containing promises of extravagant rewards for a tiny and simplistic action. For instance, see: al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 2: 455; and Muhammad Abullais, *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 230.

<sup>98</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 85.

<sup>99</sup> For instance, he cited a tradition where Abū Ja‘far al-Bāqir (d. 114/732); the fifth *imām* of the Imamite Shi‘ites, was reported to have said that: “Persevering fever for a night is better than a year’s acts of devotion”. See: Ibid., 180.

### 3.4.2.3. Wan ‘Alī’s evaluation on the status of traditions in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*

It can be seen that it was not the intention of Wan ‘Alī to evaluate and rank the ḥadīths in his works. In fact, he did not feel the need to do so, as his belief in ḥadīth and its spiritual and mystical transmission goes beyond the boundaries of *isnāds* and ḥadīth sciences as proposed by the ḥadīth scholars. Similarly, information relating to the sources or the origins of a ḥadīth is sometimes only mentioned in passing. Of the 1,192 ḥadīths quoted in his book, he has indicated the sources for only 90 ḥadīths. Nevertheless, based on a recent study on the status of the ḥadīths in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*<sup>100</sup>, it is possible to get a sample of the status of the traditions available in the book, as can be seen from Table 6 below.

**Table 6: Status of ḥadīth in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb***

| <i>Status of ḥadīths</i> |                            | <i>Number of ḥadīths</i> | <i>Percentage (%)</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>maqbul</i>            | <i>ṣaḥīḥ</i>               | 87                       | 14.5                  |
|                          | <i>ḥasan</i>               | 71                       | 12                    |
| <i>mardūd</i>            | <i>ḍaʿīf</i> and its types | 135                      | 22.5                  |
|                          | <i>mawḍūʿ</i>              | 182                      | 30                    |
| Unverified/mixed status  |                            | 126                      | 21                    |
| TOTAL                    |                            | 601                      | 100                   |

As indicated in Table 6, almost two-thirds of the ḥadīths in the book do not conform to the criteria of ḥadīth selection as stipulated by ḥadīth scholars. Even

<sup>100</sup> It should be noted that in his study, Hilaluddin has managed to analyze a total of 601 out of the 950 Prophetic ḥadīths in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* to ascertain their origins and status of authenticity according to the methods of the ḥadīth scholars, as discussed before. Apart from his problematic method in categorizing the ḥadīths in the book, his evaluation of the ḥadīths is still significant, especially in illustrating the types of ḥadīths available in the book in terms of their authenticity. As such, the statistics presented in Table 6 are based on his findings, albeit with some significant adaptations and modifications from its original form to fit in with the context of the present study. See: Hilaluddin, *Takhrij Hadith*, 750-753.

though there are a considerable number of *maqbul* ḥadīths in the book, over half of the ḥadīths fall into the category of *mardūd* in its various types. Even so, within the category of *mardūd*, spurious traditions dominated other types of ḥadīth with an astounding total of 182 traditions. In addition, there are also a mélange of unverified traditions and ḥadīths of mixed status between *maqbul* and *mardūd* that account for a significant twenty one percent of the total number of ḥadīths studied. While this could be partly explained by the permissibility of using *ḍaʿīf* ḥadīths in certain aspects of extra-religious affairs, it actually reflects on the perception and methods of ḥadīth selection as adopted by Wan ‘Alī throughout the book. It is, therefore, justified to state that in his opinion, these ḥadīths are of acceptable standard that could be beneficially used in various aspects of religious life.

To sum up, Wan ‘Alī’s compromising attitude and lenity towards ḥadīth is due to his absolutist perception of ḥadīth authority and legitimacy as an indispensable source of Islam. In other words, as long as a narration is attributed to the Prophet, it is deemed as legitimate and reliable, regardless of whether it conforms with or contradicts the general principles of the religion. Similarly, there is no conception of *mawḍūʿ* in his scheme of understanding, and almost any pious person who dreamt of meeting the Prophet could narrate an authoritative ḥadīth from him without any consideration on its *isnād* or other physical attributes as stipulated by ḥadīth scholars. It is this conception of narrations in its widest sense and perhaps, imbued with Sufistic influence, that ideas and teachings alien to Islam and sometimes contradictory with it, could crept into the heart of the religious sciences in the guise of Prophetic wisdom.

### 3.5. Some Aspects of Wan ‘Alī’s religious thought in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*

As a commentary to the multi-dimensional traditions contained in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, Wan ‘Alī’s work is laden with ideas and opinions on a wide array of religious subjects and principles ranging from creed and jurisprudence, to Sufism and issues of a more general nature. These issues are expounded both in their literal and symbolical sense to serve as an effective propagation device in raising the reader’s awareness on the ultimate purpose of life and the way to salvation through virtuous acts of devotion and avoidance of sinful acts. However, in this study, only three vital aspects of these subjects are analyzed in an attempt to unveil the thought and understanding that constituted his religious *Weltanschauung*.

#### 3.5.1. Creed (‘*aqīda*)

Generally, Wan ‘Alī’s creedal thought is based on the Ash‘arite School of theology, with considerable Sufi influence underlining some of its basic principles. Quite often, a particular theological framework expounded by the Ash‘arites is moulded in its content to accommodate the spiritual dimension as propagated by the Sufis. In fact, his role is more towards harmonizing and finding a middle way between these two schools of thought, which is apparent from his standpoints on various theological issues discussed in his work.

For instance, in his discussion of faith (*īmān*), he presented a five-fold typology on the reality of *īmān* and its variation according to different levels of people as conceived by the Sufis<sup>101</sup>. Although it means that faith is essentially based

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<sup>101</sup> At the lowest level, lies *īmān* from *taqīd* (faith is blindly accepted without its evidences) which is the level of belief for the laymen. Next is the level of *‘ilm al-yaqīn* where faith is accompanied by its evidences, as exemplified by those who studied the religious sciences. This is

on the conviction and submission of the heart, yet Wan ‘Alī was quick to indicate that on its own, it is not sufficient to constitute a perfect belief. In fact, profession of the testimonials of faith is necessary to gain entrance into the community of the believers, while physical performance of religious deeds is an important requisite for a perfect *īmān* as indicated in the ḥadīth. As such, one’s *īmān* is susceptible to changes according to his deeds, and this is substantiated by the evidences forwarded by the Ash‘arites as opposed to the view of the static nature of faith as argued by some scholars<sup>102</sup>. From this, it is clear how Wan ‘Alī has attempted to interpret and at the same time harmonize the Sufistic notion of the levels of faith and its emphasis on the heart with the general views of the Ash‘arites on the subject matter.

On eschatological-related issues, it can be seen that they are extensively woven into the general structure of his commentary on almost all chapters of ḥadīths in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. This is not entirely surprising, as indicated earlier that the whole work is geared towards realizing the ultimate goal of man, i.e. to attain eternal bliss in the Hereafter. As such, Wan ‘Alī will relentlessly remind his readers of this underlying purpose when he finds the opportunity to do so, and does not limit himself to the creed-related chapters only. In fact, his discussion on the

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followed by the level of *‘ayn al-yaqīn* where faith is accompanied by eternal consciousness towards God in the heart, and this can be achieved by those who have arrived at the stage of *al-murāqaba* (attachment to God). The next level is the stage of *ḥaqq al-yaqīn* where faith is characterized by the vision of God in the heart. It is only achievable by the Gnostics (*‘ārifīn*) who reached the stage of *al-mushāhada* (vision of God). At its pinnacle is the level of *kamāl al-yaqīn* where nothing is envisioned without the existence of God as exemplified by those who has reached the stage of *fanā*’ (self-annihilation). Ultimately, there is also another level of belief, which is not included in this scheme, as it is beyond the reach of human comprehension. This level is known as *ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqīqa* (the gist of the reality), which is the final and supreme stage of faith as witnessed and conceived only by the prophets. Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 31.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 32-33. This is also expounded in his separate work on creed. See: *Zahrat al-Munīd*, 28.

stages of life after death is very illustrative and detailed; from the moment the dead is put into his grave right until his resurrection in the Hereafter to be judged and rewarded accordingly. More importantly, a vivid description of paradise and its bounties is also provided to encourage the readers to do good deeds and set their goals towards achieving it. This includes the details relating to the size and length of paradise, the types of rewards granted to its inhabitants and their exact quantities, as well as the list of programmes scheduled for them on each day of the week with various prophets, in addition to the ultimate reward of all, i.e. the direct vision of God<sup>103</sup>.

Although it is difficult to ascertain most of the narrations in these descriptions, he was, nevertheless, careful enough to point out his list of references to earlier well-known figures such as al-Suyūṭī and al-Qurṭubī. As most of these details are considered as secondary and does not constitute the principle pillars of creed, he was therefore, trying to interpret them based on available Quranic verses, traditions and opinions of scholars on the subject matter. Nevertheless, important theological standpoint according to the Ash‘arites will be emphasized from time to time within his account of the Afterlife.

This is reflected in his discussion on the reality of punishment in the grave where Wan ‘Alī insisted on the physical and spiritual reality of the punishment according to the views of the majority of the scholars as opposed to some who assumed its limitation to the physical part of man alone<sup>104</sup>. In a similar manner, he

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<sup>103</sup> For instance, he explained that each man who enters paradise will be given pleasures and rewards including a wide array of foods, drinks, adornments, and so on. To be exact, each will get seventy pieces of clothes, ankle bracelets reaching halfway to the knees, and ten pieces of rings to adorn the fingers. See: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 214-222.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 189.

also supported the Ash‘arites’ view on the feasibility of seeing God in the Afterlife as opposed to those of the Mu‘tazilites. Apart from discussing the relevant evidences from the Quran and ḥadīth, he also asserted that anybody who denies this can be considered as an infidel (*kāfir*) for his rejection of the revealed sources<sup>105</sup>.

These are some of the views discussed in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, and it is important to observe that in general, Wan ‘Alī’s scheme of theological understanding is largely characterized according to the principles of the Ash‘arites and flavoured with elements of Sufism. In fact, this reflects the general wave of orthodox *sharī‘a*-based revivalism among the Jāwah in the nineteenth century in contrast with the controversial heterodox views of monism and mysticism that dominated the earlier centuries of Islamic thought in the Malay world<sup>106</sup>.

### 3.5.2. Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

It is observed that issues relating to procedures and rulings in jurisprudence did not receive much attention in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, despite the fact that almost half of the chapters in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* are concerned with religious rituals. This is explicable as some of these issues are cited from Nawawī’s *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, and Wan ‘Alī would only be adding his own comments in brief occasionally, either to supplement certain rulings or present his opinions on these matters<sup>107</sup>. However, it should not be assumed that religious laws and rituals are placed as secondary compared to other aspects of the religion. In reality, all the three main principles of

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 85, 221.

<sup>106</sup> See, for instance: Riddell, *Islam*, 168 ff., 192, 203-204.

<sup>107</sup> See for instance, his discussion on the permissibility of doing financial transactions during the Friday prayer, following the leader (*imām*) in congregational prayers, and other matters in: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 49, 84, 143, 149.

the religion such as creed, jurisprudence, and Sufism are interwoven together in a reciprocal relationship where partial denial to any aspect of the principles will nullify the whole conception of the religion itself. In one of his works, Wan ‘Alī has even discussed this matter and warned his readers from neglecting the *sharī‘a* aspect of the religion. He said:

Do not heed the sayings of the ignorant so-called Sufis who claimed that all actions are actually God’s; thus blatantly promoting wrongdoings and neglecting the obligatory prayers as pious deeds, for this is sheer profanity and misleading. This is because, anyone who changed the rules of God which are unanimously agreed upon by the scholars (*ijmā‘*) such as refusing to perform obligatory prayers without excuses, permitting wine drinking and adultery will become an apostate (*murtadd*) and infidel. The same could also be said of those who deny that the prayers should be carried out in certain physical attributes and conditions as taught by the Prophet and made obligatory by God. In fact, they have lied to God and His Prophet for their rejection of the revealed texts<sup>108</sup>

Therefore, in his book, Wan ‘Alī has attempted to simultaneously integrate practical juristic obligations with their spiritual counterparts as a strong motivating force to inculcate religiosity and law abiding habits among his readers. This is further strengthened by his extensive use of narrations and religious texts in illustrating the virtues and pleasures of obedience as well as the perils and sufferings that would result from defiance and ignorance of these duties as set upon by the Law. For instance, in his commentary on the virtues of *zakāt* (obligatory alms), instead of discussing the standard issues relating to the types and rates of *zakāt*, he focused on the benefits of complying with this religious obligation and its effects on life both in this world and in the Hereafter. Similarly, worldly physical implications for failing to observe *zakāt* is surpassed by narrations detailing horrifying

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<sup>108</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *Zahrat al-Muīd*, 26.

punishments tormenting the souls both during life in this world as well as in the Afterlife<sup>109</sup>.

In other instances, certain *fiqh* issues are approached quite differently from the usual practice among jurists whereby religious rulings and procedures do not play an important part of the commentary but rather priority is given to deduce the rationale of certain rulings as perceived by scholars. An example of this can be seen from his commentary on the virtues of matrimonial relationship, where he rationalized polygamy and other issues relating to marriage by comparing them with the laws of the previous prophets. In the same manner, he justified the ruling of why answering one's greetings is made obligatory when, in the first place, one is only recommended to initiate it<sup>110</sup>. In this regard, as a Shafi'ite, Wan 'Alī is naturally bound to refer to popular dicta of the school as represented by its influential authorities such as Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī<sup>111</sup>, and others, as opposed to a more independent exercise of *ijtihād* beyond the boundaries of the established legal schools.

In short, it can be said that his conception of jurisprudence goes beyond the physical adherence of procedures and rulings to encompass its theological and moral dimensions as well. Hence, obedience and/or defiance of any juristic aspect of the Law, will be interpreted within the larger context of the religion as a whole, with wider implications, both on the blood and soul of man in this world and in the

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<sup>109</sup> Wan 'Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 86-88. In the same manner, he focused more on the perils of transcendental punishments awaiting those who neglected the obligatory prayers rather than its physical and legal rulings during this world according to the *sharī'a*. See: Ibid., 79-80.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 66-67, 97, 139-140.

<sup>111</sup> He was a former *Shaykh* of al-Azhar for a period between 1263/1847 until 1277/1860 who wrote glosses on works such as *Tuḥfāt al-Muṭīd 'alā Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* and *Ḥāshiya 'alā Umm al-Barāhīn*, both on creed, and others. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, 1: 84; and al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 1: 71.

Hereafter. Perhaps, it is in this sense that one might attribute the influence of al-Ghazālī on Wan ‘Alī’s scheme of religious understanding and integration between different major aspects of the religion.

### 3.5.3. Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)

Of all the important religious subjects, Sufism is perhaps the most influential in shaping Wan ‘Alī’s religious thought as a whole. In fact, he has also manifested his passion for a more mystical way of life by associating himself with at least three recognized Sufi orders including Aḥmadiyya, Shādhiliyya, and Shaṭṭāriyya<sup>112</sup> at various levels. Furthermore, he was also authorized to practice and transmit the *ijāza* for practicing particular litanies and prayers that originated from certain Sufi masters such as, the prayers of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and others<sup>113</sup>.

Interestingly, it is observed that manifestations of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and its related concept of the Lights of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*) can also be found throughout *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. Yet, despite its repetition, Wan ‘Alī only referred to these concepts briefly and vaguely; focusing only on the centrality of the essence of God from who emanates all types of existence, and supporting it based on quotations of traditions on the matter<sup>114</sup>. Unfortunately, with only this much of information presented in his work, it is difficult to further speculate his view on the matter.

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<sup>112</sup> Wan ‘Alī is believed to have joined this order through his teacher; ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī, who took it from Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya*, 52; and *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani: Ulama’ dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (Shah Alam: Hizbi, 1990), 34-36, and 135-136.

<sup>113</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 28-30.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 2, 23, 27, 43, and 97. See also Chapter Four below.

Regardless, it is observed that his general tendency was to promote the practical aspects of Sufism as opposed to its theoretical and philosophical counterparts. As a matter of fact, most of the discussions on Sufism in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* are geared towards cultivating pious deeds and fostering a harmonious relationship with other aspects of the religious sciences. Nevertheless, only a few of these practical aspects have really received his attention, which will be summarised below.

In his prolegomena to the book, he stressed on the important role of serious intellectual contemplation (*tafakkur*) as the all-important virtue from which a person can develop his sense of judgment in promoting good conduct and avoiding evil deeds. However, it must be properly guided so as not to trespass the abilities and boundaries of man such as reasoning on the essence of God. More appropriately, a man should ponder upon his self and discipline his senses and limbs to act in submission to God. As a result, he will develop a sense of appreciation and gratitude towards God, which, in itself, is a great catalyst towards submission and obedience<sup>115</sup>.

At the same time, practical ethics (*adab*) in various aspects of human lives are also greatly emphasized in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. These included the ethics and responsibilities towards one's parents, in seeking knowledge, prayers, and visiting the sick, which are important in perfecting one's religiosity as well as maintaining good relationship with those around him. However, it should be noted that for Wan 'Alī, the sources for these *adabs* are not necessarily religious in nature, as they could also be infused with elements from regional cultures as well. As an example, he

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 4-6.

mentioned that respect of one's teacher is an important element of *adab* in seeking knowledge. Yet, what constituted respect for him are certain physical actions and body signs that could be interpreted in certain cultures as daring and insolent such as walking or laughing in front of one's teacher, or calling him by his first name, among others<sup>116</sup>.

In the same manner, occult and popular medicinal practices find its place in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* to complement practical ethics and other religious deeds. Although not essentially part of the religious sciences, these supra-normal practices are usually manifested as part of the practical aspects of Sufism as demonstrated by a number of famed Sufis and "friends of God". It signifies invocation of certain verses or prayers in particular conditions and manners that could yield extraordinary powers and benefits beyond the physical abilities of man. For instance, Wan 'Alī has mentioned on the authority of his teacher that by reciting a certain prayer for 4,444 times consecutively for eight days, a woman was completely cured of her blindness that had been inflicting her sights for a period of twenty five years<sup>117</sup>. This practice is actually based on the testimonies of certain scholars commending its benefits, and not from the scriptural sources of Islam. Another example is his inclusion of the benefits of reciting the so-called "a thousand *ḍinnār* verse"<sup>118</sup>, which is entirely based on an unverified popular narrative<sup>119</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 12-13, 23, 177-181.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>118</sup> The verse is as follows: "...and for those who fear Allah, He (ever) prepares a way out, and He provides for him from (sources) he never could imagine. And if any one puts his trust in Allah, sufficient is (Allah) for him. For Allah will surely accomplish his purpose: verily, for all things has Allah appointed a due proportion". *Sūra* 65 (*al-Ṭalāq*), verse: 2-3.

<sup>119</sup> The story goes as follows: "Once a group of people sailed on the sea when they were suddenly approached by a man coming to them walking on the water. He offered to teach them a Quranic verse (65: 2-3) for a price of a thousand gold coins, and all but one refused to accept the offer. Not long after the mysterious man disappeared, a storm wrecked their ship, and the man who

However, it should be noted that the advocacy of spiritual medicine in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* purportedly originating from Prophetic ḥadīth or *ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, as coined by Wan ‘Alī, is usually connected with doing a certain good deed. For instance, he included a narration where the Prophet said: “Giving charity can prevent from seventy types of calamities including diseases such as leprosy”. How it works, according to him, is actually beyond human reach. In a similar manner, he included another ḥadīth where the Prophet said: “Cure the sick through charity”<sup>120</sup>. However, according to ḥadīth scholars, these ḥadīths are of questionable authority. While the former’s status could not be verified, the latter is ranked as *mawḍū‘*<sup>121</sup>. Regardless, based on his methods of ḥadīth appraisal, they are acceptable to him as reliable sources.

As for the popular cultural practices in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, there is an abundance of examples indicating Wan ‘Alī’s interests on the subject matter. These included his conception on the suitability of performing certain tasks on a particular day of the week. For instance, making clothes are only commendable on Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. Other than these, it will only cause mishap and bad luck. Similar schemes are also applied on house building, embarking on a journey, taking medicine, marriage, hunting, planting trees, and so on<sup>122</sup>. Interestingly though, most of these practices do not have their basis in the religion,

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bought the verse was saved from drowning by clinging to a piece of plank floating nearby. He invoked the verse and was brought by the waves to an island where he met a very beautiful woman stranded there alone. Perplexed, he talked to her and discovered that a water demon has her imprisoned and intended to harass her, but so far it has been unsuccessful. The next time the demon surfaced from the sea, the man took the opportunity of destroying it by reciting the same verse he “bought” previously. Absolutely delighted, the woman showed him the way to a cave full of treasures and jewelleries, which he took, and they were eventually saved by a passing ship”. See: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 78-79.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>121</sup> Hilaluddin, *Takhrij Hadith*, 464-465, 485.

<sup>122</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 55-57.

and some are actually based on superstitious beliefs. Nevertheless, most of these beliefs are supplementary in nature, and might be perceived by Wan ‘Alī as harmless in terms of their effects on one’s creed. It is also probable that the availability and inclusion of these practices in the general aspect of Islamic literature might have tempted him to consider them as part of the cultural wisdom and religious heritage by Muslims from earlier time.

To summarize, in Wan ‘Alī’s schemes of religious thoughts, scriptural sources have a dominant role in shaping the identity and laying down the basis for religious principles. Creed, as the foundation of Islam, must be manifested both physically as well as spiritually according to the views of the Ash‘arites, thus avoiding any heterodox and heretical interpretation. Similarly, in *sharī‘a*, performance of religious deeds is deeply immersed in the spiritual dimensions, rendering both legal and ethical implications that go beyond the borders of pure jurisprudence into the realm of God-fearing and consciousness. *Taṣawwuf*, in its function to purify the hearts and actions of man, is emphasized more in its practical dimension as manifested in the various Sufi orders; incorporating *adab* and its elements in its most general sense to set the path towards salvation and ultimate goal of life, i.e. the attainment of paradise in the Hereafter. The supreme roles and functions of ḥadīth and its conception has, undoubtedly, contributed much in ensuring both his exoteric and esoteric religious understanding and ideals to conform and blend together harmoniously within the views of *Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā‘a*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ḤADĪTH SCHOLARSHIP AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT OF NAWAWĪ AND WAN ‘ALĪ BASED ON THEIR COMMENTARIES ON *LUBĀB AL-ḤADĪTH*

In the preceding chapters Two and Three of this study, certain key aspects of Nawawī’s and Wan ‘Alī’s ḥadīth scholarship and religious thought have already been discussed based on their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. Interestingly though, despite their shared intellectual and cultural background of Mecca as the locus of their scholarly careers, it appears that there are also significant differences between them on some of their views and disposition, especially that pertaining to their methods in approaching ḥadīth and its scholarship. As such, it is the aim of this chapter to analytically compare some of these views and ideas while highlighting their similarities and differences against the larger context of the Islamic scholarly tradition in the nineteenth century. In this regard, a threefold analysis of their methods of composition, approaches on ḥadīth and its sciences, as well as selected religious views from their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* will be employed for a more detailed and in-depth understanding of the matter.

#### **4.1. Commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*: Approaches and Methodologies**

In this section, a selection of important issues regarding the general approaches and methodologies adopted by both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī in their commentaries would be the focus of the comparison and discussion. In many ways, it is by understanding the very nature and style of their works that one could better appreciate the specific historical and social context in which they were written, which could also

inadvertently shed some light on the more important issues contained in these works. These are as follows:

#### **4.1.1. Style of Composition**

In their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, both scholars have adopted the didactic phrase-to-phrase method of composition. This signifies that every single phrase or word is made as the focus of the commentary and explanation rather than the ideas or concepts as a whole as contained in a particular topic. Thus, frequent references are made to various religious textual sources, as well as the Arabic linguistic and morphological works, and this would occasionally cause them to digress from the core of the subject matter into the minutiae of particular wordings and terms.

Yet, for students and non-Arab readers alike, this gloss writing method seems to be very instructional and beneficial for their understanding of the text. As a matter of fact, if there are two or more commentaries or glosses written on a particular work, they could compare the content and style of each commentator, while benefiting from the differences in perspectives presented in the commentaries. Hence, by composing their commentaries in this style, it would only increase their functionality and accessibility to their targeted audience especially as textbooks and manuals in religious learning. In addition, this was also the style most commonly employed by the scholarly circles in Arabia at that time, and it is only natural for both scholars, who were also the product of this scholarly tradition, to adopt it dearly in their writings<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion on this issue, see: Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 315, 337 ff.

However, due to the limited nature of this method of composition, it is often difficult to grasp the underlying theme or objective of a particular work. This is especially true in the case of Nawawī's *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*. Apart from his intention to analyze and rank the status of ḥadīths in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, which is his main concern, the rest of his commentary is done in a passing manner according to each ḥadīth or chapter, without an underlying unified theme for the work as a whole. However, for *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, the approach was diametrically different. Creative inclusions of a prolegomena and a postscript to the original chapters of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* has ensured the attention to the grander theme of man and his destiny, which is the very heart of his commentary. This indicates that there is actually a window for creativity amidst the restrictive nature of this method of writing a commentary.

#### 4.1.2. Target and Scope of Readership

In general, it appears that both scholars wrote their commentaries with their fellow Jāwah in mind. In a way, the demand for a verified and expounded version of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was high at that time. This is particularly so considering Nawawī's own acknowledgement that the treatise was widely distributed and much used by the people back in the Archipelago. Thus, he undertook the responsibility with much enthusiasm, and tried his best to analyze its mistakes and verify the status of its ḥadīths. Along the way, he also included some passing remarks on the lessons and contents of the ḥadīth, befitting the concise nature of his commentary<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> See Chapters One and Two above.

Wan ‘Alī have also composed his commentary in a similar manner. However, instead of repeating the tedious task of correcting and verifying the content of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, he simply adopted its edited version by Nawawī, and concentrated on expounding the lessons and wisdoms contained in each ḥadīth in a much greater detail. It is in this manner that his commentary is actually an extended version of Nawawī’s, which was creatively infused and elaborated with his own understanding of the ḥadīths<sup>3</sup>. Thus, it is natural for Wan ‘Alī to employ the Malay language as the medium of his writing, considering the Jāwah as his target readers whether in Mecca or back home. However, as with his other works, Nawawī preferred to use Arabic. In as much as it is a matter of personal preference or even due to his minimal mastery of the Malay language, he may have also wanted to encourage his fellow Jāwah to learn the language of the religion, and at the same time, widen his readership to include the Arab speaking communities and scholars at that time<sup>4</sup>.

#### 4.1.3. Gender Representation

At any rate, it is interesting to note that as was the prevalent general cultural and scholarly trend at that time, it would appear that both scholars under study was substantially male-oriented in their approaches and perspectives. Nonetheless, in reality, it is argued that in the case of their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter Three above.

<sup>4</sup> From the various suppositions proposed on the reasons for Nawawī’s employment of Arabic in all of his writings, there is an opinion that it was due to the fact that there was no national language unifying the whole population of Indonesia. This opinion is, however, erroneous as it is widely known that Malay was the *lingua franca* of the people in the Archipelago and employed extensively as a medium for writing religious literature prior to the twentieth century. For details of this opinion, see: Islah Gusmian, *Khazanah Tafsir Indonesia: Dari Hermeneutika hingga Ideologi* (Jakarta: Teraju, 2003), 64. On Nawawī’s lack of mastery of the Malay language, see: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 271.

particular, the styles of writing employed do not entail gender discrimination, and both scholars seemed to prefer neuter terms whenever possible.

This is particularly true considering the morphological and linguistic structure of the Malay language, which is basically asexual, unless specified otherwise, as employed by Wan ‘Alī. Even the more gender-laden structure of the Arabic language is utilized by Nawawī in its general sense, and the seemingly male-oriented terms actually encompasses other gender classes as well. It is also significant to note here of the latter’s commitment to repudiate customary cultural-biasness against female in his *Tanqīḥ al-Qawf*. In this connection, it can be deduced that their general attitude on the matter may have perhaps been deeply influenced by their cultural background, where women in the Archipelago play, more or less, a more active role socially and economically compared with their Middle Eastern counterparts<sup>6</sup>. Nevertheless, it can also be suggested that as it was not common for women to pursue, or given the opportunity, to advance their learning in the male-oriented scholarly circles of Arabia at that time<sup>7</sup>, both scholars preferred to present their works following the established standards and styles of scholarly writings,

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<sup>5</sup> See for instance, Chapter One above where Nawawī has rightfully elevated the status of a mother above that of a father in a ḥadīth which was erroneously stated in one of the versions of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* thus entailing the inferiority of the female gender.

<sup>6</sup> This can be gleaned from Snouck Hurgronje’s own observation in Mecca, where Nawawī’s wife was attributed with an active role of conducting business and procuring financial income for the family. As for Wan ‘Alī, it is known that his second wife; a Kelantanese by origin, was also a Quranic teacher by profession in Mecca. As such, it is not an understatement to assert the active roles of the Kelantanese and Jāwah women in societal life; which in fact, can also be observed up to the present day. See: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 272-273; and Ismail Che Daud, ed., *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama*, 186-187.

<sup>7</sup> According to Snouck, only small girls were allowed to attend Quranic education in public, which will continue until they were about the age of eight. After that, they were kept at home or sent to a female teacher to further improve their Quranic reading. However, despite his silence on the matter, it can be suggested that it was very unlikely for female students to study in the Grand Mosque at that time. See: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 115 ff.

which would undoubtedly, appeal not only to the majority of the male scholarly communities, but could also include the aspiring female readers as well.

#### 4.1.4. Use of Narratives as a Source

As for their use of religious narratives as the main supplement for composing their commentaries, there are some issues that merit consideration. First of all, not all the stories mentioned in both works are reliable or historically sound. The heart-touching story of Abū Shaḥma, which was narrated by both scholars in their works, is no more than a whimsical fable composed specifically to glorify the personality and character of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the second Caliph<sup>8</sup>. The story also gained much popularity among the Jāwah, and was even published in the Archipelago. For instance, it was first published in Singapore in 1288/1871, and was reprinted several times until 1337/1919. In one of its edition, it is written that

[This story] has been verified for its authenticity and the correctness of the Quranic verses contained in it. Every one is encouraged to read it, and if followed [its lessons], he will attain salvation in this world and in the Hereafter. It should not be destroyed, and [instead] should be distributed to our brothers, so that we would not bear the responsibility in front of our Lord later on...<sup>9</sup>

However, according to Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī, the story is spurious and unreliable. Historically, the so-called character of Abū Shaḥma did not exist, while his supposed name of ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Umar was actually another person known as Abū ‘Isā who died in the Battle of Ṣiffīn in 37/657<sup>10</sup>. In spite of all this, for the

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<sup>8</sup> A detailed account of this story was given in Chapter Two above.

<sup>9</sup> The story was also known as *Hikayat Abū Samah* in Malay. See also: Ian Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books: A Provisional Account of Materials Published in the Singapore-Malaysia Area up to 1920, Noting Holdings in Major Public Collections* (unpublished paper, Faculty of Asian Studies, Australia National University, 1992), 103-105.

<sup>10</sup> For the complete version of the story of Abū Shaḥma, see Chapter Two above. Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 52-54; Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 143-147. See also: Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī,

majority of the Jāwah, the inclusion and affirmation of the story by their own revered ulemas such as Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī in their works sufficed to indicate its authenticity and credibility in portraying piety and religiosity that should be emulated by all.

More importantly, some of these “pious” narratives are even contradictory to the established precepts of the religion. For instance, Wan ‘Alī narrated that Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767)<sup>11</sup> used to see and communicate with God in his dreams for a hundred times during his life<sup>12</sup>. While some Sufis unabashedly stake out their claims on their experiences of direct vision and communication with God in this world, Sunni theologians only affirmed of its possibility in the Hereafter, and not in this world. Even Wan ‘Alī acknowledged this latter view and supported it with lengthy arguments in another part of the same work<sup>13</sup>. Thus, by including the story and not commenting on it, he contradicted his own belief on this important matter and could have possibly confused his readers too.

In a similar manner, both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī has utilized a variety of pre-Islamic Judeo-Christian narratives or *isrā’īliyya* in their commentaries, though the latter tend to cite it in abundance as compared to the former<sup>14</sup>. However, in their citations, they have also inadvertently quoted some of those tales which are frowned upon by scholars. This includes the tale of the licentious nature of a woman who later became the mother to a number of the prophets of the Israelites. It centres

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*al-Iṣṣāba fī Tamayīz al-Ṣaḥāba* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1978), 4: 104; and Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *Usud al-Ghāba fī Ma’rifat al-Ṣaḥāba* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1996), 3: 545-546.

<sup>11</sup> He was the founder-leader of the Ḥanafīyya School of jurisprudence in Islamic Law. For details of his life and works, see: Brockelmann, *GAL*, 1: 176-177; S1: 284-287; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 8: 36; and Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Arifīn*, 5: 495.

<sup>12</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 35.

<sup>13</sup> See: Ibid., 221.

<sup>14</sup> It is useful to note that Nawawī’s work only contains a total of thirteen stories as opposed to seventy four in Wan ‘Alī’s.

on the character of a singer cum prostitute who attracted the attention of an ascetic from the Israelites. Stunned by her beauty, the love-stricken ascetic had managed to meet her, but decided to abandon his desire for her halfway for the fear of God. Ashamed by his piety, the astonished singer repented and changed her ways. Then, she decided to find the ascetic and marry him so that she could learn the path to God from him. When she finally met him, he was so shocked and afraid of remembering his sin with her that he fell dead straight away. Nonetheless, she finally found solace in his pious brother, married him, and bore seven children with him, all of whom later became prophets of the Israelites. All these were made possible on the virtues of honesty, piety, and good intention<sup>15</sup>.

Although most commonly found in *tafsīr* literatures, *isrā'īliyya* was also employed in other types of religious literatures to supplement and help explicate certain religious and non-religious events. However, according to many scholars, these narratives can be classified as either conforming to the Quran, or contradicting it, or containing unknown information not explicated by the Quran or ḥadīth of the Prophet. While the first category is usually accepted and the second is rejected, there is no apparent ruling for the third category. This is because, in as much as it contains extra information on a subject, it does not also contradict any precept of the religion. Thus, it is left to the choice of a writer or narrator to cite this kind of tales although there is a tendency to reject any narration that resembles a fantasy or folklore<sup>16</sup>. In this regard, it is of particular interest to note that despite

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<sup>15</sup> See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 48; and Wan 'Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 134-136.

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed discussion on the issue of *isrā'īliyya* in Islam, its rulings and position in various *tafsīr* literatures, see: Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Abū Shahba, *al-Isrā'īliyyāt wa al-Mawḍū'āt fī Kutub al-Tafsīr* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunna, 1988), 106 ff.; and Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-

this, Wan ‘Alī has also made copious references of the third category of *isrā’ ʿilīyya* in his work<sup>17</sup>.

#### 4.1.5. Nature of Relationship between Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī

It would also be interesting to note the nature of relationship and influence of Nawawī on Wan ‘Alī, despite the reluctance of the latter to acknowledge it overtly. Perhaps, on this matter alone, it might be justified to regard *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* as an extensive translation of *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* into Malay and that Wan ‘Alī has, in fact, secured his references solely through this work. If this is the situation, it may then be appropriate to cast doubt on his whole integrity as a scholar-proper. Yet, it is suggested here that this might not be entirely the case. It was explained how Nawawī’s edition of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* gained much popularity due to its precision as compared with the older versions of the text<sup>18</sup>.

In a similar manner, Wan ‘Alī might have perceived *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* as a document of standing, which he can rely upon not only for the verified ḥadīth in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, but also their explanations by Nawawī as well. Due to this, or other reasons best known to him, he might have not felt the need to properly attribute his source, assuming that it is well known at that time and as such, there is no actual need to do so. Nonetheless, this view is actually tenable considering his indebtedness to Nawawī occurs only in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, while there is no indication of similar occurrences in his other works.

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Dhahabī, *al-Isrā’ ʿilīyyāt fī al-Tafsīr wa al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1990), 49-52. See also: Riddell, *Islam*, 64-68.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, he narrated a story on how the spices and herbal plants such as cinnamon and clove were created from the flows of Adam’s tears after he descended from heaven. Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 131-132.

<sup>18</sup> For details, see Chapter One of this study.

More importantly, there are also a number of citations of various ḥadīths, opinions, narrations and information in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* which are not found in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*. An example of this can be seen from the chapter on the virtues of knowledge and scholars where Wan ‘Alī has added a special section on the importance of good intention (*ḥusn al-niyya*) in seeking knowledge. Apart from presenting a number of ḥadīths including the one stating that “every action is (judged and evaluated) based on one’s intention”, Wan ‘Alī had also elaborated in detail the ethics and the correct methods of seeking knowledge. These included respecting one’s teacher and fellow students, refraining from evil deeds, professing humility, and others. In addition, he has also written some guidelines on the ways to improve one’s memory and avoid from forgetfulness such as recommending the habit of chewing a handful of sultanas every morning, and reducing excessive consumption of food and drinks<sup>19</sup>. It is important to note that all these additions of ḥadīths and commentary are entirely absent from *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*.

Similarly, the inclusion of a prolegomena and postscript, which are essential in maintaining the overall integrity of the work, is an important contribution by Wan ‘Alī in which his worldview and approaches towards religion and life can be observed. Based on this, it could be suggested with some certainty that the actual nature of Wan ‘Alī’s dependence on Nawawī as somewhat peripheral, selective and not entirely all-embracing as reflected from the differences of approach towards ḥadīth and other religious matters between them as will be thoroughly discussed below.

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<sup>19</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 1-15. See also: 16-24, 33-38, 53-57, 106-122, 170, 180-181, 200-229.

Nonetheless, in comparing both of the authors under study, it is certain that although Wan ‘Alī has demonstrated his capacity as a teacher and compiler, he is perhaps not at the same level in terms of scholarship on par with Nawawī. This is mainly based on the latter’s ingenious effort and original scholarly output in producing a critical edition cum commentary of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, and the fact that Wan ‘Alī was dependant on Nawawī’s version of the text as well as its commentary would obviously lead to this conclusion.

At any rate, despite the dearth of information on the matter, it is nevertheless pertinent to assume the existence of some kind of a relationship between them; either as colleagues or in a student-teacher relationship, which was also backed by the geographical and social settings of their abode in Mecca at that time.

In short, it is important to note the role of the vibrant and conducive scholarly environment of Mecca on the general style and methods of both scholars in their commentaries of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. Apart from having the opportunities to learn from a mixed choice of teachers of various calibres and expertise, they were also deeply influenced by the prevalent scholarly trend in writing which was then creatively adapted to suit not only the needs of the Malay-speaking readers from the Jāwah but also a more general audience through the use of Arabic.

More importantly, the abundance of the vast treasure of Islamic literary heritage in Mecca at that time has also led them to place much emphasis on the use of ḥadīth in their commentaries. In as much as this is due to ḥadīth being the main subject of their works, it also indicates its importance to them as one of the primary

sources in Islam. Hence, it is only appropriate to ensue the succeeding discussion on their approaches towards ḥadīth and its methods, as presented below.

#### 4.2. Ḥadīth: Notion and Methods of its Sciences

As has been afore-discussed that for both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī, their passion for the Prophet has not only led them to compose works specifically dedicated to glorify him in the forms of litanies, *mawlid* literatures, as well as depictions of sanctified events in his life such as his ascension to Heaven (*isrā’ wa al-mi’rāj*), but also, more importantly, to devote their time and efforts in analyzing and commenting upon *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, and in doing so, have further supplemented myriads of ḥadīths and traditions above the original.

It is of particular importance to note here the influence of nineteenth century Middle Eastern scholarly trend on both Nawawī’s and Wan ‘Alī’s sacrosanct attitude towards ḥadīth. Since the eighteenth century onwards, Arabia has been experiencing surges of renewed interests in ḥadīth both in its teachings and narration, as well as a proliferation of ḥadīth-based *ṭarīqas* and Sufī thought in various intellectual centres of Arabia, especially in Mecca and Madina. However, it should be observed that this continuity of ḥadīth studies and its narration seemed to extend well beyond the teaching circles of the Grand Mosque. In fact, it could have taken place in various other locations including the teachers’ residences, schools, as well as in various private gatherings<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> According to Snouck Hurgronje, studies of ḥadīth in the Grand Mosque at that time were usually based on its more concise compilations, and only a few teachers would undertake reading of voluminous commentaries on ḥadīth by Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī, al-Qisṭillānī, and others. See: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 191-192.

The effect of this phenomenon could be seen clearly from the scholarly background of both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī where most of their teachers were known for their passion and emphasis on ḥadīth and its teachings, both in their works and ideas. As students of this intellectual milieu, they inherited much of this legacy and are influenced by it, as reflected in their scholarly dispositions. To be more specific, the depth of their knowledge on ḥadīth and its collections is indeed apparent from their selections of references in composing their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*.

#### 4.2.1. Ḥadīth Works: A primary source of reference

In the first instance, ḥadīth works make up significant proportions of their references, totaling about sixty nine percent and forty percent of both Nawawī’s and Wan ‘Alī’s lists of bibliographies, respectively<sup>21</sup>. These works can be further divided systematically based on their originality, importance, and content into a threefold category of primary sources, popular collections, and ḥadīth commentaries. As for the primary sources, they are mentioned after ḥadīth texts in the most general and straightforward method, such as “this ḥadīth is narrated by Abū Dāwūd” and others. This form of citation or *takhnīj al-ḥadīth*, which is peculiar to the study of ḥadīth, serves primarily as a guidance to its origin. At times, it could also indicate its degree of reliability if the compiler is known to be reliable and generally accepted to narrate acceptable ḥadīth such as Mālik ibn Anas, al-Bukhārī, and others. Similarly, in cases of doubt and suspicion on the content of a ḥadīth or its attribution, it will be used as a starting point for analysis and criticism. As such, *takhnīj al-ḥadīth* is practiced not only by ḥadīth scholars, but also by writers and

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<sup>21</sup> See Chapters Two and Three above.

compilers who follow them. Nawawī's *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* is perhaps the best case to illustrate this. Almost all the ḥadīth in the book are supplied with this information, which is vital in analyzing their status of authenticity and reliability.

In contrast, Wan 'Alī has dispensed with the need to mention their origin in his ḥadīth selection. Thus, only eight percent or 90 out of the 1192 ḥadīth are supplied with their sources<sup>22</sup>. As such, not only it is difficult to ascertain the status of these ḥadīths in his work, particularly those not mentioned in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, but it also leads to the fact that at least some of these sources referred to by him are through secondary means, vis-a-vis later compilations and popular works that contain ḥadīth. Indeed, his general disregard with this significant aspect of ḥadīth study has created difficulties in detecting their origin. It would be interesting to note though that on one occasion, he did cite a ḥadīth complete with its source, reported to be narrated by Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and al-Ḥākim. However, a detailed analysis of the said ḥadīth could not find its existence in these works; rather it is actually part of the collections by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. In this case, it looks like his dependence on the secondary source that he referred to in citing the ḥadīth has led him to copy the mistakes of the book in toto, without him realizing it<sup>23</sup>.

As for the popular collections of ḥadīth as well as its commentaries, both writers are inclined towards the religious figures whose works are very familiar to their intellectual and religious backgrounds, such as Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, al-'Azīzī in *fiqh*, al-Ghazālī and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in

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<sup>22</sup> See Chapter Three above.

<sup>23</sup> In the same manner, he attributed a ḥadīth as a narration of al-Bukhārī, when in fact; it is by another person with a similar name, i.e. al-Bukhārī Khawāja, whose identity and reliability in ḥadīth narration is not known. See: Wan 'Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 43, 117; and Hilaluddin, *Takhrij Hadith*, 227-228, 603.

*taṣawwuf*, and others. However, it should also be stressed again that due to his dependence on Nawawī, some of Wan ‘Alī’s quotations of the above works have found their way into *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*. At the same time, his dependence on Shi‘ite and other general sources for acquiring ḥadīth clearly distinguished his preferences and methods of ḥadīth citation as compared to that of Nawawī.

Based on this, it is clear that conceptually, both writers highly valued ḥadīth as an essential part of the religion. Yet, at the practical level, the manifestation of their sacrosanct notion of ḥadīth is remarkably distinctive in their methodologies and styles from one another. It is in this regard that some of their key concepts in ḥadīth studies will be analyzed comparatively based on the existing intellectual context so as to highlight the effects of their divergences in ḥadīth methodologies on the broader aspects of their religious thought. The key aspects are inter alia, as discussed below.

#### **4.2.2. *Isnād*: A vital tool of transmission and authority**

It is perhaps best to describe Islamic religious heritage as one that is deeply influenced and characterized by its emphasis on the tradition of *isnād*. Historically, although the system of *isnād* was casually used in the transmission of oral traditions and poetry in the pre-Islamic era, it was not until the advent of Islam that it gained its utmost significance as an important vehicle of ḥadīth transmission. In fact, the employment of *isnād* in ḥadīth narration has already begun since the time of the Prophet; though it was not until the occurrence of the civil war (*fitna*) in 35/655

that marked the beginning of its pivotal role in the process of ḥadīth transmission and analysis<sup>24</sup>.

This period of disturbance and turmoil, which was initially sparked off by the important issue of leadership, later encompassed differences of opinions on various other fundamental issues of theology and religion. Ultimately, this has led to the emergence of the sectarian movements among the Muslims struggling for popular support through the use of the Quran and ḥadīth. Yet, for some, who did not find their provenance from the sources, they had to create a basis for their claims which was materialized in the form of forged traditions attributed to the Prophet<sup>25</sup>.

Thus, *isnād* began to be employed as an authoritative tool for ḥadīth transmission and its analysis. In addition, for the ḥadīth to be accepted, its whole chain of transmission must be continuous and not interrupted with a broken link. Consequently, its narrators must also be of righteous conduct (‘*adl*) and integrity<sup>26</sup>. As such, in the earlier stages of Islamic history, *isnād* was exclusively utilized in the domain of ḥadīth transmission, and served as the main instrument of its analysis. Nevertheless, it later evolved to denote distinctive character of authoritative

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<sup>24</sup> M.M. al-A‘zamī, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature: With a Critical Edition of Some Early Texts* (Indiana: American Trust Publications, 1978), 212. However, according to modern scholars, the early age of *isnād* as proposed by al-A‘zamī is problematic. In fact, they argued that *isnād* was developed much later; about sixty years after the death of the Prophet, which was then projected back to the Prophet. In this regard, *isnād* is more limited in its historical value than perceived. For more details of their views, see: Juynboll, *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 171 ff.; and *Muslim Tradition*, 70-76; Berg, *The Development of Exegesis*, 48-50; Burton, *An Introduction to the Ḥadīth*, 116 ff.; and others.

<sup>25</sup> al-A‘zamī, *Studies in Ḥadīth*, 66 ff. On the impact of the *fitna*, see: Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḥusayn al-Tijāriyya, 1948), 1: 18-43.

<sup>26</sup> al-A‘zamī, *Studies in Ḥadīth*, 46-47, 62-90; and Muhammad Abullais, ‘*Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 91-96.

transmission that covers almost every aspect of the religious and even non-religious sciences<sup>27</sup>.

#### 4.2.2.1. *The use of isnād in ḥadīth and other religious subjects*

In this regard, it is essential to understand the nature and processes of ḥadīth transmission as perceived by ḥadīth scholars. Generally, a ḥadīth may be transmitted through one of the following methods: *samāʿ* (direct hearing), *ʿarḍ* or *qirāʾa* (reading), *munāwala* (copying), *kitāba* (correspondence), *waṣīyya* (entrustment), *ijāza* (licensing), *iʿlām* (proclamation) and *wijāda* (discovery). However, not all methods are acceptable or on the same level of acceptance; the most common and widely accepted practice usually involved the first two methods outlined above. As such, it is important to note that specific terminologies are employed for each of the methods used, such as *ḥaddathanā* for *samāʿ*, *anbaʿanā* or *ajāzanā* for *ijāza*, and so on. Failure to adhere to any one of the above methods in the quotation of a ḥadīth will implicate a serious act of *sirqat al-ḥadīth* or ḥadīth plagiarism, which entails its rejection<sup>28</sup>.

As most as these methods are applied to oral transmission of ḥadīth, they are also widely applied in the transmission of its written collections. By acquiring an authoritative reading of the text would also help in maintaining its integrity from alteration and modification by future scribes or copiers<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, each ḥadīth work possesses its own *isnād* leading back to its author, and is usually placed at the

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<sup>27</sup> See: Jan Just Witkam, "The Human Element between Text and Reader: The *Ijāza* in Arabic Manuscripts", in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts*, ed. Yasin Dutton (London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1995), 131.

<sup>28</sup> al-Aʿẓamī, *Studies in Ḥadīth*, 24-32; and Muwaffaq ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Tawthīq al-Nuṣūṣ wa Dabtuḥā ʿind al-Muḥaddithīn* (Mecca: Maktabat al-Makkiyya, 1993), 30-53, 58-66.

<sup>29</sup> Witkam, "The Human Element", 123-125.

front or title page of the book. Only those whose names are written in this “reading certificate” or *ṭabaq* are allowed to be utilized and transmit the texts<sup>30</sup>. In fact, the integrity of the ḥadīth book lies primarily with its narrators, and any defect in their characters could indeed affect its status and acceptance among the scholarly circles. So important was its role in the conservation of written works that it is often described as the pedigree of a book, in the same way that a man knows his ancestors through his genealogical line<sup>31</sup>.

Naturally, this paved the way for the emergence of a new type of literature specializing in systematic listings of authorities and link of teachers known as *mu‘jam* (concordance), *mashyakha* (index of teachers), *thabt* (biographical index), and others<sup>32</sup>. However, increased utilization of *isnād* in various aspects of the religious sciences has also inadvertently led to its diversified conception according to specific needs such as legitimate licensing (*ijāza*) to practice specific action or litany, as well as authoritative certification of one’s learning or his eligibility to teach by his teachers<sup>33</sup>.

More interestingly, it has also become an important characteristic of Sufism where *isnād* or *silsila* in the form of spiritual genealogy is demonstrated to link up the chain of teachers directly to the Prophet. In addition, there are also other *silsilas* that went through the line of the Shi‘ite *imāms*, or simply from the mystical figure of al-Khiḍr directly to the Prophet. It is important to note here that although this *isnād* does not comply with the stringent criteria of its validity as stipulated by

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<sup>30</sup> Not only that, for a reading certificate to be valid and reliable, its writers must also be of righteous conduct (‘*adl*) and precise in their writing. See: Muwaffaq, *Tawthīq al-Nuṣūṣ*, 67-85.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>32</sup> See: al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, 1: 67-71; and Muwaffaq, *Tawthīq al-Nuṣūṣ*, 76-77.

<sup>33</sup> See: Ahmad Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education* (Beirut: Dār al-Kashshāf, 1954), 147-149; and Witkam, “The Human Element”, 126-128.

ḥadīth scholars, it is still acceptable among the Sufis who generally believed in the possibility of spiritual communion of the souls, including meeting the Prophet himself. In fact, this link of authority served not only as an indication of legitimacy, but also as a form of *ijāza* to confer certain *dhikr* and its practice, as well as affirming the status and affiliation of one's membership in a particular Sufi order<sup>34</sup>.

The preceding paragraphs has demonstrated how the *isnād* system was developed and proliferated to accommodate a more diversified role according to the needs and functions of various scholarly and religious traditions in the Islamic milieu. Nonetheless, out of these, its significance can perhaps be reflected from its definitive roles in the maintenance and transmission of ḥadīth, and later on as a general tool of certification and licensing, to a mere spiritual and mystical genealogy as employed by the Sufis. It is remarkable how *isnād* in its threefold dimension seems so similar, yet distinctive from one another. In fact, it is justifiable to say that their similarity lies primarily in the very purpose of *isnād*, i.e. in providing legitimacy and point of authority of a tradition or a legacy, whereas in its application, it has undergone processes of adaptation and modification to suit its new functions.

As a result, not every type of *isnād* is the same in terms of its implication, and this necessitates a more careful consideration each time the term is used, so as to avoid any generalization or misunderstanding on the matter<sup>35</sup>. Nonetheless, with

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<sup>34</sup> The earliest Sufi *isnād* is that of Ja'far al-Khuldī (d. 348/959), where he named his links to the Prophet through Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 297/910), Sarī al-Saqāṭī (d. 253/867), Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 197/813), Farqad al-Sabakhī (d. 131/748), Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), and Anas ibn Mālīk (d. 90/709). See: *EI*, s.v. "*ṭaṣawwuf*", 4: 681-685; and Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 192, 261-263.

<sup>35</sup> An example of this can be seen from the excellent work of Azra, where he viewed *isnād* as a generic notion signifying link of authority and ideas based on the historical and more literal aspects of its interpretation. However, his cross-references to its usage in the different aspects of ḥadīth studies, Sufism, and history throughout his study without drawing a proper distinction and

the modernization of the Muslim societies and their mass adoption of the print technology, the practical functions of *isnād* was greatly diminished, and its role was often limited to symbolic continuation of their past tradition and authority<sup>36</sup>.

#### 4.2.2.2. *Isnād and ḥadīth studies in the seventeenth century Arabian milieu and its effect on Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī*

In the case of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Arabia, its religious and intellectual milieu was markedly characterized by the increased attention towards ḥadīth studies and its proliferation alongside other scholarly pursuits such as *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf*. The interaction of at least three traditions of ḥadīth studies from North Africa, East Mediterranean and India in the intellectual setting of Arabia has extended the cosmopolitan networking of scholars at that time and helped in moulding the course of ḥadīth scholarship and its intensification by the newly-emerged scholarly elites. For instance, North African ḥadīth scholarship was dominated mostly by the Maliki School of jurisprudence, as compared with the scholarly activities in the Eastern Mediterranean which focused mostly on the collections of the *kutub al-sitta*. In India, however, a more active school of ḥadīth studies was developed as a basis for social and religious reform programmes<sup>37</sup>.

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implication for each of its function as discussed above is somewhat obscure and should be clarified further to avoid any confusion. In fact, this study believes that proper utilization of *isnād* as a non-homogenous technical term should be adopted and clearly defined, considering the unique intellectual and religious milieu in which it was developed and its implication in various aspects of the religious sciences. See: Azra, *The Origins*, especially 149-153.

<sup>36</sup> It has been suggested that the print technology confronted the very heart of the Islamic system for the transmission of knowledge, especially the *isnād* system, making it less significant, and undermined the role of its narrators and authority. This was among the main reasons as to why printing was not established in the Islamic world until the nineteenth century. See: Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print", *Modern Asian Studies* 27, 1 (Feb. 1993): 229-251.

<sup>37</sup> John O. Voll, "Ḥadīth Scholars", 264-273. For a detailed discussion on the development of ḥadīth studies in India, see: Muhammad Ishaq, *India's Contribution*, 80-190.

The interaction of these traditions was made possible in the scholarly setting of Arabia through the intellectual link of some of the important scholarly figures at that time such as Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), Muḥammad al-Barzanjī (d. 1103/1692), Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī (d. 1113/1701), Aḥmad al-Nakhīlī (d. 1130/1718), ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722), Muḥammad al-Sindī (d. 1138-9/1726-7), to name a few<sup>38</sup>. Apart from the diversification of *isnād* and emphasis on ḥadīth and its works<sup>39</sup>, they are also known as proponents of Sufism and its various orders. This perpetual mélange between ḥadīth and Sufism has expressed itself in a more profound attitude towards the role and status of ḥadīth, notwithstanding some compromise in certain aspects of its studies<sup>40</sup>.

In spite of that, it can also be argued that one of the impact of this compromise between ḥadīth and Sufism in Arabia was the rise of a number of key reformists and revivalists in the Muslim world such as the Indian scholar Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī from whom the Indian *Ahl-i-Hadith* group gets its impetus; the Yemenite Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Shawkānī (d. 1249/1834); as well as Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792) in his revivalism of the Hanbalis and the views of *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth* as represented by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328)<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> See: Voll, “Ḥadīth Scholars”, 264-273; and Azra, *The Origins*, 8-51.

<sup>39</sup> See: Basheer M. Nafi, “A Teacher of Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb: Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī and the Revival of *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*’s Methodology”, *Islamic Law and Society* 13, 2 (2006): 226-236 (especially 214 ff.).

<sup>40</sup> An excellent example of this method is reflected in the views of Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1163/1750); a ḥadīth scholar and follower of the Naqshabandiyya Order in the eighteenth century Madina. Despite his interest in ḥadīth, he was seldom critical of *isnād* and did not give much weight to the other aspects of ḥadīth criticism in proving its authenticity. Ibid., 232 ff.; and Azra, *The Origins*, 36-38.

<sup>41</sup> See: Nafi, “A Teacher of Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb”, 226-236; and Daniel W. Brown, *Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 22-30.

As such, it is not surprising that some of the Jāwah, who spent years of their lives studying in Arabia at that time, were influenced by this methodology and adopted it as part of their religious framework. More importantly, a number of them have also played important roles in disseminating this methodology and reforming various aspects of religious thought back home in the Archipelago. Apart from producing religious manuals on various aspects of the religious sciences, they also helped in propagating a number of prominent Sufi orders among their countrymen<sup>42</sup>. Nonetheless, it is important to realize that ḥadīth work as an independent theme in religious literatures did not flourish much among the Jāwah as compared with their Arab brethren. Similarly, their link of *isnād* to the earlier authorities often seems to be in a combination of certification, licensing, and/or Sufi *silsilas*<sup>43</sup>.

In the case of Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī who represented the continuation of this scholarly tradition in Mecca, a similar trend can be observed throughout their methodologies in ḥadīth studies. For them, ḥadīth is perceived to be of paramount importance, and both are involved in the tradition of *isnād* in its general sense and its transmission. However, this list of similarities can only go this far, as their approaches to it are distinctively divergent. For Nawawī, his *isnāds* are mostly in the form of certification and licensing, apart from a few *isnāds* for ḥadīth transmission. Even so, the latter is only meant as customary for attaining blessings (*li al-baraka*) more than anything else<sup>44</sup>. Nonetheless, his emphasis on the methods

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<sup>42</sup> They included scholars such as al-Rānirī, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf of Singkel, Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, Arshad al-Banjārī, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, and others. See: Azra, *The Origins*, 52 ff.

<sup>43</sup> For examples of the *isnāds* of the Jāwah, see: Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam*, 76-105; al-Falimbānī, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*; Muḥammad Maḥfūz al-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd limā ‘Alā min al-Asānīd* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyya, 1987); and Sayyid ‘Alawī ibn Ṭāhir al-Haddād, *al-Khulāṣat al-Wafīyya fī al-Asānīd al-‘Alīya* (Beirut: Dār al-Judhūr, 1998).

<sup>44</sup> See Chapter Two above.

of *isnād* criticism and its exposition in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* can be considered as revolutionary among the existing Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship and a step closer towards reviving the methods of the ḥadīth sciences and integrating it into the framework of his religious thought.

Wan ‘Alī, however, is mostly preoccupied with *isnād* in the form of *silsilas* of the Sufi orders, and towards a lesser degree, licensing of selected litanies and religious actions as is evident from his *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*<sup>45</sup>. As for ḥadīth transmission, his association with this kind of *isnād* is yet to be proven. Nevertheless, his inclination towards *isnād* is more peculiar to the Sufistic notion of spiritual genealogy which is not strictly limited to physical contact and tangible existence of narrators; rather it could be extended beyond the dimensions of time and space through dreams and individual mystical experiences in seeking truth directly from the Prophet. As such, critical aspects of *isnād* analysis and its studies do not have any significant impact on his religious framework, and this is well demonstrated by his readiness to accept any tradition that is merely attributed to the Prophet, even without the accompaniment of *isnād*. Towards a certain extent, his methods actually reflected remnants of compromising tendencies between ḥadīth and Sufism demonstrated by his predecessors in earlier centuries as expounded above. Be that as it may, it is interesting to note that through their approaches and attitudes towards *isnād*, both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī have manifestly established their differences in ḥadīth methodologies and its sciences as will be discussed below.

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<sup>45</sup> See Chapter Three above.

#### 4.2.3. Issues in ḥadīth sciences and its criticism

Sciences of ḥadīth or *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*, as a distinctive subject of study, functions primarily as an important tool of analysis that purposed to distinguish between *maqbul* and *mardūd* types of narrations. This is due to the fact that certain principal aspects of the religion such as creed and jurisprudence can only be supplemented by acceptable ḥadīth. It should be noted here that although the basic principles of ḥadīth sciences as proposed by ḥadīth scholars are widely recognized by the Sunnis as the standard in this matter; there is actually no uniformed view among them on what constitute *maqbul*, as it is a matter of intellectual preferences or *ijtihād* based on personal methodologies. Thus, conflicting views on the status of a particular ḥadīth are bound to occur every now and then, especially between ḥadīth scholars and Sufis as a result of their differences in methodologies, as will be shown later.

##### 4.2.3.1. *Muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth: A discussion of technical terminologies*

Similarly, in this study, the differences in methodologies can also be observed. As for Nawawī, his methods resembled more of the ḥadīth scholars, especially in his careful distinction of terminologies for different types of ḥadīth and definition of each term used in his work. These included terms such as *ghaīb*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan*, *ḍaʿīf*, *munqaṭiʿ*, *muʿallaq*, *matrūk*, *munkar*, *shādhdh*, *marfūʿ*, and *mawqūf*. Although not sufficiently expounded due to the concise nature of his work, he has, nevertheless, managed to stress the importance of *isnād* in determining the status of ḥadīth, and the need to grade it according to its status of authenticity. In contrast, due to his dependence on Nawawī's version and commentary of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, Wan 'Alī might have not felt the need to reiterate the very concept of ḥadīth technical

terminologies and its functions as proposed by ḥadīth scholars, with the exception of a few. In fact, he believed that using the terms interchangeably does not affect the integrity of a narration, as long as its messages can benefit Muslims in their religious lives<sup>46</sup>.

In the same way, both scholars have distinctive perspectives in approaching the concept of authenticity and reliability of ḥadīth. For Nawawī, he sees the importance of focusing on explaining the criteria of *maqbūl*, i.e. *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḥasan* in detail as opposed to *ḍaʿīf*. On the other hand, Wan ‘Alī only showed some interest in certain aspects of *ḍaʿīf* and the discussion of its rulings. Even so, he is inclined to accept any ḥadīth; even the weaker ones, as long as the content is acceptable. Thus, in other words, it can be said that while the former is mostly preoccupied with the importance of establishing the authenticity of a ḥadīth and its status, the latter simply perceived it as fundamentally acceptable and any claim to invalidate its authenticity must be sufficiently explained and analyzed. As such, it is natural that Nawawī put much emphasis on ḥadīth analysis and criticism, whereas it is almost entirely absent from the methods adopted by Wan ‘Alī. Nevertheless, this does not mean that this matter is quite simplistic as it appears to be. At other times, Nawawī also seems to have his own opinion in justifying a ḥadīth’s authenticity; which is not necessarily in conformity with the general methods of ḥadīth scholars.

#### 4.2.3.2. *Weak ḥadīth (ḍaʿīf) and its use in religious matters*

More specifically, this can be seen from their views on the issue relating to the permissibility of employing *ḍaʿīf* in religious matters. Although both scholars seem

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<sup>46</sup> For Wan ‘Alī, these exceptions constituted only the very basics of terminologies employed in ḥadīth studies such as *marfūʿ*, *athar*, and the likes. See Chapters Two and Three above.

to subscribe to the view that *ḍaʿīf* should be rejected in the spheres of creed and legal rulings while restricting its utilization only to matters relating to extraneous religious matters as voiced by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī<sup>47</sup>, some significant differences in their interpretation and implementation of this theory can also be observed. In the first place, there is a need to emphasize the definition of the term *faḍā'il al-a'māl* as coined by the *muḥaddiths*. Though it is generally understood to exclude all matters related to creed and legalistic religious rulings<sup>48</sup>, yet it could also entail aspects relating to rewards and punishments, detailed events of eschatological matters, creed, certain acts of rituals, and so on. It is as if it represents the wisdom and ethical aspect of religious obligations, rather than their fundamental conception involving beliefs, legal rulings and so on. In this manner, one can observe that while many of the chapters in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* are related to religious obligations such as the obligatory prayers, faith, fasting, and so on, the focus however, is solely on the aspects of their virtues (*faḍīla*) and/or prevention of vices. Since both Nawawī and Wan 'Alī perceived it from this particular point of view, it is natural that they see *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as a work befitting this category.

Secondly, the oft-mentioned dicta of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī on the permissibility of utilizing weak ḥadīths in the realms of *faḍā'il al-a'māl* is actually perceived by most ḥadīth scholars as a statement of his stand on the matter that reflects the views of the majority. Yet, many other scholars and jurists have also proposed a set of conditions and requirements that must be met in utilizing these

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<sup>47</sup> Details of this view can be seen in Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 2; Wan 'Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 14. See also Chapter Two above.

<sup>48</sup> See: al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 2: 488-489; and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *Zufar al-Amān bi Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī fī Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998), 111.

ḥadīths, such as excluding those known to be spurious, contradictory, or fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*), and only accepting ḥadīths that conform to the general principles of the religion, while not containing any extravagant detail or information not found in the authentic sources. Even so, this should only be done in the absence of authentic and acceptable ḥadīths, as these are more authoritative and reliable than the weaker ones<sup>49</sup>.

Nevertheless, as for Nawawī who depended solely on the view of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, all types of weak ḥadīths seem to be acceptable as long as they are related to *faḍl 'il al-a'māl*. Thus, there is no actual difference among the various types of *mardūd* he mentioned in his work, apart from their definition and categorization according to the scheme of ḥadīth scholars. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the textual aspect (*matn*) of ḥadīth is also viewed by him to be of some importance in determining its status of acceptance and sometimes even preceding that of *isnād* through comparison with the established precepts of the religion on the matter. As an illustration, a ḥadīth concerning the commendability of greeting before speaking (*al-salām qabl al-kalām*) is ranked by him to be *ṣaḥīḥ*, while in reality; it is very weak (*ḍa'if jiddan*) if not *mawḍūʿ*<sup>50</sup>. This is because in his opinion, the meaning of the ḥadīth is correct as it is generally acceptable that

<sup>49</sup> It is worthwhile to note that there are also other groups of scholars who either reject the use of weak ḥadīth in toto, or accept its use in all aspects of the religion without any exception. For a detailed discussion on this matter, see: al-Laknawī, *al-Ajwibat al-Fāḍila*, 36-59; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 2: 486-489; and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī 'Ilm al-Riwāya* (Madina: Maktabat al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.), 133-134.

<sup>50</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 37. This ḥadīth is narrated by al-Tirmidhī, al-Qaḍā'ī, and Abū Ya'ālā; all through Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh. However, in its *isnāds*, there are at least two very unreliable narrators, i.e. 'Anbaṣa ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad ibn Zādān, which led the majority of ḥadīth scholars to reject it. For more details, see: Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad al-'Ijlūnī, *Kashf al-Khaṭā' wa Muḥṣan al-Ilbās 'ammā Ishtahar min al-Aḥādīth 'alā Alsinat al-Nās* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1933), 1: 454; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqallānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 2001), 2: 94, 171; and Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu'afā' wa 'Ilal al-Ḥadīth li Ibn 'Adī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003), 475, 556.

greeting with *salām* should precede all types of conversation, social interaction, and so on.

In a similar, yet distinctive manner, Wan ‘Alī shared his enthusiasm with Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī on the matter. However, instead of just presenting the justification for the permissibility of using *ḍa‘īf* in *faḍā’il al-a‘māl*, he felt that it should also be promoted to encourage people to act according to these ḥadīths, even if it is only once during their lifetimes, as a means to attain virtue and piety. He is also of the opinion that there is no actual need for ḥadīth gradation and criticism as truth and virtue of certain action is not solely restricted to the physical attribution of ḥadīth as propagated by the *muḥaddiths*; rather it encompasses various other means as well, such as dreams, wise sayings of pious individuals, and direct communication with the Prophet. From this, it follows that any form of analysis on the textual aspect of a ḥadīth is absent from his methods; for he accepts all that leads to noble deeds and piety<sup>51</sup>. Therefore, it is in this regard that one can clearly see the point of difference between his and Nawawī’s conception of ḥadīth on this matter.

#### *4.2.3.3. Impact of Nawawī’s and Wan ‘Alī’s methods in ḥadīth criticism on the inclusion of fabricated ḥadīth in their commentaries*

One of the consequences of adhering to this generalistic notion of utilizing weak ḥadīth and/or disregarding the need for the tangible aspect of its criticism, is the inclusion of a number of fabricated traditions or *mawḍū‘* in both of their works. Basically, it is meant by ḥadīth scholars to signify any kind of misattribution of

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<sup>51</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 14-15.

saying or action to the Prophet, whether it is with or without intention<sup>52</sup>. As was discussed above, the occurrence of *fitna* following the murder of ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān triggered factions among the Muslims into various political and religious sects, which has also indirectly led to the emergence of *mawḍū‘* into the religious scene.

However, it is important to note that while politics is mainly held to be responsible for the emergence of *mawḍū‘*, there are other factors too that contributed to its diffusion among the masses. These include fanaticism of a particular religious belief, racism, promoting one’s own interest, as well as encouraging people to do good while preventing them from evil deeds. Of these, the last factor is seen by *muḥaddiths* as being the most damaging and notorious in its impact towards ḥadīth and the religion. This is due to the fact that most of its advocates are ascetics and Sufis known to practice a life of piety; and whose actions and sayings are perceived by the masses as exemplary and ideal. Yet, due to their belief or in fact, ignorance of proper methods in ḥadīth studies, they felt that it is justified for them to “attribute” a saying to the Prophet as long as it is for the sake of the religion and to encourage people towards noble deeds<sup>53</sup>.

Ḥadīth scholars, however, maintained that good intention alone is not a valid justification, as these ascetics have not only committed a perjury on the self of

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<sup>52</sup> According to al-A‘zamī, the attribution of false statements to the Prophet may be divided into two categories: i) Intentional fabrication of ḥadīth or *mawḍū‘*, and ii) Unintentional attribution of a false ḥadīth to the Prophet by mistake despite due care, or due to carelessness. This is usually called *ḥadīth al-bāṭil*. However, in terms of their form, essence, and implications, both are similar in that they necessitate rejection by ḥadīth scholars. See: al-A‘zamī, *Studies in Ḥadīth*, 91.

<sup>53</sup> For instance, Abū ‘Iṣma Nūḥ ibn Abū Maryam confessed to inventing a ḥadīth on the virtues of each chapter of the Quran so as to encourage the people to read it rather than books on jurisprudence and history. Thus, Yahyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān has rightly said that “I have not seen more falsehood in anyone than in those who have a reputation for goodness and piety”. For other examples and more detail on this issue, see: Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī, *Nuzhat al-Nazar*, 67; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 2: 464-476; and al-A‘zamī, *Studies in Ḥadīth*, 92-94.

the Prophet<sup>54</sup>; but they have also risked the overall integrity and consistency of the religion by allowing falsehood to creep into the heart of the religious principles. As such, it is decreed that not only it is forbidden for a person to fabricate a ḥadīth, he is also not permitted to narrate *mawḍūʿ* without mentioning its status. In as much as the culprits are ranked as liars and even faced the threat of being charged as infidels, authors who filled their books with *mawḍūʿ* also faced censorship and severe criticism from the community of the *muḥaddiths*<sup>55</sup>.

Therefore, in their efforts to combat *mawḍūʿ*, ḥadīth scholars have employed the methods of the sciences of ḥadīth through analytical study of the physical *isnād*, its continuity and narrators, as well as focusing on the textual criticism of the content of ḥadīth. Hence, if a ḥadīth is known to contradict any established precept of the religion whether as contained in the Quran or authentic ḥadīths, it is a strong indication of its spurious nature. Likewise, one can detect *mawḍūʿ* if its content is illogical, inadequate in its style, or contains exaggerated statement of massive rewards for inconsequential action and vice versa<sup>56</sup>.

It would be interesting to note that Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 751/1350) has also added other important indications of *mawḍūʿ*, including attributing a statement to the Prophet said to have been made in the presence of a thousand *ṣaḥābas*; yet all of them supposedly concealed it, and if a statement has no resemblance in its style to other known statements of the Prophet, rather it sounds like the saying of Sufis or

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<sup>54</sup> In fact, ḥadīth scholars often quote a ḥadīth where the Prophet said: “Anyone who narrates from me a saying which he knows to be false is himself a liar”. Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi Sharḥ al-Nawawī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1987), 1: 62, 65-73.

<sup>55</sup> See: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqallānī, *Nuzhat al-Naẓar*, 67-68; and al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 2: 450, 466-468.

<sup>56</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *Tadīb*, 2: 450-459.

medical practitioners<sup>57</sup>. In a similar manner, books disclosing the biography of liars, ḥadīth forgers and unreliable narrators were also composed, and more attention is given on compiling indexes and works containing a number of spurious traditions circulated among the masses or written in various types of religious literatures<sup>58</sup>.

As for the status of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in this particular issue, it is important to note that despite its author's ambition to compile only those traditions attributed as authentic, a staggering amount of *mawḍū'* are found to form a significant portion of its ḥadīths. Naturally, this instigates doubt and much criticism against the integrity and reliability of the ḥadīths, and consequently, the work as a whole. Perhaps, this was partly contributed by the ambiguity surrounding its origins, which explained its lack of consistency and credibility in its content as discussed before<sup>59</sup>.

On the other hand, it is also perhaps tenable to assume that the very concept of authenticity for its authors is understood from a different perspective compared with that of the ḥadīth scholars. Perhaps, like Wan 'Alī, they also believed in accepting any saying attributed to the Prophet as long as it leads to piety and righteous deeds. A very clear example of this can be best demonstrated from the number of *mawḍū'* mentioned in the chapter concerning the virtues of poverty (*fāqr*), where out of the ten ḥadīths quoted, six are found to be spurious, while the remaining ones are *ḍa'īf*<sup>60</sup>.

As a favourite subject among the Sufis, poverty is seen as a noble path that should be attempted by those desiring to renounce the worldly pleasures in order to

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<sup>57</sup> Ibn al-Qayyim, *al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa al-Ḍa'īf* (Riyadh: Dār 'Āṣima, 1996), 44-49.

<sup>58</sup> For a detailed list of the works composed on this subject, see for instance: Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Kattānī, *al-Risālat al-Mustaṭrafā li Bayān Mashhūr Kutub al-Sunna al-Musharrafā* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1980), 108-118.

<sup>59</sup> See the discussion on the origins of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in Chapter One above.

<sup>60</sup> See: Hilaluddin, *Takhrij Ḥadīth*, 706-721.

gain the pleasures of God. Yet, piety in Islam does not rely on poverty, for it is the actions and sincerity of a man that constitute this noble quality. In any case, spurious narratives propagating its virtues might have been created by the overly-enthusiastic ascetics who, due to either their ignorance or personal belief, felt justified in doing so. As a result, spurious traditions such as “loving the poor is the key to paradise, as they are the guests of God in the Hereafter”<sup>61</sup> and the likes were added to the existing corpus of ḥadīth, and cited in works such as *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and others<sup>62</sup>.

Therefore, in his role as an editor and commentator of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, Nawawī is expected to address this issue alongside other ḥadīth terminologies he discussed throughout his commentary. However, it is surprising to note that the concept of *mawḍūʿ* is entirely missing from his scheme of ḥadīth criticism. It cannot be assumed that his silence is due to his unfamiliarity with the term as coined by the *muḥaddiths*; but rather it is actually deliberately done, and might be due to his own method and preference on the subject matter. A clear evidence of this is in the case of a ḥadīth where the Prophet is supposedly to have mentioned that performing two *rakʿas* of prayers wearing a turban is more charitable in rewards than performing seventy *rakʿas* without it. In commenting on this ḥadīth, Nawawī quoted the view of al-Munāwī justifying wearing turban as part of ethics that will lead to great bounty from God. However, apart from this, it is discovered that Nawawī deliberately left out the critical aspect of the ḥadīth’s status where al-Munāwī has

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<sup>61</sup> This particular ḥadīth is ruled as spurious due to a narrator in its *isnād* accused of lying. See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 48-50; Muḥammad Ayman al-Shibrāwī, *al-Arāʾik al-Maṣmūʿa fī al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfa wa al-Mawḍūʿa* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Daʿwa, 2000), 256-257; and Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Majmūʿa fī al-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍūʿa* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Sunnat al-Muḥammadiyya, n.d.), 240.

<sup>62</sup> On the Sufistic tendency of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*’s authors and origins, see Chapter One above.

discussed the possibility of its spuriousness based on the sayings of *muḥaddiths* on the matter<sup>63</sup>. Thus, it might be said that Nawawī's sacrosanct approach towards ḥadīth has made him extra careful in nullifying any saying attributed as a ḥadīth, lest he might demean the Prophet himself<sup>64</sup>.

Furthermore, even if a ḥadīth is spurious but its message is directed towards piety and righteous deeds, it might suffice for him to accept it. Hence, rather than denouncing a particular ḥadīth as spurious, he would attempt to reconcile its meaning with other ḥadīths on a similar subject, even though if its message is contradictory or doubtful in nature, as demonstrated in the case of the ḥadīths on the preference of learning a chapter of knowledge over a thousand prayers<sup>65</sup>, abstaining from worldly talks in the mosque<sup>66</sup>, condemning bachelorhood<sup>67</sup>, and others.

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<sup>63</sup> See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 28; and Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-Qadīr Sharḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḡhīr min Aḥādīth al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2001), 4: 49.

<sup>64</sup> For an example of his acquaintance with the term *mawḍū‘* as employed by other scholars, see also: Nawawī, *Nūr al-Zalām ‘alā al-Manẓūmat al-Musammā bi ‘Aqīdat al-‘Awwām* (Semarang: Maktabat al-‘Alawiyya, n.d.), 18.

<sup>65</sup> In this ḥadīth, it is mentioned that even if a particular learnt knowledge is not practiced, it is still preferred over a thousand prayers. Nawawī, however, believed in the opposite, i.e. knowledge is worthy only if it is followed by practice. He even quoted a few ḥadīths to support his view. Nonetheless, he abstained himself from rejecting the ḥadīth altogether, even when *muḥaddiths* abandoned it due to a forger in its *isnād*, as well as inconsistency in its message. See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 9; and Ibn ‘Arrāq al-Kinānī, *Tanzīḥ al-Shaī‘at al-Marfū‘a ‘an al-Akḥbār al-Shanī‘a al-Mawḍū‘a* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1981), 1: 272-273.

<sup>66</sup> The ḥadīth is as follows: “God will reject a person’s forty-years worth of worship if he indulges himself in conversation regarding the worldly affairs in the mosque”. While Nawawī supported this ḥadīth and discussed the permissible and recommended behaviour in the mosque, the majority of *muḥaddiths* rejected its ludicrousness, both in meaning and practice. See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 26; and al-‘Ijlūnī, *Kashf al-Khaṭā’*, 2: 240-241.

<sup>67</sup> The ḥadīth states that: “The bachelors are the worst among you! Two *rak‘as* of prayer from a married man is better than seventy *rak‘as* performed by a bachelor”. While Nawawī tried to harmonize this irrational ḥadīth by proposing its actual message as advocating marriage among youths, *muḥaddiths* branded it as *mawḍū‘* and even advised against its narration. See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 51; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Mawḍū‘āt min al-Aḥādīth al-Marfū‘āt* (Riyadh: Maktabat Aḍwā’ al-Salaf, 1997), 3: 44; and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Lalā‘i al-Maṣmū‘a fī al-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍū‘a* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, n.d.), 2: 160.

In the same way, a great number of *mawḍūʿ* is also found in Wan ‘Alī’s work. In fact, his refusal of adhering to the methods of ḥadīth criticism according to the sciences of ḥadīth has naturally paved the way for the flourishing of these traditions in his work under the guise of authentic prophetic ḥadīths. In a way, this is expected of him, considering his rebuttal against the methods applied by the *muḥaddiths* in detecting *mawḍūʿ*, especially in their rejection of any ḥadīth containing illogical exaggeration of reward or punishment for petty actions. As an example, he narrated a tradition stating that by reciting the chapter of *al-Qadr* from the Quran after ablution, a person will get a hundred fold rewards for each of the letter contained in the chapter. In addition, God will also create from each drop of water used in the ablution, an angel that will seek forgiveness on his behalf until the day of Resurrection. While he put his faith in this ḥadīth, most of the *muḥaddiths* simply dismissed it as spurious<sup>68</sup>.

Wan ‘Alī’ also believed that as long as a statement is ascribed to the Prophet by an outstanding religious figure famed for his piety, it is suffice to indicate its authenticity and reliability. As a result, he often failed to distinguish between ḥadīth and the opinions of scholars. For example, he attributed with confidence a statement stating that “an hour of contemplation is better than performing worships for a year” as a Prophetic ḥadīth, while in fact, it is the saying of a famous Sufi; Sarī al-Saqāṭī<sup>69</sup>. Likewise, his inclusion of a ḥadīth on the origin of the Creation on the

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<sup>68</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 36; and Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Qāwqajī, *al-Lūʿlūʿ al-Marṣūʿ fī mā lā Aṣl lah aw bi Aṣlih Mawḍūʿ* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʿir al-Islāmiyya, 1994), 196-197.

<sup>69</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 4; and al-ʿIjlūnī, *Kashf al-Khafāʾ*, 1: 310-311.

authority of Ibn ‘Arabī; the great Sufi, is actually branded by *muḥaddiths* as baseless and false<sup>70</sup>.

More interestingly, in his hope to motivate his Jāwah readers to visit Mecca at least once in their lifetimes, or even migrate there, he has presented a variety of benefits for performing worship, and virtues of the holy place for its inhabitants as indicated by ḥadīths on the matter. He also realized that the harsh desert climate of Arabia might discourage some of his readers back home who were used to the lush weather of the tropics in the Archipelago. Thus, he even included a narration especially for this purpose stating that anyone who perseveres for an hour under the burning Meccan sun will be led two hundred years worth of journey away from the gates of hell. Unfortunately for him, this narration is ruled as spurious and baseless by the *muḥaddiths*<sup>71</sup>.

From the foregoing discussion, it can be seen that while Nawawī’s method of ḥadīth selection contrasted with that of Wan ‘Alī at various levels of its implementation as prescribed in the sciences of ḥadīth, the core function and status of ḥadīth for both scholars remains the same. For them, ḥadīth should be approached in a proper manner due to its sanctity, and should not be simply dismissed due to a supposedly physical defect in either of its *isnād* or *matn*. Even the more critical Nawawī refused to ascribe any ḥadīth as spurious or *mawḍū‘*, and instead tried to rationalize it to fit into the accepted norms of religious ideas. Towards a certain extent, this indicates the mode of ḥadīth methods prevailing at that time, where

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<sup>70</sup> As the ḥadīth is quite lengthy, only the summary of its content will be presented here. It stated the stages of God’s creation, i.e. the pen (*qalam*), its ink, and the intellect (‘*aqḥ*). Only the believers will attain the perfection of their intellects, as opposed to the nonbelievers. See: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 109; and al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawā’id al-Majmū‘a*, 478-479.

<sup>71</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 60; al-‘Ijlūnī, *Kashf al-Khaḥā’*, 2: 256-257; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, 1: 467; and al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil*, 480.

elements of the sciences of ḥadīth were infused with that of Sufism and generated some kind of a compromise between the two approaches, which was initiated in Mecca some centuries ago. As most of the current discussion on the matter is based on the perspectives of ḥadīth scholars, it is, therefore, pertinent to also discuss it from the Sufis' point of view and the responses of ḥadīth scholars towards them, in an effort to trace and attest the influence of the Sufis on both the scholars under study.

#### 4.2.4. *Muḥaddiths* versus Sufis: A Clash of Ḥadīth Methodologies?

Theoretically, it should not be perceived that Sufis have a separate and systematic method of ḥadīth criticism like the one proposed by *muḥaddiths*. Yet, in practice, it is observed that, indeed, some have their own opinions on ascertaining the authenticity of a ḥadīth and its reliability; which sometimes lead them to repudiate certain principles that constitute the very core of its methods as understood by the *muḥaddiths*. Thus, a ḥadīth considered as spurious among the *muḥaddiths* might turn out to be an authentic one according to the Sufis<sup>72</sup>.

As a result, conflicting views are bound to occur between them every now and then; and the *muḥaddiths*, who believe in their rightful position as the guardians of the Prophetic traditions, often criticized the Sufis and discredited many of their

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<sup>72</sup> It should be noted that not all Sufis opposed the methods of the ḥadīth scholars as some of them were also reputed as *muḥaddiths* and respected figures in ḥadīth transmission such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn al-Qayyim, al-Suyūṭī, and many others. In fact, in this matter, they could be rightly considered to be championing the methods of the *muḥaddiths* as opposed to those that will be discussed below.

narrations and personalities<sup>73</sup>. Nonetheless, for some of the Sufis, there are also other considerations that characterized their attitude towards ḥadīth and its selection, and these have been discussed and exemplified by some of their influential masters throughout history, as will be discussed below.

#### 4.2.4.1. *Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996)*

For instance, al-Makkī; one of the most influential early Sufi figures, has discussed some of the basic foundations that constituted the Sufi methods in ḥadīth selection in his celebrated *Qūt al-Qulūb* (Nourishment for the Hearts). Here, it is interesting to note that despite his conformity with the general methods of ḥadīth transmission, he also argued against some of the basic principles of its acceptance as propagated by the *muḥaddiths*. This can be particularly seen from his tolerance over ḥadīths rejected by the *muḥaddiths* as being weak due to their broken *isnād*. On the contrary, he believed that mere gaps in the *isnād* of a ḥadīth do not necessarily entail its rejection, as long as it does not contradict the Quran, authentic ḥadīths, and is not contested by the earlier generations of the Muslims. In fact, good contention (*ḥusn al-ẓann*) towards the earlier generation of narrators who were (supposedly) more pious and sincere should be present while dealing with ḥadīth, as it is unthinkable that they would commit lies on the Prophet<sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> It is also pertinent to realize that antagonism between *muḥaddiths* and Sufis were primarily caused by their conflicting views on some of the key concepts in Sufism such as existence (*wujūd*), *fanāʾ*, theophany (*tajallī*), and others, as well as their preference of the esoteric knowledge (*ʿilm al-bāṭin*) over its exoteric counterpart (*ʿilm al-ẓāhir*). Yet, in supplementing their views, many of the Sufis often employed the use of ḥadīths deemed by the *muḥaddiths* as spurious or methodically unsubstantiated, and it is in this sense that aggravated the tension between the two parties, which could perhaps be best exemplified by Ibn al-Jawzī in his *Talbīs Iblīs* (The Deception of the Devil), where he openly criticised and censured some of the Sufi figures, their works and ideas. See: Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs* (Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibāʿat al-Muniriyya, 1948), 152ff.

<sup>74</sup> Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Makkī, *Qūt al-Qulūb fī Muʿāmalat al-Maḥbūb wa Waṣf Ṭarīq al-Muʾid ilā Maqām al-Tawḥīd* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1961), 1: 359-364.

In a similar manner, a narrator might be discredited unjustly by *muḥaddiths* thus affecting the reliability of his narration; while in reality he is better in terms of piety than the *muḥaddiths* themselves. This is especially true considering that some of these narrators are indeed the Gnostics and scholars of God, and the accusations by the *muḥaddiths* might not be justified according to the jurists or the Sufis. As such, a ḥadīth might be weak in its *isnād*, yet authentic in its content, and vice versa. In short, some Sufis have their own methods of narrating and citing ḥadīth, which is different from the *muḥaddiths*. Thus, not only that it is not justified for them to follow the style of the *muḥaddiths* but it is also wrong to subject them to the strict scrutiny of the sciences of ḥadīth due to their differences in opinions and school of thought (*madhhab*)<sup>75</sup>.

In short, these are the acceptable foundations in ḥadīth studies according to al-Makkī, yet for “a group of people” at his time, they went further by scrutinizing the integrity of the narrators and writing books on it, which lead some to reject ḥadīth and champion opinions and logic in its place. As a matter of fact, al-Makkī believed that ḥadīth related to the spheres of *faḍā'il al-a'māl* should not be rejected even if its *isnād* is broken as it was the practice of the earliest generations of Muslims. It is also narrated that God will reward anyone who practice a virtuous deed attributed to the Prophet, even though in reality, the Prophet does not utter it<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. However, his lenity in his methods of accepting ḥadīth has also caused him to include spurious and *mawḍū'ī* narrations in his book without him realizing it, which later became among the main issues directed against him by his critic. See: Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 164-165.

#### 4.2.4.2. *al-Ghazālī*

As such, al-Makkī has generally laid down the foundations for ḥadīth appraisal among the Sufis, which were not only less stringent, but also more accommodating than the methods of the *muḥaddiths*. However, in analyzing its effects and influence towards later generations of scholars and Sufis, a survey of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* as an extensive elaboration of al-Makkī's *Qūt al-Qulūb*<sup>77</sup> is, therefore, essential. Here, it is found that apart from his extensive quotation of ḥadīths and narrations of various levels of authenticity, especially the weaker ones which were the source of *muḥaddiths'* criticism against him<sup>78</sup>, al-Ghazālī has never clarified his methods in ḥadīth selection nor explained his opinion on the matter.

In fact, this task was undertaken by his commentator; Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) who summarized the methods employed by al-Ghazālī in ḥadīth selection and quotation while apologetically defending him against his critics<sup>79</sup>. Interestingly enough, in doing so, he also reiterated in totality the methods proposed by al-Makkī as stated earlier on. In addition, he also emphasized on the need to exercise caution in discrediting (*tajrīḥ*) any particular narrator, as it is prone to prejudice, ideological differences, rivalry, and other human factors. But, if a narrator is proven to lie in championing his views, it is more than justified to

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<sup>77</sup> On al-Ghazālī's indebtedness to *Qūt al-Qulūb* in his *Iḥyā'*, see, for instance: Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 121-122.

<sup>78</sup> For a detailed discussion on the status of ḥadīth in *Iḥyā'*, see, for instance: al-Laknawī, *al-Ajwibat al-Fāḍila*, 117-120 (footnote), and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 166.

<sup>79</sup> It has often been mentioned that his unfamiliarity with authentic ḥadīths was primarily due to his not having the opportunity to study the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim until a few years before his death. Yet, in his commentary of *Iḥyā'*, Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī has refuted this view and suggested al-Ghazālī's proper acquaintance with the canonical ḥadīth works during the early years of his life, despite not getting involved with the process of ḥadīth transmission as was the norm at that time. See: Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Ittiḥāf al-Sādat al-Muttaqīn bi Sharḥ Asrār Iḥyā'* 'Ukūm al-Dīn (Cairo: Aḥmad al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1894), 1: 19-21.

discredit him and reject his narrations altogether<sup>80</sup>. From this, it is clear that al-Makkī's view served to represent as an exemplary model of ḥadīth methods, at least for the earlier generations of sober Sufis who aligned themselves in line with his intellectual and spiritual milieu, as propounded by his student Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 297/910), and later on al-Ghazālī.

#### 4.2.4.3. *Ibn 'Arabī*

However, for some others, the urgency for establishing the authenticity of a ḥadīth has often been fulfilled through their attainment of the highest spiritual station, i.e. on the basis of unveiling (*kashf*), thus relegating the need for physical aspects of ḥadīth studies. In particular, this can be implied from the methods and sayings of the Great Master himself; Ibn 'Arabī in his works. As an illustration, he attributed his composition of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) as a form of revealed work gifted to him through a vision of the Prophet that he had in Damascus in 627/1229. According to him, the end product of the book is as defined by the Prophet in verbatim, and is untempered in any form whatsoever<sup>81</sup>. Hence, every narration or ḥadīth cited in the work is implied to be authentic and indeed originated from the mouth of the Prophet. Similarly, his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Meccan Revelations) is also composed in the same manner<sup>82</sup>.

Nonetheless, not all ḥadīths mentioned by him in his works causes controversies and disputations among the *muḥaddiths*. In fact, most are taken from

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 1: 48-53.

<sup>81</sup> See: Abū al-'Alā' al-'Afīfī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam li Muḥy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī wa al-Ta'liqāt 'alayh* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1980), 47-48.

<sup>82</sup> Chapter Forty Eight from *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Cf. 'Abbās al-'Azāwā, "Muḥy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī wa Ghulāt al-Ṣūfiyya", in *al-Kitāb al-Tidhkān: Muḥy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī fī al-Dhikr al-Mi'awiyyat al-Thāmina li Milādih* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1969), 139.

the standard sources, and would be accepted as authentic by the *muḥaddiths*. In spite of that, his persistence on *kashf* as a method of verifying the authenticity of ḥadīth has led him to include traditions, decreed as forgeries and *mawḍūʿ* by the *muḥaddiths*, as authentic and sound. These include the famous traditions such as “He who knows himself knows his Lord”<sup>83</sup>, and “I was a Hidden Treasure and I wanted to be known, so I created that I might be known”<sup>84</sup>. In justifying his method, Ibn ʿArabī stated that the only reason a weak ḥadīth is rejected is either it is due to the weakness in its *isnād*, or that certain forgers narrated it, thus causing its unreliability. In the case of shared narrators who heard the ḥadīth, he has the following stand,

When the friend hears it from the Spirit who casts it, he is like the Companion who heard it from the mouth of God’s Messenger, since he gains a knowledge about which he does not doubt. He is different from the Follower—who accepts it only on the basis of the “predominance of surmise”—since there is no suspicion which might impair its truthfulness<sup>85</sup>.

In a similar manner, an authentic ḥadīth proven by its *isnād* might be deemed as unreliable by the possessor of the unveiling when he asked the Prophet about it. Thus, “God-given knowledge” is defined as possessing direct knowledge of the *sharīʿa* through the tongue of the Prophet without the intermediaries of the

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<sup>83</sup> See: al-ʿAfīfī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, 215; and William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-ʿArabī’s Metaphysics of Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 250.

<sup>84</sup> For this ḥadīth, Ibn ʿArabī justified its authenticity by stating that it is “sound on the basis of unveiling, but not established by way of transmission”. Cf. Ibid.; and “Ibn ʿArabī and His School” in *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (London: SCM Press, 1991), 59. However, according to Ibn Taymiyya and other scholars, it is not even considered as a Prophetic ḥadīth as it does not have a valid *isnād* to verify its origin. See: ʿAlī al-Qārī, *al-Asrār al-Marfūʿa fī al-Akhbār al-Mawḍūʿa* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1985), 179; and Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿ Fatāwā* (Riyadh: Maṭābiʿ al-Riyāḍ, 1962), 18: 122.

<sup>85</sup> Chittick, *The Sufi Path*, 251.

jurists and exoteric scholars. This is usually manifested in the form of the Prophet visioned by the friend, who taught him many of the rulings of the Law<sup>86</sup>.

#### 4.2.4.4. *Impact of Ibn ‘Arabī’s method on later Sufis*

As such, Ibn ‘Arabī has explicitly laid a new foundation for ḥadīth criticism by emphasizing on the roles of unveiling and unobstructed divine intercession in place of physical evaluation of *isnāds* and ḥadīth narrators as employed by the majority of the *muḥaddiths*. Although vision of the Prophet, whether in a dream or in a state of consciousness, has been claimed by many of the Sufis, none has perhaps, surpassed the eloquence and creativity of Ibn ‘Arabī in formulating it as a superior substitute to *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth*, which has since been held by many of the Sufis as a basis of their dealings with ḥadīth.

In particular, the so-called *ṭarīqat al-muḥammadiyya* complex that emerged since the tenth/sixteenth century onwards deserve some attention here<sup>87</sup>. Its main distinguishing feature as a conglomeration of various Sufi orders is markedly characterized by its dependence on Ibn ‘Arabī’s methods as discussed above. While generally accepting the notion of *isnād* and its significance, it is usually employed only for establishing legitimacy of their teachings. Other practical functions of *isnād* are often marginalized due to their emphasis on the Prophet; whether in the

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 251-252.

<sup>87</sup> This concept is extensively adopted and discussed by Sedgwick in his study. The Sufi orders that can be categorized under this complex include: Jazūliyya, Sammāniyya, Tījāniyya, Khadīriyya, Aḥmadiyya, Sanūsiyya, and others. Towards a certain extent, they all shared a combined feature of attributing a legitimate link to the Prophet through Uwaysī transmission, esoteric orientation of their teachings towards the Prophet, as well as the reformist tendency (usually marginal) towards certain aspects of popular Sufism. For more detail, see: Sedgwick, *The Heirs of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs*, 33-51.

form of the Reality of the Prophet (*ḥaqīqat al-Muḥammadiyya*)<sup>88</sup>, or in the waking vision of the Prophet (*ru'yat al-nabī fī al-yaqāza*). As such, it is said that he who has a waking vision of the Prophet is a better interpreter, and in this case would also include ḥadīth, than any scholar who has not<sup>89</sup>.

At about the same time, the intellectual milieu in Arabia has also witnessed the emergence of the new scholarly elites characterized by their conciliatory approach between Sufism and the methods of the *muḥaddiths*, as discussed earlier. Here, it is found that in addition to reliance on *kashf* as the primary method of ḥadīth criticism, some of them have also relied on the physical aspect of transmission, usually in the form of *isnād 'ālī*<sup>90</sup> to detect forgeries and fabrication in ḥadīth<sup>91</sup>. As such, it is hardly surprising that eighteenth century Arabia witnessed a surge of reformism in reviving ḥadīth studies and its methods as proposed by a number of influential figures, as discussed earlier.

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<sup>88</sup> The concept of the Muḥammadan Reality (*ḥaqīqat al-Muḥammadiyya*) is closely related to the idea of the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) developed by Ibn 'Arabī. According to this theory, it is in the Perfect Man which is the object of creation that God's desire to be known and knows Himself is manifested. This Perfect Man, the archetype of the universe is not Adam but Muḥammad, not necessarily in its physical sense, rather as "logos" or the first manifestation of existence. In fact, this Logos doctrine can be further divided into three dimensions: Metaphysically, the Logos is the Reality of Realities (*Ḥaqīqat al-Ḥaqā'iq*). Mystically, it is the Reality of Muḥammad, and as regards humanity, it is the Perfect Man. This Reality of Muḥammad is the active Principle in all revelation and inspiration through which the Divine knowledge is transmitted to all prophets and saints as a means to attain its fullest expressions. Thus, all true prophets are manifestations of this single Spirit. See: John T. Little, "Al-Insān al-Kāmil: The Perfect Man according to Ibn al-'Arabī", *The Muslim World* 77, 1 (January 1987): 43-54; and *EL*, s.v. *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* the Perfect Man, 3: 1239-1241.

<sup>89</sup> Sedgwick, *The Heirs of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs*, 35.

<sup>90</sup> *Isnād 'ālī* or superior *isnād* is a chain of transmission that is characterized by a minimal number of its narrators all the way back to the Prophet. It is considered superior as fewer narrators in an *isnād* greatly reduce the possibility of error and fabrication as compared to lengthier chains of transmitters. For more detail on this matter, see for instance: Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqallānī, *Nuzhat al-Nazar*, 92-95.

<sup>91</sup> See, for instance, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's position on *kashf* and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī's opinion on *isnād 'ālī* in: A.H. Johns, "Friends in Grace: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkeli" in *Spectrum: Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. S. Udin (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978), 481-482; and Azra, *The Origins*, 36-38.

#### 4.2.4.5. Reflection of Sufi methods on Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī

In reflecting these intellectual trends in Mecca on both the Jāwah scholars under study, it should be restated here that Nawawī’s method is predominantly characterized by the conciliatory approach between Sufism and ḥadīth with emphasis on the physical part of ḥadīth criticism as initiated in Arabia a few centuries before. Yet, at the same time, he does not also deny the possibility of employing the method of *kashf* in determining the authenticity of ḥadīth, especially if it does not contradict with the views of the majority<sup>92</sup>. Nonetheless, his discussion on the technicalities of the ḥadīth sciences is quite revolutionary in Jāwah scholarship; for he is found to be among the pioneering scholars who delved into the subject matter in great detail in his works. Yet, to simply regard him as a reformer based on this aspect alone is an overstatement and misleading; for there are other vital aspects that should be equally considered, as will be discussed further below<sup>93</sup>.

Contrastingly, Wan ‘Alī’s approach resembles closely that of the *ṭanīqat al-Muḥammadiyya* complex. The inherent Sufistic nature of his method is prevalent throughout his work, and might be primarily due to his association with one of the orders under the complex, i.e. the Aḥmadiyya Order, which have greatly influenced much of his ideas and approaches towards ḥadīth and the Law.

In summary, the distinctive approaches developed by the Sufis towards ḥadīth and its criticism as opposed to the established precepts of the *muṣṭalah al-*

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<sup>92</sup> An important example of this can be seen from his discussion on the status of faith for the Prophet’s parents, where he was inclined to go along with the view of al-Bājūrī and others on the possibility of God’s resurrecting both of them temporarily to accept the message of Islam before taking their lives back again. According to him, even though the ḥadīth on this matter is weak, it is actually considered as authentic among the Sufis based on their method of *kashf*. See: Nawawī, *Nūr al-Zalām*, 27.

<sup>93</sup> See Chapter Five of this study.

*ḥadīth* proposed by the *muḥaddiths* has contributed to the antagonistic attitude between the two groups, particularly in the adoption of spurious ḥadīths by the Sufis based on their good contention, and reliance on *kashf* as a superior method that invalidates the necessity of the study of physical *isnād* that constitutes the very foundation of *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth*. Likewise, in their defence, *muḥaddiths* have also unquestionably rejected the method propagated by the Sufis claiming that it is highly ethereal and subjective, as it is not susceptible to analysis and appraisal<sup>94</sup>.

In their attempt to unravel this seemingly deadlocked and opposing views, some scholars have initiated reform in their scholarly tradition by harmonizing the approaches adopted by the Sufis and *muḥaddiths*, thus creating a compromising stand between the two extreme positions as reflected by both scholars under study. It is also within this diverse scholarly environment of nineteenth century Arabia that both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī developed their own affiliations and preferences, not only in approaching ḥadīth, but also on other aspects of the religion as well. As such, it is also important to observe how the multiplicity and dynamism of this scholarly milieu have also influenced their religious thought as explicated in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as a means of ḥadīth discourse as will be discussed below.

#### **4.3. Aspects of Religious Views from Their Commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth***

In complementing the discussion on both Nawawī’s and Wan ‘Alī’s ḥadīth scholarship, it is of equal importance to analyze certain aspects of their religious views as well which they have presented during the course of their commentaries on

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<sup>94</sup> On the rebuttal of the *muḥaddiths* against the methods of the Sufis, see for instance: Usman Sya’roni, *Otentisitas Hadis Menurut Ahli Hadis dan Kaum Sufi* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 2002), 113-153.

*Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. This is because, as a substantive collection of Prophetic ḥadīths in various practical and devotional aspects of the religion, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is functionally suited as an effective tool of religious propagation based on ḥadīth among the Jāwah at that time.

Thus, it is only natural that both scholars have also dedicated their efforts to comment on the various themes and contents of its ḥadīths; some of which have been highlighted and presented in some detail in the previous chapters. However, at this point, the focus of discussion is more on the collective analysis of their thought in relation to the established religious traditions among the Jāwah and in the Middle East rather than concentrating on the specific methods they employed in procuring certain views from particular ḥadīths. This is because, both scholars were more contextually and intellectually characterized as transmitters of religious traditions rather than architects or inventors of original ideas, as has been discussed before.

Even so, considering the far reaching influence of their commentaries, it is nonetheless pertinent to analyze the features and characteristics of some of their key ideas which undoubtedly played an important role in the dissemination of religious ideals based on ḥadīth among the Jāwah at that time and had their impact on the changing faces of the ideological, social and religious development in the late nineteenth century and beyond. These aspects are as follows:

#### **4.3.1. Creed (‘*aqīda*)**

##### *4.3.1.1. A manifestation of Sunni orthodoxy*

In general, Muslims of the Malay Archipelago are generally reputed as faithful Sunnis as represented by the Ash‘arite School of theology. However, when exactly

Ash‘arism gained its firm footing among the Jāwah is a matter shrouded in obscurity, considering a view that Shi‘ism had already dominated the royal court of Perlak in as early as the second/ninth century<sup>95</sup>. Yet, the rise of Pasai in the sixth/thirteenth century marked the advent of mainstream Sunni and its dominance throughout the Archipelago in the following centuries. Although not much detail is known on the religious life during this early period, it has been suggested that the teachings and ideas of al-Ghazālī and other mainstream Sunni scholars have penetrated the Malay World at least in as early as the tenth/sixteenth century<sup>96</sup>.

In particular, it is important to note the popularity of the *‘Aqā’id* of al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142) in Aceh where a Malay translation of it was found to be completed in as early as 998/1590<sup>97</sup>. Later, its famous commentary by Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1387) was also translated into Malay by al-Rānirī in Aceh<sup>98</sup>. Perhaps the more philosophical nature of the al-Nasafī’s manual together with the concise formulation of Ash‘arite creed as presented by al-Sanūsī in his *Umm al-Barāhīn* better suited to rationalize and champion the Sunni doctrine amidst the raging controversies in Aceh at that time regarding the nature of God and His existence. Thus, a mélange of Ash‘arism and Maturidism approaches to the creed was manifest in the Acehnese theological tradition, which is hardly surprising,

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<sup>95</sup> According to this view, about one hundred Shi‘is migrated to the Archipelago to escape from the hostile policies of the Abbasite Caliph al-Ma’mūn (r. 197-217/813-833) towards them. See: Mahayudin Yahaya, *Naskhah Jawi Sejarah dan Teks Jilid 1* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1994), 4-6. However, it is important to note that at present, this view is highly speculative and is not substantiated by any available historical sources.

<sup>96</sup> Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, 94.

<sup>97</sup> It is also interesting to note that al-Attas has even proclaimed it as the oldest surviving Malay manuscript in existence. See: al-Attas, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript*.

<sup>98</sup> The title of this translation is *Durrat al-Farā’id bi Sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id*. Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, 100. Despite al-Attas’ conviction that this work is lost, Drewes has actually located it amidst a collection of manuscripts originated from Palembang. See: al-Attas, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript*, 8; and Drewes, *Directions for Travellers*, 207.

considering the inconsequential differences between the two schools in their formulation of the creed<sup>99</sup>.

Interestingly, the synthesis between various Sunni traditions has in many ways characterized the theological stand of the succeeding generations of Jāwah scholars including Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī despite the preponderance of Ash‘arism as the basis of their theological structure. In fact, in their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, one could also witness this, where Sufism or ideas of selected Sufi figures are influential in the interpretation of certain aspects of creed as long as it does not contradict nor transgress the general spirits of Ash‘arism. For instance, in his discussion of *īmān*, Wan ‘Alī has aptly blended its basic requirement with the fivefold division of its states and levels according to the Sufis, which centres around the submission and consciousness of the heart. However, he was quick enough to point out at the same time that this does not imply rejection of rituals and importance of observing the Law, but rather every aspect of belief, experience and ritual must be present to denote the true meaning of faith<sup>100</sup>. In a similar manner, insights of celebrated Sufi masters such as ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and others are frequently cited by Nawawī in discussing creed, often to broaden the horizons of the Sunni theology and complement it from a different perspective<sup>101</sup>.

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<sup>99</sup> In principle, Ash‘arism and Maturidism shared the same theological approaches and views, except in certain non-fundamental branches of creed such as the classification of God’s attributes between the attributes of essence (*ṣifāt al-dhāt*) and attributes of action (*ṣifāt al-fi‘l*), and others. See, for instance: S.M.D. al-Edrus, *The Role of Kitab Jawi in the Development of Islamic Thought in the Malay Archipelago with Special Reference to Umm al-Barāhīn and the writings of the Twenty Attributes* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1995), 71, 144-145.

<sup>100</sup> See: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 31; and Chapter Three above.

<sup>101</sup> See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 3, 15-16, 73; and Chapter Two above.

#### 4.3.1.2. *The influence of al-Sanūsī's Twenty Attributes*

Despite this, it is also pertinent to note the pivotal role of al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* which clearly dominated the theological orientation of the Jāwah, and was widely utilized as the standard manual of creed representing Ash'arism throughout the Archipelago from the eleventh/seventeenth century onwards<sup>102</sup>. While its reputation may be primarily due to its method in presenting the knowledge of God and His attributes simply known as *Sifat Dua Puluh* or the "Twenty Attributes" in lucid and simple terms that can be understood by the laymen without the complication of deep philosophical issues that usually underline the argumentative nature of the scholastic theology (*'ilm al-kalām*), its popularity as a teaching manual in the Islamic heartlands might have also contributed to its ready acceptance in the Archipelago<sup>103</sup>. This can be seen from the existence of a variety of glosses and super commentaries on the work that were used in commenting the text in various teaching circles in Mecca well until the later part of the thirteenth/nineteenth century<sup>104</sup>.

In fact, in terms of content, al-Sanūsī's view on the matter represented the later development on the attributes of God as proposed by major Ash'arite figures such as al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1012), al-Juwaynī (d. 479/1086), al-Ghazālī, and others,

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<sup>102</sup> This is evidenced by the existence of at least twelve major works of creed composed by local scholars prior to the twentieth century that either focused on direct annotation and translation of al-Sanūsī's, or are based on it together with other works, such as: *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* by Muḥammad Zayn al-Āshī in 1170/1757, *Zahrat al-Muīd fī Bayān Kalimāt al-Tawḥīd* by 'Abd al-Ṣamad Palembang, *'Aqīdat al-Bayān* by Shihāb al-Dīn Palembang, *Kitab Sifat Dua Puluh* by Sayyid 'Uthmān of Batavia in 1304/1886, *Sirāj al-Hudā* by Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn Sumbawa in 1304/1886, *'Aqīdat al-Nāḥīn* by Zayn al-'Ābidīn of Patani in 1307/1890, *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Taḥqīq* by an anonymous Patani writer in 1356/1937, and others. See: al-Edrus, *The Role of Kitab Jawi*, 72-74.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 241; and Mohd Nor Ngah, *Kitab Jawi*, 9-11.

<sup>104</sup> Examples of these commentaries included *Ḥāshiyat al-Bājūn 'alā Matn al-Sanūsiyya*, *Ḥāshiyat al-Sharqāwī 'alā Sharḥ al-Hud Hudī 'alā al-Sanūsiyya*, and *Ḥāshiyat al-Dasūqī 'alā Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*. See: al-Edrus, *The Role of Kitab Jawi*, 156; and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 193-197.

compared with the original thirteen attributes that was promulgated by al-Ash‘arī<sup>105</sup>. Apart from the twenty essential attributes of God, their equivalent opposites, i.e. the inadmissible attributes of God, as well as an admissible attribute, are all expounded with the relevant rational proofs. Similarly, there are four essential attributes of the Prophet, their opposites, together with an admissible attribute, which totalled fifty altogether, and can be summed up in *shahādatayn*, or the professions of faith and its articles. These, together with knowledge of their uncomplicated rational and legal proofs, constitute the very basic of creed that must be known by every believer<sup>106</sup>.

Likewise, both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī have also manifested their adherence to later Ash‘arism as represented by al-Sanūsī in his *Umm al-Barāhīn*. Here, it is important to note that despite not containing a systematic discussion on theology, both their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* are interspersed with quotations and references to al-Sanūsī, and other later Ash‘arite scholars, especially by al-Ghazālī<sup>107</sup>. This might perhaps, be due to the general and restrictive content of the ḥadīths they commented upon where only two out of forty chapters are related to creed<sup>108</sup>, as well as the fact that both scholars have also composed specific works discussing theology in detail<sup>109</sup>.

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<sup>105</sup> According to al-Bāqillānī and al-Juwaynī, there are seven more attributes in addition to the thirteen original, making a total of twenty. These seven attributes are also known as the qualitative attributes or *ṣifāt al-ma‘nawīyya*. For details, see: Mohd Nor Ngah, *Kitab Jawī*, 10.

<sup>106</sup> See: W. M. Watt, trans., *Islamic Creeds: A Selection* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 90-97.

<sup>107</sup> See for instance: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 10; and Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 19, 106, 149, 188.

<sup>108</sup> Perhaps, an exception to this can be seen in the case of Wan ‘Alī, where eschatological-related issues are practically infused throughout his *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb* in reflecting the overall theme of the destiny of man and his work. See Chapter Three above.

<sup>109</sup> As for Nawawī, he has composed a total of nine works in creed, and many are commentaries of *Umm al-Barāhīn* and/or its famous glosses. Likewise, Wan ‘Alī has also composed his *Zahrat al-Murīd*, a treatise on al-Sanūsī’s creed. See Chapters Two and Three above.

#### 4.3.1.3. *Sectarian polemics*

An exception to this can however, be seen in certain places of their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* where traces of the sectarian polemics, particularly with the Mu‘tazilis on certain key doctrinal issues such as permanencies of grave sinners in the hellfire, susceptibility of *īmān* to changes, vision of God in the Hereafter, physical reality of punishment in the grave, and others are clearly highlighted as an important aspect of creed. In a way, perhaps these polemical issues were perceived by both scholars to be a conspicuous method of asserting their affiliation with the Ash‘arites, and at the same time admonished their readers not to venture into the realms of creed beyond the boundaries of the orthodoxy. By branding their oppositions as heretics and even infidels<sup>110</sup>, they have manifestly confirmed the status of *Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā‘a* as the victorious of all the sects which was also reflected in its long-established tradition among the Jāwah and in the Arab world at that time.

#### 4.3.2. **Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)**

##### 4.3.2.1. *Shafi‘ism: Continuity of a scholarly tradition*

In the sphere of rituals and jurisprudence, Muslims of the Archipelago were long known as devoted followers of the Shafi‘ite School. In fact, this was primarily due to the missionary efforts of the Shafi‘ite traders and scholars from India, Persia, and the Middle East who visited various city-ports in the Archipelago and catalysed the

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<sup>110</sup> For a discussion on these issues, as highlighted by both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī in their commentaries, see Chapters Two and Three above.

spread and mass adoption of Shafi‘ism among the local inhabitants<sup>111</sup>. Similarly, during the Sultanate of Melaka, there was a steady flow of foreign religious teachers who frequented the city and undertook the task of religious education especially on doctrines and rituals among the rulers and the public alike.

However, although it is tempting to consider that there might have been attempts to translate or adapt these Arabic *fiqh* works into local languages at that time; this could never be verified, as most of the Islamic manuscripts prior to the tenth/sixteenth century were yet to be discovered, or indeed, may have perished in the face of time amidst the humid climate of the tropics. Undeniably, the task of explaining the details of jurisprudence and expounding religious tenets were then dominated by the foreign scholars known through their titles such as *makhḍūm*, *mawḷānā*, *faqīr*, and so on, who not only had access to Arabic, but had also probably spent years of their lives studying the religious sciences in the Middle East<sup>112</sup>.

Hence, it was only from the eleventh/seventeenth century onwards that witnessed rapid development in *fiqh* scholarship and its writing in various parts of the Archipelago. Al-Rānīrī’s *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (The Straight Path) is an excellent example of this. Written in 1044/1634, it deals exclusively with the devotional (*‘ibāda*) aspect of jurisprudence based on Shafi‘ism, and was influential at that time

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<sup>111</sup> For instance, it was reported that the residents of Pasai were already Shafi‘ites during the rule of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (r. 696/1297-726/1326), and at least two notable Shafi‘ite scholars of Persian origin domiciled there under the service of the Sultan. Ibn Baṭūṭa (d. 769/ca. 1368) described the Sultan as a Shafi‘ite and lover of jurists and scholarly discussions. See: ‘Alī al-Muntaṣir al-Kattānī, ed., *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭūṭa* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, n.d.), 2: 706-708.

<sup>112</sup> This is tenable considering that the Jāwah in Melaka at that time were described as having only little knowledge of Arabic and jurisprudence. In contrast, visiting *mawḷānās* and *makhḍūms* were described as having profound knowledge in the religious sciences and played important roles in educating the rulers and the general population of Melaka, see: C.C. Brown, ed., *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970), 92-94, 111-112, 124-125, 146-147.

in Aceh and surrounding areas<sup>113</sup>. Soon after, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf of Singkel was commissioned to write an important work containing various issues of jurisprudence in Malay which functioned as a consultative manual for the judges in Aceh in forming their legal rulings at that time<sup>114</sup>.

Elsewhere in the Archipelago, a similar trend could also be traced, and more local rulers were interested in commissioning works on *fiqh* for their use as well as the public in general<sup>115</sup>. Thus, towards the middle of the nineteenth century the proliferation of *fiqh* scholarship and its writing can be clearly observed especially through the multifaceted works of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī<sup>116</sup>, which was further enriched by a myriad of works produced by subsequent Jāwah authors including Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Faṭānī (d. 1333/1914)<sup>117</sup>, Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, and others<sup>118</sup>. In many ways, this is hardly surprising considering the practicality and importance of *fiqh* in the performance of the day to day religious obligations and rituals of the people.

In continuing this centuries-old scholarly tradition, it is only inherent to expect both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī to discuss *fiqh*-related issues in detail in their

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<sup>113</sup> Mohd Nor Ngah, “Some Writings of the Traditional Malay Muslim Scholars Found in Malaysia”, in *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia*, ed. Khoo Kay Kim (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980), 11.

<sup>114</sup> Entitled *Mir’āt al-Ṭullāb* (Mirror of Seekers), this work was completed in 1083/1672 during the rule of Ṣafiyyat al-Dīn (r. 1051/1641-1086/1675). It focuses on transactional and civil procedures, matrimonies, as well as penal codes based on Shafi‘ism, while noticeably excluding the devotional aspect as it has already been thoroughly discussed by al-Rānī earlier. It was later utilized as an important source for an administrative and legalistic code of Law entitled *Safīnat al-Ḥukkām* (The Vessel of Laws) by a Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ṭursānī during the rule of Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Johan Shāh (r. 1147-1174/1735-1760). See: Zalila Sharif, and Jamilah Ahmad, eds., *Kesusasteraan Melayu Tradisional* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1993), 396-399.

<sup>115</sup> For instance, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī composed his famous treatise on devotional rituals entitled *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* at the request of the Sultan of Banjar in Borneo at that time. Ibid., 399.

<sup>116</sup> Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam*, 21-25.

<sup>117</sup> His *fiqh* works included *Maṭla‘ al-Badrayn*, *Wishāḥ al-Afrāḥ*, and *al-Baḥr al-Wāfi*. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Koleksi Karya*, 76-78.

<sup>118</sup> For details of *fiqh* works produced by the Jāwah until the early part of the twentieth century, see for instance: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam*, 17-30; and Siradjuddin Abbas, *Sejarah dan Keagungan Madzhab Syafi‘i* (Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiyah, 2004), 236 ff.

commentaries of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. This is particularly so considering its function as a religious manual among the people who would greatly benefit from the substantive amount of ḥadīth in various aspects of rituals contained in it. Towards a certain extent, Nawawī has managed to discuss some of the more pressing issues as he sees fit though often in a brief and straightforward manner to fit in with the concise nature of his commentary. Perhaps, he might have not also felt the need to discuss them in detail as he has also composed at least seven specialized works on *fiqh* earlier on<sup>119</sup>.

However, in the case of Wan ‘Alī, not much discussion on the procedures and rulings can be found in his *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*. In fact, his focus was primarily on integrating practical juristic obligations with their spiritual and Sufistic elements together as well as revealing the wisdom and rationale that lies behind each religious ritual as a strong motivating force to inculcate religiosity among his readers as discussed before. At the same time, he was also quick to assert the pivotal role of observing the *sharī‘a*, which could not be overlooked at all cost, in defining the true conception of a believer<sup>120</sup>.

#### 4.3.2.2. *The nature of fiqh views and its scope*

It is pertinent to note here that despite their affiliation with Shafi‘ism as mentioned above, one would not find in their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* frequent and direct reference towards the works of the master himself, i.e. al-Shāfi‘ī, rather it was made through the dicta of authoritative Shafi‘ite jurists such as Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī, al-Rāfi‘ī (d. 623/1226), Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, and in

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<sup>119</sup> See Chapter Two above.

<sup>120</sup> A detailed discussion on this matter has been presented in Chapter Three above.

particular, the famous three “families” of *fiqh* works originating from al-Rāfi‘ī’s *Muḥarrar*, Abū Shujā‘ al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. 593/1196) *al-Ghāya wa al-Taqrīb*, and al-Malībārī’s *Qurraṭ al-‘Ayn*<sup>121</sup>. In addition, glosses on these authorities by later commentators of Shafi‘ism also proved to be popular as legitimate and authoritative sources for their works, and this included figures such as al-Shirwānī, al-Bājūrī, Sayyid Bakrī Shaṭā and the likes<sup>122</sup>.

It is also interesting to note the attempt made by Nawawī to present a systematic classification of *fiqh* issues discussed in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* despite their scattered positions throughout the work. Perhaps, he may have wanted to present a more comprehensive picture of the scope of *fiqh* to his reader considering its limited representation in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* that focuses only on personal devotional acts and other related issues<sup>123</sup>.

#### 4.3.2.3. *Ijtihād vs Taqlīd*

More importantly, it is also observed that the methods employed by both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī in procuring any legal ruling from a particular ḥadīth in *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was not necessarily based on its literal connotation or status of authenticity but was rather determined by a wider and comparative discussion of the issue according to the context, methods of argumentation and other evidences proposed by the Shafi‘ites<sup>124</sup>. Sometimes, Nawawī would also comparatively analyze various opinions on the meaning of a ḥadīth, but often rationalizing and championing the views of his school. In the same manner, he approached and discussed the principles

<sup>121</sup> For details of these works, see: Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 117-123.

<sup>122</sup> See for instance: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 18, 22-23, 51; and Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 67, 75. See also Chapters Two and Three above.

<sup>123</sup> This has been discussed in detail in Chapter Two above.

<sup>124</sup> For instance, see: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 23; and Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 39.

of *uṣūl al-fiqh* so as to mould the understanding of a ḥadīth according to the established views among the Shafi‘ite jurists<sup>125</sup>.

Based on this, it can be deduced that both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī perceived themselves more as followers (*muqallid*) rather than inventors of religious rulings (*mujtahid*)<sup>126</sup>. Consequently, they must have also perceived themselves as incapable of exercising *ijtihād*, hence necessitating compulsory acquiescence (*taqlīd*) of previous established authorities of their school. In this regard, it is pertinent to note that although their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* do not discuss this matter directly, a thorough examination of their views as presented in these works together with their other works have nonetheless indicated this<sup>127</sup>. Therefore, it can be argued that the whole notion of *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* among them has contributed much in shaping their methods of *fiqh* and its discussion to be limited only to creative adaptation and manifestation of the dicta of previous authorities, particularly Shafi‘ism, rather than expressing their own originalities in terms of ideas, methods, and religious rulings.

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<sup>125</sup> See: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 19, 51; and Chapter Two above.

<sup>126</sup> In fact, Wan ‘Alī has also indirectly referred to this by stating that al-Suyūṭī was the last of the *mujtahid* among the Muslims. See: Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawḥūb*, 2.

<sup>127</sup> It is interesting to note that Nawawī has thoroughly discussed the notion of *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* in detail in his *fiqh* work entitled *Nihāyat al-Zayn*. In this work, he has clearly placed himself as a *muqallid* because even the revered later jurist such as Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī is described as a *muqallid*. In a similar manner, Wan ‘Alī has also declared *taqlīd* to a particular school of jurisprudence as obligatory upon each and every individual during his time in his other work. See: Nawawī, *Nihāyat al-Zayn*, 7; and Wan ‘Alī, *Zahrat al-Mu‘īd*, 8-9.

### 4.3.3. Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)

#### 4.3.3.1. *al-Ghazālī as a model of orthodox Sufism*

It is indisputable that Sufism has had a pivotal role in influencing the development of Islam in the Archipelago<sup>128</sup>. Among the earliest records of Sufi missionary activities in the region, according to the Acehnese chronicles, was in 572/1177 by a certain Arab known as Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh ‘Arif. Not much is known about him, except that he was a Sufi, and even perhaps a student of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī<sup>129</sup>. However in this early period, it is observed that an orthodox mode of Sufism as represented by al-Ghazālī generally dominated the religious thought of the Jāwah<sup>130</sup>. In fact, two of the famous saints of Java; Sunan Bonang and Sunan Giri are also said to have studied the religious sciences in Melaka, and that their Sufi outlook was essentially Ghazālīan<sup>131</sup>. Nevertheless, this exoteric form of Sufism as represented by al-Ghazālī during this period was soon to be challenged in the sixteenth century

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<sup>128</sup> In fact, Johns and al-Attas have even viewed it as the main catalyst for the rapid expansion of Islam in the region from the fifth/twelfth century onwards. See: A.H. Johns, “Muslim Mystics and Historical Writings” in *Historians of South East Asia*, ed., D.G.E. Hall (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 40-41 cf. Syed Farid Alatas, “Notes on Various Theories Regarding the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago”, *Muslim World* 75, 3-4 (1985): 170-173; al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement*, 5 ff.; and Osman Bakar, “Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian World” in *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (New York: SCM Press, 1991), 262-263.

<sup>129</sup> His pamphlet on Sufism entitled *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* (Ocean of Divinity) champions the theory of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and shows traces of Shi‘ite influences. Although it is possible that this work might have been disseminated during the life time of its author in Aceh and surrounding areas, it was not until the tenth/sixteenth century that *waḥdat al-wujūd* regained its stature. Furthermore, the surviving copies of the work, whether translated into Malay or in its original Arabic form, are believed to be quite recent. See: Mahayudin, *Naskhah Jawi*, 6-10, 36-42; Hawash Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara* (Surabaya: Al Ikhlas, n.d.), 10-14; and Martin van Bruinessen, “The Origins and Development of Sufi Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia”, *Studia Islamika* 1, 1 (1994): 4-5.

<sup>130</sup> See: Brown, *Sejarah Melayu*, 92-94.

<sup>131</sup> Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java* (Leiden-Jakarta: INIS, 2002), 7-8.

Aceh; a period which saw the dominance of rational theology as well as philosophical mysticism and metaphysics in interpreting the religious law<sup>132</sup>.

In particular, the doctrine of the *wujūdiyya* which was creatively adapted from the original doctrine by Ibn ‘Arabī and propagated by Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī is of paramount importance<sup>133</sup>. By the time of his student Shams al-Dīn of Pasai, it has already become an official view backed by the ruling Sultan<sup>134</sup>. Nonetheless, the arrival of al-Rānīrī after the death of Shams al-Dīn has ignited a heated opposition against the *wujūdiyya*. Not only that it was condemned as heterodox, al-Rānīrī also persuaded the Sultan into persecuting its followers<sup>135</sup>. Although eventually he was forced to flee from Aceh, he has nonetheless succeeded in influencing the theological thought of the people, especially in his division between the orthodox and non-orthodox Sufism, as well as his emphasis on the supremacy of the Law in comprehending the religion<sup>136</sup>.

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<sup>132</sup> In *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Garden of Kings), it has been described how the two prominent Meccan scholars who arrived in Aceh in 990/1582 initiated an unresolved polemics regarding the nature of the archetypes (*al-a‘yān al-thābita*), which not only heightened the public interest in metaphysics, but also influenced the intellectual atmosphere in Aceh at that time. See: T. Iskandar, “Hamzah Fansuri: Pengarang, Penyair, Ahli Tasawuf Abad Ketujuh Belas” in *Tokoh-tokoh Sastra Melayu Klasik*, ed. Mohamad Daud Mohamad (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1987), 1.

<sup>133</sup> According to him, God is the only true Reality, while the multitude of evident other realities represented by the various determinations are but the self-manifestations of the one true Reality, that is, God. In articulating this, he drew upon Ibn ‘Arabī’s framework of five grades of being in his various works; prose or poetry. See: Riddell, *Islam*, 105-107; al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism*, 22-25; and T. Iskandar, “Hamzah Fansuri”, 1-9.

<sup>134</sup> See: Riddell, *Islam*, 110-116; and Hawash, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, 40-49. However, instead of confining himself to the original framework of the five grades of being, Shams al-Dīn preferred to adopt the extensive version of the framework as elaborated by Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānfūrī (d. 1029/1620) into seven grades, which is famously known in Malay as the teachings of *Martabat Tujuh*. See: A.H. Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1965), 8-12.

<sup>135</sup> See: Riddell, *Islam*, 119-125. However, according to al-Attas, al-Rānīrī’s criticism against Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn was unjustly done, and perhaps might be primarily due to his misconception of their ideas. See: al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism*, 26-28.

<sup>136</sup> Azra, *The Origins*, 65-69; and Takeshi Ito, “Why Did Nuruddin Ar-Raniri Leave Aceh in 1054 A.H.?” *BKI* 134, 4 (1978): 489-491.

At the same time, the after effect of years of unresolved polemics and debates on the subtleties of theology and metaphysics has prompted ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf of Singkel to seek a solution for the problem from the Islamic heartland<sup>137</sup>. Upon his return to the Archipelago years later as a prominent scholar, he actively strived to harmonize between *sharī‘a* and Sufism or the exoteric and esoteric sciences<sup>138</sup>. At any rate, his greatest impact towards Sufism is reflected in the increased preference among the scholarly circles of the Jāwah to revive the orthodox views on Sufism while carefully disengaging themselves from the pantheistic notion of the *wujūdiyya*. Here, it is interesting to note that while certain speculative issues of metaphysical or philosophical nature were reinterpreted in line with the *sharī‘a*, some scholars have even simply dismissed discussing them altogether to avoid unnecessary controversies<sup>139</sup>.

Hence, it is amidst this changing development in religious thought which is characterized by the harmonization between jurisprudence and Sufism as described above that saw the revival of al-Ghazālī’s teachings, especially through the writings of ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Palembang, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, and others. It was also during the

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<sup>137</sup> It was he who addressed the Aceh controversy to his teacher; Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in Madina in the hope for an impartial solution. The response for this is then incorporated by the latter in his commentary on al-Burhānfūrī’s *Tuḥfat al-Mursala* entitled *Ittiḥāf al-Dhakī* See: Johns, “Friends in Grace”, 476-481.

<sup>138</sup> In as much as he has shown his preference of the orthodox view on the transcendence of God over His creation, he was also not quick to declare the views of the *wujūdiyya* as heretics or infidels. At the same time, he has also introduced the Aḥmad al-Qushashī’s brand of the Shaṭṭāriyya Order in the Archipelago; an order through which Sufi metaphysical ideas and symbolic classifications based on the doctrine of *Martabat Tujuh* later became part of the Javanese popular beliefs. See: Azra, *The Origins*, 79-83; Van Bruinessen, “The Origins”, 10-11; and al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism*, 29.

<sup>139</sup> One such example can be found in the important theological tract of an eighteenth century Aceh scholar; Muḥammad Zayn al-Āshī, who openly declared the necessity of abandoning the study of the *Martabat Tujuh* doctrine so as to avoid any misconception from its interpretation that could entail contradiction with the *sharī‘a*. Moreover, he believed that the functionality of this doctrine has even ceased to exist during his time due to the lack of qualified teachers who can interpret the doctrine in a correct manner. Muḥammad Zayn, *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*, 32.

course of this reconciliatory wave of religious thought that both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī developed their understanding of Sufism. Here, the influence of al-Ghazālī on them is unmistakably clear, as it was deeply entrenched in the scholarly tradition in Mecca at that time<sup>140</sup>. Thus, not only that Nawawī has composed a specific commentary on al-Ghazālī’s *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*<sup>141</sup>, but he also extensively quoted and relied on the latter in supplementing views and opinions on various aspects of the religious sciences in his commentary on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*<sup>142</sup>. Likewise, in the case of Wan ‘Alī, his indebtedness to al-Ghazālī in his *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* is markedly evident as it is laden with examples and quotations reflecting the influence of the latter on his overall structure of religious understanding<sup>143</sup>.

#### 4.3.3.2. *Ṭarīqa and popular Sufism*

Thus, Sufism is perceived by both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī as an integral part that gives life or spirit to both the theological and legalistic aspects of the religion, and this signifies that observance of the Law based on the Quran and the examples promulgated by the traditions of the Prophet is of paramount importance and could not be overlooked at all cost. The need for proper and legitimate guidance in their journeys to seek the pleasures of God have also led them to associate themselves with particular Sufi orders and occupy themselves with the transmission and performance of a variety of litanies, prayers, *mawliids* and hagiographical literatures (*manāqib*) composed and/or narrated by influential Sufi figures in Islam.

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<sup>140</sup> On the influence of al-Ghazālī on the scholarly tradition of Mecca in the nineteenth century, see: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, esp. 201-203.

<sup>141</sup> This commentary is titled as *Sharḥ Maṭāqī al-‘Ubūdiyya*. See Chapter Two above.

<sup>142</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 8, 16-18, 24-27, 32, 39, 41, 60-69, 72. See also Chapter Two above.

<sup>143</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 11, 14, 36-37, 58, 106, 115-116, 124. See also Chapter Three above.

This form of popular and action-oriented Sufism is often performed not only in the hope of gaining bountiful rewards and intercession from the Prophet in the Hereafter, but also for its worldly benefits as well, such as curing sickness, avoiding calamities, and so on. In fact, in *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, one can clearly see traces of the Qādiriyya Order of which Nawawī was affiliated with during his discussion on the types and virtues of inner and outer *dhikr*<sup>144</sup>. In a similar manner, one could also find an abundance of prayers and litanies attributed to certain Sufi masters as well as various practical religious advices that sometimes resemble occultism and numerology in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* alongside creed and *fiqh* which obviously reflected Wan ‘Alī’s harmonious and conciliatory attitude towards all aspects of the religion<sup>145</sup>.

Perhaps, their emphasis on practical Sufism was also largely influenced by *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* itself as an action-oriented compilation based on ḥadīth. Regardless, for both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī, they generally preferred to restrict themselves to discuss only the practical aspects of Sufism and ethics or *adab* as compared to its highly speculative and philosophical approach, which can be reflected from their quotations from earlier and more orthodox Sufi figures such as Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. ca. 163/780), Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and others<sup>146</sup>.

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<sup>144</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 42-44. See also Chapter Two above.

<sup>145</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 28-30, 55-57. For a detailed discussion on this matter, see Chapter Three above.

<sup>146</sup> For instance, see: Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 3, 4, 5, 12, 36, 40-47; and Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 5, 28-30, 54, 83, 121-122. See also Chapter Two and Three above.

#### 4.3.3.3. *Reminiscences of Ibn ‘Arabī’s influence*

On the other hand, it is also of particular importance to note that despite their allegiance to the exoteric notion of Sufism, it is, nevertheless, interesting to analyze the degree of Ibn ‘Arabī’s influence on their religious thought. This is because, even with the increasing influence of orthodox Sufism in the nineteenth century, the teachings of Ibn ‘Arabī continued to have its impact on the Sufi outlook of the Jāwah. However, at this time, they were often interpreted within the boundaries of the orthodoxy, with the exception of a few<sup>147</sup>. Conversely, Nawawī’s apparent silence on the doctrine of the *wujūdiyya*, for instance, did not prevent him from admiring Ibn ‘Arabī as one of the most prominent Sufi master of all time<sup>148</sup>. However, in his *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, there is no trace of his reference or quotation to the latter or his teaching.

On the contrary, manifestations of Ibn ‘Arabī’s doctrine can be somewhat observed in Wan ‘Alī’s work. For instance, after providing an exoteric explanation to a narration, he proceeded to give its esoteric variation stating the centrality of the essence of God, from who emanates all types of existence. This, according to him, indicates the core of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Similarly, its related

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<sup>147</sup> Exceptions to this include Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī’s (1148/1735-?) *al-Durr al-Nafīs* which champions the doctrine of the *wujūdiyya*, as well as various Javanese interpretation of local mysticism infused with elements of Sufism mostly known as *aliran kebatinan* (mystical sects). On the other hand, it should be noted that ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Palembang’s scheme of Sufism is not limited to the teachings of al-Ghazālī alone, rather it also encompasses that of Ibn ‘Arabī and *Martabat Tujuh* which are restricted to the advanced students only. Apart from having profound mastery over the symbolism of the Sufis, they must also have sufficient expertise in *sharī‘a* so as to avoid being led astray from the right path. See: Osman Bakar, “Sufism”, 281-282; Hawash, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, 107-109; and Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Syikh Abdus Shamad Palembang: Ulama Shufi dan Jihad Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1996), 149-170.

<sup>148</sup> This can be seen from his work entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-Madaniyya* which was intended as a summary of Ibn ‘Arabī’s *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. Nonetheless, instead of delving into speculative aspects in theology, the book focuses solely on the practical aspects of faith, and quotations of Ibn ‘Arabī are thus, limited to this sphere of actions only. See: Nawawī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Madaniyya*, 1 ff.

concept of *nūr Muḥammad* is also briefly mentioned<sup>149</sup>. Nonetheless, apart from his quotation of several ḥadīths to support it, no further explanations can be found to further analyze his views on it.

Thus, from this it can be seen how both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī were generally reluctant to venture into the philosophical discussion of Sufism in their commentaries of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. Yet, even in the case where they were inclined to mention the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and its related concept, they were careful enough to interpret it passingly and in a general manner so as to avoid attracting controversies and accusations of heterodoxy, and instead, attempted to blend it with the established orthodox theological framework as represented by al-Ghazālī.

More importantly, on the whole, it has been demonstrated how both scholars strived to promote the study of ḥadīth and its utilization as an important religious source among the Jāwah through their selection of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*; a problematic and somewhat dubious ḥadīth text which was popular among the Jāwah. This is of particular significance as it was through their editing and commentaries of it that both scholars have resorted to discussing various important aspects related to the conception of ḥadīth and its scholarship especially in terms of its criticism and criteria of acceptance, which also turned out to be one of their greatest contribution to the field of ḥadīth studies and its scholarship among the Jāwah in the nineteenth century. In addition, their works are also significant in reflecting the existing compromising trend between Sufism and ḥadīth scholars in their approach towards ḥadīth at that time, albeit some methodical and methodological differences between both scholars as discussed above.

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<sup>149</sup> Wan ‘Alī, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, 2, 23, 27, 43, and 97. See also Chapter Two above.

At the same time, through an examination of some of their religious views as presented in their commentaries, it is obvious that both scholars too realized the potential significance of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as a means of religious discourse based on ḥadīth due to its diversified thematic content. In fact, the styles and methods they employed in composing their commentaries evidently manifested this, and both in their unassuming role in the maintenance of religious traditions, strived to discuss some of the religious issues they perceived to be highly significant for their readers to understand the text and practice it. Here it is pertinent to stress again that although the ideas presented in their commentaries are conventional and unoriginal, it was actually due to their influence together with some of the ideas they presented that was to have an impact on the religious discourse in the following decades. For this reason, it is pertinent to fully assess and comprehend their significance and contribution on the overall development of ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse among the Jāwah through their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, as will be discussed in Chapter Five below.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF *LUBĀB AL-ḤADĪTH* AS A JĀWAH ḤADĪTH DISCOURSE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND BEYOND

As a culmination to the discussion in the preceding chapters on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its two main commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī as a reflection of ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse among the Jāwah, the present chapter attempts to address the following issues, respectively: firstly, to examine their role in the overall development of the Jāwah ḥadīth discourse especially in the nineteenth century; and secondly, to analyze their influence on the subsequent development of ḥadīth study and its discourse in the twentieth century and beyond. It is only by understanding and placing these works on the general historical and religious framework of the Jāwah that one can better appreciate their contribution and significance, not only in the field of ḥadīth study, but also in catalyzing the religious discourse until the present day.

#### **5.1. Jāwah Ḥadīth Scholarship in the Nineteenth Century: Its Nature and Characteristics**

To discuss the historical development of ḥadīth scholarship and its study among the Jāwah in the periods prior to the twentieth century is a very challenging task indeed. Not only that it is a neglected area of study virtually untouched by scholars in the field, but more importantly, the dearth of documented evidence on the matter is perhaps, one of the biggest challenge that awaits any researcher. Taking this into

consideration, the present attempt to provide a general overview on the subject based on available information should at best be perceived as indicative, and in no way conclusive or final.

However, it will be suggested here that even though ḥadīth scholarship and its study among the Jāwah might have begun since the early period of their islamisation, it was not until the nineteenth century that significant development in this area could be observed. Apart from the various factors that contributed to this, none could perhaps surpass the influential role of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī in catalyzing ḥadīth discourse in this period. This will be demonstrated in the ensuing paragraphs through a retrospect survey on the historical and contextual development of ḥadīth study of the Jāwah.

#### **5.1.1. Ḥadīth Works and its Study among the Jāwah Prior to the Nineteenth Century**

Apart from scattered historical and chronicle accounts on the processes of islamisation of the Archipelago, not much is known on the details of the theological and religious life of the Jāwah prior to the sixteenth century. Yet, it has been suggested that works on the basic principles of the religion including *fiqh*, Sufism, and Arabic grammar were already extant during this period<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, while no evidence of ḥadīth works at this time could be substantiated, it was by no means inconsequential to the religious outlook of the Jāwah. The inclusion of a pseudo-ḥadīth in the *Malay Annals* has clearly reflected this, not only as a means of

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<sup>1</sup> See: Braginsky, *The Heritage*, 126-131; and Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, 94.

legitimacy and authority, but also in establishing the rightful link between the Jāwah and Muslims in the heartlands<sup>2</sup>.

In the later part of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century, scholarly discourse of the Jāwah on Islam was markedly characterized by debates and speculations on the subtleties of theology and metaphysics; which has also influenced the type and nature of religious works produced during this period. Interestingly enough, it was amidst this raging conflict between the pantheistic view of the *Wujūdiyya* which was considered as heterodox and the more *sharīʿa*-based Sunni scholars that has led to the birth of the first ḥadīth work among the Jāwah. For the latter, compliance to ḥadīth is often perceived as an important criteria in characterising orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

Therefore, it is not surprising to find that *Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb fī al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhīb*, the first known Jāwah ḥadīth work materialized through the pen of al-Rānīrī; the arch-rival of the *Wujūdiyya* in 1045/1636. However, not much is known on its dissemination and use among the Jāwah prior to the nineteenth century. In addition, it was also not known to attract significant discourse by the locals<sup>3</sup>. Perhaps, apart from the controversial view and the short-lived career of its author in Aceh, it might also be argued that the prevalent scholarly atmosphere at that time

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<sup>2</sup> This so-called ḥadīth is as follows: “The Apostle said to his Companions: In the latter days there shall be a city, below the wind, called Samudra [sic]. When you hear tell of this Samudra [sic] go thither with all speed and bring the people of that city into the Faith of Islam, for in that city shall be born many Saints of God. There shall be moreover a *faqīr* [sic] of a city named Maʿabri. Him take with you”. Brown, *Sejarah Melayu*, 31.

<sup>3</sup> This work is also known as *al-Fawāʾid al-Bahiyya fī al-Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyya*. It is a compilation of Prophetic and other pious traditions on righteous deeds containing about 832 traditions in fifty chapters. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 79-81; and Mohd Muhideen Abd. Rahman, *Riwayat Hidup Syekh Nuruddin al-Raniri dan Sumbangannya kepada Pengajian Hadith* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 2006), 53-67.

might have also influenced the popular preference of the speculative methods over the more fixated nature of transmission-based teachings as contained in ḥadīth.

Regardless, it is also pertinent to note the increasing influence of the Indo-Persian religious tradition on the Jāwah at this time whether directly from the Subcontinent, or through the means of Arabia. In fact, the best example of a direct transmission of the Indo-Persian ḥadīth tradition can be seen from the case of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, which was extensively rendered to suit its new religious and cultural milieu in Aceh as early as 1094/1683, as discussed before<sup>4</sup>. It is also believed that the work gained currency among the locals and was read in various religious circles despite the general ambiguity and scarcity of available evidence on the matter.

The return of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf of Singkel to Aceh after a long sojourn in Arabia has also greatly influenced the development of *sharī‘a*-based orthodoxy among the Jāwah. In his harmonizing approach between Sufism and the Law, great emphasis was laid on the propagation of religious ideals based on the Quran and ḥadīth. Apart from his monumental commentary of the Quran, he has also compiled two works on ḥadīth, i.e. a short treatise entitled *al-Mawā‘iẓ al-Baḍī‘a* and a commentary on Muḥy al-Dīn Nawawī’s *Forty Ḥadīth*. The former is actually a collection of pious advices divided into fifty “lessons” intended for the general population based not only on Prophetic ḥadīth and Divine inspiration, but also includes various wise sayings of the pious and the friends of God<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, contrary to Azra’s assumption; his commentary on *Forty Ḥadīth* is actually laden with theological and theosophical discussions based on al-Taftāzānī’s commentary of the same text, which was perhaps targeted for the ulemas in

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<sup>4</sup> See Chapter One above.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Fanṣūrī, *al-Mawā‘iẓ al-Baḍī‘a* (Patani: Patani Press, 1964), 42-72.

promulgating issues in metaphysics and creed based on ḥadīth. It was completed in 1091/1680 under the decree of Queen Zakiyyat al-Dīn of Aceh (r. 1088-1099/1678-1688) but is not known to have been published until the present day<sup>6</sup>.

Nonetheless, by the end of the eighteenth century, *sharī‘a*-based orthodoxy as propagated by al-Ghazālī regained its prominence among the scholarly elites of the Jāwah such as ‘Abd al-Ṣamad of Palembang, Dāwūd of Patani, and others. Remarkably, despite their proximity with the prevalent scholarly traditions of Mecca that placed much emphasis on ḥadīth, no significant development in ḥadīth study and its scholarship is observed. In the case of ‘Abd al-Ṣamad for instance, even though he possessed reading certificates (*ijāzas*) of various canonical works on ḥadīth, he was not known to compose any single work or commentary on it. In a similar manner, Dāwūd; a prolific author of religious works was only known to start composing works relating to ḥadīth some time later in the nineteenth century.

An exception to this can perhaps be observed towards the end of the eighteenth century in Patani where a translation of al-Samarqandī’s *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*; a compilation of traditions in virtuous deeds, was found to be undertaken by ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Mubīn in 1184/1770. Even though it appears that he has translated the whole work, only a portion of it is known to have been published in the Archipelago later on<sup>7</sup>. Until this time too, works on the technicalities of

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<sup>6</sup> It is important to note that this work is neither “small” nor “intended for a general audience” as assumed by Azra. On the contrary, its content is far more sophisticated as indicated above, which also explain its considerable size that exceeds a hundred folios in the manuscript form. See: Azra, *The Origins*, 82; PNM, *Manuskrip Melayu Koleksi PNM: Satu Katalog Ringkas, Tambahan Ketiga* (Kuala Lumpur: PNM, 1997), 25-26; and Wan Mohd Shaghir, *al-Ma‘rifah: Pelbagai Aspek Tasawuf di Nusantara Jilid 2* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2004), 31-65.

<sup>7</sup> Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 83-84.

*muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth* were yet to be composed by the Jāwah<sup>8</sup>. As such, the so-called ascription of a work on the biography of ḥadīth forgers known as *Tadhkirat al-Mawḍi‘āt* to a Patani author is actually a case of mistaken identity with an Indian ḥadīth scholar bearing the same toponym<sup>9</sup>.

Based on this, it can be said that the development of ḥadīth study and its works by the Jāwah prior to the nineteenth century can be considered as peripheral and secondary compared to other popular and functional religious subjects such as theology, jurisprudence, and Sufism. Apparently, it was mainly through popular works on these subjects such as al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’* and others that ḥadīth was indirectly introduced and disseminated among the populace. More interestingly, with the exception of a few authors discussed above, even the most prolific authors of the Jāwah who spent years of their lives in the scholarly environment of Arabia did not contribute much in disseminating works on ḥadīth despite their familiarity with the canonical works in ḥadīth and its various commentaries.

Conversely, although it is possible that ḥadīth might have been taught in the *pondoks/pesantrens* at this time; yet, without any details on the type and example of the textbook used during this period, it remains but mere conjecture based on good contention<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, it is also unclear whether ḥadīth as a separate subject of

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<sup>8</sup> However, this does not deny the possibility of the existence of Arabic works on the subject matter in private collections such as in the case of a manuscript from Palembang entitled *Idrāk al-Ḥaqīqa fī Takhrij Aḥādīth al-Ṭarīqa* by ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ṣadaqa al-Miṣrī concerning the origin and provenance of traditions in al-Birghāwī’s (d. 980/1572) *Ṭarīqat al-Muḥammadiyya*. Unfortunately, no other information is available on its use or influence in the development of Jāwah ḥadīth study during this period. See: Drewes, *Directions for Travellers*, 202.

<sup>9</sup> This work is actually composed by Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Fatānī (d. 986/1578); a well known Indian scholar from Patan, Gujerat. Yet, due to the peculiarity of his toponym “al-Fatānī” that coincides with that of Patani in the Malay Peninsular, confusion is bound to occur every now and then. For instance, see: Fauzi Deraman, “Karya-karya Hadith”, 170; al-Ḥasanī, *al-I‘lām*, 4: 409-411; and Brockelmann, *GAL*, S2: 601-602.

<sup>10</sup> An example of this can be seen from Mahmud Yunus’ account on the curriculum of religious studies during the rule of Mataram in Java (982-1170/1575-1757), where it is mentioned

study was already taught in Java at this time. Most probably, its study was conducted through the medium of other subjects, and this corresponds to other materials on the educational system in Java in the later periods, as will be seen below.

### 5.1.2. Ḥadīth Works and Its Study among the Jāwah in the Nineteenth Century

Throughout the period of the nineteenth century, there was a significant development in ḥadīth scholarship and its studies among the Jāwah as compared with the previous centuries. To begin with, it was during this period that ideological shift towards the orthodoxy based on al-Ghazālī's integration between *sharī'a* and Sufism predominated the worldview of the Jāwah. Apart from the relentless endeavors paved by past authors, increased contact with the orthodox Arabian scholarly milieu in this century, which was made convenient with the introduction of the steamship, have also left a lasting impression on their religious outlook<sup>11</sup>. As a result, more attention was given towards the understanding and propagation of studies based on the Quran and ḥadīth undertaken by some of their important scholars and authors at that time.

Therefore, it is hardly surprising to find that works on ḥadīth composed during this period increased dramatically in varying methods, types, and sizes compared to the last few centuries. In the first instance, there are works that could be generally categorized under the forty ḥadīth (*arbaʿīn*) genre. Here it is pertinent

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that ḥadīth was studied alongside other important subjects such as *tafsīr*, *fiqh*, theology, and Sufism at the advanced level of studies in greater religious institutions (*pesantren besar*). Nonetheless, he does not supply any further detail or evidence on the type and example of works used during this time. See: Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1983), 223-226.

<sup>11</sup> See for instance: Roff, *The Origins*, 42 ff.; and Md. Sidin and M. Redzuan, *The Malays*, 9-10.

to note that apart from ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s earlier commentary on Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī’s *Forty Ḥadīth*, it was not until 1272/1856 that another translation and commentary of it into Malay was composed. Unlike the previous translation, this work entitled *Fath al-Mubīn* by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ of Rawa (d. ca. 1272/1855) focuses solely on discussions relating to rulings and rituals according to the Shafī‘ites. In a similar manner, there are also other compilations and translations of forty ḥadīth by authors such as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī; Wan Ḥasan ibn Ishāq al-Faṭānī (d. 1279/1863)<sup>12</sup>, as well as other publications of ḥadīth works<sup>13</sup>, and various collections of ḥadīth in private hands<sup>14</sup>.

In addition, there was also a considerable increase in the number of treatise usually categorized as ḥadīth works simply because of their rich content in ḥadīth and tradition. For instance, in creed and eschatology, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī has composed two works; *Farā’id Fawā’id al-Fikr fī al-Imām al-Mahdī*, and *Kashf al-Ghumma fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāma*. While the former was completed in 1215/1800 and focuses on the awaited messianic leader (*imām al-mahdī*), the latter which was written in 1236/1822, deals with death and the stages of life in the afterworld<sup>15</sup>. A few years later, another work on a similar subject was

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<sup>12</sup> Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 82-83; Fauzi Deraman, *Kedudukan Hadith*, 102-125; and Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, 238.

<sup>13</sup> In this regard, it is important to note the existence of a ḥadīth work by ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ṭāhir (d. 1271/1855) entitled *al-Aḥādīth al-Jāmi’a fī ‘Ulūm al-Nāfi’a* which was published by Sayyid ‘Uthmān al-‘Alawī in Batavia (1310/1892). Although this work might have had its place in the development of ḥadīth studies among the Jāwah at that time, yet, to date, only this much information is known of it or its role at this time. See: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften: Gesamelte Schriften* (Bonn: Kurt Schroeder, 1925), 5: 259 ff.

<sup>14</sup> As for the private collections of ḥadīth, see for instance the manuscript found in the Royal Asiatic Society, Maxwell 49 under the title of *Ḥadīth Nabī*, as well as other manuscripts in the collection of PNM. See: Mahayudin Yahaya, *Karya Klasik Melayu-Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 2000), 217-229, 315-217; PNM, *Manuskrip Melayu Tambahan Kedua*, 4, 10, 11, 23, 27; *Katalog Manuskrip Melayu*, 90-91; and Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 161.

<sup>15</sup> Fauzi Deraman, *Kedudukan Hadith*, 30-31, 75-81.

rendered by Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Rashīd of Sumbawa<sup>16</sup>. In 1300/1883, yet another work in the same genre entitled *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya* was composed by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Faṭānī<sup>17</sup>.

On rituals, prayers, and other issues of a general nature, a few works are also composed, such as a Malay translation of al-Jazarī’s (d. 833/1429) *al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn* in the collection of Maḥmūd Badr al-Dīn of Palembang<sup>18</sup>; a work on the responsibilities of a woman towards her husband entitled *Muhimmah pada Ilmu Hadith Nabi* by ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Faṭānī in 1272/1856<sup>19</sup>; *Fath al-Mannān fī al-Ḥadīth* by ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Āshī in 1311/1893<sup>20</sup>; a Malay translation of the Prophet’s Will by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Yūnus of Lingga in 1312/1895<sup>21</sup>; and several ḥadīth works in Arabic<sup>22</sup>.

Nonetheless, it is interesting to note the absence of works based on the more primary compilations of ḥadīth in this period. Perhaps, the Jāwah, who inherited the scholarly traditions of the Ash‘arites in creed and Shafi‘ites in *fiqh* as well as various schools of Sufism, might have not felt the urgency to refer to the unopinionated content of the Prophetic ḥadīth in its primary and original collections as compared with that already demonstrated and utilized in its particular context. Perhaps, this could explain the existence and popularity of secondary works and compilations of ḥadīth on various subjects such as al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’* and others

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<sup>16</sup> Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Rashīd Sumbawa, *al-Yawāqīt wa al-Jawāhir fī ‘Uqūbat Ahl al-Kabā’ir* (Patani: Ben Halabi Press, n.d.).

<sup>17</sup> Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya*.

<sup>18</sup> Drewes, *Directions for Travellers*, 206.

<sup>19</sup> Wan Mohd Shaghir, “Pengarang Manuskrip Kitab di Alam Melayu: Suatu Tinjauan Awal”, *Jurnal Filologi Melayu* 3 (1994), 89.

<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, apart from the information presented above, no other detail on this work is currently known. Ibid., 84.

<sup>21</sup> It is entitled *Naṣīḥat Ahl al-Wafā’ ‘alā Waṣiyyat al-Muṣṭafā*, and considered as a rarity in the present day. Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 93-94.

<sup>22</sup> Drewes, *Directions for Travellers*, 202, 218. See also: Roff, *The Origins*, 45.

since the early period of islamisation of the Archipelago compared with its primary and canonical collection, of which there is no evidence of its composition and utilization prior to the twentieth century.

It is also essential to note the influence of the newly established Muslim printing presses in Egypt, Arabia, India, and the Malay Archipelago in catalyzing the dissemination of religious and ḥadīth works at that time. In Mecca especially, the role of Aḥmad al-Faṭānī as supervisor and editor of the Government Press (Maṭba‘at al-Mīriyya) was very significant in the advancement of Jāwah literary heritage. Apart from editing contemporary works, he was also actively involved in reviving and publishing earlier Jāwah works, especially those by Patani authors. More over, to further promote and disseminate these works to his fellow Jāwah effectively, he has also established a publishing house known as Maktabat al-Faṭāniyya in Mecca towards the end of the century<sup>23</sup>. As such, it was amidst this enthusiasm that saw the re-emergence of al-Rānīrī’s and various other works on ḥadīth discussed above in the printed form.

In a similar manner, apart from the Grand Mosque of Mecca, it is also significant to observe the role of the Ṣawlatiyya School; established in 1292/1875, in the promotion and advancement of ḥadīth studies in Arabia at that time. As a school that is modeled after the Dār al-‘Ulūm of Deoband, more emphasis was given on the study of ḥadīth as part of its curriculum. In addition, as many of its graduates later taught at the Grand Mosque, and that the Jāwah constituted a significant portion of its total number of students, it is hardly surprising that its graduates

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<sup>23</sup> Roff, *The Origins*, 43-55; Md. Sidin and M. Redzuan, *The Malays*, 59-64; Annabel Teh Gallop, “Dunia Percetakan Melayu Hingga Tahun 1900: Suatu Tinjauan Awal”, in *Tamadun Melayu*, ed. Ismail Hussein, A. Aziz Deraman, and Abd. Rahman al-Ahmadi (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1995), 5: 2419-2436; and Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 135-138.

would have a different approach towards ḥadīth compared with their compatriots who studied in the informal circles in the Grand Mosque and its surroundings<sup>24</sup>. Nonetheless, it was not until the turn of the twentieth century that a significant impact of this school can be clearly observed on the development of ḥadīth study as will be discussed later.

However, in the Malay Archipelago, no significant development in ḥadīth study could be observed in the various local educational institutions at that time. Although the *Book of Centini* has mentioned a work on ḥadīth by al-Quḍā'ī (d. 1062/1652) as possibly being read in the Javanese *pesantren* circa 1815-1830<sup>25</sup>, it is interesting to note that in the 1886 survey on the Arabic works used in the *pesantrens* of Java and Madura by Van den Berg, not a single work on ḥadīth or its study is mentioned<sup>26</sup>. Despite its limitations, this survey is still significant in indicating the general trend of studies at that time where ḥadīth as an independent subject of study was yet to gain its popularity in the *pesantren* system of education compared with the other subjects<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Among the graduates of this school who later became important teachers for the Jāwah around this time included Abū Bakr Shaṭā (d. 1310/1892), Muḥammad Sa'īd Bā Buṣayl (d. 1330/1912), Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī (d. 1330/1912), As'ad al-Dihān (d. 1338/1920), Ḥasan al-Mashshāṭ (d. 1399/1979) and others. In addition, it is useful to note that in 1912-1913, around 156-178 Jāwah students were enrolled in this school. See: Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 35-37; Abdullatif A. Dohaish, *History of Education in the Hijaz up to 1925* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1978), 131-136; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāmikh, *al-Ta'lim fī Makka wa al-Madīna Ākhir 'Ahd al-'Uthmānī* (Riyadh: Dār al-'Ulūm, 1985) 39-49; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 250, 360, 434, 560-561; and Mohammad A. Obeid, ed., *al-Thabat al-Kabir by Sheikh Hasan al-Mashat* (London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005), 39 ff.

<sup>25</sup> It is a compilation of advises and ethical counsel based on the ḥadīth. See: Soebardi, "Santri-Religious Elements as Reflected in the Book of Tjentinī", *BKI* 127, 3 (1971): 331-349.

<sup>26</sup> L.W.C. Van den Berg, "Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de Daarbij Gebruikte Arabische Boeken", *TBG* 31 (1886): 518-555.

<sup>27</sup> Among the issues raised included the scope and sample of the *pesantren* surveyed, as well as other non-Arabic religious works which were also used but not included in this survey. See: Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek*, 154-158.

Elsewhere in the Archipelago, a similar trend could also be observed. In Kelantan for instance, even though ḥadīth was believed to have been taught alongside other religious subjects, not much is known to support this. In fact, even after the establishment of the religious class at the Kota Bharu Mosque from 1335/1917 onwards, ḥadīth was not known to be taught until the introduction of a new learning curriculum in 1348/1930<sup>28</sup>. Thus, it is of no surprise that a later researcher has blatantly claimed that “proper” study in ḥadīth was nonexistent in Kelantan during this period, and was only introduced in the early decades of the twentieth century<sup>29</sup>. Nonetheless, this study believes that ḥadīth study has begun considerably earlier in the Archipelago, including Kelantan, as evidenced by some of the works discussed above, and more particularly through the role of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as will be discussed below.

### 5.1.3. The Role and Influence of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in the Development of Jāwah Ḥadīth Discourse until the Nineteenth Century

Based on the afore-mentioned discussion, it can be seen that the development of ḥadīth as a subject of study and scholarship was found to be somewhat marginalized compared with other religious subjects. In fact, in the periods prior to the twentieth century, only a few ḥadīth works are known to be composed or utilized by the Jāwah and all these can be categorized as secondary and considerably later compilations of ḥadīth of varying status and degree of authenticity. As for its primary and canonical collection, not much is known on its popularity or utilization in the Archipelago during this period.

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<sup>28</sup> Abdul Razak Mahmud, “Halaqat Kitab di Masjid Muhammadi”, 20-32; and Ismail Che Daud, “Satu Abad Mufti-mufti Kerajaan Kelantan”, 49-51.

<sup>29</sup> Abdul Hayei Abdul Sukor, *Sumbangan Shah Waliyullah al-Dihlawi kepada Ilmu Hadith dan Pengaruhnya di Kelantan* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Malaya, 1988), 256 ff.

Yet arguably, among these secondary compilations known to be extant in the Archipelago, none could perhaps surpass the significance and influence of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in its influential role in the development of ḥadīth study among the Jāwah. In fact, based on the situation in the Archipelago and its indebtedness to the Arabic and Indo-Persian religious heritage at that time, it is not difficult to perceive that the role of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is comparable to that of its predecessor; *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* in India. This is particularly so considering the late development of ḥadīth study characterized by widespread dependence on its secondary works in the earlier history of both regions, and that it gained its significant momentum through the efforts and virtues of the Sufis. As such, it is highly probable that it was through them that *Lubāb al-Akḥbār* was brought to Aceh in the seventeenth century, and creatively rendered as *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* to suit the local environment as discussed before<sup>30</sup>.

However, unlike most ḥadīth works at that time, the impact of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* extended far beyond the boundaries of the seventeenth century Aceh. The fact that it was later revived in the beginning of the nineteenth century, circulated in printed form in Arabia, and later on attracted significant scholarly attention from Mecca, it is suffice to suggest its considerable influence as an important ḥadīth manual at that time. Based on this, it is also not far-fetched to surmise the widespread circulation of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in its various forms among the Jāwah as a popular text that was also read in various *pesantrens* of the Archipelago and elsewhere despite not being mentioned in some of the surveys and reports on the matter as previously discussed. This is because; according to Nawawī, one of the

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<sup>30</sup> See Chapter One above. As for the Arabic and Indo-Persian influence on the Jāwah, see for instance: Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 23-27; and Braginsky, *The Heritage*, 126-131, 316 ff.

reasons that led him to comment on the work was its popularity and influence among the Jāwah at that time<sup>31</sup>.

Hence, it can also be further suggested that although ḥadīth as a subject of study was yet to gain currency among them at that time, an exception can perhaps be made in the case of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. This is because, unlike most of the ḥadīth works of this period that were developed as part of other religious subjects, the contents of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* generally extended beyond the contextual connotation of a particular view or school of thought, as its focus is solely towards the promotion of piety and noble deeds through the examples shown by the Prophet. Moreover, due to its substantive content of ḥadīth, it can be rightly considered as a “proper” spiritual and legal repository of the Prophetic traditions. Yet, due to its wide ranging content, it could have also been perceived as a work of a general nature on the religion.

Regardless, perhaps its unassuming role as a source of ḥadīth was also accentuated by the absence of its more authoritative and canonical collections among the Jāwah at that time. Interestingly though, even in the case where the latter was practically accessible to them due to their intensified contact with the Arabian scholarly milieu, some still preferred to refer to *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* compared with the other sources. An example for this can be seen from Aḥmad al-Faṭānī’s *Bishārat al-‘Āmilīn wa Nadhārat al-Ghāfilīn* where he has clearly elucidated *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as among his main sources<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> Nawawī, *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, 2. See also Chapter Two above.

<sup>32</sup> It is a work on the virtues of piety and noble deeds based on the ḥadīth, which was composed in 1304/1887. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Bishārat al-‘Āmilīn wa Nadhārat al-Ghāfilīn* (Penang: The United Press, n.d.), 71.

Therefore, it is not surprising to find its rendering and commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī were warmly received by the Jāwah, especially considering the significant effort by the former which has effectively addressed some of its controversial issues, including its authorship, the dubious nature of its ḥadīth content, as well as presenting an error-free version of its text. In fact, all further translation, adaptation, and abridgment of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in the later periods are indebted and modelled after its earlier rendering by Nawawī.<sup>33</sup>

At the same time, he also commented on the contents of the ḥadīth in the work, and presented a methodical analysis on its origin as well as its status of reliability according to the principles of the ḥadīth scholars. More significantly, in assessing these ḥadīths, he has also discussed some aspects of its sciences and terminologies, which is a fairly new development in the history of ḥadīth study of the Jāwah at that time. As such, it is not extraneous to suggest Nawawī as the first known Jāwah to undertake the writing of *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* through his commentary on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*<sup>34</sup>. This is especially significant as it symbolizes a renewed interpretation on the core principle of the supremacy of authority versus authenticity that characterized the methods adopted by the Jāwah in dealing with the ḥadīth. Thus, instead of simply assuming the reliability of a ḥadīth just because of its attribution to the authority of the Prophet, a more tangible aspect of *isnād* criticism is introduced.

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<sup>33</sup> For further details on this issue, see Chapter One above.

<sup>34</sup> At about the same time, it is also worthwhile to note Aḥmad al-Faṭānī’s discussion on the sciences of ḥadīth while presenting his religious opinion (*fatwā*) on the verity of traditions relating to the consumption of salt before and after a meal. Apart from these, no other significant development in the sciences of ḥadīth is observed in this period. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, ed., *Al-Fatawal Fathaniyah Jilid 3*, 120-131.

On the contrary, in his commentary of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, it is interesting to note Wan ‘Alī’s contrastive approach and subtle rebuttal to Nawawī’s reliance on *isnād* criticism despite his indebtedness to the latter’s edition of the text, as discussed before. At any rate, this marked the beginning of a discourse on the importance and significance of *isnād* as an important criteria of ḥadīth criticism and analysis rather than its constrained role as a diploma or certificate of authority, which was hardly known to be discussed in detail by the Jāwah before.

At the same time, it is also pertinent to note the significance of both Nawawī’s and Wan ‘Alī’s commentaries in reflecting the important aspects of the religious thought of the Jāwah at that time. Contrary to the prevalent practice of secondary quotation of ḥadīth through the medium of other works which was the salient feature of their ḥadīth scholarship during this period, direct commentary on an un-opinionated and diversified collection of ḥadīth such as *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* could be quite a challenge; especially in streamlining it with the established scholarly and religious tradition of the Jāwah.

This is because, prior to the twentieth century, almost all of them including Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī believed in the compulsory acquiescence of a particular established *madhhab* or school of thought whether on creed or jurisprudence as opposed to the free practice of *ijtihād*. Yet, to avoid transgression and contradiction, understanding and commentary of ḥadīth must be done through the larger structure of creed, *fiqh*, and religion based on the dominant schools of thought rather than on the literal content or physical aspect of the ḥadīth alone. It is precisely in this manner that both scholars undertook and structured their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. This is clearly reflected through their emphasis

on the views and methods of the Shafi'ites, Ash'arites, and some influential orthodox Sufi masters such as al-Ghazālī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and others in expounding the content of the ḥadīths, which prevails throughout their commentaries, as discussed earlier.

Similarly, they have raised some of the issues that could also reflect the general religious and scholastic trend at that time. Perhaps, a lucid example of this can be seen from Wan 'Alī's obsession with eschatology and issues of the afterlife which, in a way, marked a continuance of works on a similar theme by his contemporaries as discussed before. What is more significant to note is that some of the issues that they addressed, together with their methods of ḥadīth selection and criticism, have also attracted further scholarly discourse and criticism in the later part of the twentieth century. It is mainly due to this that one cannot but acknowledge the significance of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its role in characterizing the development of ḥadīth scholarship and its study by the Jāwah that spanned through almost four centuries until the present day.

## **5.2. The Legacy of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and Its Impact on Ḥadīth Study among the Jāwah in the Twentieth Century**

At the close of the nineteenth century, certain major developments had already taken place throughout the Malay Archipelago as well as the Middle East, which will eventually have its impact upon the Jāwah in the centuries that follow. Apart from their increased contact with the Arabian religious milieu and the adoption of the print technology, the rise of private schools and learning institutions in the otherwise seasonal and informal scholarly milieu of Mecca such as the Ṣawlatiyya

and others have also contributed in characterizing the nature of Islamic scholarship among them, as discussed above.

At about the same time, the strengthening of orthodox teachings among the Jāwah during this period has also been accompanied by a series of limited and often temporal efforts towards reform and purgatory act against certain local customs and Sufi practices perpetrated by some of the returning *hajis*, enthusiastic ulemas, as well as Hadhramis in the Archipelago<sup>35</sup>. Nonetheless, the emergence of reformist ideas as promoted by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (d. 1314/1897) and Muḥammad ‘Abduh (d. 1322/1905) was perhaps the most significant and pivotal of all factors in characterizing the future intellectual and religious discourse of the Jāwah in the twentieth century. More importantly, as far as this study is concerned, all these would also have their impact on ḥadīth discourse during this period, as will be discussed below.

### 5.2.1. Ḥadīth Scholarship and Its Study among the Jāwah in the Twentieth Century

In general, Jāwah ḥadīth study and its scholarship in the twentieth century was noticeably different from the previous centuries discussed above. In the first instance, there was a considerable increase in the number of Jāwah scholars who composed works on ḥadīth. In addition, many of their works during this time are no longer restricted to its secondary compilations, but also encompassed their more

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<sup>35</sup> These included the Padris Movement in Minangkabau, Aḥmad Khaṭīb’s (d. 1334/1916) reform against local *adat* (custom) and Sufi practices, as well as Sayyid ‘Uthmān of Batavia’s attack against the Sufi Orders. See: Christine Dobbin, “Islamic Revivalism in Minangkabau at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century”, *Modern Asian Studies* 8, 3 (1974): 330ff.; Hamka, *Ayahku* (Jakarta: Penerbit Umminda, 1982), 14-18; Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, 112-113; W. G. Shellabear, “An Exposure of Counterfeiters”, *The Moslem World* 20, 4 (October 1930): 359-370; and Peter G. Riddell, “Religious Links between Hadhramaut and the Malay-Indonesian World C. 1850 to 1950” in *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean 1750s-1960s*, eds. Ulrike Freitag and W.G. Clarence-Smith (Brill: Leiden, 1997), 223-225.

authoritative and primary sources. Thus, among the six canonical collections on ḥadīth, the works of al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī seemed to be the most popular subject for commentary and translation by the Jāwah in the first half of the twentieth century.

As for the former, its abridged versions known as *Jawāhir al-Bukhārī* and *Mukhtaṣar Ibn Abū Jamra* were found to be frequently utilized by the Jāwah authors such as Ḥusayn Nāṣir al-Banjarī (d. 1355/1936)<sup>36</sup>, Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1388/1968), and Abū Bakar al-Ash‘arī (d. 1390/1970). In addition, an eight-volume commentary of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* entitled *Ilhām al-Bārī* by ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Ḥādī was also published by Persama Press in Penang at about the same time<sup>37</sup>. In Indonesia, locally published editions of *Jawāhir al-Bukhārī* and Malay translations of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* were also known to be undertaken in as early as 1350/1931 and 1355/1936 respectively<sup>38</sup>. In the case of al-Tirmidhī, apart from a concise commentary on it by Muḥammad Aḥyad of Bogor (d. 1372/1953)<sup>39</sup>, its twenty-two-volume Malay commentary by Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī (d. ca. 1410/1990) entitled *Bahr al-Mādhī* was more popular and widespread, especially among the populace of the Malay Peninsular until the present day<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> Better known as Tuan Ḥusayn Kedah, he was one of the most influential ulemas of Kedah in the early decades of the twentieth century. His *Tadhkīr Qabā’il al-Qadhī fī Tarjamat al-Bukhārī* is a translation and concise commentary of *Jawāhir al-Bukhārī* into Malay out of the eighteen works he produced during his life. The first and only known volume of this work was published in Maṭba‘at al-Zayniyya in Taiping, Perak in 1350/1931. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, “Perkembangan Penulisan”, 33-34; and Muzium Negeri Kedah Darul Aman, *Biografī Ulama Kedah Darul Aman* (Alor Setar: Muzium Negeri Kedah Darul Aman, 1996), 53-64.

<sup>37</sup> Fauzi Deraman, “Karya-karya Hadith”, 171-173; and Ismail Mat, ed., *Ulama Silam*, 19.

<sup>38</sup> Jajat Burhanudin, “The Fragmentation of Religious Authority: Islamic Print Media in Early 20th Century Indonesia”, *Studia Islamika* 11, 1 (2004): 53.

<sup>39</sup> It is worthwhile to note that apart from this information, not much is known of this work and/or its availability. See: al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 1: 311-312.

<sup>40</sup> For biographical details of al-Marbawī and his methods in *Bahr al-Mādhī*, see: Muhammad Mustaqim Mohd Zarif, “The *Bahr al-Mādhī* of Shaykh Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī: A Preliminary Analysis”, *Ulūm Islāmiyyah* 2, 1 (2003): 61-80.

In addition, there were also translations and commentaries of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Penang: 1368/1949), Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqallānī’s collection of legalistic ḥadīth entitled *Bulūgh al-Marām*, Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī’s *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*, *Forty Ḥadīth*, as well as publication of other ḥadīth works of various sizes and themes such as *Irshād al-‘Ibād* (1323/1906), *Boekoe Ahadith al-Nabawiyah* (Jogjakarta: 1341/1923), Abdoellatif Soekoer’s *Ahadith al-Nabawiyyah: Perkoempoelan Seriboe Hadis-hadis Nabi s.a.w., Mengandoeng beberapa Hadis yang Baik-baik Teratoer menoeroet Hoeroep Edjaan* (Bukit Tinggi: 1344/1926), *Tajdhīb Aṭrāf al-Ḥadīth* (Penang: 1368/1949), *Sabda Utusan Ilahi* (Penang: 1370/1951), *Pedoman Hadith Junjungan Rasulullah* (Penang: 1372/1953), and others<sup>41</sup>.

Likewise, it was only beginning from this period that independent works on the technical aspects of ḥadīth began to be composed and disseminated among the Jāwah. In this regard, the *Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar fī Muṣṭalah Ahl al-Athar* by Muḥammad Maḥfūz of Termas (d. 1338/1919); an Arabic treatise on *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth* completed in 1329/1911 is monumental<sup>42</sup>. Not only that it represents the first ever complete work composed by the Jāwah on the subject, but was also considered as most influential in the *pesantren* milieu of Java. Nonetheless, apart from this, it was only considerably later that attempts to formulate the principles of ḥadīth studies and its criticism in the local languages began to appear, especially through

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<sup>41</sup> For details of these and other works, see: Fauzi Deraman, “Karya-karya Hadith”, 168-173; Wan Mohd Shaghir, “Perkembangan Penulisan”, 33-38; Jajat Burhanudin, “The Fragmentation”, 53; and Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, 335-336.

<sup>42</sup> Abdurrahman Mas‘ud, “Mahfuz al-Tirmisi (d. 1338/1919): An Intellectual Biography”, *Studia Islamika* 5, 2 (1998): 27-48.

the pens of Mahmud Yunus (1317-1393/1899-1973) and Muhammad Hasby Ash-Shiddieqy (1322-1395/1904-1975)<sup>43</sup>.

At the same time, it is also pertinent to note the emergence of critical and sometimes apologetic works discussing particular aspects of ḥadīth methodologies and its analysis in the light of recent intellectual and religious development of the Jāwah. For instance, in 1372/1953 a work entitled *Kepalsuan yang Masyhur* that focuses on appraising the values of some of the popular ḥadīth was known to be published in Penang<sup>44</sup>. At about the same time, ‘Uthmān Jalāl al-Dīn of Kelantan (d. 1371/1952) has also composed his *Maṭāli‘ al-Anwār* in which he discussed the fundamental issues regarding the legitimacy of ḥadīth as a legal source in the religion and approaches towards it by the earlier generations of Muslims, perhaps as an outcry to the escalating tension between the reformists and traditional ulemas in Kelantan at that time<sup>45</sup>.

Based on these, one can clearly see the flourishing of ḥadīth works during this period and its proliferation among the Jāwah even during the first half of the twentieth century. Although the above-mentioned titles merely represent some of the most important works produced at this time and should not be perceived as exhaustive or final, it has, nonetheless, shed some important light on the development of ḥadīth in this period. In fact, this dramatic increase in the production of ḥadīth works based on its primary sources as well as on *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* was also accompanied by the intensification of ḥadīth study and its

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<sup>43</sup> Muhamad D. Rudliyana, *Perkembangan Pemikiran Ulum al-Hadits dari Klasik sampai Modern* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2003), 137 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Fauzi Deraman, “Karya-karya Hadith”, 173.

<sup>45</sup> Wan Mohd Shaghir, “Perkembangan Penulisan”, 33-36. For a better view on the escalating tension in religious understanding at this time, see for instance the case of the “dog saliva” in Kelantan in: William R. Roff, “Whence Cometh the Law? Dog Saliva in Kelantan 1937”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25, 2 (1983): 323-338.

dissemination in the various educational institutions in the Archipelago at that time.

It is pertinent to note the role of the new generations of Jāwah students who studied in Mecca at the turn of the nineteenth century in catalyzing the studies of ḥadīth in the *pondoks* and *pesantrens* back home. It would appear that their contact with the ḥadīth-oriented Ṣawlatiyya and similar schools in Mecca at that time had not only led them to produce more ḥadīth works based on its primal sources as discussed above, but also include it as a subject of study alongside other perennial religious subjects. Thus, it is common to find Meccan-educated ulemas such as Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan of Kedah (d. 1351/1932), Tuan Ḥusayn of Kedah (d. 1355/1936), ‘Abd Allāh ibn Azharī of Palembang (d. 1357/1938), Wahy al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd al-Ghanī of Palembang (d. 1360/1941), Hāshim Ash‘arī of Java (d. 1366/1947), Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad of Kelantan (d. 1379/1960), and others have popularized the study of ḥadīth among their compatriots back home<sup>46</sup>.

Interestingly enough, apart from the intensified scholarly contact in Arabia, it also appears that the influence of the Indian ḥadīth tradition, particularly through the school of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī have also been transmitted directly to the Jāwah in their homelands. An important example of this can be seen in the case of the Deobandi Indian ḥadīth scholar known as Tok Khurasan (d. 1362/1943) who initiated the readings of *kutub al-sitta* and other primary collection of ḥadīth since his arrival in Kelantan around the time of the first world war<sup>47</sup>. Among the important followers of this school included Nik Abdullah ibn Musa (d.

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<sup>46</sup> For details of these ulemas and their role in ḥadīth studies, see: Muzium Negeri Kedah Darul Aman, *Biografi Ulama Kedah*, 47, 59, 100; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, 2: 734-737, 806-807; and Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 39.

<sup>47</sup> Abdul Hayei, *Sumbangan Shah Waliyullah*, 184-208.

1355/1936)<sup>48</sup>, Muhammad Saleh ibn Musa (d. 1391/1971)<sup>49</sup>, Abdullah Nuh (d. 1366/1947), S. Othman Kelantan, and others. Apart from their emphasis on ḥadīth, renewed interpretation on some aspects of the religion according to the methods of al-Dihlawī are among the main characteristics of their thought<sup>50</sup>.

On the other hand, it is also important to note an equally if not prominent influence of the Cairo-educated Jāwah on ḥadīth studies in the Archipelago at about the same time. Armed with the reformist ideas of ‘Abduh and his student Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1354/1935) that reinstated the sublime role of the Quran and ḥadīth in modern intellectual and religious discourse, Cairo graduates, whose number increased considerably since the 1330s/1920s, are naturally primed to revolutionize the existing educational system of the Jāwah. This can be particularly seen from their initiative and effort in establishing the “modern” type of schools (*madrasa*) to meet the challenges of the modern world in various places in the Archipelago as opposed to the traditional system of *pesantrens* or *pondoks* of the old centuries<sup>51</sup>.

In their perception, the existing education of the Jāwah was not only deficient in its scope of knowledge both secular and religious, but also fused with heresies and corruptions that defy the true teachings and spirit of Islam. To purify

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<sup>48</sup> He was the son of Wan Musa; former *Mufī* of Kelantan. Apart from Tok Khurasan, he also had the opportunity to study from the eminent Indian ḥadīth scholar; ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Sindī (d. 1363/1944) when he was in Mecca. See: Muhammad Saleh Wan Musa and S. Othman Kelantan, “Theological Debates: Wan Musa b. Haji Abdul Samad and His Family” in *Kelantan: Religion, Society, and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974), 161 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Another son of Wan Musa, He had also studied in Deoband and later in the Jāmi‘a Milliyya-i Islamiyya in Delhi. However, due to his contradicting religious views against the ulemas of Kelantan at that time, he has been labelled as an unbeliever and heretic by various *Mufī*s in Malaya at that time. Ibid., 164-169.

<sup>50</sup> Abdul Rahman Abdullah, *Pemikiran Islam di Malaysia: Sejarah dan Aliran* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1997), 182-184, 220-221.

<sup>51</sup> See: William R. Roff, “Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920s”, *Indonesia* 9 (April 1970): 73-87; and Mona Abaza, *Indonesian Students in Cairo* (Paris: Cahier d’Archipel, 1994), 54-56.

and “rescue” Islam from these heretical practices and superstitions, one must return to the very origin of the religion itself, i.e. the Quran and ḥadīth. In turn, this has led to the emergence of a new type of textbooks and teaching methods for schools that better reflect the ideals and aspirations of the reformists. In addition, their methods of employing debates and discourses through the use of periodicals, magazines, and newspapers such as *al-Imām*, *al-Munīr*, and others have also inadvertently contributed to the general awareness on the needs for ḥadīth and its study as an indispensable part of the religion<sup>52</sup>.

As such, the purgatory attitude of the reformists has earned them the label of *Kaum Muda* as opposed to the ulemas of the old tradition (*Kaum Tua*). Nonetheless, as far as ḥadīth is concerned, it is interesting to find that increased interaction, debate and even dispute between these two factions at that time on various religious matters have only heightened the need and utilization of ḥadīth as part of the discourse, either through the opinionated “traditional” works of the *Kaum Tua*, or as reflected in its renewed interpretation and understanding by the *Kaum Muda*. Therefore, it is hardly surprising to find increasing popularity of ḥadīth and its sciences as independent subjects of study on par with other subjects, not only in the educational curriculum of the *madrasa*, but also in *pesantren* and *pondok*<sup>53</sup>.

In fact, the 1990 survey by Van Bruinessen has not only confirmed this, but also indicated that ḥadīth has become a compulsory subject of study in various

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<sup>52</sup> Roff, *The Origins*, 58, 75-87; *Bibliography*, 6-8, 11-14, 31-35; Abaza, *Indonesian Students*, 58-59; and Hamka, *Ayahku*, 94-111.

<sup>53</sup> See: Abdullah Alwi Hassan, “The Development of Islamic Education in Kelantan” in *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia*, ed. Khoo Kay Kim (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980), 190-228.

*pesantrens* in Sumatera, Kalimantan and Java of present day Indonesia. More interestingly, apart from a few elementary works on *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth*, the majority of ḥadīth texts studied in these institutions are based on the primary and authoritative collections of *kutub al-sitta* and their derivatives<sup>54</sup>. In the case of the *pondok* of modern day Malaysia and Southern Thailand, a similar trend could also be observed. Surveys on the works used in the surviving *pondoks* in Kelantan and Patani until the present day have indicated extensive utilization of primary and authoritative ḥadīth works and its sciences, together with other religious works of pre-twentieth century Jāwah ulemas<sup>55</sup>.

Therefore, towards the end of the twentieth century, ḥadīth study has reached its maturity as an independent obligatory subject of the religion, and hundreds if not thousands of works have been produced by the local populace of the Archipelago, especially in Malaysia and Indonesia. In the face of the changing socio-political environment of modern day Southeast Asia, it is found that earlier dispute between the reformist and traditionalist seems to have lost much of its vigor and intensity, and a more “eclectic” and sometimes compromising attitude between the two parties especially with regards to their utilization of ḥadīth works is observed<sup>56</sup>. At the same time, the increasing role of higher educational institutions and universities, especially that with specialization in particular Islamic subjects such as ḥadīth and its sciences in influencing and directing the religious discourse in present day communities should also be observed. Nonetheless, at this point, it is

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<sup>54</sup> Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 160-163.

<sup>55</sup> See, for instance: Rahim Abdullah, “Pelajaran Pondok di Kelantan”, in *Beberapa Aspek Warisan Kelantan II*, ed. Khoo Kay Kim (Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, 1983), 1-20; Samsudin Mohamed Noor, *Pengajian Hadis di Kelantan: Satu Kajian di Institusi Pengajian Pondok* (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Malaya, 2004), 150-187; and Hasan Madmarn, *The Pondok and Madrasah*, 55 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 132-133.

imperative to note the place of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* amidst the rapid development of ḥadīth study in the twentieth century as will be discussed below.

### **5.2.2. *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*: Its Distribution and Influence in the Twentieth Century**

Apart from its published copies in the nineteenth century, not much is known on the publication of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in a standalone edition throughout the period of the twentieth century. In fact, the most common channel of its distribution was through the commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī, which received much popularity among the Jāwah in Arabia as well as back home. Nonetheless, in assessing the circulation and utilization of these two commentaries in the Archipelago, it is important to realize the unmistakable Meccan scholarly milieu of both the authors, which could have an impact on their readership and audience considering the methodological confrontation between the reformists and the traditional ulemas in the period under discussion. It is with this consideration that a brief discussion on their views on religious reform based primarily on their commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* is perceived as essential and relevant.

#### 5.2.2.1. *Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī on Religious Reform*

Although suggested by some<sup>57</sup>, it is very unlikely that both Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī, in their teachings and methods, are similar to that of the reformists as propagated by al-Afghānī, ‘Abduh, and their followers despite the overlapping period of their career and even possible encounter between them in the second half of the nineteenth century<sup>58</sup>. This is particularly true considering their contradictory views on the very core of issues that were promoted by ‘Abduh in his religious reform.

In the first instance, ‘Abduh believed that the much needed unity and strength for the advancement of the Muslims can only be achieved through returning to the simplicity and effectiveness of the “true” teachings of Islam as practiced in its early years. This, he believed, can be achieved through revising the existing corpus of religious literatures to consist only those matters that are applicable to the current situation of the Muslims. Hence, works on creed should only incorporate the necessary principles based on the methods of the earlier generations (*salaf*), avoiding its later views (*khalaf*) and the differences between the various sects. More importantly, he also championed rationalism in interpreting Islam and perceived unquestioning acceptance of the authority of previous scholars or *taqlīd* as detrimental to the progress of the Muslims. The remedy, according to him, lies in reinstating the rights of *ijtihād* for every generation of Muslims through the active use of reason<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>57</sup> On the attempt to link Nawawī with religious reform, see: Johns, “Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World”, 273.

<sup>58</sup> For details of al-Afghānī’s views and ideals, see for instance: Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muḥammad ‘Abduh* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 13-16.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 108-113, 130-133.

On the contrary, Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī however, do not feel the urgency of reforming the existing nature, scope and methods of the religious literatures. In fact, their preference of the gloss and commentary style of writing throughout their works instead of introducing original ideas and addressing contemporary issues on religion is but an indication of their role as simply transmitters of the religious tradition. Hence, they would not dare to exercise preference of only the views of the *salaf* while abandoning the others as it entails disruption in the intellectual chain of religious authorities in their understanding of the religion. Thus, scholastic debates and polemics with the Mu‘tazilites and other opposing sects will always be considered by them as an essential part of creed and its study, as is clearly reflected from their respective commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. In a similar manner, they have also viewed *taqlīd* on religious matters as a religious duty and necessity rather than as an impediment to progress as propagated by ‘Abduh<sup>60</sup>.

On the other hand, absolute dependence on the Prophetic ḥadīth in expounding religious matters should not also be taken as an indication of some kind of reformism, as it is always an integral part in the whole structure of religious authorities among the Sunnis. As a matter of fact, the revival of ḥadīth study and its integration with Sufism in the Meccan scholarly milieu has indeed begun at least a few hundred years earlier as discussed before. As such, it is hardly surprising to find Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī to place much emphasis on the Prophet and his traditions as central to Islam. In fact, so strong was their passion for ḥadīth that they took a sacrosanct approach towards it and exercised great caution in its criticism lest they demean the Prophet himself. Similarly, they would include a variety of pious tales

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<sup>60</sup> See Chapter Four above.

and narratives from the earlier generations including *isrā'īliyya* even though their authenticity is yet to be verified.

It is however, interesting to note that despite his enthusiasm in emulating the principles of Islam according to the *salaf*, 'Abduh was surprisingly critical when it comes to ḥadīth. Apart from *mutawātir*, he was reluctant to lend credence to the other type of ḥadīth, i.e. *āḥād*<sup>61</sup>. In addition, he was also critical of *isrā'īliyya* in *tafsīr*, and prioritized the use of reason over established meanings of traditions on various aspects of the religion<sup>62</sup>. In this regard, it is reasonable to characterize both Nawawī and Wan 'Alī as more of dedicated teachers and scholars whose main aims were towards the propagation of religious ideals and the maintenance of its age-old traditions rather than instigating reform and awakening of new interpretation of religious understanding as proposed by al-Afghānī, 'Abduh and their followers.

#### 5.2.2.2. *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl and al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb: Distribution and Influence*

Based on the above discussion, it is clear that both Nawawī and Wan 'Alī can be regarded as belonging to the traditional ulemas or the *Kaum Tua*, which resisted much of the ideas and methods proposed by the reformists. As such, it is hardly surprising to find that their works are mostly being circulated and used in various *pondoks* and *pesantrens* in the Archipelago that served as the bastions of the *Kaum Tua*.

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<sup>61</sup> His view on this matter can be seen from his own words as follows: "He to whom the tradition has come, who has satisfied himself of the truth of what it contains, is obliged to believe it. But he to whom it has not come, or receiving it had misgivings about its validity, he cannot be blamed as an unbeliever if he withholds acceptance of it since it is not verified by sustained narration". See: Muḥammad 'Abduh, *The Theology of Unity*, cf. Brown, *Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought*, 37.

<sup>62</sup> See: Ibid.; Adams, *Islam and Modernism*, 137-138; and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Nāṣir, *al-'Aṣrāniyyūn bayn Mazā'im al-Tajdīd wa Mayāḍin al-Taghīb* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Kawthar, 1996), 40, 48, 54-60.

However in the case of Nawawī, it is interesting to find that many of his works including *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* are also widely circulated in the Arab speaking world. While this could have been due to his status as a respected author who wrote exclusively in Arabic, yet in the case of *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*, it could also be due to the fact that it is the only available commentary and critical edition of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* in Arabic. His analytical assessment of the ḥadīth according to the methods of ḥadīth scholars could have also enhanced its value, as can be reflected from its continuous publication and circulation in Egypt, Lebanon, Algeria, and elsewhere until the present day.

Back in the Archipelago, a similar trend could also be observed. According to surveys on the Indonesian *pesantrens* in the 1990s, it has been found that as many as eleven of his works are still being used as textbooks at various levels of studies. His *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* in particular, was widely used in numerous *pesantrens* throughout South Kalimantan and Java. In addition, its local reprints and publications were also found to be undertaken by various local publishers in cities such as Semarang, Bandung, and Surabaya<sup>63</sup>. At the same time, the translation of its text into modern Indonesian by Zaid Husin al-Hamid in 1995 has also extended its readership beyond the *pesantren* milieu to include the more general and non-Arabic speaking audience.

It is interesting to note that Nawawī's influence is also found to have reached the Malay Peninsula since the early decades of the twentieth century. In Penang for instance, as many as fourteen of his works were available in the book

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<sup>63</sup> See: Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 143, 160-162; and Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawī*, 105-109, 374, 392.

market at that time, including *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*<sup>64</sup>. In Kelantan too, nine of his works excluding *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* were available at least until 1975, and some were used in the local *pondoks* at that time<sup>65</sup>. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that despite its availability, it seems that *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* did not receive much popularity in the Malay Peninsular, and as far as is known, it has never been utilized as part of the teaching curriculum in the *pondok* system as opposed to some of his other works.

On the other hand, Wan ‘Alī’s *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* was only found to be widely circulated and influential in the Malay Peninsula, as well as the present day Singapore. As he wrote in Malay, it is almost natural to find his works limited to the Malay speaking population as opposed to Nawawī’s *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl*. Nonetheless, despite this linguistic restraint, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* can be rightly considered as one of the most influential works among the Malays. Not only that it was used as a textbook in the *pondok* curriculum, but it has also become a popular means of religious propagation in various mosques and informal religious classes throughout the Peninsular until the present day. In fact, in a recent study on *pondoks* in Kelantan in 2002, it is still found to be read alongside other works<sup>66</sup>. Due to the increasing demand from the populace, it was continuously reprinted by various local publishers and is still available on the bookshelves in various religious bookstores in Kuala Lumpur, Kelantan, and elsewhere. This can also be reflected

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<sup>64</sup> See: *Buku Daftar Kitab-kitab Arab yang Disediakan oleh Gudang Kitab Maktabah wa Matba’ah H. Abdullah b. M. Noordin Arrawi* (Penang: The United Press, n.d.), 7-40.

<sup>65</sup> See: Rahim Abdullah, “Pelajaran Pondok di Kelantan”, 16-17; and Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, “Karya Syekh Nawawi Al-Banteni dalam Cetakan Kelantan: Hubungan Kelantan-Banten”, in *Warisan Kelantan XIV*, ed. Nik Mohamed Nik Mohd Salleh (Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, 1995), 74-76.

<sup>66</sup> Samsudin Mohamed Noor, *Pengajian Hadis di Kelantan*, 114, 150-176. See also: Abdul Hayei, *Sumbangan Shah Waliyullah*, 247, 276-279; and Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 87-88.

from the efforts made to romanize its text from the *Jawi* script in present day Malaysia and Singapore to widen its scope of readership<sup>67</sup>.

To sum up, it is found that the circulation of both Nawawī's and Wan 'Alī's works on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* was very much characterized by their scholarly milieu and religious ideals, and appealed predominantly to the traditional channel of religious education in the Archipelago. However, this information should not be interpreted as final nor reflecting their actual readership but rather as an indication of their recorded use in the educational curriculum. It is also of interest to note that while Nawawī's work was almost exclusively utilized in the present day Indonesia, the same could not be observed about Wan 'Alī's, which was fairly unknown beyond the borders of present day Malaysia and Singapore. Apparently, each work is more influential and dominant in the cultural and geographical origin of its author, and the presence of other or similar work on the subject might be perceived as unnecessary and even redundant. Therefore, it is in this regard that makes these works and their contents unique on their impact towards the religious discourse of their particular audience during this period, as will be discussed below.

### **5.2.3. *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as a Discourse in Present Day Southeast Asia: A General Assessment**

In general, it seems that the controversy and anonymity surrounding *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* among the Jāwah has been successfully addressed by Nawawī through his critical edition of the text in the later part of the nineteenth century. In fact, so influential was his edition that it has become the standard reference point for *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and increased its merit as an important compilation of ḥadīth, which

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<sup>67</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three above.

inadvertently led to its further translation and adaptation. Additionally, it would appear that its existence throughout the twentieth century was also indebted to two of its influential commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī as discussed above. Thus, as opposed to the previous centuries, it is hardly surprising to find its function overshadowed by that of its commentaries in attracting further discourse during this period.

It is important to observe here that despite his affiliation with the *Kaum Tua* both in his religious views and approaches, Nawawī’s *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl* is not known to instigate any serious debate among the scholars and academics of the present day Indonesia. Perhaps, his critical approach in appraising the status of ḥadīth according to the principles of ḥadīth scholars, as well as his minimal reliance on baseless narratives and traditions in expounding its text has made his work less susceptible to criticism in this aspect. In addition, he was also careful not to raise any issue which might have been perceived as polemical or controversial by the orthodox Sunnis. Due to this, it is hardly surprising that his work has become an indispensable edition of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and the basis for its subsequent translations and adaptations into local languages, as demonstrated before. Therefore, it is primarily in this regard that one can sum up its influence throughout the period of the twentieth century.

On the contrary, Wan ‘Alī’s *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* is found to have triggered serious criticism and discourse from the academics and scholars of present day Malaysia. Apparently, the proliferation of ḥadīth materials and its study in the country especially in universities and institutions of higher education has strengthened the religious reformist tendency of the earlier *Kaum Muda*; only this

time it is through the pens and tongues of local academics who are deeply entrenched in the methods and traditions of ḥadīth scholars. Their approach, which is based on critical appraisal of ḥadīth in terms of its authenticity and its literal interpretation, has led them to openly attack all that is perceived as spurious and baseless including certain controversial views and practices of Sufism. Due to its content and influence among the Malays, it is not surprising that *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* is often made the focus of their criticism and reproval.

In the first instance, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* is often perceived not as a “proper” work in ḥadīth but rather as a treatise on ethics and popular Sufism interspersed with considerable amount of traditions. It seems that Wan ‘Alī’s general disregard for the style of ḥadīth quotation according to the methods of ḥadīth scholars and his exclusion of its source of origin have largely contributed to this, apart from his lack of clear distinction between the Prophetic ḥadīth and other traditions throughout his commentary. According to the critics, this has not only made it difficult to verify the origin of a ḥadīth mentioned in the work, but more importantly, it leads to the relevant question of its authenticity and reliability, which forms the crucial basis of its acceptance and credibility as a source of the religion. While the general populace, due to their lack of specialized knowledge on the matter, unquestionably accept every single ḥadīth mentioned in the work as authentic, it is the responsibility of the present day academics and ulemas to warn them of the reality and status of its ḥadīths<sup>68</sup>.

For them, *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* contains substantive amount of unaccepted ḥadīths and baseless traditions and narratives according to its methods of criticism

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<sup>68</sup> Samsudin Mohamed Noor, *Pengajian Hadis di Kelantan*, 83, 114, 137; and Abdul Hayei, *Sumbangan Shah Waliyullah*, 247-248.

by the ḥadīth scholars. More importantly, the worst type of ḥadīth in the form of *mawḍūʿ* ‘or fabricated tradition is also found to be in abundance in the work. The fact that these traditions are often employed by Wan ‘Alī to discuss eschatological issues in detail, especially concerning the heavenly rewards in the afterlife, have also aggravated vocal reactions from these academics who openly contest and criticize the work through the print and mass media<sup>69</sup>. At the same time, they have also raised questions on the authenticity of the traditions quoted by Wan ‘Alī regarding certain traditions that resemble superstitious beliefs based on occultism and numerology such as emphasizing the significance and benefits of a particular day for conducting a certain affair and so on, which is perceived as alien to the original Islam<sup>70</sup>.

Perhaps, the root of these issues lies in Wan ‘Alī’s fairly relaxed approach towards ḥadīth acceptance and its criticism, which actually reflect the general attitude of the Sufis on the matter. In other words, his emphasis on the more spiritual and direct experiential link with the Prophet through non-tangible means over the physical *isnād* as the main criteria for ḥadīth selection has led him to include traditions and narratives perceived by the ḥadīth scholars as spurious and baseless due to their unverified links of transmission. It is in this regard that one of the critics put the blame directly on the Sufis, whose methods on ḥadīth have

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<sup>69</sup> Examples of this can be seen from an article published in *Pengasuh* discussing this matter in detail, as well as another unidentified article reproduced in verbatim by Wan Mohd Shaghir in his work. See: Mohamad Kamil, “Gambaran Nikmat Syurga”, 49-55; and Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 110-117.

<sup>70</sup> For instance, they criticized the so-called ḥadīth quoted by Wan ‘Alī where the Prophet mentioned that trimming one’s fingernails on a particular day of the week yields specific benefit and protect him from certain harm. In a recent study on *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb*, it is proclaimed that this ḥadīth is baseless and spurious. See: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 125-126; and Hilaluddin, *Takhrij Hadith*, 318-320. For other examples, see also Chapter Three above.

justified them to forge on behalf of the Prophet, all in the name of good deeds and promoting it among the people<sup>71</sup>.

Therefore, it is suggested that a critical study on the types and status of ḥadīths mentioned in *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* and all other works of a similar nature by the *Kaum Tua* must be undertaken by the contemporary academics according to the methods of the ḥadīth scholars so as to curb falsehood and confusion caused by these fabricated traditions from penetrating into the religious lives and practices of local Muslims<sup>72</sup>. Indeed, it is interesting to note that over the last decades, an increasing number of Malaysian academics and research students have dedicated much of their time and energy in studying the ḥadīths in these works and uncovering their origin and status of reliability, including that of *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* at various levels of study; a trend which is very likely to continue at least for a few more years to come<sup>73</sup>.

At the same time, there are also certain aspects of Sufism which are perceived by contemporary academics and religious authority as controversial, if not heretical, such as the concept of the *waḥdat al-wujūd* and its related notion on the Lights of Muḥammad. In fact, it is interesting to note that in present day Malaysia, the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is officially outlawed and decreed as heretical by the State *Muftīs* of Johor, Kedah and Selangor<sup>74</sup>. Moreover, as these

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<sup>71</sup> On Wan ‘Alī’s methods of ḥadīth acceptance, see Chapters Three and Four of this study. On this view mentioned above, see: Abdul Hayei, *Sumbangan Shah Waliyullah*, 243-248.

<sup>72</sup> Mohamad Kamil, “Gambaran Nikmat”, 49-55; and Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 116-117.

<sup>73</sup> In particular, this kind of study is widely undertaken by the students and researchers in the Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya, as well as the Faculty of Islamic Studies, National University of Malaysia.

<sup>74</sup> For a reproduction of the *Muftī* of Johor’s *fatwā*, see: Hawash, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, 120-122. The *fatwās* of other *Muftīs* can be accessed online at the following addresses: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia (JAKIM), “Sistem Maklumat Fatwa (Portal e-fatwa)”,

concepts are commonly found to be utilized in justifying the formation of many of the heretical teachings (*ajaran sesat*) that emerged on the local scene, the present government has also banned and censured any work; religious or otherwise, that expounds these matters in detail<sup>75</sup>. In this regard, even though *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* has not attracted any direct criticism on this matter, yet it still faces the general censorship by the religious authority as discussed above, considering the existence and exposition of these controversial concepts throughout the work.

At any rate, it is pertinent to note the resistance from some of the traditional ulemas in Malaysia who felt obliged to defend their belief and the integrity of their religious heritage in response to some of the criticism. For them, their understanding of the religion is not something that is invented by the previous Jāwah scholars, rather it represents the continuity of the religious scholarly tradition of the majority of the Muslims at that time as exemplified by the Arabian scholarly milieu of the past who strived in their pursuit of harmonizing between the exoteric and esoteric aspects of the religion. In the case of *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* in particular, it is important to note the significant role of Wan Mohd Shaghir (d. 1428/2007) in defending and answering all the criticism forwarded against Wan ‘Alī and his work as discussed above<sup>76</sup>. Indeed, the active interactions and reactions between these religious and scholarly figures in Malaysia are but an obvious and

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[http://www.e-fatwa.gov.my/mufti/fatwa\\_search\\_result.asp?keyID=495](http://www.e-fatwa.gov.my/mufti/fatwa_search_result.asp?keyID=495); and [http://www.e-fatwa.gov.my/mufti/fatwa\\_search\\_result.asp?keyID=790](http://www.e-fatwa.gov.my/mufti/fatwa_search_result.asp?keyID=790) (accessed 28<sup>th</sup> July 2007).

<sup>75</sup> See: Abdulfatah Haron Ibrahim, *Ajaran Sesat* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1985), 63 ff. For a complete listing of these banned works, see the Ministry of Internal Security website as follows: Ministry of Internal Security Malaysia, “Senarai Penerbitan Haram 2001”, <http://www.kkdn.gov.my/opencms/opencms/KKDN/BhgPQ/senaraiharam2001.html#> (accessed 28<sup>th</sup> July 2007).

<sup>76</sup> See for instance: Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Wawasan Pemikiran*, 110-152; and *Penutup Perdebatan Islam Alaf Kedua di Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999).

excellent indication of the relevance of *al-Jawhar al-Mawhūb* in the present day religious and ḥadīth discourse.

In summary, it is pertinent to regard the significant role of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*, especially through its two influential commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī in characterizing and contributing to the overall development of ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse among the Jāwah which extended beyond the geographical and temporal constraints of their multi-cultural and diverse societies up to the present day modern Southeast Asian countries. More importantly, despite its anonymity and somewhat negligible status within the larger corpus of ḥadīth literatures, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* has managed to attract attention and was rigorously and repeatedly adapted and rendered throughout its contact with the Jāwah. In fact, it is in this sense that one could perceive it as unique and exceptional, considering the general ambiguity and somewhat marginalized condition of ḥadīth scholarship and its studies among the Jāwah in the periods prior to the twentieth century.

## CONCLUSION

As has been substantively demonstrated in the previous pages, it is the main objective of this study to expound on the issue of Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship in the nineteenth century through the case of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its two main commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī. In fact, in accomplishing this, a multiple-approach attitude towards the subject matter has been employed ranging from the socio-historical and comparative methods to textual study of the relevant texts, which was then classified and discussed in detail based on a fivefold division of chapters as outlined above. Nonetheless, at this point, it is useful to recapitulate some of the main observations and findings of each chapter in reflecting their relationship and impact towards attaining the overall aim intended in this study.

The focus of Chapter One was on the important issue of authorship and origin of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*; the base work of both commentaries which was commonly attributed to al-Suyūṭī. Interestingly, through a critical analysis of its relevant manuscripts and printed copies, it is discovered that at present, it is best to describe it as a work by an anonymous author, which was later on attributed vaguely either to an unknown person by the name of Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh, or more famously to al-Suyūṭī, whose reputation and prolificacy in composing works of various sizes and subjects is beyond doubt. In addition, a more detailed examination has also demonstrated how the work has undergone several stages of adaptations and renderings in its various aspects right from its earlier Arabic and Indo-Persian origins. Nonetheless, it was only through the editions and commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī that marked the pivotal point in its history

which has greatly enhanced its popularity and importance as a practical religious manual among the Jāwah not only in the nineteenth century, but also beyond.

Consequently, the next two chapters, i.e. Chapters Two and Three dealt with these two important commentaries and their authors in detail, with focus on the issue of ḥadīth scholarship as well as a selection of some of their religious views which symbolized the practical functionality of the ḥadīth as a means of religious discourse at that time. As for Nawawī, it has been demonstrated that apart from his editorial endeavor of the base text, he has also attempted to provide a general and somewhat detailed perspective on the analytical aspect of ḥadīth study despite the concise and limited nature of his commentary. More importantly, he has also outlined the basic principles and terminologies of *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth* in assessing the status of ḥadīths mentioned which could be considered as a pioneering attempt by the Jāwah at that time. As such, not only that his commentary is unique compared to the myriads of his other works, but it also served to invite further discourses and scholarly pursuits on the base work in the nineteenth century and beyond.

Similarly, Wan ‘Alī’s life and commentary is discussed in detail in Chapter Three. However, in contrast with the approaches of the former, Wan ‘Alī’s focus is geared towards the textual commentary of the ḥadīth with an overall thematic aim underlying his work. In this regard, his commentary is far reaching in its influence, especially among the Malay-speaking Jāwah, despite his indebtedness to Nawawī on certain aspects of the base work, and a fairly relaxed attitude towards ḥadīth criticism and its appraisal.

As such, to better reflect and analyze both their similarities as well as distinctive differences in approaches and methodologies, a comparative analysis of these two authors and their commentaries was undertaken in Chapter Four. This culminated in the threefold analysis of their styles of composition, methods in ḥadīth, as well as aspects of their religious views from their respective commentaries on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth*. Here, it is pertinent to note the importance of the socio-historical background of each author undertaken in the previous chapters in understanding their approaches towards ḥadīth in terms of scholarship as well as a means for religious discourse.

As for their notions of ḥadīth and its scholarship, it was mostly attempted through a detailed study of their conception of *isnād*, adoption of the principles of *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth* and its criticism, as well as its impact on the inclusion of fabricated ḥadīths in their commentaries. Although Nawawī's methods better reflected that of the ḥadīth scholars while Wan 'Alī's resembled that of the Sufis, nonetheless there existed a degree of compromise between them in their approaches towards ḥadīth and its criticism, especially as can be reflected from their readiness to accept the notion of unveiling (*kashf*) as a valid criteria of its authentication. As a matter of fact, both authors actually reflected the existing compromising trends which have already been established in the scholarly milieu of Mecca centuries ago.

In a similar manner, it is pertinent to note that apart from the differences of their style, concentration, and focus of commentary, both are actually bound and limited in their discussion of the religious issues according to the established and prevailing religious context of the Jāwah at that time, namely Ash'arism in creed, Shafi'ism in jurisprudence, as well as Ghazālīan and other like-minded figures in

presenting orthodox Sufism. In this sense, it would only be fair to regard both authors as maintainers and torch bearers of the established religious tradition or *Kaum Tua* rather than reformers (*Kaum Muda*) or architects of reform and original ideas. Nonetheless, both of them realized the significance of the substantive content of *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* as a functional and influential means for the propagation of religious ideals among their fellow Jāwah and have committed their time and efforts to dedicate commentaries of its ḥadīth based on the prevalent religious practices.

At the same time, the peroration of the comparative study has also shed more insight on the nature of the scholarly link between the two authors, which was not only characterized by a certain degree of dependency especially by Wan ‘Alī on Nawawī, but also a substantive level of individuality and creativity as can be seen from their methods in ḥadīth, and style and approach in composing their respective commentaries.

Finally in Chapter Five, the focus of discussion was on assessing and evaluating the status and influence of these commentaries in the larger social and historical context of the nineteenth century Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship and beyond. Even in the periods prior to the nineteenth century, it has been demonstrated how *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* made its early appearance as an important religious manual in seventeenth century Aceh alongside other ḥadīth and religious works incorporating ḥadīth as part of their themes, and has since been subjected to a series of adaptations to better suit the local context and needs. More importantly, the increasing interest and popular demand of the work among the Jāwah in various parts of the Archipelago as well as in Arabia towards the middle of the nineteenth century has been further accentuated and epitomized by Nawawī through his edition

cum commentary of the text, and later on Wan ‘Alī in his extensive Malay commentary of it, despite the general ambiguity and somewhat marginalized condition of ḥadīth scholarship and its studies among the Jāwah at that time.

Interestingly, even during the rapidly changing scholarly and intellectual atmosphere of the twentieth century which saw a significant increase towards ḥadīth and the proliferation of its studies, *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* especially through its commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī proved to assume its relevance both in terms of its role and function of not only in fulfilling the popular demand of religiosity and rituals based on Prophetic wisdoms, but also in attracting scholarly interest and debate in respect of some of the issues regarding its ḥadīth as well as its religious views.

Therefore, based on this, it is indeed justified to attribute *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* and its commentaries by Nawawī and Wan ‘Alī as an important, if not the most important and significant exemplar of Jāwah ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse in the nineteenth century considering the unique cross-cultural and diverse socio-historical milieu that it was developed, as well as its far reaching influence and importance among the Jāwah that stretched over a period of a few centuries; from the seventeenth century right until the twentieth century and beyond.

At the same time, it should also be noted that due to the limited scope of this study, there are also several other issues relating to ḥadīth scholarship and its studies among the Jāwah that are discussed in a general and passing manner in this present study, yet could perhaps warrant a more detailed and in-depth study in their own rights as a continuance to the general theme of ḥadīth scholarship among the Jāwah. These include an assessment of the influence of the works of and figures

such as Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ of Termas, Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī and others on the changing nature of ḥadīth scholarship and its discourse in the twentieth century, as well as the institutionalization of ḥadīth studies in educational curriculum and its role in the religious discourse of modern day Southeast Asia, among others.

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