

The Social History of *Ashab Al-Jawiiyyin* and the Hadith Transmission in the 17th Century Nusantara

SAIFUDDIN ZUHRI QUDSY
ZAENUDIN HUDI PRASOJO
AHMAD RAFIQ
TEUKU ZULFIKAR

ABSTRACT

This article investigates the role of *Ashab al-Jawiiyyin* in the spreading of hadith in the nusantara in the 17th century. It is an interesting topic since the ulama of hadith from Indonesia to Mecca then come back to Indonesia they can assimilate with the indigenous culture of Indonesia. By departing from the data described by Azra, we explore how the role of *ashab al-jawiiyyin* has significant contribution in the spread of hadith in Indonesia. We argue that, the ideas brought by *Ashab al-Jawiiyyin* were influenced by middle east Muslim scholars who have interdisciplinary scientific competence. The intersection of *tariqa* with a network of hadiths met through the *sanad*. *Sanad*, in both disciplines occupies a very central position. It then maintained the network structure both in the *tariqa* and in the transmission of hadith. Starting from Syibgatullah (1606) then Ahmad Syinwani (1619), Ahmad al-Qusyashi (1661), Ibrahim al-Kurani (1690), Abdullah bin Shaykh al-'Aydarus (1663), Ba Shayban (1656), and Isa al-Maghribi (1669), they are the key main networks that made *ashab al-Jawiiyyin* existed. The figures mentioned above are the majority figures of *tariqa*, hadith, *sharia*, *fiqh* and *ushul fiqh*. From Nuruddin al-Raniry and Abdurrauf al-Singkili that in which later from them the transmission of the distribution and writing of hadith began to be recorded well in the hands of their generations.

Keywords: Ashab al-Jawiiyyin; sanad; haramain; the transmission of hadith

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian Islam is practiced somewhat differently from that of the Saudi Arabia, the birth place of Islam. In Saudi Arabia, Islamic practices are based on a textual understanding of the Qur'an and hadith. While in Indonesia, Islam is practiced in a combination between Islamic values, sufism and local traditions. For that reason, Indonesian Muslims, studying and teaching Islam have different approaches in religious interpretation upon their return to Indonesia. Azra (1994) showed that *tariqa*-channeled networks were dominant among the Muslim scholars scattering in *Nusantara* (Archipelago) and learning the Qur'an, Hadith, Sharia, Sufism, and other disciplines. Voll (1980) suggested that the development of Hadith studies took place in the 17th century, the period of transition from Sufism to neo-Sufism. The network groups are known as *Ashab al-Jawiiyyin*. "Muslims of the Archipelago" had stayed and studied in Mecca and Medina for a long time under their *murshids*. Nuruddin al-Raniry and Abdul Rauf al-Singkili were two earlier scholars of the networks frequently mentioned in many literatures.

Studies conducted by Muslim scholars on Islam in the 17th century were at least divided into three major studies: studies that investigated the phenomenon of Sufism in the Indonesian archipelago (Abdurahman 2018; Nasir 2016; Van Bruinessen 2016); secondly, studies that place Indonesian Islam with colonialism which began to enter the archipelago (Ali 2015; Didin Nurul Rosidin 2017; Sukoharsono & Gaffikin, 2019); third, a study of the pilgrimage movement by scholars of the archipelago (Hadi 2018; Noor 2013). However, studies that focus on the transmission of hadith knowledge carried out by figures of the 17th century have been lacking. Therefore, it is timely to engage in a scholarly study focusing on this particular issue.

This paper aims to examine the history of *Ashab al-Jawiiyyin* in the 17th century, an era considered the peak in the spreading of Islam in Sufism (*tasawwuf*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and the Prophetic tradition (*hadith*) discipline. The century was also marked as the first treatise of hadiths in the archipelago. This article will address how the formation of *Ashab al-Jawiiyyin* was; who the teachers were; and how they had influenced the hadith discourse in the archipelago.

This article argues that the study and study of hadith through the network of *ashab al-Jawiyyin* has not been well explored, especially in the 17th century. By looking at the 2 main figures who emerged in the 17th century, we assume that the roots of thought and hadith writings emerged from these 2 figures and see how the thoughts of the three became distinctive with other thinkers in the Arab world because of the combination of the Qur'an, Hadith, tarekat, syariah/fiqh and cultural locality of the archipelago.

THE CONCEPT OF *ASHAB*
AL-JAWIYYIN, SOCIAL HISTORY AND
THE TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE

ASHAB AL-JAWIYYIN

The term *Ashab al-Jawiyyin* derived from two words, *al-Ashab* and *al-Jawi*. The word *ashab* is a plural form of *al-sahb* (al-Juhari, 2009; al-Razi, 1986; ibn Faris, 2001), which means a friend or a pal (*al-sahib*) (Munawir 1997). The word *al-Jawi* is the translation of the word "Java." The word *al-Jawi* in the term *Ashab al-Jawiyyin* does not explicitly refer to the island of Java. Thus, the term *Ashab al-Jawiyyin* refers to people of the archipelago in the Middle East, especially in Haramayn. Oman Fathurahman (2012) calls it *Jamaat Jawiyyin* (the friends of Jawi). In the 16th century Arabic literature, the Nusantara Islamic region was called *bilad al-Jawi*, "The Muslim country of Jawi," i.e. Southeast Asia, while the Muslims of the Archipelago were commonly referred to as *Ashab al-Jawiyyin* or *Jamaah Jawiyyin* (Mu'ti et al. 2016). Snouck Hurgronje (2006) argued that "under this name are included in Arabia all people of Malay race, in the fullest meaning of the term; the geographical boundary is perhaps from Siam and Malacca to New Guinea. Muslims and non-Muslims in Macca are called *Jawah*, but the latter is all slaves." Thus, the *Jawah* or *al-Jawi* refers to people from Siam and Malacca to Papua New Guinea, both Muslims and non-Muslims; only the latter were slaves.

Muslim Nusantara viewed the Hajj not only as worship, the Hajj was also loaded with symbols and social status. Hajj was more understood as social justification than just worship. Even in the 1630s, the King of Banten and the King of Mataram competed with each other to send envoys to seek confession and get the title "sultan". Here the Hajj was also very clearly used as a legitimacy of power politics, even

this function of legitimacy then creates certain myths in the archipelago, such as a small passageways located in the South Tasikmalaya Pamijahan, which Shaykh Muhyiddin used to go to Mecca every Friday, Then in Cibulakan (Pandeglang) where there was a well said to be connected to Zamzam wheel in Makkah.

People used to struggle for life to collect costs needed to get to Mecca, putting the pilgrimage as a high practice that cannot be practiced by everyone. This what caused people who have carried out the Hajj to be categorized as upper class society (Zainuddin 2013). This was also mentioned by van Bruinessen that Indonesians were more concerned with the Hajj than other nations and the community's appreciation of the Hajj was higher (Van Bruinessen 2012).

SOCIAL HISTORY

It refers to historical writing that places society as the main ingredients and the starting point of a study. That is, historiography does not start from an exploration of the rulers or the elite. Instead, it starts from the bottom, i.e. from the populist people. Thus, the social, rather than political, dynamics in general determine the historical process. Writing a social history requires an effort to present a framework about society as a whole (Kuntowijoyo 2003). Ibnu Khaldun and Nabia Abbott, for example, said that a social history does not only discuss elites or figures, but also matters concerning social structures, social mobility, and also social relations between Muslim communities. Comprehension and complexity of the scope of the study in the social history of Muslim societies start from the local and the peripheral.

TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE

Berkey, in *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (2014) showing how education in the Middle Ages played a central part in the religious experience of nearly all Muslims. Focusing on Cairo, which under Mamluk rule (1250-1517, stated that Muhammad's statement asking Muslims to gain knowledge to China showed that the pursuit of knowledge is an activity always worthy of approbation and encouragement. The spirit of this search for knowledge then creates relationships, transmission and networks. Jan Lambooy (2004) said that networks fulfill the first two things in which the coordination of decisions are made by

separate entities of networks, while the second is the transmission of data, information, and knowledge by using ‘connections’ with various degrees of intensity.

In general, Lambooy (2004) stated that the transmission of knowledge as a process of innovation is recognized, but how information, patents, or knowledge is actually transmitted cannot be known with certainty. The same is true for the way in which networks emerge. That geography, social networks and embeddedness all play a role is accepted, but how the transmission occurs. Here, Lambooy suggests that it is a great place to be involved, as well as communication and the transfer of content. Further, he said that the issues between transmission of the process of transmission and the emergence of organizational configurations, like networks and innovation systems. Lambooy further stated that the network consists of “first, node-firms of their modules, departments, individuals, locations-with activities and functions; second, connections — communication channels, roads, the web, etc.; and third, the intensity of the transfer of goods, individuals, or ideas.”

METHOD

This is a library research, in which the data was collected both from the primary and secondary literatures written by scholars, such as works of Al-Raniry and al-Singkili and the works by Azra and others, that being discussed in this article. The data collected was then analyzed and examined using a social history method, which is essential to reconstruct history, network, and transmission of *Ashab al-Jawiiyin* since the beginning, especially in the 17th century. There was a number of *Ashab al-Jawiiyin* in the 17th century; some of those are Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani, Nuruddin al-Raniry, Abdur Rauf al-Singkili, and Yusuf al-Makassari. This research, however, explores just two foremost scholars—Nuruddin al-Raniry and Abdur Rauf al-Singkili. Nuruddin al-Raniry, although he was born in Gujarat and, thereby, was not purely from Nusantara, is included because he had many significant roles, such as being a prominent Islamic scholar as in the Aceh Sultanate, in the archipelago and that his mother is from Malay. Data from al-Raniry is still used as supporting documents in this research (Alimron 2018).

TRANSMISSION AND SCIENTIFIC TRADITIONS OF *ASHAB AL-JAWIIYIN*: HARAMAYN AND INTERNATIONAL ULAMA

A trip to Haramayn by an archipelago was recorded. Lombard relied on data from De Graaf (Lombard 2000) who said that there was a figure named Nurullah, who later became better known as Sunan Gunung Jati, who went to Mecca in 1522-1523 AD. He mentioned that this was a very rare experience for Indonesian Muslims. Nurullah then returned to Nusantara in 1524 and settled in Demak. Then in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, European trade increased in Banten, a city that is frequently preferred to in many data. This also shows how the journey of *Ashab al-Jawiiyin* had gone through essential ports such as Pasai, Banten, and Malacca.

It has been mentioned earlier that in the 17th century, *Ashab al-Jawiiyin* received attention and closely intertwined with the Haramayn scholars. Several Haramayn scholars wrote works that specifically discussed the problems of the Archipelago. This proves that the scholars of Haramayn were concerned and helped to form the intellectual *Ashab al-Jawiiyin*. Therefore, in this case, it is essential to discuss the figures and the tendency of the study of Haramayn scholars in the 17th century and later centuries.

In the 17th century, Muslims were aware of Islamic renewal movement. Most of the great scholars were also prominent Sufi figures. This encouraged the emergence of reform movements in several Islamic regions. With such conditions, Haramayn was an important melting pot for scholars from various regions. The Ottoman politics also supported this new development, providing adequate facilities in Haramayn (Azra, 1999). As a result, many scholars across the Islamic world often met in Haramayn. Since then Haramayn became a place to exchange information, traditions, and knowledge, which later led to the formation of an intellectual network.

Azra said that the relationship between scholars in scientific networks was very complicated in the 17th century. Each scholar took and gave knowledge from each other, which later determined the characteristics of the Haramayn ulama network. The relationship between the scholars was established along with the intention and purpose of seeking knowledge through educational institutions, such as madrassas, halaqah, and *ribat* (a type of dormitory or boarding house). This relationship

was intertwined both horizontally (teachers with teachers) and vertically (teachers with students). Even though the relationship was taking place in informal institutions, interpersonal bond was quite close in everyday life (Azra, 1994).

The most important means that shaped the solidity of the network were the genealogy of the *tariqa* and *isnad* of hadith. Both of these facilities had an essential role in forming and connecting one cleric with other scholars in the scientific networks in Haramayn. *Tariqa* became one of the most critical facilities formed by the network of ulama in Haramayn due to its characteristics and structural relations. The arrival of scholars from India also influenced the realm of the *tariqa* orientation, especially the *Satariyah* and *Naqsabandiyah* orders. In the *tariqa*, the teacher-student relationship is powerful. Students must submit to the teachings, orders, and desires of the *murshids*. The teacher-student bond in the *tariqa* is so strong that it can drive the spread of *tasawwuf*. This also answers the question why the *tasawwuf* movement had a significant portion in Haramayn in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. *Isnad* is one of the essential means because Haramayn was the center of the study of hadith from the beginning. The arrival of scholars from Egypt and North Africa, for example, helped to bring the traditions of hadith from their respective regions to Haramayn. Therefore, the arrival of these scholars also became the reason behind Haramayn being a center for the study of hadith in the world (Azra, 1994).

In the 17th century, the study of hadith was inclined toward the study of the people and intellectuals of Haramayn. Since the end of the 16th century, the study of hadith in Haramayn had underwent reorientation. There had been continuous efforts to expand the study of hadith beyond the *kutub al-sittah* (Azra, 1999). The study of hadith in this era did not only explain the hadith, but it also traced and examined new traditions in daily life. In line with the development of Sufism, the study of hadith was also oriented towards the renewal of Sufism. This discipline was then seen as the driver of socio-moral reform efforts in the Islamic community. The development of Sufism and the orientation of hadith studies in Haramayn stimulated a social reconstruction in various corners of Islamic societies. The Haramayn and international (non-Hijaz) scholars who studied in Haramayn - both those who settled and returned home - helped to form an intellectual discourse in Haramayn and even

spread it to their respective regions. The following section will describe some intellectual actors in Haramayn and how a scientific discourse took place in the region.

INFLUENTIAL ULAMAS IN HARAMAYN

This section discusses the scholars in Haramayn and how they engaged in an exchange of knowledge. Several influential figures in Haramayn from the 16th century to the 18th century are worth mentioning along with their interests in the study. They made a significant contribution to the development of scientific discourse in Haramayn. They included Syibgatullah and al-Syinnawi who are both non-Hijazi scholars (Azra, 1994).

Syibgatullah was an Indian scholar. He took his primary education in Ahmadabad, India. He traveled to Haramayn in 1591 to perform the pilgrimage and returned in 1596 for his second pilgrimage. He settled down in Media afterward and died in 1606. Syibgatullah was the central figure in the spread of Sufism in the archipelago adalah tokoh yang memiliki peran dalam penyebaran sufisme di Nusantara. In Medina, he built a place of residence and *ribat*, *the learning place for sufism*. He was also actively teaching at the Nabawi Mosque. His works also discuss Sufism, *Kalam*, and Sharah on al-Baydawi's interpretation. Syibgatullah's students became prominent scholars in Haramayn. His teaching and learning activities were attended by several students from all over the Islamic world, including the Archipelago. Azra (1994) stated, that among those who were famous for their wisdom were Ahmad al-Syinnawi and Ahmad al-Qusyasyi.

Ahmad al-Syinnawi was an Egyptian cleric. He was born in 1567. He had an interest in the study of great hadith. In Egypt, he learnt hadith from the experts named Syamsuddin al-Ramli (d. 1596) and Muhammad bin Abi al-Hasan al-Bakri. Ahmad al-Syinnawi became a prominent scholar in Medina. He mastered the fields of hadith and *tareqa*. *Isnad hadith* from Ahmad al-Syinnawi can be traced back to Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani and Jalaluddin al-Suyuti. His works are related to the fields of *kalam* and *tasawwuf*. Ahmad al-Syinnawi had many students from all over region; Ahmad al-Qusyasyi was among his most famous students (Azra 1994).

Safi al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad Yunus al-Qusyasyi al-Madani was born in Medina in 991 H/1538 M. Grandfather Ahmad al-Qusyasyi was a Sufi. Ahmad al-Qusyasyi obtained his primary Islamic education from his father who belongs to

Maliki school. In 1602, he and his father went to Yemen where he studied with several scholars who were former teachers of his father. He established his career there and died in Medina in 1661 AD (Azra 1999).

In Medina, he met several scholars, such as Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Abd al-Nafi, 'Umar ibn al-Qutb Badruddin al-Adali, Shihabuddin al-Malka'i, Sayyid As'ad al-Balkhi, but Ahmad al-Syinnawi had a major influence on him. Al-Syinnawi himself was a Sufi and a Syattariyah figure (Azra 2002). Al-Syinnawi taught hadith, ushul fiqh, *kalam*, and other sciences related to *tawhid* and *sharia*. The relationship between Ahmad al-Qusyasyi and al-Syinnawi went beyond a teacher-student status since Ahmad al-Qusyasyi married al-Syinnawi's daughter. Later on, Al-Syinnawi appointed him the leader of the Syattariyah Order.

Even though Ahmad al-Qusyasyi lived in Medina, he frequently visited Mecca, regularly during the Hajj season and on other occasions. He was a friendly and an easy-going person. Humility and broad insight took him to the peak of his fame in career. He became a teacher for those studied in Haramayn. He was also a respected teacher of science claimants from various regions, such as the Hijaz, Yemen, India, the Magrib region, and the Archipelago (Azra, 1999).

Although he was a Syattariyah *tariqa*, he also mastered various teachings of other schools. He was not only a master of Sufism and Shari'a, but he was also very proficient in the fields of hadith and exegesis. Ahmad al-Al-Qusyasyi's works ranged from 12 to 50 pieces. His works are mainly in the field of hadith, fiqh, exegesis, and Sufism. al-Hamawi, as quoted by Azra, Ahmad al-Al-Qusyasyi had many students who later became influential in Haramayn and various regions. His most famous students included Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1690 AD), 'Abdullah bin Syaikh al-'Aidarus (d. 1662 AD), Hasan bin Ali al-'Ajami (d. 1701 AD), 'Abdurrahman al-Magribi (d. 1674 AD), 'Isa bin Muhammad al-Magribi al-Ja'fari, al-Makki (d. 1669 AD), Muhammad bin Abdurrasul al-Barzanji al-Kurdi (d. 1692 AD), Nusantara ulama 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili and Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassari (Azra 2002).

Ibrahim al-Kurani was the next influential figure after the death of Ahmad al-Qusyasyi. He was the most prominent and a famous student of Ahmad al-Al-Qusyasyi. He built his career in Medina. He has an essential position in the building of intellectual networks in Haramayn. It could be said that he was

the liaison of the scholars of Haramayn in the 17th and 18th centuries. Therefore, he had a significant contribution to the development and transmission of science in Haramayn.

Ibrahim al-Kurani was born in 1615 AD. Scholars disagreed on the place of his birth, between Shahrazur, Persia, and Tehran. He studied in various places, including Turkey, Iraq, Persia, and Egypt. After studying in various places, he then settled in Medina. Azra collected several titles and praises from the scholars for the breadth of Ibrahim's knowledge. al-Muradi, for instance, stated that he was like a "mountain among the mountains" and "the sea between the seas of Irfan". al-Azimabadi, a hadith expert from India, called him a reformer of the 17th century AD. Al-Kattani mentioned that Ibrahim is the al-Islam poet, his teacher is the ulama, the defender of Sufism, the generator and the guardian of the Sunni tradition, meritorious in spreading the knowledge, history, and *isnad* of hadith. Similarly, Al-Zakuli also said that Ibrahim was a prominent reformer among the jurists and hadith experts of the Shafi'ite school (Azra 1994).

At the beginning of his education, he was interested in learning languages, such as Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Al-Mulla Sharif al-Kurani al-Siddiqi (d. 1667 AD) guided Ibrahim in the fields of ushul al-fiqh, fiqh, hadith, and Sufism. On his way to Makkah, his younger brother, who joined him, got sick, so he headed to Baghdad where he then learnt Arabic and Persian, and observed the practices of Sufism. Although he was interested in Sufism, he did not abandon his initial interests in the study of hadith (Azra 2002).

His interest in the study of hadith encouraged him to continue his study in Egypt. He developed his insight on hadith by studying under a number of hadith experts in 1650 AD. In Egypt, he met Muhammad Alauddin Syamsuddin al-Babili al-Qahiri al-Azhari, Ahmad Syihabuddin al-Hanafi al-Misri, and Shaykh Sultan bin Ahmad ibn Salamah bin Isma'il al-Qahiri al-Azhari. They were prominent hadith experts in Egypt at that time. They also had diplomas to teach hadith. With this network, Ibrahim has an Islamic court, which is finally connected with Syamsuddin al-Ramli and Zakariyya al-Ansari. Ibrahim also had Egyptian *isnad* from the Ahmad al-Qusyasyi route, which studied with al-Syinnawi, a student of Syamsuddin al-Ramli, a prominent *Muhaddith* in the era of Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (Azra, 2002).

In 1651, Ibrahim headed to Medina to continue his studies at the halaqahs of Ahmad al-Al-

Qusyasyi. It was in Medina that he reached the top of his career. His intelligence, wide knowledge, and modesty attracted the students from all directions. All students in Haramayn were practically students of Ibrahim. Among his students were Ibn Abdurrasul al-Barzanji, Ahmad al-Nakhli, Abu Hasan al-Sindi, Abdullah bin Sa'adullah, 'Abdullah al-Basyir, Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim al-Kurani, 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili, and Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassari (Azra 1994).

He was not only a brilliant scholar in halaqahs, but he was also a productive writer. Most of his works include varied disciplines, such as hadith, fiqh, kalam, tafsir, and Sufism. He authored more than 40 titles of works. Besides, he also wrote several books aimed at solving specific problems raised by his students (Azra 1994). Some writings that contained a problem solving regarding specific issues in the country were mostly recorded in the notes. For example, in *Al-Jawabat al-Gharawiyah lil masail al-Jawiyah al-Juhriyah* or *Ithaf al-Zaki Syarh Tuhfah Mursalah*, he commented on the issue of Siti Jenar (*pantheism*) poetry; and in *Kasy muntazir li ma yarahu al-Muhtadir*, he talked about the tradition of death in the Archipelago community (Sya'ban, 2017). Ibrahim al-Kurani became a critical scholar in the network of scholars in Medina in the 17th century.

Meanwhile, in Macca, some great scholars connected the city with the tradition of Sufism in India. One of them was Tajuddin al-Hindi. He was the supreme *murshid* of the Indian Naqshbandiyah Order, who later moved and died in Mecca in 1642 AD. In Mecca, he succeeded in spreading the Naqshbandiyah Order, followed later on by some other leading scholars, such as Ahmad bin Ibrahim bin Ahmad bin 'Alan and Ahmad al-Nakhli. Al-Nakhli himself was a *muhaddith* (Azra, 2002).

Another prominent scholar who had relation with the transmission of science *Ashabul al-Jawiyin*, i.e. Sayyid Umar ibn Abdullah Ba Shaykh al-Tarimi al-Hadhrami (d. 1656), also known as Sayyid Umar al-Aydarus (Hamzah, 2017). He studied with Abdullah bin Syaikh Aydarus, one of Al-Qusyasyi's students. He was born in Gujarat within a Rifaiyah Order. From here, he made a tour to Indonesia, because Ba Syaiban appointed him as the caliph of the *tareqa* and assigned him to spread it in the Malay-Indonesian region (Azra, 1994).

Other scholars who had an essential relationship in the ulama network in Mecca were 'Isa bin Muhammad al-Magrib (d. 1669 AD) and Muhammad

bin Sulaiman al-Raddani al-Magribi al-Makki (d. 1683). They came from North Africa and later on lived in Mecca. They also helped the formation of a network of Islamic and hadith scholars in North Africa. Isa al-Magribi took his early education in al-Jaziri area, his hometown. He had interests in almost all fields, especially fiqh and the study of hadith. After performing the Hajj in 1652 AD, he stayed in a *ribat* where he taught *hadith* and *fiqh* for a year. After that, he went to Cairo and continued his study of hadith under several scholars who were also the teachers of Ibrahim al-Kurani. After obtaining a diploma from them to teach and narrate hadith, 'Isa returned to Mecca. In the city, he settled and met with prominent scholars in Haramayn (Azra 1994).

In that city, too, he taught and narrated traditions. He got a nickname "Imam al-Haramayn." He was an outstanding scholar in the narration of the hadith. One of his works, which is a proof that he was a narrator of many hadiths, is *Kanz al-Riwayah al-Majmu 'fi Durar al-Majaz wa Yawaqit al-Masmu*. The book contains a treasury of hadiths narrated from his teachers. He was a close friend of al-Al-Qusyasyi. Among famous students of 'Isa al-Magribi al-Makki were Ibrahim al-Kurani, Hasan al-'Ajami, Ahmad al-Nakhli, and al-Singkili (Azra, 1994).

Another ulama who had a great *isnad* and settled in Mecca was Sulaiman al-Magribi. He studied in Egypt and al-Jazair where he studied with 'Isa's teachers. His works in hadith include *Silat al-Khalaf bi Mawsul al-Salaf*. The book contains the relationship between Solomon and the narrators of previous traditions (Azra 2002).

Zainul 'Abidin al-Tabari (d. 1667) is an original Ulama of Mecca that needs to be explained. He was the son of Abdul Qadir bin Muhammad ibn Yahya al-Tabari (d. 1624). He is well-known as a *muhaddis* and a teacher of 18th-century scholars, such as Hasan al-Ajami, Ahmad al-Nakhli, Abdullah al-Basri, and Abu Tahir al-Kurani. Zainul's father, Abidin, is also a great scholar who has an extensive insight of *isnad*. The *isnad* of hadith, which was possessed by Abdul Qadir, included some significant muhaddith figures, such as Syamsuddin al-Ramli, Zakariya al-Ansari, and Jalaluddin al-Suyuti (Azra 2002).

THE FIGURES OF *ASHAB AL-JAWIYYIN* IN THE 17TH CENTURY

In this section, we discuss at least two well-known scholars in the 17th century Nusantara. They are Nuruddin al-Raniry and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili.

Nuruddin al-Raniry

Nuruddin al-Raniry was one of the scholars in Nusantara. He was born in Ranir, India. His mother was of Malay descent. The year of his birth is unknown, but it was most likely at the end of the 16th century. He received primary religious education in his hometown. In 1621, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca during which he met some great scholars and established relations with fellow pilgrims and students in Haramayn. Al-Raniry is the first Hadhrami figure recorded in the Archipelago literatures. Al-Raniry's father was a Hadhramaut immigrant in Ranir, India (Azra 2002).

He was a great ulama who held a prominent position in the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam. He had a significant influence on the spread of Islam in Indonesia, especially in Aceh. He significantly contributed to the development of Islamic education and tasawwuf in Aceh. He mastered several scientific fields, such as Sufism, theology, exegesis, jurisprudence, and comparative religions. In Sufism and Kalam, he particularly followed Imam al-Gazali, Ibn 'Arabi, al-Qunyawi, al-Qasyani, al-Fairuzabadi, al-Jilli, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jami', and several other scholars. In Islamic law, he belonged to a Shafi'i school. Therefore, it is reasonable if he (Hamzah, 2017) frequently referred to the works of Imam al-Nawawi, Zakariyya al-Ansari, Ibn Hajar, and Syamsuddin al-Ramli (Hamisi & Fahm 2018).

Al-Raniry arrived in the Malay Peninsula around 1637 and lived in Pahang and Aceh. He came to Aceh during the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda. He settled and studied Malay language and literatures in Pahang. In the era of Sultan Iskandar Tsani, he was appointed as mufti, bearing the title of *Syaikh al-Islam*. This position, according to Hamisi and Fahm, made al-Raniry easier to spread his Islamic knowledge that he learned during his studies in Haramayn (2018).

Al-Raniry was known as a high-ranking cleric, a Sufi, a theologian, and a legal expert. He was not only a scholar who is good at lecturing, but he was also a productive writer. He had an

essential contribution to the development of Islam and literatures in Indonesia. As a scholar, he had several works in the fields of Sufism and *Kalam* (24 works), Jurisprudence (3 works), history (6 works), and hadith (two books) (Hamzah, 2017).

The early propagators and preachers of Islam in the Malay Peninsula mostly conveyed Islamic teachings with lectures and practical applications. Al-Raniry had an essential role in documenting the literatures needed by the community in Malay and Arab, such as Islamic teachings that were never found before in Malay land. Therefore, al-Raniry produced some written works on the local problems like marriage and divorce, such as *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim* and *Bab al-Nikah* (Hamisi & Fahm, 2018).

In the field of hadith, Al-Raniry's work was *Hidayatul Habib fi al-Tarhib wa al-Tarhib*. This work is allegedly dated back 1636 AD, which made it the first work on hadith written in Malay. This book consists of 53 chapters on advice of kindness (*tarhib*) and threats for doing evil (Alimron 2018). The book contains 831 hadiths taken from several primary and secondary hadith books (Fathurahman 2012). The themes discussed in this book were divided into three main categories: morals to God and His apostles, morals to fellow humans, and morals concerning oneself. In general, Al-Raniry does not give much attention to hadiths by only commenting certain parts of them.

Hidayatul Habib was written in a social context where the people were still embedded with a traditional culture that was not following Islamic law. Al-Raniry, through his book, wanted to show people on God and His Messenger's teachings and guidance for living a life. He also sought to explain relationship between humans, nature, and God, and persons. Therefore, in his work, al-Raniry presented many traditions related to social-morality (Alimron 2018).

The hadiths in *Hidayatul Habib* came from several books of hadiths, both the first (*al-tis'ah*) and secondary hadiths. The hadith books that al-Raniry referred include *Sahih al-Bukhari*, *Sahih Muslim*, *Sunan al-Tirmizi*, *Musnad Ahmad*,

al-Mustadrak al-Hakim, Mu'jam al-Kabir li Tabrani, Sahih ibn Khuzaimah, Sunan al-Nasa'i, Musnad Abi Syaibah, Musannaf 'Abd al-Razaq, Malik's Muwatta', and others. The numbers of hadith books that al-Raniry referred in his book provides a clear evidence that he was a qualified scholar in the field of hadith studies (2018).

Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili

The 17th century figure who also had an essential influence in Nusantara was Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili. His full name is Abd al-Ra'uf bin Ali al-Jawi al-Fansuri al-Singkili. The name al-Singkili shows that he is from Singkel. He was born in Singkel around 1615. His father was Shaykh 'Ali, who came from Arabia. Shaykh 'Ali is known as the ulama who became the leader of the Dayah Simpang Kanan in the interior of Singkel. al-Singkili's mother came from Fansur, Aceh.

Al-Singkili received his primary education from his father in his hometown, Singkel. In 1642, he left his hometown to study in the Middle East. In his search for knowledge, he visited some countries, including Doha, Yemen, and Haramayn. While he was in Doha, al-Singkili studied with several great scholars, one of whom was 'Abd al-Qadir al-Mawwir. After leaving Doha, he continued his journey to Yemen to deepen Islamic sciences. In Yemen, he studied in some places with several scholars from the Javanese family, such as Ibrahim bin Muhammad bin Ja'man and Ibrahim bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'man. The last mentioned was a scholar widely known as *muhaddits* and a *faqih*. Al-Singkili studied jurisprudence, hadith, and several other sciences from Ibrahim bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'man. Also, al-Singkili studied with Ishaq bin Muhammad bin Ja'man, a scholar known as *faqih* and *muhaddith* in Bayt al-Fakih, Yemen (Azra 2002).

Yemen was the last place of al-Singkili's studies before returning to Aceh. Al-Singkili built a teacher-student and personal relations with some prominent scholars. In Mecca, he studied with one of the most critical scholars,

'Ali al-Tabari. 'Ali was a prominent devotee in Mecca. Besides 'Ali, he studied with Badruddin al-Lahuri and Abdullah al-Lahuri. Al-Singkili also made a contact with several prominent scholars, such as 'Isa al-Magribi, Tajuddin bin Ya'qub, Alauddin al-Babili, and others.

In Haramayn, al-Singkili also spent a long time in Madinah learning from some ulamas, such as Ahmad al-Al-Qusyasyi and Ibrahim al-Kurani. In 1661, al-Singkili returned to Banda Aceh where he was later on appointed as a mufti who had the responsibility to handle the state administration affairs. He was known as a productive scholar in writing. Among the works of al-Singkili are *Tarjuman al-Mustafid* (the first interpretive book in Malay); *Mir'ah al-Tullab fi Tasyil Ma'rifah al-Ahkam al-Shari'ah li al-Malik al-Wahhab* (fiqh); *al-Fara'id* (fiqh); and *Kifayat al-Muhtajin* (mysticism) (Azra, 1994).

Al-Singkili also wrote two books on hadiths. The first is *al-Mawa'iz al-Badi'ah*, which is a compilation of *Qudsi* traditions. The second is *Sharh Latif*, which is a commentary on the book of Imam Nawawi's *Arba'in* hadiths. *Sharh Latif* was the second hadith book in Malay after the work of Nuruddin al-Raniry, *Hidayatul Habib*. The book was also considered the first translation book in Malay and the first commentary book on al-Nawawi's 40 hadiths in Nusantara (Latifah, 2014). The full name of the book, as stated in the manuscript, is *Sharh Latif 'ala Arba'in Hadith li al-Imam al-Nawawi*. The book was written by the order of Sultanah 'Inayah Shah Zakiyyah al-Din Shah. Al-Singkili completed this work in 1680 in Aceh. The book was a translation and an explanation of the matan's al-Arba'in by Imam al-Nawawi. Najauddin Lateh said that *Sharh Latif* is unique compared to al-Nawawi's *Arba'in*. Al-Singkili used a tasawwuf approach to analyze these hadiths. The book is also complemented with *Jawi Pasai*'s writings with the hope that the community will understand the intents of these hadiths.

Al-Singkili's *Mawa'iz al-Badi'ah* contains *Qudsi* traditions. He had an essential position in transmitting *Qudsi* traditions to the archipelago. The collection of al-Singkili's *Qudsi* traditions

discuss Allah and His relation with His creation, Hell and Heaven, and the path that every human being must take to reach Allah's heart. Besides, al-Raniry strongly emphasized the importance of a balance or a harmony between knowledge and action (Latifah, 2014). *Mawa'iz al-Badi'ah* was written in everyday language, making it very suitable for Malay people to understand the traditions of the Prophet. The book was written for the community and the wider readers. Therefore, it is understandable that the book was written in *Jawi* (Javanese) (Majid et al. 2012).

ASHAB AL-JAWIYYIN IN HARAMAYN: AN OVERVIEW OF KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION

In the beginning, we mentioned that Haramayn has an essential position in Islamic religious thoughts. At least in the 17th century, Haramayn had become the center for the study of hadith in the world. Haramayn, as the birth city of Islam, had attracted the world's scholars to study there. The scholars from all over the Muslim worlds came to the city not only for pilgrimage, but also for settling down and devoting themselves to teaching in the *ribats* and in the hallways of the Masjid al-Haram and at the Prophet's Mosque.

Religious discourses, even related to international issues in the Muslim worlds, were circulated in Haramayn. Knowledge transmission took place dynamically, between teacher-student, fellow teachers, or fellow students and relatives. Haramayn was a place where everyone had the freedom to follow any schools of thought. A student of the *Shafi'i* school, for example, was allowed to learn to other religious scholars. This kind of religious discourse brought up new ideas eventually led to the renewal and the like.

Thus, quoting Azra, Haramayn was like a melting pot where various traditions, from small ones to Islam, merged into a new synthesis and became a great tradition. Thus, borrowing Azra, haramain is like a melting pot, various traditions of Islam melted into a new synthesis which then become a big tradition. Various Muslims from all over the world came to Haramayn to perform the Hajj and then study there to the Sheikhs of the country in *halaqahs* and *ribats*.

Ashab al-Jawiyyin played a significant role in transferring religious discourses from Haramayn to Nusantara. The transmission of discourse from Haramayn to Nusantara began with the involvement of Nusantara scholars who had brilliant careers in Haramayn in the 17th century, such as Nuruddin al-Raniry (d. 1658 AD) and Abdurra'uf al-Singkili (d. 1693 AD).

The transmission of hadith scholarship in the 17th century Nusantara was mainly through the hands of Shaykh al-Qushasy and Ibrahim al-Kurani. Abdurrauf al-Singkili was one of his closest students. In studying the transmission of scientific *sanads*, the teachers usually write the names of the teachers. Ibrahim al-Kurani wrote a book of *sanad* and *tsabat* entitled *al-Umam li Iqaz al-Himam*. Nevertheless, in the path of the archipelago, neither al-Singkili nor Nuruddin al-Raniry found any books or similar writings that explain his scientific *sanad*. It seemed that the genealogies of the two figures were lost. The case is different from Yusuf al-Makassari who wrote the genealogy of the sects found in Iran, including Al-Arabiyyah, Qadiriyyah, Khalwatiyyah, Naqsyabandiyah, Syadziliyyah, Kubrawiyyah, and Syattariyyah (Sya'ban 2017).

Students from the archipelago studied with the great scholars in Haramayn, such as Shaykh Ahmad al-Qusyasyi and Ibrahim al-Kurani. After the pioneering generation, some students from Nusantara came up to the front becoming as famous as the leading clerics in Haramayn. Among them are 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Sheikh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari, Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani, Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi, 'Abdul Karim al-Bantani, Shaykh Ahmad Nahrawi al-Banyumasi, Muhammad Mahfuz al-Tarmasi, Muhsin al-Falimbani, Muhammad Yasin al-Fadani, and others. This network of knowledge transmission continued to exist until the following centuries. Their knowledge dimensions were multidisciplinary. Their expertise, which they learned from the above teachers, was in a varied discipline of religious knowledge, such as Sufism, Fiqh, Ushul Fiqh, the Qur'an and Hadith, enabling them to see things wisely, especially in the nuance of Sufi understanding. This fact confirmed Lambooy's statement that the network of scholars functioned as a transmission of data, information, and knowledge through the connections established with various actors in the *Ashab al-Jawiyyin*.

CONCLUSION

The intersection between *tariqa* and the network of hadiths was channeled through *sanad*, which was central in both disciplines. Hence, *sanad* maintained the network structure both in the *tariqa* and in the transmission of hadith. Starting from Syibgatullah (1606) then Ahmad Syinwani (1619), Ahmad al-Qusyashi (1661), Ibrahim al-Kurani (1690), Abdullah bin Shaykh al-‘Aydarus (1663), Ba Shayban (1656), and Isa al-Maghribi (1669), all of them are the foremost vital networks that made up of *Ashab al-Jawiyyin*. All these names are the leading figures in *tariqa*, hadith, *sharia*, *fiqh*, and *ushul fiqh*. Through Nuruddin al-Raniry and Abdurrauf al-Singkili, the transmission, distribution, and writing of hadiths began to be recorded well. The ideas of hadith thought and the hadith literature thereafter began to emerge, and both became the beginning of the idea of the transmission of scientific studies on the prophetic traditions (hadith) in the archipelago.

The use of the concepts used in this article has successfully demonstrated that the scientific transmission that has been formed to the *Ashabul Jawiyyin* is more inclined towards the study of *tariqa* and Sufism. This is because the Middle Eastern figures who were very influential in that century were figures known as Sufi figures, although they were also very well versed in the sciences of the Qur’an, Hadith and Fiqh. Therefore it is not surprising when the scientific transmission passed on to students such as al-Singkili often intersects with the teachings of Sufism which are more inclusive, and tolerant in seeing social phenomena in Acehnese society.

REFERENCES

- Abdurahman, D. 2018. Islam, Sufism, and Character Education in Indonesia History. *TAWARIKH* 9(2): 159–176.
- al-Juhari, A. N. I. ibn H. al-Juhari. 2009. *Al-Sihah* [The Trusted/Shahih Hadith]. Dar Hadis.
- al-Razi, M. ibn A. B. ibn ‘Abdul Q. 1986. *Mukhtar al-Sih* [Selection of Trusted Hadis]. Maktabah Libanon.
- Ali, M. 2015. *Islam and Colonialism*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Alimron, A. 2018. Teks dan Konteks Kitab Hadis Melayu Pertama: Studi atas Naskah Hidayat al-Habib Karya al-Raniri. [Text and the context of the First Hadith in Malay literature: Studies on Hidayat al-Habib by Al-Raniry] *Diya Al-Afkar: Jurnal Studi al-Quran dan al-Hadis*, 6(01), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.24235/diyaaafkar.v6i01.2797>
- Azra, A. 1994. *Jaringan ulama: Timur Tengah dan kepulauan Nusantara abad XVII dan XVIII: melacak akar-akar pembaruan pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*. [The Network of Ulama: Middle East and Archipelago XVII and XVIII centuries: tracing the roots of renewal of Islamic thought in Indonesia], Bandung, Mizan.
- Azra, A. 1999. *Renaissans Islam Asia Tenggara: Sejarah Wacana & Kekuasaan* [Renaissans of Islam in South East Asia: History of Discourse and Power. Jakarta, Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Azra, A. 2002. *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara* [Network of Global and Local Nusantara Islam. Bandung, Mizan.
- Berkey, J. P. 2014. *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*. Princeton University Press.
- Didin Nurul Rosidin, D. N. 2017. Ulama Pasca Sunan Gunung Jati: Jaringan Intelektual Islam Cirebon Abad ke-16 sampai dengan Abad ke-18 [Ulama after Sunan Gunung Jati: Intellectual Networks of Cirebon Islam in the 16th - 18th Century. *Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo (JSW)* 1(2): 77–194.
- Fathurahman, O. 2012. The Roots of the Writing Tradition of Ḥadīth Works in Nusantara: Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī. *Studia Islamika* 19(1). <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika/article/view/369>
- Hadi, M. F. 2018. Ashab Al-Jawiyyin In Haramain: Sosio-Religius Islam Nusantara Activism On Century 17 And 18. Proceedings of Annual Conference for Muslim Scholars, Series 1, 240–251.
- Hamisi, M. A., & Fahm, A. O. 2018. The Intellectual and Spiritual Contribution of Nuruddin Ar-Raniri to Islamic Education in Indonesia. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 3(2): 169. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v3i2.1420>
- Hamzah, N. H. 2017. Nur al-Din al-Raniri’s Concept of Islamic History in Bustan Al-Salatin: A Critical Analysis of Book I-Book IV. *Journal of Education and Social Sciences* 8(1): 11.
- Hurgronje, S. 2006. *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning. The Moslems of the East-Indian Archipelago*. BRILL.
- ibn Faris, A. 2001. *Maqayis al-Lughah* [Dictionary of Maqayis Lughah]. Dar Ihya al-Turas al-Arabi.

- Kuntowijoyo. 2003. *Metodologi Sejarah* [Historical Methodology]. Tiara Wacana.
- Lambooy, J. G. 2004. *The Transmission of Knowledge*. https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=id&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=Lambooy%2C+%E2%80%9CThe+Transmission+of+Knowledge&btnG=
- Latifah, A. 2014. Earliest hadith sciences texts written in Malay archipelago. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5(15). <http://www.richtmann.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/view/3263>
- Lombard, D. 2000. *Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya: Jaringan Asia* [Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya: Asian Network]. https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=CLF-Q44wza4C&oi=fnd&pg=PP9&dq=Denys+Lombard,+Nusa+Jawa+Silang+Budaya&ots=NO1-f0PE6o&sig=TzsmkIga0QifOArU2zT9k39x_Y&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Denys%20Lombard%2C%20Nusa%20Jawa%20Silang%20Budaya&f=false
- Majid, L. A., Husain, H., Ibrahim, M., & Dakir, J. 2012. Hadith written in early Islam in Malay region. *Advances in Natural and Applied Sciences* 6(3).
- Munawir, A. W. 1997) *Kamus al-Munawwir Arab-Indonesia* Dictionary of *al-Munawwir Arab-Indonesia*. Yogyakarta, Pustaka Progre.
- Mu'ti, A., Ulhaq, F. R., Khoirudin, A., & Fanani, A. F. 2016) *Kosmopolitanisme Islam Berkemajuan: Catatan Kritis Muktamar Teladan Ke-47 Muhammadiyah di Makassar 2015* [The Cosmopolitanism of Islam Berkemajuan: Critical Notes of Muhammadiyah's 47th Model Congress in Makassar 2015. Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah University Press.
- Nasir, M. N. M. 2016. Convergences and divergences in understanding a Malay Sufi text of the 17th Century. *Islam and Civilisational Renewal (ICR)* 7(3).
- Noor, Y. 2013. Islamisasi Banjarmasin (Abad XV-XIX) [Islamisation of Banjarmasin XV-XIX Century]. *Jurnal Socius* 2(1).
- Sukoharsono, E. G., & Gaffikin, M. J. 2019. The genesis of accounting in Indonesia: The Dutch colonialism in the early 17th century. *The International Journal of Accounting and Business Society* 1(1): 4–26.
- Sya'ban, A. G. 2017. *Mahakarya Islam Nusantara*. [Masterpiece of Islamic Archipelago] Jakarta, Compass.
- Van Bruinessen, M. 2012. *Kitab kuning pesantren dan tarekat: Tradisi - tradisi islam di Indonesia* [Classic Books in Pesantren and Tariqa: Islamic Traditions in Indonesia]. Bandung, Mizan. <http://difarepositories.uin-suka.ac.id/140/>
- Van Bruinessen, M. 2016. The origins and development of sufi orders (tare kat) in southeast asia. *Studia Islamika*, <http://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/31724>
- Voll, J. O. 1980. Hadith scholars and Tariqahs: An Ulama Group in the 18th Century Haramayu and their impact in the Islamic World. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 15(3): 264.
- Zainuddin, M. 2013. Haji dan status sosial: Studi tentang simbol agama di kalangan masyarakat Muslim [Hajj and Social Status: Studies on Religious Symbols in Muslim Society]. *El Harakah* 15(2).

AUTHORS

Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy
Universitas Islam negeri Sunan Kalijaga,
Yogyakarta
saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id

Zaenudin Hudi Prasajo
IAIN Pontianak
zaestain@yahoo.com

Ahmad Rafiq
Universitas Islam negeri Sunan Kalijaga,
Yogyakarta
ahmad.rafiq@uin-suka.ac.id

Teuku Zulfikar
Universitas Islam negeri Ar-Raniry
teuku.zulfikar@ar-raniry.ac.id