

**‘UTHMĀN B. SHIHĀB AL-DĪN FUNTIYĀNAQ IN THE LATE
OTTOMAN HIJAZ: *KITAB JAWI* AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN
EDITORIAL NETWORKS IN THE 19TH-20TH CENTURIES**

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master’s Study Program of Islamic Studies at the
Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



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ABSTRACT

Egi Tanadi

Student ID. 01232310006

egi.taufik@uiii.ac.id

MA Islamic Studies

Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia

Situating the Pontianak-origin scholar and his publications in the Hijaz during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, this study reconsiders the intellectual life of ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb al-Dīn Funtiyānaq through his editorial and translation practices from 1304/1887 to 1330/1912. Employing a qualitative approach, the research adopts Nor bin Mohd. Ngah’s (1982) discourse of *Kitab Jawi* and Islam Dayeh’s (2019) examination of the Islamic print culture. The study questions how ‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq produced, self-edited, and published his *Kitab Jawi*, mostly in an Ottoman-owned publisher. It also examines how his works, translations, and editorial approaches reflect his engagement with the surrounding Arabic text materials, the intended readership, and the intellectual concerns of the Jawi diasporas of the period. Data is gathered from literature review, philological analysis, and interview. Most primary data of ‘Uthmān’s treatises are preserved at Khazanah Fathaniyah in Kuala Lumpur and the Sophia University Library in Tokyo, while others were reissued by private publishers in Mecca, Cairo, Surabaya, Pattani, and Kuala Lumpur. After reconstructing the life of the Pontianak scholar, the research findings suggest that ‘Uthmān’s productive time in the Late Ottoman Hijaz was not simply facilitated by the language barrier on behalf of the Ottoman officials, but instead by ‘Uthmān’s connections with the Meccan scholars, the state-appointed proofreaders at Maṭba’a al-Miriyya, and several publishing sponsors. These connections enabled ‘Uthmān to become a prolific author and editor both during his early intellectual career as a sheikh in the religious cities of Mecca-Medina and his later lifetime in Taif. His migration from Mecca-Medina to Taif also corresponds with a shift in editorial approach from the critical editing (*taḥqīq*) to more literal rendering (*taṣḥīḥ*) of the source materials. This shift arguably reflects the contrast in intellectual milieu between those regions, or, instead, the changing demands of the Hijaz book market and the expectations of the sponsors. Data also shows ‘Uthmān’s engagement with Shādhiliyya teachings, both through his interaction with the works of Ibn ‘Atā’illāh al-Sakandarī and his rendering of the notion of *tadbīr* (self-control) in the later works, despite no account suggesting that ‘Uthmān himself subscribed to Shadhiliyya Sufism. Over his 12 treatises, ‘Uthmān’s legal reasoning and scriptural hermeneutics are mostly identifiable in his two monographs, *Risāla Taḥṣīr Sūrat Yāsīn* and *Fatḥ al-Mutafakkirīn*, respectively a critical edition of Hamamizade Ihsan’s commentary of Q.36 and Aḥmad Zaynī Dahlān’s gloss of al-Suyūṭī’s *Jāmi’ al-Ṣaḡhīr*.

Keywords: *Kitab Jawi*; *Critical edition*; *Shadhiliyya*; *Maṭba’a al-Miriyya*; *Ottoman-Hijaz*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY	ii
ANTI-PLAGIARISM STATEMENT.....	iii
THESIS ATTESTATION.....	iv
THESIS DEFENSE APPROVAL	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
LITERATURE REVIEW: JAWI PRINT CULTURE	4
SON OF PONTIANAK: ‘UTHMĀN’S LIFE IN A GLANCE	8
A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ‘UTHMĀN’S PRINTED TREATISES.....	14
EDITORIAL AND TRANSLATION INITIATIVES	22
SUFI THOUGHTS AND SCRIPTURAL REASONING	26
CONCLUSION.....	30
BIBLIOGRAPHY	31

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	List of Uthmān's treatises produced in Mecca-Medina.
Table 2	List of Uthmān's treatises produced in Taif.
Table 3	Textual Sources of 'Uthmān Funtiyānaq

LIST OF FIGURES

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Figure 1 | Sheikh al-Islām's promotion of the proofreading of Jawi editors. |
| Figure 2 | Reproduction of <i>Risāla</i> from al-Mīriyya to Khazanah Fathaniyah. |
| Figure 3 | 'Uthmān's handwritten cancellations and corrective marginal text in Aṣl al-Khuṭba. |

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the editing and printing practices of non-Arabic Islamic treatises in the 19th- and 20th-century Hijaz, centering on an understudied Southeast Asian scholar and editor, ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn Funtiyānaq (circa 1860-1910AD). It argues that this era marked a critical moment in Islamic print culture not only due to the power shift from the Ottoman Empire (c. 1300s-1922) to the emerging modern nation-states, but also because of the shifts in the printing industries across various genres and origins, including Islamic treatises intended for Southeast Asian audiences. ‘Uthmān wrote 12 treatises in Jawi and Arabic, printed initially in Mecca, Medina, or Taif, before being reproduced outside the Hijaz. Although strict censorship is often associated to the reign of Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1908),¹ the Empire had begun implementing control measures earlier, with the Printing Law (*Nizām-i Maṭābi’ ve-Maṭbū’āt*) in 1857 and the establishment of the Press Affairs (*Maṭbū’at Mūdīrlüğü*) in 1862.² The surveillance of the Ottoman Empire over printed Islamic texts consequently shaped which religious doctrines could reach the public and influenced how editors and authors should navigate the process of gaining the state's approval for publication.

The law regulates both Ottoman and non-Ottoman literature circulating within Ottoman domains.³ The Printing Law targeted obscene content, revolutionary rhetoric against the Empire, and any printed texts deemed “morally corrupt.”⁴ As part of this oversight, the Empire extended surveillance to Southeast Asian Islamic texts by appointing official Jawi editors and proofreaders in Mecca since 1884, primarily those with years of working experience in the Egyptian publishing industry of religious texts.⁵ Some scholars link ‘Uthmān, of Malay origin, with the Pattani editorial networks in the Hijaz.⁶ In this context, ‘Uthmān’s connections with

¹ Donald J. Cioeta, ‘Ottoman Censorship in Lebanon and Syria, 1876-1908’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 2 (1979): 167–86; Fatma Esen, ‘Censorship under Allied Occupation of Istanbul: The Analysis of Tasvīr-i Efkār Newspaper’ (Master Thesis, Sabancı University, 2020).

² Ipek K. Yosmaoğlu, ‘Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913’, *The Turkish Studies Association Journal* 27, no. 1/2 (2003): 15–49; Palmira Brummett, ‘Censorship in Late Ottoman Istanbul: The Ordinary, The Extraordinary, The Visual’, *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 5, no. 2 (2018): 75–98, <https://doi.org/10.2979/jotturstuass.5.2.07>.

³ Cioeta, ‘Ottoman Censorship in Lebanon and Syria, 1876-1908’.

⁴ Ebru Boyar, ‘The Press and the Palace: The Two-Way Relationship between Abdülhamid II and the Press, 1876-1908’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 69, no. 3 (2006): 417–32.

⁵ Muhammad Arafat bin Mohamad, ‘Be-Longing: Fatanis in Makkah and Jawi’ (Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 2013).

⁶ Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, ‘Syekh Utsman Syihabuddin Ulama Pontianak’, *Utusan Malaysia*, 17 June 2006; Ermy Azziaty Rozali, ‘Sheikh Wan Ahmad Al-Fatani and the Malay Publications in the Middle East’, *Asian Social Science* 11, no. 24 (18 August 2015); Filiz Diğiroğlu, ‘Malay Publications Printed in the Ottoman Empire and Mecca Provincial Printing House’, in *Studies on the Relations between the Ottoman Empire and*

fellow Jawi scholars (*‘aṣḥāb al-Jawiyyīn*) appear to have facilitated the approval process for publishing his works under the Ottoman state press. Feeling honored for such a privilege, ‘Uthmān wrote an acknowledgment to Sultan Abdulhamid II:

Medoākan Sultān ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd sebenarnya. Mudah-mudahan Allah ta‘ala kekalkan kerajaannya. Serta adil dan murah atas ra‘yatnya. Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd khān al-mu‘zham. Khalifah Allah ta‘ala pada sekalian alam ... Di negeri Mekah al-Musharrafah banyak kebajikan itu. Memperbuat cap kitab bersangat bagus itu. Jadilah banyak kitab Melayu diterjemah itu ... Satu kitab sepuluh ribu jadi naskahnya.

Truest prayer for Sultan Abdulhamid. May Allah preserve his Empire; and be just and generous to his people. Sultan Abdulhamid, the dignified ruler. God’s caliph over the world ... Uprights made in the Exalted Mecca. Printing such radiant books. Shall there be many Malay texts translated ... One text turned into ten thousand copies.⁷

This appraisal of the Ottoman Sultan is delivered at the epilogue of *Fath al-Makkah* (1311AH/1893AD), ‘Uthmān’s second monograph and the first publication to be patronaged, which, in this case, was financially sponsored by a certain Pattani scholar, ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-Faṭānī, known as “Tok Gudang” (d. 1915).⁸ Note that ‘Uthmān is dependent on the state press and the sponsor to publish his work, forcing him to negotiate his thoughts with his sponsor and the state. In *Fath al-Makkah*, ‘Uthmān praises how the Sultan was dedicated to expanding the translation initiatives of Jawi literature in Mecca,⁹ possibly referring to the foundation of the state publishing house in 1883, *Maṭba‘a al-Mīriyya al-Kā’ina*, which would subsequently publish most of ‘Uthmān’s treatises until 1324AH/1906AD. Interestingly, while the Meccan state publisher has the state-assigned Jawi proofreaders and editors,¹⁰ ‘Uthmān notes in multiple places that he self-edited his works, with no reference to whether there was an external proofreader or editor who interfered with the text, particularly the first edition, except for his first work, which was proofread by his sheikh. No account also suggests that ‘Uthmān was assigned as the state-appointed editor or proofreader for *Maṭba‘a al-Mīriyya*. However, Dıġıroġlu (2024) mentions that the Meccan state publisher was designed as a tool not simply to meet the book-selling expectations of the Southeast Asian pilgrims in Mecca, but, most importantly, to address the pan-Islamist policies of Sultan Abdulhamid II.¹¹

Southeast Asia, ed. İsmail Hakkı Göksoy and İsmail Hakkı Kadı (Ankara: Salmat Basım Yayıncılık Amb. San., 2024), 105–39.

⁷ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq, *Fath Al-Makkah al-Musharrafah*, with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Gudang b. Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl Faṭṭānī (Al-Mīriyya, 1887), 74.

⁸ al-Funtiyānaq, 74.

⁹ al-Funtiyānaq, 74.

¹⁰ Dıġıroġlu, ‘Malay Publications’, 111–16.

¹¹ Dıġıroġlu, 110.

Situating the Pontianak-origin scholar and his publications in the Hijaz during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, this study reconsiders the intellectual life of ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb al-Dīn Funtiyānaq through his editorial and translation practices from Mecca to Taif. It also examines the extent his publications reflect the intellectual orientations of the Hijaz and the theological concerns of the period, rather than concerning the socio-political currents outside the Middle East, including in ‘Uthmān’s homeland, Southeast Asia. Employing a qualitative approach, the research adopts Nor Bin Mohd. Ngah’s (1982) discourse of *Kitab Jawi* and Islam Dayeh’s (2019) framework of Islamic print culture.¹² Examining “Kitab Jawi,” the religious works printed in Jawi script in the 19th and 20th centuries, Nor argues that local, Southeast Asian thoughts have been prevailing in the literary genre, despite many being translations and glosses of Arabic works.¹³ Conversely, Dayeh, based on his study of the 20th-century Islamic texts in Egypt, distinguishes between the initial, largely non-critical editions (*taṣḥīḥ*) of print texts and the following critical editions (*taḥqīq*). Combining these frameworks, the study questions how Sheikh ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb al-Dīn Funtiyānaq produced, self-edited, and published over a dozen of his *Kitab Jawi* in the Ottoman-owned publisher. It also examines how his treatises, translations, and editorial approaches reflect his engagement with the surrounding Arabic source materials, the intended readership, and the intellectual concerns of the Jawi diasporas in the period. As no specific work has been dedicated to ‘Uthmān’s life or his scholarly affiliations, the most dependable means to trace his biography lies in a close reading of his treatises as the primary sources, supplemented with supporting materials like biographical dictionaries and chronicles. Some of the first editions of his works are preserved at Khazanah Fathaniyah in Kuala Lumpur and the Sophia University Library in Tokyo, while some others are reissued by private publishers.

LITERATURE REVIEW: JAWI PRINT CULTURE

Southeast Asia ranks among the most linguistically privileged regions on the globe, with more than 1,200 spoken tongues. Across the vast arc of Mainland and Peninsular Southeast Asia, each ethnolinguistic community proposes its own idioms of faith and trade, giving rise to a series

¹² Daniel Bar-Tal, ‘Self-Censorship: The Conceptual Framework’, in *Self-Censorship in Contexts of Conflict: Theory and Research*, ed. Daniel Bar-Tal et al. (Springer International Publishing, 2017), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63378-7_1; Islam Dayeh, *From Taṣḥīḥ to Taḥqīq: Toward a History of the Arabic Critical Edition*, Brill, 13 December 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1163/24519197-12340072>.

¹³ Mohd. Nor Bin Ngah, *Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1982), 1–7.

of overlapping cultural and religious cosmopolises.¹⁴ Out of this emerged the search for another unifying script, crystallizing within Malay oral tradition rendered in the Arabo-Persian script. Yet such abundance has long complicated communication for diplomacy, trade, and the circulation of texts. In the 18th century, scholarship on Southeast Asia began to note a significant shift among local populations toward the socio-religious and linguistic aspects of Malay Muslim culture. Such a transformation was recorded by some Dutch Orientalists such as François Valentijn (d. 1727) and George Werndly (d. 1744), who observed the centrality of Malay as a vehicle for Islamic learning and cross-cultural engagement.¹⁵ This trend is captured in the notion of *masuk Melayu*—literally, “to enter Malay” or to embrace Malay identity. Although this phrase gained wide popularity in the 19th century, it still resonates in Malay-speaking Muslim societies to date.¹⁶ The notion points to the integration of various Southeast Asian communities into a meta-ethnic Malay identity, including its shared intellectual and trading networks.

A central component of this integration was the development of *Kitab Jawi*, or literally “Jawi books.” It refers to religious texts written in the Malay language using the Jawi script. These texts became popular not only within Southeast Asia but also among the broader Indo-Malay diaspora from the 19th century onwards.¹⁷ There remains scholarly debate about the earliest printed Malay book: some scholars suggest the 1817 edition of the Ten Commandments by the Melaka Mission Press as the earliest printed Malay text, while others argue that the *Hikayat Abdullah* is believed to have been printed in 1807.¹⁸ This debate also raises broader questions about whether the Jawi script is exclusive to Muslim communities.¹⁹ or served historically as a lingua franca for multi-religious societies and trade networks.

¹⁴ Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*, South Asia across the Disciplines (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 93; Tomáš Petrů, “‘Lands below the Winds’ as Part of the Persian Cosmopolis: An Inquiry into Linguistic and Cultural Borrowings from the Persianate Societies in the Malay World”, *Moussons. Recherche En Sciences Humaines Sur l’Asie Du Sud-Est*, no. 27 (June 2016): 27, <https://doi.org/10.4000/moussons.3572>.

¹⁵ Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past*, Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 78–81.

¹⁶ Philipp Bruckmayr, *Cambodia’s Muslims and the Malay World: Malay Language, Jawi Script, and Islamic Factionalism from the 19th Century to the Present*, Brill’s Southeast Asian Library, ed. M.C. Ricklefs and Bruce Lockhart (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019), 12–14.

¹⁷ Mohd. Nor Bin Ngah, *Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1982); Saarah Jappie, ‘Jawi Dari Jauh: “Malays” in South Africa through Text’, *Indonesia and the Malay World* 40, no. 117 (1 July 2012): 143–59, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2012.683675>.

¹⁸ ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abd al-Qādir, ‘The Hikayat Abdullah, an Annotated Translation by Hill’, trans. A.H. Hill, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28, no. 171 (1955): 5–346; Md Sidin Ahmad Ishak, ‘Malay Book Publishing and Printing in Malaya and Singapore 1807-1949’ (Dissertation, University of Stirling, 1992), 39–41, <http://dspace.stir.ac.uk/handle/1893/31182>.

¹⁹ Ngah, *Kitab Jawi*, 1–7; Philipp Bruckmayr, ‘The Contentious Pull of the Malay Logosphere: Jawization and Factionalism Among Cambodian Muslims (Late 19th to Early 21st Centuries)’ (Dr. Phil Dissertation,

Azyumardi Azra (2004) examines how the Indo-Malay pilgrims and students traveling to the Middle East during the 17th and 18th centuries contributed to the rise of Islamic reformism and the expansion of Jawi-based scholarship.²⁰ These intellectual movements were part of a broader transregional network that included Mecca, Cairo, and Istanbul, linking Southeast Asian Muslims with major Islamic learning centers. Some returned home to Southeast Asia after completing their studies, while others remained abroad, particularly within the path of the Hajj routes around the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Mediterranean. Nonetheless, these Jawi intellectuals continue to produce and disseminate religious knowledge, while also connecting with each other.²¹

Religious treatises, fatwas, and letters written by Jawi scholars in either Arabic or Jawi were widely disseminated and often supported by regional Muslim polities. The prominent Jawi authors also benefited from their relations with the state/sultanate that hosted and patronaged their writing endeavors. Among them are both Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranirī (d. 1658) and ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Sinkilī (d. 1693), who served at the Sultanate of Aceh, Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (d. 1699), who was associated with the Sultanate of Banten, and Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjarī (d. 1812), whose intellectual sojourn to the Middle East was sponsored by the Sultanate of Banjarmasin. While some returned to the homeland or its neighboring regions after years of studying abroad, some others stayed in the Middle East, including ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbanī (d. 1785) and Dāwūd al-Faṭānī (d. 1879). Scholars note that despite living far from home, Jawi diasporas maintain their scholarly and trade connections with those from the Malay Peninsula. These diasporas, whether the highly acclaimed sheikhs or some lay intellectuals, played their roles remotely in promoting revivalist ideas to their audiences and supporting resistance causes against European colonial expansion.²² Azra highlights how these scholars contributed to the synthesis of Sufi spirituality and legalist reform, producing what he terms “neo-Sufism,” a movement that combined Middle

Universität Wien, 2014), 23–42, <https://theses.univie.ac.at/detail/30004>; *Cambodia’s Muslims and the Malay World*, 12–14.

²⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulamā’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Southeast Asian Publications Series (North America: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), 32–51.

²¹ Azyumardi Azra, ‘The Transmission of Al-Manar’s Reformism to the Malay-Indonesian World: The Cases of al-Imam and al-Munir’, *Studia Islamika* 6, no. 3 (1999): 3, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v6i3.723>; *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*; See also Mahmood Kooria, ‘Languages of Law: Islamic Legal Cosmopolis and Its Arabic and Malay Microcosmoi’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29, no. 4 (October 2019): 705–22, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1356186319000191>.

²² Azyumardi Azra, ‘The Significance of Southeast Asia (the Jawah World) for Global Islamic Studies: Historical and Comparative Perspectives’, *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies* 8 (March 2015): 69–87, <https://doi.org/10.14989/198357>; Philipp Bruckmayr, ‘Facing Mecca from Java: Two Treatises on the Establishment of the Qibla, and Their Scholarly and Social Context’, *Islamic Law and Society* 31, nos. 1–2 (January 2023): 102–35, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685195-20220001>; A. C. S. Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2024), 33–44.

Eastern reformist discourses with anti-colonial activism against imperial powers in Southeast Asia.²³ Building on Azra's framework, Iza R. Hussin (2016) observes how past encounters with colonial power have shaped the discourse of Islamic law in Malaya, India, and Egypt. Her archival research shows that political negotiations between colonial authorities and local religious elites led to new legal discourses that accommodated modern state requirements. Hussin's study illustrates how Islamic knowledge production of Muslim societies is not limited to the individual endeavor to pursue knowledge but instead intertwines with trans-regional networks and global power relations.²⁴

Following the adaptation of printing, scholars argue that not only the infusion of printed books into Muslim societies disrupted the past scholarly tradition centered on the manuscript,²⁵ the wave of "Islamic print culture" was in favor of certain ideology, language, and intellectual networks. Osman Nuri Solak (2024) states that Jawi diasporas struggled with the ban on printing non-Arabic books within the Ottoman publication complex in the 19th-century Hijaz. He recalls the story of how Ahmad al-Faṭānī (d. 1908), a southern Thailand-origin Jawi scholar in Mecca, requested an audience with Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1884 to explain the importance of printing Jawi literature for Southeast Asian audiences.²⁶ al-Faṭānī also tributed boxes of Arabic and Jawi manuscripts to the Sultan as his token of appreciation; among those is a handwritten copy of al-Sinkilī's *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbanī's *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, and Arshad al-Banjari's *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*.²⁷ Another account from Wan Shaghir Abdullah (2014) mentions that al-Faṭānī proofread those copies before taking them to Constantinople,²⁸ illustrating the intellectual milieu of the Empire and its surveillance over any religious treatise that enters the region, regardless of the language.

²³ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 44–49.

²⁴ Iza R. Hussin, *The Politics of Islamic Law: Local Elites, Colonial Authority, and the Making of the Muslim State* (University of Chicago Press, 2016), 7–8, <https://doi.org/10.7208/9780226323480>.

²⁵ Salam Rassi, 'Scribal and Commentary Traditions at the Dawn of Print: The Manuscripts of the Near Eastern School of Theology as an Archive of the Early Nahḍa', *Philological Encounters* 6, nos. 3–4 (August 2021): 402, <https://doi.org/10.1163/24519197-bja10023>; Ayşe Başaran, 'Geleneksel Yazma Eser Aktörleri Ve 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Matbaası: Uzun Soluklu Bir Dönüşüm [Reconsidering the Role of Ulema and Scribal Actors in the Ottoman Transition from Manuscript to the Printed Medium]', *Divan: Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi* 28, no. 54 (July 2023): 54, <https://doi.org/10.20519/divan.1253075>.

²⁶ Osman Nuri Solak, *Sultan II. Abdulhamid'e Takdim Edilen Malay Dünyasının İlk Kur'an Tefsiri Tercümânü'l Müstefid'in Keşif Hikayesi (Açe-Mekke-İstanbul-Bursa)* (Konya: Kitap Dünyası, 2024), 124–30.

²⁷ Solak, 126–27.

²⁸ Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, 'Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī: Terjemahan al-Qur'an Melayu yang Pertama Turjumān al-Mustafīd', in *Turjumān al-Mustafīd*, 1st edition, by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Fansūrī al-Sinkilī and Bāba Dāwūd al-Jāwī b. Ismā'īl b. Aghā 'Alī al-Rū'mī, ed. Dāwūd Faṭānī (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2014), v–vi.

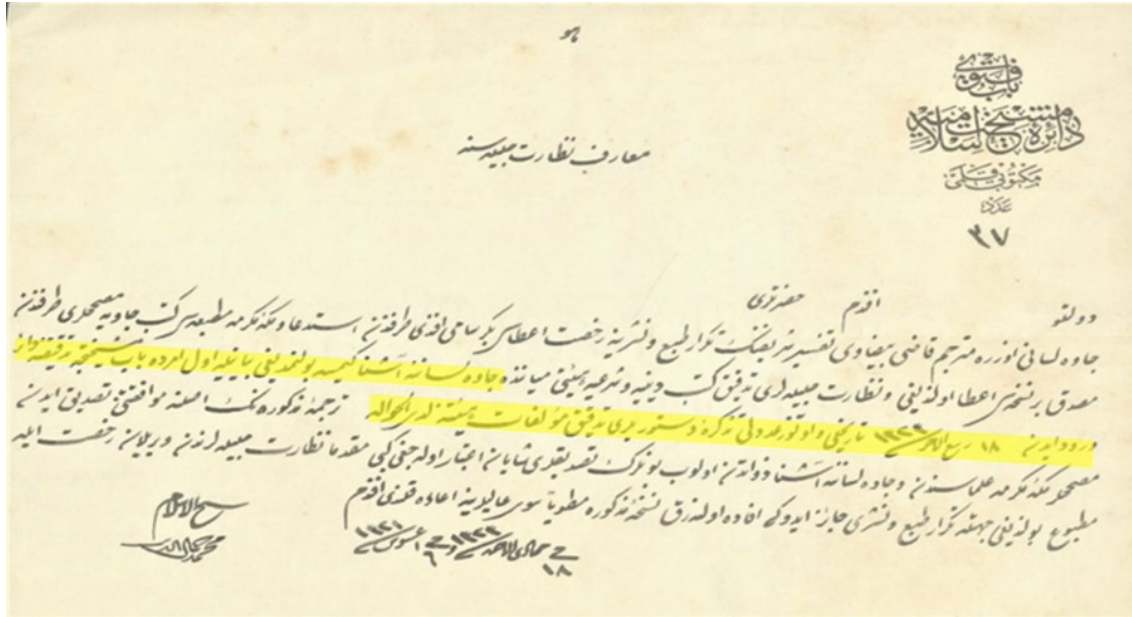


Figure 1. Sheikh al-Islām’s promotion of the proofreading of the Jawi editors.

Source: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi MF.MKT 865/52.

The highlighted passage:

... that there was no-one with a command of the Jawi language [Cava lisâni] at the Committee of Investigating Religious and Legal Books of your Exalted Ministry; and that it should first be examined by the office of Sheikh al-Islâm that the proofreaders who approved the conformity of the said translation to the original are from among the religious scholars of Honoured Mecca who are familiar with the Jawi language, and that their approval should be given the highest credit.²⁹

The Ottoman officials may find al-Faṭānī’s editorial practice exceptional, either because of their unproficiency in Jawi language or because of the approval of Jawi diasporas in Mecca.³⁰ The instance where the language barrier became a problem for the Ottoman officials was stated in the letter of the Meccan Sheikh al-Islām Mehmed Cemaleddin in August 1905 to the Ministry of Education of the Empire, as seen above. The letter suggests that the Ottoman administrators in Mecca left the editing and proofreading of Jawi literature to Jawi-speaking sheikhs in Mecca and that their proofreadings should be ranked “the highest credit.” Consequently, al-Faṭānī was appointed as the official Jawi proofreader at Maṭba’a al-Mīriyya in Mecca. His strategic position allows the mass publication of the Jawi treatises, including the publication of the first complete Qur’ān interpretation in Jawi, *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*. According to Dıġıroġlu (2024), the success of the Meccan publisher in producing Jawi printed books has turned Mecca into a new center of

²⁹ Sheikh al-Islām Mehmed Cemal ad-Dīn Efendi, ‘Letter no. 37 concerning the approval of Printing and Distributing the Jawi translation of Tafsīr Qaḍī Bayḍawī’, 19 August 1905, Meşihat Archive, <https://southeastasianlibrarygroup.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/image-6.png>; İsmail Hakkı Kadı and A. C. S. Peacock, *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations: Sources from the Ottoman Archives* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019), 2:622–23.

³⁰ Bekir Sami Efendi, ‘Letter no. 128 concerning the Request for Publishing the Qur’an with Jawi translation of Tafsīr Qaḍī Bayḍawī’, 23 September 1903, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi MF.MKT/865/52.

the printing industry of Jawi religious texts in the Middle East and may overcome the massive printing activities in Egypt intended for South and Southeast Asian book markets.³¹ This stage intensifies further knowledge circulation across the Indian Ocean as Jawi diasporas gained the opportunity to publish original works in the state publishing house or, even better, publish Jawi translations of bestselling and authoritative Arabic religious texts.

SON OF PONTIANAK: ‘UTHMĀN’S LIFE IN A GLANCE

‘Uthmān initially referred to himself as Sheikh ‘Uthmān Funtiyānī, son of Haji [the pilgrim] Shihāb al-Dīn al-Banjārī.³² Throughout the available works, ‘Uthmān employed several patronyms across time to suggest his geographical origin, respectively *Funtiyānī*, *Funtiyāna*, and *Funtiyānaq*. These patronyms signal ‘Uthmān’s connection to Jawi-speaking communities and his conscious effort to assert his regional identity as a Southeast Asian diaspora. ‘Uthmān’s patronyms also indicate a specific Southeast Asian origin, likely pointing to either the Pontian District in Johor, Malaysia, or Pontianak City in West Borneo, Indonesia.³³ The patronyms *Funtiyānī* and *Funtiyāna* were incorporated in his earlier works and could refer to both Pontian and Pontianak, but ‘Uthmān in later works consistently used *Funtiyānaq*, which phonetically can only be specified to Pontianak. Nicholas Heer (2012) lists Jawi diasporas with a Pontianak patronym, including Muḥammad Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Funtiyānī, who wrote *Uṣūl al-Dīn fī Sabīl al-Itiqād* (1912), Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān al-Jāwī Funtiyānaq who authored three treatises from 1898 to 1903, and ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Muḥammad Nūr al-Funtiyānī, author of *Isnād al-Ghulām fī Bayān al-Īmān wa al-Islām* (1907).³⁴ Wan Mohd Shaghīr Abdullah (1997) reports that some treatises of Pontianak scholars appear in manuscripts and letters and are mostly found at the local residences near the Qadriyah Sultanate of Pontianak, while others were published at local publishing houses in Mecca, Istanbul, Cairo, and Singapore.³⁵

Although the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown, available evidence helps approximate ‘Uthmān’s lifespan. His writings, primarily composed in Mecca, Medina, and Taif

³¹ Diğiroğlu, ‘Malay Publications’, 109.

³² ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Atā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs al-Ḥawī li-Tahdhībī an-Nufūs*, ed. ‘Abd al-Qadīr b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī (Egypt: Maṭba’a Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1939), 1.

³³ Wan Mohd Shaghīr Abdullah, ‘Muqaddimah dan Pengenalan’, in *Koleksi Data Syeikh ‘Utsman bin Syihabuddin al-Funtiani/al-Banjari: Biografi dan Kumpulan Pelbagai Karya*, Koleksi Nadir 41 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1997), 1–33.

³⁴ Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and Their Works*, version 2.3 (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington, 2012), 6, 36–37, 49, 66–67, <https://faculty.washington.edu/heer/>.

³⁵ Wan Mohd Shaghīr Abdullah, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam Ulama Asia Tenggara*, VI (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah & Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara, 2004), 51–78.

between 1304/1887 and 1330/1912. Wan Abdullah found ‘Uthmān’s handwritten letter dated Dhu al-Hijja 1296/1879, sent from Mecca during the Hajj season to a West Bornean Haji from Sanggau.³⁶ The full extent of this document, however, remains unclear. Abdullah mentioned nothing about this letter in the revised catalogue of ‘Uthmān’s works,³⁷ and the current staff of Khazanah Fathaniyah, Abdullah’s private publishing house, have been unable to locate this letter within his personal collection.³⁸ Nonetheless, Abdullah’s statement helps establish that ‘Uthmān was active in Mecca by at least the late 1870s. Taken together, these clues suggest that ‘Uthmān was likely born around the 1290s/1860s or somewhere earlier, migrated from Pontianak to the Hijaz, and remained in the Middle East until at least the early 1910s. ‘Uthmān probably spent his final years in Taif, where he completed most of his later works.

Studies on the life and thought of ‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq are limited, with little to no focused analysis of his theological framework, editorial approach, and scholarly circles within the broader context of the Late Ottoman period. The earliest attempt to examine his work comes from Wan Shaghir Abdullah, who gathered and reproduced ten of ‘Uthmān’s writings through his private publishing house, Khazanah Fathaniyah.³⁹ Few accounts are available on how Abdullah managed to collect the original copy of ‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq’s printed texts, but he dedicated his lifetime to gathering ‘Uthmān’s treatises and even had multiple copies of the same title.⁴⁰ One may assume that Abdullah’s strategic position as an officer of religious affairs in West Borneo could be his gateway to accessing the texts. However, outside West Borneo, Abdullah also found one of ‘Uthmān’s treatises from a local preacher in Selangor, Malaysia,⁴¹ which suggests that his works were circulated outside the Hijaz to Southeast Asia.

Subsequent studies tend to mention ‘Uthmān only in passing, primarily in discussions of the Pattani scholarly diaspora or the development of Malay print industries in the 19th-century Middle East.⁴² Others focus on cataloging his surviving texts without engaging critically with the content or significance of his work.⁴³ In some cases, even basic biographical details of the author

³⁶ Abdullah, ‘Syekh Utsman Syihabuddin Ulama Pontianak’.

³⁷ Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, *Syekh ‘Utsman bin Syihabuddin al-Funtiani/Al-Banjari* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2025), 953–62.

³⁸ Wan Jumanatun Nailiah, ‘Collections of Works of Uthman Funtianaq at Khazanah Fathaniyah’, 12 February 2025.

³⁹ Abdullah, ‘Muqaddimah dan Pengenalan’.

⁴⁰ Abdullah, 4–23.

⁴¹ Abdullah, 7.

⁴² Rozali, ‘Sheikh Wan Ahmad Al-Fatani and the Malay Publications in the Middle East’; Dıġıroġlu, ‘Malay Publications’.

⁴³ Ahmad Ginanjar Sya’ban, ‘Fathul Mufakkirin, Kitab Kontemplasi Syekh ‘Utsman Pontianak’, NU Online, 31 March 2017, <https://nu.or.id>; Muhammad Syakir Niamillah Fiza, ‘Kala Rais ‘Aam PBNU Kunjungi Pameran Kitab Ulama Nusantara Tengah Malam’, NU Online, 29 December 2021, <https://www.nu.or.id/>; Miftah

are misrepresented. For instance, the state-issued *Encyclopedia of Nusantara Religious Figures* [Ensiklopedi Pemuka Agama Nusantara] erroneously conflates ‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq with Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Banjārī, identifying both as the same individual and incorrectly naming him as a son of Arshad al-Banjārī.⁴⁴ Despite the relatively wide circulation of ‘Uthmān’s works, his theological thoughts and scholarly development remain largely unexplored.

‘Uthmān’s intellectual development was shaped both by his direct teachers and by the broader scholarly environment of the Ḥijāz during the late Ottoman period. His association with Meccan scholars and the Jawi diaspora of the late 19th and early 20th centuries has been noted in previous studies, though much of this connection remains general rather than specific.⁴⁵ The scholarly networks of the time, characterized by transregional connections and a vibrant culture of religious learning, provided the context in which ‘Uthmān studied and wrote his religious texts. Abdullah identified several Meccan scholars as ‘Uthmān’s teachers.⁴⁶ These include: First, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Ḥasan al-Dagestānī al-Sharwānī (d. 1301/1884); Second, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zawāwī (d. 1308/1890); Third, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī (d. 1315/1887); Fourth, Sayyid ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Zawāwī (d. 1343/1924) and; Fifth, Shiekh Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Arshād al-Banjārī (d. c. 1850s-1870s). These figures are considered potential teachers because they were reported to have taught Southeast Asian students during the period when ‘Uthmān was residing in the Hijaz. However, there is limited direct evidence confirming that ‘Uthmān studied with them, making these associations plausible but not definitive. The only firmly documented scholarly network here is to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī, who edited ‘Uthmān’s first draft of Malay translation of Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh al-Sakandarī’s *Tāj al-‘Arūs al-Ḥawī li Tahdhīb al-Nufūs*, which was concluded in 1887/1304.⁴⁷

Wan Shaghir Abdullah believes that ‘Uthmān was the son of the Banjarmasin sheikh, Shihāb al-Dīn, and that ‘Uthmān’s earliest education took place in Pontianak under the father

Wibowo, ‘Ruwaq Jawi’ (Exhibition, Festival Turath Nusantara, Malaysia, 15 August 2024), <https://www.maiamp.gov.my/index.php/info/berita/2388-festival-turath-nusantara-ftn.html>.

⁴⁴ *Ensiklopedi Pemuka Agama Nusantara*, ed. Abdullah Sajad (Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan, Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama, 2016), under ‘Utsman Syihabuddin Pontianak’, 3406–8.

⁴⁵ Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, ‘Syeikh ‘Utsman Bin Syihabuddin al-Funtiani/Al-Banjari’, *Dakwah*, November 1997, 26–28; *Ensiklopedi Pemuka Agama Nusantara*, ‘Utsman Syihabuddin Pontianak’, 3406–8; Ihsan Nurmansyah and Sherli Kurnia Oktaviana, ‘Biography of the Mufti Sultanate in West Kalimantan: H. Muhammad Basiuni Imran (1885-1976 AD) and H. Ismail Mundu (1870-1957 AD)’, *Journal of Islamic History and Manuscript* 1, no. 2 (December 2022): 91–108, <https://doi.org/10.24090/jihm.v1i2.6958>.

⁴⁶ ‘Muqaddimah dan Pengenalan’.

⁴⁷ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Atā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Isqāt at-Tadbīr al-‘Uyūb: Penterangkan Hati-Hati pada Menggugurkan Tadbīr yang Jahat-Jahat*, ed. Muḥammad Idrīs al-Azharī al-Marbawī (Cairo: Maṭba’a Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1934), i.

himself.⁴⁸ Shihāb al-Dīn possibly had migrated from Banjarmasin to the Hijaz in the early 19th century. No available text is attributed to him except *Tahṣīl al-Marām li-Bayāni Manzūmāti ‘Aqīdat al-‘Awām*, a gloss of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marzuqī’s (d. 1262/1846) *‘Aqīdat al-‘Awām*, a treatise on Islamic theology for lay audiences. The colophon of *Tahṣīl al-Marām* indicates that Shihāb al-Dīn finished the work before al-Marzuqī himself in 1258/1843.⁴⁹ This treatise is then expanded and translated into Jawi by Daūd al-Faṭānī in Mecca, on a Ṣafar, somewhere around 1250s/1840s, before Shihāb al-Dīn’s travel to Riau. The later Jawi version is edited by Aḥmad al-Faṭānī. He and Dāwūd al-Faṭānī retitled the treatise from *Tahṣīl al-Marām* into *Al-Bahja al-Sanniyya fī al-‘Aqā’id al-Sunniyya*. The publishing right of *Al-Bahja* was signed on 15 March 1908/1326 to Daūd al-Faṭānī, and the text was republished in 1996 by Khazanah Fathaniyah.⁵⁰ Hidayatullah (2019) adds another detail on Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn, mentioning that he was the first to introduce his father Muḥammad Arshad’s *Sabīl al-Muttaqīn* (finished 27 Rabi’u al-Akhir, 1195 AH) to a Meccan publisher at the hand of Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, allowing this treatise to be printed first in Mecca in 1300 AH, then in Istanbul in 1303 AH, and in Cairo in 1307 AH.⁵¹

Tuhfat an-Nāfis, the 19th-century Malay chronicle, records the travel of Shihāb al-Dīn from Mecca to Riau. The Sultan of Riau, Raja Abdullah, traveled to Mecca on Ramaḍān 1257AH for the Hajj pilgrimage, before inviting some Meccan scholars to travel with him to Riau. He managed to bring Shihāb ad-Dīn and another Meccan scholar to Riau, departing from Mecca around 1258AH and arrived at Riau between 1843/1259 and 1844/1260, sometime before the death of Raja ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Raja Ja’far (reign 1844-57).⁵² Shihāb al-Dīn was appointed as a religious teacher in Riau and possibly as a personal teacher for Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān (d. 1844/1260) in Lingga. Yang Dipertuan Muda built a residence and a masjid in Penyengat—now Masjid Raya Sultan Riau—for learning centers and allocated money for the teachers. Following the installation of the new Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali, he and his cousin, Raja Ali Haji, selected learned men to settle on Penyengat and teach the state officials on religion, reading religious references, and improving their recitation of the Qur’ān.

⁴⁸ Abdullah, ‘Muqaddimah dan Pengenalan’.

⁴⁹ Dawūd al-Faṭānī and Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Banjārī, *Al-Bahja al-Sanniyya Fī al-‘Aqā’id al-Sunniyya* (Mecca: Al-Mīriyya, 1908), 21.

⁵⁰ Daūd b. ‘Abdullāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Bahja as-Sanniyya Fī al-‘Aqā’id as-Sunniyya* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1996), i.

⁵¹ Nur Hidayatullah, ‘Sabilal Muhtadin atau Sabilul Muhtadin?’, *Alif.ID*, 13 April 2019, <https://alif.id>.

⁵² Raja Ali Haji ibn Ahmad, *The Precious Gift (Tuhfat al-Nafis)*, trans. Virginia Matheson and Barbara Watson Andaya (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982), 274–78.

Other scholars were also brought to Penyengat, such as Sayid Abdullah of Bahrain, Sheikh Ismail Jawī, and others, to teach for a year and were paid generously when leaving.⁵³

The abovementioned stories and reports on Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn suggest that he was an influential scholar of his time and a herald of his father's legacy. Several factors, however, cast doubt on the direct familial link between Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn and 'Uthmān Funtiyānaq; **First**, throughout his writings, 'Uthmān refers to his father only as a "Haji," never as "Sheikh," even though 'Uthmān applies both "Sheikh Haji" for himself, possibly aware of the distinction between the two titles. Never once 'Uthmān mentioned that he is the son of Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn or the grandson of the famous Sheikh Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, whose influence and printed books were widely circulated during 'Uthmān's lifetime; **Second**, the record shows that Shihāb al-Dīn went to Riau in the early 1880s and passed away there, with no historical account that he ever traveled outside Riau. Wan Abdullah (2002) mentions that some elders in Pontianak told him a story that Shihāb al-Dīn could be married to a woman of Karangan of Mempawah Hulu (Landak Regency), a region located more than 100 km apart from Pontianak City. However, this story has not yet been verified by historical accounts, especially considering that 'Uthmān could adopt the patronym of Landak, Mempawah, or Banjarmasin, instead of Pontianak; **Third**, 'Uthmān was never recalled as a Samaniyya Sufi master (*murshid*) the way Shihāb al-Dīn and Muḥammad Arshād were known for. Martin van Bruinessen (1992) identifies 'Uthmān as a *murshid* of the Naqṣabandiyya Sufi movement.⁵⁴ However, Wan Shaghbir Abdullah challenges such a claim, arguing that van Bruinessen may have confused 'Uthmān Funtiyānaq with another Bornean Sufi, 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sarawaqī, who happened to be a Naqṣabandi scholar.⁵⁵ A close examination of the works of 'Uthmān Funtiyānaq suggests that he leans more on Shādhiliyya teachings, particularly from his intense interaction in translating and publishing the works of Ibn 'Aṭā' illāh.

Scholars have long debated who, if anyone, studied under 'Uthmān. Some frequently cited candidates are Haji Ismā'īl Mundu b. Daeng 'Abd al-Karīm (d. 1957), Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān al-Jāwī Funtiyānaq, and Haji 'Abd al 'Azīz b. Muḥammad Nūr (d. c. 1917), all from Pontianak.⁵⁶ A fourth name sometimes proposed is Muḥammad Basiuni 'Imrān (1885–1981),

⁵³ Ahmad, 279.

⁵⁴ *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 120.

⁵⁵ 'Syeikh Utsman Syihabuddin Ulama Pontianak'.

⁵⁶ Abdullah, 'Muqaddimah dan Pengenalan'; Muhammad Rahmatullah, 'Surau Sebagai Pusat Pendidikan Islam Pada Masa Kesultanan Pontianak', *At-Turats* 8, no. 2 (2014): 2, <https://doi.org/10.24260/at-turats.v8i2.116>; Khairul Fuad et al., 'West Kalimantan's Manuscripts Circulation as Religious Comprehensive for against Violence by the Name of Religion', *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 12, no. 1 (2025): 2451502, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2451502>.

the Maharaja of Sambas, who performed the Ḥajj in the early 1900s, before studying under Rashīd Riḍā in Egypt.⁵⁷ Verifying these teacher-student relationships in this case, nonetheless, is difficult. Nonetheless, one could notice the shared knowledge between these Bornean scholars. For instance, ‘Uthmān in his foreword of *’Aṣl Khuṭba* subscribes to Imam Shāfi‘ī’s old legal opinion (*qawl qadīm*) that the minimum attendants for the Jum‘a prayer, including the Imam, are 40 persons,⁵⁸ and Ḥusayn explained further on the necessity to subscribe Shāfi‘ī’s earlier legal opinion (*qawl qadīm*), especially concerning the mandatory attendance for praying Jum‘a.⁵⁹ The problem is compounded by the scarce accounts of the travel of these later scholars to Taif and their direct interaction with ‘Uthmān. One further complication which often overlooked is ‘Uthmān’s mobility. Assuming that he lived at the same site where he concluded his works, ‘Uthmān possibly stayed in Mecca from 1296-1304 AH, especially if he studied directly under ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fatānī, then moved shortly to Medina in 1884/1310, but returned to Mecca in 1311-1312 AH.⁶⁰ He then moved to Taif sometime in 1887 when he finished three treatises between Jumād al-Ākhir to Shawal 1324 AH,⁶¹ before finishing another treatise somewhere in 1330 AH.⁶² Any assessment of teacher-student relationships must therefore consider ‘Uthmān’s relocations between Mecca, Medina, and Taif in the given period. Such an assessment must also account for the shifting knowledge production and the scholarly circles that these three regions had implied during the period.

MENCAP KITAB BAGUS: A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ‘UTHMĀN’S TREATISES

Following his initial literary activity since the 1300s/1880s, ‘Uthmān began a productive phase from 1304/1887 to 1330/1912, during which he authored a wide range of treatises on various religious topics. These works arguably reflect the author’s evolving concerns with the surrounding Islamic discourse in the Middle East and his engagement with various genres. This

⁵⁷ Hawasi Bin Arsam et al., ‘Tafsir Ayat Al-Siyam Karya M. Basiuni Imran, Sambas, Kalimantan Barat: Studi Kritis Atas Genealogi Pemikiran Dan Epistemologi Pengetahuan’, *Misykat: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Quran Hadits Syari’ah Dan Tarbiyah* 4, no. 2 (December 2019): 200; Nurmansyah and Oktaviana, ‘Biography of the Mufti Sultanate in West Kalimantan’; Wendi Parwanto et al., ‘The Pattern of Sufism on Interpretation of Q.s. Al-Fatihah in the Tafsir Manuscript by M. Basiuni Imran Sambas, West Kalimantan’, *QiST: Journal of Quran and Tafseer Studies* 2, no. 2 (March 2023): 171, 2, <https://doi.org/10.23917/qist.v2i2.1472>.

⁵⁸ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq and Ibn Nubāta, *’Aṣl Khuṭbah, diambil daripada Ibn Nubāta* (Mecca: Al-Mirriyya, 1896), 2.

⁵⁹ Husayn b. Sulaymān al-Jāwī Funtiyānaq, *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Taqlīd al-Qawl bi-Ṣiḥḥati al-Jum‘at bi-dūni al-Arba‘īn* (Surabaya: Shirka Bankūl Indah, n.d.), 3–5.

⁶⁰ al-Funtiyānaq, *Fatḥ Al-Makkah al-Musharrafah; Tanwīr al-Qulūb*, ed. al-Marbawī.

⁶¹ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq, *Fatḥ al-Mutafakkirīn supāya bertambah īmān dān Yaqīn* (Mecca: Al-Mirriyya, 1906); *Nūr al-Anwār, pada menyatākan berperang Nabi saw kemudian daripada hijrah dan berperang sayyidina Ali ra. ketika jadī khalifah akan ahli Islam* (Mecca: Al-Mirriyya, 1906).

⁶² ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq, *Risalah Bergantung Maknanya di bawah Maulid al-Barzanji* (Mecca: Al-Mājidīyya al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1911), i.

section highlights how ‘Uthmān navigates with the Ottoman print culture, particularly within his treatises that were self-edited and published, mostly at the state publishing house, Maṭba‘a al-Mīriyya, in Mecca, and some others outside the state publishers.

‘Uthmān’s first treatise is a Malay translation of Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh’s *Tāj al-‘Arūs* (*The Bride’s Crown*), a succinct work offering spiritual guidance for lay and non-Sufi readers. Sherman Jackson characterizes the text as “Sufism for non-Sufis,” highlighting its lack of mystic themes and esoteric doctrines typically appearing in Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh’s writings.⁶³ Completed in 1304 AH and later edited by ‘Uthmān’s teacher, al-Faṭṭānī (d. 1315 AH), the treatise was likely first published sometime within that period. Although the earliest edition is no longer extant, the text was subsequently reprinted several times in Cairo by the private publisher Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī.⁶⁴ Later on, the al-Ḥalabī edition was reissued by publishers in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand.⁶⁵ Dato Haji Muhammad Sadik (1999) argues that the Malay rendering of *Tāj al-‘Arūs* offers readable content and overall effective organization of the source material, despite including annotations of metaphors, rhetoric, and symbolism across the text.⁶⁶ He concludes that ‘Uthmān’s version of *Tāj al-‘Arūs* is a successful elucidation of the Shādhiliyya Sufi mystical thoughts produced by Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh, and its translation project illustrates the massive circulation of Shādhiliyya teachings among the Jawi diasporas in the Hijaz and the Sufi adherents in Pontianak in the 19th century.⁶⁷

Book Title	Main Genre	Completion Date	Initial Editor
Tāj al-‘Arūs al-Ḥawī li-Tahdhīb an-Nufūs lil-Sakandarī	Sufism	24 Ramaḍān 1304 AH	‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭṭānī
Faṭḥ al-Makkah	History	27 Rajab 1310 AH	(possibly) Tok Gudang and Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Faṭṭānī
Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Isqāṭi Tadbīr al-‘Uyūb	Sufism	12 Sha’ban 1311 AH	(possibly) ‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq

⁶³ Ibn ‘Aṭā’i-Allāh al-Sakandarī, *Sufism for Non-Sufis? Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Sakandarī’s Tāj al-‘Arūs*, trans. Sherman A. Jackson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3–4.

⁶⁴ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, ed. al-Faṭṭānī.

⁶⁵ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs: Mahkota Orang yang Pengantin*, ed. Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1997); *Tāj al-‘Arūs: Mahkota Orang yang Pengantin* (Pattani: Ibn Halabī, n.d.); *Tāj al-‘Arūs: Mahkota Orang yang Pengantin* (Surabaya: Al-Haramain, n.d.).

⁶⁶ Mohamed Sidek Elamdin, ‘Taj Al-‘Arus Berdasarkan Terjemahan Al-Shaykh Othman Al-Pontiani Bin Haji Shihab Al-Din Al-Banjari Satu Transliterasi, Anotasi, Suntingan Dan Kajian Teks’ (Thesis, Universiti Sains Malaysia, 1999), 184–234, <https://eprints.usm.my/29600/>.

⁶⁷ Elamdin, 92–95.

Risālah Tafsīr Sūrah Yasin	Tafsīr	12 Rabi’u al-Ākhir 1312 AH	‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq
Aṣl al-Khuṭba	Homiletic	circa 1314 AH	
Faḍīlah Makkah	History	3 Rabi’u al-Awwal 1317 AH	
Untitled treatise on Hajj and ‘umra pilgrimage	Islamic Jurisprudence	19 Sha’ban 1317 AH	

Table 1. List of Uthmān’s treatises produced in Mecca-Medina.

In the aftermath of *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, ‘Uthmān concluded five treatises of different genres in around the two religious cities, Mecca and Medina, in 1310-1312AH and another four treatises in Taif from 1314-1330AH. The second work after *Tāj al-‘Arūs* is *Faṭḥ al-Makka al-Musharrafah* [The Liberation of the Exalted Mecca], concluded in Medina on 27th of Rajab 1310 AH (1 January 1893) and initially published by Maṭba‘a al-Mīriyya in 17th of Ṣafar 1311 AH (29 August 1893). *Faṭḥ al-Makka* is not a straightforward historical text on the Muslim military conquest of Mecca in 630AD/8AH. It begins by describing the stories of the ancestors of the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca,⁶⁸ several miracles during the wars against the polytheist Meccans,⁶⁹ and the conversion of Meccan locals to Islam.⁷⁰ Wan Abdullah (2004) mentions that *Faṭḥ al-Makka* was proofread by Tok Gudang and Sheikh Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Sheikh Ismā’īl al-Fatānī,⁷¹ but the colophon instead suggests that these two Pattani diasporas were ‘Uthmān’s sponsors for publishing this book at the al-Mīriyya publisher.⁷² ‘Uthmān attributes this treatise to Abū al-Ḥasan Bakrī, a 13th-century Iraqi scholar whom he honored and categorized as a traditionalist [*ahl al-ḥadīth*; lit. “the people of tradition”].⁷³ Paradoxically, scholars like Rosenthal identify Bakrī as “a liar and inventor of doubtful stories,” instead of a protector of the prophetic tradition.⁷⁴ Possibly due to its ambiguous source, *Faṭḥ al-Makka* is the only work of ‘Uthmān’s early writing that did not receive any reissuance. However, this book is highly referred to in modern studies for its peculiar epilogue containing the abovementioned ‘Uthmān’s praise of Sultan Abdulhamid II for establishing the Meccan branch of Maṭba‘a al-Mīriyya in 1883 and allowing the publication of Jawi religious texts.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ al-Funtiyānaq, *Faṭḥ al-Mutafakkirīn* (1906), 1–5.

⁶⁹ al-Funtiyānaq, *Faṭḥ Al-Makkah al-Musharrafah*, 9, 29–37.

⁷⁰ al-Funtiyānaq, 71–74.

⁷¹ Abdullah, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam Ulama Asia Tenggara*, VI, 63.

⁷² al-Funtiyānaq, *Faṭḥ Al-Makkah al-Musharrafah*, 74.

⁷³ (al-Funtiyānaq 1887, 2)

⁷⁴ Franz Rosenthal, ‘Al-Bakrī’, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1960).

⁷⁵ al-Funtiyānaq, *Faṭḥ Al-Makkah al-Musharrafah*, 73–74; Cf. Dıġıroġlu, ‘Malay Publications’.

The third work is a Jawi rendering of another treatise of Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh’s, *Al-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ al-Tadbīr* [An Illumination in Relinquishing Self-Direction], which was retitled as *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Isqāṭ Tadbīr al-‘Uyūb* [Illuminating Hearts by Relinquishing Self-Direction over Shames]. Arjan Post (2020), in his research on scholastic Sufi doctrines, argues that *Al-Tanwīr* is Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh’s clearest manifestation of the Shādhiliyya Sufi doctrines.⁷⁶ ‘Uthmān concluded *Tanwīr al-Qulūb* on 12 Sha’bān 1311 AH (18 February 1894) and published it in the following month, possibly at Al-Mīriyya, Mecca. This text was reproduced in 1934/1353 by a private Egyptian publishing house, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlād in Cairo. The 1934 edition of *Tanwīr al-Qulūb* was proofread by a Mecca-born Jawi scholar, Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī (1896-1989), and sponsored by the publishing directors.⁷⁷ The same edition was reissued with minor changes in 1959 under the cooperation of Persama Press of Malaysia and Maṭba’a Ibn Halābi in Pattani.⁷⁸



Figure 2. Reproduction of *Risālah* from al-Mīriyya (left) to Khazanah Fathaniyah (right).
Source: Khazanah Fathaniyah.

The fourth work is *Risālah Tafsīr Sūrah Yasin* [Treatise of the Commentary of Sūra Yā Sīn], a concise commentary of Q.36. The author wrote this work from 11 Rabī’u al-Awwal to

⁷⁶ Arjan Post, ‘Scholastic Sufism of the Alexandrian Shādhiliyya’, in *The Journeys of a Taymiyyan Sufi* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020), 83, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004377554_005.

⁷⁷ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq and al-Sakandarī, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb*, ed. al-Marbawī, 56.

⁷⁸ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr al-‘Uyūb: Menerangkan Bagi Segala Hati pada Menggugurkan Tadbīr Jahat* (Pattani: Ibnu Halābi, 1959), 47.

12 Rabīʿu al-Ākhir of 1312 AH (11 September-12 October 1894).⁷⁹ While no historical account suggests when *Risālah* was first published, the oldest source of this text is the second edition of the Maṭbaʿa al-Mīriyya, which was issued on Ṣafar 1330 (February 1912).⁸⁰ Considering the pattern of ʿUthmān’s past publications, where most of his writing was published to Maṭbaʿa al-Mīriyya shortly after its completion date, *Risālah* could have been initially published sometime around the 1890s. In the preface, ʿUthmān declares that his Qurʾān commentary is sourced from a certain *Tafsīr Ḥamāmī*, along with *Tafsīr Jalālayn*, the commentary of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 1430/901) and his student Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī’s (d. 1505/911), and a certain *Tafsīr Jamal*,⁸¹ arguably suggesting the gloss of *Tafsīr Jalālayn* entitled *Ḥāshiyat al-Jamal*.⁸² The possible *Tafsīr Ḥamāmī* mentioned in *Risāla* may be the Qurʾān commentary of Urfalı Halil Efendi titled *Hāmamîzâde Yasin Tefsiri* [Commentary of Yâ Sîn of Hamamî] and concluded in 1869/1286.⁸³ Mustafa Özcan (2015) notes that Hāmamîzâde is a patronym of the Ḥamamī family, and that this name could point to some religious works printed at Maṭbaʿa al-Amira in Istanbul and Cairo from 1273 to 1309 AH.⁸⁴ Intriguingly, *Risālah* concludes with the epilogue statement: “Thus is completed this commentary on Sūrat Yâ Sîn by Bek Hamami, may the mercy of God be upon him.”⁸⁵ This declaration stands in tension with the prologue, which presents *Tafsīr Ḥamāmī* as one of ʿUthmān’s exegetical sources. It further suggests that the *Risāla* may have been initially intended as the Malay rendering of *Hāmamîzâde Yasin Tefsiri*, even though a close comparative reading of the two commentaries reveals them to be two distinct works. The *Risāla* was republished in 1999 under Khazanah Fathaniyah, displaying a complete facsimile copy of the 1894 al-Mīriyya edition. The glaring difference between the 1894 and 1999 editions is visible in the latter’s omission of the al-Mīriyya publishing rights and instead overwrote that section with the logo of Khazanah Fathaniyah, as seen in Picture 1.

Following the *Risāla*, ʿUthmān produced seven works from 1897/1314 to 1330/1912, mostly in Taif, outside the two religious cities. While most of his treatises in this period were printed at Maṭbaʿa al-Mīriyya, these works illustrate a change in the author’s preference for genres, sources, and editorial style. ʿUthmān’s publications in the given period engaged with new topics, including hagiography, pedagogy, cosmology, eschatology, and pilgrimage. *Aṣl al-*

⁷⁹ ʿUthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq, *Risālat Tafsīr Sūrat Yāsīn* (Mecca: Al-Mīriyya, 1912), 39.

⁸⁰ al-Funtiyānaq, 40.

⁸¹ al-Funtiyānaq, 1, 39–40.

⁸² Sulaymān al-Jamal, *Ḥāshiyat Al-Jamal ʿAlā al-Jalālayn al-Musamma Bi-l-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyya Bi-Tauḍīhi Tafsīr al-Jalālayn Lil-Daqāʾ Iq al-Khaṭīyya*, III (Egypt: Matbaʿa al-Taḥaddud, 1930).

⁸³ Hāmamîzâde, *Hāmamîzâde Yasin Tefsiri*, ed. Mustafa Özcan (Istanbul: Özgü Yayınları, 2015), 13–15.

⁸⁴ Hāmamîzâde, 14.

⁸⁵ al-Funtiyānaq, *Risālat Tafsīr*, 39.

Khuṭba [The Foundation of Preaching] was the first in this category, published in 1314 AH at Maṭba'a al-Mīriyya. This treatise appears as an interlinear Jawi translation of the Arabic *Aṣl al-Khuṭba*, attributed to the 14th-century Egyptian poet, Abū Bakr Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Nubāta (d. 1366/768). After a brief introduction about the pillars of *khuṭba*, *Aṣl al-Khutba* contains 16 preaching texts: 12 thematic preaching for each month, two *khuṭba* texts for the Friday sermon, and another two texts for the two Eids. 'Uthmān provides interlinear translation in almost every inch of this text, except for the opening of the Jum'a sermon and some instances of Arabic prayers.⁸⁶ In contrast to his previous works printed in the types, *Aṣl al-Khuṭba* is partially printed using lithography, then 'Uthmān manually put the Jawi translation in between the texts. The indication that the Jawi translation was handwritten is based on the multiple text cancellations where 'Uthmān put several crossing lines to the erroneous word or passage, then he put the correct translation next to the deleted one.⁸⁷ On rare occasions, 'Uthmān put marginal texts to complete some missing passages from the main body, particularly the missing Arabic text, then translated them accordingly.⁸⁸ Wan Abdullah notes that the completion date of this treatise is unknown following the loss of the last pages.⁸⁹ However, the front cover of the 1897 edition now preserved at Khazanah Fathaniyah is sealed by a certain Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Juwāni and dated 1371/1951-52,⁹⁰ possibly referring to the previous owner of this manuscript.

⁸⁶ al-Funṭiyānaq and Nubāta, *Aṣl Khuṭbah*, 291.

⁸⁷ al-Funṭiyānaq and Nubāta, 272, 274.

⁸⁸ al-Funṭiyānaq and Nubāta, 264, 275.

⁸⁹ Abdullah, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam Ulama Asia Tenggara*, VI, 63–64.

⁹⁰ al-Funṭiyānaq and Nubāta, *Aṣl Khuṭbah*, 1.

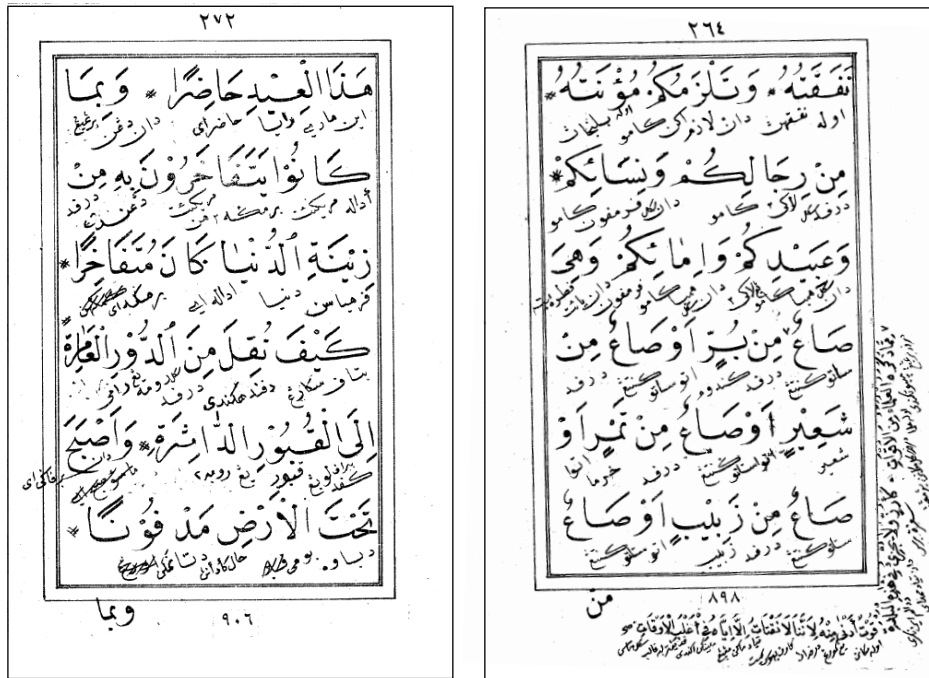


Figure 3. ‘Uthmān’s handwritten cancellations and corrective marginal text in *Aṣl al-Khuṭba*.
Source: Khazanah Fathaniyah.

In 1317 AH, ‘Uthmān wrote two treatises on the Hajj pilgrimage and the virtue of three cities in the Hijaz. He concluded *Faḍīlah Mekah dan Adab Ziyārah Madīnah dan Faḍīlah Negeri Ṭā’if* [The Virtues of Mecca, Demeanors of Visiting Medina, and the Virtues of the State of Taif] on 3 Rabī’u al-Awwal 1317 AH (12 December 1899).⁹¹ The other work is a treatise answering questions on the Hajj and ‘umra pilgrimages, finished on 19 Sha’ban 1317 AH (13 May 1899) in Mecca.⁹² Abdullah managed to find the last seven pages of this treatise (pp. 9-16), where the author's name, completion place, and date are stated in the colophon.⁹³ Considering that these two treatises were concluded four months apart, one may assume that *Faḍīla Mekkah* was also finished in Mecca. This *Faḍīla* is attributed as a Malay translation of the letter of a Medinan sufi saint Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) sent to a certain ‘Abd al-Rahīm b. Anas and his Meccan fellows.⁹⁴ ‘Uthmān narrates that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī wanted to prevent ‘Abd al-Rahīm, who planned to move from Mecca, then al-Baṣrī wrote him the *Faḍīla* to persuade him from leaving the religious land.⁹⁵ The publication of *Faḍīla* reflects ‘Uthmān’s growing affinity for Taif, aside from the other two religious cities: Mecca and Medina.

⁹¹ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq, *Faḍīla Mekkah dān Adab Ziyārah Madīnah dān Faḍīlah Negeri Ṭā’if bi-Lughah l-Jāwīyyah al-Malāyuwīyyah* (Mecca: Al-Miriyya, 1901), 24.

⁹² Abdullah, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam Ulama Asia Tenggara*, VI, 63–64.

⁹³ Abdullah, VI, 64.

⁹⁴ al-Funtiyānaq, *Faḍīlah Makkah*, 2.

⁹⁵ al-Funtiyānaq, 2.

‘Uthmān’s later publications took place in Taif, suggesting it became his intellectual retreat from the scholarly inspections and intense state surveillance in Mecca and Medina.

Book Title	Main Genre	Completion Date	Initial Editor
Fath al-Mutafakkirīn	Hadith	17 Jumād al-Ākhir 1324 AH	‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq
Nūr al-Anwār	Islamic Epic	16 Rajab 1324 AH	
Irshād al-‘Ibād	Sufism	circa Sha’ban 1324 AH	
Risalah Bergantung	Hagiography	circa 1330 AH	

Table 2. List of Uthmān’s treatises produced in Taif.

In Taif, ‘Uthmān at least finished three treatises in 1324 and another in 1330 AH. Sorted chronologically, the first three are *Fath al-Mutafakkirīn Supaya Bertempat ‘Imān dan Yaqīn* [The Opening of the Reflective People: Thus Faith and Conviction be Firm], *Nūr al-Anwār* [Light of the Lights], and *‘Irshād al-‘Ibād Penjāga dan Bekal Harī ‘Ākhirat* [The Guidance for the Servants: A Protection and Provision for the Hereafter]. The three respectively concluded on Jumād al-Ākhir, Rajab, and Sha’ban 1324AH, equivalent to August-October 1906. Among the three, *Fath al-Mutafakkirīn* was the only one reissued in Cairo on Şafar 1349 AH (July 1930) by the Egyptian private publisher, Muşţafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlād, and resupplied for multiple editions at least until 1992⁹⁶ while the rest are possibly only reissued at Khazanah Fathaniyah.⁹⁷ However, the Khazanah Fathaniyah edition primarily displays the scan of the Maṭba’ā al-Mīriyya edition with a notable change in the copyright statement. In contrast, the al-Ḥalabī edition appears distinctively with 64 pages, compared to the Maṭba’ā al-Mīriyya edition in only 56 pages. The al-Mīriyya print was edited by ‘Uthmān himself, while the later edition was edited by Aḥmad Sa’id al-Filfilānī and ‘Abdullāh Ibrāhīm Kedahī.⁹⁸ While ‘Uthmān identifies *Fath al-Mutafakkirīn* as a Malay translation of the Grand Mufti of Mecca Aḥmad Zaynī Dahlān’s (d. 1886) treatise on al-Suyūṭī’s *Jāmi’ al-Şaghīr*, a collection of Sunni hadith,⁹⁹ some question whether Dahlān composed this particular work in the first place.¹⁰⁰ In contrast to *Fath*

⁹⁶ Maktaba Muşţafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlād Cairo, *Qā’ima Maktaba Muşţafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī Wa Awlād*, Qā’ima 202 (Cairo: Maktaba Muşţafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlād, 1992), 58.

⁹⁷ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq, *Irshād al-‘Ibād penjāga dan bekal hārī ākhirat*, ed. Wan Mohd Shaghīr Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999); ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq, *Himpunan Karya Syekh Utsman Bin Syihabuddin Al-Funtiani* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2025), 176–99, 200–319, 367–430.

⁹⁸ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq, *Fath al-Mutafakkirīn supāya bertambah imān dān Yaqīn* (Cairo: Muşţafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1930), 64.

⁹⁹ al-Funtiyānaq, *Fath al-Mutafakkirīn* (1906), 56.

¹⁰⁰ Sya’ban, ‘Fathul Mutafakkirin, Kitab Kontemplasi Syekh ‘Utsman Pontianak’; Further questions may be proposed on whether ‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq met Dahlān and studied hadith with him in Mecca, when many diasporic students grew interested in studying under the Grand Mufti. Mohamad, ‘Be-Longing’, 55–56.

al-Mutafakkirīn, *Irshād al-‘Ibād* is a translation of a renowned work of the Egyptian Shafi’i jurist Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalanī’s (d. 1449) *Al-Isti’dād li-Yawm al-Ma’ād*, a treatise on ten preparations for the Judgement Day.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, the 1906 Al-Mīriyya and the 1999 Khazanah Fathaniyah versions erroneously printed the original author as Ibn Ḥajar al-Qaṣṭalānī and the work title as *Munabbihāt al-Qulūb*, instead of *Al-Isti’dād li-Yawm al-Ma’ād* of the renowned Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalanī.¹⁰²

Following *Aṣl al-Khutba*, ‘Uthmān published another interlinear translation of an Arabic treatise. However, this work was instead published by a private publisher in Mecca in 1330AH, before being reissued later in Singapore in 1344/1925, rather than in the Ottoman-owned Al-Mīriyya. The suggested work is a Jawi translation of the Kurdish Shafi’ite jurist ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Barzanjī’s (d. 1764) *‘Iqd al-Jawhad fī Mawlid al-Nabī al-Azhar* [The Jeweled Necklace of the Birth of the Resplendent Prophet], also known as *Mawlid al-Barzanjī*. It narrates the life of the Prophet from his genealogy, his childhood, trade journey, married life, prophethood, and his passing. ‘Uthmān titled his translation as *Risālah Bergantung Maknanya di Bawahnya Maulid al-Barzanjī* [The Treatise of *Mawlid al-Barzanjī* and Its Meaning Beneath]. The publication was sponsored by the founder of the publisher, Maṭba‘a al-Majīdiyya al-‘Uthmāniyya, Muḥammad Mājid al-Kurdī al-Makkī.¹⁰³ The later 1925 Singapore edition was otherwise sponsored by the publisher’s director, Haji Muḥammad ‘Amīn b. ‘Abdullāh.¹⁰⁴ The two editions preserved at Khazanah Fathaniyah retain their first 48 pages and have lost the remaining pages. Both texts concluded with “*yabtaghūna faḍlan min Allāh*,”¹⁰⁵ indicating that the second edition may have been copied directly from the incomplete al-Majīdiyya edition.

EDITORIAL AND TRANSLATION INITIATIVES

Despite the involvement of the state-appointed proofreaders and publishing sponsors, ‘Uthmān notably self-censored his treatises published at *Maṭba‘a al-Mīriyya*. ‘Uthmān began self-editing his works in 1899/1317 with *Faḍīlah Makkah*. The self-editing practices maintain the author’s full control over the formatting and the intended ideas within the content. Most of ‘Uthmān’s treatises were proofread by the editor himself during the estimated lifetime. The

¹⁰¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalanī, *Al-Isti’dād li-Yawm al-Ma’ād*, ed. ‘Ādil Abū al-Mu’āṭi (Dār al-Tarbiyya, 1960).

¹⁰² ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq, *Irshād al-‘Ibād penjāga dan bekal hārī ākhirat* (Mecca: Al-Mīriyya, 1906); *Irshād al-‘Ibād*, ed. Abdullah.

¹⁰³ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq, *Risālah Mawlid al-Barzanjī*, ed. Kusmayn b. Muḥammad Amīn (Singapore: Al-Amīniyya, 1925), 1.

¹⁰⁴ al-Funṭiyānaq, 1.

¹⁰⁵ al-Funṭiyānaq, *Himpunan Karya Syekh Utsman Bin Syihabuddin Al-Funtiani*, 471–560.

only exception to this self-censorship pattern was *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, which was proofread by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī, ‘Uthmān’s teacher, and can be understood as the sheikh’s approval for his student to produce his own works. It also indicates a rare instance of scholarly collaboration for ‘Uthmān, who otherwise preferred an independent publishing process in his lifetime.

‘Uthmān began his editorial practice as early as *Tāj al-‘Arūs*. A side-by-side comparison with the Arabic print edition reveals that ‘Uthmān made significant modifications throughout the text. ‘Uthmān includes new phrases into the text, possibly to improve its readability for the readers. For instance, he adds a new chapter, “*pasal pada menyatakan faidah sembahyang dan lainnya*” [section on the benefit of prayer and others],¹⁰⁶ when Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh only quoted Q. 29:45 on the instruction of daily prayers and its benefit for purifying indecency.¹⁰⁷ In this section, ‘Uthmān interacts with his intended reader, the student (*ṭālib*), and advises that the daily prayers will fortify one from wickedness and indecency. For instance, ‘Uthmān introduces Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh’s discourse on the intimate supplication to The Divine Truth (*munājat al-Ḥaqq*) with mankind upon the subtle voices of the truths (*lidah hawātif al-ḥaqq ‘iq*) concerning the self-control (*tadbīr*) over sustenance and logistic wealth.¹⁰⁸ For Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh and ‘Uthmān, mankind is destined to doom whenever one wills to relinquish their self-control (*tadbīr*) and strive to have sovereignty over the world and their bodily shames, as such is “against the nature and necessity of men.”¹⁰⁹ Expanding from Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh on one’s ignorance of *munājat al-Ḥaqq* after the daily prayers,¹¹⁰ ‘Uthman explores this topic further as follows:

*Bahwasanya sembahyang itu meneguhkan ia daripada orang yang sembahyang itu daripada berbuat kejahatan dan munkar (possibly a Malay rendering of Q.29:45). Maqhumnya jika tiada meneguhkan ia daripada yang demikian itu tiadalah dinamai ia akan sembahyang pada hakikat dan jikalau dinamakan sembahyang pada zahirnya karena tiada sembahyang seseorang itu sebab tiada meneguhkan ia daripada jahat dan munkar wa al-hāl engkau keluar daripada munajat al-Ḥaqq subhanahu wa ta’ala.*¹¹¹

Indeed, prayer strengthens the one who prays against committing wickedness and wrong-doing. This means if the prayer does not strengthen the person against such things, then it is not truly called ‘prayer’ in reality, even if it does not restrain them from evil and wrongdoing, especially when, in that state, you have just emerged from the supplication to with The Divine Truth, Glorified and Exalted is He.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, ed. al-Faṭānī, 29.

¹⁰⁷ Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs al-Ḥawī li-Tahdhībī an-Nufūs*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2005), 12.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq and al-Sakandarī, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb*, ed. al-Marbawī, 51–55.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn ‘Aṭā’i-Allāh al-Sakandarī, *Al-Tanwīr Fī Isqāṭ al-Tadbīr* (Cairo: Maṭba’a al-Maymaniyya, 1903), 61–62; ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq and al-Sakandarī, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb*, ed. al-Marbawī, 51–52.

¹¹⁰ al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, 22–23.

¹¹¹ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, ed. al-Faṭānī, 29.

While providing a Jawi rendering of Q. 29:55, ‘Uthmān offers his own interpretation of the verse in light of Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh’s brief comment: “*anta takhruju min al-ṣalāt wa min munājjat al-Ḥaqq*” [you go stray from the prayer and from the intimate communion with the Divine Truth].¹¹² In doing so, ‘Uthmān elaborates on the deeper meaning of prayer, moving beyond its outward rituals to highlight its inward essence. In this passage, ‘Uthmān draws a distinction between the external, physical aspects of prayer (*zāhir*) and its spiritual, essential elements (*ḥaqīqa*). For him, “true prayer” is not merely about physical performance or verbal utterance, but rather, it must lead to moral transformation in a totalitarian sense following one’s intimate communion with God, supposedly guiding him away from wrongdoing and vice.¹¹³ If prayer fails to produce such an effect, he argues, it cannot be considered *sembahyang* in its fullest and truest sense, even if it retains the outward form.¹¹⁴ ‘Uthmān’s interpolation here reflects a critical and interpretive engagement with the Arabic original by Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh. Rather than offering a literal translation, he reworks the text to serve the pedagogical needs of his intended audience: Jawi-speaking students or lay readers seeking practical spiritual teachings in a light reading. ‘Uthmān’s Jawi version of *Tāj al-‘Arūs* can thus be seen as an explanatory edition that introduces Sufi ethical teachings in a light and didactic manner. This peculiar rendering is not available in the later 2005 Arabic edition of *Tāj al-‘Arūs* edited by Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī, published in Beirut.¹¹⁵ The differences are not only visible in the inclusion of interpolations of the source material, as seen in ‘Uthmān’s edition, but also in the writing of the Qur’ān, notably in al-Mazīdī’s preference to adopt the ‘Uthmānic standard (*rasm ‘Uthmānī*), while, otherwise, ‘Uthmān prefers the literal writing (*rasm imlā’*).¹¹⁶ The contrast editorial approach between ‘Uthmān and al-Mazīdī in writing the Qur’ānic script could either have been caused by the different source material that each possessed or by the realization of the latter that there is no mandatory requirement to follow *rasm ‘Uthmānī* in writing the Qur’ānic verses outside the Qur’ānic codex (*muṣḥaf*).¹¹⁷

¹¹² al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, 23.

¹¹³ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, ed. al-Faṭānī, 29.

¹¹⁴ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, 29.

¹¹⁵ al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, 22.

¹¹⁶ Compare with al-Sayyid ‘Umar Farīq, ‘Kitāb al-Qawā’id al-‘Uthmāniyya fi al-Rusūm al-Qur’āniyya’, August 1836, 101r-v, Or. 11.701:8, Leiden University Library.

¹¹⁷ Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Abdullah al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān*, ed. Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mara’shalī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, and ‘Ibrāhīm ‘Abdullāh al-Kurdī (Beirut: Dār al-Ma’rifā, 1990), 2:5–15.

Another instance of ‘Uthmān’s editorial approach is visible in the epilogue of *Tanwīr al-Qulūb* when he adds a prescription before Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh’s conclusion containing the prayer and supplication: “*the humble includes a part of the supplication of the sheikh at the end in the following.*”¹¹⁸ In this passage, instead of presenting a literal, annotation-free rendering of *Tanwīr al-Qulūb*, ‘Uthmān includes his subject-position in the text as the humble translator (*hambā*), and possibly a student, while identifying Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh as the sheikh. The conscious interpolation in the text parallels the Southeast Asian pedagogical approach of *bandongan*, where the sheikh would recite, translate, and explain the Arabic text to the students.¹¹⁹ Note how ‘Uthmān not only introduced and translated the original text of Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh to his readers, but further provided concise explanations and prescriptions in places, which writing style signifies how the translator and editor of the book want to directly interact with the readers. Nurtawab (2019) notes that traditional students could spend 15 years attending the *bandongan* before being qualified to become the sheikh themselves.¹²⁰ Noting that some of ‘Uthmān’s works have been reproduced by traditional *pesantren*-based publishing houses,¹²¹ one may assume that the works have reached the intended readership.

As time passed, ‘Uthmān shifted his editorial and translation approach from a more critical treatment of the source material to a more literal one. The clearest cases of the latter are visible in the interlinear translation of *Aṣl al-Khuṭba* (1896/1314) and *Mawlid al-Barzanjī* (1911/1330). In these two instances, ‘Uthmān showcases the vernacular Jawi translation below each Arabic word in the text, such as the polysemous Arabic term *ṣalāt* directly rendered into the Jawi *sembahyang*, *raḥmat*, or *salat*,¹²² with each rendering following the speech context. In other instances, beyond the interlinear translation, ‘Uthmān would translate the source by providing the Arabic text in parentheses before translating it into Jawi. In contrast to the series of works from *Tāj al-‘Arūs* to *Fadīla Mekkah*, where ‘Uthmān omitted Arabic passages with Jawi, except for quotes of the Qur’an and other religious sources, ‘Uthmān’s later translation works incorporate Malay as the main language, except at times when he provides excerpts of the Qur’an and hadith in Arabic. If the subject-position of the translator/editor is apparent to the readers even in the translation genre, ‘Uthmān’s thought and hermeneutics could be

¹¹⁸ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq and al-Sakandarī, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb*, ed. al-Marbawī, 55.

¹¹⁹ Eryan Nurtawab, ‘The Decline of Traditional Learning Methods in Changing Indonesia: Trends of Bandongan-Kitāb Readings in Pesantrens’, *Studia Islamika* 26, no. 3 (December 2019): 3, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v26i3.11026>.

¹²⁰ Nurtawab, 521–22.

¹²¹ ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs* (Surabaya: Al-Haramain, n.d.); ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funṭiyānaq and Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Sakandarī, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr al-‘Uyūb* (Surabaya: Bungkul Indah, n.d.).

¹²² al-Funṭiyānaq and Nubāta, *Aṣl Khuṭbah*, 77; al-Funṭiyānaq, *Mawlid al-Barzanjī*, 11, 12, 15, 18, 20.

detected further in non-translation literature. The following section examines the scriptural reasoning and theological positioning of ‘Uthmān according to his two presumed monographs.

SUFI THOUGHTS AND SCRIPTURAL REASONING

Many of ‘Uthmān’s treatises were reproduced and re-edited by subsequent scholars. However, most of his works that were reprinted are the translations of well-known Islamic texts rather than ‘Uthmān’s monographs. Among the identified 12 works, ‘Uthmān translated two treatises by Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh, and single treatises by Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Nubāta, al-Shablanjī, al-Barzanjī, al-Asqalānī, Hamamizade Ihsan, and Aḥmad Zaynī Dahlān. Despite their derivative nature, ‘Uthmān’s translations reflect a deep critical engagement with his sources. He often inserted new reflections, narrations, and metaphors that were absent from the originals, which showcase his creative-interpretive approach. Interestingly, this dynamic is not evident in *Risāla* and *Faṭḥ al-Mutaḥakkirīn*, the only treatises where ‘Uthmān adopts two or more sources to write his own treatise rather than translating a single text. As such, the theological insights and hermeneutical perspectives in these treatises may offer the clearest window into ‘Uthmān’s thought, as these two may align with his intellectual self-image or, at the very least, represent a fragment of his scholarly thought.

There are some striking differences between *Hāmamîzâde Yasin Tefsiri* and *Risālah Tafsîr Sûrat Yasin*; First, ‘Uthmān incorporates additional narrations into *Risāla* that are absent in *Tafsîr Ḥamāmî*, including one on the benefit of reciting Q.36 to a passed away Muslim¹²³ or another on the communion between the inhabitants of Paradise and God, particularly in the commentary of Q.36:58.¹²⁴ Second, Ḥamāmî refrains from interpreting the eschatological verses in terms of the judgement day, whereas ‘Uthmān offers a detailed exposition on the resurrection of all creation during the Resurrection Day.¹²⁵ Mustafa Özcan (1969), the editor of *Hāmamîzâde Yasin Tefsiri*, notices that Hamamî perceives the hereafter as an improbable event in the future and instead sees the promised *qiyāma* in the Qur’ān as the present-day call for revival.¹²⁶ Özcan argues that the rational-critical interpretation of apocalyptic verses was common in the author’s period, given the spirit of the time in the 19th century.¹²⁷ For a Jawi translation of Hamamî’s Qur’ān commentary, *Risāla* instead expands the discussion on the end

¹²³ al-Funṭiyānaq, *Risālat Tafsîr*, 2.

¹²⁴ al-Funṭiyānaq, 25.

¹²⁵ al-Funṭiyānaq, 8–9; *Hāmamîzâde, Yasin Tefsiri*, 14.

¹²⁶ Mustafa Özcan, ‘Takdim’, in *Yasin Tefsiri*, by Ḥāmamîzâde (Istanbul: Özgü Yayınları, 1969), 14.

¹²⁷ Özcan, 14–15.

of the worldly reality and the communion of all souls with the Divine. Taking Q.36:33 as a case point, ‘Uthmān interprets *āyat al-arḍ al-maytat* [literal: the sign of the lifeless earth] with association to the dead nature and its resurrection during the hereafter. ‘Uthmān argues that God can resurrect the world after its death, similar to how He grows wheat and rice in the field out of nothing, except from the divine will (*irāda*).¹²⁸ This particular rendering and analogy are not apparent in Ḥamāmī’s *Yasin Tefsiri* and are also absent from ‘Uthmān’s other two *tafsīr* references: *Tafsīr Jalālayn* and *Hāshiyat al-Jamāl*.¹²⁹ The expansive, narrative interpretation of Q.36:33 in *Risālah* illustrates the author’s interpretation of the verse, instead of a translation of the abovementioned Arabic *tafsīr* sources. ‘Uthmān’s textual sources across his treatises can be inferred in the following:

Source Genre	Title	Location
Shadhiliyya Sufism	Tāj al-‘Arūs	Tāj al-‘Arūs
	Tanwīr fī Isqāt al-Tadbīr	1) Tanwīr al-Qulūb 2) Risāla Tafsīr Sūra Yāsīn
Sunni Qur’ān Commentary	Tafsīr Jalālayn	Risāla Tafsīr Sūra Yāsīn
	Hāmamîzâde Yasin Tefsiri	
	Hāshiyat al-Jamal	
Islamic hagiography	Mawlid al-Barzanjī	Risalah Bergantung
	Nūr al-Abṣār	Nūr al-Anwār
Apocalyptic literature	Al-Isti’dād li-Yawm al-Ma’ād	Irshād al-‘Ibād
Sunni hadith literature	Jāmi al-Ṣaghīr	Faṭḥ al-Mutafakkirīn
	Aḥmad Zaynī Dahlān’s treatise on Jāmi al-Ṣaghīr	
Shi’i hadith literature	(possible) Biḥār al-Anwār	Aṣl al-Khuṭba

Table 3. Textual Sources of ‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq

The concept of God’s *irāda* is further explained in Q.36:82, where the verse mentions its active verb form, *arāda*. ‘Uthmān argues that the Divine Will is capable of forming anything from nothing by Himself, with no ally or without external help from anyone.¹³⁰ The process of Divine Creation, for ‘Uthmān, is timeless and incomprehensible to the mental capability of any creation.¹³¹ He then correlates this verse to the previous discussion on the creation of the universe. He describes that the world was not created except from the glorious divine might

¹²⁸ al-Funtiyānaq, *Risālat Tafsīr*, 9.

¹²⁹ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥalli and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, ‘Tafsīr Jalālayn’, Manuscript, with Sabīlu Khān, August 1790, 318v, Maktaba Alukah Tafsīr Jalālayn (Manuscript No. 3), <https://www.alukah.net/library/0/86905/>; al-Jamal, *Hāshiyat Al-Jamal ‘Alā al-Jalālayn al-Musamma Bi-l-Futūḥāt al-Ilahiyya Bi-Tauḍīhi Tafsīr al-Jalālayn Lil-Daqā’Iq al-Khaṣṣiyya*, III, 527; Hāmamîzâde, *Yasin Tefsiri*, 23.

¹³⁰ al-Funtiyānaq, *Risālat Tafsīr*, 38.

¹³¹ al-Funtiyānaq, 38.

(*qudrah yang mulia*), the *tadbīr*, and the perfect divine wisdom (*hikmah yang sempurna*). This interpretation shows a theological reading of Q.36:82, in contrast to *Tafsīr Jalālayn*'s concise grammatical description of the verse, or Ḥamāmī's brief explanation that the word “*kun*” is the verbal sign indicating God's creation.¹³² *Qudra* is one of the renowned essential attributions (*ṣifāt*) of God, a certain doctrine followed by many Ash'ari theologians and much discussed in *Kitab Jawi* literature.¹³³ The concept of *tadbīr*, in the sense of “divine control,” was explained thoroughly in Ibn 'Aṭā'illāh's *Tanwīr* and 'Uthmān's *Tanwīr al-Qulūb*,¹³⁴ while the concept of *ḥikma* in the world creation echoes the 12th-century Sunni theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's work on the wisdom in the divine creation.¹³⁵ In *Faṭḥ al-Mutafakkirīn*, during his interaction with Q.2:22 on God's creation, 'Uthmān expands his discussion on the necessarily existent being (*wājib al-wujūd*) and His impossibility of imperfection and defect attributions (*ṣifat-ṣifat kekurangan*).¹³⁶

While his Qur'ān hermeneutics indicates his association with the Sunni theology, 'Uthmān shows an ambiguous stance on Shi'i narrations. In the aftermath of *Risāla*, 'Uthmān published *Aṣl al-Khuṭba*, the collection of preachings attributed to Ibn Nubāta. Following the thematic run of each lunar month, *Aṣl al-Khuṭba* began with a thematic preaching for Muḥarram and a decisive historical moment in the period: the martyrdom of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 61/680), the third Shi'a Imam and grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. Narrating from the sixth Shi'a Imam, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), the text recounts 63 stabs and 34 bruises in the body of the late Ḥusayn.¹³⁷ The narration proceeds on how the earth and the sky mourn over the death of the Imam, flooding the land with red blood rain for three days, whereas the world turns dark and people fear that the *qiyāma* is coming.¹³⁸ Noting that this specific account is less popular in the Sunni tradition, the narration of the martyrdom of Ḥusayn in *Aṣl al-Khuṭba* resonates with Shi'i literature on the tragedy of Karbala. The 17th-century Shi'i hadith scholar, Muḥammad Bāqir al-

¹³² al-Maḥalli and al-Suyūṭī, 'Tafsīr Jalālayn', 320v; Ḥamāmizāde, *Yasin Tefsiri*, 94.

¹³³ Ngah, *Kitab Jawi*, 9–13; Haidhar Kamarzaman, Asyran Safwan Kamaruzaman, and Muhammad Ariff Rajoli, 'Problem of Al-Qadr and Human Acts (Af'al al-'Ibad) According to Al-Ash'ari and Its Relation with Sunnatullah', *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 13, no. 1 (25 January 2023): 1517.

¹³⁴ 'Uthmān b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Funtiyānaq and al-Sakandarī, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb*, ed. al-Marbawī, 11.

¹³⁵ Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Al-Ḥikma Fī Makhlūqāti-Allah*, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Qabbān (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm, 1978), 15–18.

¹³⁶ al-Funtiyānaq, *Faṭḥ al-Mutafakkirīn* (1906), 2–3.

¹³⁷ al-Funtiyānaq and Nubāta, *Aṣl Khuṭbah*, 12.

¹³⁸ al-Funtiyānaq and Nubāta, 12–13.

Majlisī, preserves a similar record from Ja'far with the precise number of wounds in the body of the Imam, sourced from the account of the Shi'i historian Abū Mikhnaḥ (d. c. 774/170).¹³⁹

Another account is mentioned by the 20th-century Iranian historian Abbas Qomi in *Nafas al-Mahmūm fi Muṣibat Sayyidinā al-Ḥusayn al-Maẓlūm*, a compilation of Shi'a narrations on the tragic event of Karbala. Qomi describes his chain of knowledge to the eighth Imam, Ali al-Reza (d. 819/203), and how the Imam tells the story of his grandfather, Ja'far, about the land turning red after the sky poured blood, mourning the death of the grandson of the Prophet.¹⁴⁰ In this narration, 'Uthmān translates Ibn Nubāta's Arabic text precisely, except when mentioning the names of Ḥusayn and Ja'far, as 'Uthmān prefers to add the honorific title *sayyidinā* [our master] to both Imams.¹⁴¹ However, this treatment is not exclusive to Shi'a figures, especially when the preaching for Dhu al-Ḥijja narrates the martyrdom of two Caliphs, 'Umar b. Khaṭṭāb and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.¹⁴² Nevertheless, the reference and honorific mention of the Shi'a Imams in *Aṣl Khuṭba* puts 'Uthmān Funtiyānaq in a dilemmatic and ambiguous position. 'Uthmān may have noticed that the Ottoman state publishing house prioritizes Sunni texts and some of its officials rigorously defend the Sunni doctrines, while censoring non-Sunni religious sources, including Shi'i narratives.¹⁴³ The appearance of Shi'i narrations in *Aṣl Khuṭba*, the Maṭba'a al-Miriyya printed treatise, leaves questions on whether the Ottoman censorship committee ignores the adaptation of Shi'i sources in religious texts circulated across the regions, or whether the control over the Jawi treatises was left to be handled by the assigned Jawi proofreaders, which, in this case, would be 'Uthmān himself.

Aside from the adoption of Shi'i narrations, another controversial subject that appears in 'Uthmān's treatises is his treatment of anthropomorphic verses (*āyāt al-mujassima*) in the Qur'ān. He intriguingly encountered several instances in *Risāla* and arguably followed Ash'arī theological doctrines. *Risāla* associates the phrase *bi-yadihi* [lit. "with His hand"] with the notion of *qudrah*, while the other instance of *aydīnā* in Q.36:71 was rephrased in a literal manner into "*tangan kami*" [Our hand]. These two instances are, nonetheless, consistent with *Tafsīr Jalālayn*, which elaborates *aydīnā* as the expression of God's oneness and knowledge in

¹³⁹ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār: Al-Jāmi'a li-Durari Akhbāri al-A'immati al-Aṭhār* (Tehran: Wizārat al-Irshād al-Islāmiyya, 1946), 45:52.

¹⁴⁰ Abbas al-Qummi, *Nafasul Mahmoom Relating to the Heart Rendering Tragedy of Karbala*, trans. Aejaz Ali al Husainee (Roanoke: CreateSpace, 2014), 37.

¹⁴¹ al-Funtiyānaq and Nubāta, *Aṣl Khuṭbah*, 10–21.

¹⁴² al-Funtiyānaq and Nubāta, 208–13.

¹⁴³ Filiz Dıġıroġlu, 'II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Dinî Yayıncılık: İslâmî Metinleri Kim Üretir?-II', *Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 54, no. 54 (June 2018): 1–44, 54, <https://doi.org/10.15370/maruifd.452184>.

the world creation “with no associate nor helper,”¹⁴⁴ while reading *bi-yadihi* in Q.36:82 as God’s omnipotence and directly correlated with His control over things (*malakūt kulli shay’in*).¹⁴⁵ The literal rendering in Q.36:71 and figurative one in Q.36:82 display the author’s adherence to the Sunni hermeneutical tradition. The 12th-century Persian theologian and exegete Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī explains the relations between *yad* and *qudrat* as attributions to God. He argues that *yad-u Allāh* in the Qur’ān possesses multiple meanings, including God’s essence (*dhāt*), blessing (*ni’mat*), and omnipotence (*qudrat*). For al-Rāzī, the Qur’ān mentions God’s omnipotence and blessing with the “one hand” (*yad*), while referring to the divine essence with the “two hands” (*yadayya*; as in Q.38:75), with a side note that God’s *yadayya* is incomparable to men’s physical two hands.¹⁴⁶ The dichotomy of literal-figurative readings of *yad* and *yadayya* does not apply in *Risāla*, as it includes both. Such a particular commentary of the anthropomorphic verses is intriguingly shared between several Jawi Qur’ān commentaries published in the 19th and 20th centuries, particularly in ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Sinkilī and Baba Dawūd’s *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* (1885) and Muḥammad ‘Alī Rāwā’s *Tafsīr Sūra Yāsīn* (1948).¹⁴⁷ This parallelism suggests that ‘Uthmān preserved the Sunni exegetical tradition and shared the Jawi intellectual discourse with other Jawi scholars, as visible in *Risāla* and *Fath al-Mutafakkirīn*, while managed to showcase his particular interest in Sufi teachings and theological understanding of the Qur’ān verses. On another note, ‘Uthmān’s incorporation of Sufi teachings and theological dogma in his *Risāla*, which are absent from the other printed 19th-20th century Jawi *tafsīrs*, invites further examination of his hermeneutics and Jawi rendering of the Qur’ān.

CONCLUSION

Following the mind and works of the Pontianak-origin diaspora in the 19th and 20th-century Hijaz, this article explains the productivity and versatility of Sheikh ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb al-Dīn Funtiyānaq throughout his *Kitab Jawi* between 1304/1887 and 1330/1912. Some of his works display complex connections with the Jawi scholarly communities, the Ottoman-owned publishing institution, and the trans-regional publishing patronages. The findings suggest that ‘Uthmān is arguably not a descendant of the two prominent Banjarmasin sheikhs, Shihāb al-

¹⁴⁴ al-Maḥalli and al-Suyūṭī, ‘Tafsīr Jalālayn’, 320r.

¹⁴⁵ al-Maḥalli and al-Suyūṭī, 321v.

¹⁴⁶ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Asās al-Taqdīs* (Cairo: Maktabat Al-Kullīyyat Al-Azhāriyyat, 2001), 161–65.

¹⁴⁷ ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Fansūrī al-Sinkilī and Bāba Dāwud al-Jāwī b. Ismā’īl b. Aghā ‘Alī al-Rū’mī, *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd bi-l-Jāwī: Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī as-Sharīf*, 1st edition, ed. Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Quddūs al-Tūbānī al-Jāwī, with Abū Tālib al-Maymuna, Fadā Mūḥammad al-Kashmīrī, and ‘Abdullāh (Constantinople: Maṭba’ah ‘Uthmāniyya, 1885), 2:154, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden 8204 A5; Sheikh Muḥammad ‘Alī Rāwā b. ‘Abdullāh Rāwā al-Ḥijazi al-Makkī, ‘Tafsīr Sūrat Yāsīn bi-Lugat al-Malāyūyat’, Malay Qur’an translation and commentary, Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia, 1948, 20, British Library, <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP153-8-12>.

Dīn al-Banjārī and Muḥammad Arshād al-Banjārī, nor do the available sources suggest that ‘Uthmān has interacted with other scholars during his lifetime, including Pontianak-affiliated students in the period. Some exceptions can be established on ‘Uthmān’s sole known teacher, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī, and several publishing sponsors like ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī, Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Faṭānī, and Muḥammad Mājīd al-Kurdī al-Makkī. It suggests that ‘Uthmān’s productive time in the Hijaz was not only facilitated by the relative unfamiliarity of Ottoman officials with the Jawi language, but also by his strategic alliances with Meccan scholars, the state-assigned editors of Al-Miriyya, and the sponsors. These connections enabled ‘Uthmān to become a prolific author and editor of his works both during his early intellectual career as a sheikh in the religious cities of Mecca-Medina and his later lifetime in Taif. On another note, his migration from the two holy cities to the quieter city of Taif corresponded with a shift in editorial mode—from the critical editing of the source (*tahqīq*) to more literal editing (*taṣḥīḥ*) of the Arabic source materials. Such an editorial shift may reflect the contrast in intellectual milieu between those cities, or, instead, the changing demands of the Hijaz book market and the expectations of each book’s sponsor.

The study also highlights ‘Uthmān’s deep engagement with Shāfi‘ī jurisprudence and Shādhiliyya Sufi teachings, both through his interaction with the two works of Ibn ‘Atā’illāh al-Sakandarī and his rendering of the notion of *tadbīr* (self-control) in his later works. No account, however, mentions that ‘Uthmān is a teacher or follower of Shādhiliyya Sufism himself during his lifetime. Among his 12 publications, *Risāla Tafsīr Sūrat Yāsīn* and *Faṭḥ al-Mutafakkirīn* are the two translation works with major editorial adaptations to the material. ‘Uthmān not only included multiple references in the two works but also his subjective eschatological view and mystical insight, which overcompensate for the two’s initial purpose as Jawi translations of the Arabic works, respectively, of Ḥamamī’s commentary of Q. 36 and Dahlān’s gloss of *Jāmi’ al-Ṣaghīr*. Such a peculiar editorial approach in *Risāla* and *Faṭḥ al-Mutafakkirīn* could put them into ‘Uthmān’s original works, instead of translation products.

Future research may consider the subject-position of ‘Uthmān Funtiyānaq in his works or establish other potential teacher-student relationships during his life in Pontianak, Mecca, Medina, and Taif. A broader examination of the intellectual life of the Jawi diasporic communities in the Ottoman-Hijaz in ‘Uthmān’s lifetime and the emerging transregional Islamic movements of the period can be established by a close reading of the works of the 19th-20th-century South-east Asian diasporas and their relations to the states/sultanates and intellectual patrons, as well as their shared struggles during the shifting power regimes and the rising nationhood.

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