

2 Qur'anic translations in Malay, Javanese and Sundanese

A commentary or substitution?

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The language of the Qur'ān is Arabic because the Prophet Muḥammad was an Arab. In this regard, in Q 14:4 God says: “We sent not a messenger except [to teach] in the language of his [own] people, in order to make [things] clear to them.”¹ The first evidence of Qur'anic translation activity comes from the very earliest times, although for the majority of Muslims the Qur'ān as the word of God remains in Arabic. Its recitation may be used in the acts of worship. Its translated versions, on the other hand, are considered commentary and no longer considered the word of God, thus making them unlawful for use in prayer.

According to İhsanoğlu, all translations of the Qur'ān may be seen to serve two goals: first, they serve as the medium for understanding the meanings in non-Arabic languages, something Muslims witnessed during the Prophet's lifetime; second, they offer a substitute, meaning that the recited Qur'ān does not exist in its original Arabic text.² We find that the Qur'anic translations which fall into the former category include its original Arabic text. In this category, the translation itself is made for understanding the original Arabic text. As for the latter category, the original Arabic text is no longer included. Instead, not only does the translated version serve as the tool for understanding, but it is also used as a recitation and considered an alternative to the Qur'ān in its original language. The first category is widely accepted in the Muslim world. The second, says İhsanoğlu, has been controversial among Muslims since the period of the Companions of the Prophet, which is when Salmān al-Farsī translated *sūrat al-Fātiḥa* (Q 1) into Persian to be recited in their prayers (*ṣalāt*).

The Qur'ān has become one of the most widely translated books in the world. This work on translation may also be considered to be a commentary. This chapter will bring to light the picture of Qur'anic commentary activity in the Malay, Javanese and Sundanese worlds from the period in which the first evidence of Qur'anic exegetical activity was found up until the early twentieth century.

Qur'anic commentaries in the Malay cultural region

The oldest surviving evidence of Qur'anic exegetical activity in the Malay world dates from the seventeenth century. There are two Malay commentaries from this period: the fragmentary Malay rendering of *sūrat al-Kahf* kept in Cambridge

(manuscript Ii.6.45) and the *Tarjumān al-Mustaḥḍ* of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ibn ‘Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī (al-Singkilī) (1024/1615–1104/1693). Regarding the Cambridge manuscript, Van Ronkel identified it as a rendering of the *sūrat* al-Kahf with many stories, particularly the story of *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* (People of the Cave).³ The manuscript belonged to Thomas Erpenius (d. 1624) who had obtained it from a traveller who had visited Aceh sometime in the first decade of the seventeenth century.⁴

This Cambridge manuscript is the oldest surviving evidence of Qur’anic exegetical activity in the Malay world. Its compilation dates back to the lifetime of Shams al-Dīn al-Samatrā’ī (d. 1039/1630) and, possibly, Hamzah Fanṣūrī (d. c.998/1590). There are no other extant copies of the text, suggesting that this copy was brought from Aceh before the burning of their works by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658) and his followers in the following decades. This also suggests that commentaries on the Qur’ān had been one of his targets, and with the destruction undertaken to make sure that no more copies existed in Aceh. Certainly, the Cambridge manuscript is very important in the attempt to grasp the tradition of Qur’anic exegesis long before the compilation of the *Tarjumān* in the late seventeenth century. There is no single work on the commentary of the Qur’ān which could be associated with al-Rānīrī. Since there is no record on the burning of al-Rānīrī’s works, it may be said that he did not write any Qur’anic commentary.⁵

An analysis of the Cambridge manuscript Ii.6.45 reveals that the author of this text relied on the *Ma’ālim al-tanzīl* of al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), with additions from the commentaries of al-Khāzin (d. 740/1340) and al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286) for creating the phrase-by-phrase interpretation of the Qur’anic verses as well as the additional tales between the verses. The use of these three commentaries in the making of the Cambridge manuscript indicates that they had great influence and had been considered to be the main sources for Qur’anic exegesis for Malay Muslims in the Sultanate of Aceh.⁶ An analysis of the *Tarjumān* shows that ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf relied heavily on the *Jalālayn* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 863/1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) with additional commentaries taken from the *tafsīrs* of al-Bayḍāwī and al-Khāzin.⁷ The *Tarjumān* contains two parts, compiled by ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf himself and two types of additions made by Bābā Dā’ūd Rūmī, his main disciple: first, the anecdotes taken from the *Lubāb al-ta’wīl* of al-Khāzin; second, the information based on the *qirā’āt*.⁸

In the following century, Malay Muslim scholars in the centres of Malay culture were no longer focused on the production of Qur’anic commentaries, perhaps having their needs met by the *Tarjumān*. Instead, they put more emphasis on writing works on other Islamic subjects, two of them being *tajwīd* (the system of pronouncing the correct recitation of the Qur’ān) and *faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* (the excellences of the Qur’ān). The first example is *Khawāṣṣ al-Qur’ān al-‘Azīm* (the qualities/characteristics of the magnificent Qur’ān) by Kemas Fakhr al-Dīn al-Palimbanī, written in 1183/1769. As described by Shaghīr ‘Abdullāh, this work deals with the merits of some Qur’anic verses. This work is a Malay translation of the work by Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī.⁹ The second is *Al-Mawāhib al-Makkīya fī Tajwīd al-Adā’īya* by ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭanī (d. 1315/1898). According to Shaghīr Abdullah, this work is written in

1296/1879 and was first printed by two publishers, Maṭba'at al-Mīriya al-Kā'ina in Mecca in 1304/1887, and Maṭba'at al-Faṭḥ al-Karīm al-Islāmiyya al-Kā'ina in Bombay in 1308/1891. This work is a Malay translation of the work authored by his teacher, Shaykh Aḥmad ibn As'ad al-Dihān.¹⁰ Another related work that should be mentioned here is entitled *Ta'rif al-Khalān fī Tajwīd al-Qur'ān* by Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Sayyid Muḥammad al-'Aydrus, first printed in 1333/1915.¹¹

However, some manuscripts containing Malay translations of the Qur'ān are still found outside Malay cultural centres; for example, the two Qur'āns from eighteenth-century Banten containing Malay interlinear translations which will be discussed later. Another work of Malay Qur'anic commentary to consider is the Qur'ān with a Malay interlinear translation kept by the Royal Asiatic Society documented by Sefercioglu.¹² This fact inclines us to suggest that Qur'anic exegetical activity in Malay continued to develop one century after the compilation of the *Tarjumān*.

We also need to consider some other parts of the Malay world where the Islamic manuscript tradition developed, such as Mindanao and the Sulu Islands in the Southern Philippines. Although there is a long history of Islam in the Southern Philippines, both the religion and the culture of this area are inadequately understood, especially when compared to what we know about other parts of the Malay world. Kratz states that there is no area in Southeast Asia that has been more neglected as a result of the geopolitical approach within academic studies than the Muslims of the Southern Philippines.¹³ It has been accepted that the arrival of Islam to this area first passed through the Sulu Islands. Quoting the *Sulu Genealogy*, a local document that records the Islamisation in this area, Majul states that the first evidence of Islamisation of Sulu is the arrival of Tuan Masha'ka. While there is no information as to his religious affiliation, to Majul he must have been Muslim on the grounds that he gave his children Islamic names as well as the names of his grandsons. Furthermore, the use of title "Tuan" in Sulu was generally associated with Muslim culture.¹⁴

In Mindanao there was reportedly one missionary who first came to this area in about 864/1460, namely Sharif Awliya.¹⁵ Nevertheless, as Majul notes, the Islamisation of Mindanao may be largely attributed to Sharif Muḥammad Kabungsuwan, who arrived in the coastal area of Maguindanao in 1515 and became the first Muslim ruler of the area in the sixteenth century. This kingdom continued until the end of the nineteenth century or the early twentieth century.¹⁶

Some Muslim rulers in the Maguindanao and Sulu sultanates are reported to have also been scholars. Sultan Kudarat, for example, who reigned in the Maguindanao Sultanate during the period 1616 to 1671, was a scholar. He once had a debate with a Spanish Jesuit missionary. Moreover, a Sultan in the Sulu Sultanate who reigned in the nineteenth century reportedly made a journey to Java to study Islam and the Arabic and Malay languages.¹⁷ Some Mindanao Muslim scholars reportedly made the long journey to Mecca to study Islam and Arabic and, while in transit, stayed in some areas of Indonesia. Two of them are 'Abd al-Majīd al-Mindanawī¹⁸ and Sayyidnā Tuan Muḥammad Sa'īd.¹⁹

Generally, works on Islamic subjects in Mindanao are written in Arabic, Malay, Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug, Yakan, Sama, etc.²⁰ The areas which

historically have represented Muslim centres of power, such as Maguindanao, Sulu, Buayan and Iranun, need to be taken into consideration within the Islamic manuscript tradition. Lanao del Sur is a province on the island of Mindanao whose inhabitants are predominantly Muslim. People living in this area, especially surrounding Lake Lanao, are called Maranao and speak Maranao. Some Muslim families are identified as having manuscript collections. In fieldwork during the period 2012 to 2013,²¹ we identified and documented three manuscript collections, namely the collections of Shaykh Muhammad Said [henceforth SMS collection], Shaykh Ahmad Bashier in Marawi City and Muhammad Amer Guro sa Masiu in the municipality of Taraka, the province of Lanao del Sur.²² The first two collections are identified as including manuscripts of Malay Qur'anic commentaries.

Within the SMS collection, one manuscript, namely Bungkos 6-Ms1, contains a Malay Qur'anic commentary and other texts. It measures 18×11 cm.²³ The manuscript has 21 lines to the page. There are 93 folios of cream-coloured paper with laid and chain lines on most folios. This manuscript contains a Qur'anic commentary in Malay which begins with Q 1:1 and ends at Q 4:76. The Qur'anic verses are written in red ink, followed by a Malay commentary in black ink. In its first section, the names of four works and their brief explanations based on external sources are given as follows: (1) *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* of al-Bayḍāwī; (2) *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl* of al-Baghawī; (3) *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, better known as the *Jalālayn*; and (4) *Lubāb al-ta'wīl fī ma'ānī al-tanzīl* of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Ṣūfī, known as al-Khāzin. These four *tafsīrs* are probably the main references upon which the text of this manuscript was based. In the final section, fragmentary verses from Q 47:18–19 are written. Underneath the *Jalālayn* is written, at times upside-down, in a different handwriting.²⁴ Since no title is given in this work, I identify it as the *SMS Malay Tafsīr* for the purpose of our study.

The *SMS Malay Tafsīr* contains two main parts. The first is the *sūra* heading containing such information as the name of the *sūra*, Meccan or Medinan, number of verses, sentences and letters. A *sūra* heading with such complete information is however available for *Āl 'Imrān* only. The second is the Qur'ān with its Malay rendering taken from the *Jalālayn*. The translation made in the *SMS Malay Tafsīr* is very literal. The author worked on a verse-by-verse translation apart from some *āyas* which are done either in parts or are united with others. The examination of *SMS Malay Tafsīr* reveals that the author relied predominantly on the *Jalālayn*. This fact brings me to identify this work as the Malay rendering of the *Jalālayn* after the *Tarjumān*.²⁵

It is essential to do a comparative study of this commentary with the *Tarjumān*. We must point out some assumptions at this point. First, these commentaries have possibly drawn upon the *Tarjumān*, an observation based on the grounds that the *Tarjumān* may have found its way to the Muslim communities in the Southern Philippines. Second, the Muslim scholars of the Southern Philippines copied the commentaries based on Arabic works during their trips home.

Third, they produced these works in Mindanao to meet the needs of Muslims in this area in understanding the meaning of the Qur'ān in Malay. To explore the connection of this text with the *Tarjumān*, the commentary on Q 1:1–7 in both the *SMS Malay Tafṣīr* and the *Tarjumān* is as follows:

Q 1:1–2

SMS Malay Tafṣīr (*Bismi Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm* {1}) [No Translation available] (*al-Ḥamdu lillāh rabb al-‘ālamīn* {2}) Segala puji bagi Allāh yang mempunyai semesta sekalian alam ini.

Tarjumān (*Bismi Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm* {1}) Dengan nama Allāh yang amat murah di dalam dunia ini lagi yang amat mengasihani hamba-Nya yang mukmin di dalam negeri akhirat itu juga aku mengambil berkah pada membaca Fātiḥah ini (*al-Ḥamdu lillāh rabb al-‘ālamīn* {2}) Segala puji sebut bagi Allāh Tuhan yang mempunyai segala makhluk.

Q 1:3–4

SMS Malay Tafṣīr (*al-Rahmān al-rahīm* {3}) Ia jua Tuhan yang amat murah dalam dunia lagi ia jua Tuhan yang amat mengasihani segala hamba-Nya yang mukmin dalam negeri akhirat itu (*Māliki yawm al-dīn* {4}) Ia jua Tuhan yang mempunyai pada segala pekerjaan hamba-Nya pada hari kiamat.

Tarjumān (*al-Rahmān al-rahīm* {3}) Lagi Tuhan yang amat murah di dalam dunia ini lagi yang amat mengasihani hamba-Nya yang mukmin di dalam negeri akhirat (*Māliki yawm al-dīn* {4}) Raja yang memerintahkan pada hari kiamat.

At this point in the *Tarjumān* there is an explanation of the variant readings of the word *māliki* which is not found in the *SMS Malay Tafṣīr*.

Q 1:5–7

SMS Malay Tafṣīr (*Iyyāka na‘budu wa-iyyāka nasta‘īn* {5}) Ia jua Tuhan yang kami sembah dan kepada-Nya jua kami minta tolong (*Ihdinā al-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm* {6}) Nunjuk oleh-Mu ya Tuhanku kami jalan yang betul (*Ṣirāt al-ladhīna an‘amta ‘alayhim*) Jalan segala mereka yang Kau anugrahakan ni‘mat atas mereka itu (*ghayr al-maghḍūb ‘alayhim*) Lain daripada jalan yang Kau murkai mereka itu segala Yahudi itu (*wa-lā al-ḍāllīn* {7}) dan lain daripada jalan yang Kau sesatkan yaitu atas segala Yahudi dan Nasrani. Āmīn.

Tarjumān (*Iyyāka na‘budu wa-iyyāka nasta‘īn* {5}) kami tentukan akan Dikau ibadah dan kami tuntutan daripada-Mu tolong atas berbuat ibadah dan yang lainnya (*Ihdinā al-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm* {6}) Beri pertunjuk oleh-Mu akan kami jalan yang betul (*Ṣirāt al-ladhīna an‘amta ‘alayhim ghayr al-maghḍūb ‘alayhim wa-lā al-ḍāllīn* {7}) Jalan segala mereka itu yang telah Kau <a>nugerahi nikmat atas mereka itu lain daripada jalan segala yang di mereka itu dan lain daripada jalan segala orang yang sesat (bermula) dikehendaki dengan jalan yang dimurkai di sini jalan segala Yahudi dan jalan segala yang sesat jalan segala Nasrani. *wa-Allāh a‘lam*.

As for the Malay commentary kept in the Ahmad Bashier collection, this manuscript measures 24 × 18 cm and comprises 100 pages. Since there is no title found in this manuscript I identify it as the *AB Malay Tafsiṣ*, which means the Malay commentary of the Qurʾān kept in the Ahmad Bashier private library, at Jamiatu Muslim Mindanao, Marawi City. There are 19 lines to the page. It is written on non-European paper and there are no catchwords in it. The manuscript begins with a text on Sufism in the first three pages. It contains the Qurʾanic text written in black ink with vocalisation in red ink, beginning with Q 67:1 and ending at verse 16. The Qurʾanic text is then written with vocalisation in red ink. However, the vocalisation is not present in the *sūras* in the latter part of *Juz* 30. The Qurʾanic text is followed by its Malay commentary in black ink. Similar to the *SMS Malay Tafsiṣ*, the author of this work also worked to create a verse-by-verse translation except in the case of some verses which are undertaken in parts or linked together. A decorative frame is used to mark the start of *Juz* 29 containing the name of the *sūra*, the number of verses, and the Meccan or Medinan category. However, this decorated frame is not used for marking the start of *Juz* 30. Instead, a unique decoration is implemented to mark the start of the *sūras* beginning with Q 88 and ending at Q 92. There is an empty space between the *sūras* which indicates that the scribe intended to create the same decoration but was not able to complete it. With regard to the decoration, it is clear that the scribe intended to create a different style of decoration between *ajzā* 29 and 30.²⁶

The commentaries in the *AB Malay Tafsiṣ* and the *Tarjumān* are provided here so as to provide some ideas of the possible connection between these two works. The commentaries on Q 67:1–2 are provided as follows:

Q 67:1–2

<i>AB Malay Tafsiṣ</i>	(<i>Tabāraka al-ladhī bi-yadihi al-mulk wa-huwa ‘alā kulli shay’in qadīr {1}</i>) bahwa Allāh ta’ālā jua Tuhan yang mahatinggi dan mahabesar mahasuci daripada sifat makhluk syahdan Ia jua kuasa berlakukan kudrat-Nya pada semesta sekalian (<i>al-Ladhī khalaqa al-mawt wa-al-ḥayāt li-yabluwakum ayyukum <ahsanu> ‘amalan</i>) Ia jua Tuhan yang menjadikan mati dan hidup supaya cobati [cobai] kamu siapa [cobai] kamu siapa dari antara kamu yang terbaik perbuatannya (<i>Wa-huwa al-‘azīz al-ghafūr {2}</i>) Ia jua Tuhan yang amat kuasa mengampuni segala hamba-Nya yang durhaka.
<i>Tarjumān</i>	(<i>Tabāraka al-ladhī bi-yadihi al-mulk wa-huwa ‘alā kulli shay’in qadīr {1}</i>) <i>al-Ladhī khalaqa al-mawt wa-al-ḥayāt li-yabluwakum ayyukum ahsanu ‘amalan wa-huwa al-‘azīz al-ghafūr {2}</i>) Telah suci daripada segala sifat muhdas Tuhan yang pada tasarruf-Nya jua sultan dan kudrat dan yaitu atas tiap-tiap suatu amat kuasa yang Ia jua menjadikan mati di dalam dunia dan hidup di dalam dunia dan di dalam akhirat supaya dicobai-Nya akan kamu pada hidup itu yang maka kamu terlebih taat kepada Allāh ta’ālā padahal Ia jua yang kuasa pada menyiksa yang durhaka akan dia mengampuni yang taubat kepada-Nya.

For further clarification, I will now provide some other commentaries in the *AB Malay Tafsīr* and the *Tarjumān*, this time of Q 110:1–4:

Q 110:1–2

<i>AB Malay Tafsīr</i>	<i>(Idhā jā`a naṣr Allāh)</i> setelah datanglah bagimu ya Muḥammad hurap [harap?] daripada Allāh ini kemenangan daripada Allāh yaitu mengalahkan Makkah (<i>wa-al-fath</i> {1}) dan menjadikan dia terserah kepada tangan rasul Allāh segala isi Makkah itu (<i>Wa-ra`ayta al-nās yadkhulūna fī dīn Allāh afwājan</i> {2}) Dan kau lihatlah segala manusia masuk mereka itu pada ugama Allāh berkaum-kaum.
<i>Tarjumān</i>	<i>(Idhā jā`a naṣr Allah wa-al-fath. Wa-ra`ayta al-nās yadkhulūn fī dīn Allāh afwājan)</i> Apabila datang tolong Allāh ta`ālā akan Nabī SAW atas segala seterusnya dan fath Makkah dan kau lihat segala manusia masuk pada ugama Islam berjama`ah kemudian daripada adalah masuknya seorang adalah yang demikian itu kemudian daripadalah Makkah datang Arab daripada pihak b-w-m [bumi?] pada hal mereka itu taat.

Q 110:3–4

<i>AB Malay Tafsīr</i>	<i>(Fa-sabbih bi-ḥamdi rabbika)</i> Maka mengucap tasbih lah engkau ya Muḥammad dengan memuji Tuhanmu sesuatu ma`na masalah olehmu ya Muḥammad <i>subḥāna Allāh wa-al-ḥamdu lillāh wa-lā ilāha illā Allāh Allāh akbar lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi-Allāh al-`alī al-`azīm</i> (<i>wa-`staghfirhu</i> {3}) dan memohonkan ampun lah engkau kepada-Nya (<i>Innahu kāna tawwāban</i> {4}) Bahwa sesungguhnya Tuhanmu ada <se>ntiasa berkenankan taubat hamba-Nya. (Sūrat).
<i>Tarjumān</i>	<i>(Fa-sabbih bi-ḥamdi rabbika wa-`staghfirhu {3} Innahu kāna tawwāban {4})</i> Maka ucap tasbih olehmu pada hal memuji Tuhanmu dan minta ampun engkau kepada-Nya bahwasanya Ia adalah Ia menerima taubat segala hambanya yang minta taubat (kata mufassir) adalah Nabi SAW kemudian turun surat ini baik ia mengata<kan> <i>subḥāna Allah wa-naḥmaduhu astaghfiru Allāh wa-atūbu ilayh</i> telah ketahuilah dengan dia hampirlah ajalnya dan adalah alah Makkah pada Ramadan sanah thaman dan tūfiya al-Nabī SAW pada <i>rabi` al-awwal sannah ihdā` ashar</i> .

Based on the above discussion, I suggest that Malay Muslim scholars developed a type of translation that has gained some acceptance among the majority of Malay people, which is the translation that serves as a commentary. In this regard, there is no record of making a Malay translation which serves as a substitute for the original Arabic text. Moreover, after being used by `Abd al-Ra`ūf as a model for the writing of the *Tarjumān* at the end of the seventeenth century in Aceh, in the following centuries the *Jalālayn* still enjoyed its popularity as a guide for writing other Malay commentaries on the Qur`ān, as is evident in the *SMS Malay Tafsīr*.

Qur'anic commentaries in the Javanese cultural region²⁷

Javanese Muslims have great difficulty in mastering correct phonetic Arabic pronunciation unless they have been educated in a religious milieu (i.e. madrasa).²⁸ Although Qur'anic recitation is considered difficult, Javanese Muslims have benefited from Qur'anic commentaries since the eighteenth century. The evidence is found in the manuscript Lor 2097-R-15.710, which consists of the Qur'anic text followed by Javanese commentary, themes and names of *sūras*. It dates to the end of the eighteenth century and entered the collection of Roorda's library in Delft and subsequently Leiden.²⁹ This is of considerable interest, since works of Qur'anic commentary are increasingly found in the nineteenth century. Some of them are complete in terms of interpreting the whole Qur'ān. Some are incomplete and usually found in very mixed manuscripts, having fragments of Arabic *tafsīr* re-copied within them. Feener states that there are Javanese works dating from the eighteenth century which deal particularly with *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*. The two examples are the *Suluk tegesipun patékah* and the *Suluk suraosipun patékah*.³⁰

An example of incomplete works is the manuscript in the Royal Military Academy collection, Breda, which contains *sūras al-Fātiḥa*, *al-Anbiyā'* and *Yūsuf*, followed by Malay, Javanese and Latin translations; this was originally in the private collection of Reland in Utrecht.³¹ The second example is the manuscript IS.1. by Shaykh Imām Arga. No title is indicated. This manuscript contains the Arabic Qur'ān with its Javanese commentaries and some *primbon* texts. It contains several *sūras*, such as *sūras Patekah [al-Fātiḥa]*, *Dakan [al-Dukhān]*, *Raāmān [al-Raḥmān]*, *Watangat*, *Anabail*, *Anaza'at [al-Nāzi'āt]*, *'Abbas [Abasa]*, *Kuret [al-Quraysh]*, *Antaqat*, *Buresj [al-Burūj]*, *Syamsi [al-Shams]* and *al-Takāthur*.³² Some texts are followed by an interlinear translation in Javanese. It measures 19.5 × 16 cm and has 366 pages with 14 lines per page.³³

The third example of incomplete commentary is the manuscript entitled *Kur'an Winedhar*. This is actually a printed work which contains the Qur'ān with commentaries in the Javanese script and language, written in 1936 in Surakarta and kept in the library of the Surakarta palace.³⁴ The fourth example is entitled *Serat Alfatekah* and has 530 pages. It contains Qur'anic commentaries. Both the date and place of its composition are unknown. The fifth example is a manuscript entitled *Serat-serat Alfatekah* which has 590 pages in Javanese. Its date is also unknown and it is now kept in the library of the Mangkunagaran palace.³⁵ The sixth example is *Serat Wirid Giri Jaya*, written in 1925. This manuscript contains the Qur'ān with Javanese commentaries and an image showing a Muslim praying.³⁶

The seventh example, consisting of 16 pages and printed by the Worosoeseilo publisher of Surakarta in 1925, is entitled *Tafsīr Soerat Wal-'Asri* (Commentary on Q 103) by St Chayati of Tulungagung. The author connects the commentary to the story of the prophet 'Isā who informed his audience of the coming of Muḥammad.³⁷ The eighth example is entitled *Kiyamat Kubra I-IV* (The Great Day of Judgment) by Kendar Purbadipura of Surakarta. This example contains

texts about Islamic eschatology based on Qur'anic commentaries by Bagus Ngarpah, and is kept in the Sonobudoyo library in Yogyakarta.³⁸

The ninth example of incomplete commentary is labelled PB C.97 and contains three texts. The first is the six pillars of *īmān*, and the 20 attributes of God, followed by a translation of Q 2:171 and passages concerning the Day of Judgment. The second is a commentary starting with Q 34:29 and ending at Q 87. The third consists of Qur'anic commentaries related to the Day of Judgment as found in Q 87 up to Q 114. This commentary fragment is taken from the Javanese commentary reportedly made by Bagus Ngarpah. It is unknown where the manuscript was written; it is believed to have been produced early in the twentieth century. The tenth example is almost the same as PB C.97 in terms of the content. It is labelled PB C.41 and contains four texts. The first is an explanation of the pillars of *īmān* and of the 20 attributes of God. The second is the fragment of a Qur'anic commentary dealing with the Day of Judgment, covering Q 24:26 through Q 40. The third is a fragment covering Q 41:21 to Q 79. The fourth is a fragment covering Q 79:13 to Q 114. This fragment is taken from the translation made by Bagus Ngarpah.³⁹

The eleventh example is manuscript SB 12 entitled *Tafsīr Alqur'an saha Pethikan Warni-warni*, which contains three different texts and was written by more than one scribe. The main commentary comes at the beginning of the manuscript, covering a fragment from *sūrat al-Baqara* with its *tafsīr*, the *Jalālayn*; in its margin are some notes in Javanese, in *pégon* script.⁴⁰ The twelfth example is entitled *Tafsīr Qur'ān Jawen* (The Qur'anic commentary in Javanese), printed by the Siti Sjamsijah publisher of Surakarta in 1930, probably a complete work and published volume by volume. This commentary is in Javanese language and script. I have been able to obtain only one volume, which has 282 pages containing part of *Juz* ' 1, which covers *sūrat al-Baqara* from verse 52 to 139. The page numbering is also printed, starting from number 287 to 562. The Qur'anic text is followed by its Javanese translations in Javanese script, with the detailed commentary provided at the bottom of the page.

Regarding the complete works, the tradition of working on a complete Qur'anic commentary was well established by the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. There are four complete *tafsīrs* identified: one is a printed edition and another three works are written by hand. The printed work is entitled *Kitāb Kur'an* and is a translation in Javanese script and language. It may be found in some libraries in Java.⁴¹ It measures 24×28.2 cm and comprises 462 pages with 27 lines per page; it is complemented by such signs as *rubu* ', *thumun*, *nisf* and *juz* ', which shows that this work was probably meant to substitute for the original version of the Qur'ān in Arabic. This work was printed by Lange & Co. of Batavia in 1858. Uhlenbeck suggests that this work is the first Qur'anic translation in the Javanese script and language.⁴²

The second complete work of Qur'anic commentary is entitled *Kuran Jawi* by Bagus Ngarpah, with Ki Ranasubaya as the scribe and Ng. Wirapustaka as the editor. It measures 21.5×34 cm. This work is bound in three large volumes, consisting of 1559 pages (based on their numbering). There are also many blank

sheets in each volume. In both the first and second volumes the paper is without watermarks or chain and laid lines. Each page has between 20 and 23 lines of text. To make it neater, the scribe initially drew guide lines before writing. The first volume comprises 387 pages that contain a Qur'anic translation in Javanese script and language, covering *sūrat al-Fātiḥah* to *sūrat al-Tawba* (Q 9), verse 94. The second volume comprises 577 pages and contains *sūrat al-Tawbah*, verse 95, to *sūrat al-'Ankabūt*, verse 44; the third volume comprises 594 pages and covers *sūrat al-'Ankabūt* verse 45 to the end of the Qur'ān, which is *sūrat al-Nās*. In this volume, there are 22 lines per page, including one short line at the top-middle of the page for numbering. The total number of pages does not include the blank sheets in each volume. There are no illuminations or illustrations. These three volumes are in good condition, very neat and beautifully written; the scribe was apparently a professional. Compared to the printed Javanese commentary mentioned above, this work is not furnished with signs such as *rubu'*, *thumun* and so forth. However, the two are similar in that the Arabic text is excluded from both works and the texts start from the left side (unlike the Arabic Qur'ān which starts from the right side); these three volumes are apparently made as substitutes for the original text of the Qur'ān in Arabic; this is further demonstrated by the arrangement, and the short explanation at the beginning of each *sūra* along with the meaning of the name, the place of revelation (Meccan or Medinan) and the total number of verses in each *sūra*.

The third complete Qur'anic translation in Javanese script and language bears the title *Kuran Jawi* (The Qur'ān in Javanese) also by Bagus Ngarpah, with Suwanda as the scribe. It measures 36.5×23 cm. On its title page the years 1835–1905 are printed, presumably showing the date of writing. This complete Javanese translation comprises one volume. It contains 791 pages with the numbering in Arabic numerals up to 746. The number of lines in each page varies, ranging from 25 to 33 lines per page. Like the above two Javanese translations, the Arabic text is not included in this third work at all and the text starts from the left side.

Uhlenbeck gives a short explanation of Ngarpah's Qur'anic translation. He considers Ngarpah's work to be the second Javanese Qur'anic translation and suggests that it was printed in stages in 1884, although there are only eight *ajzā'* available in the printed form.⁴³ Uhlenbeck's description indicates that there was an attempt to publish this translation, although I have not found any information concerning whether it has been fully printed. Considering the fact that Ngarpah has two works of Qur'anic translation it is unclear as to which translation is printed, since the eight-*ajzā'* work has still not been found. Looking at the title mentioned by Uhlenbeck, it may well refer to the three-volume Javanese Qur'anic translation by Ngarpah.⁴⁴ The printed edition of Ngarpah's translation may be found in the Leiden University Library.⁴⁵

The fourth complete Javanese Qur'anic translation is entitled *Al-Kur'an*. This manuscript consists of two volumes. The first volume comprises 628 pages and contains the *sūras al-Fātiḥa* to *al-Isrā'*. The Arabic text is followed by its commentaries in Javanese, in the *pégon* script. No date is available for this copy.

This manuscript is in such bad condition that it is difficult to read. The second volume comprises 716 pages containing *sūra al-Kahf* to the end of the Qur'ān. Like the first volume, no date is available in this copy.⁴⁶ The scribe wrote these two volumes neatly and professionally. Some dots are inserted in each verse, possibly in order to divide the verse into words or phrases so that they are easier to understand and translate. Similarly, some dots are also inserted in its translated section, possibly for the same reason. The Qur'anic text and its commentary are written in black ink. The *waqf* signs, the *sūra* headings and the first word in each *sūra* are in red. Some corrections are made, notably in the case of *sūrat al-Baqara* verse 253.

As the twentieth century progressed, translation activity in the mode of substitution became uncommon and the Javanese authors included the Arabic original text of the Qur'ān in their works. This is the case with the work of Moh. Amin bin Ngabdul Muslim. This comprises five volumes, published from 1932 to 1935 by the Siti Sjamsijah publisher in Solo. The first volume contains the Qur'ān and its Javanese commentary from *juz*' 1 to *juz*' 6, the second 7 to 12, the third 13 to 18, the fourth 19 to 24 and the fifth 25 to 30. The numbering uses Arabic numerals at the beginning of each *sūra*.

The above descriptions of the Qur'anic commentaries in the Javanese cultural region reveal that two types of Qur'anic translation had been produced, the first being the translation that includes its original Arabic text and the second the translation without the Qur'anic text in Arabic. Apart from that, the research also shows that a complete printed Javanese Qur'anic commentary first emerged in 1858 with the publication of *Kitāb Kur'an* printed by Lange & Co. of Batavia.

Qur'anic commentaries in the Sundanese cultural region

The Sundanese cultural region encompasses two Indonesian provinces: Banten and West Java. The elaboration of Qur'anic exegetical activity started from Banten, then continued to West Java. In Banten, the attempt to understand the Qur'ān is frequently connected to the production of Qur'anic *muṣḥafs*. These *muṣḥafs* display certain distinctive characteristics. For example, they are larger than average when compared to others produced in the Indonesian archipelago. The text block covers almost the entire area of each page. The Arabic calligraphy is written in a tidy fashion and the writing of the word *Allāh* is commonly in red ink.⁴⁷ Gallop and Akbar have listed some Qur'anic *muṣḥafs* with those characteristics that are considered to be from the Banten region, namely manuscripts A 50; A 51 [a-e]; A 52 [a-k]; A 53 [a-k]; A 54 [a-e]; W. 277 [a-j], and W. 278.⁴⁸

Qur'anic commentaries in this area are usually included in what some scholars regard as a *muṣḥaf*. It is likely that the Qur'āns containing interlinear translations were made not only for the *muṣḥafs* but also for understanding the Qur'ān's meaning. Such works may be better identified as works of *tafsīr*. In Banten there are four Qur'āns with interlinear translations either in Malay or Javanese. Three of them are kept in the National Library at Jakarta, while the remainder is kept in the Agung Banten mosque.

The first Qur'an is labelled manuscript A 51 in the collection of the National Library. This is a complete work written in five volumes. Each volume contains six *ajzā'*: [a] 496pp., [b] 543pp., [c] 608pp., [d] 601pp., [e] 691pp. The manuscript measures 30.5 × 19.5 cm. Each page contains five lines of the Arabic Qur'anic text, followed by one or two lines of Malay translation. Black ink is mostly used for writing the Qur'anic text and its commentary while red ink is used for the *sūra* headings, the first words of the Qur'anic text in each *sūra*, and the *waqf* and *juz'* signs. The Arabic text and its Malay commentary are mostly written inside the frame, except for some signs for the *ajzā'*, the indication of whether the *sūra* is Meccan or Medinan, and the number of verses along with some related data. According to Gallop and Akbar, there are some indications that this manuscript was initially planned to comprise ten volumes, each containing three *ajzā'*.⁴⁹

The second Qur'an is manuscript A 54, which is the Qur'an with a Javanese interlinear translation. This manuscript is divided into five volumes. However, *Juz'* 15 and 16 are reportedly unavailable. With the exception of volume III, each volume contains six *ajzā'*: [a] 346pp., [b] 355pp., [c] 242pp., [d] 332pp., [e] 306pp. They measure 50.5 × 36 cm and use European paper. Each page contains 18 lines, of which nine lines are the Arabic text in red and the remaining nine lines are the Javanese commentary in black. The text block measures 43 × 24 cm; there is no text frame.⁵⁰

The third Qur'an is manuscript W.277. This manuscript is the Qur'an with Malay interlinear translation. This work is divided into ten volumes, each containing three *ajzā'*: (a) 202pp., (b) 298pp., (c) 296pp., (d) 304pp., (e) 326pp., (f) 312pp., (g) 316pp., (h) 324pp., (i) 350pp., (j) 354pp. They measure 32 × 20 cm. The text block is 28 × 11.5 cm. Each page contains five lines of Arabic text followed by one or two lines of Malay commentary. It uses black ink for the text and has no text frame. Red ink is used for the *sūra* headings, the first words of the Qur'anic text in each *sūra*, and the *waqf* and *juz'* signs. The Arabic text and its Malay commentary are mostly written inside the frame, except for some signs for the *Juz'*, the indication of whether the *sūra* is Medinan or Meccan, and the number of verses as well as the related data. In almost all aspects, this manuscript is very similar to manuscript A 51 [a–e]. In other words, this is another copy of manuscript A 51 or vice versa.⁵¹

The texts labelled A 51 and its copy W. 277 represent the second complete Malay Qur'anic rendering, following the *Tarjumān* compiled around 1675. This work may be the only work that serves as evidence of Qur'anic exegetical activity in eighteenth-century Malay. It uses a different type of translation from the exegetical works produced a century earlier (the Cambridge manuscript and the *Tarjumān*). Furthermore, this work was produced in an area where the Malay language was not spoken daily by the local population during the eighteenth century. This Malay translation may have a strong connection with A 54, the Qur'an with Javanese interlinear translations mentioned earlier.

The fourth Qur'an is kept in the Agung Banten mosque. It measures 30 × 18 cm, with a text block of 22 × 11 cm, and contains interlinear translation in

Javanese. This Qur'ān is on display in the mosque. Access has not yet been granted to enable physical contact with the manuscript.⁵²

The fifth commentary is the *Marāḥ labīd* of Shaykh Nawawī of Banten. This is an Arabic commentary on the Qur'ān written in Mecca. Nawawī was awarded the title of *Imām* of *Ḥaramayn* and was invited to al-Azhar University to deliver a speech. During his lifetime, he produced numerous works on various Islamic fields. He is regarded highly among the Jawi 'ulamā' who were proficient in Arabic. The *Marāḥ labīd* was written in two volumes and first printed in Mecca c.1884. Having been approved by the 'ulamā' in Mecca and Cairo, the *Marāḥ labīd* was then published in Cairo in 1887, together with the *Kitāb al-wajīz fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīz* of al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075) in the margin.⁵³

We list Nawawī's work because he comes from a religious family in Banten. He was born in 1813 and initially received an Islamic education from his father, 'Umar ibn 'Arabī. Nawawī, then studied with Haji Sahal in Banten, and subsequently travelled to Karawang to study with Raden Haji Yusuf. Like many archipelago 'ulamā', Nawawī then made a journey to Mecca when he was about 15 years old. He returned home once but he soon went back to Mecca and remained there until his death in 1897.

During this period, as Karel Steenbrink describes, the established traditional Islamic thought in the *Ḥaramayn* had not been influenced by the Islamic reformism that became prevalent in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Egypt. Hence, the attempt to connect the understanding of the Qur'ān with a response to modernism or social problems during that time is not found in the *Marāḥ Labīd*.⁵⁴ While *Tafsīr al-Manār* of 'Abduh (d. 1905) and Riḍā (d. 1935) is influenced by the Mu'tazilī school of thought, the *Marāḥ labīd* stands in the tradition of medieval Muslim scholars such as Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), al-Maḥallī and al-Suyūṭī.⁵⁵

The earliest evidence of Qur'anic exegetical activity in West Java possibly emerged in the eighteenth century. The evidence for this comes from the existence of manuscript I238, entitled *Hadis Kudsi (ḥadīth qudsī)* possibly from Cirebon in the eighteenth century which contains *sūrat al-Fātiḥa* with the Qur'ān written in Javanese script.⁵⁶ During this century, we do not have clear evidence of West Javanese Muslims producing Qur'anic commentaries or translations. With the rapid development of the Islamic manuscripts tradition, Qur'anic commentaries were increasingly produced during the nineteenth century in the West Java region.

During the nineteenth century, the tradition of written Islamic manuscripts was well established throughout the region. Cirebon and Bandung were home to two important scriptoriums of such manuscripts. In 2003, I made an inventory of manuscripts listed in the catalogue of Ekadjati and Darsa according to origin, subject, language and script. I listed 245 manuscripts thought to have been produced up until the nineteenth century. The manuscripts were produced in different places: Bandung with 85 manuscripts; Cirebon, 95; Sumedang, five; Subang, two; Ciamis, two; Tasikmalaya, five; Garut, six; Cianjur, six; Kuningan, three; the remainder (36 manuscripts in total) were produced in other places in

the region. As for subject matter, the West Java manuscripts addressed various Islamic fields: the Qur'ān, 13 manuscripts; Qur'anic commentary/translation, six; *fiqh*, 42; *taṣawwuf*/Ethics, 78; *manāḳib*, ten; *tawhīd*/theology, 19; *adab*, five; prayers, 36; and Islamic stories, 37. Of the Islamic manuscripts in this region 12 were written in the Arabic script; seven in Latin script; 96 in *pégon* script; 82 in both Arabic and *pégon* scripts; and some in *cacarakan*. The name of the author is rarely mentioned, a characteristic feature of archipelago Islamic manuscripts.

The attempt to understand the Qur'ān has been addressed in various kinds of works. Most works were made for practical functions in conducting religious practices. They include works of *fiqh*, *ṭarīqāt*, *manāḳib*, prayers and so forth. The writing of Qur'anic commentaries was not popular and of course not intended for such practical purposes. Therefore, commentaries were usually included with other fields combined into one *kitāb*. For example, in Java, Qur'anic commentaries appear as translations of certain *sūras* mixed with other Islamic fields. As well, one finds fragments of the *Jalālayn* re-copied in these mixed manuscripts. Nevertheless, one does find complete works of Qur'anic exegesis. In terms of script, during the nineteenth century *pégon* script had been used most of all; in terms of language, the manuscripts were predominantly written in Javanese.

Examples of these mixed-content manuscripts include MS I254 entitled *Tarekat*, originating from Cirebon in the eighteenth century. Some *tafsīr* passages providing an understanding of certain verses are available between pages 5 and 50.⁵⁷ In addition, manuscript I362 entitled *Sohibul Kitab Abdul Mursid*, probably originating from eighteenth-century Cirebon, comprised *tafsīr* on certain Qur'anic verses in Javanese. There are also further commentaries on the verses.⁵⁸ The manuscript labelled I450 entitled *Kitāb tafsīr Fātiḥa*, from nineteenth-century Bandung, is another example. It contains a Javanese text with the Sundanese commentary on *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*.⁵⁹ Another example is manuscript I499 entitled *Kitāb Doa-doa*, probably from Garut, written in the nineteenth century. On pages 1 to 15 it has Qur'anic texts followed by a commentary in Javanese, while on pages 16 to 33 there are supplications in Javanese and partially in Sundanese.⁶⁰ In addition, there is the *Jalālayn*, written by Shaykh Aḥmad ibn 'Abbās with the use of *pégon* script. The scribe of this work was Muḥammad Bakrī Assafii, and it was produced in the nineteenth century, probably in Cirebon. This manuscript is labelled I12a.⁶¹ The author of the *Jalālayn* is certainly not Aḥmad ibn 'Abbās. This work is in need of further study to determine whether in the meantime the *Jalālayn* was translated into either Javanese or Sundanese. Finally, there is manuscript I2, which comprises the Qur'anic text followed by a Javanese commentary in *pégon* script.

Regarding the complete works, one work was written by R.H. 'Abdoel Madjīd in 1856 in Sumedang bearing the title *al-Qur'ān*, as identified in the catalogue. It measures 44.5 × 28 cm and its text measures 34 × 21 cm. This 637-page manuscript uses European paper. Black ink is predominantly used.⁶² It presents the Qur'ān with interlinear translation in Javanese. Another work is the manuscript labelled I12 with the title *Tafsīr al-Qur'an*, as indicated in the catalogue; it

has 698 pages of local paper and the date of writing is unknown. The Qur'anic text is in Arabic, with commentary in Javanese, in *pégon* script.⁶³ In all possibility this work was originally complete, but is now incomplete.

In early twentieth-century West Java, Muslim scholars were increasingly interested in working on Qur'anic commentary. One such scholar was Ahmad Sanusi (1888–1950).⁶⁴ Gunseikanbu mentions that Sanusi wrote about 101 works in various Islamic fields.⁶⁵ Manshur even suggests that Sanusi wrote about 480 works.⁶⁶ Sanusi was also a prolific author of Qur'anic commentaries; during his lifetime he wrote seven works, most of which were incomplete. They are *Tafsīr malja' al-ṭālibīn*; *Tamshīyat al-muslimīn*; *Rawḍat al-irfān fī ma'rīfat al-Qur'ān*; *Tanbīh al-hayrān fī tafsīr sūrat al-Dukhān*; *Hidāyat al-qulūb al-ṣibyān fī faḍā'il sūra Tabārak Mulk min al-Qur'ān*; *Tafriḥ qulūb al-mu'minīn fī tafsīr kalimāt sūra Yāsīn*; and *Tamshīyat al-wildān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*.

Sanusi did write one complete Qur'anic commentary, *Rawḍat al-Irfān fī Ma'rīfat al-Qur'ān*. It is in Sundanese and contains the Qur'anic text, literal translation and commentary.⁶⁷ The *Malja' al-ṭālibīn* is also a Qur'anic commentary in Sundanese, in *pégon* script. These two works are different in that the *Rawḍat al-irfān* contains two types of commentaries, while the *Maljā' al-ṭālibīn* contains a literal translation only. Manshur explains that the *Rawḍat al-irfān* was created in two volumes. The first volume contains the Qur'anic text and its commentary from *Juz' 1* to 15, and the second from *Juz' 16* to 30. This work was originally handwritten, recopied by hand and then published by lithography.⁶⁸ The first volume of *Rawḍat al-Irfān* came into being orally in classes conducted by Sanusi with his 30 students. His students diligently followed his *tafsīr* pedagogy and took notes on any verses explained. Regarding the second volume, Sanusi wrote it himself before it was printed in the late 1990s.⁶⁹

Concluding remarks

The above discussion considers how Muslims in these three regions have developed the tradition of writing Qur'anic commentaries with the first evidence of the activity coming from the seventeenth century. The Qur'ān has never been introduced in a vacuum, so the interpretation typically intersects with local ideas. Therefore, the act of interpretation is shaped by culture and may or may not be relevant to other people in different cultures and contexts.

Malay culture has been greatly influenced by Islam, with the religion then shaping the identity of the Malay people. Malay Muslim scholars developed the types of Qur'anic translation which would be acceptable to the majority of Malay people, which is the translation that serves as a commentary. In this regard, there is no record of making a Malay Qur'anic translation that serves as a substitute for the original Arabic text. Moreover, after being used by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf as a model for writing the *Tarjumān al-Mustaḥḍ* at the end of the seventeenth century in Aceh, the *Jalālayn* retained its popularity as a guide for writing other Malay Qur'anic commentaries.

In Java, Qur'anic exegetical activity flourished long before the twentieth century. Some identified works are complete, meaning that they interpret the whole Qur'ān. Some are incomplete, usually found in manuscripts of very mixed content, often with pieces of an Arabic *tafsīr* copied into such works. Furthermore, the aim of making Qur'anic commentary was not only for comprehension but also for serving as a substitute for the Qur'ān itself, as may be seen from some of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Javanese Qur'āns. In the following period, however, the Javanese authors included the original Arabic text of the Qur'ān in their works.

In the Sundanese region, Qur'anic exegetical activity is usually included in what some scholars regard as the *muṣḥaf*. In this regard, I suggest that some Bantenese *muṣḥafs* with their interlinear translations were made not only for the purpose of Qur'anic recitation but also for conveying its meaning; such works may be identified as works of *tafsīr*. In West Java, there is variation in the way in which Qur'anic commentaries were produced. First, some works are only the translations of certain *sūras*, which are mixed with texts from other Islamic fields. Second, there are the fragments of the *Jalālayn* copied into manuscripts of very mixed content, and third there are complete works of Qur'anic exegesis. In terms of script, *pégon* script has been used most of all. As for language, up to the early twentieth century the Qur'anic commentaries in this region were predominantly written in Javanese.

Notes

- 1 Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān: English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary* (Medina: King Fahd Holy Qur'ān Printing Complex, 1989–1990), 691.
- 2 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *World Bibliography of Translations of the Meanings of the Holy Qur'an: Printed Translations 1515–1980* (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, 1986), xxiii.
- 3 Van Ronkel, "Account of Six Malay Manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library", *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-en volkenkunde*, 46/1 (1896), 47–49. For the description of this Cambridge manuscript, see M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain: A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 112.
- 4 Michael Feener, "Notes towards the History of Qur'anic Exegesis in Southeast Asia", *Studia Islamika*, 5/3 (1998), 52–53.
- 5 Peter Riddell, "Earliest Quranic Exegetical Activity in the Malay-Speaking States", *Archipel*, 38 (1989), 112.
- 6 See Peter G. Riddell, "Camb. Or. II.6.45: The Oldest Surviving Qur'anic Commentary from Southeast Asia", *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 16/1 (2014), 12. See also Peter G. Riddell, "Controversy in Qur'anic Exegesis and Its Relevance to the Malayo-Indonesian World", in *The Making of an Islamic Political Discourse in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid (Clayton: Monash University, 1993), 60–62.
- 7 Riddell, "Controversy in Qur'anic Exegesis", 64.
- 8 Peter G. Riddell, *'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkili's Tarjumān al-Mustaḥfi: A Critical Study of His Treatment of Juz' 16* (Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1984), 53.
- 9 Wan Mohd and Shaghīr Abdullah, *Pengenalan Siri ke-13: Penyebaran & Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu Jilid 14* (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara and Khazanah Fathaniyyah, 2000), 6.
- 10 Shaghīr Abdullah, *Pengenalan Siri ke-15* (2001), 45–46.

- 11 Shaghir Abdullah, *Pengenalan Siri ke-14* (2000), 22.
- 12 Mustafa Nejat Sefercioglu, *World Bibliography of Translations of the Holy Qur'an in Manuscript Form I: Turkish, Persian and Urdu translations excluded* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2000), I, 129. With thanks to Annabel Gallop for informing me on this matter.
- 13 E. Ulrich Kratz, "Some Thoughts on Islamic Manuscripts from the Southern Philippines and the Jawi Tradition", in *Lost Times and Untold Tales from the Malay World*, ed. Jan van der Putten and Mary Kilcline Cody (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), 290.
- 14 Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 3rd edn (Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2009), 56.
- 15 Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 69.
- 16 For the list of the sultans of the Maguindanao Sultanate, see Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 27–29.
- 17 Kawashima Midori and Oman Fathurahman, "Islamic Manuscripts of Southern Philippines: A Research Note with Descriptions of Three Manuscripts", *Journal of Sophia Asian Studies*, 29 (2011), 251–267.
- 18 Ibid. He is estimated to have lived during the eighteenth century.
- 19 His lifetime is estimated to be between the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries; see Kawashima Midori, "Journey of Mindanao 'Ulamā' in the Late Eighteenth to Early Nineteenth Century", in *Philippine Muslim Historiography After Majul* (Manila: National Commission of the Philippines, forthcoming).
- 20 Kawashima Midori, "Maradika, the Qur'an of Bayang", in *The Qur'an and Islamic Manuscripts of Mindanao*, ed. Kawashima Midori (Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures Sophia University, 2012), 1.
- 21 This research was initiated by Kawashima Midori as part of the research grant programme of the Toyota Foundation (2008–2011), which was continued with support from the Grants-in-aid for Scientific Research of the Japan Society for Promotion of Science (GSR-JSPS; 2011–2014), led by Kawashima. Apart from myself, some other researchers, including Adam Acmad, Tirmizy Abdullah, Oman Fathurahman, Annabel Gallop and Labi Sarip Riwarung were involved in this project.
- 22 For the description of the manuscripts collected by Muhammad Amer Guro sa Masiu, such as the Qur'an and Prayer Scroll, see Labi Sarip Riwarung, "The Qur'an and Prayer Scroll of Guro sa Masiu, Taraka", in *The Qur'an and Islamic Manuscripts of Mindanao*, ed. Kawashima Midori, 29–31. See also Annabel Teh Gallop's work in the same work: "Islamic Manuscript Art of the Philippine", 77–78.
- 23 This section, which discusses the SMS collection manuscript, is a modified version of another paper of mine, "The Malay Tafsir in the Shaykh Muhammad Said's Collection of Marawi City, Lanao del Sur, the Philippines", in *The Library of an Islamic Scholar of Mindanao*, ed. Fathurahman and Kawashima (forthcoming). It is included in this chapter with permission from the Institute of Asian Cultures of Sophia University.
- 24 For the description of this manuscript see Oman Fathurahman and Kawashima Midori, eds, *The Library of an Islamic Scholar of Mindanao: The Collection of Shaykh Muhammad Said bin Imam sa Bayang at the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (AS) Library, Marawi City, Philippines: An Annotated Catalogue with Essays* (Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures, Sophia University, forthcoming).
- 25 Ervan Nurtawab, "[Tafsir Melayu Maguindanao]: Transmisi Tafsir Jalalayn di Dunia Melayu Magindanao, Laporan Akhir Penelitian Shortcourse Metode Penelitian Filologi" (Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2012), unpublished; see also Ervan Nurtawab, "The Malay Tafsir in the Shaykh Muhammad Said's Collection of Marawi City, Lanao del Sur, the Philippines", in *The Library of an Islamic Scholar of Mindanao: The Collection of Shaykh Muhammad Said bin Imam sa Bayang at the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (AS) Library, Marawi City, Philippines: An Annotated Catalogue with Essays*, ed. Fathurahman and Kawashima (Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures, Sophia University, forthcoming). Special thanks are owed to Mrs Sinab Said and family who gave me permission to access Shaykh Muhammad Sa'id's manuscript collection.

- 26 See also Ervan Nurtawab, “Tafsir Qur’an di Dunia Melayu Mindanao: Suntingan Teks atas Manuskrip Tafsir Melayu Koleksi Ahmad Bashier, Marawi City, Lanao del Sur-Filipina” (Laporan Penelitian Individual Dosen, STAIN Jurai Siwo Metro, 2013) (unpublished). I would like to thank Mahdi Bashier for giving us permission to gain access to Ahmad Bashier’s manuscript collection.
- 27 Some discussions in this section and the following section on the Sundanese appeared in my article: Ervan Nurtawab, “The Tradition of Writing Qur’anic Commentaries in Java and Sunda”, *Şuhuf*, 2/2 (2009), 163–195. Reproduced with permission from the Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur’an Badan Litbang dan Diklat, Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia.
- 28 For example, *‘Abd al-Raḥmān* changes into *Ngabdurrahman*. Some Arabic pronunciations are very difficult for Javanese. Such is also the case with Sundanese, who pronounce /p/ for the Arabic letter *fa* (ف).
- 29 T.H. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java: Volume II: Descriptive Lists of Javanese Manuscripts* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), 66.
- 30 Feener, “Notes towards the History of Qur’anic Exegesis in Southeast Asia”, 56.
- 31 Pigeaud, *Literature of Java II*, 870.
- 32 Some names are difficult to identify.
- 33 Tim Behrend and Titik Pudjiastuti, eds, *Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara Jilid 3A: Perpustakaan Fakultas Sastra UI* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1997), 449.
- 34 Nikolaus Girardet *et al.*, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Javanese Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Main Libraries of Surakarta and Yogyakarta* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1983), 79.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 344.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 345.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 548.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 871.
- 39 Tim Behrend, *Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara Jilid I: Museum Sonobudoyo* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1990), 549.
- 40 Behrend, *Katalog Museum Sonobudoyo.*, 558.
- 41 See Girardet, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 345.
- 42 Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura* (Leiden: KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, 1964), 54; see also Keijzer, “De Twee Erste Soera’s van den Javaanschen Koran”, *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-en volkenkunde*, 10/1 (1863), 314–366.
- 43 Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey*, 54.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 91.
- 45 With thanks to Nico Kaptein for informing me of this matter.
- 46 Jennifer Lindsay *et al.*, *Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara jilid 2: Kraton Yogyakarta* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1994), 208–209.
- 47 Ali Akbar, *Kaligrafi dalam Mushaf Kuno Nusantara: Telaah Naskah-naskah Koleksi Perpustakaan Nasional RI* (MA thesis, University of Indonesia, 2005), 75.
- 48 Annabel Teh Gallop and Ali Akbar, “The Art of the Qur’ān in Banten: Calligraphy and Illumination”, *Archipel*, 72 (2006), 95–156. See also Akbar, “Kaligrafi dalam Mushaf Kuno Nusantara: Telaah Naskah-naskah Koleksi Perpustakaan Nasional RI”, 75.
- 49 Gallop and Akbar, “The Art of the Qur’ān in Banten: Calligraphy and Illumination”, 135–136.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 138.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 138–139.
- 52 Ali Akbar, “Mushaf-mushaf Banten: Mencari Akar dan Pengaruh”, in *Mushaf-mushaf Kuno di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan, Departemen Agama RI, 2005), 98. With thanks to Ali Akbar for this information.

- 53 Michael Feener, "Notes towards the History of Qur'anic Exegesis", 58–59; see also Abd. Rachman, "Nawāwī al-Bantānī: an Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition", *Studia Islamika*, 3/3 (1996), 83–114.
- 54 Karel Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek*, 122.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 95.
- 56 Edi S. Ekadjati and Undang A. Darsa, *Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara, jilid 5: Jawa Barat: Koleksi Lima Lembaga* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1999), 425.
- 57 This 66-page manuscript is written in Arabic and Javanese, in Arabic and *pégon* script, using local paper made of wood from the Saeh tree. This manuscript is divided into three parts, one being *tafsīr*. The two additional parts contain prayers and Shaṭṭariya-based theology. This manuscript is kept in the Kasepuhan palace, Cirebon. See *ibid.*, 436.
- 58 This manuscript is written in Arabic and Javanese, in Arabic and *pégon* scripts. It comprises 222 pages. See *ibid.*, 519–520.
- 59 This manuscript comprises 14 pages, using European paper, with the watermark *Superfin 1897*, written in Arabic and Sundanese, in Arabic and *pégon* scripts. See *ibid.*, 586–587.
- 60 This 34-page manuscript is reportedly from Garut. See *ibid.*, 618–619.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 241.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 234.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 240.
- 64 Kyai Ahmad Sanusi was born in Cibadak, Sukabumi in 1888. In 1909, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca. He studied Islam with some '*ulamā*' there, one of whom was an Indonesian '*ālim*, Kyai Mahfudz Termas.
- 65 Gunseikanbu, *Orang Indonesia yang Terkemuka di Jawa* (Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 1986), 442–443.
- 66 Fadlil Munawwar Manshur, *Ajaran tasawuf dalam raudatul-irfan fī ma'rifatil-Qur'ān karya Kiai Haji Ahmad Sanusi: Analisis Semiotik dan Resepsi* (MA thesis, Gajah Mada University, 1992), 337.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 9–10 and 114.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 115–122.