

# Sundanese Printed *Kitābs* in Egypt: Notes on the contribution of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid al-Bughūrī’s works

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**Jajang A Rohmana**

UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia

corresponding author: jajangarohmana@uinsgd.ac.id

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## Abstract

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid al-Bughūrī (1862–1930) is one of Sundanese ulamas from Bogor who became a religious teacher or sheikh in Mecca. His students were many ulamas from the Middle East and Southeast Asia. However, compared to the other works of Sundanese ulamas, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s works are less known despite his significant contribution. He is one of Sundanese ulamas who published printed Islamic books or *kitābs* in Sundanese with pegon script in Egypt. To further explore about Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid al-Bughūrī’s works, this study focuses on three Sundanese printed *kitābs* of his: *Ieu Kitāb ‘Aqā’id, Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn*, and *Hidāyat al-Mubtadi’īn*. These *kitābs* were learned by beginner students from West Java taught by Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid in Mecca. This study confirms that the Islamic learning transmission between Mecca and Southeast Asia in the early twentieth century emerged a diversity of languages in the teaching the *kitābs*. The sheikh responded to the increasing diversity of the East Indies students in Mecca through various printed *kitābs* with trans-regional languages amidst the growing printing business in the early twentieth century. It was an effort to facilitate Islamic teaching and learning traditions at the time. In addition, these *kitābs* also demonstrate Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s efforts in maintaining Sunnī traditionalist doctrines amid the Salafī/Wahhabi ideology which became the official religious teachings of the Saudi government in Mecca.

**Keywords:** *Kitābs*, Sundanese, Cairo, Mecca, *Sunnī*

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### **Abstrak**

*Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid al-Bughūrī (1862–1930) merupakan salah satu ulama Sunda asal Bogor yang menjadi guru atau syekh di Mekah. Murid-muridnya merupakan para ulama dari Timur Tengah dan Asia Tenggara. Namun, dibanding karya ulama Sunda lainnya, karya Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid kurang begitu dikenal. Padahal ia merupakan salah satu ulama Sunda yang mencetak kitab berbahasa Sunda dengan huruf pegon di Mesir. Kajian ini memfokuskan pada tiga karya cetak Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid: Ieu Kitab ‘Aqā’id, Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn, dan Hidāyat al-Mubtadi’īn. Kitab-kitab ini dipelajari para siswa pemula dari Jawa Barat yang berguru pada Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid di Mekah. Kajian ini menegaskan bahwa transmisi keilmuan Islam antara Mekah dan Asia Tenggara pada awal abad ke-20 memunculkan keragaman bahasa dalam kitab pengajaran. Para syekh merespons keragaman para siswa Nusantara di Mekah melalui berbagai kitab cetak. Kitab ini menggunakan ragam bahasa trans-regional di tengah peningkatan bisnis percetakan pada awal abad ke-20. Sebuah upaya untuk memfasilitasi tradisi belajar-mengajar keilmuan Islam. Selain itu, ketiga kitab itu juga menunjukkan upaya Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid dalam menjaga doktrin tradisionalis Sunni seiring dengan menguatnya ideologi Salafi/Wahhabi yang dijadikan ajaran keagamaan resmi pemerintahan Saudi di Mekah.*

**Kata kunci:** *Kitab, bahasa Sunda, Kairo, Mekah, Sunni*

### **Introduction**

This study examines three works of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid al-Bughūrī: ‘Aqā’id Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah (1340/1921), Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn (1341/1922), and Hidāyat al-Mubtadi’īn (1346/1927). These three Sundanese kitābs with pegon scripts discuss the doctrines of Sunnī theology, Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) and Sufism published by Mustafá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlāduh, an old publisher in Cairo, Egypt. These Sundanese kitābs are the handbook of Islamic learning intended for beginner students from West Java who learned in Mecca. ‘Aṭārid was one of the great teachers in Mecca who taught Sundanese and Jāwī students in Mecca when his works were published in Egypt.

This study confirms that the ethnic diversity of Jāwī immigrants in Mecca emerged different languages in the learning kitābs. There were many Jāwī students from Southeast Asia who learned in Mecca in the

early twentieth century with various languages such as Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese. They learned various printed kitābs to maintain the Islamic learning transmission between Mecca and the Malay-Indonesia archipelago which raised since the seventeenth century (Azra, 2004). Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s Sundanese kitābs with pegon scripts represented his response to the need of Sundanese students in Mecca for learning kitābs amid the increasing business printing in Egypt supplying kitābs to Mecca in the early twentieth century (Hurgronje, 2007: 179).

The development of printing technology in Egypt, Mecca, and Turkey in the nineteenth century rapidly increased printed kitābs for Indonesian-Malay students. The shorter journey of the pilgrimage by steamer, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the shorter stay of the pilgrims than before made printed kitābs more important than handwritten manuscripts (Vredenburg, 1962: 93). Many of the printed kitābs of Jāwī ulamas were later reprinted in Singapore, Bombay, and Java in line with the development of printing technology in the early twentieth century. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s works marked a period of transition from manuscript to print culture. His works, which were written in Arabic, Malay, and Sundanese, then spread throughout the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. Several works of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid were later used as curriculum materials in a number of educational institutions in Southeast Asia.

The significance of this study is also to demonstrate that Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s works were written to introduce the basic teachings of traditionalist Sunnī (Ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā’ah) to beginners. His aim was to strengthen the legacy of the traditionalist Sunnī orthodox, especially for the Sundanese people who lived in Mecca. The

reinforcement of the traditionalist Sunnī teachings is important in the midst of the socio-political changes in the early twentieth century. Mecca as a holy city was ruled by the Saudi kingdom which adhered to Salafi/Wahhabi teachings in 1924. The Saudi kingdom succeeded in controlling the Hijaz area which was previously ruled by the Ottoman Empire for four centuries (Commins, 2006: 72). The Hijaz under the Ottoman was inhabited by Muslims from various fiqh schools, Sufi orders, and Shi'ites, before being marginalized under the Saudi kingdom (Ochsenwald, 1984: 42). Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's works were published amidst the socio-political religious shift in Mecca at that time to strengthen the legacy of traditionalist Sunnī teachings which were increasingly marginalized.

There was little study focusing on the contribution of the Sundanese work of Mukhtār 'Aṭārid to the Islamic intellectual tradition. Some studies focused on the works and intellectual networks of Mukhtār 'Aṭārid and his contributions to the field of astronomy, the fiqh debate on, feels and the response to the issue of Malay-Indonesia Sufism on *martabat tujuh* in Mecca (Sunarwoto, 2012; Sya'ban, 2018; Abdul Rozaq, 2018; Rohmana, 2021). Another study, such as by Sya'ban, explored the role of Mukhtār 'Aṭārid and his Sundanese kitābs in emerging the position of the Sundanese language in the Middle East which then inspired his students to write works in Sundanese (Sya'ban, 2021). The study suggests the position of the Sundanese language as merely a means of responding to the presence of the Sundanese student in Mecca. It did not clarify that the Sundanese students who wrote Sundanese kitābs after returning from Mecca was influenced by the works of Mukhtār 'Aṭārid, which might be because there were many Sundanese works in West Java had been in circulation long before the twentieth century (Moriyama, 2005). Mukhtār 'Aṭārid was not the

only Sundanese who published Sundanese printed kitābs in Egypt. Muḥy al-Dīn of Pagelaran Cisalak Purwakarta Karawang (now in Subang regency), for instance, is another Sundanese ulama who also wrote Sundanese kitāb, *Aḍwā' al-Sirāj fī Tarjamah Ḥadīth al-Mi'rāj*, that printed in Egypt in 1930s (Muḥy al-Dīn, 1936).

This study emphasizes the contribution of Mukhtār 'Aṭārid to the teaching of Islamic knowledge for Sundanese students in Mecca, especially on theology, fiqh, and sufism. His works emphasize the strong urge of teachers to guide and facilitate students in learning the basic teachings of Islam. The teaching was to strengthen the traditionalist Sunnī orthodoxy which was under threat from the Salafi/Wahhabi teachings in Mecca under the rule of Saudi.

## Method

In exploring the works of Mukhtār 'Aṭārid to strengthen the teachings of Sunni orthodoxy in his three Sundanese works: *Ieu Kitab 'Aqā'id*, *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi'īn*, and *Hidāyat al-Mubtadi'ī*, library research with a socio-intellectual history approach were employed to reveal the historical context of the orthodoxy of Sunnī in Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's works. The socio-intellectual history is a study of the socio-intellectual factors that influence the occurrence of historical events in which the text contributes to the explanation of history. Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's Sundanese works as the primary data source are believed to have a significant role in influencing the orthodoxy of Sunnī towards the Sundanese students who studied in Mecca in the early twentieth century.

## Result and Discussion

### *Jāwī* kitābs in the Middle East

Ulamas of the Malay-Indonesia archipelago in Mecca or *Jāwī* have an important role in maintaining the transmission of Islamic intellectual knowledge that connects Hijaz and Southeast Asia. This can be seen in *Jāwī* ulamas who provided Islamic knowledge teaching in Mecca in the seventeenth century. ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ‘Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī al-Sinkīlī (1615-1693) had lived in Mecca for 19 years (1642-1661) and ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (1704-1789) also lived there; and they were *Jāwī* teachers in Mecca in the eighteenth century (al-Bayṭār, 1961: 851). However, although the *Jāwī* ulamas had long lived in Ḥaramain, their contributions to Islamic learnings tend to decline at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These two centuries are the second wave marking the golden age of *Jāwī* ulamas in Mecca and Medina (Al-Qurtuby, 2020: 114-5). The *Jāwī* ulamas had an important role in teaching Islamic knowledge at that time. Their students were not only from Middle Eastern, African, and South Asian but also from Southeast Asia such as Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Patani (South Thailand), Mindanao (South Philippines), and others. There are many Malay-Indonesian students who lived in Mecca in the early twentieth century along with the increasing use of steamships by pilgrims from the archipelago (Vredendregt, 1962: 140; Roff, 1970: 170).

The increasing number of immigrants from the Malay-Indonesia archipelago known as *Jāwī* community (ashāb al-Jāwīyyīn) has led to growing demands for kitābs as their Islamic learning materials. The *Jāwī* ulamas who became great teachers in Ḥaramain then wrote, translated, and commented on the kitābs to fulfill these students’

demands. These kitābs later known as the Jāwī kitābs or Kitab Kuning (yellow kitābs) were not only written in Arabic but also in regional languages of the Malay-Indonesia archipelago with Jāwī and pegon scripts (Sugahara, 2011: 20). Many ethnics of the Jāwī community then influenced the use of various languages in their kitābs such as Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, and others. Some scholars have compiled a list of kitābs written by ulama of Jāwī used as teaching materials in the curriculum of al-Azhar University and pesantren (van den Berg, 1886; van Bruinessen, 1990; Heer, 2012; Midori et al., 2015; Maftuhin, 2018: 11).

Along with the use of printing technology in the Muslim world in the early twentieth century, the business of printed kitābs increased in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. The printed kitābs were firstly carried out in Singapore and Bombay (India) in the mid-twentieth century. At the same time, Arab traders from the Middle East were involved in the business of printed kitābs for Southeast Asian Muslims. They published kitābs for sale in bookstores in the Middle East and also exported to Java, where Arab traders also opened bookstores. Later in the twentieth century, these Arab traders also printed their own kitābs in Java to fulfill the demands of the local community (Sugahara, 2011: 19). In addition to Istanbul, Singapore, and Bombay, Cairo were one of the centers for the printing of Jāwī kitābs in the Middle East for Southeast Asian Muslims. The publications initially appeared in Būlāq—Cairo, then also spread to Mecca and Istanbul (Turkey), but Cairo remained the center of the printed kitābs business. Several publishers were founded in Cairo in the early twentieth century, such as Maṭba'ah Būlāq, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, al-Sharq, Ḥasan al-Ṭukhī, al-Azhariyyah, Maktabah al-Wahhābiyyah, and others. There

were also several publishers of Jāwī kitābs in Mecca, such as Maṭba'ah al-Taraqī al-Mājidiyyah al-'Uthmāniyyah (Sya'ban, 2020: 319). Another publisher was also founded in Turkey, such as al-Maṭba'ah al-Amīriyyah (Laffan, 2004: 3). Various Arabic and Jāwī kitābs from the Middle East were sent to Singapore and then distributed to the Malay-Indonesia archipelago (Sugahara, 2011: 25).

Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlāduh is one of the most surviving publishers in Cairo. This publisher was founded by Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī from Ḥalab Syria in 1859. It did not only print kitābs of Middle Eastern ulamas, but also printed the Jāwī kitābs (Anonymous, 1929). The publication of the Jāwī kitābs by al-Ḥalabī was often reproduced by Indonesian publishers with time gaps from the original year of publication. The publisher of al-Ḥalabī successfully produced many Jāwī kitābs from the 1930s to the 1950s. This publisher is currently held by the fourth generation. The al-Ḥalabī bookshop is not as busy as before. The publisher now only serves kitābs for students of al-Azhar University (Abaza, 2003; Laffan, 2004: 20; Fathurahman, 2011: 36). More than 80 Jāwī kitābs had been published by this publisher, but only 55 Jāwī kitābs have been traced. Some *kitābs* were still unknown (Fathurahman, 2011: 40). The contents of these Jāwī kitābs surrounded the discussion of *fiqh*, theology, Qur'ānic commentaries, Sufism, Arabic grammar, ḥadīth, hagiography, and others. Some of the *Jāwī* kitābs are known to be still in print today. The *Jāwī* kitābs were written by *Jāwī* ulamas who not only came from Java, but also came from Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sumbawa, and even Patani (Southern Thailand). There were a number of Malay-Indonesian ulamas whose works are most widely published by various publishers in Cairo, such as Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī, Muḥammad Zain ibn Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-'Āshī, Daud al-Faṭānī, Muḥammad Zain al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad al-Baidāwī al-

Sumbāwī, Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minangkabāwī, Nawawī al-Bantanī, Haji Ḥasan Mustafā al-Qārūfī, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi, Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid al-Būghūrī, Muḥammad Yāsīn ibn ‘Īsā al-Fadānī, and others (Laffan, 2004: 5; Rohmana, 2015; 2020).

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid is one of the ulamas whose works had been published in Mecca, Cairo, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Unfortunately, his works were not mentioned in a number of Arabic book catalogs in the Middle East, such as Sarkīs (1346/1928) and Brockelmann (2018). The Malay catalog in Universteitbibliotheek (UB) Leiden includes only one Malay work of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid, *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Cod. Or. 6559). This is the handwriting of Muhammad Nurdin from the printed edition (Mecca 1324/1907) dated 1 Muharam 1326/3 February 1908. This manuscript is kept in the collection of G.H.A. Hazeu. It was originally written by Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid in Mecca on 20 Dzulqa’idah 1323/16 January 1907 (Iskandar, 1999: 339). Bradell’s catalog (1950) includes one of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s Arabic works, *Risālah al-Wahbah al-Ilāhiyyah*. Meanwhile, Nor bin Ngah (1983) mentions another Malay work of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid, *Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Ishak, 1998: 409).

In addition, the catalogs of Heer and Sophia University include a limited number of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s works. Heer, for instance, lists six works of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid which were printed in Cairo, Singapore, and Bandung: *‘Aqā’id Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah* published by al-Ḥalabī, 1341/1923; *Hidāyat al-Mubtadi’īn ilá Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn* published by al-Ḥalabī, Cairo, 1346/1928; *Taqrīb al-Maqṣad* and *Uṣūl al-Dīn I’tiqād Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah* completed on 1323/1905 (the Malay book printed by al-Ḥalabī, Cairo 1340/1922) and *Ḥukm al-’aql (hāmish* or marginal notes in the book of *Uṣūl al-Dīn*) (Heer, 2012: 47-8); *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn fī ‘Ibādah Rabb al-*

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*ʿĀlamīn* published by al-Ḥalabī in Cairo, Singapore publisher in September 1894 (?), and Indonesian publisher Shirkah al-Maʿārif li al-Ṭabʿ wa al-Nashr). Heer quotes this data from Proudfoot under a somewhat similar, but the dubious title (Proudfoot, 1993: 312).

Meanwhile, the Sophia University catalog lists two works of Mukhtār ʿAṭārid, *ʿAqāʾid ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamāʿah* (Sundanese) and *Taqrīb al-maqṣad* (Arabic) (Midori et al., 2015: 93, 253). In addition, the catalog of the publisher Dār Iḥyā ʿal-Kutub belonging to ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Shurakāʾuh mentions one of Mukhtār ʿAṭārid’s works in Malay, *Uṣūl al-Dīn Iʿtiqād Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah* (Anonymous, 1929: 20). Some of Mukhtār ʿAṭārid’s works in Malay and Sundanese are also mentioned in the list of *kitābs* published by Matbaʿah al-Taraqī al-Mājidīyyah al-ʿUthmāniyyah bi Makkah al-Mukarramah, such as *al-Ṣawāʾiq al-Muḥriqah li al-Awhām al-Kādhībah fī Bayān Ḥall al-Baylūt wa al-Radd ʿalā man Ḥarramah; Uṣūl al-Dīn; al-Durr al-Munīf fī Sharh al-Ward al-Laṭīf; Hidayāh al-Zāʾirīn wa Ghāyah al-Maʾmūl fī Ziyārah al-Rasūl* and *Manāsik al-Ḥajj*. This list of *kitābs* is inserted in the appendix of Mukhtār ʿAṭārid’s work, *Al-Wahbah al-Ilāhiyyah fī Bayān Isqāt māʾ alā al-Mayyit min al-Ḥuqūq wa al-Ṣiyām wa al-Ṣalāh* (1330/1911: 8).

There are some reasons why Mukhtār ʿAṭārid’s works were rarely mentioned in Arabic catalogues. It may be related to the limited distribution of his works among *Jāwī* community in Mecca who used regional languages such as Malay and Sundanese. In addition, some of his works are foundational *kitābs* in theology, *fiqh*, and Sufism for beginner students (*mubtadiʿ*) that may not be relevant for senior *ulamas*. They generally preferred to write their own works to learn their students. Although Mukhtār ʿAṭārid’s works are not mentioned in

the Arabic catalogs in the Middle East, as will be explained, his name is mentioned in many Arabic biography's books. He is known as one of the Malay-Indonesia archipelago ulamas who taught in Mecca in the early twentieth century. Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's works were used as teaching materials for *Jāwī* students who studying in Mecca.

Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's earliest works were printed in Mecca was *Taqrīb al-Maqṣad*, a kitāb of astronomy written in 1308/1890. One of its copies on European paper which was found in Serang—Banten becomes a collection of the Ministry of Religious Affairs with the code LKK\_BANTEN2016\_KHD039 (<https://lektur.kemenag.go.id>). This collection may be a copy of the Mecca manuscript. This work was later printed both in Mecca by al-Miriyyah in 1331 and Egypt by Mustafá al-Bābī al-Halabī wa Awlāduh in 1347/1936. *Taqrīb al-Maqṣad* was also reprinted by Indonesian publisher, Toko Kitāb Utama Surabaya (Midori et al., 2015: 253). Through this work, Mukhtār 'Aṭārid is known as one of the Malay-Indonesia ulamas who have astronomical expertise (Butar-butar, 2017: 75; 2018: 96). Several of his works are still being reprinted in Cairo and Indonesia until now. One of Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's works on the polemic of legal issues on eels (*belut*) was recently published in Bahasa Indonesia (Mukhtar 'Atharid, 2017). His work on theology was also become one of the learning materials in the curriculum of pesantren in Kelantan and Singapore in the early twentieth century (Buang, 2008: 351). This shows that many readers in the Middle East and Southeast Asia have used Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's works as reading and teaching materials in their respective countries.

From the abovementioned details, it can be shown that Indonesian ulamas have contributed to the production of Islamic books in Cairo since the nineteenth century. They wrote, translated, and commentary

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the Arabic kitābs that had been circulating before, especially to fill the demands of the *Jāwī* community who studied in Ḥaramain, Cairo, and Southeast Asia. The kitābs used not only Arabic but also Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese with *Jāwī* and *pegon* scripts. This is a significant role of *Jāwī* ulamas in the transmission of Islamic intellectual in the Middle East that is strongly connected to the Southeast Asia (Nor bin Ngah, 1983: vii). This present paper examines the three Sundanese printed kitābs in Egypt by Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid in highlighting the important role in the transmission of Islamic learning and the strengthening of Sunnī traditionalist orthodoxy in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago.

### **Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid in Arabic Book of Biographies**

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid was known as one of the *jāwī* ulamas who became a teacher in Mecca. His role gained recognition among ulamas in the Middle East. He was one of the *Jāwī* ulamas who witnessed a political shift in Hijaz, from the Arab revolution in 1916 which pulled down the rule of the Ottoman to the emergence of the Hashimite Kingdom and then conquered by the Saudi Kingdom in 1924. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s position as one of the *Jāwī* ulamas in Mecca was mentioned in several Arabic books of biographies that recorded his name. It is no less than seven Arabic biographies such as *A’lām al-Makkiyīn*, *Tashnīf al-Asmā’*, *Nathr al-Jawāhir wa al-Durar*, *Mu’jam al-Ma’ājim*, *Siyar wa Tarājim*, *Faiḍ al-Mulk. al-Wahhāb al-Muta’ālī* and *Bulūgh al-Amānī*. This shows his reputation as one of the teachers in Mecca in the early twentieth century. The following description will give a glimpse of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid which refers to these Arabic books of biographies.

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s full name is al-Shaykh Muḥammad Mukhtār bin ‘Aṭārid al-Bughūrī al-Jāwī who is also known as al-Batawī al-Makkī

al-Shāfi'ī (al-Mu'allimī, 2000: 273). The titles of *al-Bughūrī*, *al-Jāwī*, *al-Batawī* and, *al-Makkī* are based on Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's birthplaces in Bogor, West Java (*al-Bughūrī*) of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago (*al-Jāwī*). He also ever lived in Betawi or Batavia (*al-Batawī*), then settled in Mecca (*al-Makkī*). His nickname is Abū al-As'ād. He was given the titles *al-'allāmah* (learned), *al-'ārif billāh* (wise man), *al-faqīh* (Islamic jurisprudence expert) and *al-muḥaddith* (*ḥadīth* expert), *al-falakī* (astronomer) (al-Sanūsī, n.d.: 56). His father's name is 'Aṭārid ('Uṭārid, mercury?) whose real name is Raden Natanagara. Mukhtār 'Aṭārid mentioned his father's real name in several of his Sundanese works. He called himself Raden Haji Muḥammad Mukhtār bin Raden Natanagara (Mukhtār, 1954: 1). His father was the son of Raden Adipati Wiratanudatar VI, Regent of Cianjur (1776?-1813) known as Dalem Enoch (Lubis, 1998: 152). This shows that Mukhtār 'Aṭārid was born into a respected native elite family in West Java.

Mukhtār 'Aṭārid was born in Bogor on 14 Sha'bān 1278/13 February 1862. He studied basic knowledge of Islam from his father and was taught by Sayyid 'Uthman (1822-1913), the mufti of Batavia in 1882. Sayyid 'Uthman was known as an Arab Ḥaḍramī who worked as a Dutch advisor on Arab affairs and wrote a number of polemical works in Arabic and Malay on Sufi orders and *fiqh* issues. Many of Sayyid 'Uthman's works were later translated into Sundanese by Raden Haji Azhari from Bandung (Kaptein, 2014: 219). Sayyid 'Uthman then influenced Mukhtār 'Aṭārid. He would later write polemical works in Mecca such as *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah* which refuted eel prohibition. He also published some Sundanese works on the basic teachings of Islam that were printed in Egypt and Mecca. These Sundanese works may be influenced by Sayyid 'Uthman's previous works in Sundanese

that were published in Batavia. This can be seen in Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s practical works, *Manāsik al-Ḥajj* (1330/1911) which has a similar focus to Sayyid ‘Uthman’s Sundanese book, *Kitāb Manāsik Ḥajj jeung ‘Umrah* (1292/1875). Therefore, it is not appropriate to call Mukhtar ‘Atarid as the pioneer of Sundanese *pegon kitābs* who began the writing of Sundanese *kitābs* in West Java.

Mukhtār’ Aṭārid then went on a pilgrimage and settled in Mecca from 1903 until his death in 1930 (al-Mar’ashlī, 2002: 395). He spent his time in teaching and learning activities in Mecca for thirty years. He studied Islamic knowledge from Meccan ulamas such as Sayyid Abū Bakar bin Muḥammad Shaṭā, Muḥammad Sa’īd Babāsil, Sayyid Ḥusain bin Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī, and Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaimān Ḥasbullāh al-Makkī. He was also taught by Sayyid ‘Umar bin Muḥammad Shaṭā, Muḥammad bin’ Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, al-Sayyid Muḥammad bin Ja’far al-Kattānī, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, Shaykh Mustafā’ Affī, Shaykh Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Minshāwī, Sayyid ‘Abdullāh bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī, Sayyid’ Abdul Karīm al-Nājī al-Darbandī, Shaykh ‘Abdurraḥmān al-Shirbīnī and many others (al-Falimbānī, 1988: 40). According to ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī, one of his students, there are other Mukhtār’ Aṭārid’s teachers in Medina such as al-Sayyid Amīn Riḍwān (d. 1358) (al-Hindī, 2009: 1646). In addition, he also studied with several Malay-Indonesian ulamas, both in Java and Mecca, such as Shaykh Muḥammad Zain al-Dīn bin Badawī al-Sumbawānī, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sambasī, Aḥmad bin ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Minankabāwī, ‘Abd al-Ḥāmīd bin Muḥammad ‘Alī Kudus and ‘Umar bin Ṣāliḥ al-Samarānī (1820-1903) or Kiai Saleh Darat (al-Falimbānī, 1988: 40).

It can be said that Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid received transmissions (ijāza) of Islamic knowledge from these ulamas. He then studied a lot of ḥadīth science and produced several kitābs on ḥadīth. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid had enthusiasm in his studies until he became an expert of ḥadīth at the Masjid al-Ḥarām. His teachers know him very well. One of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s teachers in Medina, al-Sayyid Amīn Riḍwān, for instance, commented that he was a pious person, good, credible, and prominent. It is a compliment that shows recognition of the credibility of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid (al-Shāfi’ī, 1434 H: 590; al-Mar’ashlī, 2006: 1476).

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid then taught at one of the classes (ḥalaqah) at the Haram or Masjid al-Ḥarām, Ḥaswah Bāb al-Nabī (Ḥasan Shu’uib, 1428 H: 134, 353, 362). His class was attended by 400s students consisting of young students, and it was held after the ‘Ishā’ prayer. He also taught instrumental sciences (‘ilm ālāt) and Arabic literature (balāghah), then learned al-Ghazali’s Iḥyā ‘Ulūm a-Dīn after ‘Aṣr prayer and taught astronomy on Tuesdays (Dahīs, 2006: 387, 410). It was reported that Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid was among the eight Jāwī ulamas who taught in the Haram in 1910 and received payment from the Meccan sharif. He was one of the key figures who led the Jāwī community in Mecca (Laffan, 2003: 175). The last great mufti of Mecca under the Ottoman ruler—when Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid lived in Mecca—was Shaykh Aḥmad bin Zainī Daḥlān (1816-1886). This last Ottoman Shaykh in Mecca was then replaced by the mufti of the Salafi/Wahhabi, Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid lived when Mecca was under the rule of the Ottoman, from Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) to Mehmed V (1909-1918), to Mehmed VI (1918-1924). Sharif as the ruler of Mecca at that time was ‘Aun al-Rafīq (1882-1905); ‘Abdullāh Pasha (1905-1908); and Sharif Ḥusain bin ‘Alī (1908-1924).

The latter Sharif was rebelled in 1916 by the Hāsīmiyyah Kingdom and then being conquered by the Saudi Kingdom in 1924 under King ‘Abdul ‘Azīz bin Sa’ūd (1875-1953) (Daḥlān, 1993: 93).

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid did not only teach in the Haram but also made his home a place to learn Arabic, Sufism, and astronomy in the morning and evening. He held an assembly for dhikr with a banquet on Friday nights which was attended by many people. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid lived in the al-Qushashiyyah district in the valley of Jabal Abī Qubaish in Mecca (al-Falimbānī, 1988: 39). He was known as a man with good manners, worshiped a lot, read invocation (ṣalawāt), gave alms to his students, and motivated them. He was also known to be cheerful, so his laugh can be heard. He used to wear black robes and a white head covering. His body was muscly somewhat blackish (al-Shāfi’ī, 1434 H: 589; al-Mar’ashlī, 2006: 1476).

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s students were not only from Saudi Arabia, Africa and South Asia, but also from Malay-Indonesia archipelago such as Shaykh Sulaimān of Sumedang (d. 1349), Aḥmad Naḥrawī of Banyumas, ‘Abdussalām bin Ḥusnī of Batavia, Aḥmad al-Dimyāṭī bin ‘Abdullāh al-Turmusī, Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari, Manṣūr bin ‘Abdurrahmān of Bogor, Muḥammad bin Nūḥ, Muḥammad Zain Batubara, Muḥammad’ Īsā and his son, Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fadānī, Daūd al-Falimbānī, Sayyid Muḥsin bin ‘Alwānī bin Yūsuf al-Madārisī, ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī al-Hindī, Sayyid’ Alawī bin ‘Abbās al-Mālikī, Muḥammad Aḥyad bin Idrīs of Bogor and many others (al-Mu’allimī, 2000: 274; al-Shāfi’ī, 1434 H: 591; ‘Abd al-Jabbār, 1982: 245). The latter name then replaced Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s position in giving teachings in Mecca. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid was then reportedly recorded as a member of Sarekat Islam (SI) in Mecca through the head of the SI

Cianjur, Raden Aom Abdul Malik, who came to Mecca (al-Hindī, 2009: 1645-6). Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid died on 17 Rajab 1349 and was buried in Ma’lāh near the tomb of Ibn Ḥajar (Wieringa, 2008: 637).

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid wrote several works in Arabic, Malay and Sundanese. His Arabic kitābs are al-Ṣawā’iq al-Muḥriqah li al-Awhām al-Kādhibah fī Bayān Ḥall al-Baylūt wa al-Radd ‘alā man Ḥarramah (1329/1910); Ittiḥāf al-Sāddah al-Muḥaddithīn bi Musalsalat al-Aḥādith al-Arba’īn (1345); Taqrīb al-Maqṣad fī al-’Amal bi al-Rubū ‘al-Mujayyab, al-Mawārid fī Shuyūkh ibn ‘Aṭārid that printed in Mecca (1331) and Egypt (1347); and Thabat Jam’ al-Shawārid min Marwiyyāt ibn’ Aṭārid. He also wrote the kitāb of Khutbah al-Jum’ah.

In addition to Arabic kitābs, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid also wrote Malay kitābs such as Inilah Kitab Uṣūl al-Dīn I’tiqād Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah which was printed in Mecca (1330/1911) and Egypt (1340/1921); Ḥukm al-’aql (hāmish or marginal notes in the kitāb of Uṣūl al-Dīn); al-Durr al-Munīf fī Sharḥ al-Wird al-Laṭīf (1330); Mukhtaṣar Kitab al-Durr al-Munīf fī Sharḥ al-Wird al-Laṭīf (printed in Mecca 1330, 1352 and Egypt in 1345); and Al-Wahbah al-Ilāhiyyah fī Bayān Isqāṭ ma ‘alā al-Mayyit min al-Ḥuqūq wa al-Ṣiyām wa al-Ṣalāh (printed in Mecca 1330/1911). In addition to Malay works, he also wrote Sundanese works in a lithograph published in Mecca by Maṭba’ah al-Taraqqī al-Mājidīyyah al-’Uthmāniyyah bi Makkah al-Mukarramah, such as Hidāyat al-Zā’irīn wa Ghāyah al-Ma’mūl fī Ziyārah al-Rasūl (1330/1911) and Manāsik al-Ḥajj (1330/1911) (Mukhtar, 1911: 8); and three printed kitābs in Egypt by the publisher Mustafā al-Bābī al-Halabī wa Awlāduh, such as Ieu Kitāb ‘Aqā’id Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah (1341/1922); Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn (1341/1922); and Hidāyat al-Mubtadi’īn (1346/1927). Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn was also then

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published in Bandung by Shirkah al-Ma'ārif li al-Ṭab' wa al-Nashr. In addition, Mukhtār 'Aṭārid was reported to make a map of the earth which was printed by the al-Mājidiyyah printing house in 1911-1912. He drew the map based on the image of the globe by Shaykh Ismā'il 'Alī in the kitāb al-Nukhbah al-Azhariyyah fī Makkah al-Musharrafah. The image of the globe was painted by Sa'id al-Ṣalāḥi al-Shāmi who was assisted by Husain al-Jāwi. The map is currently stored in the collection of C. Snouck Hurgronje, OHS Cod .Or. 18,097 (Hidayat & Chambert-Loir, 2013: 505-9).

### **Three Sundanese printed kitābs in Egypt**

There are only five Sundanese works of Mukhtār 'Aṭārid that were printed in the Middle East. Two works were printed in Mecca and three works were printed in Egypt. This study will focus on the three printed *kitābs* published by Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlādūh in Egypt: *Ieu Kitāb 'Aqā'id Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* (This is the doctrine of Sunnī theology) (1341/1922), *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi'īn* (Provisions adequate of beginners) (1341/1922) and *Hidāyat al-Mubtadi'īn* (Guidance of beginners) (1346/1927). Other two Sundanese printed *kitābs* in Mecca published by al-Majma'ah al-Taraqī al-Mājidiyyah al-'Uthmāniyyah bi Makkah al-Mushrifah al-Maḥmiyyah entitle *Hidāyat al-Zā'irīn* (Guidance of visitors) (1330/1911) and *Manāsik al-Ḥajj* (Manual of hajj) (1330/1911). The last two *kitābs* are not discussed here due to the limited access to the *kitābs*. The following sections will discuss three Sundanese *kitābs* of Mukhtār 'Aṭārid that were printed in Egypt written in informal Sundanese words (*loma*) with the *pegon* script.

### 1. *Ieu Kitāb ‘Aqā’id Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah*

This *kitāb* was originally written in Malay entitled *Inilah Kitab Uṣūl al-Dīn I’tiqād Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah* (this is a book of Islamic theology of traditionalist Sunnī). It is a *kitāb* of Sunnī theology doctrine (*uṣūl al-dīn*). It has been printed in Mecca (1324/1907), Egypt (1340/1921), and Singapore (Nor bin Ngah, 1983: 21). Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid then translated the *kitāb* into Sundanese entitled *Ieu Kitāb ‘Aqā’id Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah* published by Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlādūh bi Miṣr in 1341/1922. He uses informal Sundanese words although sometimes adopting Malay words such as *Tuhan* (God), *api naraka* (hell), *mana siapa* (who), *kekal* (eternal), *perangai* (behavior), and others.

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s *Ieu Kitāb ‘Aqā’id* discusses the unity of Allah (*tawḥīd*) in the form of three attributes, consist of obligatory (*wājib*), impossible (*mustahil*), and permissible (*jā’iz*) attributes. He also outlines these three attributes of the Prophet Muhammad. He then elaborates both obligatory and impossible attributes into thirteen obligatory attributes with its opposites: 1) *wujūd* (being), its opposite is non-existent (*euweuh*); 2) *qidām* (*tiheula*, formerly), impossible to be preceded by nothing; 3) *baqā’* (eternal), impossible to break; 4) *mukhālafah li al-ḥawādith* (Allah is different from new creatures), it is impossible to be the same with His creatures; 5) *qiyāmah binafsih* (standing alone), impossible to depend on others; 6) *wahdāniyyah* (His essence, attributes and actions are one), impossible to be several things; 7) *qudrah* (God has the power to create and abolish anything), the powerless of God is impossible; 8) *irādah* (God has the will of determining what is possible); 9) *ilm* (God’s knows is being obligatory), impossible not to know; 10) *ḥayāh* (God lives without

soul), impossible to die or live with soul; 11) *sama'* (God hears everything that exists without ears), impossible to be deaf or hear with the ear; 12) *baṣar* (God sees everything that exists without eyes), impossible to be blind or see with the eye; 13) *kalām* (God do not says through sounds and letters), impossible to dumb or speak through sound or letters.

Meanwhile, there is only one attribute that is permissible (*wenang, jā'iz*) for Allah, namely to create what is possible and to disappear what is possible. Furthermore, Mukhtār 'Aṭārid explains that there are four obligatory and impossible attributes for the Prophet, namely *ṣiddīq* (true), impossible to lie; *tablīgh* (conveying), impossible to hide; *amānah* (guarded against the prohibited acts of *ḥarām* and *makrūh*, impossible to betray); and *faṭānah* (smart), impossible to be stupid. Meanwhile, the permissible attribute of the Prophet is '*arad bashariyyah* (human nature), such as eating, drinking, and others (Mukhtar, 1341 H: 1-8).

In the last section, Mukhtār 'Aṭārid explains the belief in the unseen matters in the afterlife and before the Day of Judgment; the body shape of the prophet and his successors; the order of the noblest of people from the Prophet Muhammad, other prophets, angels, the successors and his wives; the infallibility of the prophets and the just of his successors; the belief in the four imams of the *fiqh* schools; the theology of al-Ash'arī and al-Mātūrīdī; the true of Sufī order of Abū al-Qāsim Junayd al-Baghdādī. He then mentions the names of Prophet Muhammad's children and wives; twenty-five prophets in the Qur'ān; the scriptures; ten angels and their duties and he closes his statement that all those who have been mentioned are the true beliefs of Sunnī or

*Ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* who are not deviant and heresy (Mukhtar, 1341 H: 8-13).

There are also Malay *taqrīz* (endorsement) on the last page from ‘Abdullāh ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Jāwī, publisher advertisements, and a list of *kitābs* published by Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlāduh bi Miṣr. ‘Abdullāh’ Abd al-Ṣamad states that “Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s ‘Aqā’id *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā’ah* has finished compiling the obligatory matters for all ‘ibād (servants) and conveying them about it to the mercy of dhī al-faḍl wa al-imdād (owner of virtue) by al-’ālim (the pious), al-’allāmah (knowledgeable), al-ḥabr (broadness), al-fahhāmah (very understanding), al-’arīf (wise), bi maulah al-bārī Raden Haji Muḥammad Mukhtār bin Raden Natanagara, who lived in Bogor Betawi...” (Mukhtar, 1341 H: 14).

## **2. *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn fī ‘Ibādah Rabb al-’Ālamīn***

This *kitāb* explains three basic pieces of knowledge of Islam: theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*), *fiqh*, and Sufism. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid explains that he wrote *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn* by translating some works of Abū Zakaria al-Nawawī (1233-1277), one of the thirteenth-century *ulamas*, such as *Al-Maqāṣid al-Nawawīyyah* and *Faḥ al-Qarīb sharḥ al-Taqrīb*. These al-Nawawī’s works show that Kooria calls a long *durée* of the continuity of the Islamic scholarly tradition that stretches along with the Indian and Mediterranean Oceans for centuries (Kooria, 2016). In addition, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid also uses the works of Abū Hāmid al-Ghazalī (1058-1111), well-known *Sunnī* *ulama*, such as *Bidāyah al-Hidāyat*, *al-Arba’īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, and *Minhāj al-’Ābidīn*. He also uses the work of the famous *fiqh* *ulama*, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī (1503-1566), *al-Zawājir ‘an Iqtirāf al-Kabā’ir*. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid uses the familiar

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language (loma) in Sundanese with a mixture of several Malay words such as *dicela* (called down), *karana* (because), *tatapi* (however), *baik sangka* (good suspicion) and others.

The theological issues (*uṣūl al-dīn*) in this *kitāb* are similar to Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s *Ieu Kitāb ‘Aqā’id*. He includes the learning of the gnosis of Allah including the twenty attributes, namely: thirteen obligatory attributes, four obligatory attributes for the prophet, and so on. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid also discusses the five pillars of Islam, six pillars of Islamic faith, ninety things of destroying faith, five laws of sharia, sources of Islamic law, and various kinds of good and despicable heresies (*bid’a*) for both unpretentious people (*zuhud*) and others, and finally explains the heresy of Mu’tazila school, philosophers and people who practice the doctrine of seven grades (*martabat tujuh*) in the land of Java, Sunda and Malay (Mukhtar, 1374 H: 1-35).

Later, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid explains the subject of *fiqh* in several chapters such as the *ṭahārah* (cleanse after defilement), *wuḍū’* (ritual ablution before prayers), *tayammum* (ritually purify with sand in absence of water), menstruation and *nifās* (the 40-day confinement period after childbirth), obligatory prayers performed five times daily, congregational prayer on Friday, prayers of *idul-fitri* and *idul-adha*, eclipse prayers, *istisqā’* prayers, the management of the corpse, alms-giving (*zakat*), fasting, *hajj* and ‘*umrah*. He explains briefly with no textual explanation from the *Qur’an* and *ḥadīths* considering that the readers of his *kitāb* are beginner students who are learning the basics of Islam (Mukhtar, 1374 H: 35-83).

The last chapter is Sufism that consists of explanations of *shari’ah*, Sufi orders (*tariqah*) and the inner aspects of Islam (*haqiqah*), the definition of Sufism, the pillars of Sufi orders, social interactions of

Sufi order experts, Sufi healing of heart, Islamic piety, various prohibitions and preventions for the eyes, ears, tongue, stomach, genitals, hands and feet, and 19 prohibitions of immorality for the heart (Mukhtar, 1374 H: 83-110). This chapter is then closed with the Islamic ethics (adab) issue consisting of Muslim manners when praying to Allah, manners for people who are learning the Qur'ān, manners for children to their parents, manners for the wife to her husband, manners for those who have wife, manners for lay people who unknown, the requirements for people who can be friends and manners to people who already know (Mukhtar, 1374 H: 110-24).

The final page of *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi'īn* includes Arabic and Malay endorsements or taqrīz from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Rayānī of Banten who supports this kitāb. There is also the table of content of the kitāb. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ states that this kitāb contains the obligations of Muslims that could bring them to the grace of God. Mukhtār 'Aṭārid compiles three disciplines which are a summary of the selected shari'a, namely the tauhid, fiqh and Sufism to achieve happiness in the world and the hereafter (Mukhtar, 1374 H: 125).

### **3. *Hidāyat al-Mubtadi'īn ila Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn***

This kitāb mostly describes Sufism issue as mentioned in its title and is divided into several chapters (faṣl). He explains some efforts to protect the seven limbs of the body from immorality: the eyes, ears, tongue, stomach, genitals, hands and feet. He also describes ten efforts to keep the heart from immorality quoted from al-Ghazali's *al-Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*: save food, speech, manage anger, jealousy, stinginess, lust love, worldly love, arrogant, and jealously proud (Mukhtar, 1346 H: 8-22); He finally describes ten things relating to inner obedience of the

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heart also quoted from al-Ghazali's works: fear (khawf), asceticism, patience, gratitude, sincerity, resignation, love, joy and remembering to die (Mukhtar, 1346 H: 22-39).

The last chapter explains the Islamic manners (adab) as in *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi'īn*, such as friendly manners, manners of pious people, manners of Muslims who are learning learning the Qur'ān, manners of children to their parents, manners of father to teach his children, manners of wife to her husband, manners of husband to his wife, manners of sexual intercourse (jimā'), social interaction manners, requirements for friends, manners of friends, and manners to people who already known (Mukhtar, 1346 H: 39-58).

There are also two Malay endorsements (taqrīz) on the last page of *Hidāyat al-Mubtadi'īn*. These endorsements were given by two Malaysian ulamas: Shaykh 'Abdullah Ibrahim al-Kedahi and Shaykh Ahmad Sa'ad Penang. However, both endorsements incorrectly mention the title of the kitāb, 'Aqā'id ahl al-sunnah wa al-jāma'ah, whereas it should be *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi'īn*. These two Malaysian ulamas describe that this book 'Aqā'id ahl al-sunnah wa al-jāma'ah was written by al-ustādh, al-'ālim, al-fāḍil, al-mulādh al-kāmil Raden al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Mukhtār bin Raden Natanagara Java Bogor, may God reward and accept his broad knowledge. This kitāb is important for every beginner level (mubtadī) of students to obtain Islamic knowledge, improve their faith and get forgiveness from God (Mukhtar, 1346 H: 58).

### **Islamic handbooks for beginner students**

Based on the content and language, three printed Sundanese kitābs written by Mukhtār 'Aṭārīd were prepared as learning materials for

beginner students from West Java who were studying in Mecca. There were foundational institutions in Mecca until the early twentieth century (*kuttāb*, *katātīb*) that taught non-Arabic languages such as Indian, *Jāwī*, and others (Dahīs, 2006: 286). Snouck Hurgronje's famous work, *Mekka*, describes how the *Jāwī* community and their children spoke local Indonesian languages such as Malay, Sundanese, Javanese (*mriki*), and others. They did not only use these languages for learning, but also for trading activities (Hurgronje, 2007: 246, 284).

Mukhtār 'Aṭārid' Sundanese kitābs were intended as a handbook for Sundanese students at the basic educational institutions in Mecca. Therefore, its language tends to be simple and the content is very short and practical. Students who read his kitābs were commonly beginner students in Mecca. These three kitābs use *pegon* script making it easy for Sundanese readers. The kitābs were not commentary (*sharḥ*), super commentary (*hāshiyā*), or marginal notes (*ḥāmish*). Instead, these works were a compilation of various other kitābs by classical Sunnī ulamas such as al-Ghazālī, al-Nawawī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī.

Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's kitābs may be motivated by two things. First, the practical needs of teaching and learning for beginner students in Mecca. Second, by his past learning experience with his respective teacher, Sayyid 'Uthman in Batavia. Sayyid 'Uthman is a Hadrami ulama who wrote many practical works in Arabic, Malay, and Sundanese as a guide of worship for Muslims in the Malay-Indonesia world (Kaptein, 2014: 219). Mukhtār 'Aṭārid states the purpose of composing his kitābs in the introduction.

Table 1. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s purpose of composing kitābs

<p><i>Ieu Kitāb ‘Aqā’id Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah</i> (Mukhtār, 1341 H: 2)</p>	<p>(وبعد) اري سغكس كتو مك كيهوكن كو مانيه ساتمن ٢ن واجب كاسبان ٢ جلم نو عاقل بالغ ايت كود غيهوكن سكاويه صفة نو واجب كا الله تعالى جغ سكاويه صفة نو مستحيل كا الله تعالى سكاويه صفة نو ونغ كا الله تعالى.</p>
<p>Translation</p>	<p>(wa ba’d) thereby, then know by you, it is obligatory for everyone who is mature to know all the obligatory attribute, impossible attribute and permissible attribute for Allah.</p>
<p><i>Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn fī ‘Ibādah Rabb al-‘Ālamīn</i> (Mukhtār, 1374 H: 1, 3)</p>	<p>(كفاية المبتدئين في عبادة رب العالمين) هرتنا كچوكوفن سكاويه جلم انو كا كارا داجر دين جالن كوكمولا كا توهن رب العالمين ايا د جرونا تلو علم انو فرض عين كا سكاويه جلم انو مكلف هج علم اصول الدين كجو علم فقه كاتلو علم تصوف. جغ تيف ٢ هج كلاكوان بچار انو رغكس تور بباري سبب انو د مقصود كر اجين جلم ٢ انو ككارا داجر جغ كس دغرانب كو كولا كتاب اي كلاون (كفاية المبتدئين * في عبادة رب العالمين)...</p>
<p>Translation</p>	<p>(<i>Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn fī ‘ibādah rabb al-’ ālam īn</i>) means the adequacy of all those who are just learning in the way of worshipping God. There are three knowledge which is farḍ ‘ayn for all who are mature: theology (uṣūl al-dīn), Islamic law (fiqh), mysticism (taṣawwuf). Every type of knowledge was discussed easy matter briefly, because it would be studied by people who are just learning. I called this kitāb with <i>Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn fī ‘Ibādah Rabb al-’Alamin</i>.</p>
<p><i>Hidāyat al-Mubtadi’īn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn</i> (Mukhtār,</p>	<p>(أما بعد) اري سغكس كتو مك ساتمن ٢ن وجب كاسبن ٢ جلم نو عاقل بالغ ايت كود غركس سكاويه بدان تننا سكاويه معصية...</p>

1346 H: 2)	
Translation	(ammā ba'd) thereby, then it is obligatory for every person who is mature to guard the body from all immorality.

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid states in the above introduction that his kitābs were compiled for mature people to gain knowledge of the absolute attributes of Allah. The mature age refers to the period when an adult person is around fifteen years old and can distinguish good from the bad. This mature age is marked by intercourse dreams for men and menstruation for women. It marks the start of the due of merits and sins of the religious obligations (*taklīf*). In other words, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s kitābs are a guide for people who began learning Islam in Mecca.

One of the practical characteristics of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s kitābs can be seen in his explanation. He did not compile his kitābs in the form of commentary (*sharḥ*), super commentary (*ḥāshiyah*), or marginal note (*ḥāmish*) as commonly practiced by other scholars. These explanation methods are usually used for advanced students who have excellent knowledge of Arabic. Three Sundanese kitābs of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid are aimed at teaching the basics of Islamic scholarship to beginner students relating to the theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*), *fiqh*, and Sufism. These kitābs use references from several well-known kitābs of Sunnī ulamas such as al-Ghazālī, al-Nawawī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid attempted to teach the doctrine of Sunnī orthodoxy to the Sundanese students who studied in Mecca. Therefore, the following section describes the contribution of Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid in strengthening Sunnī orthodoxy through his Sundanese kitābs. His contribution cannot be separated from the socio-religious challenges in Ḥaramain along with

the adoption of Salafi/Wahhabi teachings as the official teaching of the Saudi government.

### **Strengthening the orthodoxy of traditionalist Sunnī**

The Sunnī school or ahl al-Sunnah wa al-jamā'ah that makes up the majority in Islamic world today adheres to three main teachings: Ash'ariya and Mātūridiya theology, four schools of the Islamic jurisprudence (Shāfi'iya, Ḥanafīya, Mālikiya, and Ḥanbaliya) and Sufism of al-Ghazālī and Junayd al-Baghdādī. The doctrine of Sunnī school orthodoxy is different from those of minority groups in Islam who are considered politically heterodox and deviant, such as Khawārij, Shīa, Jabariya, Qadariya, Mu'tazila, Muslim philosophers, heterodox Sufism, Ahmadiyyah, and others. The acceptance of Sunnī teachings by the Muslim majority is based on the views that these three pillars of Sunnī teachings successfully integrated various differences and beliefs in a moderate position among the various schools.

Mukhtār 'Aṭārid, for instance, affirms his attitude as a Muslim Sunnī in his *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi'īn fī' Ibādah Rabb al-'Ālamīn* towards the Mu'tazila and Muslim philosophers who have different theological teachings. He stated (Mukhtār, 1374 H: 32-3):

(۳) کتلو بدعه مذمومه نسبه کا سکابيه جلم \* يا ايت بارغ انو  
يوليأن قران جغ حديث جغ إجماع علماء جغ قياس \* يا ايت  
سمرت إعتقاد معتزله غنفيكن صفة معاني تي الله تعالى سمرت  
نتفكن حکمنا سمرت غنفيکن قدرة سمرت نتفکن کونه قادرا \* جغ  
يبوتکن واجب الله تعالى غدامل انو مصلحة کا همبان \* جغ  
سفندان \* تتاف بدعه اي هنت متک کفر غن متک جدي فاسق  
وائي انفون بدعه فلاسفه \* يبوتکن عالم ايت قديم \* جغ إنکار  
کان دهر وفکن دئي دينا فووي قيامه سکابيه بدان انو کس

## مرائت \* جع سففدان \*

(3) third, *bid'a mazhmūma* (the despicable heresy) which can be practiced by all people. This is a disapprove of the Qur'an, ḥadīth, consensus and analogy. Mu'tazila's teaching, for instance, negates the meaningful attributes of God and establishes a rule that denies the power (*qudra*) of God and establishes God's condition as *qādiran* (who only predestines). Mu'tazila also mentions that it is obligatory for God to make good things for His servants. However, this Mu'tazila's heresy did not make infidel (*kufr*), it only made them godless (*fasiq*). Meanwhile, the heresy of philosophers' state that nature is *qadīm* (eternal). They refuse the resurrection of all death bodies on the Day of Resurrection, etc.

Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's explanation shows his support for Sunnī traditionalist orthodoxy. He considered the beliefs of the Mu'tazila group to be a despicable heresy, although it did not make them infidel (*kufr*). To Mukhtār 'Aṭārid, Mu'tazila followers rejected the attributes of God and His power. They believe that God is only predestined. On the other hand, humans are believed to have full power and free will over themselves (Martin, Woodward, and Atmaja, 1997: 10, 27). In addition, Mukhtār 'Aṭārid is also considered a despicable heresy against philosophers who believe that worldly life is eternal and deny physical resurrection on the Day of Resurrection. In the study of Islamic philosophy, this kind of belief was believed by Muslim philosophers who were then heavily criticized by al-Ghazali in his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* (philosophical ambiguity) (De Boer, 1903: 159). Mukhtār 'Aṭārid agreed with al-Ghazali's viewpoints.

Therefore, Mukhtār' Aṭārid affirms his stance to strengthen Sunnī traditionalist teachings facing these various doctrinal deviations above. He describes in his *Ieu Kitāb 'Aqā'id Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jāma'ah* (Mukhtār, 1341 H: 10-1, 13):

جع واجب غا اعتقدكن ساتمن ان سكاويه نبي ٢ ايت معصوم

يعني دركس تنا مكاوي حرم اتوا مكروه جع اري صحابة  
كجعج نبي صالى الله عليه وسلم ايت كاييه عادل جع اري امام  
الشافعي جع امام ابو حنيفة جع امام مالك جع امام احمد بن  
حنبل جع سكارينا علماء اهل اجتهاد ايت تتف اتس هداية انو  
سمفرن تي الله تعالى دين حكم اعتقاد جع ليان \* جع اري امام  
ابي حسن اشعري جع ابو منصور ماتوردي ايت ايكونن انو  
بئر دين باب اعتقاد جع ساتمن ان طريقة ابي القاسم جنيد جع  
سكاييه ايكونن ننا ايت طريقة انو بئر سفي تنا بدعه \*  
مك اي سكاييه نو كس دسبوة يا ايت اعتقاد اهل السنة  
والجماعة مك سها انو غيهوكن جع غا اعتقدكن ايت سكاييه  
مك يا ايت جلم مؤمن انو صحيح اماننا انو لفس تنا سكاييه  
اعتقاد بدعه جع تنا اعتقاد انو سسر.

It is obligatory to believe that all prophets are infallible. They are guarded from forbidden acts (*ḥarām* or *makrūh*). The companions of the prophet Muhammad are all justs. The *imām* of *madhhab* such as al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal and the rest of the ulamas who the experts of *ijtihād* remain on the perfect guidance from God in the Islamic rule of belief. Meanwhile, Abū Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī and Abū Mansūr al-Mātūrīdī are the right ones on faith. The Sufi order of Abū al-Qāsim Junayd and all who follow actually are the true Sufi orders which far from heresy. This all that has been mentioned is the belief of *Ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamāʿah*. Anyone who knows and believes, that is the true believer whose faith is free from all deviate and heretical beliefs.

The explanation above demonstrates that Mukhtār ‘Aṭārīd adheres to what so-called the trident of Sunnī orthodoxy in theology, Islamic law (*fiqh*), and Sufism, namely: Ashʿariya and Mātūrīdiya theology, acknowledging four *fiqh* schools (*Shāfiʿiyya*, *Ḥanafīyya*, *Mālikīyya*, and *Hanbaliyya*) and Sufism of Abū al-Qāsim Junayd al-Baghdādī. He emphasized that anyone who believes in these three Sunnī orthodoxy teachings are true believers who are free from deviation and heresy. This affirmation is ideologically stated as strengthening one’s belief in the truth of *Ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamāʿah* or Sunnī traditional school.

This was believed and practiced by Muslims in Mecca-Medina for a long time amid the accusations of heresy and idolatry by the Salafi/Wahhabi group in the later part of the early twentieth century.

The Salafi/Wahhabi is known as a Sunnī reformist and puritan group who often perceive other groups of Muslims as deviant and heresy. The presence of this teaching in Haramain marked a shift in the dominance of religious beliefs. The teaching of Salafi/Wahhabi became the official teaching of the Saudi Kingdom after taking over the holy city in 1924. This official teaching was different from what was officiated by the previous ruler, the Ottoman, in Mecca who ruled for four centuries. The Ottoman ruler tended to be very plural in accepting four *fiqh* schools, various Sufi orders, and the Shia community around Medina (Commins, 2006: 77).

Salafi/Wahhabi group made various accusations of heresy and idolatry directed at the orthodoxy of traditionalist Sunnī which was practiced by Muslims in Mecca and Medina such as *tawassul*, *istigāthah*, the Prophet's *mawlid* (birthday), and the glorification of objects around the Kaaba, facing the Prophet's grave when praying, seeking blessings from former pious people and others (Daḥlān, 2003). This group then destroyed sacred tombs, Khadijah's house, Abu Bakr's birth house and the *zawiya* where Sufi followers were gathered. They also eliminated the practices of various Sufi orders. The practitioners of Sufi orders then fled to other areas in Arabia. Ibn Saud as the Saudi ruler who followed the Salafi/Wahhabi teachings basically did not want to disrupt the pilgrimage and disturb the large number of Muslim immigrants who lived in Mecca. However, Ibn Saud at the same time had to satisfy the Salafi/Wahhabi ulamas as his main proponent of homogenizing religious teachings and getting rid of what was

Sundanese Printed *Kitābs* in Egypt ...

considered idolatry (Commins, 2006: 79; Kostiner. 1993: 103; Peters, 1994: 359).

In facing the challenging ideology of the Salafis/Wahhabi's teachings, Mukhtār 'Aṭārid as one of the traditionalists Sunnī ulamas in Mecca emphasized his position by compiling his three Sundanese *kitābs*: *Ieu Kitāb 'Aqā'id, Kifāyat al-Mubtadi'īn*, and *Hidāyat al-Mubtadi'īn*. He positioned himself and his teachings to maintain the continuity of the orthodoxy of Sunnī tradition that could be transmitted to his Sundanese students. The affirmation of his position was important for them because they will return to their respective countries and then serve as the teachers/religious leaders at the Islamic education institutions of in Malay-Indonesia archipelago. Mukhtār 'Aṭārid attempted to maintain the continuity of the tradition of Sunnī traditionalist orthodoxy between Ḥaramain and the archipelago through the Sundanese *kitābs* that he taught to his Sundanese students, which can be currently seen in the endurance of Malay-Indonesian Muslims in maintaining the traditionalist Sunnī orthodoxy. Hence, it can be said that Mukhtār 'Aṭārid's Sundanese *kitābs* have significant contribution in maintaining the Sunni orthodoxy that spread from Ḥaramain to the Malay-Indonesia archipelago.

## Conclusion

This paper suggests that the diversity of Jāwah or Malay-Indonesian immigrants in Mecca influenced the diversity of languages in learning *kitābs*, including Arabic, Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese. As a consequence, printed *kitābs* were increasingly gaining a place among ulamas and their Jāwah students in Mecca, since they are more easily and quickly accessed than those of the handwritten manuscripts. Egypt became one of the publishing centers of these Jāwī *kitābs*, apart from

Mecca, Turkey, Bombay, and Singapore. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid was one of the sheikhs in Mecca who wrote the Sundanese kitābs printed in Egypt in order to fulfill the needs of his Sundanese students from West Java. His three kitābs: *Ieu Kitab ‘Aqā’id Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jāma’ah* (1340/1921), *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi’īn* (1341/1922), and *Hidāyat al-Mubtadi’īn* (1346/1927) on theology, fiqh, and Sufism were printed by Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlādūh in Cairo, Egypt. Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s works made an important contribution in maintaining the intellectual transmission between Ḥaramain and the archipelago in the early twentieth century. This can be seen in his Sundanese students who accessed his works and then had an important influence when they returned to their home countries. In addition, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid’s kitābs also showed his efforts to maintain the continuity of the traditionalist Sunnī orthodoxy in Mecca which in turn also spread to the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. His affirmation as a traditional Sunnī was shown by his rejection of mu’tazila and philosophy teachings. This affirmation is critical considering that Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid lived at a time when there was a raise in the Salafi/Wahhabi’s ideologies which became the official teaching of the Saudi government after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1924. ‘Aṭārid’s traditional Sunnī was situated within a socio-religious dynamic that was heavily influenced by political changes in Mecca in the early twentieth century.

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