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Submission date: 01-May-2019 12:03PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 1122684022

File name: IMW_YSP_18th_Century_Banten_Quran_Study_Ervan_Nurtawab.doc (2.13M)

Word count: 9193

Character count: 48945

QUR'ĀNIC READINGS AND MALAY TRANSLATION IN 18TH CENTURY BANTENESE QUR'ĀNS A.51 AND W.277

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ABSTRACT:

This article examines two copies of the Qur'ān from 18th-century Banten, i.e. A.51 and W.277, that contain interlinear Malay translation. My study of these copies of the Qur'ān focuses on two aspects, i.e. Qur'ānic readings and Malay translation, and connects its analysis to reveal practices in Qur'ānic learning in the 18th century Bantenese kingdom.

In the examination of Qur'ānic readings, I find that the *Qur'āns A.51* and *W.277* are scribed using different systems of Qur'ānic reading, i.e. the reading systems by Nāfi'/Qālun and Ḥafṣ'. The former manuscript refers to Nāfi'/Qālun's reading, while the latter was scribed based on Ḥafṣ' reading. Regarding the study of the Qur'ānic reading style, I suggest that differences in the way a Qur'ānic reading is used for the scribing of the Qur'ān guide us to understand the users of the Qur'ān and their levels of acquired skills and knowledge. In this regard, the *Qur'ān A.51* was possibly used for those who gained high level skills in Qur'ānic recitation, while the *Qur'ān W.277* is more likely a copy of the *Qur'ān A. 51*. The latter copy was possibly made for students at basic levels or ordinary Muslims.

The examination of the translation aspect reveals that the scribe of the *Qur'āns A.51* and *W.277* has shown a different style in rendering, compared to those in two previous Malay commentaries from the 17th century (i.e. the Cambridge manuscript Or. Ii.6.45 and the *Tarjumān*) and the *Jalālayn*, a well-known work on Qur'ānic exegesis in the Muslim world. In a broader context, I would like to affirm the existence of Malay translation in the *Qur'āns A.51* and *W.277* as an argument for the continuation of Malay exegetical activities in 18th century after the composition of the *Tarjumān* in the late 17th century.

KEYWORDS:

Qur'ānic readings, Malay translation, Bantenese Qur'ān, *Tarjumān*, *Jalālayn*

I. BACKGROUND

This article examines aspects of Qur'ānic readings (in Arabic: pl. *qirā'āt*) and of Malay translation found in two Qur'ānic manuscripts from 18th-century Banten. These manuscripts are currently part of the collection of the Republic of Indonesia National Library (*Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia*, PNRI) at Jakarta, coded W. 277 and A.51. Gallop & Akbar (2016: 96) note that the Bantenese Qur'ān A.51 (henceforth, *the Qur'ān A.51*) was among the Qur'ānic copies that the Dutch Government acquired from the royal library of Banten, which were then presented to the Bataviaasch Genootschap in 1835. The Bantenese Qur'ān W. 277 (henceforth, *the Qur'ān W. 277*) on the other hand was previously part of the manuscript collection owned by Hermann von de Wall (d. 1873). Then, this Qur'ānic manuscript, together with the rest of his collection, was presented to the Bataviaasch Genootschap in 1873.

The existence of Malay translation in both copies of the Qur'ān is important to consider given that scholars (Johns 1996: 43 & 1997: 4-5; Riddell 1989: 119 & 2009: 402; Azra 2004: 82) generally argue for the silence of Malay Qur'ānic exegetical activity for about three centuries after the *Tarjumān al-mustafid* (henceforth, *the Tarjumān*) was composed by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī (d. 1693) in late 17th century-Aceh. I expect that the study of the *Qur'āns A.51* and *W.277* from 18th-century Banten would break the silence, considering the ways in which both copies served the purposes of Islamic pedagogical practices (but targeting different audiences as presented in my analysis to follow) when in use for learning in the Bantenese Sultanate period. Furthermore, not only were they used for the recitation of the Qur'ānic text, but they also fulfilled the purpose of understanding its meaning.

Muslims are advised to recite the Qur'ān everyday, and that at higher levels of education they are told to understand its meaning through their participation in Islamic learning. In connection with our attempt at digging up the Qur'ān-based tradition in non-

Arabic speaking countries, I address two aspects that are important to consider, one being Qur'ānic readings and the rest translation.

We could rely on the use of Qur'ānic readings as one of the important sources in understanding the living Qur'ān tradition in a given Muslim society. The understanding of this aspect will reveal styles in Islamic learning, its transmissions and connections among Muslim communities. As for the aspect of translation, I suggest that translation found in these Bantenese Qur'āns reflects their important role in the development of ³ Qur'ānic exegetical activity in the 18th century Malay-Indonesian world, especially in Banten. As far as this research is concerned, there is no scholar who looks at a continuation between Malay commentaries made from the 17th century period and those made from the following centuries aside from the publications of Riddell (1984) who examines the extant copies of the *Tarjumān* from the 18th and 19th centuries.

Regarding the identification of the *Qur'āns A.51* and *W.277*, Gallop & Akbar (2006: 135-139) provide a strong indication that both Qur'āns were possibly copied by the same scribe. As presented in Figures 1A and 1B, they identify one copy as becoming a copy of another, given that translations found between the lines of the Qur'ānic text are identical. *The Qur'ān W.277* comprises of ten volumes where each volume contains three *juz'*. *The Qur'ān A.51* is on the other hand divided into five volumes, each containing six *juz'*. Nevertheless, Gallop & Akbar see a tendency that the latter copy was previously made in ten volumes (which is the same as the number of volumes in the former copy), each containing three *juz'*.



Figure 1A

The opening page of *Sūrat al-Kahf* in the
Qur'ān A.51

Photo:

Republic of Indonesia National Library (PNRI), 2017.



Figure 1B

The opening page of *Sūrat al-Kahf* in the
Qur'ān W.277

Photo:

Republic of Indonesia National Library (PNRI), 2017.

Considering the fact that these Qur'ānic copies contain a Malay interlinear translation, it is possible to argue that its translation text provides proof of Malay exegetical activity in its entirety in the 18th century Malay-Indonesian world. In connection with the way in which the Qur'ānic exegetical activity develops in the region, Malay-speaking Muslims, especially those who resided in 18th-century Banten, witnessed the launching of a Malay translation of the whole Qur'ān after the composition of the *Tarjumān* in the late 17th century.

In connection with the study of its Malay translation, my focus is on the identification of possible sources that the author might draw on during the process of its composition. In this regard, we might question whether this work strengthens a connection between Malay works on Qur'ānic exegesis and four Arabic commentaries for use as main references, especially *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (henceforth, the *Jalālayn*), as shown in the composition of the *Tarjumān* (Riddell 1984) and of the Malay commentary found in the collection of Sheik Muhammad Said (SMS) in Marawi City, Philippines, that I call "SMS Malay Tafsīr" (Nurtawab forthcoming in 2019). Or conversely, the scribe of the *Qur'ans A.51* and *W.277* presents different styles of translation from those in the *Jalālayn* or other Malay commentaries, especially the *Tarjumān*. For the purpose of this comparative study, I use the printed edition of the *Jalālayn* published by the Maktabah Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah publisher (n.d.). As for the *Tarjumān*, the work I consult in this article was printed by Dar al-Fikr publisher in 1990.

II. QUR'ĀNIC READINGS

Based on the mainstream accounts of Qur'ānic studies, a variation in Qur'ānic readings could trace back to the life of the Prophet Muhammad in 7th-century Arabia. During his lifetime, the Prophet Muhammad reportedly accepted some dialects which his companions spoke for Qur'ānic recitation. Two canonical projects of the Qur'ān during the period of Abu Bakr and 'Uthmān to a large extent led to the limitation of Qur'ānic readings by which the Qur'ān could be recited. One of the popular accounts telling us about the preferences of some Qur'ānic readings during the canonisation project of the Qur'ān in 'Uthmān's period is the instruction from 'Uthmān to the committee to do their work by always referring to the Quraysh clan's dialect. Al-Ḥabsh (1999: 33) and Gade (2009: 484) note that the reason in the

standardisation is to minimise the errors and preserve the lines through which the authorised transmission could be traced back to the Prophet Muhammad.

In the following centuries, Qur'ānic readings were transmitted and some were widely used and achieved popularity in certain parts of the Muslim world. The 10th century Muslim scholar, Abu Bakr ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936), compiled seven canonical Qur'ānic readings known as *al-qirā'āt al-sab'* (the seven canonical readings). These seven accepted and standardised readings from the period of Ibn Mujāhid are those which represented the prominent Qur'ānic reading traditions in the five centers of Islamic learning at the time, i.e. Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Basrah, and Kufa. The authoritative reciters who transmitted the seven canonical readings are Ibn Kathīr (Mecca, d. 120/737), Nāfi' (Medina, d. 169/785), Ibn 'Āmir (Damascus, d. 118/736), Abu 'Amr (Basra, d.154/770), 'Āṣim (Kufa, d. 128/745), Ḥamzah (Kufa, d. 156/772) and al-Kisā'ī (Kufa, d. 189/804).

In following centuries, Ibn al-Jazari (d. 883/1429) identified ten Qur'ānic readings while other scholars were quoting up to 14 Qur'ānic readings. The standardisation made by Ibn Mujāhid somehow has been widely accepted by the majority of Muslims. Riddell (2014 & 2017) notes that following the codification of the Qur'ānic reading systems, the practice of Qur'ānic reading had been limited to three systems transmitted by 'Āṣim/Ḥafṣ, Nāfi'/Warsh/Qālūn and Abu 'Amr/al-Dūrī.

Nowadays, the most widespread popular reading is that transmitted from 'Āṣim by Ḥafṣ (d. 180/796), alongside the reading from Nāfi' transmitted by Warsh (d. 197/812). Gade (2009: 484) notes that a reciter is obliged to be consistent with the used reading until the recitation is completely performed when reciting the Qur'ān based on one of the seven readings. To mix up the readings in one occasion is strictly prohibited.

Ibrahim (2008: 369-372) states that historically speaking Muslim communities follow a specific Qur'ānic reading for their daily usage. This assumes that the existence of a Qur'ānic

copy corresponds to the popularity of a specific Qur'ānic reading system in a given society. He notes that the majority of Qur'ānic copies produced down through Muslim history are written according to one of the seven accepted readings. Nevertheless, as Riddell (2017: 85) notes, ordinary Muslims do not pay attention to what system of Qur'ānic reading they recite daily because this field of study is ranked at an advanced level in Islamic education.

2.1. Qur'ānic readings in 17th-century Malay commentaries

Some studies have been made concerning the use of Qur'ānic reading as a norm for Qur'ānic recitation among the Malay Muslim community. Riddell (1990, 2014 & 2017) for example looked closely at some aspects of Qur'ānic readings found in two 17th-century Malay commentaries, i.e. the Cambridge manuscript Or. Ii.6.45 and the *Tarjumān*. Riddell (2014) notes that the reception of one system in Qur'ānic reading among Malay Muslims followed the global trend in the Muslim world.

In his examination of the Cambridge manuscript Or. Ii.6.45, Riddell (2017) argues that aspects of Qur'ānic readings presented in this work were taken from two Arabic commentaries that have been widely-used in the Malay-Indonesian world, namely *Tafsīr al-Baghawī* and *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*. In referring to both works, the author of the Cambridge manuscript presents three different systems of Qur'ānic reading transmitted by Ibn 'Āmir, Ibn Kathīr and Ya'qūb.

In examining the aspects of Qur'ānic readings found in *Sūrat al-Kahf*, Riddell (2017: 89-91) notes that MS Or. Ii.6.45 put some explanations on this subject in verses 17, 34 and 47. In doing so, the author of MS Or. Ii.6.45 referred their explanation to the Qur'ānic reading systems transmitted by Ibn 'Āmir, Ibn Kathīr dan Ya'qūb. The inclusion of those three readings in this work, as Riddell (2017: 89) notes, supports his statement on the way the

author of this work greatly drew on the work by al-Baghawī, i.e. *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, aside from *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* and *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*.

Regarding the examination of Qur'ānic readings found in the *Tarjumān*, Riddell (1984, 2014 & 2017) suggests that this information represented an addition under the column *fā'idah* and was inserted by Baba Da'ud Rumi, the main disciple of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī, under the supervision of the author. His examination of Qur'ānic readings found in *Sūrat al-Kahf* reveals that Da'ud Rumi has presented Qur'ānic readings based on three different readings from Ḥafṣ (d. 796), Abu 'Amr (d. 770) and Nāfi' (d. 785)/Qālūn (d. 835).

Riddell (2014: 66) suggests that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf and his main disciple, Baba Da'ud, must have considered what was mainstream at the time in the use of Qur'ānic reading in the Muslim world. In this regard, he says, the *Tarjumān* uses the system of Qur'ānic reading transmitted by Ḥafṣ as a norm and treats other systems, for example the readings transmitted by Abu 'Amr/al-Dūrī and Nāfi'/Qālūn, as variants that appear in the column *fā'idah*. The selection of Ḥafṣ' Qur'ānic reading as appears in the *Tarjumān* provides a window into the popularity of this system of Qur'ānic reading in the 17th century Muslim world and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's intention to make the *Tarjumān* accessible for the majority of Malay Muslims.

The above findings show the use of a Qur'ānic reading as a norm for daily recitation or as variants that usually appear in the margins of Qur'ānic text. They have motivated me to propose some questions regarding the existence of two Bantenese Qur'āns being studied here and how both copies of the Qur'ān socially coexisted in 18th-century Bantenese society. First, what Qur'ānic reading is used as a norm for the composition of these Qur'ānic copies? Second, why did these two identical copies of the Qur'āns exist in this milieu? Third, how does the use of a Qur'ānic reading for the scribing of Qur'ānic text as found in these copies give us ideas about the development of the Qur'ān tradition during the Bantenese Sultanate period. As for the latter question, the examination of a Qur'ānic reading used as a norm for

the scribing of these two Qur'āns would reveal their distinctive functions as a tool for Qur'ānic pedagogical practices.

Given that Riddell suggests the popularity of Ḥafṣ' reading in the 17th-century Muslim world, it is very likely that Ḥafṣ' reading also enjoyed its popularity as a norm for Malay Muslims to recite the Qur'ān in the following centuries, and then up to the present time. In other words, ordinary Malay Muslims in the 18th and 19th centuries based their daily Qur'ānic recitation on Ḥafṣ' reading. In connection with our attempt to look at these two Bantenese Qur'āns and dig up their distinctive roles for a pedagogical practice, I suggest that the difference in selecting the Qur'ānic reading system as a norm for copying the Qur'ānic text can give us ideas about the levels of Muslim groups as the target user to serve study of the Qur'ān.

Regarding the circulation of canonical Qur'ānic readings among Malay-Indonesian Muslims, two Indonesian experts in Qur'ānic readings, Fathoni (2012) and Sakho Muhammad (2019), point out a very clear difference in recitation between Ḥafṣ and Qālūn. Fathoni (2012: 21) notes the former as very popular in Indonesia while the latter was popular in Libya, Tunisia and Qatar. The popularity of Ḥafṣ reading among the Indonesian Muslims, as Sakho Muhammad (2019: 78-79) notes, is because this reading system fits the non-Arabic speaking Muslims well.

2.2. Qur'ānic readings in *Qur'āns A.51 and W.277*

In this section, I address two aspects in seeking to identify the use of a Qur'ānic reading system as a norm for copying the Qur'ānic text. The first concerns the reason that a scribe selects one system for the writing of the Qur'ān. In the following analysis, I consider how both copies of the Qur'ān address different target audience in Qur'ānic learning. In order to see these differences in the use of these two Qur'ānic copies for pedagogical practices, I select

Sūrat al-Kahf from both copies as samples of study. Then, I take some samples of phrases from those verses that, in my identification, are representative of a specific reading as the basis for the scribing of the Qur'āns.

The examination of these selected phrases shows a clear difference in the way in which the scribe(s) of both copies chose different reading systems, one choosing the reading transmitted by Ḥafṣ and the other preferring that transmitted by Qālūn. All selected phrases are presented as a comparative study in the following table. In this table, "T" indicates words or phrases found in the main text of the Qur'ānic copy, and "M" represents text in the margin.

<i>Qur'ān A.51</i>		<i>Qur'ān W.277</i>	
Verse	Notes	Verse	Notes
18:1	T: 'iwajan (Qālūn) M: l-ḥ-f-d saktah laṭifah dūna tanaffus 'alā 'iwajan	18:1	T: 'iwajan M: (Nil)
18:16	T: marfaqan M: mirfaqan	18:16	T: mirfaqan M: (Nil)
18:17	T: tazzāwaru (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: (Nil)	18:17	T: tazzāwaru M: (Nil)
18:17	T: fahwa 'l-muhtadī (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: fa-huwa	18:17	T: fa-huwa 'l-muhtadi M: (Nil)
18:18	T: taḥsibuhum (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: (Nil)	18:18	T: taḥsibuhum M: (Nil)
18:18	T: wa la muli'ta (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: wa la muli'ta (Ḥafṣ)	18:18	T: wa-la muli'ta
18:33	T: uklahā (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: ukulahā (Ḥafṣ)	18:33	T: ukulahā (Ḥafṣ) M: (Nil)
18:34	T: thumurun (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: thumrun (ta) (Abū 'Amr/al-Dūrī), thamarun ('ayn) (Ḥafṣ)	18:34	T: thumurun (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: (Nil)
18:34	T: anā aktharu (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: ana ('ayn)	18:34	T: ana aktharu M: (Nil)
18:37	T: wahwa (Nāfi'/Qālūn)	18:37	T: wa-huwa

	M: wa-huwa (Ḥafṣ)		M: (Nil)
18:39	T: anā aqalla (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: ana ('ayn)	18:39	T: anā aqalla (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: (Nil)
18:44	T: 'uquban M: 'uqban ('ayn)	18:44	T: 'uquban M: (Nil)
18:55	T: qibalan (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: qubulan (ʿ) (Ḥafṣ)	18:55	T: qubulan M: (Nil)
18:56	T: huzu'an (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: huzuwan ('ayn)	18:56	T: huzuwan <uncertain, ink corrosion> M: (Nil)
18:59	T: li-muhlakihim (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: li-mahlikihim ('ayn)	18:59	T: li-muhlakihim (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: (Nil)
18:69	T: satajiduniya (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: satajidunī (Ḥafṣ)	18:67	T: satajidunī (Ḥafṣ) M: (Nil)
18:70	T: tas'alannī (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: tas'alnī (Ḥafṣ)	18:70	T: tas'alnī (Ḥafṣ) M: (Nil)
18:72	T: ma'ī (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: ma'īya ('ayn) (Ḥafṣ)	18:72	T: ma'īya (Ḥafṣ) M: (Nil)
18:74	T: nukran (Ḥafṣ) M: nukuran (Nāfi'/Qālūn)	18:74	T: nukran (Ḥafṣ) M: (Nil)
18:76	T: min ladunī ladunī (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: min ladunnī (Ḥafṣ)	18:76	T: min ladunnī M: (Nil)
18:81	T: yubaddilahumā (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: yubdilahumā ('ayn) (Ḥafṣ)	18:81	T: yubaddilahumā (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: (Nil)
18:85	T: fa-attaba'a (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: fa-atba'a ('ayn)	18:85	T: fa-atba'a (Ḥafṣ) M: (Nil)
18:88	T: jazā'un al-ḥusna or jazā'un al-ḥusná (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: jazā'an al-ḥusná (Ḥafṣ)	18:88	T: jazā'un al-ḥusná (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: (Nil)
18:89	T: thumma attaba'a (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: atba'a (ṭa)	18:89	T: thumma attaba'a (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: (Nil)
18:93	T: al-suddayni (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: al-saddayni	18:93	T: al-saddayni (Ḥafṣ) M: (Nil)

18:94	T: suddan (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: saddan (Ḥafṣ)	18:94	T: suddan (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: (Nil)
18:94	T: Yājūj wa-Mājūj (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: Ya'jūj wa-Ma'jūj (Ḥafṣ)	18:94	T: Ya'jūj wa-Ma'jūj M: (Nil)
18:98	T: dakkan (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: dakkā' ('ayn)	18:98	T: dakkan (Nāfi'/Qālūn)
18:102	T: dūniya (Nāfi'/Qālūn) M: dūnī ('ayn)	18:102	T: min dūnī (Ḥafṣ) M: (Nil)

Figure 2

Excerpts of Qur'ānic text in the *Qur'āns A.51* and *W.277* showing a specific Qur'ānic reading system.

Looking at the excerpts found in the *Qur'ān A.51* as presented in Figure 2 together with studies of Qur'ānic readings (Khālīd 2002: 14-15; and Fathoni 2012), I identify the excerpts from the *Qur'ān A.51* as Qur'ānic readings transmitted by Nāfi'/Qālūn. In doing so, it is confirmed that the scribe of the *Qur'ān A.51* utilized Nāfi'/Qālūn's reading in the composition of this Qur'ān. Meanwhile, he put chunks of Ḥafṣ' reading system in the margin as a variant. Considering the way in which Nāfi'/Qālūn's reading was not dominant in the 18th-century Malay-Indonesian world, I suggest that the *Qur'ān A.51* was not made to address the majority of Muslims for their daily Qur'ānic recitation because they seemed to have been more familiar with Ḥafṣ' reading system.

The difference in the use of the Qur'ānic reading for the scribing of the Qur'ānic text also gives us ideas on which copy was made first as well as which copy was scribed later. As presented in Figure 2, there is a strong indication that the *Qur'ān A.51* was made first, with the copy scribed more accurately than the *Qur'ān W.277*. In the *Qur'ān A.51*, the Qur'ānic text was copied based on the reading transmitted by Nāfi'/Qālūn, and Ḥafṣ' reading system is placed as variant in the margin, as we have seen. Aside from that, the former copy contains more detailed information like codes that, in my identification, inform the readers of the way

the Arabic Qur'ān should be pronounced (*tajwīd*). This kind of information is rather absent in the latter copy.

I assume that at the time the majority of Bantenese Muslims seemed not to have been familiar with Nāfi'/Qālūn's Qur'ānic reading system, and that both students and ordinary Muslims had difficulty following the recitation based on this copy of the Qur'ān. Considering this difficulty in following the recitation, I assume that the scribe then decided to make another copy of the Qur'ān by using the reading system that was more familiar to the majority of Muslims. It seemed to have been easier to re-copy its interlinear Malay translation. But this is not the case with the re-scribing of its Qur'ānic text as found in the *Qur'ān W. 277*. As a result, some recitations that clearly belong to Nāfi'/Qālūn's reading remain.

The scribe must be knowledgeable about differences in Qur'ānic readings. It is very likely that some Nāfi'/Qālūn's readings found in the *Qur'ān W.277* (it was primarily scribed based on Ḥafṣ' reading) due to constraints he found during the re-copying process. In this process, the scribe seemed to have paid attention to the Qur'ānic text he consulted in the *Qur'ān A.51* because the idea is to re-copy both Qur'ānic text and its interlinear translation. While he seemed not to find any difficulties in doing the latter text, his intention to make the second copy (W. 277) seemed to have been disturbed by the way he needed to swap Nāfi'/Qālūn's readings with Ḥafṣ' one. As presented in Figure 2, some of Nāfi'/Qālūn's readings mistakenly remain written and mixed with Ḥafṣ' readings that I identify to be used as a norm for the re-scribing of the Qur'ānic text in W.277. In doing so, he seemed to have decided not to provide any explanation on variants of Qur'ānic readings in the margin of the second copy (W.277) as found in the first one (A.51).

III. MALAY TRANSLATION

In this section, I examine Malay translation found alongside the Qur'ānic text in both *Qur'āns A.51* and *W.277*. We have noted that Malay translation in both copies is identical, showing that one text is a copy of another. In my attempt to analyse its Malay translation, I select the text that is more legible, that is the *Qur'ān A.51*. For the purpose of the study, my focus is firstly on the examination of Malay as a local dialect and secondly on the identification of its sources that in many ways helped the scribe translate the Qur'ān.

In connection with the examination of both aspects, I address two factors. First, the study of a local Malay dialect used for a Qur'ānic translation gives us ideas of the way in which Malay as a *lingua franca* was fused with other local languages. In such an area as the Bantenese sultanate, Javanese and Malay were preferred for administration, learning instruction and daily conversation. Meanwhile, Arabic was apparently a language to use in a formal situation for religious purposes and to a less extent administration, and possibly for learning instruction as well.

The second point connects with the way in which the scribe of this Qur'ānic copy successfully rendered the Qur'ān into Malay. Here, we can trace sources that he possibly used during the composition of this translation. Moreover, it is essential that we also address how this translation work has strengthened a domination of certain Arabic commentaries, especially *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, for Islamic pedagogical practices in 18th century Banten.

3.1. Malay language in Bantenese dialect

Ota (2006: 14 & 35) notes that Dutch sources from the 18th century divided the inhabitants of Banten into two groups, namely the 'Bantenese' or 'Javanese' and the 'Mountain Javanese.' 'Bantenese' refers to those who lived inside and around the city and speak Javanese. The 'Mountain Javanese' refers to those who speak 'Javanese mountain

language.’ During this century, it was reported that the number of people living in Banten was approximately 10,000, with about 45,000 living in the territory which covers the areas from the Ci Sadane river to Panimbang. Although the word ‘Sundanese’ is not found in the 18th century Dutch sources, the word ‘Zundase taal’ was once mentioned to address the language used in West Java in the end of the 17th century. Moreover, the Sundanese kingdom did exist in the early 16th century in those areas. According to Ota, these two groups are regarded as the Javanese and the Sundanese nowadays. So far only limited information on the Baduy people is found in the 18th century documents.

In 18th-century Banten, Malay was more commonly used for diplomatic and learning purposes as well as trades. Arabic on the other hand was mostly used for religious purposes although some Bantenese kings reportedly sent some letters in Arabic (Pudjiastuti 2007: 215-216). The usage of Javanese, however, was more dominant; it was not only to serve formal communication, but it was also a spoken language for many of those who lived in Banten. This is the case with an Arab-Bantenese ulama, ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Abd al-Qahhar, who was educated under the Sultan Abun Nasr Zainal Asyiqin who reigned during the period 1753-1777. Van Bruinessen (1995: 269) notes that he is a prolific scholar who wrote works in both Arabic and Javanese.

I suggest that Bantenese Malay had been greatly influenced by Javanese dialects as can be seen through the occurrence of ě in final syllables in Malay words used in translation found in the *Qur’ān A.51* (Figure 3). This might shed light on a diglossic situation in a multilingual society in Banten at that time where Malay as a *lingua franca* throughout the archipelago came into contact with Javanese and, to certain extent, with Sundanese as vernacular languages.

<i>Qur’ān A.51</i>	<i>Bataviasch Maleisch</i> (Van der Tuuk 1867)	Banten Letters 1619 (Ricklefs 1976: 132-134)
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Akĕn	akĕn [p. 63]	akĕn [Fol. 326]
Dijadikĕn	dijadikĕn [p. 63]	
Kĕkĕl	kĕkĕl [p. 63]	
Manurunkĕn		
Sabĕnĕrnya	bĕnĕr [p. 63]	
Dĕngĕn	dĕngan [p. 63]	dĕngĕn [fol 326], dāngĕn [fol 325]
Sangĕt		
Dicaritarkĕn		
Mangatakĕn		Mangatakĕn
Manyakutukĕn		
Malayinkĕn		
Sĕsĕlnya		
Dapĕt		
Disĕsĕtkan		
Dibangkĕtkĕn		

Figure 3

*e as ĕ in final syllables in translation of the *Qur'ān A.51*, *Bataviasch Maleisch* and Banten letters in 1619.

I identified the possible influence of other areas where a Malay dialect also preserved *e as ə in certain final syllables. It is worth noting the speech community in Batavia that is geographically close to Banten. While we could see that Javanese was used as both a formal and vernacular language in 18th century Banten, there is still a possibility that a Malay dialect used in the *Qur'ān A.51* gained the influence especially from Malay spoken in Batavia.

Sneddon (2003: 84) notes that Portugese, Malay and Dutch were used by Protestant Clergy in Batavia since it was captured by the Dutch in 1619. Malay was then chosen due to the complexity of languages used in this region. This is the case with the VOC administration where the Dutch preferred to use Malay for diplomatic purposes. Demographically speaking,

as Nothofer (1995: 86) notes, it is reported that there were about 5,000 “Javanese and Sundanese” living outside the walls of the fort in 1671. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Batavia accounted for about 2,700 Chinese, 5,300 ‘Mardijkers’, 1,300 Javanese (including Sundanese), 900 Balinese and 600 Malays.

It is also worth noting a controversy among the Christians regarding the use of Malay for religious purposes, especially as to what kind of Malay, High or Low Malay, should be used for the translation of Bible. High Malay is a literary variety which had been used and developed in the Riau-Johor royal court. Meanwhile, Low Malay, or *Pasar Malay*, was used to identify the spoken dialects of Malay in different areas.

Some clergymen proposed to use High Malay to promote Christian mission in the East Indies. In contrast to the proponents of High Malay, François Valentijn strongly disagreed with the usage of High Malay since it would simply create a so-called artificial language among the Christian adherents while at the same a dialect of Malay or no Malay dialect at all existed in their daily life. The Church Council in Batavia eventually decided to use High Malay, albeit this Malay never gained acceptance in Java. As evidence of this approval, the Church Council published the Bible translation in High Malay prepared by Leydekker and finished by Werndly in 1731. As a matter of fact, the local leaders and VOC officials maintained their communication by using the so-called *Dienst Maleisch* (Service Malay), a Malay vernacular which was influenced by Javanese and to a lesser extent by Sundanese (Beekman 1988: 66-67; Sneddon 2003: 84-85; & Robson 2002: 19-20).

The above description assists us to understand a diglossic situation when the Bantenese people initially started preparing translations and developing their exegetical activity. If we try to connect the linguistic situation in 18th century Banten with the classification of H and L variety, we conclude that there was a diglossic situation which involves two different or genetically unrelated languages as a linguistic anthropological

context when the *Qur'ān A.51* was produced. In this regard, Malay was used for literary writing while Javanese served as a vernacular. This context is significant in considering the exegetical activities among Muslims in Western Java from its early phase.

3.2. Translating the Qur'ān: the identification of its sources

In this section, my focus is on the identification of sources that the scribe of the *Qur'ān A.51* possibly used for the composition of his Malay Qur'ānic translation. I propose two assumptions: firstly, whether this translation shows a certain level of connection with a well-known work on Qur'ānic exegesis, i.e. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, and secondly, we might consider the possibility of the scribe making reference to similar works such as the *Tarjumān*. In this regard, we need to look at how far the translator or commentator has gone in their exegetical activities.

Riddell (2017: 85), for example, estimates that 65% of the text found in the Cambridge MS is allotted to presenting tales aside from additional explanations provided for translation of the verses. Conversely, the *Tarjumān* contains more texts that serve the translation of the Qur'ān although some additional explanations on the Qur'ānic readings and tales are also present. In connection with the examination of the *Qur'ān A.51*, I find that translation in this Qur'ānic copy is mostly allocated to the rendering of the verses although a few additional explanations are still found as commentary.

In looking at the characteristics of Malay translation in the Qur'ān from 18th century Banten, I address three points. The first point focuses on the analysis of the chapter heading found in *Sūrat al-Kahf*. The second point presents additional explanations that are absent from both the *Jalālayn* and the *Tarjumān*. The third point shows the way in which these three Malay translations share similar commentaries.

Chapter heading

Chapter headings in the Qurʾans, and Qurʾānic commentaries as well, usually give the readers information concerning the chapter (*sūrat*) such as its identification by name, place of and circumstances of revelation, numbers of its verses, words and letters. Some commentators also include information regarding the virtue of reciting the chapter at certain times and occasions based on prophetic tradition.

The examination of the chapter heading of *Sūrat al-Kahf* proves very useful in seeing possible connections between one work of Qurʾānic commentary and another, by considering how the commentator follows styles of chapter heading present in works referred to for the composition of the commentaries in question. I attach two figures of the chapter heading of *Sūrat al-Kahf* found in the *Qurʾāns A.51* and *W.277* as follow:



Figure 4A: Chapter heading of *Sūrat al-Kahf* in the *Qurʾān A.51*.

Photo: Republic of Indonesia National Library (PNRI), 2017.



Figure 4B: Chapter heading of *Sūrat al-Kahf* in the *Qur'ān W.277*.

Photo: Republic of Indonesia National Library (PNRI), 2017.

The examination of the chapter heading of *Sūrat al-Kahf* found in the *Qur'ān A.51* (Figure 4A) reveals that the scribe of this *Qur'ān* has provided more-detailed information on the related chapter, compared with those of the *Qur'ān W. 277* (Figure 4B), the *Jalālayn*, and the *Tarjumān*. The exception is given to the latter work as it also quotes a prophetic saying confirming the virtue of reciting this chapter at bedtime. Transliteration of the chapter headings found in the *Qur'āns A.51, W.277, the Tarjumān* and the *Jalālayn* is presented in Figure 5 as follows:

<i>Jalālayn</i>	Sūrat al-Kahf Makkīyah illā wa-‘šbir nafsaka al-āyah mi’ah wa-‘ashara āyāt aw wa-khams ‘ashrah āyah
Translation	<i>Sūrat al-Kahf</i> Meccan except <verse> wa-‘šbir nafsaka al-āyah <contains> 110 verses or <1>15 verses
<i>Qur'ān A.51</i>	Sūrat al-Kahf makkīyah wa-hiya mi’ah wa-iḥdā ‘ashara āyāt <placed in the margin> Makkīyah bi-lā khilāf wa-hiya mi’ah wa-khams āyāt fī al-Madanīyīn wa-al-Makkī wa-sitt fī al-Shāmī wa ‘ashr fī al-Kūfī

	wa-iḥdā ‘ashr fī al-Baṣr
Translation	<i>Sūrat al-Kahf</i> Meccan, and it <contains> 111 verses Meccan without disputes and it <contains> 105 verses in <the scholars of> Medina and Mecca, and <10>6 in Shams and <1>10 in Kufah and <1>11 in Basrah
<i>Qur’ān W.277</i>	<i>Sūrat al-Kahf Sūrat al-Kahf</i> Makkīyah wa-hiya mi’ah wa-iḥdā ‘ashrah āyah Makkīyah
Translation	<i>Sūrat al-Kahf Sūrat al-Kahf</i> Meccan and it <contains> 111 verses Meccan
<i>Tarjumān</i>	<i>Sūrat al-Kahf</i> Makkīyah Wa-hiya mi’ah wa-iḥdā ‘ashrah āyah Ini surat al-Kahf turunnya di Makkah melainkan <i>wa- ‘šbir nafsaka al-āyah</i> yaitu seratus sepuluh ayat atau seratus sebelas ayat
Translation	<i>Sūrat al-Kahf</i> And it <contains> 111 verses This is <i>Sūrat al-Kahf</i> revealed in Mecca except <the verse> <i>wa- ‘šbir nafsaka al-āyah</i> . It <contains> 110 or 111 verses <the <i>Tarjumān</i> then quotes the prophetic saying on the virtue of reciting this chapter on bedtime taken from <i>Tafsīr al- Baydawi</i> >

Figure 5

Chapter headings of *Sūrat al-Kahf* found in the *Jalālayn*, A.51, W.277, and the *Tarjumān*

My examination of the *Qur’ān A.51* reveals that not only does this work inform the readers of the name of the chapter, place of revelation and number of verses, but it also discusses some opinions among the Muslim scholars on the number of verses. The presentation of those opinions is absent in the chapter heading of *Sūrat al-Kahf* found in the *Qur’ān W.277*. This kind of information is also absent in the heading for the same chapter in two commentaries being compared here, i.e. the *Jalālayn* and the *Tarjumān*.

Additional information found in the margin, next to the chapter heading of *Sūrat al-Kahf* (Figure 4A), assists the Muslim scholars’ attempts in identifying the exact number of verses in *Sūrat al-Kahf* revealed in Mecca. As presented in Figure 5 on the transliteration of

chapter heading in the *Qur'ān A.51*, Muslim scholars based in Mecca and Medina vote for 105 verses in *Sūrat al-Kahf* as being identified as Meccan verses (*Makkīyah bi-lā khilāf wa-hiya mi'ah wa-khams āyāt fī al-Madanīyīn wa-al-Makkī*). Muslim scholars based in Damascus, on the other hand, registered 106 verses while those based in Kufah and Basrah mentioned 110 and 111 verses, respectively (*wa-sitt fī al-Shāmī wa-'ashar fī al-Kūfī wa-iḥdā 'ashar fī al-Baṣr*). It is confirmed that the above information is absent from both the *Jalālayn* and the *Tarjumān*, and that why it exists in the *Qur'an A.51* needs to be investigated by future research.

Malay expression in rendering passages of the Qur'ānic text

I argue that the scribe of the *Qur'ān A.51* did not refer to the *Tarjumān* for the task of translation. A different style in communicating the meaning of the Qur'ān in Malay is clearly present as shown in the study of translation in *Sūrat al-Kahf*. Moreover, there is no copy of the *Tarjumān* reportedly ever known to be part of the Royal Bantene collection. A reference to the *Jalālayn* is very much possible nevertheless, given that some manuscripts of the *Jalālayn* were once listed as part of the collection.

As for the examination of translation found in the *Qur'ān A.51*, I have identified some Malay expressions that are clearly different from those in the *Jalālayn* and the *Tarjumān*. As indicated in the following table, I attach three examples of expressions found in the *Qur'ān A.51*, but different from those in other commentaries, as proof that the scribe of the *Qur'ān A.51* presented his knowledge based on other sources or made a translation from his own point of view.

The first example appears in the translation of *Sūrat al-Kahf* verse 16 as follow:

Verse 16 of *Sūrat al-Kahf*

<i>Jalālayn</i>	fa`wū ilā al-kahf yanshur lakum rabbukum min rahmatihī wa-yuhayyi` lakum min amrikum mirfaḡan) bi-kasr al-mīm wa-faṡḡ al-fā' wa-bi-al-`aks ma tartafiqūna
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	bihi <u>min ghadā' wa-'ashā'</u>
A.51	bermula kata satengah marika itu akēn satengahnya apabila kamu cērailah marika itu dan yang disembah maka teguhilah ibadah kamu kepada Allah dan tiada ada kami sembah malainkēn Allah karena kami tiada dapēt maninggal ibadah <addition in the margin> kapadanya maka barbunilah kami ka dalēm guha supaya dianugrahai tuhan kamu akēn kamu rahmatnya dan supaya dimudahkēn daripada kamu <u>razki kamu akēn kuat kamu</u>
Tarjumān	Kata setengah daripada segala orang muda itu kepada setengah mereka itu dan jika kamu asingkan diri kamu daripada mereka itu mana daripada yang disembah mereka itu yang lain daripada Allah ta'ala maka ambil oleh kamu akan tempat kepada gua niscaya ...kan agi kamu oleh tuhan kamu daripada rahmatnya dan di-s-ng-b-g-r-hakannya bagi kamu barang yang kamu kasih akan dia daripada <u>makanan pagi-pagi dan petang-petang</u>

As presented in the above table, my attention is paid to the phrase found in the *Jalālayn*, i.e. “min ghadā' wa-'ashā'” (that is breakfast and lunch)”. The *Tarjumān* clearly presents an additional explanation of this verse by referring to the above phrase, i.e. “daripada makanan pagi-pagi dan petang-petang (that is breakfast and lunch)”. The *Qur'an A.51*, on the other hand, gives a different word, i.e. “razki kamu akēn kuat kamu (your livelihood to make you strong)”. The use of different words in some ways shows a possibility that the author did not draw on the *Jalālayn* when translating this verse.

This is also the case with the explanation for the word “rashadan” found in *Sūrat al-Kahf* verse 24 underlined as follow:

Verse 24 of *Sūrat al-Kahf*

<i>Jalālayn</i>	(wa-'dhkur rabbaka) ay mashi`atuhu mu`allaqan bihā (idhā nasīta) al-ta`līq bihā wa-yakūnu dhikrahā ba`da al-nisyān ka-dhikrihā ma`a al-qawl qāla al-Ḥasan wa-ghayruhu mādāma fī al-majlis (wa-qul 'asā an yahdiyani rabbī li-aqraba min hādha) min khabr ahl al-kahf fī al-dilālah <u>'alā nubuwwatī (rashadan) hidāyah</u>
A.51	malainkēn sēbut olehmu insya Allah dan sēbut tuhanmu apabila lupa angkau

	manyebut insya Allah dēngēn insyā Allah kata olehmu ya Muhammad bahuwasannya hampir tuhanku akēn manunjuk daku daripada sagala ininya yang amat damping <u>kapada agama yang sabēnērnnya</u>
<i>Tarjumān</i>	Dan sebut olehmu mashi`ah tuhanmu pada halmu men-ta`liq-kan dengan dia dan dikata olehmu mudah-mudahan bahwa ditunjukinya akan daku oleh tuhanku yang terlebih hampar daripada kabar isi gua ini pada menunjukkan atas <u>nubuwatku dengan hudan-nya</u>

Based on the above table, the *Tarjumān* clearly follows the way the *Jalālayn* presents its explanation. The example of this can be seen in the last part where a chunk of the *Tarjumān*, i.e. “nubuwatku dengan *hudan-nya* (my prophethood by his guidance)” is in line with that in the *Jalālayn* text, i.e. “‘alā nubuwatī (rashadan) hidāyah (on my prophethood (rashadan) guidance)”. The scribe of the *Qur`ān A.51*, on the other hand, presents a different expression of translation, i.e. “kapada agama yang sabēnērnnya (to the true religion)”.

Aside from the above examples, we also see that the scribe of the *Qur`ān A.51* did not refer to the *Jalālayn* when translating *Sūrat al-Kahf* verse 62. In this regard, I give an example of the way he did not specify a time when the Prophet Moses and his servant realized that the fish they brought had jumped into the ocean. The *Tarjumān* on the other hand clearly drew on the *Jalālayn* by explaining that the event took place in the breakfast time in the second day, as shown in the underlined passages. The translation of this verse (verse 62) found in these three works is presented as follow:

Verse 62 of *Sūrat al-Kahf*

<i>Jalālayn</i>	(fa-lammā jāwazā) dhālika al-makān bi-al-sayr <u>ilā waqt al-ghadā` min thāni` yawm</u> (qāla) Mūsá (li-fatāhu ātinā ghadā`anā) huwa <u>ma yu`kalu awwala al-nahār</u> (laqad laqinā min safarinā hādha našaban) ta`ban wa-ḥuṣūlahu ba`da al-mujāwazah
<i>A.51</i>	maka tatkala sampailah keduanya berjalan kepada batu <i>majma` al-bahrayn</i> itu maka kata Musa akan Yusa` marilah bawa makanan kita makan bahwasanya kita

	perolehlah dalam pelayaran kita ini lelah
<i>Tarjumān</i>	maka tatkala lalulah keduanya daripadanya tempat itu dengan berjalan datang <u>esok hari yang kedua</u> kata Musa bagi Yusa' datangkan olehmu <u>akan makanan kita pagi ini</u> sanya telah sudah kita rasai daripada pelayaran kita ini lelah

It is confirmed that the *Tarjumān* followed the phrase of the *Jalālayn* text, i.e. “ilā waqt al-ghadā’ min thāni yawm (to the breakfast time in the second day)” and “mā yu’kalu awwala al-nahār (what is eaten in the morning)”, by presenting the translation as follows: “esok hari yang kedua ... akan makanan kita pagi ini.” The information on the time of this event is absent in the *Qur’ān A.51*. Rather, the author addresses the place of meeting between the Prophet Moses and Khidr and identifies it with the stone of *majma’ al-bahrayn*.

Glosses in the Qur’ān A.51, but not found in the Jalālayn and the Tarjumān

The scribe of the *Qur’ān A.51* presented glosses in several verses aside from the translation. In this regard, I offer two examples where he clearly presented explanations from his own knowledge or sources other than the *Jalālayn*. The first is verse 11 of *Sūrat al-Kahf* as follow:

Verse 11 of *Sūrat al-Kahf*

<i>Jalālayn</i>	(Fa-ḍarabnā ‘alā ādhānihim) ay anamnāhum (fī-al-kahf sinīn ‘adadan) ma’dūdah
A.51	maka kami tutupi telinga marika itu supaya tiada didēngēr marika itu sawara dan kami kēraskēn atas marika itu tidur dalēm guha itu babarapa tahun lamanya kata satēngah adalah tidur marika itu dalēmnya tiga ratus sambilan tahun lamanya maka tiap-tiap satahun dibalikkēn <addition in the margin> marika itu supaya jangan dimakan tanah tatapi pada marika itu saparti siang hari jua.
<i>Tarjumān</i>	Maka kami tidurkan mereka itu di dalam gua beberapa tahun dibilang

As presented in the above table, both the *Jalālayn* and the *Tarjumān* give a short explanation of the verse. This verse is given a detailed explanation in translation of the same

verse found in the *Qur'ān A.51*. The scribe of the *Qur'ān A.51* apparently intended to explain earlier (as this part of the translation should have explained verse 18) regarding how long the People of the Cave slept on the ground and how their bodies did not decompose. In this regard, he translated a passage of the above verse (verse 11) as follow: “adalah tidur marika itu dalēmnya tiga ratus sambilan tahun lamanya maka tiap-tiap satahun dibalikkēn <addition in the margin> marika itu supaya jangan dimakan tanah tatapi pada marika itu saparti siang hari jua (and they had slept in it for 309 years, and once a year their [bodies] were turned in opposite direction, but they felt it [a duration of one year] looking like just a day).”

The explanation of how often their bodies were turned to avoid getting decomposed is absent from the *Jalālayn* and the *Tarjumān*. This kind of explanation is also absent from both when translating the verse 18. Meanwhile, the *Qur'ān A.51* presents a more detailed explanation, attaching some opinions on the frequency of how often their bodies were turned when sleeping. The excerpts of translation are as follow:

Verse 18 of *Sūrat al-Kahf*

<i>Jalālayn</i>	Wa-taḥsabuhum) law ra`aytahum (ayqāzan) ay muntabihīn li-anna a`yunahum munfatiḥah jam` yaqīzu bi-kasr al-qāf (wa-hum ruqūd) niyām jam` rāqid (wa-nuqallibuhum dhāt al-yamīn wa-dhāt al-shimāl) <u>li-`allā ta`kulu al-ardu luhūmahum</u> (wa-kalbihum bāsiṭ dhirā`ayh) yadayhi (bi-al-waṣīd) bi-fanā`i al-kahf wa-kānū idhā `nqalabū inqalaba huwa mithluhum fī al-nawm wa-al-yaqzah (law `ttala`ta `alayhim la-wallayta minhum firāran wa-mulli`ta) bi-al-tashdīd wa-al-takhfīf (minhum ru`ban) bi-sukūn al-`ayn wa-ḍammihā mana`ahum Allāh bi-al-ru`b min dukhūl aḥad `alayhim
<i>A.51</i>	dan pada sangka kamu jaga dalēm guha bahuwasanya marika itu tidur dalēmnya dan kami balikkēn marika itu ka kanannya <u>satahun sakali</u> dan ka kirinya pun <u>satahun sakali kata satēngah dalēm satahun dua kali</u> dan anjing marika itu tidur dalēm pintu guha manghuncurkēn tangannya pada sama tēngah pintu jikalau angkau lihat marika itu maka masa ini niscaya barpaling lari marika itu dan amat takut angkau daripada hitu marika itu dan bēsar tubuh marika itu

<i>Tarjumān</i>	Dan kau sangka jaga mereka itu jika kau lihat karena segala mata mereka itu terbuka padahal mereka itu tidur dan kami balik-balikkan mereka itu kepada pihak kanan dan kiri mereka itu supaya jangan dimakan tanah segala tubuh mereka itu dan anjing mereka itu menghamparkan dua tangannya tepi gua [kisah] adalah apabila berbalik mereka itu niscaya berbalik anjing mereka itu padahal ia seperti mereka itu pada tidur dan jaga
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As presented in the above table, the *Qur'ān A.51* provides detailed information regarding the turning of the bodies from the right to the left or reverse when falling asleep for hundreds of years inside the cave, i.e. “kami balikkēn marika itu ka kanannya satahun sakali dan ka kirinya pun satahun sakali kata satēngah dalēm satahun dua kali (we turned their bodies to the right once a year and to the left once a year as well, some say twice a year)”. It is confirmed that information on how often the turning of their bodies took place in a year is absent from both the *Jalālayn* and the *Tarjumān*.

IV. CONCLUSION

In this article, I have highlighted aspects of Qur'ānic readings and translation found in the 18th century Bantenese Qur'āns A.51 and W.277. The examination of both aspects is important and gives us ideas of the way in which both copies of the Qur'ān are representative mediators of Islam in such an environment and differently played roles in Qur'ānic learning and practices. Aside from that, this study guides us to the ways in which Malay language coexisted in understanding the Arabic Qur'ān for non-Arabic speaking Muslims in a multilingual society like 18th century Banten. Moreover, this research disproves the claim by Riddell and others of a 300-year silence in Malay *tafsīr* writing following the appearance of the *Tarjumān*.

The study of Qur'ānic readings found in the *Qur'āns A.51* and *W.277* reveals that both copies of the Qur'ān were made for the use of different audiences. The *Qur'ān A.51* was

made to be used by specialists in Qur'ānic fields on the grounds that this copy, i.e. A.51, presents a detailed explanation placed in the margin, especially on the Qur'ānic readings taken as variants. As for the Qur'ānic reading taken as a norm for the writing of the Qur'ān, the scribe of the *Qur'ān A.51* referred to the system of Qur'ānic reading transmitted by Nāfi'/Qālūn that apparently looked unfamiliar and difficult to recite among the Bantenese ordinary Muslims. Given that this reading was unfamiliar among the ordinary Muslims in that environment, there was an attempt to re-copy the Qur'ān, together with its Malay translation, by utilizing Ḥafṣ reading as a basis for scribing the Qur'ānic text. This project was however certainly time-consuming, and we can find chunks of the Qur'ānic reading that belong to Nāfi'/Qālūn's system remaining in the *Qur'ān W. 277*.

As for the aspect of its Malay Qur'ānic translation, it is confirmed that the rendering of the *Qur'ān A.51* is not presented in the same way as those in the *Jalālayn* and the *Tarjumān*. In this regard, the renderings are written between the lines of the Qur'ānic text. In this connection, Riddell (1984: 77) notes that the *Jalālayn*—and the *Tarjumān*— provides rendering of the verses in the form of a gloss that enables readers to receive more information than the Qur'ānic text says. Renderings are given between the chunks of the Qur'ānic text, showing the former exactly explaining the latter.

Nevertheless, I suggest that the scribe of both *Qur'āns A.51* and *W.277* in some ways utilized the *Jalālayn* as a reference for making its interlinear Malay translation. It is also supported by the many copies of the manuscripts of the *Jalālayn* and its glosses found as part of the royal Bantenese library. Aside from his effort to make two Qur'ānic copies based on different reading systems, the scribe's orientation nevertheless is given to the rendering of the Qur'ānic text. In connection to the presentation of commentary that is absent from both the *Jalālayn* and the *Tarjumān*, there might be resemblances with other popular Arabic commentaries like *Tafsīrs al-Baghawī*, *al-Khāzin* or *al-Bayḍāwī* that warrant further research.

As has been presented above, there are several examples of the way the scribe tried to provide a gloss, choosing to provide renderings that are not in line with those in the *Jalālayn*. This fact therefore confirms its uniqueness from those presented in two Malay commentaries, i.e. the *Tarjumān* (Riddell 1984) and the *SMS Malay Tafṣīr* (Nurtawab forthcoming in 2019), considering the ways in which both works strictly followed the way the explanation of the Qur'ānic verses should be presented in accordance with the *Jalālayn*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Research for this article was supported by Centre of Research and Social Engagement (*Pusat Penelitian dan Pengabdian pada Masyarakat*, P3M), State Institute of Islamic Studies (*Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri*, STAIN) Metro in 2014. My great thanks to Peter G. Riddell who gave me comments and suggestions for improvements. Nevertheless, I take responsibility for all shortcomings found in this article. I am also grateful to the staff of the Republic of Indonesia National Library (PNRI) for providing me with some photographs of the *Qur'ans A.51* and *W.277*.

NOTE ON CONTRIBUTOR

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translation of the commentary entitled the *Lights of revelation and the secrets of interpretation* by Nāṣir al-Dīn Abī Saʿīd ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzi al-Bayḍāwī]. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.

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