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Scriptural Politics in a Multilingual State

**Edited by Johanna Pink**

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# I Qur'anic Arabic, *Tafsir al-Jalālayn* and Javanese

Javanese translation in an eighteenth-century Banten Qur'an

*Ervan Nurtawab and Fasjud Sukroni*

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

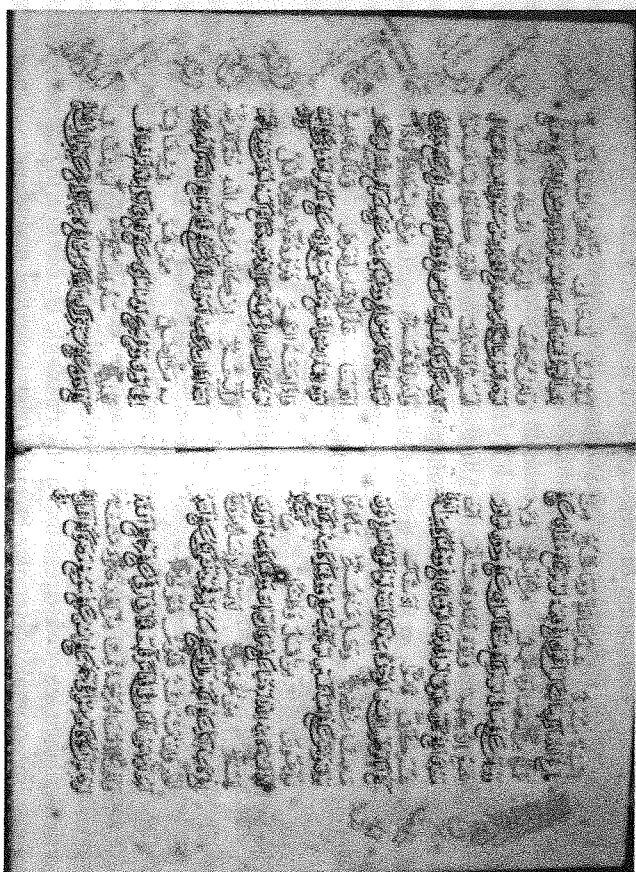
This chapter examines the Javanese interlinear translation found in the Qur'anic manuscript A.54 (henceforth: MS Qur'an A.54), which forms part of the collection of the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia (*Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia*, or PNRI), and explores the part this translation played in making the meaning of the Qur'an accessible to non-Arabic speakers in eighteenth-century Banten. The work was part of the manuscript collection of the Royal Banten Library until 1835, when the entire collection was presented to the Bataviaasch Genootschap (now the PNRI). Based on the catalogue of Friederich and van den Berg, a number of the Qur'ans and commentaries (*tafsir*) in this collection, including MS Qur'an A.54, have translations written in Javanese *pegon* (Arabic script),<sup>2</sup> while MS Qur'an A.51 and MS Qur'an W.277 contain Malay translations.<sup>3</sup> Based mainly on examination of Javanese translations of the first of 30 parts ( *juz* , pl. *ajzā*) of the Qur'an, this chapter looks at the way in which Qur'anic Arabic words and expressions were translated, interpreted and communicated to Javanese readers in eighteenth-century Banten.

Many scholars have studied the history, institutions, culture and literature of Banten society. For example, Djajadiningrat's classic 1913 study, *Critische beschouwing van de Saajarah Banten. Bijdrage ter kennisgeving van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving*,<sup>4</sup> reconstructed the history of the Banten sultanate through his analysis of the manuscripts of Banten historical chronicles, *Babad Banten*. Other scholarly works were published in the following decades, and, from the 1990s onward, there has been a resurgence in interest in Banten studies. Van Bruinessen, for example, has examined the importance of the three main religio-political institutions in the Banten sultanate (namely the *shari'a* courts, Sufi orders and Islamic educational institutions).<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, Pudjiastuti has studied surviving letters so as to analyze the ways that Bantenese rulers maintained their diplomatic ties with the outside world from the early period in the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Others have concentrated on the Islamic tradition in Banten. Yakin, for example, has scrutinized aspects of Islamic law in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Banten legal treatise *Uindang-Uindang Banten*;<sup>7</sup> Kurniawan has looked at the charismatic Sufi

figure and religious teacher. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Bantamī,<sup>8</sup> and Gallop and Akbar have analyzed the illuminations and calligraphy found in Banten Qur'anic manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> Aside from that, evidence of the connection between the Islamic tradition of Banten and other parts of the archipelago in Mindanao has been uncovered by Fathurahman, who investigated a number of Sufi texts found among the manuscript collection of a Mindanao religious scholar (*ulama*) in Marawi City. Fathurahman has argued that some Mindanao ulama had identifiable links to the eighteenth-century Banten scholar mentioned previously, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Qahhār.<sup>10</sup>

However, despite such longstanding interest in the Islamic history of the Bantenese sultanate, scholars have so far overlooked the existence of Qur'anic exegetical and translation activity. This is particularly striking given that, based on the catalogue of Friederich and Van den Berg,<sup>11</sup> Qur'an and *tafsīr* works constitute a significant number of the manuscript copies in the Royal Banten Library. Previous work by one of the authors of this chapter, Ervan Nurtawab, has examined two aspects of the Banten Qur'ans A.51 and W.277, namely Qur'anic readings and Malay translations, with specific reference to why the author(s) chose Malay as the target language for translation in both works. This article confirmed the important role played by the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, a fifteenth-century concise Arabic Qur'anic commentary, as a major reference that forms a bridge between the translation process and the source text, namely the Arabic Qur'an, thereby showing the dependence of the translator on Qur'anic commentaries, especially, in this case, the *Jalālayn*.<sup>12</sup> In our study of MS Qur'an A.54 in this chapter, we explore the relevance of the *Jalālayn* to this particular manuscript from two particular perspectives: First, to what extent does the *Jalālayn* influence the Javanese translation found in MS Qur'an A.54? And second, how does the translator negotiate those meanings that emerge from his own personal point of view and communicate them to the Javanese readers? For example, on occasions the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 decided to interpret certain words and phrases more broadly, while the *Jalālayn* intended them to have specific meanings. This chapter also has a wider relevance to the study of the broader Qur'anic exegetical tradition in the Malay-Indonesian world: its findings on the relationship between the *Jalālayn* and the interlinear translation provided in MS Qur'an A.54 strengthens scholars' understanding that the *Jalālayn* was the dominant source used in the first complete Malay commentary, the *Tarjuman al-mustafid*.<sup>13</sup>

MS Qur'an A.54 contains the *Jalālayn* text, and this text was later inserted, possibly by a user, in the gaps between the lines of the Qur'anic text, besides the Javanese translation.<sup>14</sup> This insertion is possible due to the fact that the Qur'an copyist left large spaces between the lines of the Arabic text to allow room for the Javanese interlinear translation text, which is generally longer, to run smoothly.<sup>15</sup> The existence of the inserted *Jalālayn* text confirms its importance both to the readers of the text and as a teaching aide through which the audience could understand the Qur'an. This corresponds to current-day practice, according to which Indonesian Muslims who have been educated using traditional methods of Islamic learning still nowadays usually have the *Jalālayn* in mind when studying the Qur'an.



*Beginning of juz' 25 from Banten Qur'an A.54e. PNRI (National Library of the Republic of Indonesia), pp. 1–2, image courtesy of Amabel Teh Gallop.*

MS Qur'an A.54 is large in size and is split into five volumes. Gallop and Akbar state that this is the case with many Qur'an copies from Banten and is one of the main characteristics of the Banten Qur'an tradition. The manuscript has eighteen lines per page, and these are often allocated equally: nine lines to the Qur'anic Arabic (in red) and nine to the Javanese text (in black). However, on in other instances, the number of lines allocated to the two texts on each page varies greatly, and the Arabic text is written with gaps of varying size in between to allow the Javanese translation to progress at the same rate as the source text.<sup>16</sup> Based on our study of the Qur'anic text in *juz'* 1, we find some cases where the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 wrote only a few words of Arabic text in a given line but then used up to eight lines for the Javanese translation.

The fact that MS Qur'an A.54 contains more Javanese than Arabic words leads us to propose two possibilities. First, since translation is a difficult task, and target and source languages do not always match with regard to vocabulary, in many cases the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 clearly felt he needed more words to transmit the – in his opinion – correct meaning of the Qur'anic text. For this reason, the translation process frequently required the copyist to be proficient in two disciplines: Arabic and *tafsīr*. This requirement then guides our thinking toward the second possibility, namely that the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 actually intended to set up the work to serve a dual function, both as a medium of Qur'an recitation and as a commentary.

A physical examination of this work reveals that it lacks *juz'* 15–16, which should have been included in the third volume. We are certain that *juz'* 15–16 were originally included, given that it is unlikely that Qur'an copies such as MS Qur'an A.54 would have been originally created as partial copies. For this reason, we assume that the two missing *juz'* must have been removed from the volume at some stage after its completion and that, while their location remains unknown up to the present time, they must have been available at some time in the past. On the basis of these assumptions, we suggest that the eighteenth-century Banten MS Qur'an A.54 can be considered the earliest exegetical endeavor to cover the whole Qur'an using Javanese *pegon* that has ever been found.

### The importance of Javanese in eighteenth-century Banten

When looking at texts in any multi-lingual society, an awareness of the way specific languages are chosen for specific social contexts is an essential prerequisite for understanding the position of each extant document in a given environment: any decision to choose one language over another is certainly made for good reason and often relates to the issue of why the people who were actively speaking a particular language need to read that particular work. By considering these aspects, we can, for example, determine how the Islamic textual tradition developed in a given society and why certain types of Islamic texts received social acceptance. Accordingly, in this section, we identify the ways in which languages functioned socially in eighteenth-century Banten and suggest that Malay and Javanese, both languages that were usually written using Arabic script, played an important role in maintaining social communication.

In her *Perang, dagang, persahabatan*, Pudjiastuti examined more than 50 diplomatic letters that the Bantenese kings sent from the early seventeenth to nineteenth centuries and concluded that Malay was used much more often for communication with the outside world than other languages.<sup>17</sup> As is apparent from studies by Yakin about surviving documents from the religious courts of eighteenth-century Banten, Javanese, on the other hand, was the language of court administration and, most likely, daily conversation.<sup>18</sup> Javanese was also used for pedagogical practices, judging by the surviving Islamic manuscripts from the Royal Banten Library collection. Students of Islamic higher learning during the Banten sultanate period were accustomed to using Javanese as their language of education and, up to the current day, traditional Islamic educational institutions that use *kitab* – that is, books printed in Arabic script – as a pedagogical tool in the Banten province conduct teaching in either Javanese, Sundanese or Malay/Indonesian, depending on the teacher's background.

For comparison, it is worthwhile discussing language choices for communication in Batavia during the same period, considering the fact that it is only 80 kilometers away from Banten. Robson states that Batavia, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was an international city where two European languages, Dutch and Portuguese, as well as Malay (as the *lingua franca* of Southeast Asia), served for communication among the inhabitants. Batavia was, in one sense, an

isolated city, as it was generally forbidden for local inhabitants from the highlands of West Java and, more broadly speaking, Javanese people in general to live there. Consequently, since members of these ethnicities did not live there in great numbers, neither Javanese nor Sundanese was dominant in Batavia. Instead, the Batavian inhabitants developed the Jakarta Malay language.<sup>19</sup> However, Javanese *pegon* was widely used outside Batavia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially in the Banten and Western Javanese regions, confirming the importance of this language. The Royal Banten Library owned two voluminous copies of the *Jalālayn* with Javanese translation,<sup>20</sup> a fact which can be taken as evidence of the active participation of Javanese authors in providing materials of Islamic learning to Muslim societies in Banten and West Java during the colonial period.

Banten Islamic literature owes much to the interlinear translation process, which correlates with common practice in classical Malay literature.<sup>21</sup> As mentioned, in the case of MS Qur'an A.54, the decision to provide interlinear translations affected the way the Arabic text was written: with gaps in accordance with the possible length of the translation and explanatory glosses. Furthermore, the differing number of lines allocated to the Javanese translation suggest that the copyist did not go on to write the next line of Qur'anic Arabic until he was satisfied with the translation, meaning that copying the original text and providing the interpretation was an integrated process. Compared to the mode of word-by-word translation in which the translation is positioned alongside the main text, interlinear translations allow the translator to produce a translation text that flows more smoothly.

Ever since its establishment in the sixteenth century, the Banten sultanate has had a strong connection with the two Javanese kingdoms of Demak and Cirebon.<sup>22</sup> For this reason, our study of the Javanese *pegon* found in MS Qur'an A.54 is also based on the assumption that, linguistically speaking, there is a genealogical link between the Banten Javanese-speaking community and those in Demak and Cirebon. How Javanese *pegon* was used for the study of the Qur'an and what role some popular Arabic commentaries, especially the *Jalālayn*, played in making the meaning of the Qur'anic text accessible to local audiences in Southeast Asia will be discussed in the next sections.

### Qur'anic Arabic, *Tafsir al-Jalalayn* and Javanese

There has previously been a tendency among scholars to identify MS Qur'an A.54 as simply a copy of the Qur'an.<sup>23</sup> However, we would like to emphasize its function as a Qur'anic commentary, given that on many pages the interlinear Javanese translation occupies more space than the original Qur'anic Arabic. It is very clear that in the case of this particular manuscript, the copyist transcribed both the Qur'anic text and the accompanying translation. The fact that the translation and glosses take up more space than the Qur'anic text allows us to see the intentions of the copyist in writing the Qur'an with a Javanese translation: whether he just copied the Qur'an and then added the translation later or whether at the outset he actually intended to provide renderings and glosses. This resembles what we see in Malay Qur'anic commentaries such as *Tarjuman al-mustafid*, the eighteenth-century



Banten Qur'an manuscripts A.51 and W.277 or the Malay *tafsir* kept in the library of a Mindanao religious scholar in Marawi City, possibly from the nineteenth century, that has been called the *SMS Malay Tafsir*.<sup>24</sup>

Translation was a vital feature of the Islamic textual tradition in Banten, and the Qur'an and the *Jalālayn* were among the Arabic texts that received the most attention from Muslim authors and translators. The significant number of voluminous copies of these two works in the Royal Banten Library confirms that the Bantenese rulers supported these translation projects, not least by ensuring a constant supply of European paper in large quantities. Van Bruinessen has suggested that a central figure of Bantenese Muslim society in the late eighteenth century, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Qahhār, might be responsible for the existence of a number of Islamic works in both Arabic and Javanese.<sup>25</sup> Although the identity of the person who copied MS Qur'an A.54 is unknown, the project of copying this Qur'an might therefore stem from one of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Qahhār's initiatives, which were approved by the rulers on the basis that they served Islamic pedagogical purposes.

When talking about Indonesian translations of the Qur'an, it is worthwhile to consider Ronit Ricci's typology of the three paradigms in translation – holistic, sentence-by-sentence and interlinear – that have become characteristic of the Islamic textual tradition in the Malay-Indonesian world. Ricci suggests that these three paradigms are not mutually exclusive, so that one type of translation can overlap with another, and that this is especially the case with sentence-by-sentence and interlinear translation.<sup>26</sup> Referring to this typology, we identify the translation in MS Qur'an A.54 as belonging to the category of translation at sentence level, where the Arabic text is placed on top and the translation in lines underneath. In terms of classifying the translation in MS Qur'an A.54, Ricci's categorization of Southeast Asian translations as being either [1] accurately translated, [2] involving significant change or [3] omitted completely is also relevant.<sup>27</sup> At the outset of this chapter, we stated that we are certain that the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 must have had the *Jalālayn* to hand during the translation process. Ricci's typology is therefore useful in helping to measure the role of the *Jalālayn* in building a bridge to the meaning of the Qur'anic text for Javanese readers.

### Translations of *Sūrat al-Fāṭiha*

When looking at the translation of the Qur'an provided in MS Qur'an A.54, it is important to compare it to translations provided in other Malay and Javanese translations to see the degree of uniformity in translation. In looking at patterns in the translation of this *sūra*, we have therefore compared examples of Javanese translations produced up to the nineteenth century with that provided in MS Qur'an A.54. In so doing, we can benefit from MSS 12, IS.1 and W.330 (previously identified as possible candidates for comparison by Nurtawab),<sup>28</sup> all of which probably date back to the nineteenth century. The first two of these manuscripts (12 and IS.1) are from Western Java, and the latter (W.330) is part of the collection of the Yogyakarta Royal Court.

As previously stated, MS Qur'an A.54 refers to the *Jalālayn* more than any other work of *tafsir*. However, we detected a discrepancy between the translation of *Sūrat al-Fāṭiha* found in all of the manuscripts mentioned in the previous paragraph, including MS Qur'an A.54, and the interpretation given in the *Jalālayn*. This pattern tells us that *Sūrat al-Fāṭiha* was understood in the same way among Southeast Asian Muslims but that this understanding cannot be attributed to the *Jalālayn*. Our assumption is that the Southeast Asian translators working on these manuscripts did not refer to the *Jalālayn* in translating this *sūra* because in the *Jalālayn*, commentary on *Sūrat al-Fāṭiha* is placed at the end, which makes it quite easy to overlook.<sup>29</sup> In connection to this, the translators of these works seemed to be more or less in agreement about the interpretations that should, or should not, be included in their translations. We therefore suggest that another possible reason similar patterns of translation are present is that Muslims in Southeast Asia were already familiar with the meaning of this *sūra*, and for this reason, there was no need for the translator to give additional explanations taken from the *Jalālayn* or other sources, with the exception of Q 1:3, as will be elaborated upon in the following.

As presented in Table 1.1, Q 1:1 was mostly simply provided in Arabic without an accompanying translation. This resembles the format of the printed edition of the *Jalālayn* we used for the purpose of this chapter, in which this verse (Q 1:1) is treated as the chapter heading without any accompanying exegesis. In this connection, it is also useful to consider the explanation found in the chapter heading of the printed *Jalālayn*, which reads as follows:

*Makkiyya sab' ayāt bi'l-bis-millāh in kānat minhā, wa-al-sābi'a sūra alladhīna ilā ākhirihā wa-in lan takun minhā fa'l-sābi'a ghayr al-maghrib ilā ākhirihā. . . .*<sup>30</sup>

Seven Meccan verses, including the [verse] *bis-millāh*, if it is included in it [the *sūra*], with the seventh [verse] being *sūra al-ladhīna* until its end. And if [the] *bis-millāh* is excluded, then the seventh [verse] is *ghayr al-maghrib* until its end. . . .)

As can be seen in Table 1.1, we find a tendency among the eighteenth- to nineteenth-century Javanese translators to treat Q 1:1 as the *sūra* heading, without translation, and the verse is usually placed in the ornamental frame that surrounds the Arabic text or copied with decorative calligraphy.

As can also be seen in Table 1.1, the translation of the following verse, Q 1:2, is presented without the additional information that appears in the *Jalālayn*, which glosses this verse as follows:

Praise be to God, is a predicate of a nominal clause, the content of which is intended to extol God [by stating that]: He possesses the praise of all creatures, or that He [alone] deserves their praise. God is a proper noun for the One truly worthy of worship; Lord of all Worlds; that is, [He is] the One Who owns all of creation: humans, jinn, angels, animals and others as well, each of which may be referred to as a "world"; one says "the world of men", or "world of the jinn"

Table 1.1 Javanese translations of *Surat al-Fatihah*

<i>Verse A.54</i>	<i>IS 1</i>	<i>M.330</i>	<i>I2</i>
Q 1:1 [No translation provided]	[No translation provided]	Angawiti ingsum kelawan ngalap berkah asmane Allah kang Murah ing dunia kang asih ing akhirat	[No translation provided]
Q 1:2 Urawi sakebhe puji iku kaduwe ing Allah pangeran ing 'alam kabeh	Urawi sakehe puji kaduwe pangerane ngalam kabeh	Urawi sakehe puji iku kaduwe Allah kang manggerane ngalan kabeh	Urawi sakehe puji iku ing Allah pangerane ing alam kabeh
Q 1:3 Kang murah ing dunya kang asih ing akhirat	Kang murah ing dunia kang asih ing akhirat	Kang murah ing dunia kang asih ing akhirat	Kang murah ing dunia kang asih ing akhirat
Q 1:4 Ratu ingdina kiamat	Kang dadi ratu ing dina wekasan	Kang ngeratoni ing dinane kiamat	Kang angratoni ing dina kiamat
Q 1:5 Ing tuan uga amba anembah lan ing tuan uga amba aneda tulating	Datang ing tuan anembah kawula lan datang ing tuan neda pitulung kawula	Ing tuan nembah kula lan ing tuan nuwun tulating kula	Ing tuan amba anemba lan ing tuan amba aneda tulating tuan aneda tulating tuan
Q 1:6 Tuan tuduhana amba ing dedalan kang bener	Anuduhna tuan ing kula ing dadalan kang bener	Mugi nuduhna tuan ing kula ing dalan kang bener	Tuduhken amba ing dadalan kang bener
Q 1:7 Dedalan kang tuhan sungi nikmat ingatase wongku kabeh liyan wong kang tuhan bendoni ingatase wongku lan liyan wong kang sasar iku.	Kaduwe dedalane wong kang tuhan paring nikmat ingatase wongku kabeh liyane dedalane wong kang tuhan bendoni ingatase wong iku kabeh lan liyane dedalane wong kang tuhan sasaraken	Dalane wong akhe kang paring nikmat tuhan ingatase wong akhe dina bendoni ingatase wong akhe lan liyane wong kang pada sasar	Ing dadalane sakehe wong kang tuhan paring nikmat ingatase wong iku kabeh liyane dadalane sakehe kang tuhan bendoni ingatase wong iku kabeh liyane dadalane sakehe wong kang tuhan sasaraken kabeh

etc. This plural form with the *yā* and the *nām* (sc. 'ālamīn) is used to denote, predominantly, cognizant beings (*ūla ʿilm*). The expression [ 'ālamīn] relates to [the term] "sign" ('*alāma*), since it is an indication of the One that created it.<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, the translation of Q 1:3 showcases an interesting fact, namely, that all of the listed Javanese translations contain a feature that is absent in the *Jalālayn*'s

commentary on this verse, which reads as follows: *al-Rahmān al-rahīm: ay dhī al-rahma wa-hiya irādāt al-khayr li-dhīhi* ("The Compassionate, the Merciful: that is to say, the One who possesses 'mercy', which means to want what is good for those who deserve it"). In the Javanese translations, glosses for two of God's attributes are attached: *al-rahmān* is rendered as *kang murah ing dunya* ("the Compassionate in the earthly life"), and *al-rahīm* is translated as *kang asih ing akherat* ("the Merciful in the hereafter"). Since these additions are absent from the interpretation of the verse given in the *Jalālayn*, we therefore need to look to other Arabic commentaries that were popular in Banten and in Southeast Asia in general during that period, namely *Tafsiṛ al-Baghawī*, *Tafsiṛ al-Khazīn* and *Tafsiṛ al-Bayḍawī*. It appears most likely that the explanation found in the Javanese translations was taken from *Tafsiṛ al-Bayḍawī*,<sup>32</sup> which contains a similar added explanatory phrase that reads as follows: *Qūla yā rahmān al-dunyā li-amnahū yu ammu al-mu min wa-l-kāfir wa-rahīm al-ākhirā li-amnahū yukhassu al-mu min* ("It is said, 'the Compassionate in the earthly life' because it is generally given to the believer and the unbeliever, and 'the Merciful in the hereafter' because this is restricted to the believer"). In addition to occurring in the Javanese translations studied here, we can find the same elements in two Malay translations of the Qur'an, *Tarjuman* and *SMS Malay Tafsiṛ*, both of which include similar glosses for the words *al-rahmān* and *al-rahīm*. It is also worth noting that while this pattern seems to have been a common feature among both Malay and Javanese Qur'an translations from pre-modern Indonesia, we no longer find it in modern translations such as those by Mahmud Yunus (d. 1982) and Hasby Ash-Shiddiqy (d. 1975) or in the state translation, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya*. The reason this pattern has changed in modern Indonesian Qur'an translation warrants further research.

Another interesting feature of the Javanese translations of the *Fatihah* is the way that Q 1:4 is interpreted. As indicated in Table 1.1, the Javanese translator usually translates the word *mālik* (or *malik* based on different systems of Qur'anic readings) with *ratu*, which has slightly different meanings in Malay/Indonesian and Javanese. The *Tarjuman al-mustafid*, a complete Malay commentary from late seventeenth-century Aceh, uses the word *raja* (king) to translate *mālik* in this verse.<sup>33</sup> However, in Javanese, the word *ratu* refers to "the one who reigns", which can be either a king or a queen.<sup>34</sup> In Javanese culture, women are traditionally seen as holding the source of power (*kesekten* or *sakti*), both as human and as spiritual beings, a concept that has been developed in both Hindu and Islamic metaphysics in the region.<sup>35</sup> In Javanese cosmology the existence of a *ratu* in the visible world, such as a king at court, in parallel with one in the unseen one (*ratu kidul*), creates balance in life. We therefore suggest that the choice of the word *ratu* to translate the Arabic word *malik* in Q 1:3 might indicate an inclusion of the Javanese concept of women as the source of magical power.

The translation of Q 1:6 and 7 in MS Qur'an A.54 and other Javanese translations of the Qur'an listed previously again follows the same pattern, a pattern that does not conform to that found in the *Jalālayn* in all ways. One example of this is in the way they translate the words *al-maghrib* and *al-qāllin* in Q 1:7, which they give more generally as *wong kang tuhan bendoni* ("the person The Lord is angry with") and *wong kang sasar iku* ("those who are astray"), respectively. In contrast to the



Javanese translations, two Malay works (the *Tarjuman* and the *SMS Malay Tafsir*) give glosses that correspond to those in the *Jalālayn* and state that these words refer to the Jews and the Christians. Meanwhile, we do not find a single Javanese translation in Table 1.1 that mentions religious groups in their glosses of either word.

### Broadening the scope

In this section, we discuss a strong tendency by the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 to disagree with the *Jalālayn* in the translation of certain Qur'anic phrases or words. Often, the copyist seems to have chosen words that include a broader scope of meanings in his translations in places where the *Jalālayn* provides more specific meanings. Looking at the copyist's strategies in translation, we have identified a device utilized to widen the scope, namely the use of the expressions *sakehe* ("all") and *wong iku kabeh* ("all the people"), which sometimes lead to disagreement with the *Jalālayn*. While the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 used these expressions to widen the meaning of certain words in order to expand their message to a more general level of applicability, the *Jalālayn* has strong tendencies to limit the meaning of words to specific groups of people or events in the prophet's lifetime in seventh-century Arabia. One clear example of this can be seen in the way that the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 translated the plural word *al-nās* ("humans") and the clause *alladhina kafarū* ("those who did not believe/were unbelievers"), as can be seen in their translation of Q 2:6. In the *Jalālayn*, we find this verse explained thus: *Ima lladhina kafarū, ka-Abi Jahal wa-Abi Lahab wa-nahwihinā* ("As for the disbelievers, the likes of Abū Jahl, Abū Lahab and such"). Based on this gloss, it is clear that the *Jalālayn* intended to connect this verse to the context of seventh-century Arabia, identifying the unbelievers as specific opponents of the prophet such as Abū Jahal, Abū Lahab and the like. The copyist of MS Qur'an A.54, however, widened the scope of this phrase to include all unbelievers by presenting the translation as follows: *Satuhane sakehe kang kafir wong iku kabeh pada ingatase wong iku kabeh* ("As for all those who reject, they are the same among all the people"). Here the term *sakehe* and the phrase *wong iku kabeh*, are used to broaden the applicability of the phrase.

Another example can be found in the translation of Q 2:13. The verse and its gloss in the *Jalālayn* are as follows: *Ma-idhā qīla lahum āminū kamā āmana al-nās, aḥyāb al-nabī* ("When it is said to them, 'Believe as the people believe', that is, as the Companions of the Prophet [believe]"). The copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 translated the phrase as follows: *Lan tatkala ing ucapken wong iku kabeh percayaha sira kabeh kaya kang percaya sakehe memusa* ("And when it was said to all the people: Believe all the people as all humans believe"). Again, the words *sakehe* and *wong iku kabeh* are utilized to convey a more general meaning than the one found in the *Jalālayn*, which interprets the word *al-nās* as referring only to the companions of the prophet.

A final example of this "generalizing" tendency can be seen in the way that the word *al-nās* is rendered in the translation of Q 2:21 (*yā ayyuhā l-nās u'budū rabbakum alladhī khalaqakum*) provided in MS Qur'an A.54, which reads as follows: *Hai sakehe memusa anembaha sira kabeh ing pengeranira kabeh kang, endadakeken*

*ing ing sira kabeh* ("O ye all humans, worship all of you your God who created all of you"). As with the previous example given here of the translation of *al-nās*, the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 utilized the word *sakehe* to give this verse a general meaning. Meanwhile, the *Jalālayn* attached a gloss that clearly identifies the addressees as the seventh-century Meccans.

### Between Qur'anic Arabic and Javanese: ways to bridge the gap

MS Qur'an A.54 also uses various strategies that are meant to help Javanese readers understand the source text. In the Javanese textual tradition, Ricci has identified one such device: *tegese* or *tegesipun* (noun: meaning), which is usually used by Javanese authors to connect quotations in the source text to their Javanese translations, comparable to *artinya* in Malay. Ricci suggests that use of the word *tegese* appears to be a very common device in Islamic Javanese texts. It enables quoted chunks of the Arabic text to be inserted into the Javanese commentary while making it clear to the readers that the Arabic text is the source text, as opposed to a loan word.<sup>36</sup> Our examination of selected translations found in MS Qur'an A.54 shows that devices such as *tegese* function as an opening word to which the translator can add glosses taken from sources like the *Jalālayn* or from his own store of knowledge. These explanations can be specific names, descriptions of events or concepts of belief, as we will discuss later. Aside from the word *tegese*, we also identified some other devices used in MS Qur'an A.54 that fulfill the same function: *yakni* (a Malay word derived from the Arabic *ya'ni*) and *ya'itu* (that is), both words having the same meaning as the word *tegese*.

The word *tegese* or *tegesipun* is thus commonly used by the author as a bridge to an explanation placed directly after the words that follow it. Once the explanation has been presented, the sentence usually ends with a full stop. Based on our analysis of selected parts of the translation in MS Qur'an A.54, we assume that this device was used whenever the copyist intended to give a detailed explanation consisting of three words or more. However, in a few cases this device is used to give a straightforward explanation in one or two words only. We suggest that the word *tegese* seems to function as an introductory word for presenting additional explanations on the running translation text that functions to keep the readers' attention on the source text. It allows the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 to facilitate the process of understanding the meaning of the Qur'an for Javanese readers whose grasp of Arabic is limited. The use of this device in MS Qur'an A.54 therefore signifies the importance of those in charge of crafting the text being present "inside the text" in some sections, playing the role of commentator. In this connection, a few examples where this device is used to present a quick explanation can be found, as in the translation of Q 2:59: *maka amurunaken isun ingatasing sakehing wong kang anyaya sika tegese tha'un saking langit* ("So we sent down on all those who transgressed a punishment, that is a plague, from the skies"). Here, the running translation is interrupted by the copyist's intention to explain what *siksa* means, and the word *tegese* signifies a moment when the interpretative presence of the translator becomes more obvious inside

the translation. We also find this device being used in the translation of Qur'anic passages that contain stories, where the flow of the story seems to be interrupted because of the translator's intention to present a quick explanation. An example of this is can be found in the presentation of the story of Pharaoh and the Prophet Moses in the Q.2:49, where the translator gives the following: *Lan takala anyelamataken isu ing sirra kabeh tegese ing bapaitra kabeh saking ketharaga Fir'aun* ("and when I saved all of you, that is all of your ancestors, from the people of the Pharaoh"). Here, the flow of the Qur'anic story is paused when the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 inserts the word *tegese* to explain exactly who is intended by the reference to *sirra kabeh* (all of you).

In addition to the word *tegese*, there is another device, *iya iku*, that is commonly found in the Javanese translation in MS Qur'an A.54. This word equals *qiy* in Arabic (English: "namely" or "that is") and performs a similar function to the word *tegese*. In MS Qur'an A.54, *iya iku* seems to be commonly used in order to present a straightforward or instant explanation in the running translation. In Table 1.2, we attach one example of the use of the device *iya iku* in the running translation of Q.2:4.

As indicated in Table 1.2, using the word *iya iku* often allows the translator to add details such as the names of things. The translation of Q.2:4 also contains the word *tegese*, which leads us to identify the different functions of both devices. In this case, the word *tegese* implies the intention of the copyist to present an explanatory statement taken from another source or based on his point of view whereas *iya iku* is used for one- or two-word clarifications. In some cases, we also find *iya iku* becoming subordinate to a gloss beginning with *tegese*. This is the case with the translation of Q.2:3 (Table 1.3) where the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 seems to have provided a gloss taken from the *Jalālayn*.

Table 1.2 Translation of Q.2:4

Qur'anic text	wa'ladhina yu'minuna bi-mā unzila ilayka wa-mā unzila min qablika wa-bi'l-akhirati hum yu'minun
<i>Jalālayn</i> in English	And those who believe in what has been revealed to you, namely, the Qur'an, and what was revealed before you, that is, the Torah, the Gospel and other [scriptures]; and of the Hereafter, they are certain, that is, they know [it is real]
A.54	Lan wong kang angestokaken kabeh iku ing kang tinurunaken marang sirra ya Muhammad iya iku Qur'an, lan kang tinurunaken saking sedurungna ya Muhammad iya iku kitab Tawrah lan Injil lan liyan saking karone lan ing akherat wong iku kabeh ing saketing hal akherat iku sakabehe sebenere
Translation	And those who believe all of what has been revealed to you, Muhammad, that is the Qur'an, and what has been revealed before you, Muhammad, that is the Torah and the Gospel, and other than both [of these], and the hereafter, all the people know all of those, that is all of those people know about everything in the hereafter, all of them correctly.

Table 1.3 Translation of Q.2:3

Qur'anic text	alladhina yu'minuna bi'l-ghaybi wa-yuqimuna l-salāta wa-minimā razaqñahum yu'fiqūna
<i>Jalālayn</i> in English	Those who believe in, that is, who accept the truth of, the Unseen, what is hidden from them of the Resurrection, Paradise and the Fire; and maintain the prayer, that is to say, who perform it giving it its proper due; and of what We have provided them, that is, of what we have bestowed upon them, expend, in obedience to God.
Javanese	Wong kang angestokaken kabeh iku, ing kang ghaib-ghaib lan kang anjenengaken kabeh iku ing shalat lan saking kang sun rejekikaken ing kabeh iku, amfakaken kabeh iku ing angbekti ing Allah tegese wong kang awedi ing Allah iku iya iku wong kang apercaya ingkang ghaib kayak tangsi saking kubur lan apercaya ing sawarga lan naraka lan anjenengaken shalat lan amalan dakaken ing barang kang sinungan dening Allah ing dalem arah kebecikan
Translation	Those who believe all of those things, the unseen, and all who are steadfast in prayer and from what I have provided for all of them, all of the people who spend on behalf of God, that is, those who fear God, are those who believe in the unseen [things] such as resurrection from death, and believe in the heavens and the hells and are steadfast in prayer, and spend what has been given by God in the pursuit of virtue.

Last but not least, we were able to identify another device, *yakni*, which is a loanword that is used in Malay but originates from Arabic. The use of this word in a Javanese text is rather uncommon, as it can be replaced entirely by the previously mentioned Javanese expressions, *tegese* and *iya iku*. This implies that the copyist may have lapsed into Arabic while translating the Qur'an into Javanese. *Yakni* (ar. *ya'nī*, "that is") is found in the translation of Q.2:27: *Lan engrusak wongika kabeh ing dalem bumi yakni kelawan agawe makryat lan lembat saking agawe iman* ("and all the people who do mischief on earth, that is, wrongdoings and being slow to believe"). The insertion of this word is one indicator that the copyist had a strong grasp of Arabic and that the project was conducted by a person well trained in Islamic studies and Arabic who occupied a high position in the Banten sultanate.

### Glosses in the translation of the Qur'an

There are numerous glosses inserted into the translation in MS Qur'an A.54, especially in sections dealing with the presentation of stories found in the Qur'an. Our examination of selected verses in *juṣ* 1 reveals that the glosses in MS Qur'an A.54 were mainly taken from the *Jalālayn*, showing that the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 always had this work with him while working on the project. We can easily identify glosses that the copyist took from the *Jalālayn* and in a few cases from other sources. Here, we provide two examples of the ways in which the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 presents a more detailed story than the Qur'anic text does.

The first example is the copyists' translation of Q.2:30, which deals with the creation of humankind and God's intention to appoint man as His vicegerent on Earth (*Khalīfati-l-ard*). The *Jalālayn* gives a rather detailed explanation of the creatures that previously occupied the earth but did not survive due to the bloody conflicts that broke out among them (*wa-yasfika 'l-dimā'*). What is of interest to us here is the way that the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 presented additional explanations in the translation of this verse (Q.2:30), one of them being an addition that is clearly taken from the *Jalālayn* and which explains the phrase *wa-yasfika 'l-dimā'* as follows: *yurriqihā bi-l-qal ka-mā fa'ala banū l-jān wa-kānū fihā fa-lammā afsadū arsalā Allāh 'alayhim al-malā'ika fa-tardāhum tila l-jazā'ir wa'l-jibāl* ("and shed blood, spilling it through killing, just as the progeny of the jinn did, for they used to inhabit it, but when they became corrupted God sent down the angels against them and they were driven away to islands and into the mountains").

In this context, it is worth mentioning an explanation added by the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 to the statement about predecessors of humankind that the *Jalālayn* calls "the progeny of the jinn" (*banū al-jānn*). The copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 terms them *jan manījan* in Javanese, which led us to try and trace the use of this word among Javanese speakers who have a background in studying the Javanese Islamic tradition. Thanks to a senior colleague who is a native speaker of Cirebon-Javanese and has in-depth experience of the learning tradition, we learned that in Cirebon, people usually used the expression *jan manījan* to identify the jinn who lived before the lifetime of the first created human, that is, the ancestors of the jinn. He said that it was common to associate those who misbehaved with the descendants of the jinn. However, this usage is, he says, uncommon today, such that the use of this word in certain socio-linguistic contexts warrants further investigation.

The second example of the insertion of a gloss into MS Qur'an A.54 can be found in the translation of Q.2:65, which tells the story of the people of Aylā/Eliat. As with previous examples, the *Jalālayn* text in English is included in Table 1.4, so as to allow comparison with the Javanese translation of this verse found in MS Qur'an A.54.

It is clear that in translating this verse the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 referred to the *Jalālayn*. He nevertheless added further information, stating that this happened in the lifetime of the prophet Dāwūd. This information is absent from the *Jalālayn* but is mentioned in *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*.

### Concluding remarks

In this chapter, we have examined patterns of Javanese translation in the eighteenth-century Banten MS Qur'an A.54. This work was used to highlight the way the Qur'an had been translated into Javanese in its entirety as early as the eighteenth century, assuming that the lost two *juz*' (*juz*' 15 and 16) must have still been present in the document when it was in use in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The first conclusion we can reach is that patterns and strategies of

Table 1.4 Translation of Q.2:65

Qur'anic text	wa-laqad 'alimtumū lladhina 'adaw minkum fī abī-i-qulnā lahun kunū qiradatan khāsi' in
<i>Jalālayn</i> in English	And verily (wa-la-qad: the lām is for oaths) you know that there were those among you who transgressed, violated, the Sabbath, by fishing, when We had forbidden you to do so – these were the inhabitants of Eliat – and We said to them, "Be apes, despised!", rejected, and they became so: they died three days later.
A.54	Lan demi Allah yekti setuhune wus anggewateri sira kabeh ing sakehe kang angliwat had saking sira kabeh ing dina sabtu kelawan angalap iwak lan setuhune wus anyegah isun ing wongku kabeh saking angalap iwak lan wongku kabeh wong kang anduweni Negeri Aylah ing dalen zamarane Nabi Dawud 'alayhis salam maka angucap isun ing wong iku kabeh dadiya sira kabeh monyet kang adoh saking rahmat Allah lan mati wongku kabeh sawusing telung dina.
Translation	And by God [He] truly knows all of you, to all of those who transgressed from all of you in the day of Sabbath by fishing, and truly I had forbidden all of them to fish, and all of them who inhabited the country of Ayla in the period of the prophet David, peace be upon him. Then, I said to all of them, "Be all of you apes that are far from God's Mercy." And all of them died three days later.

translation that were examined in this chapter reveal its dependence on the *Jalālayn* as a main reference, confirming that Qur'anic exegetical activities in Javanese in the early phase followed trends that occurred in Qur'anic exegetical activities elsewhere in the Malay-Indonesian world. The interlinear Javanese translation found in MS Qur'an A.54 from the eighteenth-century Banten shows close connections to the *Jalālayn* and confirms the pre-eminent influence of this work in Islamic circles from the compilation of the *Tarjuman* in late seventeenth-century Aceh onwards, especially among those who spoke in Malay and Javanese. However, despite its dominant role as the main reference for MS Qur'an A.54, we are still able to identify a few additional explanations taken from other Arabic commentaries, as elaborated upon previously.

By looking at MS Qur'an A.54 more closely, we also find that some phrases indicate the presence of meanings produced by the copyist inserting his own points of view rather than just transmitting them from the *Jalālayn* to the Javanese readers. Furthermore, the copyist seems to have also negotiated between the commentaries on certain Qur'anic passages as it appears in the *Jalālayn* and the meaning that he wanted to represent in his translation. In this regard, we find that the copyist of MS Qur'an A.54 presented certain words or phrases as conveying a broader meaning than the *Jalālayn*, rather than linking them to specific circumstances as the *Jalālayn* does.

At the outset, we highlighted the role of Javanese as a medium of communication and of public services, on the basis of studies of extant documents from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Banten religious courts. Given this, it seems likely that MS Qur'an A.54 was produced to target a wide audience that used Javanese as a language for daily conversation. This distinguishes MS Qur'an A.54 from other Banten Qur'ans (that is, A. 51 and W.277) which contain Malay interlinear translations. On the basis of previous work by Nurtawab, we can posit that the latter two Qur'ans were possibly used by those who came from other parts of the archipelago and did not speak Javanese.<sup>37</sup>

It is also worthwhile to highlight the ways in which Qur'anic translations from Banten were written using different techniques adopted from earlier translations such as the *Tarjuman* of seventeenth-century Aceh and the *SMS Malay Tafsiir* of Mindanao, which allowed the copyist to allocate more Javanese words to the translation of the Qur'anic texts, which were written in gaps between the Arabic verses. In many parts of MS Qur'an A.54, we find that the copyist allocated more lines to their translation than to the Qur'anic text, and this indicates that this work might be the result of a project where the copyist set out to provide Javanese readers with a comprehensive translation of the Qur'an, including explanatory comments. The examination of the translations found in the Qur'an manuscript should be interpreted as the authors' or translators' attempts at spreading the meaning of the Qur'anic text to segments of their societies who did not have knowledge of Arabic. This can in turn guide us to better understand the vibrant exegetical tradition of the time and the mechanisms through which the Qur'an coexisted with other cultural understandings and interpretations in a non-Arabic Muslim public sphere.

In a broader context, the Banten Qur'an project inevitably required a constant, and plentiful, supply of paper and ink. As these were expensive and difficult to find prior to the mass use of the printing press in modern Indonesia, those who gained access to these commodities must have had a privileged social status in society. This lack of access to written materials led to the development of a strong oral tradition in Islamic intellectual transmission, and this was how the majority of believers accessed the holy text. For this reason, the examination of Qur'an manuscripts and associated aspects such as, for example, exegetical activities, Qur'anic readings, calligraphy and illuminations, greatly contribute to understanding the ways in which religious texts received social acceptance in the past, because the written texts we have can be read as expressing ideas and concepts that had become established through oral culture. Once they were socially accepted and regularly used in daily life, certain forms of ideology were then constructed and reproduced in written texts. In this context, the use of the *Jalalayan* as a main reference for the purpose of pedagogy and exegetical activity up to the present day confirms the social acceptability of this work in the Indonesian Islamic sphere.

## Notes

1 It is hard to imagine how we would have been able to complete this chapter without support from many colleagues. Here, we specifically express grateful thanks to Yasin

- 1 Isma'il, Ali Akbar, Salfah Rahmawati, R. Adi Deswijaya and Ahmad Thobari for fruitful discussions on the oral Islamic tradition in Cirebon, Banten Qur'an manuscripts, the concept of power in Javanese literature, aspects of Javanese grammar and traditional Islamic learning in Tangerang of Banten Province, respectively. Thanks are also due to Umi Hani for her assistance in identifying difficult Javanese words and to the staff of the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia for their assistance. We are also grateful to Professor Johanna Pink for her comments and suggestions. However, we take responsibility for all shortcomings and weaknesses that might be found in this chapter.
- 2 R. Friederich and L. W. C. van den Berg, *Codicum arabicorum in bibliotheca societatis artium et scientiarum quae Bataviae floret asservatorum Catalogum* (Batavia: Brunning et Wijt, 1873), 63–71. *Pegon* refers to a modified Arabic script used to write in Javanese – and in Sundanese and Madurese as well – that has been commonly used in Java and Madura, especially in the Islamic educational *pesantren* milieu, as opposed to the Javanese script that was generally used in the milieu of the Javanese courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.
- 3 Studies on these Qur'ans with Malay interlinear translations can be found in the author's previous work. See Erwan Nurtawab, "Qur'anic Readings and Malay Translations in Eighteenth-Century Banten Qur'ans A.51 and W.277", *Indonesia and the Malay World* 48, no. 141 (2020), 169–189.
- 4 Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1913. This publication was based on his doctoral dissertation at the Leiden University in 1913. For the purpose of study, we used its translation version in Indonesian entitled *Terjemahan Kritis tentang Sejarah Banten: Sunbangan bagi Pengenalannya Sifat-Sifat Peruluhan Sejarah Jawa* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1983).
- 5 Martin van Bruinessen, "Shari'a Court, tarekat and pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate", *Archipel* 50 (1995), 165–199.
- 6 Titik Pujiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan. Surat-surat Sultan Banten* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007).
- 7 Ayang Utirza Yakin, "The Register of the *qāḍī* Court 'Kyahi Peqih Naimuddin' of the Sultanate of Banten, 1754–1756 CE", *Studia Islamika* 22, no. 3 (2015), 443–486; and "Undhang-Undhang Banten: A Seventeenth- to Eighteenth-Century Legal Compilation from the *qāḍī* Court of the Sultanate of Banten", *Indonesia and the Malay World* 44, no. 130 (2016), 365–388.
- 8 Ade Fakhri Kurniawan, *The Mystical Thought of 'Abd Allah bin 'Abd al-Qahhar al-Bantani: An Analysis of the Mashahid al-nasik fi magamat al-salik* (MA thesis, Jakarta: Paramadina University, 2011).
- 9 Annabel Teh Gallop and Ali Akbar, "The Art of the Qur'an in Banten: Calligraphy and illumination", *Archipel* 72 (2006), 95–156.
- 10 Oman Fathurahman, "A New Light on the Sufi Network of Mindanao (Philippines)", *Indonesia and the Malay World* 47, no. 137 (2019), 108–124.
- 11 Friederich and van den Berg, *Codicum arabicorum*, 63–71.
- 12 Nurtawab, "Qur'anic Readings and Malay Translations", 169–189.
- 13 The first evidence of this *tafsiir* being in use dates to late seventeenth-century Aceh. See Peter G. Riddell, *'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkilil's Tarjuman al-Mustafid: A Critical Study of His Treatment of juz '16* (PhD thesis, Canberra: Australian National University, 1984).
- 14 Nurtawab, "Qur'anic Readings and Malay Translations", 9.
- 15 For the description of the gaps, see Gallop and Akbar, "The Art of the Qur'an in Banten", 138.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 Pujiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan*, 215–217; see also Stuart Robson, *Working Paper 118: From Malay to Indonesian: The Genesis of a National Language* (Clayton: Monash University Press, 2002), 20.
- 18 Yakin, "The Register of the *qāḍī* Court", 443–486; and "Undhang-Undhang Banten", 365–388.



- 19 Robson, *From Malay to Indonesian*, 19–20.
- 20 Friederich and van den Berg, *Codicum arabicorum*, 66–68.
- 21 Robson, *From Malay to Indonesian*, 13.
- 22 Hoesein Djajadininggar, *Trijutan Kritis tentang Sajarah Banten: Sumbangan bagi Pengenaln Sifat-Sifat Penulisn Sejarah Jawa* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1983).
- 23 Friederich and van den Berg, *Codicum arabicorum*, 64–65; Gallop and Akbar, “The Art of the Qur’ān in Banten”, 138.
- 24 Erwan Nurtawab, “Qur’ānic Translations in Malay, Javanese and Sundanese: A Commentary or Substitution?”, in *The Qur’ān in the Malay-Indonesian World: Context and Interpretation*, eds. Majid Daneshgar, Peter Riddell, and Andrew Rippin (London: Routledge, 2016), 39–57; and “The Malay *tafsīr* in the Sheikh Muhammad Said Collection in Marawi City, Lanao del Sur, Philippines”, in *The Library of an Islamic Scholar of Mindanao: The Collection of Sheikh Muhammad Said bin Imam sa Bayang at the al-Imam As-Sadiq (AS) Library, Marawi City, Philippines: An Annotated Catalogue with Essays*, eds. Ornan Faturahman et al. (Tokyo: Institute of Asian, African, and Middle Eastern Studies, Sophia University, 2019), 129–154.
- 25 van Bruinessen, “Shari’at Court, tarekat and pesantren”, 182.
- 26 Ronit Ricci, “Story, Sentence and Single Word: Translation Paradigms in Javanese and Malay Islamic Literature”, in *A Companion to Translation Studies*, eds. Sandra Bermann and Catherine Porter (West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 543–556.
- 27 See Ricci’s review of Johns’ work on Burhanpur’s *Tuhfa*, which she categorizes as representing the holistic translation type, in Ricci, “Story, Sentence and Single Word”, 545–550.
- 28 Nurtawab, “Qur’ānic Translations in Malay, Javanese and Sundanese”, 46–49.
- 29 The translation of this *sīra* in the *Jalālayn* was authored by the first author to work on it, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Mahallī, who started his commentary from Sūrat al-Kahf. After having reached the end of the Qur’ān, he then went back to the beginning and worked on Sūrat al-Fāṭiha. However, he passed away before being able to continue his work beyond this point. His disciple, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, then acted as the second author, completing the commentary on the rest of the chapters.
- 30 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Mahallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘azīm* (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya, n.d.), 513.
- 31 The English translations of the *Jalālayn* in this paper are based on Feras Hamza’s translation of the *Jalālayn*. For the translation of Q 1:2, see Jalāl al-Dīn al-Mahallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, trans. Feras Hamza (Amman: Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought, 2007), 1.
- 32 Nāsir al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Shitrāzī al-Bayḍāwī, *Amwār al-lanzil wa-durrat al-ta wīl* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 27.
- 33 ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ibn ‘Alī al-Fansūrī, *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1990), 2.
- 34 In Mardiwarsito’s dictionary, for instance, the sample sentence for this entry is *kana sira ratu sang Parikesit ngaran ira* (“there is a ruler named Parikesit”), which does not specify the ruler’s gender. See L. Mardiwarsito, *Kamus Jawa Kuna Indonesia* (Ende: Nusa Indah, 1981), 468.
- 35 Bianca J. Smith and Mark Woodward, “Magico-spiritual Power, Female Sexuality and Ritual Sex in Muslim Java: Unveiling the keseklen of Magical Women”, *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 27 (2016), 317–332.
- 36 Ricci, “Story, Sentence and Single Word”, 550.
- 37 Nurtawab, “Qur’ānic Readings and Malay Translations”, 178–181.