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The *šarḥ/ḥāšiya* Phenomenon in Southeast Asia

From al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* to Malay *Sifat Dua Puluh* Literature

PHILIPP BRUCKMAYR

p. 27-52

Résumés

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Umm al-barāhīn, the Aš'arī creed by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), is one of the most frequently commented 'aqīdas in Muslim tradition. Commentaries, glosses and commented translations of the text have, however, hitherto received only scant attention. In Southeast Asia, the *Umm al-barāhīn* appears to have—through the intermediary of Malay and Javanese commentaries and commented translations—given way to an entirely new genre of distinctively Southeast Asian 'aqīda literature, known as *sifat dua puluh* (Twenty Attributes). By reference to the evolution of commentaries to the *Umm al-barāhīn* into the *sifat dua puluh* literature, the present contribution highlights the importance of studying the *šarḥ/ḥāšiya* phenomenon in Islamic languages other than Arabic, in order to broaden our understanding of the various functions and trans-cultural aspects of commentary writing.

Umm al-barāhīn, la profession de foi aš'arīte d'Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Sanūsī (m. 895/1490), est l'une des 'aqīdas les plus souvent commentées dans la tradition musulmane. Commentaires, gloses et traductions commentées du texte n'ont, cependant, jusqu'à présent reçu que peu d'attention. En Asie du Sud-Est, et ce, par l'intermédiaire de commentaires malais et javanais et de traductions commentées, le *Umm al-barāhīn* a, dans les faits, cédé la place à un nouveau genre de littérature de 'aqīda typiquement sud-est asiatique, connu sous le nom *sifat dua puluh* (Les vingt attributs). En se référant à l'évolution des commentaires du *Umm al-barāhīn* dans la littérature des *sifat dua puluh*, la présente contribution met en évidence l'importance d'étudier le phénomène du *šarḥ* et de la *ḥāšiya* dans les langues islamiques autres que l'arabe, afin d'élargir notre compréhension des différentes fonctions de l'écriture des commentaires et de ses aspects transculturels.

تعدّ العقيدة الأشعرية المسماة بأمّ البراهين لأبي عبد الله السنوسي (ت 895/1490م) من أكثر العقائد التي قدمت فيها شروحات في التراث الإسلامي. ولكن لم تلق الشروحات والتعليقات والترجمات المفسّرة لهذا الكتاب الكثير من الاهتمام. أمّا في جنوب شرق آسيا، أصبح كتاب أمّ البراهين نقطة انطلاق لنوع جديد من الأدب العقائدي وهذا من خلال الشروحات والترجمات المفسّرة باللغتين الملايوية والجاوية. عرف هذا النوع الجديد باسم « Sifat dua puluh » أي « الصفات العشرون ». بالرجوع إلى تطوّر شروحات أمّ البراهين في أدب الصفات العشرين، توضّح لنا هذه المداخلة أهميّة دراسة ظاهرة الشروحات والحواشي في اللغات الإسلامية غير العربية، وذلك لتوسيع فهمنا لمختلف الوظائف والجوانب عبر الثقافية من كتابة الشروحات.

Entrées d'index

Mots-clés : aš'arisme, al-Sanūsī, šarḥ, Asie du Sud-Est, malais

Keywords: aš'arism, al-Sanūsī, šarḥ, Southeast Asia, Malay language

الأشعرية، أبو عبد الله السنوسي(895/1490م)، شرح، جنوب شرق آسيا، اللغة الملايوية الكلمات المفتاحية:

Texte intégral

Introduction

1 Until recently the vast field of the writing of commentaries and glosses in the Islamic sciences has received only very limited attention. Although groundbreaking work has finally been done in the field in

the last few years,¹ this has been almost exclusively focused on original treatises and commentaries in the Arabic language. In contrast, the tradition of commentary production in the Islamic sciences in languages other than Arabic has so far very much remained uncharted territory, with the partial exception of studies on commentaries on the Qur'ān in vernacular languages. The present contribution, however, will primarily revolve around commentaries written in the major historical Southeast Asian language of Islamic scholarship, namely in classical Malay and its adaptation of the Arabic script, both of which have come to be known as *jawi* language and script respectively. On a lesser scale, also texts in other Southeast Asian languages, such as Javanese and Cham, the language used by the Cham people of Indochina, will also be discussed.

2 It will hereby become evident that Malay commentaries to Arabic works have often, due to the involved crossing of language barriers, which are frequently also setting the parameters for academic specialization, not been recognized as such. Instead, superficial readings of and glimpses onto, the texts in question have routinely resulted in the somewhat disparaging scholarly description of Malay commentaries to Arabic treatises as mere translations, rather than as vernacular expressions of the *šarḥ/hāšīya* phenomenon in Islam. This is intriguing for two reasons. Firstly, it has been overlooked that also mere translations, as opposed to full-fledged commentaries, are naturally very likely to include some form of commentary, or to have been produced with recourse to existing Arabic commentaries and glosses on a given Arabic source text, in order to render the meaning of the original understandable to local audiences unable to grasp its Arabic content. Secondly, the fact that comparably superficial academic studies of the Malay texts in question have accounted for the continued misrepresentation of actual *šarḥs/hāšīyas* as mere Malay “renderings”, “versions” or “translations”, has important implications for the study of the *šarḥ/hāšīya* phenomenon and post-classical Islamic thought as a whole.

3 Thus, such oversights have by and large turned the concerned texts into “shadow commentaries”, whose scholarly value remains mostly unseen and unappreciated, as it is presumed that they have little more to offer than the translation of a text from one language to another. Against this background it may also be asked, polemically speaking, whether these scholarly misconceptions are not based on an implicit hierarchization of Islamic discourse and languages, whereby it is plainly assumed that the scholarship of Southeast Asian Muslims can hardly be expected to extend beyond the comparably unoriginal field of translation. This, of course, also echoes the longstanding assumption that *šarḥs* and *hāšīyas* represented “nothing original or innovative” but were merely representative of “stagnancy and decline of Islamic intellectual traditions”.²

4 Thus, it can be said that the present contribution not only aims at highlighting the existence of Southeast Asian traditions of *šarḥ/hāšīya* writing, but also at revising certain implicit assumptions of Western scholarship about Southeast Asian Islamic intellectual history. Accordingly, this study is primarily concerned with several different types of so-called “shadow commentaries”, most of which have been written in the Malay language, but are forming part of a cluster of texts spanning much of the Muslim World, namely the one built around *Umm al-barāhīn*, the brief Aš'arī 'aqīda by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490). These include Malay texts fully according to Arabic traditions of *šarḥ/hāšīya* writing, as well as less obvious and less explicit commentaries, which may nevertheless be referred to as such, due to the fact that they are thoroughly built upon individual earlier Arabic works. This latter group of texts therefore clearly exhibits what van der Lit has described as “structural textual correspondence”³ with the Arabic originals. As will be shown, Southeast Asian Islamic tradition has perhaps been unique in establishing a distinctive new genre of 'aqīda writing, i.e. the *sifat dua puluh* (Twenty Attributes) genre, which shows a remarkably high degree of structural textual correspondence with al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn*. Additionally, besides these two types of “shadow commentaries”, this study sheds light on the role of fatwas as a form of commentary to (parts of) a given work, which was, in our case, at times precipitated by the existence of the Arabic-Malay and other, regional, language barriers. Finally, it is highlighted how the central doctrines of a given treatise, and of the local genre springing from it, can be explained and made accessible to local audiences in completely different contexts and media.

The *Umm al-Barāhīn* Cluster

5 Al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* undoubtedly represents by far the most widely distributed and most frequently commented Aš'arī 'aqīda.⁴ Therefore, it is not surprising that an impressive cluster of texts, including commentaries, glosses, super-glosses (*taqārīr*), versifications and additions (*ta'liqāt*), as well as other types of texts exhibiting structural textual correspondence, has developed around this concise exposition of the Aš'arī creed.⁵ Indeed, *Umm al-barāhīn* has been part of a cluster right from the beginning. Accordingly, the text is also known as al-Sanūsī's short catechism (*al-'aqīda al-sanūsīyya al-ṣuḡrā*), besides his even shorter (*ṣuḡrā al-ṣuḡrā*), medium (*wuṣṭā*) and long (*kubrā*) 'aqīdas. Additionally, the author himself produced his own commentary to each of them. Beginning with his student Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Tilimsānī (d. 897/1492), an extensive body of texts has been built around *Umm al-barāhīn*, primarily in Arabic, but likewise in other languages used in parts of the Muslim World dominated by Mālikī-Aš'arī or Šāfi'ī-Aš'arī Sunnism. Important cases in point are West African languages such as Hausa and Fulfulde,⁶ and Southeast Asian languages, primarily Malay and Javanese.

6 The Southeast Asian part of the *Umm al-barāhīn* cluster is itself made up of several different components. Firstly, we have local manuscript copies of the *matn* or an Arabic *šarḥ*, such as al-Tilimsānī's

al-Fath al-mubīn.⁷ Even these manuscript copies are more often than not accompanied by Malay or Javanese interlinear and/or marginal notes, which are offering the local reader a certain amount of commentary to, or explanation of, the text. Secondly, we have numerous local manuscripts with translations of the text, whereby it was usually the medium of interlinear translations, which has been preferred. Such have even been preserved in the perceived fringes of Southeast Asian Islam. A case in point being a Malay interlinear translation produced by a local scholar in the Vietnamese Mekong Delta region in 1893.⁸ Whereas some of these interlinear translations, such as the aforementioned, are following the Arabic text quite closely, others are including a certain amount of commentary as part of the translation. Some have even found their way into print.⁹

- 7 The most interesting group of texts for the present inquiry, however, are the more or less extensive Malay “shadow commentaries”, often mislabeled as Malay translations, renderings or versions. In the following, only the three arguably most well-known specimens of this category, of which there certainly exists a larger number, will be discussed.¹⁰ The earliest “Malay version” of *Umm al-barāhīn*, which has come down to us, is the *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, composed in 1170/1756–7 by Muḥammad Zayn al-Faqīh Ḡalāl al-Dīn al-Āṣī, a leading scholar of the Sultanate of Aceh in North Sumatra under the reign of sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Maḥmūd Šāh (r. 1174–1195/1760–1781).¹¹ In his introduction, the author notes that he produced his translation and commentary of the *Umm al-barāhīn* in order to expound its meaning to Malay readers by reference to what he has found in commentaries and glosses to the text.¹² The resulting work is approximately six times longer than the Arabic *matn*. Thus, already a cursory look at its length falsifies the idea that it could be nothing more than a translation of the original. Manuscript holdings suggest that the text was highly popular. The Malaysian National Library alone houses over 30 manuscripts of *Bidāyat al-hidāya*.¹³ It was first edited for a lithographic print by the Mecca-based Malay scholar Aḥmad al-Faṭānī from Patani in Southern Thailand in 1303/1885–6. Moreover, it represents the oldest Malay work on ‘*aqīda*’ still used and republished today.¹⁴
- 8 The author’s explanatory comments already start with the introductory *basmala*, *ḥamdala* and *taṣliya* of the *matn*.¹⁵ This is, however, nothing peculiar to Malay scholars and their audiences. Many well-known Arabic commentaries and glosses to the text are engaging themselves in more or less extensive discussions on these standard introductory textual elements and the issues of belief and religious practice associated with them.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is of particular interest that al-Āṣī uses this occasion to point out differences of religious practice in this regard, based on divergent opinions of the Māliki (i.e. al-Sanūsī’s *maḡhab*) and Šāfi’ī (i.e. his own) schools on the obligatory or nonobligatory recitation of these formulas in prayer.¹⁷ Among the devices of the author’s commentary, we are also finding specific questions and their respective answers relative to individual statements of al-Sanūsī’s text. These are often framed in a way to prepare Malay scholars for questions from their students. Thus, for example, a question posed by al-Āṣī concerning the passage “[Allah’s] knowledge encompasses all which is necessary, possible and impossible”, is introduced in the following form: “And if you are asked by one of our people (*orang kita*) about the relationship between [divine] knowledge and the three logical categories (*hukum akli*, i.e. necessary, possible and impossible) [...]”¹⁸
- 9 Another well-known Malay commentary to *Umm al-barāhīn*, entitled *Sirāḡ al-hudā* was composed by Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn al-Sumbāwī (fl. second half of 19th century), who hailed from the Indonesian island of Sumbawa, and was the only Southeast Asian teacher in Mecca’s *ḥarām* at the time of Snouck Hurgronje’s visit (1884–1885).¹⁹ The author describes his work explicitly as a Malay *ṣarḥ* to al-Sanūsī’s treatise, which “contains all the articles of belief that every legally responsible person is obliged to know” (*ia mengandung segala ‘aqā’id al-īmān yang wajib atas tiap-tiap mukallaf*). Additionally, he notes that this small ‘*aqīda*’ “is the most famous among all the Arabs, Malays, Turks, Indians and others” (*yang terlebih masyhur pada segala orang arab dan jawi dan turki dan hīndi dan lainnya*).²⁰ Longer than its precursor *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, al-Sumbāwī’s commentary has a length of 55 pages in its classical lithographic edition, which was originally produced in Cairo and subsequently reproduced by Southeast Asian publishers such as the *al-Ma’ārif* press in Penang (Malaysia).
- 10 Also al-Sumbāwī first comments on the *basmala* and the other customary introductory formulas, but without any reference to differences among the Sunni schools of law.²¹ Early on in the text, however, he exhibits an awareness of, and preoccupation with, differences between Aš’arī and Māturīdī doctrine, which is not mirrored in *Bidāyat al-hidāya*. Thus, he notes, in connection with al-Sanūsī’s statement that “every legally responsible person is obliged to know what is necessary, what is impossible and what is possible with regard to Allah”, that the Māturīdiyya differs from al-Aš’arī (and al-Sanūsī) in claiming that knowledge of the divine can be gained not only through revelation but also through reason. Expectedly, the author subsequently voices his preference for the Aš’arī view.²² Regarding al-Sanūsī’s specification of the attribute of oneness (*waḥdāniyya*) as there “being no second to Allah in either essence, attributes or acts”, he embarks on a digression (*faidah*, ar. *fā’ida*) on human agency, explaining the divergent positions of the accepted Sunni schools (Aš’arism and Māturīdism) as well as of schools regarded as deviant (Mu’tazila, Qadariyya, Ḡabriyya) on *usaha* (human effort) and *ikhtiar* (free will, ar. *iẖtiyār*).²³ A basic difference between Aš’arism and Māturīdism is again pointed out by al-Sumbāwī with respect to the author’s statement that Allah has seven necessary ideational attributes (*ṣifāt al-ma’ānī*). Thus, the commentator duly notes that the followers of al-Māturīdī are holding the view that Allah has an additional such attribute, namely that of bringing into existence (*takwīn*). Once again explicitly supporting al-Aš’arī’s view, al-Sumbāwī denies the divine attribute of *takwīn* by stressing that the process of bringing into existence would be solely dependent on Allah’s power (*qudra*).²⁴
- 11 The inclusion of material on differences between the two Sunni schools of *kalām* clearly represents a

later development in *ṣarḥs* and *ḥāšiyas* to *Umm al-barāhīn*. It is absent in the early commentaries by al-Sanūsī and al-Tilimsānī, which should come as no surprise as the literature on differences between Aṣ'arism and Māturīdism was primarily a product of Ottoman scholarly culture from the 16th century onwards.²⁵ It can, however, neither be found in many later commentaries and glosses, such as the *ṣarḥ* by the major 18th century Sudanese scholar Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Anṣārī (d. 1241/1826)²⁶ and the gloss to al-Sanūsī's commentary by his Egyptian contemporary Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dasūqī (d. 1230/1814–5). Contrastingly, such discussions are indeed included in the gloss of the revered *Ṣayḥ al-Azhar*, Ibrāhīm al-Bayḡūrī (d. 1276/1860),²⁷ which continues to be the most highly regarded Arabic work on *Umm al-barāhīn* in traditional Islamic education in Indonesia.²⁸ It can thus be said that al-Sumbāwī was well up to date with the contemporary evolution of Arabic *ṣarḥs* and *ḥāšiyas* to *Umm al-barāhīn*.

12 An interesting feature of *Sirāḡ al-hudā*, particularly in comparison with the next—chronologically slightly later—Malay commentary, can be found among al-Sumbāwī's comments relative to al-Sanūsī's assertion that Allah's power and will are encompassing the entirety of possible things. Here he includes a story about the Baghdadi grammarian Ibn al-Šaḡarī (d. 542/1148) being questioned about the meaning of Q55, 29 (*kulla yawmin huwa fi šā' nin*). At first unable to furnish an answer to the enquirer, he is able to provide one the following day, after an encounter with the prophet in his dreams.²⁹

13 Finally, the most elaborate Malay commentary on the *Umm al-barāhīn* to date, *'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn fi 'ilm uṣūl al-dīn*, was written in 1308/1890 by Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (d. 1331/ 1913) of Patani. Also this text has been mislabeled as a Malay rendering or translation of the Arabic original.³⁰ Particularly the latter claim is outrageous as *'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn* consists of 140 dense pages in the classical Cairo lithographic edition printed by 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī.³¹ Indeed, at the time of its publication, it represented the second-longest Malay work on *'aqīda* of all. Today it is the most extensive pre-20th century Malay text in the field, which is still available and routinely employed in traditional religious education in the region,³² where it is studied by advanced students, who have completed readings of smaller books such as *Bidāyat al-hidāya* and *Sirāḡ al-hudā*.³³

14 In his introduction the author stresses that the translation of al-Sanūsī's *matn* was only one part of his scholarly endeavor. Praising the text as “the best (*terlebih elok*) of what has been written on *tawḥīd*”, he explains: “I have translated the introduction (*mukadimah*) of Shaykh Sanūsī and have enriched it with material from a number of commentaries and glosses to it in order to explain the words of this Shaykh as intended.”³⁴ Highly scholarly in nature, *'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn* explicitly relies on several commentaries and glosses to *Umm al-barāhīn* from different time periods. These include the *ṣarḥs* of al-Tilimsānī and Muḥammad b. Mansūr al-Hudhudī (d. 11th/17th century),³⁵ the *ḥāšiya* of al-Bayḡūrī, and, as most frequently cited source, the gloss to al-Hudhudī of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Suḥaymī (d. 1178/1764). In addition, verses from *Ġawharat al-tawḥīd* of Ibrāhīm al-Laḡānī (d. 1041/1631), a rhymed creed strongly based on *Umm al-barāhīn*,³⁶ are quoted a number of times.³⁷ Apart from that, al-Faṭānī refers to a whole string of past Šāfi'ī-Aṣ'arī theologians, legal and hadith scholars, most prominently al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) and Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277).

15 Just as al-Āṣī and al-Sumbāwī, also al-Faṭānī offers commentary for readers right from the *basmala* of the basic text onwards. Moreover, his awareness of, and desire to elaborate on, legal and theological inter-*maḏhab* differences is even more pronounced than in the case of his precursors. Thus, al-Āṣī's discussion of Māliki-Šāfi'ī divergence regarding the legal status of *basmala*, *ḥamdala* and *taṣliya* in prayer is echoed in *'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn*, just as are al-Sumbāwī's observations concerning the divine attribute of *takwīn* in Māturīdism³⁸. Al-Faṭānī, however, deals with many other issues of legal and theological intra-Sunni differences as well. Cases in point are contending Aṣ'arī and Māturīdī points of view on the eternity of the attributes of act and the issue of *istīmā'* (i.e. adding the formula “if God wills” to the statement “I am a believer”), as well as Māliki-Šāfi'ī divergence over the continuing legal import of revelations prior to the Qur'ān.³⁹

16 Moreover, the work contains a digression—prompted by quotations from the Qur'ān and al-Laḡānī's *Ġawharat al-tawḥīd*—on the different approaches to theological interpretation of what al-Faṭānī interchangeable refers to as the *maḏhabs* or *jarīqas* of the *salaf* and the *ḥalaf* respectively, whom he describes as jointly making up the *ahl al-sunna wa-l-ḡamā'a*. Concerned with the critical issues of *taṣbīḥ* (affirming similarity) and *tanzīḥ* (affirming incompatibility), he describes the *ḥalaf* approach as “most knowledgeable and strongest because it makes things increasingly clear and provides decisive answers to opponents” (*terlebih mengetahui dan terlebih teguh karena karena barang padanya bertambah wadīh dan radd atas khusum dan yaitu terlebih rajih*). Contrastingly, he presents the approach of the *salaf*, with its refusal to engage in *tā'wīl* (interpretation) of ambiguous verses, “as safest as it keeps things from being reduced to one specific [potentially erroneous] meaning” (*terlebih selamat karena didalamnya selamat daripada mentakayyankan maknanya*).⁴⁰ In another digression, running over almost twenty pages, al-Faṭānī deals with conceptions of the afterlife, burial rituals, sins and repentance, Ibn 'Arabī's teachings on reward and punishment as result (ar. *'aqaba*) of man's actions, legal responsibility and the role of the sultan (*raja*) and the *'ulamā'* in upholding the sharia.⁴¹

17 A particular interesting feature of *'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn* are its explicit references to the affairs of the Southeast Asian Muslim community and its defense of traditional Islamic scholarship against the emerging Islamic reformism in the Arab World and Southeast Asia. Such agendas are absent from his two precursors' commentaries. At several instances al-Faṭānī shows an awareness of the difficulties posed by the language barrier between Arabic and Malay for the teaching of Islam in his home region. Thus, he notes that, whereas Allah is used for the divine in both languages, *ilāh* means “god” only in the former and not in the latter language. Given such obstacles to spreading (*mendakwah*) and understanding

(*mengetahui*) Islam, the author regarded the role of the local *'ulamā'*—as heirs to the prophet—as a highly important one.⁴²

18 Concerning Islamic reformist attacks on Sufism and its locally cherished heroes of the past, the author laments that in the last few years, people have emerged, “who are charging certain knowers of God with unbelief (*mekafirkan*) such as Muḥammad Sammān [Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī (d. 1189/1776)] and Aḥmad al-Quṣāṣī (d.1074/1661), among whose students there were saints, second to none in kind, such as Mullā Ibrāhīm [al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690)] of the Kurds and *ṣayḥ* 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Faṣṣūrī [al-Sinkilī (d. 1105/1693)] of the Malays”.⁴³ Conversely, he notes that “Sufism (*ilmu tasawuf*) is part of the sharia, because it has three components [...], flowing from the Qur'ān and the hadiths”: 1) Islamic law (*fiqh*) as taught by al-Šāfi'ī, 2) *uṣūl al-dīn* as established by al-Aṣ'arī and 3) *ilmu tasawuf*, as founded by Abū al-Qāsim al-Gunayd al-Baḡdādī (d. 298/910), and *ilmu tarikat*, “which goes back to the time of the *ṣaḥāba*, who took their knowledge from the prophet and then passed it on to their followers down to the present day” (*yaitu ilmu yang dahulu pada masa sahabat mengambil merika itu daripada penghulu kita nabi Muhammad [...] dan [...] mengajar mereka itu yang kemudian hingga sampai sekarang ini*).⁴⁴ He further emphasizes that local debates about religious doctrines and practices, as expounded in specific books, should, if necessary, be solved through travels to Mecca and Medina and consultations with its scholars.⁴⁵

19 Finally, it is intriguing that the story about Ibn al-Šaḡarī, which we have encountered in *Sirāḡ al-hudā*, is also included in *'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn*. As the Malay wording is, however, significantly different in both works, it must be concluded that it was independently translated from a so far unidentified Arabic original.⁴⁶ As it is al-Hudhudī's commentary and the gloss upon it by al-Suḥaymī, which are most frequently cited by al-Faṭānī, they should perhaps be regarded as the most likely candidates. One Arabic work, however, which has definitely made its mark on al-Faṭānī's extensive Malay commentary on *Umm al-barāhīn* is definitely al-Bayḡūrī's *ḥāšīya*. The Patani scholar's aforementioned introductory praise of the qualities of al-Sanūsī's work is clearly a verbatim translation taken from al-Bayḡūrī's gloss⁴⁷. Just as the latter, also al-Faṭānī's *'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn*, albeit not in Arabic, represented the state of the art of *ṣarḥ/ḥāšīya* writing on *'aqīda* during the period.

The Emergence of *Sifat Dua Puluh* Literature

20 Strikingly, *Umm al-barāhīn* came to fully dominate local schemes of *'aqīda* teaching and writing in Southeast Asia, as by far the most important and influential basic text in the field. This is most evident in the emergence of a specific *sifat dua puluh* (twenty attributes) literature in the region, mostly in Malay and Javanese, but also in minor Southeast Asian Muslim languages such as Bugis and Cham,⁴⁸ which does not seem to have developed among similar lines in either the Arab World or West Africa. Most specimens of this category must be regarded as concise commentaries to *Umm al-barāhīn*, which are, although commonly featuring no Arabic quotations from the *matn*, exhibiting a high degree of structural textual correspondence with it, which goes well beyond the eponymous doctrine of al-Sanūsī's twenty attributes. In their great majority they have left both the structure and the content of *Umm al-barāhīn* unaltered (i.e. a chapter each on what is necessary, impossible and contingent, firstly, with regard to Allah, and secondly, with regard to the prophets, followed by a chapter each on the fact that everything discussed with regard to Allah and with regard to the prophets is contained in the two parts of the *ṣahāda*),⁴⁹ but are slightly more elaborate in form. From the mid-19th century onwards, the writing of a *sifat dua puluh* work became a standard task for aspiring Southeast Asian scholars. Thus there has emerged a multitude of texts of this kind, which came to be treated as a sub-genre of *'aqīda/uṣūl al-dīn*, either under the label *Kitab sifat dua puluh* or under various Arabic titles.⁵⁰

21 The most prominent and, perhaps, foundational specimens of the genre are the works of two major scholars from Patani and Batavia (Jakarta) respectively. One of them, Dā'ūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1847), had been a student of several Malay and Arab scholars occupying prominent positions in the *Umm al-barāhīn/sifat dua puluh* cluster of texts. Thus, among his teachers we are finding Muḥammad Zayn al-Āšī, *Ṣayḥ al-Azhar* 'Abd Allāh al-Šarqāwī (d. 1127/1812), author of a gloss to al-Hudhudī's commentary, and Aḥmad al-Marzūqī (d. 1262/1846).⁵¹ Eventually Dā'ūd al-Faṭānī rose to become the towering figure of Islamic scholarship in Patani and, besides Muḥammad al-Nawawī (d. 1316/1897) of Banten (Java),⁵² one of the two most prolific writers of Islamic scholarly literature of 19th century Southeast Asia.⁵³ His *Kitab sifat dua puluh* dates back to the first half of the 19th century. In addition to the entirety of issues discussed in *Umm al-barāhīn*, Dā'ūd al-Faṭānī's work contains basic information on the pillars of Islam and the obligatory elements and conditions of ritual cleanliness (*syarat bersuci*) and ritual prayer (*syarat sembahyang*),⁵⁴ thereby making it a suitable primer not only for matters of doctrine but also for religious practice.

22 In the long run, however, Dā'ūd's contribution was—even in his native Patani⁵⁵—eclipsed by a work of the same title, authored by the eminent Batavia-based Ḥaḍramī scholar Sayyid 'Uṭmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aqīl al-'Alawī (d. 1914), the most prominent Muslim scholar of his era in the Netherlands East Indies.⁵⁶ Born to Arab migrants, he was the most prolific writer among Southeast Asia's Ḥaḍramī (-descended) scholars. Strikingly, his output was not only exclusively in Malay, but he evidently also took up the seemingly distinctively Southeast Asian genre of *sifat dua puluh* literature. His choice, and the way he carried out this task, proved to be successful. Thus, it was suggested that, even today, his *Kitab sifat dua puluh*, which is available throughout Indonesia, the Malay Peninsula and Thailand, represents his best-

known work.⁵⁷ Like Dā'ūd al-Faṭānī's book, which was most probably known to Sayyid 'Uṣmān, it also includes some minor additions to the issues tackled in *Umm al-barāhīn*. It opens with a brief overview of the pillars of Islam (*rukun islam*) and then deals, between the chapters on prophethood and the *ṣahāda*, with the elements of belief (*rukun iman*) and the genealogy and progeny of the prophet.⁵⁸ Towards the end of his expositions, the author notes, supported by a quotation from Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Hayṭamī's (d. 974/1567) *al-Zawāḡir 'an iqtirāf al-kabā'ir*, that he kept his text intentionally brief and clear, in order not to confuse ordinary believers, as this might possibly lead them to doubts or even unbelief.⁵⁹

23 An interesting and quite innovative feature of both Dā'ūd's and Sayyid 'Uṣmān's texts, particularly when viewed from the perspective of our leading question "what is commenting in Islam?" is the inclusion of tables and diagrams (*jadwal*) into the text, which can be encountered in both of them. These *jadwals* are used to summarize and graphically arrange the main lessons of the work (and thus also of *Umm al-barāhīn*), particularly the enumerations of divine and prophetic attributes, the revealed books, the prophets and the like. Dā'ūd's 32-pages *Kitab sifat dua puluh* contains no less than nine such *jadwals* depicting the quadripartite division of the twenty attributes and other forms of categorizing them, their relation to the *ṣahāda* and to the three logical categories, and the necessary attributes of the prophet.⁶⁰ Below or beside them, pieces of text are often arranged diagonally or vertically in boxes, in a manner reminiscent of marginal glosses.

24 Yet, the use and style of *jadwals* and boxes is much more sophisticated in the later work of Sayyid 'Uṣmān, which advertises itself on the opening page by highlighting that "it contains a number of tables, which are summarizing its lessons and facilitating their understanding" (*didalam beberapa jadwal yang ringkas aturan dan mudah pahamiya*).⁶¹ With their contents arranged in circular and orbital shapes, the *jadwals* on the elements of Islam and belief, the divine and prophetic attributes, the revealed books, the prophets, the angels and Muḥammad's family, are at times more extensive than what is contained on each topic in *Umm al-barāhīn*.⁶² Thus, for instance, one table lists all twenty-five prophets mentioned as such (i.e. as either *nabī* and/or *rasūl*) in the Qur'ān.⁶³

25 In the wake of the efforts of Dā'ūd al-Faṭānī, Sayyid 'Uṣmān and others in writing *sifat dua puluh* texts, there soon also emerged different versified versions, commonly entitled *Syair sifat dua puluh* and often lacking explicit acknowledgement of their authors.⁶⁴ In line with al-Sanūsī's statement that "every legally responsible person is obliged to know what is necessary, what is impossible and what is contingent with regard to Allah", and al-Sumbāwī's assertion that *Umm al-barāhīn* "contains all the articles of belief that every legally responsible person is obliged to know",⁶⁵ one of these poems begins by stressing that "every legally responsible man and woman is obliged to know this *kitab sifat dua puluh*".⁶⁶ Among the reasons for the flowering of commentaries to *Umm al-barāhīn* and the production of ever more *sifat dua puluh* texts was certainly also the ritual role acquired by a particularly brief versified Arabic *'aqīda*, which starts with al-Sanūsī's quadripartite scheme of twenty divine attributes, namely *'Aqīdat al-'awāmm* by Aḥmad al-Marzūqī (d. 1262/1846),⁶⁷ one of Dā'ūd al-Faṭānī's many teachers in the *ḥaramayn*. Thus, the communal recitation of the *sifat dua puluh*, most commonly on the basis of *'Aqīdat al-'awāmm*, nowadays primarily distributed in the form of bilingual versions with interlinear translation, is a standard feature of education in the Indonesian *pondok/pesantren* system of traditionally oriented Islamic boarding schools.⁶⁸

26 By the early 20th century, however, the doctrine of the *sifat dua puluh* and their ritual recitation, became a bone of contention between traditionally inclined Muslims on the one hand, and reformist scholars—and later local Salafis—on the other. Interestingly, as we have seen above, these controversies appear to have been foreshadowed in Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī's comments on *takfīr* in his *'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn*. While staying clear from such *takfīr*, Aḥmad Hassan (d. 1958), leading thinker of the Indonesian reformist *Persatuan Islam* (Islamic Union, est. 1923), rejected the teaching of the *sifat dua puluh* in his *Al-Tauhīd* (1937) and put the practice of the memorization of the attributes into question.⁶⁹ Cases in point for the ongoing debate about the *sifat dua puluh* from different parts of Muslim Southeast Asia are the assertion of the major Minangkabau (West Sumatra, Indonesia) Ṣaṭṭariyya *ṣayḥ* Abdul Manaf Amin (d. 2008), in his *Risālat mizān al-qalb*, that studying the *sifat dua puluh* represents part of belonging to the *ahl al-sunna wa-l-ḡamā'a*.⁷⁰ Conversely, in Thailand's Patani, the home region of major exponents of Southeast Asian *sifat dua puluh* writing and Aṣ'arī scholarship, such as Dā'ūd and Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, local Salafis are regarding the teaching of the *sifat dua puluh* as one of the major *bid'as* (reprehensible innovations) persisting among local Muslims.⁷¹

Fatwas and Scholarly Debates as a Form of Commentary

27 Commentary on *Umm al-barāhīn* and its doctrines has also taken place in the form of fatwas and of scholarly debates pursued through texts on specific issues of the *matn*, including refutations and counter-refutations. Our focus will hereby lie with the fatwas, as they are particularly revealing as far as the tradition of the writing of commentaries and glosses are concerned. Additionally, they are testifying to the problems posed by the crossing of one or more language barriers, and how the need for commentary—or a mufti's opinion, for that matter—may arise out of them. The first legal opinion prompted by Southeast Asian debates on al-Sanūsī's work to be presented here, was issued by Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1304/1886), the eminent Ṣāfi'ī mufti and *ṣayḥ al-'ulamā'* of Mecca from 1871 to 1886. The fatwa in question, which sheds light on the place of commentaries in scholarly tradition in general, was solicited by

a Southeast Asian Muslim. It has been preserved in *Muhimmāt al-naḡā`is*, a bilingual (Arabic and Malay) fatwa collection for Southeast Asian Muslims, assembled and translated by a scholar from Aceh in 1305/1887. First published in Mecca in 1310/1892, this work primarily consists of legal opinions issued by Daḡlān, albeit also containing smaller numbers of fatwas issued by other Mecca-based Arab and Malay muftis.⁷² In his question, the enquirer wants to know, whether somebody who was adding something (ar. *man yaziḡu*; ml. *orang yang melebihkan*) to a particular scholar's interpretation of al-Sanūsī's statement (ar. *raḡul yuḡassiru qawl ṡāḡib al-Sanūsī*; ml. *seorang laki-laki yang metaḡsir ia akan kata empunya Sanusi*) "necessary is that whose non-existence cannot be conceived by reason",⁷³ and might therefore fall into heresy or unbelief, must be corrected in his belief and kept from teaching to ordinary Muslims (ar. *ta`īm al-`awāmm*; ml. *ajarkan manusia*). Strikingly, Daḡlān completely ignores the theological issue at hand, but nevertheless answers swiftly. Thus, he asserts that al-Sanūsī's cited statement is clarified in the commentaries to his work, which should be duly consulted. Secondly, he stresses that any commentary to it must not contradict the words of the *ulamā`*.⁷⁴ Thus, Daḡlān's fatwa is a clear testimony to the importance he placed both on the tradition of *ṡarḡ/hāṡīya* writing and on the central role of the religious scholars in maintaining this tradition.

28 The second fatwa of our concern, issued by the prominent Mecca-based Patani scholar Aḡmad al-Faḡānī (d. 1907), is clearly the direct result of the crossing of multiple language barriers in the study of *Umm al-barāḡhīn* in Southeast Asia. In his legal opinion, Aḡmad al-Faḡānī responds to a question sent by three Muslim scholars of Chrang Chamres (Phnom Penh) in Cambodia. Even though Malay had by the time of the production of the fatwa (1904), as in most parts of Muslim Southeast Asia, become the dominant scholarly language for Cambodian Muslims,⁷⁵ it was not the only one locally used for the teaching of the *sifat dua puluh*, as is attested not only by the fatwa at hand, but also by the preservation of *sifat dua puluh* texts in the Cham language, which is spoken by the majority of Cambodian Muslims, in local manuscript collections.⁷⁶

29 According to the three *muḡaftīs*, the Cham Muslims of Cambodia have long (*daripada masa yang dahulu-dahulu*) been using Malay *sedia* (from of old) as equivalent to Arabic *qidam* (pre-eternity), i.e. one of the twenty divine attributes, due to the lack of a satisfactory term in the Cham language. Yet, recent years had, according to the enquirers, seen the emergence of people among the local Chams, who claimed that Cham *klau`* was an equivalent to both *qidam* and its Malay rendering *sedia* (*setengah-tengah manusia yang bangsa cam dari ahli kemboja di dalam dua tiga tahun ini bahawasa sifat qidam [...] yang terjemah dengan bahasa melayu sedia itu terjemah dengan bahasa cam itu klau`*). This was vehemently rejected by the three scholars, who stressed that it was otherwise employed in reference to "objects subject to deterioration" (*berubah daripada asalnya yang telah lalu atasnya masa*), thus rendering it completely inadequate for usage in reference to Allāḡ.⁷⁷ It should be noted in this regard, that all of the Malay works, both commentaries to *Umm al-barāḡhīn* as well as *sifat dua puluh* texts, discussed so far throughout this study are translating *qidam* with *sedia*,⁷⁸ whereas a Cham *sifat dua puluh* manuscript, most probably dating to the late 19th century, indeed uses *klau`*.⁷⁹ Conversely, a recent *jawi* (i.e. Arabic script) Malay-Cham dictionary lists *klau`* only as translation of Malay *lama* (old) and not of *sedia*.⁸⁰

30 Despite his stature as most prolific Patani author since the days of Dā`ūd al-Faḡānī and driving force behind the publication of Malay books in Mecca,⁸¹ Aḡmad al-Faḡānī's answer is a strikingly balanced and permissive one. Responding with a lengthy exposition of more than ten pages, he notes that, as far as Malay is concerned, *sedia* is indeed the best translation, as it does not imply "existence with a definite beginning" (*tidak ada permulaan baginya sekali-kali*).⁸² Concerning the Cham usage of *klau`* and the potential controversies arising from it, however, he cautions that the appropriateness of the word naturally hinges on its actual meaning and connotations in Cham.⁸³ While it would be forbidden to say despicable and ugly things about God and his attributes (*haram mengatakan barang yang keji dan hudoh pada hadrat tuhan dan sifat-nya*), this would not necessarily be so in teaching and learning, if the teachers should be using *klau`* with the best intentions and in the actual sense of *qidam*.⁸⁴ Although usage of *klau`* should be considered carefully, if it should have shown itself to be liable to misunderstandings, its use would still be preferable if students were not capable of grasping the meanings of either *qidam* or *sedia*. "An initially objectionable word", he continues, "may even become a pleasant one, once it has achieved common terminological acceptance" (*sesuatu kalimah yang hudoh terkadang jadi elok ia apabila beristilah atasnya oleh kebanyakan manusia*).⁸⁵ Moreover, far from being a case of describing a divine attribute with "something not permitted by the law" (*tidak diizin daripada syarak*), he considered it "merely a translation of a concept derived from the law" (*hanya menterjemahkan barang yang datang daripada syarak*).⁸⁶ Indeed, he further emphasizes, such translations of books, hadiths and the Qur`ān into various languages had been indispensable in spreading Islam, its beliefs and rules ever since. And, we may add, it is clearly this attitude towards the relevance of translations and commentaries, which lies at the root of the production of the Malay commentaries to *Umm al-barāḡhīn* and the *sifat dua puluh* literature.

31 It may be noted in passing that, whereas Aḡmad al-Faḡānī's fatwa revolved primarily around linguistic aspects concerning the divine attribute of *qidam*, a number of books have also been produced on theological questions surrounding the impossible divine attributes. The source material for both debates is, however, clearly the same: al-Sanūsī's teachings in *Umm al-barāḡhīn*. Thus, the works in question can easily be regarded as commentaries on a specific issue of the *matn*. Indeed, the mid-20th century Malay Peninsula witnessed fierce scholarly disagreements over the question whether the attributes which are impossible with regard to Allah are pre-eternal (*qadīm*) or eternal (*azalī*), and—should the former be

affirmed—whether they are pre-eternal in expression (*lafẓī*) or in meaning. These debates yielded at least two treatises devoted solely to this issue, namely *Adillat qadīm al-mustahīl* (1965), by the Patani scholar Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Fusānī (d. 1996), and *Fath al-ḡalīl wa-ṣifā’ al-ḡalīl*, written one year later, by the Kedah (Malaysia)-based Pak Cu Him Gajah Mati (Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Qādir, d. 1968).⁸⁷

The *Sifat Dua Puluh* in Different Genres and Frames

32 Finally, it should be noted that al-Sanūsī’s twenty attributes are so deeply engrained in Southeast Asian Muslim culture that, between the late 19th and the late 20th century, this central doctrine of *Umm al-barāhīn*, which has proven so influential in the region, came also to be explained and commented on in contexts, genres and frames, vastly different from the scholarly literature discussed throughout this contribution so far. Thus, the late 19th century Javanese mystical poem *Suluk Seh Ngabdulsalam*, which relates to contemporary tensions between (strongly localized) Javanese and “Arab” Islamic traditions, explains the *sifat dua puluh* with recourse to the twenty *bonangs* (i.e. instruments made up of stringed lines of gongs) of the Javanese gamelan orchestra, and their four-fold division through an equation with four other gamelan instruments.⁸⁸ Conversely, the world-renowned Malaysian *nasheed* vocal group Raihan included a song on the *sifta dua puluh* on its 1996 debut album *Puji-pujian*, which still remains the best-selling album of any Malaysian artist.⁸⁹

Conclusion

33 This case study of Southeast Asian commentaries to *Umm al-barāhīn* has sought to highlight the relevance of studying non-Arabic traditions of *ṣarḥ/hāṣhiya* writing, in order to arrive at a more encompassing view of Islamic scholarly culture and intellectual history. The discussed texts in Malay and other written languages of Muslim Southeast Asia are certainly the result of close engagements with Arabic treatises as well as commentaries, glosses and super-glosses upon them, but, as was hopefully made sufficiently clear, cannot be easily dismissed as merely derivative in nature. Thus, the current reassessment of *ṣarḥs* and *hāṣhiyas* as something more than unoriginal, repetitive and derivative types of texts, must go hand-in-hand with a similar re-evaluation of non-Arabic works relegated to the sidelines of Islamic intellectual history as mere translations and renderings of Arabic treatises into vernacular languages. It must undoubtedly be assumed that the kind of “shadow commentaries” identified in this contribution can also be found in other languages and literatures of the Muslim World.

34 Moreover, it should be kept in mind that major clusters of texts built around individual Arabic treatises, such as the one which has developed around al-Sanūsī’s *Umm al-barāhīn*, are often still much larger in scope than a cursory look at Brockelmann’s monumental *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* would suggest. Indeed, many central texts in various Islamic disciplines and genres, from *fiqh* and ‘*aqida* to panegyrics to the prophet, had a (commentated) afterlife beyond the Arabic logosphere. And this needs to be taken into account in order to chart the actual reception history of a given treatise, such as *Umm al-barāhīn*, or of a specific doctrine, such as al-Sanūsī’s scheme of the twenty attributes and their division. For this purpose, also texts, which are less obviously belonging to, or associated and structurally corresponding with, an individual cluster, such as the *sifat dua puluh* works in this study, should arguably be factored into the equation. As far as reception and commentary history are concerned, a look at secondary sites of commentary, such as fatwas, likewise seems reasonable. As could similarly be gleaned from this contribution, the existence of language barriers and the transfer of a treatise’s contents from one language to another was naturally further propelling the production of a kind of texts already pervasive in Arabic Islamic scholarly culture: the commentary.

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Notes

1 Cf. *Oriens* 41, 2-3, 2013.

2 Ahmed & Larkin, "The *Ḥāšīya*", p. 213.

3 See his contribution to this volume.

4 Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, II, p. 250–251; SII, p. 353–355. It may be noted that it's Ḥanafī equivalents as most wide-spread catechisms, the creeds of Abū Ga'far al-Taḥāwī (d. 933) and Naḡm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), have both been written at a much earlier date than *Umm al-barāhīn*. This, however, needs to be qualified by the fact, that al-Nasafī's *al-'aḡā'id* have over the centuries almost exclusively been studied on the basis of the *ṣarḥ* of Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1390), which brings us chronologically much closer to the time of al-Sanūsī.

5 For a summary see Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, p. 275f.

6 In the Fulfulde and Hausa-speaking spheres of West Africa, the memorization of *Umm al-barāhīn* as well as of (mostly oral) Fulfulde and Hausa translations was an integral part of formative Islamic education. Neither Muslim Southeast Asia's emphasis on the twenty attributes as the most emblematic element of the text, nor the accompanying high number of written texts appear to have been mirrored in West Africa, however, as the transmission of *Umm al-barāhīn* and commentaries to it in West African languages remained almost exclusively oral until the 20th century. Cf. Brenner, *West African Sufī*, p. 79–86; Dalen, "There Is No Doubt", p. 80, 84–85.

7 For a specimen of the latter see Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 7.

8 Cabaton, « Une traduction interlinéaire », p. 115–145. Malay interlinear translations are also preserved in manuscript collections of the Philippines. Fathurahman, "New Textual Evidence", p. 297.

9 A case in point being a Singapore edition of 1883. Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 530.

10 For such mislabeling in descriptions of these texts see *ibid.*, p. 120; Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 34; Ricklefs & Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts*, p. 132; *Katalog Manuskrip Melayu*, p. 92.

11 Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 124.

12 Al-Āṣī (after 1171/1758), *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, p. 5 (the folios of the manuscript were given page numbers).

13 *Katalog Manuskrip Melayu*, p. 93.

14 Abdullah, *Koleksi Ulama Nusantara*, II, p. 26.

15 Al-Āṣī (after 1171/1758), *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, p. 5–7.

16 Al-Tilimsānī (897/1492), « *Ṣarḥ Umm al-barāhīn* », p. 53–55; al-Anṣārī (1241/1826), *Ṣarḥ Umm al-barāhīn*, p. 3–6; al-Dasūqī (1230/1814–5), *Ḥāšīyat al-dasūqī*, p. 5–40; al-Bayḡūrī (1276/1860), *Ḥāšīyat al-imām al-Bayḡūrī*, p. 52–77.

17 Al-Āṣī (after 1171/1758), *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, p. 7. For these legal differences see Ibn Rushd, *Distinguished Jurist's Primer*, I, p. 136–138, 142–145.

18 Al-Āṣī (after 1171/1758), *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, p. 25.

19 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 202.

20 Al-Sumbāwī, *Sirāḡ al-hudā*, p. 2.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 3f.

22 Al-Sumbāwī, *Sirāḡ al-hudā*, p. 7. On al-Māturīdī's position see Rudolph, *al-Māturīdī*, p. 291–298.

23 Al-Sumbāwī, *Sirāḡ al-hudā*, p. 11f.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 12f.

25 Cf. Badeen, *Sunnitische Theologie*; Bruckmayr, "Spread and Persistence", p. 68.

26 On the author see McHugh, *Holy men of the Blue Nile*, p. 131–136.

27 Al-Bayḡūrī (1276/1860), *Ḥāšīyat al-imām al-Bayḡūrī*, p. 105, 129.

28 Van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p. 251.

29 Al-Sumbāwī, *Sirāḡ al-hudā*, p. 16.

- 30 Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 34; Madmarn, *Pondok & Madrasah*, p. 30.
- 31 Al-Faṭānī, 'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn, p. 140.
- 32 Abdullah, *Koleksi Ulama Nusantara*, I, p. 163.
- 33 Al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, p. 65.
- 34 Al-Faṭānī, 'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn, p. 2.
- 35 Largely unknown today, al-Hudhudī's commentary must have once been highly valued. Thus, it is also mentioned among the books housed in the private library of the father of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hasan al-Ġabartī (d. 1241/1825), the famous Egyptian chronicler. Bakker, *Normative Grundstrukturen*, p. 715. Today al-Hudhudī's commentary is still available and used in Southeast Asian Islamic schools through the gloss to it by the *Šayh al-Azhar* 'Abd Allāh al-Šarqāwī (d. 1127/1812). Van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p. 251.
- 36 Bakker, *Normative Grundstrukturen*, p. 761.
- 37 Likewise, a commentary to it by 'Abd al-Barr al-Aḡhūrī (d. 1070/1659–60) is cited several times.
- 38 Al-Faṭānī, 'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn, p. 4f., 24.
- 39 Ibid., p. 51, 55, 76.
- 40 Ibid., p. 49.
- 41 Ibid., p. 96–114.
- 42 Ibid., p. 82.
- 43 In the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Šaṭṭariyya of al-Qušāšī, al-Kūrānī and al-Sinkilī became the dominant *ṭariqa* in many parts of Muslim Southeast Asia. By the 19th century it was eclipsed in many regions by the Sammāniyya. Cf. Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah*, p. 25–40; Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 109–126; Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 27–32.
- 44 Al-Faṭānī, 'Aqīdat al-nāḡīn, p. 87.
- 45 Ibid., p. 87.
- 46 The five published Arabic commentaries and glosses surveyed for this study are not including the story.
- 47 Ibid., p. 2; al-Bayḡūrī (1276/1860), *Hāšiyat al-imām al-Bayḡūrī*, p. 51.
- 48 For Cham see below. For Bugis and Javanese *sipat kalih dasa* texts from Lombok see PaEni, *Katalog induk*, p. 214, 227, 257; Marrison, *Sasak and Javanese Literature*, p. 60, 65.
- 49 Al-Sanūsī (895/1490), *Matn al-Sanūsīyya*.
- 50 See Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 35f., 39–41.
- 51 Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 124f. On al-Marzūqī's position and relevance in the cluster see below.
- 52 Incidentally, al-Nawawī, who wrote exclusively in Arabic, is also the author of an Arabic commentary to *Umm al-barāhīn* (*Ḍarī'at al-yaqīn ilā Umm al-barāhīn*). Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 63; Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, p. 194f.
- 53 Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud*; Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 21–26; Bradley, « Social Dynamics », p. 222–262.
- 54 Al-Faṭānī (1263/1847), *Kitab sifat dua puluh*, p. 27–32.
- 55 Madmarn, *Pondok & Madrasah*, p. 50.
- 56 Cf. Kaptein, *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age*.
- 57 Ibid., p. 90; Madmarn, *Pondok & Madrasah*, p. 50.
- 58 Sayyid 'Uṭmān al-'Alawī, *Kitab sifat dua puluh*, p. 2, 12f.
- 59 Ibid., p. 16.
- 60 Al-Faṭānī (1263/1847), *Kitab sifat dua puluh*, p. 10f., 18–20, 22–25.
- 61 Sayyid 'Uṭmān al-'Alawī, *Kitab sifat dua puluh*, p. 1.
- 62 Ibid., p. 2, 8, 10, 12–13.
- 63 Ibid., p. 12. On the Quranic usage of *nabī/rasūl* see Bobzin, "Seal of the Prophets", p. 567–574.
- 64 Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 472f.; Majid & Anwar, *Syair Sifat Dua Puluh*. One of these was published by Sayyid 'Uṭmān's son Hasan. Kaptein, *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age*, p. 90.
- 65 Al-Sanūsī (895/1490), *Matn al-Sanūsīyya*, p. 1; al-Sumbāwī, *Sirāḡ al-hudā*, p. 2.
- 66 *Syair sifat dua puluh*, p. 1.
- 67 Al-Marzūqī (1262/1846), *Manzūmat 'aqīdat al-'awāmm*, p. 4–6.
- 68 Van Bruinessen, "Kitab kuning", p. 254; Saleh, *Modern Trends*, p. 145.
- 69 Ibid., p. 139f., 145.
- 70 Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah*, p. 80.
- 71 Liow, "Muslim Identity, Local Networks, and Transnational Islam", p. 1405.
- 72 Kaptein, *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is*, p. 1–6.
- 73 Al-Sanūsī (895/1490), *Matn al-Sanūsīyya*, p. 1.
- 74 Al-Āšī (after 1305/1887), *Muhimmāt al-nafā'is*, p. 44f.
- 75 Bajunid, "Place of *Jawi*"; Bruckmayr, "Contentious Pull".
- 76 Baccot, "On G'nur et Cay", p. 102; *Siphat dua puluh*, private collection of Kai Tam, Svay Pakao, Kampong Chhnang, Cambodia.
- 77 Al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-faṭāniyya*, p. 4f.
- 78 The famous Arabic-(*jawi*) Malay dictionary of Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī (d. 1989) of 1937, however, does not include an individual entry on *qidam* under the respective root. Al-Marbawī, *Qāmūs Idrīs al-Marbawī*, II, p. 118f.
- 79 *Siphat dua puluh*, fol. 4a.
- 80 Mūsā et. al., *Qāmūs Malāyū-Ĉam*, p. 222, 339.

81 Abdullah, *Al-ʿAllamah*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 306f.

82 Al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-faṭāniyya*, p. 5f.

83 Ibid., p. 8.

84 Ibid., p. 12.

85 Ibid., p. 13.

86 Ibid., p. 14.

87 Al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, p. 209, 225, 287.

88 Ricci, *Islam Translated*, p. 93f.

89 Raihan, “Sifat 20”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6VyBuvv1Y6I&feature=youtu.be>. I am indebted to Ahmad Abdul Rahim (Cairo) for this reference.

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