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# CONTROVERSIES IN THE EARLY 20TH-CENTURY JAVANESE QUR'AN: VERSE NUMBERING AND ARABIC REFERENCES IN NGARPAH'S *KURAN JAWI*

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## Abstract:

This article examines the exegetical activity as seen in the composition of the Qur'anic translation at the turn of the 20th-century Javanese *kraton* of Surakarta. The authors' focus is on the examination of the three volumes of the manuscript that contain the Qur'anic translation in Javanese that is now kept as the library collection in the Radyapustaka Museum located in Surakarta, Central Java. This Javanese Qur'anic translation is titled *Kuran Jawi*, authored by Bagus Ngarpah who was the royal servant (*abdi dalem*) and Islamic scholar in the early 20th-century Javanese *kraton* of Surakarta. The authors examine aspects of the verse numbering system and Arabic references that Ngarpah used for the composition of his work. The examination of this work shows a controversy in Ngarpah's translation work, and that the used verse numbering system in many ways disagrees with the systems known in the Muslim world. This study also reveals the complexity in the use of Arabic references that also include non-Arabic commentary works. In the broader context, the study of Ngarpah's *Kuran Jawi* confirms the emergence of awareness among the Javanese *priyayi* toward the reception of Islamic modernism through their attempts at having a direct approach to the study of the Qur'an.

## Keywords:

Bagus Ngarpah; Javanese Qur'an; *Kuran Jawi*; *priyayi*; Qur'anic commentary; Qur'anic translation

## I. Introduction

This article examines three volumes of the manuscript titled *Kuran Jawi* (Javanese Qur'an) written by Bagus Ngarpah, the early 20th-century royal servant (*abdi dalem*) in the Javanese *kraton* of Surakarta, that is now kept as part of the library collection of the Radyapustaka Museum in Surakarta, Central Java. Initiated by B.P.H Hadiwijaya, this museum was built in 1890. Then, it was open for public access in 1913. Given that this museum has existed since Ngarpah's lifetime period at the turn of the 20th-century Java, it is likely that since the beginning the manuscript has been safely kept in this building. Our examination of this work owes much to the transliterated version prepared by the Yayasan Sastra Lestari based on their transliteration project of this work

that started in July 2004 and finished in August 2005.<sup>1</sup> In this article, our focus is on the verse numbering system and Arabic references used for presenting interpretive additions to the translation text.

This manuscript measures 21.5x34 cms. Mentioned in the front cover, this Qur'anic translation project received assistances from Ngabehi Wirapustaka (Padmasusastra) (d. 1926) as the Javanese editor and Ki Ranasubaya as the Javanese scribe. Written in three big volumes, this work has 1559 pages in total based on the last number found in the end section of the third volume. All the texts are written in Javanese language and script, while the original text of the Arabic Qur'an is not included. The first volume (387 pages) contains the translation of the Qur'anic text from *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* until *Sūrat al-Tawbah* verse 94. Meanwhile, the second volume (577 pages) contains the translation from *Sūrat al-Tawbah* verse 95 until *Sūrat al-'Ankabūt* verse 44. The last volume (594 pages) contains the translation text from *Sūrat al-'Ankabūt* verse 45 until the end of the Qur'an. The front cover also bears the date of completion both in the Javanese and Gregorian years in 1835 and 1905, respectively (*nalika taun 1835 – 1905*).<sup>2</sup>

Black and red inks were used for different purposes. The former is used to write the main text (i.e. the translation text) and the chapter headings, and the latter is used to write the interpretive additions placed inside “()”. These additions usually end up with listing a short title of one or more Arabic works in their Javanese spellings, confirming the use of the mentioned work as reference. The analysis of Arabic references used in this work will be mainly based on the mentioned Arabic works. These three volumes of the manuscript have its prototype previously prepared by another scribe named Suwanda.

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<sup>1</sup> In my conversation by phone with the Director of the Yayasan Sastra Lestari, Drs. Supardjo, M.Hum, after our participation in the 8<sup>th</sup> *International Symposium on the Nusantara Manuscripts* organised by the Indonesian Association for the Nusantara Manuscripts (MANASSA) on 26th-28th of July 2004, Pak Supardjo told me that Mas John as the commissioner of the foundation was very much interested to transliterate the manuscripts of the Javanese Qur'an that I presented in the seminar. It corresponds to the purpose of the foundation to preserve Javanese literature. As soon as project was successfully done in August 2005, Pak Supardjo emailed me with the attached project result on 20th of September 2005 for that I am very much grateful.

<sup>2</sup> Based on the second author's experience in the study of Javanese literature, it is common for the texts produced in the Javanese *kraton* milieu to have both Javanese and Gregorian calendar systems, confirming the reception of the Western Calendar in the modern Javanese literature. Another example can be found in the *Serat Pustaka Raja* of Ranggawarsita that was reprinted by Ki Padmasusastra and published by Boedi Oetama of Surakarta in the years 1842 – 1912. In this connection, the former year refers to the Javanese Calendar and the latter to the Gregorian Calendar. This is also the case with the years found in the front cover of the *Kuran Jawi* (i.e. *nalika taun 1835 – 1905*). See also Riyadi (2002: 124-156) for the Javanese textual tradition in the Javanese *kraton* of Yogyakarta.

Florida (2012: 247-248) notes that the manuscript of Ngarpah's *Kur'an Jawi* scribed by Suwanda constitutes the prototype of the Javanese Qur'an that becomes our case study in this article. It is worth mentioning that scholars have a different description as to the dating of Ngarpah's *Kuran Jawi* and the existence of the Arabic Qur'an included in the work. The first identification appears in the work of Uhlenbeck (1964: 54 & 91), stating that this is the Javanese translation of the Qur'an made by Ngarpah, and that, he notes, the first eight sections were printed with the original text (i.e. the Arabic Qur'an) in 1884. This work was made for pedagogical purposes among the members of the Waradarma circle. The second identification comes from Kaptein (2017: 197-201). He notes that Ngarpah started the Javanese translation from about the end of 1907. The original Arabic Qur'an and its translation were lay outed in columns, the former on the right side of the page and the later on the left side. It was then printed in Semarang in the end of 1908 under the sponsorship of the Waradarma literary circle.

We also identified another Javanese Qur'anic translation that Uhlenbeck (1964: 54) said to be the first printed Javanese Qur'anic translation in Javanese script. The identification of this work by Keijzer (1863) reveals that this work was originally written in Perso-Arabic script (*pegon*), made by the Arab descent living in Cirebon. This work came to the printing company in Batavia, Lange & Co. The printed edition finally appeared in Javanese script in 1858. Any possible relations between Ngarpah's *Kur'an Jawi* manuscripts we use in this study, their prototype and the printed or manuscript editions described by Uhlenbeck and Kaptein above, as well as with the 1858 Lange & Company printed edition, are not our present focus, but important to investigate that warrant further research.

The Javanese *priyayi* have been engaged with the study of Islam, especially of the Qur'an. But, the way they approached the Qur'an has been under studied. Furthermore, the manifestation of their reflected Islam has been typically pictured as following syncretism and relativism (Geertz 1976: 337). Previous studies on Islamic education in Java show that Islamic education with the use of Arabic and *pegon* texts had been common pedagogical practices in the *pesantrens* based in the countryside (Bruinessen 1999; Ricklefs 2007), or in the Javanese Islamic kingdom in the coastal settlement such as those in Banten (Bruinessen 1995; Nurtawab 2020) and Cirebon (Muhaimin, 2001). The well-known Javanese Qur'anic exegesis by Salih Darat from the late 19th-century Java was also written in Javanese *pegon* (Umam 2013; Mustaqim 2017). Meanwhile, the Javanese knowledge and literature in Javanese script said to be limitedly circulated among the Javanese

*priyayi* milieu. Ricklefs (2007: 52), for example, states that there was a gap that widened after the survey of education by the colonial government in 1831 between the educational development in the countryside and that in the milieu of Javanese aristocrats. The former had developed the pedagogical practice of traditional Islamic texts, while the latter had preserved the Javanese language and culture.

The examination of the Qur'anic exegetical activity among the Javanese *priyayi* and how their Islamic knowledge had been linked with trends in the development of Islamic discourses in the Muslim world therefore shows its significance. In the analysis to follow, our study reveals that the exegetical activity as seen in the expertise of Bagus Ngarpah—the royal servant and Islamic scholar (*abdi dalem ngulama nagari*) in the Javanese *kraton* of Surakarta—shows a complexity in the use of Arabic references for the composition of his Javanese Qur'anic translation and its interpretive additions. There are about 14 Arabic references mentioned in Ngarpah's *Kuran Jawi* that, in this article, we have classified into commentary and non-commentary works. The variation in the use of Arabic works to understand the meaning of the Qur'an as seen in Ngarpah's *Kuran Jawi* also corresponds to some scholars' (Ricklefs 2007: 173-175; Kaptein 2017: 199) tendencies concerning the emergence of awareness among the late 19th- and the early 20th-century Javanese *priyayi*, especially those affiliated in the Waradarma literary circle of Surakarta, to receive modernism and reform movement through their direct approach in studying the Qur'an.

## II. Bagus Ngarpah and his Qur'anic exegetical activity

Aside from that he has another name, i.e. Iskak Sastra Adirengga, little is known about the life of Bagus Ngarpah. As far as this research is concerned, information on the dates of his birth and death is unknown. However, we are certain that Ngarpah (probably derived from Arabic, '*Arafah*') came from the religious family of the Javanese aristocrats and must have received Islamic education and studied Arabic in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century given that he was appointed as the royal servant and Islamic scholar in the Javanese *kraton* of Surakarta and teacher in the *Mbangul Ngulum* Islamic school (*abdi dalêm ngulama uluning guru Pamulangan Mbangul Ngulum*). Ngarpah had been accustomed to the Javanese culture and language in the whole life, especially in the way he maintained his social relationship with his Javanese colleagues and taught Islamic studies in the school and the Waradarma literary circle.

Ricklefs (2007: 174) describes the *Mambangul Ngulum* Islamic school as the first modern Islamic school in Java, built by Pakubuwana X in 1905. The idea of its establishment came from the *pangulu* of Surakarta after they observed the achievement of the Dutch schools in Java. Local Islamic scholars (*kaum*) however strongly opposed the establishment of this school on the grounds that the way this school was managed and taught Islamic studies imitated the elements of the unbelievers' (*kafir*) educational styles, i.e. the Dutch. Despite the strong opposition, the *Mambangul Ngulum* Islamic School had kept operating by imitating the European-modernised school management with the adoption of classroom and fixed periods of learning, and that the students were granted the certificates of graduation once they passed the end examination. This is certainly very much different from Islamic learning developed in the traditional Islamic education (cf. Steenbrink 1986; Boyle 2004). Ricklefs did not describe further who held the position as the *Pangulu* of Surakarta. We might suggest in this regard that Tapsir Anom held this position at that time, and that Bagus Ngarpah as one of Islamic scholars in the Surakarta *kraton* milieu must have joined the group who agreed with the school's orientation and had contributed to its establishment.

The front cover of the first volume of the *Kuran Jawi* manuscript clearly mentions the translator, others who contributed and the year of completion as presented in **Figure 1** below (read and transliterated by Deswijaya):

*Kuran kajawèkakên dening Bagus Ngarpah abdi dalêm ngulama nagari wontên pakêmpalan Waradarma. Inggang ngrampingakên têngbungipun Jawi Ngabèi Wirapustaka, abdi dalêm mantri Radyapustaka ing Surakarta nalika taun 1835-1905. Sêratanipun Ki Ranasubaya abdi dalêm jajar nirbaya kaparak têngên, inggang kapêthil wontên kantor Radyapustaka.*

The Qur'an translated into Javanese by Bagus Ngarpah the royal servant and the official Islamic scholar in the Waradarma circle. The Javanese editor by Ngabehi Wirapustaka, the royal servant expert in the Radyapustaka in Surakarta in <the Javanese year> 1835 – <the Gregorian year> 1905. Copied by Ki Ranasubaya, *abdi dalêm jajar nirbaya kaparak têngên*, as released in the Radyapustaka office.

Figure 1: Cover page of the first volume of the *Kuran Jawi*

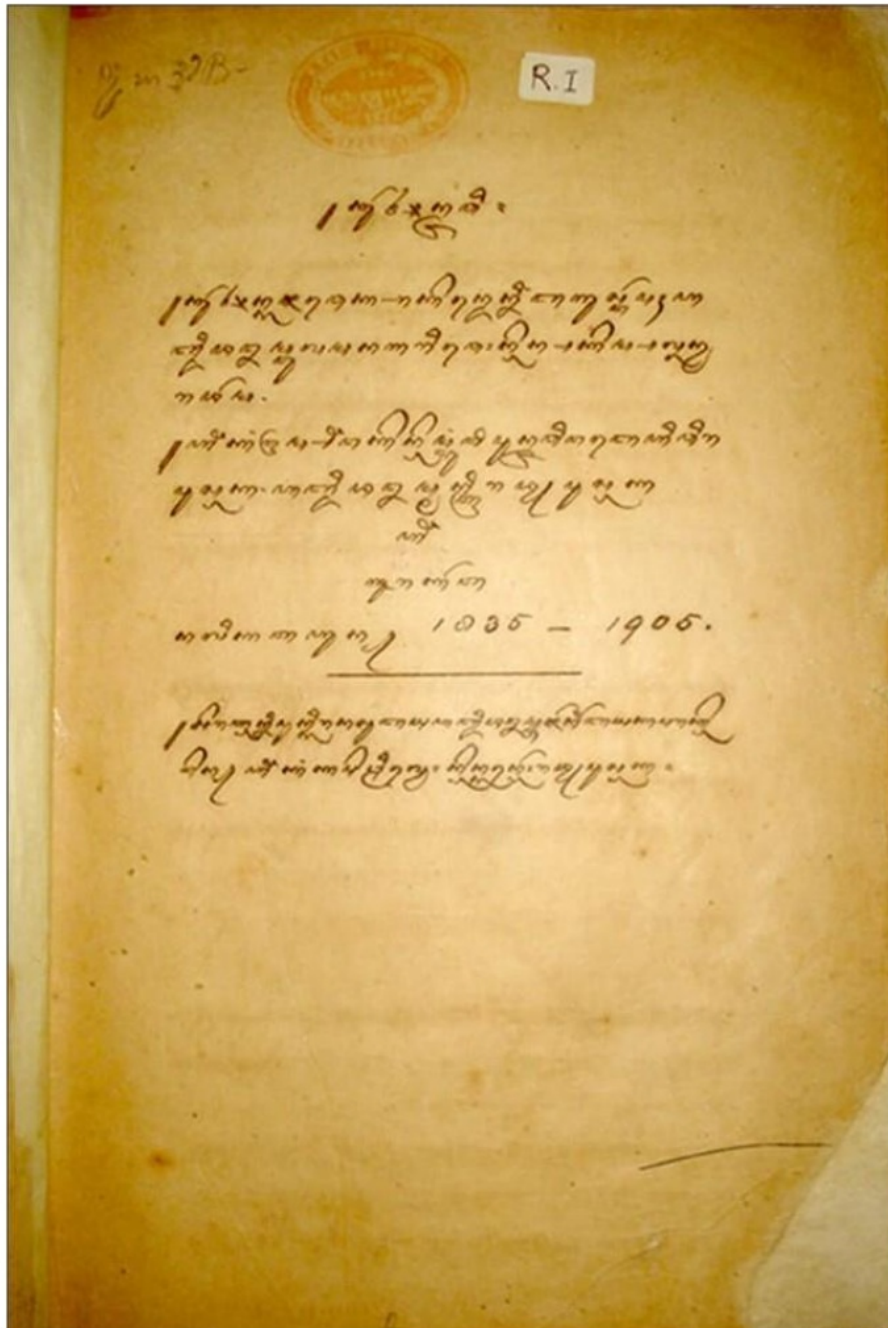


Photo: Yayasan Sastra Lestari, 2005.

The Javanese periodical, *Pusaka Jawi*, in 1931 once reported the controversies around the translation of the Qur'an by Ngarpah. This attempt raised a strong criticism and disagreement among the groups of Islamic scholars in Surakarta. One strong criticism came from Raden Mas Sulaiman. In this connection, there was a story narrated by Haji Muhtar when accompanying Kyai Dahlan, the founder of the Muhammadiyah organisation, to visit Ngarpah's residence as reported in *Pusaka Jawi* (1931: 172) as follow:

Mas Haji Muhtar told: One day I followed Kyai Dahlan to Surakarta, visiting the residence of Bagus Ngarpah. The *kyai* was invited by Bagus Ngarpah. The *kyai* is one of Bagus Ngarpah's nephews. Once arrived at Bagus Ngarpah's house, then informed the following: "Le, my work on translating the Qur'an recently caused disagreements. Many Muslim scholars took this as unacceptable. <This matter> would be discussed in a public meeting. The Muslim scholars there were headed by Raden Mas Suleman. Raden Mas Suleman himself would talk in that meeting, as the representative of the Muslim scholars <who disagreed>. He already raised many statements and <the statements> were reported on newspaper. I already responded all of his comments, nothing is left. What do you think? Kyai Dahlan then looked at the list containing responses for the questions, analysed and thought of them for a while. Then he said: "Oh Uncle, you will lose if you do like this." Bagus Ngarpah was surprised <hearing the *kyai*'s response>, asked strangely: "How can I be wrong. I referred all the responses to classical Arabic texts (*kitab-kitab*). I can assure myself, they will be defeated." Kyai Dahlan responded: "I think not Uncle. You will lose. Why do you serve someone whose intention was to give people more burden?"

The reportage continued to the conduct of the public meeting on debating the Qur'anic translation made by Ngarpah, as in *Pusaka Jawi* (1931: 173-174) as follow:

On the day of the meeting, Raden Mas Suleman stood on the table so that everyone who wanted to hear his talk could see him. His voice was so loud and clear. After he explained the purpose of this public meeting, Raden Mas Suleman then presented his statement of disagreement <toward the translation made by Ngarpah>. He said: "Why was Bagus Ngarpah so brave enough to make the translation of the Qur'an, and it is clearly in the Qur'an that the Qur'an cannot be translated. Muslim who clearly disobey the rule mentioned in the Qur'an can be taken as immoral. More than that, such a wrongdoing might led other Muslims to the heresies.

The above reportage shows that a group of Islamic scholars in Surakarta, headed by Raden Mas Sulaiman, disagreed with the attempt of translating the Qur'an into Javanese because the Qur'an cannot be translated. In their opinion, those who did this can be taken as immoral accordingly. Bagus Ngarpah nevertheless stuck to the principle that his attempt at providing the meaning of the Qur'an accessible for the Javanese speakers is possible. Moreover, he said, he did



not intend to translate the Qur'an. Instead, he took this as the translation of the Qur'anic commentary in Javanese. The following his responses to the criticism as reported in *Pusaka Jawi* (1931: 174):

At that time, Bagus Ngarpah then gave a statement as follow: "I did not translate the Qur'an. I just provided the meaning of the Qur'an or made the Qur'anic commentary. You might be right that no one can translate the Qur'an. But, all people already knew my work related to this Qur'an, just as Raden Mas Suleman certainly knew and reviewed it." Therefore, I would like to ask: "What principles did Raden Mas Suleman use to identify my work as making the Qur'anic translation? Or, what principles did you get from to assume that I worked on the Qur'anic translation." Raden Mas Suleman did not give any response, but just silent. He then got off the table. This public meeting then ended up to this point.

As presented above, there is an information regarding the response from Ngarpah's nephew (i.e. *Kyai Dahlan*) as found in *Pusaka Jawi* in 1931. *Kyai Dahlan* said that Bagus Ngarpah dedicated his whole life to studying the meaning of the Qur'an. He came from the religious family that was known for their knowledge in religious studies and known for their capacity in the Javanese language and literature as well as knowledgeable of astronomy and Javanese calendar. Ngarpah studied astronomy for about 19 years.

There is also information found in the Javanese text titled *Kawruh Ushuluddin* on the professional background of Bagus Ngarpah. He is said to be the royal servant and the Islamic scholar who held the position of the principle of the *Mambangul Ngulum* in the period of Pakubuwana X. Bagus Ngarpah's response to the criticism toward his translation work was also found in the printed Javanese text titled *Babad Wedyadiningratan* by Raden Mas Ngabehi Dutadilaga (Dutadilaga 1938: 37). Ngarpah gave his reasons on the compilation of *Kuran Jawi* when dr. Rajiman Mangun Husada (d. 1952) was asking for clarification. His reason of making the translation was to make the knowledge of the Qur'an accessible to the Javanese society so that they can understand the explicit and implicit meanings of the Qur'an.

Aside from the conflict between him and some Islamic scholars in Surakarta, Ngarpah also received a strong criticism from Sayyid 'Uthman (d. 1913) in Batavia regarding his Javanese Qur'anic translation. Kaptein (2014: 197-201) describes how this conflict attracted attention from the Dutch Indies authorities as found in correspondence between Advisor for Native Affairs, G.A.J. Hazeu, and the Assistant Resident of Solo, Ch.P.J.Blok. This conflict resulted from the

protests by some Islamic scholars and Arabs descent, including Sayyid ‘Uthman who reportedly wrote to the Sunan asking for the banning of its publication attempt. As Kaptein notes, Blok reported that thousands of people came to the debate looking like watching the boxing game. But, Sayyid ‘Uthman and one Arab from Singapore reportedly cancelled their attendance in this event. During this debate, Ngarpah clarified that his work is just the interpretation, not the Qur’an that needs an ablution ritual before its reading. Kaptein stresses Blok’s opinion on the production of Ngarpah’s Javanese Qur’an that showed the way the Javanese *priyayi* in the Waradarma circle accepted Islamic modernism as reflected in their direct approach to the Qur’an in studying Islam.

### III. The verse numbering system in the *Kuran Jawi*

Bin Ismail, Yakub & Yusof (2016: 22) note that the elaboration of the verse numbering system is not found in the fields of the mainstream Qur’anic sciences (*‘ulūm al-Qur’ān*). Their examination of the classical Qur’an manuscripts reveals that the Qur’an manuscript scribes did employ numbers included in the verse markers up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century period that coincides with the wide circulation of the Qur’an printing. The Qur’ans produced prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century generally used circles as the verse markers, and that no number was inserted inside. Given that the verse numbering system for the Qur’an is the modern phenomenon, we suggest that the way Ngarpah separated the translated Qur’anic verses with numbers in Javanese script was pioneering in the Malay-Indonesian world.

In this section, we examines the verse numbering system used by Ngarpah in the composition of the *Kuran Jawi*. Our identification shows that the way the translated Qur’anic verses in Javanese language and script were numbered in Ngarpah’s work is very much different from the mainstream verse numbering system, i.e. the *Kuffan* system, and other known numbering systems in the Muslim world. In our attempt at setting up a comparative analysis of this aspect, we use the Kuwait standard Qur’an, i.e. *Muṣḥaf Dawlat al-Kuwayt*, officially stating that the Qur’an follows the *Kuffan* verse numbering system; and the Qur’an that follows the Medina I system printed by al-Manṣūrah in Egypt.

**Table 1: Qur'an chapters and verse numbers  
in Kur'an Jawi (KJ) and the Kuffan system (KS)**

No	Chapter	Verses		No	Chapter	Verses		No	Chapter	Verses	
		KJ	KS			KJ	KS			KJ	KS
1	Phatikhah	7	7	39	Zumar	75	75	77	Mursalat	50	50
2	Bakarah	286	286	40	Mukmin	85	85	78	Naba	41	40
3	Ali Ngimran	200	200	41	Phussilat	54	54	79	Nazingat	46	46
4	Nisa	175	176	42	Syura	53	53	80	Ngabasa	42	42
5	Maidah	120	120	43	Zuhruph	89	89	81	Takhwir	29	29
6	An Ngam	165	165	44	Dukhan	59	59	82	Inphitar	19	19
7	Akrap	205	206	45	Jatsiyah	36	37	83	Mutaph[i]phin	36	36
8	An Phal	76	75	46	Ahkaph	35	35	84	Insikag	25	25
9	Tobah	130	129	47	Mukhammad	40	38	85	Buruj	22	22
10	Yunus	109	109	48	Phatah	29	29	86	Tarig	17	17
11	Hud	123	123	49	Khujurat	18	18	87	Akla	19	19
12	Yusuph	111	111	50	Khaph	45	45	88	Gasiyah	26	26
13	Rakdi	43	43	51	Dzariyat	60	60	89	Phajêr	30	30
14	Ibrahim	52	52	52	Tur	49	49	90	Balad	20	20
15	Khijir	99	99	53	Najêmi	62	62	91	Samsi	16	15
16	Nahli	128	128	54	Kamar	55	55	92	Laili	21	21
17	Isra	111	111	55	Rahman	78	78	93	Dlukha	11	11
18	Kahphi	110	110	56	Wakingah	96	96	94	Alamnasrah	8	8
19	Maryam	98	98	57	Khadid	29	29	95	Tin	8	8
20	Taha	135	135	58	Mujadalah	22	22	96	Ngalag	19	19
21	Ambiya	112	112	59	Khashar	24	24	97	Kadar	5	5
22	Khajji	78	78	60	Mumtakhinah	13	13	98	Bayinnah	8	8
23	Mukminun	118	118	61	Saph	14	14	99	Zalzalah	8	8
24	Nur	64	64	62	Jumngah	11	11	100	Ngadiyat	11	11
25	Phurkan	77	77	63	Munaphikin	11	11	101	Karingah	8	11
26	Sungara	228	227	64	Taghabun	18	18	102	Takasur	8	8
27	Namli	95	93	65	Talak	12	12	103	Ngasri	3	3
28	Kasas	88	88	66	Tahrim	12	12	104	Humazah	9	9
29	Ngan Kabut	69	69	67	Muluk	30	30	105	Phil	5	5
30	Rum	60	60	68	Kalam	52	52	106	Kurès	4	4
31	Lukman	34	34	69	Khakkah	52	52	107	Mangun	7	7
32	Sajadah	30	30	70	Mangarij	44	44	108	Kaotsar	3	3
33	Ahzab	73	73	71	Nuh	29	28	109	Kaphirun	6	6
34	Saba	54	54	72	Jin	28	28	110	Nasri	3	3
35	Malaikat	45	45	73	Muzammil	20	20	111	Tabbat	5	5
36	Yasin	83	83	74	Muddatsir	55	56	112	Ihlas	4	4
37	Saphphat	182	182	75	Kiyamah [lacking number 36]	40	40	113	Phalag	5	5
38	Sod	88	88	76	Insan	31	31	114	Nas	6	6
Total number of the Qur'anic verses from 14 chapters based on the applied numbering system										6239	6236

Farrin (2019: 5-6) notes that six systems in the Qur'anic verse numbering have been developed since the late first Islamic Hijri/early 8th century, and that the system are named after the places they originated, i.e. Medina I, Medina II, Mecca, Damascus, Kuffan and Ĥimş. The Kuffan system has become more dominant and more widely used in the Muslim world, including in the Malay-Indonesian world, than another six numbering systems (cf. Ahmad, Mohamad & Hussin 2015). Regarding the total number of the Qur'anic verses, Farrin (2019: 9) notes that the Kuffan system presents the highest number that accounts for 6236 verses. Meanwhile, the Basra, Medina I and Medina II numbering systems have 6204, 6214, and 6217 verses in total, respectively. Another three verse numbering systems, i.e. Mecca, Damascus and Ĥimş, respectively presented 6219, 6226, and 6232 verses in total.

**Table 1** shows that the verse numbering system employed in the *Kuran Jawi* presents the higher number of verses (i.e. 6239 verses) compared to that of the *Kuffan* system. As for the differences in the number of verses in each chapter, *Sūrat al-Qāri'ah* (Javanese: *Karingah*) is one example of the way in which both show a more obvious disagreement. Here, the verse numbering system in the *Kuran Jawi* presents 8 verses, and the *Kuffan* system lists 11 verses, showing a three-verse gap of the same chapter.

Given that both the *Kuran Jawi* and the Qur'an that follows the Kuffan system present the same number of verses in most chapters, we might assume that the *Kuran Jawi* verse numbering system has a close connection to the *Kuffan* system. However, as will be presented in **Table 3**, both systems shows massive disagreements. One example can be seen from the way the verses of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* in both Qur'ans were separated in numbers. Although both the *Kuran Jawi* and the Qur'an that follows the *Kuffan* system have presented the same numbers for this chapter (i.e. seven verses), the Qur'an that follows the *Kuffan* system includes the *basmalah* verse as the first verse. But, this verse is excluded in the translation of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* in the *Kuran Jawi*, treating it as part of the chapter heading. Instead, Ngarpah separated the translation of the seventh verse into two, showing its resemblance with the verse separations of this chapter in the Qur'an that follows the Medina I system (**Table 3**).

Figure 2: Translation of *Sūrat al-Fāṭīḥah* in the *Kuran Jawi*

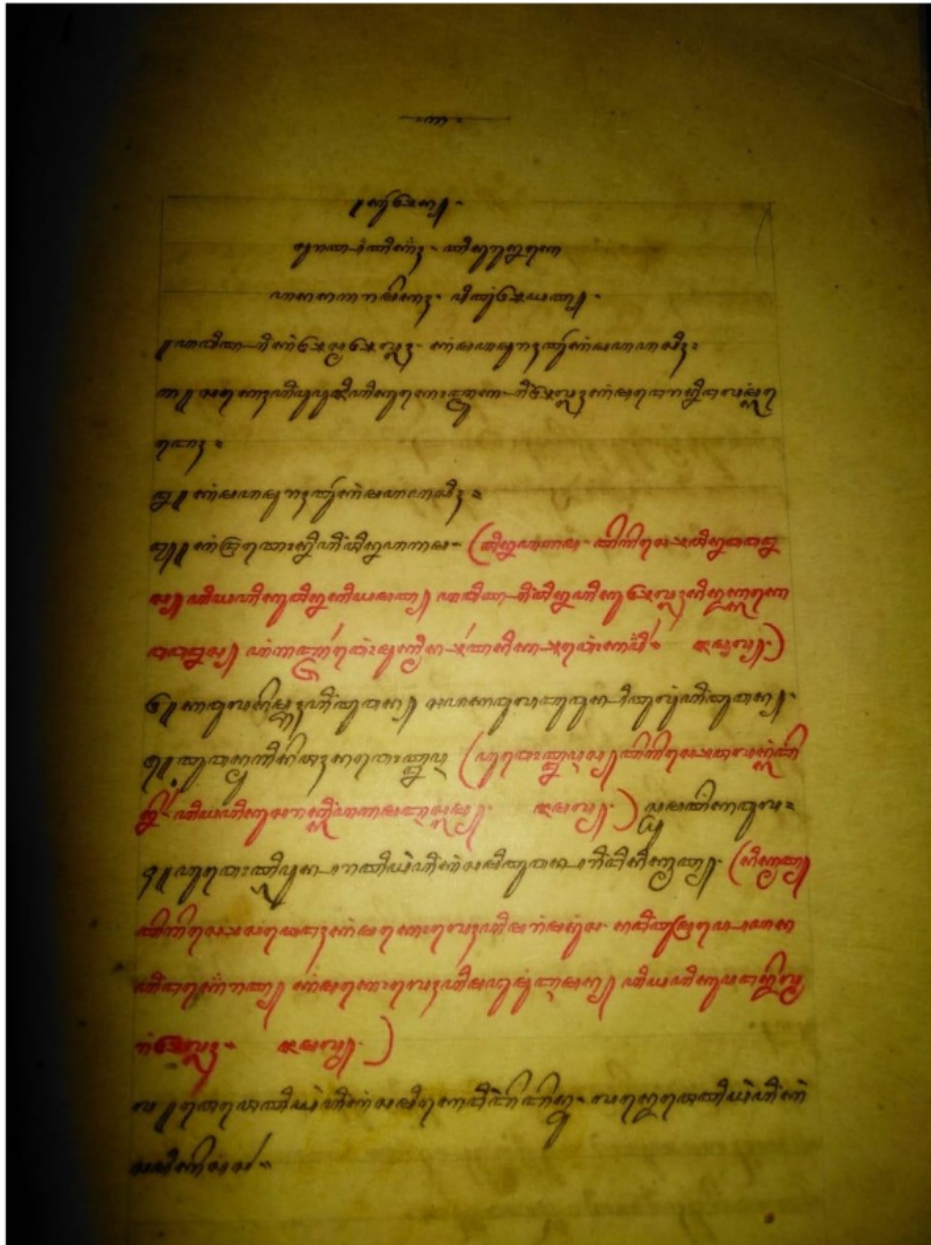


Photo: Authors, 2020

**Table 2: Translation of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* in the *Kuran Jawi* (Transliterated by Deswijaya)**

[1]

Kuran

Surat Phatikḥah

tinurunake ana nagara Mēkah, pitung ayat

Awit ingkang asma Allah, kang Mahamurah tur kang Maha-asih.

1. Sakèhing pêpuji iku konjuk ing Allah kang Mangerani ngalam kabèh.
2. Kang Mahamurah tur kang Maha-asih.
3. Kang ngratoni ing dina agama. (Dina agama, tēgēse dina wēwalēs, iya iku dina kiyamat, awit ing dina iku Allah nindakake wēwalēs, angganjar wong mukmin sarta niksa wong kaphir. Jamal.).
4. Kawula nēmbah ing Tuwan, saha kawula nyuwun pitulung ing Tuwan.
5. Tuwan mugè nēdahna wot lērēs (Uwot lērēs, tēgēse dalan kang bēnēr, iya iku saraking agama Islam. Jamal.) dhumatēng kawula.
6. Uwotipun para tiyang ingkang sami Tuwan paringi nikmat. (Nikmat, tēgēse sadhengah kang makolèhi marang manungsa, nanging tumrape ana ing akherat, kang makolèhi mau mung iman, iya iku pangandèl marang Allah. Jamal.).
7. Dede tiyang ingkang sami kenging bēbēndu, lan dede tiyang ingkang sami kēsasar.

**English translation (by Nurtawab)**

[1]

The Qur'an

*Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*

Revealed in the country of Mecca, seven verses

In the name of God The All Graceful and The All Merciful

1. Praise be to God, The Lord of all the universe.
2. The All Graceful and The All Merciful.
3. The Owner of the day of religion (the day of religion means the day of judgement, that is the hereafter day, because in that day God will judge, give the reward to the believers and punishments to the unbelievers. Jamal).
4. I worship The Lord, and I beg The Lord's help.
5. May The Lord show the straight path (the straight path means the correct path, that is the law of the Islamic religion. Jamal) for me.
6. The path of those that The Lord gives joys (joys means something that is useful for human, but given in the hereafter. What is useful <on that day> is only belief, that is belief in God. Jamal).
7. Not of those who got wrath, and Not of those who got wrong direction.

**Table 3: The Kuffan, Medina I and *Kuran Jawi* verse numbering systems**

Chapters	Kuffan	Medina I	<i>Kur'an Jawi</i>
<i>Sūrat al-Fāṭīḥah</i>	1	The <i>basmalah</i> verse is not numbered, but placed in the chapter heading	The <i>basmalah</i> verse is not numbered, but placed in the chapter heading
	2	1	1
	3 to 6	2 to 5	2 to 5
	7	6	6
		7	7
<i>Sūrat al-Baqarah</i>	1	1	1
	2		
	3 to 19	2 to 18	2 to 18
	20	19	19
	21	20	
	22 to 28	21 to 27	20 to 26
	40	39	38
	41	40	
	42 to 63	42 to 62	39 to 60
	64	63	61
	65	64	
	66	65	62
	67 to 69	66 to 68	63 Note: number 64 missing, but the text is found to be included in verse 63
	70	69	65
	99	98	105
	119	118	125
	153	152	158
	203	201	199
	222	220	222
	261	260	259
286	285	286	
<i>Sūrat 'Imrān</i>	1 to 2	1	1
	3 to 4	2, verse 4 is separated into verses 3 and 4	2 to 3
	5 to 6	5 to 6	4
	7	7	5
	8	8	6
	200	200	200
<i>Sūrat al-Nisā'</i>	19-20	19-20	15-16
<i>Sūrat al-Mā'idah</i>	2	3	2-3
<i>Sūrat al-An'ām</i>	38	39	38
<i>Sūrat al-A'rāf</i>	73	72	71
<i>Sūrat al-Nahl</i>	60	60	62
<i>Sūrat al-Isrā'</i>	60	60	62

**Table 3** shows massive differences in the verse separations found in *Sūrat al-Baqarah* between both Kuffan and Medina I systems compared to those in the *Kuran Jawi*. Aside from the examples of the verse separations in the first three chapters of the Qur'an, we also include selected verses in other chapters as materials for the purpose of analysis in our attempt at tracking the listed Arabic references.

Considering the fact that there are massive differences in the verse separations between the *Kuran Jawi* and the Qur'an that follows the *Kuffan* system, it is likely that there is no tendency towards technical errors made by Ngarpah in this regard. We assume that Ngarpah seemed to have formulated his own method of separating the verses. Or, he possibly referred to the Qur'an that follows certain numbering system that differs from the above systems ever known in the Muslim world that warrant further research.

This is also the case with both *Sūrat al-Baqarah* and *Āli 'Imrān* in the *Kuran Jawi* that have the same numbers of verses, i.e. 286 and 200 verses, as those in the Kuffan system, respectively. Our focus firstly goes to the combination of letters (*muqatta'ah*) placed in the first verse of *Sūrat al-Baqarah* and *Āli 'Imrān*. In the *Kuran Jawi*, this combination of letters in both chapters are not separated from their second verses. In other words, Ngarpah counted the letters with their next verses as verse number one.

#### **IV. Arabic references mentioned in the *Kuran Jawi***

In this section, we examine the complexity in the use of Arabic references in the interpretive additions to the translation text in the *Kuran Jawi*. As has been presented above, Ngarpah put these interpretive additions in “( )” using red inks and—at the end of the explanation—shortly mentioned one or more Arabic titles as the references (See **Figure 2** and **Table 2**). In our analysis to follow, some of the listed works clearly refer to the works known among the Javanese *pesantrens* people of the countryside. Some works, especially those categorised as the non-commentary works, seemed to be uncommon in use for pedagogical practices in the 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century *pesantrens* based on the inventory project of Arabic works by Van den Berg (1886) used or circulated in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Javanese *pesantrens* (see also Steenbrink 1984: 155-157).



**Table 3: Arabic references mentioned in the *Kuran Jawi* (in alphabetical order)**

No	Short titles as in the <i>Kuran Jawi</i>	Complete titles of the (possible) works
1	Inna ngatut talibin/ Ingana Tuttalibin	<i>I'ānat al-ṭālibīn</i> by Abū Bakr 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad Shatā al-Dimyāfī al-Bakrī (d. 1893).
2	Itkan	<i>al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān</i> by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī (d. 1505).
3	Jalalèn	<i>Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm</i> by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥalī (d. 1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī (d. 1505), better known as <i>Tafsīr al-Jalālayn</i> .
4	Jamal	<i>Al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhīyah bi-tawḍīḥ tafsīr al-Jalālayn li al-daqā'iq al-khiffīyah</i> by Sulaymān ibn 'Umar al-'Ujayfī al-Azharī (d. 1790), better known as <i>Hāshiyat al-Jamal</i> .
5	Kasasul ambiya	<i>Qaṣaṣ al-anbiyā'</i> by Abū al-Fidā' ibn Kathīr (d. 1373).
6	Khayatul khewan	<i>Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā</i> by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Dumayrī (d. 1406).
7	Khazin	<i>Tafsīr al-Khāzin: Lubāb al-ta'wīl fī ma'āni al-tanzīl</i> by 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī al-Khāzin (d. 1340).
8	Misbah	<i>Al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr fī gharīb al-sharḥ al-kabīr</i> by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Muqri' al-Fayyūmī (d. 1369).
9	Mizan Sakrani	<i>Mīzān Al-Kubrā</i> by 'Abd al-Wahhāb bin Aḥmad al-Sya'rānī (d. 1565)
10	Muhtar	<i>Muḥṭār al-ṣiḥāḥ</i> by Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Rāzī (d. 1267).
11	Phatkul Karit	<i>Fath al-qarīb al-mujīb: sharḥ 'alā al-kitāb al-musammā bi-al-taqrīb</i> by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 1512).
12	Sawi	<i>Hāshiyat al-Ṣāwī 'alā tafsīr al-Jalālayn</i> by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣāwī (d. 1826).
13	Takrib	<i>Taqrīb</i> by Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-shahīr bi-Abī Shujā' (d. 1107).
14	Takriphat	<i>Mu'jam al-Ta'rīfāt</i> by 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. 1413)

Our examination towards the use of Arabic works for the composition of interpretive additions reveals that Ngarpah's project of the Qur'anic translation obviously shows a complexity in the use of various references. It is more complex than the extant commentary manuscripts ever known produced in the Malay-Indonesian world up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some Arabic commentaries (i.e. *Tafsīr al-Baghawī*, *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*, *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, and especially *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*) showed their domination as the references in the making of the 17th- and 19th-century Malay Qur'anic commentaries from Aceh (Riddell 1984, 1993 and 2017), Mindanao (Nurtawab 2019) and Banten (Nurtawab 2020) as well as the printed Maranao *tafsir* in 1930 (Kawashima 2016) and the early Javanese translation found in the 18th-century Banten Qur'an A.54 (Nurtawab, forthcoming). What is seen from Ngarpah's Javanese Qur'anic translation has demonstrated the use of some different Arabic commentaries, i.e. two glosses of the *Jalālayn*, and of non-commentary works (see Table 3).

### *The role of Arabic commentaries*

Ngarpah used *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, two glosses of the *Jalālayn* (shortly mentioned in Javanese spelling as *Jamal* and *Sawi*) and *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* (Jav.: *Khazin*). As elaborated above, *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* with another three Arabic references greatly contributed to the development of the early Malay Qur’anic exegetical activity (Riddell 1993: 64). The works mentioned as *Jamal* and *Sawi* possibly refer to the glosses of the *Jalālayn* authored, first, by Sulaymān ibn ‘Umar al-‘Ujaylī al-Azharī (d. 1790), titled *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhīyah bi-tawḍīḥ tafsīr al-Jalālayn li al-daqa’iq al-khiffīyah*—better known as *Hāshiyat al-Jamal*—, and, second, by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣāwī (d. 1826) titled *Hāshiyat al-Ṣāwī ‘alā tafsīr al-Jalālayn*.

Aside from the use of *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, Ngarpah used *Hāshiyat al-Jamal* in many parts of the interpretive additions. One example is his translation of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* that shows the domination of this work for providing a definition of keywords, i.e. *yawm al-dīn* (the day of judgement), *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* (the straight path) and *ni‘mah* (joys). The examination of these interpretive additions found in *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* of the *Kuran Jawi* will be compared to the commentary of this chapter in the *Hāshiyat al-Jamal*. Our presentation of these interpretive additions will mention the actual verse number as appeared in the *Kuran Jawi* followed by the verse numbers based on the Kuffan system separated with “/”.

If the title *Jamal* mentioned in the *Kuran Jawi* truly refers to the *Hāshiyat al-Jamal*, we find that Ngarpah seemed to have read the work carefully. He then selected and quoted some key points, and finally presented them with his own words. The first example is the explanation of the phrase *yawm al-dīn* (Jav.: *dina agama*, Eng.: The day of religion) in the translation of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* [1]: 3/4 as follows: (The day of religion means the day of judgement, that is the hereafter day, because in that day God will judge, give the reward to the believers and punishments to the unbelievers. *Jamal*). The presented interpretive addition partly corresponds to a piece of commentary found in the *Hāshiyat al-Jamal* as follow: “One opinion on it <is> judgement, that is with the reward for the believers and punishment for the unbelievers.”

The second is found in the explanation of the word *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* (Jav.: *uwot lèrês*) in verse 5/6 as follow: (The correct path, that is the straight path, i.e. the law of the Islamic religion. *Jamal*). The above additional explanation might be taken from chunks of the commentary of this verse in the *Hāshiyat al-Jamal* (*Hāshiyat al-Jamal*, vol. 4, p. 666). One piece might come from the quoted definition of the word *al-ṣirāṭ* (the path) by al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1108) as follow:

“And <the word> *al-ṣirāṭ* <means> the easy path ... and that means the religion of Islam” (*Ḥāshiyat al-Jamal*, vol. 4, p. 671).” Another piece might come from the quoted opinion by Abi al-Sa‘ud (d. 1574) on the word *al-mustaqīm* as follow: “What is meant by the word <*al-mustaqīm*> that is the true and tolerant faith” (*Ḥāshiyat al-Jamal*, vol 4, p. 672).

The third example comes from the explanation of the word *ni‘mah* (joys) and the groups that God has granted it to them, as follow: (Joy means something that is useful for human, but given in the hereafter. What is useful <on that day> is only belief, that is belief in God. Jamal). The author of the *Ḥāshiyat al-Jamal* compiled some scholars’ opinions on the commentary of this verse, stressing one opinion held by the majority. Ngarpah nevertheless did not chose the majority’s opinion. Instead, he seemed to have selected the last opinion that understands the group here to be the believers. The chunk of the related text is as follow: “That what is implied with <the pronoun> “them” refers the group of believers on the grounds that they are blessed with a faith.” The presented interpretive additions found in the *Kuran Jawi* are generally found in the mainstream Qur’anic commentaries. But, what is found as a resemblance between those presented in the *Kuran Jawi* and the *Ḥāshiyat al-Jamal* might confirm that Ngarpah seemed to have referred to this gloss.

It is also worth presenting certain parts of interpretive additions on the prophets’ stories that Ngarpah possibly referred from other Qur’anic commentaries. The interpretive addition in Ngarpah’s translation of *Sūrat al-A‘rāf* [7]: 71/73 on the Prophet Ṣāliḥ with his tribe, Thamūd, provides a detailed information on the origin of the Thamūd tribe taken from *Tafsir al-Khāzin*. The related interpretive addition found in the *Kuran Jawi* is as follow: (Thamud is the son of Ghabir, Ghabir is the son of Sam, and that Sam is the son of the Prophet Noah. So, the Prophet Noah is the great-grand father of Thamud. Khazin). Based on the commentary of this part in *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*, Ngarpah seemed to have missed one person as the father of Ngābir (Jav.: Ghabir), as seen in the following commentary: “That is, we sent <The Prophet Ṣāliḥ> to Thamūd, and he is Thamūd the son of Ngābir the son of Iram the son of Sam the son of the Prophet Nūḥ.”

In some cases, we identified that two or more Arabic commentaries were used to support an interpretive addition in one verse. One example of this is in the way three Arabic commentaries, i.e. the *Jalālayn*, *Ḥāshiyat al-Jamal* and *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*, were respectively mentioned to provide the interpretive addition to the translation text in *Sūrat al-Nisā’* verse 19-20/15-16. It confirms the way in which Ngarpah’s *Kuran Jawi* in some ways adopted a way of multiple referencing.

### *The role of non-Qur'anic commentary works*

We have identified that some non-Arabic commentaries were used as references for presenting some interpretive additions. Ngarpah was interested to provide definitions based on Arabic works that shortly appeared as *Muhtar*, *Misbah*, *Khayatul Khewan* and *Takriphat*. In this regard, the use of non-commentary works shows an interesting fact where he seemed to have been obsessed with presenting various information for his targeted readers who might need these related information <sup>1</sup> to serve the study of the Qur'an. Aside from the Arabic dictionaries, Ngarpah also referred to the Islamic works on Islamic jurisprudence. But, we are not analysing them in detail here, affirming that more works on this matter need to be done in the future.

The identification in the use of non-commentary works looking like Arabic dictionaries seems to be a difficult part because the listed works seemed to have been uncommon in use for Islamic pedagogy. Two inventory projects, the first being conducted by Van Den Berg in Ngarpah's lifetime period (Berg 1886) and other by Bruinessen (Bruinessen 1995) can be used to determine types of Islamic works that were circulated in the Javanese *pasantrens* from the late 19th- to the late 20th-century Java, assuming that Islamic texts (*kitab*) unlisted in both projects indicate a very limited availability. What is shortly appeared in Ngarpah's work therefore indicates that non Arabic-commentaries like the dictionary works seemed to have been uncommon in use for Islamic education at the turn of the early 20th-century Java.

If the dictionary works listed in **Table 3** are the works that Ngarpah used for the composition of his *Kuran Jawi*, especially of the additional explanation parts, we suggest that Ngarpah showed a certain level of criticism in utilising those references, paraphrasing selected information and, finally, presenting his own understandings and points of view. We will present the use of four Arabic dictionaries that have short titles found in Ngarpah's work, i.e. *Muhtar*, *Misbah*, *Khayatul Khewan* and *Takriphat*. The first title seems to be the work of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Rāzī (d. 1267) titled *Muḥtār al-ṣiḥāḥ*, and that the use of this work as reference is found to define words of Qur'anic Arabic as follow: *al-shukr* (al-Baqarah: 153/158), *tashrīq* (al-Baqarah: 199/203), *al-mahīd* (al-Baqarah: 222 /222), *al-shahr al-ḥarām* (Q.S. al-Mā'idah: 2/2), dan *zaqqūm* (Q.S. al-Isrā': 62/60).

As for the word *al-shukr*, Ngarpah provided its explanation as follow: (Be thankful for God's giving <is> by being grateful <to him>. Muhtar). The author of the *Muḥtār al-ṣiḥāḥ* on the

other hand defines this word much longer than the above definition. The second example is on the definition of the three days after the *Īd al-adḥá*. Ngarpah provided his text as follow: “The days of *tashrīq* are the date 11th, the date 12th and the date 13th of the month *Dhū al-Ḥijjah* once every year. Muhtar.” A quick comparison toward this definition and that presented in the *Muḥtār al-ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Rāzī shows certain disagreement. In this connection, the *Muḥtār al-ṣiḥāḥ* provided the related text as follow: “It is mentioned the days of *tashrīq* and they are three days after the Day of Immolation (p. 141)”.

There is still a certain resemblance, but with a certain disagreement, in the definition of the word *al-shahr al-ḥaram*. In the *Kuran Jawi*, Ngarpah provided the definition of *al-shahr al-ḥaram* (Jav.: *sasi kharam*, Eng.: forbidden months) as follow: (Forbidden months means sacred months where battles are forbidden, that is four months as follow: Muḥarram (*Sura*), Rajab (*Rejeb*), Dhū al-Qa’dah (*Dulkangidah*), Dhū al-Ḥijjah (*Besar*). Muhtar). The author of the *Muḥtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ* presented a similar definition, but mentioned the months in a different sequence, i.e. Dhū al-Qa’dah, Dhū al-Ḥijjah, Muḥarram and Rajab (p. 56).

The next definition to consider is for the word *zaqqūm*. Ngarpah provided the definition of this word in the translation of *Sūrat al-Isrā’*: 60/62, as follow: (*Zikkum* is plantation that grows and lives in Hell. Muhtar). This definition however does not agree with the one presented in the *Muḥtār al-ṣiḥāḥ* that presents a more detailed and longer definition although there is a possibility that Ngarpah might refer to it with certain significant changes.

The second dictionary work coming out in the *Kuran Jawi* is called *Misbah* that in our identification possibly refers to *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr fī gharīb al-sharḥ al-kabīr* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Muqrī al-Fayyūmī. The use of this work is seemingly less frequent than the above *Muhtar*. At least, we have identified that Ngarpah mentioned this work twice in his translation of *Sūrat al-Baqarah* [2]: 99/105 to explain the work *mushrik* and in his translation of the same chapter verse 119/125 to define the word *ṭawwāf*.

The following is the definition of the word *mushrik* (polytheist) found in the *Kuran Jawi*: (The polytheist is those who take Gods but Allah. Misbah). Our investigation toward the related text in the *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr* of al-Fayyūmī shows that this work does not specifically provide the definition of the word *mushrik*. Rather, the author bears a brief explanation of another noun (i.e. *al-shirk*) as follow: “Polytheism is the term for those who did polytheism toward God once they become infidel” (p. 380). There is also a disagreement between the presented definition of the

word *ṭawwāf* in the translation of *Sūrat al-Baqarah* [2]: 119/125 between the *Kuran Jawi* and the *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr*. In the *Kuran Jawi*, Ngarpah provided the following definition: (Round trip (*ṭawwāf*) is to walk around the Kaaba <as part of the Islamic Pilgrimage>. Misbah). Our identification of the related word in the work of al-Fayyūmī (p. 380) shows that there is no definition of the word *ṭawwāf* which bears the meaning of a walking activity around the Kaaba in as part of the pilgrimage ceremony.

Another dictionary work in the *Kuran Jawi* is what Ngarpah shortly mentioned as *Khayatul Khewan*. We identified that the use of this work in Ngarpah's work is less frequent than the above two dictionaries. At least, Ngarpah made a reference to it one time in his attempt at defining the animal *khimār* in his translation of *Sūrat al-Baqarah*: 261/259 as follow: (Khimar is the name of animal that has four legs in the Arabian Land. <It> was usually used to ride. Khayatul khewan). The presentation of the above definition seems to be different from that in the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* of Mūsá al-Dumayrī. In this regard, al-Dumayri (p. 40) divided types of *khimar* into two, i.e. *al-ḥimār al-ahlī* (domestic donkey) and *al-ḥimār al-waḥshī* (wild donkey).

The next dictionary work appeared to be used in Ngarpah's work is what he shortly called *Takriphat*. It is likely that it refers to the work of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī titled *Mu'jam al-Ta'rifāt*. As will be presented, the use of this work in the *Kuran Jawi* is more frequent than the above dictionary works. Here, we have identified the Qur'anic Arabic words that attracted Ngarpah to provide the definitions referring to this work, i.e. *al-dhāt*, *al-ṣifah*, and *al-lawḥ al-mahfūz* in the translation of *Sūrat Āli 'Imrān* [3]: 6/8; *al-Naḥl* [16]: 62/60; and *al-An'ām* [6]: 38/38, respectively. Given that they show the same pattern of the way this work was referred, we will just examine the definition of the last word.

The way Ngarpah presented the definition of *al-lawḥ al-mahfūz* (the preserved tablet) is not resemblance with that in the work he referred to. Here, Ngarpah explains the word *al-lawḥ al-mahfūz* in his translation of *Sūrat al-An'ām* 38/38 as follow: (*Loh* [Ar.: *al-lawḥ*] means place (Jav. *papan*), *mahphul* [Ar.: *al-mahfūz*] means being secured, documented. *Loh mahphul* therefore means the book of God that contains all the destinies of creatures. Takriphat). Our identification of the related definition for this word in the *Mu'jam al-Ta'rifāt* does not show a resemblance with the above definition. Corresponds to his styles in using other dictionary works above, we assume that Ngarpah showed his capability in presenting selected materials from references he referred to.

Then, he modified and presented them based on his knowledge while keeping the readers well-informed of the used references.

As presented in **Table 3**, Ngarpah was also interested in references in the field of Islamic jurisprudence, showing that he seemed to have intended to show their practical understanding. Different from the above non-commentary works, Arabic references in the field of Islamic jurisprudence, for example *Taqrīb* and its commentary titled *Fatḥ al-qarīb*, are very popular in the *pesantren* milieu. Ngarpah also mentioned *Mizan Sakrani* that possibly refers to the work of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb bin Aḥmad al-Sya‘rānī (d. 1565) titled *al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*. One fresh work in the field of Islamic jurisprudence composed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, *I‘ānat al-ṭālibīn* by Abū Bakr ‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad Shaṭā al-Dimyāṭī al-Bakrī (d. 1893), was obviously used in the *Kuran Jawi*. We are not going further to the analysis of the presented interpretive additions using these references given that the references shortly spelled in Javanese in the *Kuran Jawi* (i.e. *Inna ngatut talibin* or *Ingana Tuttalibin*, *Mizan Sakrani*, *Phatkul Karit*, and *Takrib*) no doubt refer to the popular works among the Indonesian Muslims. More works need to be done to dig up how these non-commentary works found their way to be listed as the references in the Qur’anic exegetical activity, more generally in Islamic pedagogical practices in the *kraton* milieu, and how these works contributed to the conception of Islamic thought among the Javanese *priyayi* at the turn of the 20th century.

## V. <sup>1</sup> Concluding remarks

In this article, we examined aspects of the Qur’anic verse numbering system and Arabic references in the *Kuran Jawi* by Ngarpah who was the royal servant and Islamic scholar in the early 20th-century Javanese *kraton* of Surakarta. Clearly mentioned in the front cover of his work, this work was presented to the members of the Waradarma literary circle, assuming that the variation in the use of references for the composition of the *Kuran Jawi* reflect the Javanese *priyayi*’s needs to study Islam and their intellectual interest. Based on the presented examination of Ngarpah’s work, we highlight three aspects concerning trends in the study of Islam, especially the Qur’an, and the Javanese *priyayi*’s reception toward the early 20th-century modernisation.

As far as this research is concerned, translation or commentary without its original text is the typical feature of the Qur’anic exegetical activities in the late 19th- to early 20th-century Java. It might be connected to the ways in which the targeted readers wanted to study the Qur’an without necessarily being hindered by the language barrier. Or, there was a strong tendency that the

Javanese *priyayi* had a strong desire to preserve their Javanese identity. In this connection, they were unwilling to transform to the new structure during the education process where Arabic might replace the use of Javanese language and script. The reception of many Arabic words appeared in Javanese tongue as found in Ngarpah's *Kuran Jawi* in some ways shows the way the Javanese speakers has reflected their Islam in their Javanese nature.

The examination of Ngarpah's *Kuran Jawi* also shows that the used verse numbering is very much different from the mainstream verse numbering systems in the Muslim world, especially the Kuffan system. We negate the possibility of technical errors that Ngarpah and his team might make during its composition based on the reasons we presented above. Considering the fact that all the translated verses were well-presented in Javanese language and script, we assume that Ngarpah developed certain method of the verse numbering or adopted certain system that warrant future investigation.

Ngarpah's *Kuran Jawi* was composed in the period when modernisation started to receive attention from Southeast Asian Muslims. Modernism had encouraged Muslims to approach the Islamic sources more directly. The complexity in the use of both Arabic commentaries and non-commentary works in the *Kuran Jawi* reflects the way Islamic education had been conducted in the Javanese *kraton* milieu. This is especially the case with the *Manbangul Ulum* school where Ngarpah once held the position of headmaster and with the Waradarma literary circle to whom Ngarpah's Javanese Qur'an was presented.

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