

Malay-Archipelago Ethnic Diversity in Mecca: Jawi Scholars in the Book of al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān by Zakariyyā Bilā

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Abstrak

Kajian ini memfokuskan pada keragaman etnis Melayu-Nusantara di Mekah. Objek kajiannya adalah daftar ulama Jawi di Mekah dalam kitab al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān karya Zakariyyā Bilā (1329-1413/1911-1992), seorang ulama Arab keturunan Bilah, Labuhanbatu Sumatera Utara. Zakariyyā Bilā dalam kitab tersebut memuat daftar ulama dan guru di Mekah (299 orang), Madinah (21) dan Jeddah (7) yang ditemui atau didengarnya antara abad ke-19 hingga pertengahan abad ke-20. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa ulama Nusantara yang berkarir di Timur Tengah pada dua abad tersebut hanya didapatkan di Mekah, tidak ada di Madinah. Dari 299 daftar ulama Mekah yang dirincinya, terdapat 65 ulama Nusantara berasal dari pulau Sumatera, Jawa, Kalimantan, Sumbawa, Patani, dan Malaysia. Ini menunjukkan bahwa Mekah menjadi daya tarik penting bagi komunitas Jawi, karena posisi Masjidil Haram sebagai pusat ibadah haji, dibanding Madinah. Selain itu, keragaman geografis Nusantara berpengaruh terhadap keragaman etnisitas ulama Jawi di Mekah. Kajian ini berkontribusi bagi penguatan ciri kosmopolitanisme Muslim Nusantara yang membawa keragaman etnis dan bahasa ke pusat peribadatan Islam terbesar di dunia.

Kata Kunci: Ulama; Jawi; Mekah; Zakariyyā Bilā; etnisitas

Abstract

This study focuses on the ethnic diversity of the Malay Archipelago in Mecca. The object of this study is the compilation of Jawi scholars (ulema) in Mecca as documented in the book al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān, written by Zakariyyā Bilā (1329-1413/1911-1992), a prominent Arab scholar originating from the Bilah lineage in Labuhanbatu, North Sumatra. Zakariyyā Bilā provided a comprehensive record of the scholars and teachers he met or heard in Mecca (299 people), Medina (21 people), and Jeddah (7 people) over the period spanning from the 19th century to the mid-20th century. The study results indicate that Indonesian scholars who pursued professional opportunities in the Middle East were exclusively located in Mecca, with no presence in Medina over those two

centuries. Of the 299 list of Mecca scholars, 65 were Archipelago (*Nusantara*) scholars from Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sumbawa, Patani, and Malaysia. The significance of Mecca as a prominent destination for the Jawi people stems from the Grand Mosque's central role in the Hajj pilgrimage, in contrast to Medina. In addition, the Archipelago's geographical variety impacts the ethnic diversity of Jawi scholars in Mecca. Indonesian Muslim cosmopolitanism is characterized by its ability to incorporate ethnic and linguistic variety into the largest Islamic worship center worldwide. This study offers new insight into the intellectual and spiritual interactions between Indonesian scholars and Islamic science centers in Mecca. This study contributes to the strengthening of the Nusantara Muslim cosmopolitanism that brings ethnic and linguistic diversity to the largest Islamic worship center in the world.

Keywords: *Ethnicity; Jawi; Mecca scholars; Zakariyyā Bīlā*

Introduction

Historically, the extensive intellectual network between Indonesians and Haramain scholars from the 17th to the 19th century has been well-documented. Academics interpret this phenomenon within the framework of Islamic revitalization in the Middle East, which subsequently spread to the Archipelago, and the connection between the works of Indonesian scholars and scientific traditions in the Middle East. So far, many studies have examined the prominent Indonesian scholars in the 17th to 19th centuries, specifically from Hamzah Fansuri to Nawawi Banten.¹ Nevertheless, information regarding the identity of the Indonesian scholars, particularly those from the 20th century, and their record in Mecca has not been extensively revealed. Arab historians have compiled a list of Ḥaramayn scholars from the 20th century, notably including more Indonesian scholars than in the previous century.

One of the 20th-century historians who compiled biographies of Ḥaramayn scholars was Zakariyyā Bīlā (1911-1992), an Arab scholar of Indonesian descent, precisely from the Bilah region, Labuhanbatu, North Sumatra. He was known as a close friend of al-Shaykh Yāsīn al-Padānī (1919-1989), one of the last Jawi scholars from Padang who became Sheikh in Mecca. In the book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* (2006), Bīlā created a list of Indonesian scholars who were considered Ḥaramayn and Ḥijāz scholars, which he compiled in the mid-20th century.² In comparison to biographical works of

¹ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: BRILL, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004488199>; Basri, "Indonesian Ulama in the Haramayn and the Transmission of Reformist Islam in Indonesia (1800-1900)" (University of Arkansas, 2008).

² Zakariyyā bin 'Abdillāh Bīlā, *Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim Al-Fuḍalā' Wa Al-A'yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān* (Mekah: Mu'assasah al-Furqān li al-Turāth al-

scholars by other Arab historians, such as *Ḥilyah al-Bashar* (1961)³ by al-Bayṭār, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr al-Nūr wa al-Zuhr* (1986)⁴ by ‘Abdullāh Mirdād Abū al-Khayr, *Fayḍ al-Mulk al-Wahhāb* (2009)⁵ by ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī, *Siyar wa Tarājim* (1982)⁶ by ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Jabbār and *A’lām al-Makkiyyīn* (2000)⁷ by Mu’allimī and other works, Bīlā’s writing hold particular importance due to his background as the sole Arab historian of Malay-Archipelago descent. He devoted significant attention to the Indonesian scholars he met and heard about during his academic endeavors. The list of Archipelago scholars in *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* demonstrates his strong connections to the diverse and cosmopolitan network of Indonesian scholars in Mecca.⁸

This study focuses on the ethnic diversity of Indonesian scholars as recorded in the book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* by Zakariyyā Bīlā. The discussion will focus on providing a concise biographical explanation of Zakariyyā Bīlā on *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* as his masterpiece, the Indonesian scholars in the book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* and analysis of the ethnic diversity of Indonesian scholars in Mecca in the book. The researcher uses a social-intellectual historical approach to explain the historical context of the activities of Indonesian scholars. Here, Bīlā’s work is positioned as a text that has an important role in understanding history.⁹ This approach looks at how scholars in the past thought about things influenced by the conditions around them. He tries to reveal the social, intellectual, and cultural factors that influence the occurrence of historical events.¹⁰

Islāmī, 2006).

³ al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Razzāq Al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyah Al-Bashar Fī Tārīkh Al-Qarn Al-Thālīth ‘Ashar*, 1961.

⁴ al-Shaikh ‘Abdullāh Mirdād Abū al-Khair, *Al-Mukhtaṣar Min Kitāb Nashr Al-Nūr Wa Al-Zuhr Fī Tarājim Afāḍil Makkah Min Al-Qarn Al-‘Āshir Ilā Al-Qarn Al-Rābi’ ‘Ashr* (Jeddah: ‘Ālam al-Ma’rifah, 1986).

⁵ ‘Abd al-Sattār bin ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bakrī al-Dahlawī al-Hindī, *Fayḍ Al-Mulk Al-Wahhāb Al-Muta’ālī Bi Anbā’ Awā’il Al-Qarn Al-Thālīth ‘Ashar Wa Al-Tawālī* (Mekah: Maktabah al-Asadī, 2009).

⁶ ‘Umar Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar Wa Tarājim Ba’d ‘Ulamā’Inā Fī Al-Qarn Al-Rābi’ ‘Ashr Li Al-Hijrah* (Jeddah: Mamlakah al-‘Arabiyyah al-Su’ūdiyyah, 1982).

⁷ ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Abdurrahman bin ‘Abdurrahīm Al-Mu’allimī, *A’lām Al-Makkiyyīn Min Al-Qarn Al-Tāsi’ Ilā Al-Qarn Al-Rābi’ ‘Ashr Al-Hijrī* (Mekah: Mu’assasah al-Furqān li al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2000).

⁸ Sumanto Al Qurtuby, ‘Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: On Islamic and Muslim Scholars’, *ISLAM ARCHIPELAGO: Journal for the Study of Islamic History and Culture* 2, no. 2 (27 July 2021): 17–44, doi:10.47776/islamArchipelago.v3i1-118.

⁹ Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana, 2003), 166–67.

¹⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *Historiografi Islam Kotemporer: Wacana, Aktualitas Dan Aktor*

This study is important to show that Arab historians have found a shared Malay cultural identity among Meccan scholars despite the diverse ethnic backgrounds from the Malay-Archipelago region. According to Laffan, they constitute an *ecumene*, a single community built by a complex and heterogeneous network of people.¹¹ Arab historians, such as al-Baytar, Abū al-Khayr, al-Dahlawi, Bīlā, ‘Abd al-Jabbar, and al-Mu’allimi, commonly refer to them as Jawi scholars (*al-Jāwī*) denoting their origins from the regions of Java or Malay Archipelago, rather than exclusively Java. The terms seen as representative of the scholars’ identity from the Malay Archipelago region and their role in establishing the Malay language as a *lingua franca* are of scholarly significance. Andaya refers to this phenomenon as “leaves from the same tree.”¹² Historians, including Bīlā in his work *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*, expressed their concern with the shared identity of being a Jawi scholar.

Bīlā’s writing stands out significantly compared to biographical scholars produced by other Arab historians, as it encompasses the most extensive compilation of names of Indonesian scholars. One of the motivating factors for Bīlā was the similarity between his ethnic identity and that of the Indonesian scholars. Bīlā, an Arab historian of Indonesian descent, will be further explained in the discussion. His father came from Bilah, Labuhanbatu, North Sumatra.¹³ This study confirms that the same ethnic identity as Jawi scholars encouraged Arab historians of Indonesian descent, such as Bīlā, to record the traces of Indonesian scholars in the scholars’ biographies he compiled.

It is important to understand that the term Archipelago (*Nusantara*) or Jawi scholars in this article pertains to the ethnic and geographical elements, specifically people who were born in Southeast Asia or the Archipelago (comprising Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, Patani/Southern Thailand, and the Southern Philippines), or born in Mecca to parents from the Indonesian Archipelago. Their parents subsequently pursued a career as teachers in Mecca until their passing or returned to the Archipelago.¹⁴ The researcher has not included scholars from outside the Archipelago, such as those from Mecca, Medina, Yemen, Egypt, and other

Sejarah (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2002), 80–81.

¹¹ Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia, The Umma below the Winds* (London-New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 2–3.

¹² Leonard Y Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree* (Hawaii: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), 4, <https://doi.org/10.21313/hawaii/9780824831899.001.0001>.

¹³ Bīlā, *Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim Al-Fuḍalā’ Wa Al-A’yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān*.

¹⁴ Nelly van Doorn-Harder, “Southeast Asia,” in *The Islamic World*, ed. Richard C Martin (New York: Routledge, 2004), 644–48, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203-019139.ch7>.

regions, who are mentioned in Bīlā's records as having arrived, pursued careers, and even passed away within the Archipelago. The primary focus of this study is due to the genealogical and geographical considerations of the Archipelago. One of the Arab scholars who had a career in the Archipelago, for example, was 'Abdullāh bin Ṣadaqah bin Zaynī Daḥlān (1291-1363), a scholar born in Mecca who died in Garut, West Java.¹⁵ He was the grandson of Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (1817-1886), the grand *mufti* of Mecca, author of the book *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is*.¹⁶ Even though he died in the Archipelago, 'Abdullāh bin Ṣadaqah was not of Indonesian descent.

Results and Discussion

1. Jawi Scholars in Mecca

The precise historical time of Indonesians coming to Ḥaramayn remains uncertain. The primary purpose of their arrival in the holy land was to undertake the Hajj, the fifth pillar of Islam. The difficult and long journey requires the pilgrims not only to pause but also to stay there. The Indonesians staying in Mecca engage in more than just undertaking the Hajj trip and enhancing their spiritual and religious devotion. Some also dedicated their time to pursuing religious studies and acquiring livelihood opportunities.

Insufficient evidence is available regarding the precise number of Archipelago scholars who became teachers in houses and madrasas in Mecca or those who attained the esteemed role of head teachers (*shaykh*) at the Grand Mosque. The available data on the quantity of Indonesians who became teachers in Mecca during the 19th century is notably comprehensive. An Ottoman government report in 1303/1884-5 stated that there were 270 teachers in that year from various countries. A Dutch advisor who had visited Mecca, C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), considered this number doubtful, considering it excessive in quantity. It is related to payments provided by the government for knowledge development. Snouck Hurgronje believes the total number is only around 50-60 people.¹⁷ In comparison, Azra stated that the average estimate for scholars in Mecca in the 17th and 18th centuries was between 100-200 people. Even if that number is added to the number of

¹⁵ Bīlā, *Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim Al-Fuḍalā' Wa Al-A'yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān*; Abū al-Khair, *Al-Mukhtaṣar Min Kitāb Nashr Al-Nūr Wa Al-Zuhr Fī Tarājim Afāḍil Makkah Min Al-Qarn Al-'Ashir Ilā Al-Qarn Al-Rābi' 'Ashr*.

¹⁶ Nico Kaptein, *Muhimmāt Al-Nafā'is: A Bilingual Meccan Fatwa Collection for Indonesian Muslims from the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Jakarta: INIS, 1997), 3.

¹⁷ C.Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, Translated by J.H. Monahan with an Introduction by Jan Just Witkam (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 199.

scholars who only teach in madrasas and houses, the number will be quite large.¹⁸

This explanation elucidates that the number of Indonesians who pursued careers as teachers in Mecca was very large during the nineteenth century. This phenomenon is distinct from the preceding century or two, which reportedly did not exhibit comparable numbers. Several researchers have presented a list of Indonesian scholars from the 17th and 18th centuries who had contact with Mecca, as evidenced by data indicating fewer numbers than the above data. Azra highlighted the people named al-Sinkīlī, al-Maḡassarī, and ‘Abd al-Shakūr Banten, who were students of al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in Medina in the 17th century. In the 18th century, there was a significant increase in Indonesian scholars who became teachers in Mecca. This trend was particularly prominent among people from regions such as Minangkabau, Palembang, Patani, Betawi (Batavia), and Banjar (Kalimantan).¹⁹ Al-Bayṭār, for example, recorded the name ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbanī in his work, *Ḥilyah al-Bashar*.²⁰

Then, over time, the number of Indonesians who became teachers in Mecca increased. In his work titled *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr al-Nūr wa al-Zuhr* (1986), Abū al-Khayr reported approximately 16 Indonesian scholars in the 19th century. This number is comparatively lower than the 23 names of Indonesian scholars recorded by ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī in his book *Fayḍ al-Mulk al-Wahhāb* (2009). It cannot be separated from the increase of the number of the Archipelago peoples going to Mecca. In the mid-19th century, approximately 2000 pilgrims came to Mecca, doubling to reach 12,000 pilgrims by the end of the century.²¹ Some data shows that in specific periods, the number of Indonesians returning home is less than the number of people coming there. It is not only related to the many obstacles experienced by Indonesians during their journey, such as dying at sea or in Ḥaramain, but also to the large number of those who choose to settle in the holy land for trading and studying.²²

Hence, it is understandable that there was a rise in the count of Indonesians who became teachers in Mecca, particularly throughout the

¹⁸ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*.

¹⁹ Zacky Khairul Umam, “Seventeenth-Century Islam Teaching in Media: The Life, Circle, and Forum of Aḡmad Al-Qushāshī,” *Qiraat*, no. 6 (2016): 22; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*.

²⁰ Al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyah Al-Bashar Fi Tārīkh Al-Qarn Al-Thālith ‘Ashar*.

²¹ Jacob Vredenburg, “Ibadah Haji, Beberapa Ciri Dan Fungsinya,” in *Indonesia Dan Haji* (Jakarta: INIS, 1997), 3, 57.

²² Martin van Bruinessen, ‘Mencari Ilmu Dan Pahala Di Tanah Suci: Orang Archipelago Naik Haji’, in *Indonesia Dan Haji*, ed. Dick Douwes and Nico Kaptein (Jakarta: INIS, 1997), 124–27.

period from the 19th century to the early 20th century. They provided instruction to fellow Indonesians using Malay or regional languages, such as Javanese, Sundanese, and others. It can be seen from the circulation of the number of books written by Indonesian scholars who taught in Mecca using various Indonesian languages, such as Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese. Their books were printed in Mecca and Egypt at the end of the 19th century.²³

The data on the increase in the number of Indonesian scholars who became teachers in Mecca has been recorded by various Arab historians. These historians include both contemporaries, such as Mirdād Abū al-Khayr (d. 1924) and al-Dahlawī (1869-1936), who lived during the 19th century, as well as historians of the 20th century, such as ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Jabbār (1902-1970), ‘Alī Maghribī (1914-1996), Zakariyyā Bīlā (1911-1992), and others. One of the historians who documented Indonesian scholars living in Mecca during his era was Bīlā, a Meccan historian of Indonesian descent who extensively engaged with Indonesian scholars in his studies. Therefore, the next section will explain Bīlā and the book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*, which recorded the list of Indonesian scholars in Mecca from the 19th century to the early 20th century.

2. About Zakariyya Bīlā

His full name is al-Shaykh Zakariyyā bin al-Shaykh ‘Abdullāh bin al-Shaykh Ḥasan Bīlā or Bīlah al-Indūnīsī. He was born in Mecca on Friday night, 7 Jumadil Ula 1329/6 May 1911. He learned to read the Qur’an from his parents. His father, ‘Abdullah Bīlā bin Ḥasan bin Zaynal (1296-1356/1879-1937), was a scholar born in Bilah, Labuhanbatu, North Sumatra, who came to Mecca with his brother, al-Shaykh Abū Bakar Tambusai, before 1916.²⁴ Bīlā had three brothers, namely Muḥammad, ‘Abd al-Karīm and Salmān. He studied at Madrasah al-Amīriyyah al-Hāshimiyyah in al-Ma’lāh Mecca during the reign of Sharif Ḥusayn bin ‘Alī. Then, during the reign of the Ibn Sa’ūd dynasty, Bīlā studied Islamic studies at Madrasah al-Ṣawlatiyyah, an educational institution founded by al-Shaykh Raḥmatullāh al-Hindī. He studied from 1925 until he finished and got *Shahadah* (degree) in 1934.²⁵

While studying at Madrasah al-Ṣawlatiyyah, Bīlā studied at Masjidil Haram with many scholars. He obtained academic degrees from Shafi’iyyah,

²³ Oman Fathurahman, “Kitabs from Cairo: An Overview of the New Collection of Southeast Asian Kitabs at Sophia University,” in *Comparative Study of Southeast Asian Kitabs*, ed. Yumi Sugahara (Tokyo, Japan, 2011).

²⁴ Bīlā, *Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim Al-Fuḍalā’ Wa Al-A’yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān*; Al-Mu’allimī, *A’lām Al-Makkiyyīn Min Al-Qarn Al-Tāsi’ Ilā Al-Qarn Al-Rābi’ ‘Ashr Al-Hijrī*.

²⁵ Bīlā, *Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim Al-Fuḍalā’ Wa Al-A’yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān*.

Mālikiyyah and Ḥanafīyyah scholars, such as from al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī bin Ḥusayn al-Mālikī, al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, al-Shaykh 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad Nayyāz al-Namnakānī, al-Shaykh 'Umar al-Daghīstānī (d. 1946), al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī (1869-1936), and others. His teachers reached around 32 people, among them al-Shaykh' Umar Bā Junayd (d. 1935), al-Shaykh' Umar Ḥamdān al-Mahrisī (d. 1910), 'Abdullāh al-Namnakānī, al-Shaykh Ḥasan al-Mashshāt al-Makkī (d. 1979), al-Shaykh Mukhtār Makhdūm, al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musāwā (d. 1935), al-Shaykh Abū Bakar Sālim al-Bar, and others. In addition to learning from Arab scholars, he also studied from Archipelago scholars, such as al-Shaykh' Abdullāh Bīlah (his father), al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Paṭānī and al-Shaykh Muḥammad Zuhdī al-Jāwī.²⁶ In addition to Mecca, Bīlā also studied with many scholars in Medina, such as al-Shaykh Bārī al-Madanī, al-Shaykh Aḥmad Basātī al-Madanī (d. 1948), al-Shaykh' Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Miṣrī (d. 1941) and others.

Bīlā then obtained an opportunity to be a teacher at Madrasah al-Ṣawlatiyyah, where he got the trust to teach students across all educational levels, including primary, secondary, and higher levels, until 1958. He also taught in Masjidil Haram and Ma'had al-Su'ūdī. He also conducted *halaqah* (circle) teachings in Bāb al-Ziyādah. Many students come from various countries, such as the Arabian Peninsula, Africa, and Asia. Specifically, from Southeast Asia, they came from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Brunei Darussalam. Among his prominent students were Aḥmad 'Alī al-Adamī, al-Sayyid Ḥamīd al-Kāf, Zumayl Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Kunawī, Aḥmad Balū and Muḥammad 'Adnān bin Ḥikmatullāh.

In addition, Bīlā was also elected as the management official for the Grand Mosque under the Ministry of Hajj and Endowments. Amid his busy life, Bīlā traveled to Indonesia several times to fulfill formal invitations, including in 1976, accompanying al-Shaykh Yāsīn al-Padānī, who was invited by the Minister of Religion Mukti Ali; fulfilling the invitation of K.H. Idham Khalid; fulfilling the invitation of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) leadership to attend the congress; and fulfilling the invitation of the Minister of Religion Alamsyah Ratu Prawiranagara. He also took the time to visit several of his relatives in Java and Sumatra, including Medan, the land of his parents' birth. Bīlā died in Mecca on Tuesday, 7 Jumadi al-Thānī 1413/2 December 1992, at the age of 83 years.²⁷

The works compiled by Bīlā reach 23 books, generally in the field of jurisprudence. Among others are *Kashf al-Lathām*, *al-Azhar al-Wardiyyah*,

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Yūsuf Al-Mar'ashlī, *Nathr Al-Jawāhir Wa Al-Durar Fī 'Ulamā' Al-Qarn Al-Rābi' 'Ashar, Jilid 2* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 2006), 1767; Bīlā, *Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim Al-Fuḍalā' Wa Al-A'yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān*.

*Durūs al-Tahdhīb, al-Raḥmah al-Laduniyyah al-Manān al-Wahbiyyah, al-Nuzhah al-Ilmiyyah, Kashf al-Niqāb, al-Ta'liq 'ala Khulāṣah al-Naḥw, Asnā al-Taqrīrāt, al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān, Nūn al-Tawkīd, al-Qawl al-Musirr, Khulāṣah al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah, al-Ḥilal al-Sundusiyyah, Ta'liqā t'alā Risālah Ibn al-Mulaqqin, Jalī al-Aqwāl, al-Ajwibah al-Jaliyyah, Mā shahidtu wa mā samī'tu al-kashāfah wa al-kashshāf, al-Ra'y al-Ṣa'ib, al-Ta'liq al-Zayn, Mujmal Tārīkh al-Madrasah al-Ṣawlatiyyah al-Hindiyyah, I'm Dhawī al-Ihtishām, Ta'liqāt 'alā Risālah al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Ākhir Sā'ah fī Ḥukm Lubṣ al-Muḥrim li al-Sā'ah, and others.*²⁸

3. The Book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*

Of the many works of Zakariyya Bilā, one of the important works that contains the list of scholars of the Archipelago is the book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān fī Tarājim al-Fuḍalā' wa al-A'yān min Asātidhah wa Khallān aw al-Durar al-Gharar fī Tarājim al-Qarn al-Rābi' 'Ashar*. This book was originally a manuscript written around the middle of the 20th century. This book has been made into a text edition (*taḥqīq*) by 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibrāhīm Abū Sulaymān and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Aḥmad' Alī in 1424/2003 or eleven years after Bilā died. This book was published in 1426/2006 by Mu'assasah al-Furqān al-Turāth al-Islām in Mecca in two volumes reaching 890 pages. Bilā explained the purpose of compiling the book:

ومن علماء المسلمين ما بين الوافدين إلى أرض الحرم وخلافهم فخليق بداعي الواجب أن أجمع تراجمهم على قدر الإستطاعة وأذكر أخبارهم المنبئة عن عظيم قدرهم وعلو مقامهم تذكارا لنفسي الضعيفة ومرجعا لمن تحدثه نفسه للوقوف على سيرهم

Among the Muslim scholars, some came to the Ḥarām land along with their successors. Therefore, it is appropriate that there is a reason that requires me to collect their biographies based on my ability. I will mention the news circulating about the majesty of their power and high position as a reminder of my weak self and a reference for people who tell stories to themselves to understand the journey of their lives.²⁹

Bilā stated that the purpose of compiling the book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* is a reminder to him as well as a reference for understanding the life journey of these great scholars. Therefore, Bilā focused on the biographies of scholars and *shaykh* in Haramain and Jeddah. The total number is 327 scholars,

²⁸ Bilā, *Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim Al-Fuḍalā' Wa Al-A'yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān*.

²⁹ Ibid.

consisting of scholars from Mecca (299), Medina (21) and Jeddah (7). Hundreds of scholars come from various countries, such as Arab countries (Mecca, Medina, Ta'if, Yemen, Damascus/Syria, Aleppo, Amman, Bahrain and others), Africa (Egypt, Timbuktu, Morocco, Algeria, Sudan, Algeria, Tunisia, Nigeria and others), Asia (India, Malay-Archipelago, Pakistan and others) and areas in East Asia such as Bukhara, Daghestan, Uzbekistan and others. According to the editor, Bīlā prioritized the scholars at Madrasah al-Ṣawlatiyyah in Mecca, both teachers and students. This madrasa is an educational institution around the Grand Mosque, which an Indian cleric, Shaykh Raḥmatullāh al-Hindī, founded.

Bīlā is quite detailed in mentioning the year of birth and/or year of death of each scholar. He also explained the peculiarities of their scientific nature and thinking. He explained the biographies of Meccan scholars and those who came to Mecca and settled there in the 20th century. The scholars who came to Mecca came from various regions in the Islamic world. He explained the number of scholars' friends, places of study, teachers' names, students, and their works. He also discussed scholars who were not his contemporaries but people who had left great works. Most scholars mentioned in this book were affiliated with Madrasah al-Sawlatiyyah, serving as educators, colleagues, and students. It is worth noting that a few of these people were not the author's contemporaries. He also listed scholars' tendencies regarding schools of faith, Sufism, and Islamic jurisprudence. In addition to his experience, he also used several other biographical books that have been compiled by previous scholars, especially the book *Nathr al-Durar fi Tadhyil Nazm al-Durar fi Tarajim' Scholars' Makkah min al-Qarn al-Thalith' Ashar ila al-Qarn al-Rabi' 'Ashar*, the works of 'Abdullah bin Muḥammad Ghazi and other biographical books.³⁰

The next paragraph will explain one of the interesting things about the book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*. It means that there are many names of scholars who come from the Malay-Archipelago region, especially Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. Some of them studied at the Grand Mosque, some taught, although many also returned to their home country. The Indonesian scholars live in Mecca, and none live in Medina. Of the 299 names on the list of Mecca scholars, 65 are Indonesian scholars.

³⁰ Ibid.

4. Archipelago Scholars in the Book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*

As the explanation above, Zakariyya Bilā in *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* mentions 65 names of Archipelago scholars. Due to their origins, the Indonesian scholars came from three countries, namely Indonesia (53 people), Patani (Southern Thailand) (6 people), and Malaysia (6 people). The following are details of all Archipelago scholars in Bilā's works:

Table 1: List of Archipelago scholars in *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* by Bilā

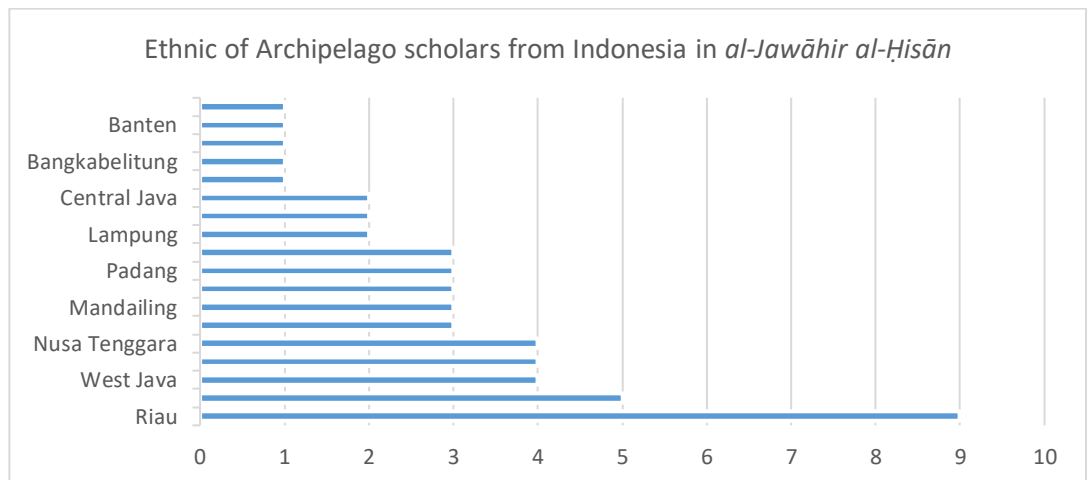
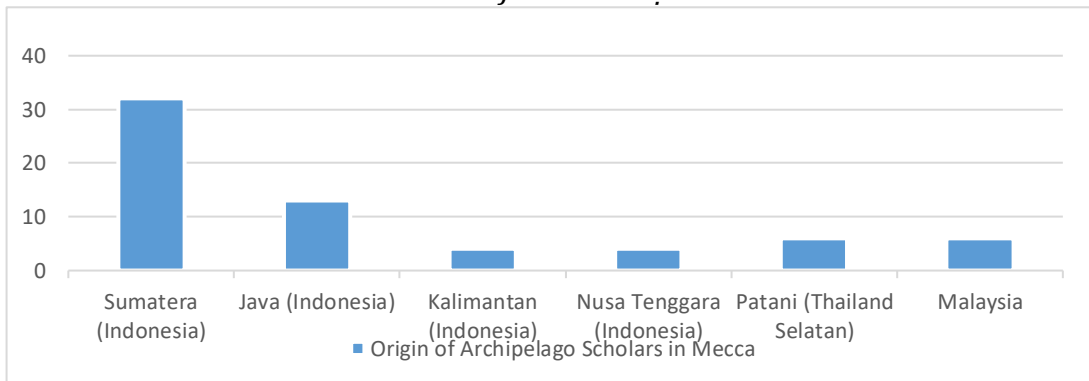
No	Country	Area	Scholars' Name
1.	Indonesia (53)	Sumatera (32)	<p>Riau (9): Abū Bakar Tambusai, 'Uthmān Tambusai, Muḥammad Ṣālih Palaplan Tambusai, Zubayr Palaplanī Melayu, Muḥammad Yatīm bin Dikūl Riau, Dr. Ṭabrānī bin 'Abd al-Rabb, Teungku Ma'mūn al-Rashīd Siak, 'Abdullāh bin 'Umar al-Saqqāf, Teungku 'Umar bin Muḥammad al-Jufrī al-Indūnīsī Palalawan;</p> <p>Palembang (5): Shams al-Dīn al-Palimbānī, al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musāwā Palembang, Dāwud Komeriṅ al-Jāwī Campang Tiga Palembang, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Palembang, Amān Palembang;</p> <p>Jambi (3): Sa'īd Jambi, 'Uthmān Tungkal Jambi, Sayf Layzan Tungkal Jambi;</p> <p>Mandailing (3): 'Abd al-Qadīr bin Ṣābir al-Mandailī, 'Abd al-Qadīr bin Ṭālib al-Mandailī, Sharīf 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Mandailī;</p> <p>Minangkabau (3): Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minangkabau, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Khaṭīb bin Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb Minangkabau, Junān Ṭayyib al-Minangkabawī;</p> <p>Padang (3): Muḥammad Yāsīn bin Muḥammad 'Īsā al-Padanī, Muḥammad Junān Ṭayyib al-Padanī, 'Abd al-Hādī Ilyās Rawāh (Rao) Pasaman;</p> <p>Lampung (2): Fathullāh Lampung, Jamīl 'Ārif Lampung; East Sumatera (2): 'Abdullāh Bilā (Labuhanbatu); Muḥammad Ṭāhir Batubara Tanjungbalai;</p>

			Bangka Belitung (1): Muḥammad Yāsīn bin ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Bangka Pangkal Pinang; Aceh (1): ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Āshī.
	Java (13)		West Java (4): Muḥammad Sirāj al-Qārūtī, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid Bogor, Muḥammad Aḥyad Bogor, Sulaymān bin Muḥammad Ḥusayn Sumedang; Jawa Timur (3): ‘Abd al-Muḥīṭ Panji Sidoarjo, Kiai Sulaymān Kurdī Bojonegoro, Ilyās al-Indūnīsī (Probolinggo); Yogyakarta (2): Kiai Muḥammad al-Baqīr Yogya, Kiai (Aḥmad) Daḥlān Yogya; Jawa Tengah (2): ‘Abd al-Muḥaymin al-Lasemī, Aḥmad Naḥrāwī Banyumas; Banten (1): Muḥammad Nawawī Banten; Jakarta (1): Haji Ishāq Yaḥyá Jakarta.
		Kalimantan (4)	Muḥammad Arshad Banjar, Aḥmad Qistī al-Banjari, ‘Alī Banjar Martapura, Muḥammad ‘Ārif Sambas.
		Nusa Tenggara (4)	Muḥammad Arshad Sumbawa, Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn Ampenan Pancor, Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ampenan, Muḥammad Rubā’ī bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ampenanī.
2.	Southern Thailand	Patani (6)	‘Abdullāh bin Ismā’īl al-Paṭānī, ‘Abd al-Muṭallib Ramlī al-Paṭānī, Ismā’īl Paṭānī, Muḥammad Nūr al-Paṭānī, Maḥmūd Zuhdī al-Paṭānī, Ibrāhīm Paṭānī.
3.	Malaysia	(6)	Ṣāliḥ bin Muḥammad bin Idrīs al-Kelantanī, ‘Abd al-Hādī bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Palaplan Bukit Mertajam Penang, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī Seremban Negeri Sembilan, Aḥmad al-Manṣūrī Penang, Muḥammad bin ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād Pahang, Aḥmad Awang Kedah.

In Table 1, there are probably two names of Sumatran scholars who refer to the same person, namely Junān Ṭayyib. Bilā mentioned that he originated from Padang. However, the subsequent list of scholars includes a repetition of the same name that he was from Minangkabau. Upon reviewing Bilā’s description regarding Junān’s role as a pioneer in establishing the madrasa for Indonesians in Mecca, it likely refers to the same person. However, Bilā mentioned a slightly different year of death.

In addition to the information above, the data indicates that Archipelago scholars are predominantly represented by scholars from Sumatra, with a total of 32 people. Conversely, there are only 13 scholars from Java, followed by four from Kalimantan and four from Nusa Tenggara. The dominance of Sumatran scholars in Mecca may be related to the long history of this area since the beginning of the Islamization of the Archipelago over the centuries. It is also related to some of the earliest Sumatran scholars recorded as having activities in Mecca, such as Hamzah Fansuri, Shams al-Din al-Sumatra'i, and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili in the 17th century, then continued by 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani who was a teacher in Mecca in the 18th century. However, what is quite surprising about Bīlā's list is that there is no single name of an Indonesian scholar from Sulawesi. As is known, scholars from Sulawesi were only found in the 17th century, namely Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassari and 'Abd al-Wahhab Bugis from the 18th century.

Diagram 1: The country of origin of the Archipelago scholars in Mecca in *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*



In addition to the explanation above, it is noteworthy to mention that among the list of Indonesian scholars listed by Bīlā in his work *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*, only one Indonesian scholar emerged from the 18th century. This person is identified as Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjari (1122-1272/1710-1812), coming from Banjar, a region located in South Kalimantan. Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjari was recognized as the earliest Banjar scholar who studied and taught in Mecca before returning to his land in 1772. Some of his books, such as *Tuḥfah al-Rāghibīn*, were written in Javanese characters, making him well-known in the Archipelago.³¹

In the 19th century, 29 scholars existed in Bīlā's list. However, the number of scholars in the 20th century exceeded this amount, reaching 34 people. The significant number of scholars during these two periods can be attributed to Bīlā's attention to prioritizing the scholars he met and those who lived contemporarily with him. Bīlā, who was born in 1911, listed not only senior scholars who were born at the end of the 19th century but also scholars who were the same age as him (born in the early 20th century) and even several scholars who were much more junior than him, such as Dr. Tabrani bin' Abd al-Rabb Riau (born 1941) and Sayf Layzan Tungkal Jambi (born 1957). His attention to contemporary scholars tends to contrast the name of the Archipelago scholars from the 18th century, which only had one person, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjari.

In addition, the list that Bīlā made probably refers to scholars with a prominent reputation in Mecca. Therefore, apart from the names of prominent 18th-century scholars such as Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjari, Bīlā also listed several other prominent scholars from the 19th and 20th centuries, either who had died or were still alive when Bīlā was a child, although it was not too much. This phenomenon is evident in the case of Muḥammad Nawawi Banten (1230-1314/1815-1896), a prominent scholar of the 19th century who passed away well before the birth of Bīlā. However, because of Nawawi Banten's reputation for outstanding productivity, especially among Indonesian scholars in Mecca, Bīlā included his name in the book *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*. Nawawi Banten is known as Sayyid Scholars Hijaz, who wrote over 100 books in Arabic, most of which were printed in Mecca and Egypt.³²

³¹ Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Tuḥfat Al-Rāghibīn, The Work of 'Abdul Ṣamad Al-Palimbani or of Muḥammad Arsyad Al-Banjari?," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde (BKI)* 163, no. 1 (2007): 67-85.

³² Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawī of Banten: Texts, Authority, and the Gloss Tradition" (Columbia University, 1997); Jajang A Rohmana, "Authorship of The Jāwī 'Ulamā' in Egypt: A Contribution of Nawawī Banten and Haji Hasan Mustapa to Sharḥ Tradition," *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman* 15, no. 2

In addition to Nawawi Banten, Bīlā also included other prominent Indonesian scholars in his list, including Aḥmad Khatib al-Minangkabau (1276-1334/1859-1916), teacher of the great scholar who founded Muḥammadiyah, K.H. Aḥmad Dahlan (1868-1923) and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari (1871-1947).³³ Bīlā also mentioned the name of Mukhtar' Atarid Bogor (1278-1349/1861-1930), a Sundanese scholar who was a teacher at the Grand Mosque and wrote several Sundanese works that were printed in Mecca and Egypt.³⁴ There was also the name Aḥmad Nahrawi al-Jawi Banyumas (1276-1346/1859-1927), known as Kiai Muhtaram. He had several works, such as *Qurrah al-'Uyūn li al-Nāsik al-Muṭī' bi al-Funūn*.³⁵ Table 2 is a list of Indonesian scholars who were born in the 18th to 20th centuries and are listed in the *book al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*:

Table 2: List of Archipelago Scholars based on Year of Birth

Century	Archipelago Scholars
12/18	Muḥammad Arshad Banjar (1122-1272/1710-1856)
13/19	Muḥammad Nawawī Banten (1230-1314/1815-1896), 'Uthmān Tambusai (1251-1369/1835-1950), Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau (1276-1334/1860-1916), Aḥmad Naḥrāwī al-Jāwī Banyumas (1276-1346/1859-1927), 'Abd al-Laṭīf Bangka Pangkal Pinang (1277-1367/1860-1948), Mukhtār 'Aṭārid Bogor (1278-1349/1861-1930), Abū Bakar Tambusai (1280-1359/1863-1940), Muḥammad Arshad Sumbawa (d. 1351/1932), 'Abd al-Qadīr bin Ṣābir al-Mandailī (1282-1352/1865-1933), 'Alī Banjar Martapura (1285-1370/1868-1951), Muḥammad Nūr al-Paṭānī (1290-1363/1873-1944), Sulaymān bin Muḥammad Ḥusayn Sumedang (1295-1376/1878-1957), 'Abdullāh Bīlā Labuhanbatu (1296-1356/1879-1937), Amān Palembang (1296-1362/1879-1943), Aḥmad Qistī al-Banjārī (1299-1367/1882-1948), 'Abd al-Muḥīṭ al-Jāwī al-Mrikī (Sidoarjo) (1301-1388/1884-1968),

(2020): 221–64, <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2020.15.02.221-264>.

³³ Alwi Shihab, "The Muḥammadiyah Movement and Its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia" (the Temple University, 1995), 173.

³⁴ Jajang A Rohmana, "The Discourse of Malay-Indonesian Sufism in Mecca: A Response of Mukhtār ' Aṭārid of Bogor Towards the Doctrine of Seven Grades," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 19, no. 1 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v19i1.-923>.

³⁵ Bīlā, *Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim Al-Fuḍalā' Wa Al-A'yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān*; Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar Wa Tarājim Ba'd 'Ulamā'Inā Fī Al-Qarn Al-Rābi' 'Ashr Li Al-Hijrah*; Al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām Al-Makkiyyīn Min Al-Qarn Al-Tāsi' Ilā Al-Qarn Al-Rābi' 'Ashr Al-Hijrī*.

Maḥmūd Zuhdī al-Paṭānī (1302-1376/1885-1957), Muḥammad bin ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād Pahang (1303-?/1886-?), Muḥammad Aḥyad al-Jāwī Bogor (1303-1373/1886-1954), Kiai Muḥammad al-Baqīr al-Mriki Yogya (1305-1363/1888-1944), Aḥmad Awang Kedah (1307-?/1890-?), Muḥammad Sirāj al-Qārūtī (1313-1390/1895-1970), ‘Abd al-Muḥaymin al-Lasemī (1313-1365/1895-1946), Muḥammad Junān Ṭayyib al-Padanī (d. 1363/1944, 1365/1946), Dāwud Komeriṅ al-Jāwī Campang Tiga Palembang (1313-?/1895-?), Ṣāliḥ bin Muḥammad bin Idrīs al-Kelantanī (1315-1379/1897-1959), ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Khaṭīb bin Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb Minangkabau (1316-1381/1898-1961), Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Palaplan Tambusai (?), Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī Seremban Negeri Sembilan (?).

14/20 Fathullāh Lampung (1318-?/1900-?), Muḥammad Ḥusayn Palembang (1319-1399/1901-1979), Ibrāhīm Paṭānī (1320-1413/1902-1992), ‘Uthmān Tungkal Jambi (1320-1405/1902-1985), Aḥmad al-Manṣūrī Penang (1322-?/1904-?), ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Āshī Aceh (1322-1405/1904-1985), Kiai Sulaymān Kurdī Bojonegoro (1322-1372/1904-1953), al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musāwá Palembang (1323-1354/1905-1935), Zubayr Palaplanī Melayu (1324-?/1906-?), Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn Ampenan Pancor (1327-1417/1909-1996), ‘Abd al-Qadīr bin Ṭālib al-Mandailī (1329-1385/1911-1965), Jamīl ‘Ārif Lampung (1329-1387/1911-1967), ‘Abd al-Hādī bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Palaplan Bukit Mertajam Penang (1330-1362/1912-1943), Teungku ‘Umar bin Muḥammad al-Jufrī al-Indūnīsī Palalawan (1331-?/1913-?), Ismā’īl Paṭānī (d. 1385/1965), Sa’īd Jambi (d. 1388/1968), Ilyās al-Indūnīsī Probolinggo (1331-1390/1913-1970), Muḥammad Tāhir Batubara Tanjungbalai Asahan (1333-?/1915-?), ‘Abd al-Muṭallib Ramlī al-Paṭānī (1333-?/1915-?), Muḥammad ‘Ārif Sambas (1334-?/1916-?), Teungku Ma’mūn al-Rashīd Siak (1917-?), Sharīf ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Mandailī (1336-?/1918-?), ‘Abdullāh bin Ismā’īl al-Paṭānī (1336-1362/1918-1943), Shams al-Dīn al-Palimbanī (1338-?/1919-?), Muḥammad Rubā’ī bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ampenanī (d. 1396/1976), Kiai (Ahmad) Dahlān Yogya (d. 1409/1989), Muḥammad Yāsīn bin Muḥammad ‘Īsá al-Padanī (1337-1410/1919-1989), Muḥammad Yatīm bin Dikūl Riau (1921-?), Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ampenan (1340-?/1922-?), ‘Abd al-Hādī Ilyās

Rawāh (Rao) Pasaman (1340-?/1922-?), Haji Ishāq Yaḥyá Jakarta (1928-?), ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar al-Saqqāf Riau (1939-?), Dr. Ṭabrānī bin ‘Abd al-Rabb Riau (1941-?), Sayf Layzan Tungkal Jambi (1957-?).

As can be seen in Table 2, Bīlā in *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* tends to highlight Archipelago scholars born in the 20th century like himself. Thus, compared to only one 18th-century scholar and 29 19th-century scholars, he listed 34 scholars born in the 20th century. This contemporary period and ethnic ties may have prompted Bīlā to focus on fellow archipelago people, who he was also a descendant of Archipelago descent.

In addition, the data also shows that the number of Archipelago scholars who studied and taught at the Grand Mosque and several educational institutions in Mecca in the 20th century was still quite large, at least until the mid-20th century. This number shows that despite the shift in the religious-political situation in Saudi Arabia in 1924, from traditionalist Sunni to Salafi/Wahabi, it did not dampen the interest of Archipelago students from various regions to continue studying and working in Haramain. Therefore, the next section will focus on the issue of ethnicity and the socio-religious situation that influenced Bīlā in listing the Archipelago scholars.

5. Bīlā, Ethnicity and Jawi Scholars in Mecca

As explained above, there are 65 names of Archipelago scholars in Mecca in the list of Bīlā’s *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*. It is more than the biographical data of Meccan scholars published by previous Arab historians. ‘Abdullāh Mirdād Abū al-Khayr (d. 1924), a Mecca-born scholar, for example, only mentioned 16 names of Archipelago scholars in his work, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr al-Nūr wa al-Zuhr fī Tarājim Afāḍil Makkah min al-Qarn al-‘Āshir ilā al-Qarn al-Rābi’ ‘Ashr* (1986). Similarly, ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī (1869-1936), an Arab historian of Indian descent, only mentioned 21 names of Archipelago scholars out of around 1800 names of scholars in Ḥaramayn in his book *Fayḍ al-Mulk al-Wahhāb al-Muta’ālī bi Anbā’ Awā’il al-Qarn al-Thālith’ Ashar wa al-Tawālī* (2009). It shows that Bīlā paid more attention to the Archipelago scholars than both historians. The following is a comparison of the names of Archipelago scholars between Bīlā’s *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*, *Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr al-Nūr* by ‘Abdullāh Mirdād Abū al-Khayr and *Fayḍ al-Mulk al-Wahhāb* by ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī:

Table 3: Comparison of the list of Archipelago scholars among Arab historians

Book	Names of Archipelago Scholars
<i>Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr al-Nūr</i> by ‘Abdullāh Mirdād Abū al-Khayr (16 scholars)	Aḥmad bin Ismā’il al-Jāwī al-Paṭānī, Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sanbas (Sambas, Kalimantan), Ismā’il Minangkabau al-Khālidi, Ṣāliḥ Rawāh (Rao), ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Jāwī, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Mandūrah, ‘Abd al-Ghanī Bīmā al-Jāwī, ‘Abd al-Qadīr Mandailī, ‘Alī Kudus, Muḥammad Azharī al-Jāwī Minangkabau, Muḥammad Shādhalī al-Jāwī bin Muḥammad Wāsi’, Muḥammad Nūr Patānī, Marzūqī al-Jāwah, Nawawī al-Jāwī, Nūr Ismā’il al-Jāwī al-Khālidi.
<i>Fayḍ al-Mulk al-Wahhāb</i> karya ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī (21 scholars)	Ismā’il Minangkabau (1712-1864); ‘Abd al-Ghanī Bima (1780-1854); ‘Alī Kudus (d. 1875); Muḥammad Nawawī Banten (1813-1897); Aḥmad bin Ismā’il al-Paṭānī (1854-1908), Muḥammad Marzūqī Banten (d. 1914), Muḥammad Azharī al-Khālidi Minangkabau (d. 1885), Muḥammad Nūr Minangkabau (d. 1895), dan Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-Qādir bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Paṭānī (1813-1864); Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid Bogor (d. 1930); ‘Abd al-Qādir Mandailing (d. 1933); Ṣāliḥ Rāwa (Rao) Minangkabau (1845-1933), ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus (1860-1916), Muḥammad ‘Ārif Banten (1863-1929), ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Banten (grandchild of Nawawī Banten) (1868-1906), Muḥammad Shadhalī Banten (born in 1873-?), Muḥammad Nūr al-Paṭānī (1873-1944), Muḥammad ‘Umar Sumbawa (born about 1915), ‘Abdullāh bin Muḥammad Azharī Minangkabau (1861-1932), ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Madura (d. 1917) dan Sayyid ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Aydarūs (1825-1917)
<i>al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān</i> karya Zakariyyā Bilā (65 scholars)	Muḥammad Arshad Banjar, Muḥammad Nawawī Banten, ‘Uthmān Tambusai, Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau, Aḥmad Naḥrāwī al-Jāwī Banyumas, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Bangka Pangkal Pinang, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid Bogor, Abū Bakar Tambusai, Muḥammad Arshad Sumbawa, ‘Abd al-Qadīr bin Ṣābir al-Mandailī, ‘Alī Banjar Martapura, Muḥammad Nūr al-Paṭānī, Sulaymān bin Muḥammad Ḥusayn Sumedang, ‘Abdullāh Bilā Labuhanbatu, Amān Palembang, Aḥmad Qistī al-Banjarī, ‘Abd al-Muḥiṭ al-Jāwī al-Mrikī (Sidoarjo), Maḥmūd Zuhdī al-Paṭānī, Muḥammad bin ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād Pahang, Muḥammad Aḥyad al-Jāwī Bogor, Kiai

Muhammad al-Baqir al-Mriki Yogya, Ahmad Awang Kedah, Muhammad Siraj al-Qaruti, 'Abd al-Muhaymin al-Lasemi, Muhammad Junan Tayyib al-Padani, Dawud Komeri al-Jawi Campang Tiga Palembang, Saleh bin Muhammad bin Idris al-Kelantani, 'Abd al-Hamid al-Khatib bin Ahmad al-Khatib Minangkabau, Muhammad Saleh Palaplan Tambusai, Muhammad Saleh al-Misri Seremban Negeri Sembilan, Fathullah Lampung, Muhammad Husayn Palembang, Ibrahim Patani, 'Uthman Tungkal Jambi, Ahmad al-Mansuri Penang, 'Abd al-Wahhab Ashi Aceh, Kiai Sulayman Kurdi Bojonegoro, al-Sayyid Muhsin al-Musawa Palembang, Zubayr Palaplan Melayu, Muhammad Zayn al-Din Ampenan Pancor, 'Abd al-Qadir bin Talib al-Mandaili, Jamil 'Arif Lampung, 'Abd al-Hadi bin Muhammad Saleh Palaplan Bukit Mertajam Penang, Teungku 'Umar bin Muhammad al-Jufri al-Indunisi Palalawan, Isma'il Patani, Sa'id Jambi, Ilyas al-Indunisi Probolinggo, Muhammad Tahir Batubara Tanjungbalai Asahan, 'Abd al-Mutallib Ramli al-Patani, Muhammad 'Arif Sambas, Teungku Ma'mun al-Rashid Siak, Sharif 'Abd al-Shamad al-Mandaili, 'Abdullah bin Isma'il al-Patani, Shams al-Din al-Palimban, Muhammad Rubai bin 'Abd al-'Aziz Ampenan, Kiai (Ahmad) Dahlan Yogya, Muhammad Yasir bin Muhammad 'Isa al-Padani, Muhammad Yatim bin Dikul Riau, Muhammad bin 'Abd al-'Aziz Ampenan, 'Abd al-Hadi Ilyas Rawah (Rao) Pasaman, Haji Ishaq Yahya Jakarta, 'Abdullah bin 'Umar al-Saqqaf Riau, Dr. Tabrani bin 'Abd al-Rabb Riau, Sayf Layzan Tungkal Jambi.

Table 3 shows that only three Archipelago scholars in Bilal's *al-Jawahir al-Hisan* are mentioned in 'Abdullah Mirdad Abu al-Khayr and 'Abd al-Sattar al-Dahlawi, namely Nawawi Banten, 'Abd al-Qadir al-Mandayli and Muhammad Nur al-Patani. All three were prominent 19th-century Archipelago scholars. It shows that Bilal's list does not refer to the two works of his predecessor historians, as many names of other Archipelago scholars are not included in his work. It may be because Bilal's work refers to the names of Archipelago scholars who were active in Madrasah al-Shawlatiyyah, where Bilal studied and taught alongside the other scholars listed in his work. Therefore, the Archipelago scholars who were not included in his work may be because they did not study at the madrasa.

In addition, Bīlā in *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān* listed the names of more Archipelago scholars than the two previous historians, ‘Abdullāh Mirdād Abū al-Khayr, who only listed 16 names, and ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī mentioned 21 names. One of the factors driving Bīlā’s greater attention than these two historians is Bīlā’s identity as an Arab historian of Archipelago descent born in the 20th century. While ‘Abdullāh Mirdād Abū al-Khayr was a scholar of Meccan descent, and ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī was a scholar of Indian descent. Both were born in the 19th century. As already explained, Bīlā’s father, Abdullah Bīlā bin Ḥasan bin Zaynal (1879-1937), was a scholar born in Bilah, Labuhanbatu, North Sumatra, who came to Mecca before 1916.³⁶ It demonstrates that Bīlā’s motivation to include more Indonesian scholars’ names in his records was primarily driven by a significant sense of shared ethnicity, exceeding the work of previous Arab historians.

For 18th-20th century Arab historians, such as al-Bayṭār, ‘Abdullāh Mirdād Abū al-Khayr, ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī, Zakariyyā Bīlā, ‘Abd al-Jabbār and al-Mu’allimī, the term Jawi or Jawah is considered an important marker to refer to the Malay-Archipelago ethnic living in Mecca. It refers not only to the geographical aspect of the Malay-Archipelago area but also to the shared Malay ethnicity to unite the scholars from the land downwind. Although historians realized that there were various ethnicities of Mecca scholars who came from the Malay-Archipelago region, such as Aceh, Minangkabau, Mandailing, Padang, Madura, Banjar, Makasar, Bogor, and others, they were united by the same Malay cultural identity that made Malay a *lingua franca*.

Although the Malay-Archipelago ethnic or Jawi community in Mecca had a variety of languages and cultures, they were aware of their common genealogical and regional roots. They felt united as a Malay-Archipelago ecumene in the holy land amidst cosmopolitan cultural hybridity. Hence, the careful efforts of all groups to enforce ethnic boundaries that emphasized the differences among them could not hide the fact that they belonged to the same roots.³⁷ European colonial efforts to generate inter-group rivalry through economic competition and politicization of ethnic identity in the Straits of Malacca region since the 17th century apparently did not work when the Jawi community was in Mecca. They studied Islamic science in Mecca and united as Jawah immigrants with other scholars from various countries, such as India, Africa, Egypt, Uzbekistan, Malabar, and many others. It was a cosmopolitan life of Muslim immigrants who brought ethnic and linguistic diversity to the center of Islamic worship in the world.

³⁶ Bīlā, *Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim Al-Fuḍalā’ Wa Al-A’yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān*.

³⁷ Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*.

Therefore, the list of Archipelago scholars made by Bīlā in his book, *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*, shows the significance of the Malay-Archipelago ethnic identity that took an important role in the Islamic intellectual tradition in Mecca. Of course, the significance of Archipelago scholars in Mecca did not emerge suddenly. Many factors have contributed to the increasing number of archipelago scholars becoming teachers in Mecca compared to the previous few centuries, as shown in Bīlā's list. It may not only be related to the scientific capacity of these scholars but also to the steady and increasing arrival of Archipelago people to Mecca, even setting a record in 1913-14 when half of the total pilgrims came from Indonesia.³⁸ In addition, the increase in the intensity of the Archipelago people also happened along with the more accessible transportation of Hajj after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the improvement of the economic level of the natives in the Dutch East Indies, and the greater influence of Islam through educational institutions founded by Hajj alums in the land downwind.³⁹ Equally important was the Turkish government's subsidization of the living expenses of the Jawi and other communities during their stay in Mecca. It, for example, was seen in 1326/1908 reportedly providing a subsidy of 1 pound (*junayh*) 'Uthmani for the Jawi people.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, when entering the mid-20th century, especially in the last four decades, the reputation of Archipelago scholars in Mecca has slowly declined. Scholars from the Archipelago, especially Indonesia, had recently switched their teaching careers at various universities in Saudi Arabia in the field of non-Islamic studies, some of which tend to be ultra-conservative and militant, others tend to be progressive and moderate.⁴¹ There were not many Archipelago scholars who were teachers in the Haramain anymore. The works produced by Archipelago scholars in Mecca were also decreasing. One of the reasons may be the change in the religious-political situation in Ḥaramain. Socio-religious conditions in the Hijaz at the beginning of the 20th century were increasingly pressured by the development of the Salafi/Wahhabi ideology brought by Muḥammad bin' Abd al-Wahhāb (1703-1792). Mecca, under Ottoman Turkish rule since the 16th century, was shaken by the political power of the Hashimid rulers and the Salafi/Wahhabi Sa'ud dynasty under British support. As is well known, this religious sect

³⁸ Vredenbregt, "Ibadah Haji, Beberapa Ciri Dan Fungsinya."

³⁹ M.Dien Majid, *Berhaji Di Masa Kolonial* (Jakarta: CV. Sejahtera, 2008).

⁴⁰ Aḥmad Al-Sibā'ī, *Tārikh Makkah, Dirāsah Fī Al-Siyāsah Wa Al-'Ilm Wa Al-Ijtimā' Wa Al-'Umrān* (Riyād: al-Mamlakah al-'Arabiyyah al-Su'ūdiyyah, 1999), 653.

⁴¹ Al Qurtuby, "Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: On Islamic and Muslim Scholars."

tends to be puritanical, considering the teachings of other Muslims heretical.⁴²

The emergence of the Salafi/Wahhabi groups led to various accusations of heresy and polytheism directed at traditional Muslim religious Sufistic practices in Mecca and Medina, such as the practice of pilgrimage, *tawasul*, *istigatsah*, *maulid* of the Prophet, and veneration of objects around the Kaaba, facing the Prophet's tomb when praying, seeking blessings from the former pious and others.⁴³ The sacred tombs, Khadijah's house, Abu Bakr's birthplace, and the *zawiyah* where the *tariqah* practitioners gathered were destroyed. The practice of various schools of *Tariqah* and Sufism was eliminated. In fact, according to some reports, about 18 *Tariqah* sects were active in the Hijaz in 1887.⁴⁴ The practitioners chose to flee to other regions in Arabia. Ibn Sa'ud, as Saudi ruler, basically did not want to disrupt the Hajj and disturb the large number of Muslim immigrants living in Mecca. At the same time, however, Ibn Sa'ud had to satisfy the Salafi/Wahhabi scholars as his main supporters in homogenizing religious views and eliminating what he considered to be polytheism.⁴⁵ The decline in Archipelago scholars in Mecca cannot be separated from the dynamics of socio-religious developments that hit the Hijaz. The difference between the religious ideology of the Archipelago scholars and the Salafi/Wahhabi ideology adopted by the Saudi government is one of the reasons why Jawi scholars have been increasingly eliminated from academic activities in Mecca until now. It is a socio-religious dynamic that reflects the strong interference of political power over the dominance of religious understanding.

Conclusion

The explanation above shows that the diversity of the geographical background of Archipelago scholars influenced the ethnic diversity of Jawi scholars in Mecca. This Malay-Archipelago ethnic diversity is reflected in the list of names of Archipelago scholars made by Zakariyyā Bīlā in his book, *al-*

⁴² Michael Farquhar, *Circuits of Faith: Migration, Education, and the Wahhabi* (Mission, California: Stanford University Press, 2017), 51.

⁴³ Aḥmad Zaini Daḥlān, *Al-Durar Al-Saniyyah Fī Al-Radd 'alā Al-Wahhābiyyah* (Damaskus: Maktabah al-Aḥbāb, 2003), 80–108.

⁴⁴ Naser Dumairieh, "Intellectual Life in the Hijaz in the 17th Century: The Works and Thought of Ibrahim Al-Kurani (1025-1101/1616-1690)" (Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 2019), 25–26.

⁴⁵ David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 79, <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755609444>; Joseph Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia 1916–1936: From Chieftaincy to Monarchical State* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 103.

Jawāhir al-Ḥisān. Zakariyyā Bīlā listed scholars and teachers in Mecca (299 people), Medina (21), and Jeddah (7) whom he met or heard about between the 19th and mid-20th centuries. There were 65 names of Archipelago scholars. It is quite a large number compared to the list of names of Archipelago scholars made by previous Arab historians. Bīlā, an Arab historian of Bilah descent, Labuhanbatu, North Sumatra, seems to pay great attention to the names of Archipelago scholars. It shows that ethnicity was a strong motivation for Bīlā to list the names of Archipelago scholars in greater numbers than previous Arab historians. A list of Archipelago scholars demonstrates the significance of ethnic Malay-Archipelago scholars who took an important role in the Islamic intellectual tradition in Mecca amidst the decline of their reputation from the mid-20th century to the present. Although this study has revealed the importance of the contributions of Archipelago scholars in the intellectual landscape of Islam in Mecca, this research has some limitations. First, the heavy reliance of data on one primary source, the book of *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*, may lead to historical bias and interpretations that are limited to Zakariyyā Bīlā's perspective. Second, this study has not thoroughly mapped the scientific influence of Archipelago scholars on local and international communities, which requires further studies with a multidisciplinary approach and more diverse sources. Third, this study has not examined in depth the social, political, and economic factors that may have influenced the migration and reputation of Archipelago scholars in Mecca. Therefore, the conclusions drawn should be seen as a starting point for more extensive and in-depth research on this subject in the future.

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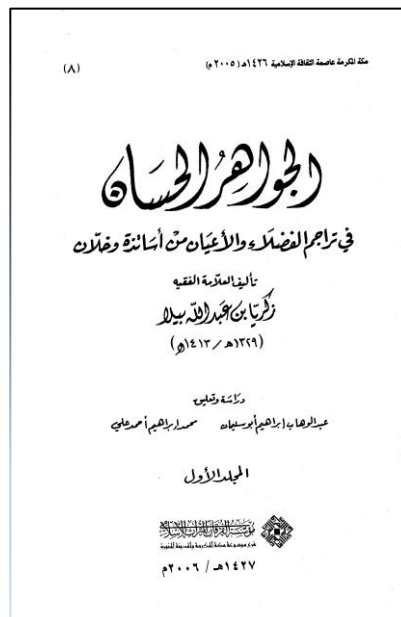
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Attachment



Picture 1: al-Shaykh Yāsīn al-Padānī (left) and Zakariyyā Bīlā (right)
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/405054030028423/-photos/pcb.474736283060197/~474736193060206/?type=3&theater>
downloaded on 20/06/2023 at 22:39.



Picture 2: Cover of the book “al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān” by Zakariyyā Bīlā.