

The linkage of Islamic intellectual traditions in Bali with Malay world: Kampung Saren Jawa Manuscripts

Agus Iswanto

Sekolah Pascasarjana UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional (BRIN)

E-mail: agus155@brin.go.id

Moch. Lukluil Maknun

Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional (BRIN)

E-mail: moch054@brin.go.id

Umi Masfiah

Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional (BRIN)

E-mail: umim001@brin.go.id

Firdaus Wajdi

Universitas Negeri Jakarta

E-mail: firdaus.wajdi@unj.ac.id

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Abstract

This article intends to fill the lack of knowledge about Islamic intellectual traditions and networks in Bali by showing Islamic manuscripts found in an Islamic village in

Karangasem Regency, namely Kampung Saren Jawa. Therefore, it is expected that the article can place the Islamic community in Bali and its Islamic intellectual tradition in the realm of discussion of Islamic scholarship in Indonesia, and Southeast Asia in general. The manuscripts were deemed copied around the 19th century and early 20th centuries. After describing various aspects of Islamic manuscripts found in Kampung Saren Jawa, such as materials of manuscripts, languages and scripts, colophons, and the contents of manuscript texts, we have argued that Islamic intellectual traditions in Bali relate to Islamic intellectual traditions outside of Bali, especially those that speak Malay and Javanese. An indication of the linkage of Islamic intellectual traditions in Bali with other regions, especially in the Malay world, is the discovery of several texts, which are the texts of Sufism, Fiqh, Tawhid, as well as religious literary texts written by famous scholars in the Malay world and has become popular texts until now.

Artikel ini bermaksud untuk mengisi kekurangan pengetahuan tentang tradisi dan jaringan intelektual Islam di Bali dengan menampilkan naskah-naskah Islam yang terdapat di sebuah kampung Islam di Kabupaten Karangasem, yaitu Kampung Saren Jawa. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini diharapkan dapat menempatkan komunitas Islam di Bali dan tradisi intelektual Islamnya dalam ranah pembahasan keilmuan Islam di Indonesia, dan Asia Tenggara pada umumnya. Naskah-naskah tersebut diperkirakan disalin sekitar abad ke-19 dan awal abad ke-20. Setelah memaparkan berbagai aspek naskah Islam yang terdapat di Kampung Saren Jawa, seperti bahan naskah, bahasa dan aksara, kolofon, serta isi teks naskah, kami berpendapat bahwa tradisi intelektual Islam di Bali berkaitan dengan tradisi intelektual Islam di luar Bali, terutama yang berbahasa Melayu dan Jawa. Indikasi adanya keterkaitan tradisi intelektual Islam di Bali dengan daerah lain, khususnya di dunia Melayu, adalah ditemukannya beberapa teks, yaitu teks tasawuf, fikih, tauhid, serta teks sastra keagamaan yang ditulis oleh ulama terkenal di dunia Melayu dan menjadi teks populer hingga saat ini.

Keywords: Islamic manuscripts; Islamic intellectual networks; Islamic knowledge traditions; Islam in Bali

Introduction

Bali Island in the study of Indonesian Islamic tradition, and its intellectual network, is almost neglected. As mentioned by Vickers,¹ most scholars only see Bali as a region of Hindu community. In some Balinese history literature, Islam is indeed mentioned, but only in a small part.² This causes the study of Balinese culture to be more closely related to Hindu culture in Balinese society, and ignore other religious groups, such as Islam, that also exist on this island, and even to have a long history of relations with Hindu-Balinese society.

Research on the Islamic community in Bali is conducted in the context of anthropological studies³, and has not been placed in the context of the

¹Adrian Vickers, "Hinduism and Islam in Indonesia: Bali and the Pasisir World", *Indonesia*, Volume October, Number 44 (1987), 31-58.

²Hans Hägerdal, 'Bali in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Suggestions for a chronology of the Gelgel period', *Bijdragen tot de taal, land- en volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, Volume 151, Number 1 (1995), 101-24; Robert Pringle, *A Short History of Bali: Indonesia's Hindu Realm*, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2004.

³Fredrik Barth, *Balinese Worlds*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993; Erni Budiwanti, *The Crescent Behind the Thousand Holy Temples: An Ethnographic Study of the Minority Muslims of Pegayaman North Bali*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1995; Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin, "Bali Aga" and Islam: Ethnicity, Ritual Practice, and "Old-Balinese" as an Anthropological Construct," *Indonesia*, Volume 77 (2004), 27-55. June McDaniel, "Agama Hindu Dharma Indonesia as a New Religious Movement: Hinduism Recreated in the Image of Islam," *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*, Volume 14, Number 1 (2010), 93-111; Kunawi Basyir, "The "Acculturative Islam" as a type of home-grown Islamic tradition religion and local culture in Bali", *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Volume 13, Number 2 (2019), 326-349; Muhamad Arif, "Taqīd Ngunya li muslimī Pegayaman bi Bali: Taṭbīq al-sharī'ah al-Islāmīyah fi baldat al-Hindūs", *Studia Islamika*, Volume 26, Number 2 (2019), 353-87; Lene Pedersen, "Keeping the Peace: Interdependence and Narratives of Tolerance in Hindu-Muslim Relationships in Eastern Bali", in Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and David D. Harnish (eds.) *Between harmony and discrimination: negotiating religious identities within majority-minority relationships in Bali and Lombok*, London and Boston: Brill, 2014, 165-98; Meike Rieger, 'We are one Unit': Configurations of Citizenship in a Historical Hindu-Muslim Balinese Setting', in Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and David D. Harnish (eds), *Between Harmony and Discrimination...197-220*; Martin Slama, "From Wali Songo to Wali Pitu: The Travelling of Islamic Saint Veneration to Bali", in Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and David D. Harnish (eds) *Between Harmony and Discrimination* 112-143; Vickers, 'Hinduism and Islam in Indonesia...;

historical study of Islamic knowledge traditions and intellectual networks. There is a study of a Bugis Muslim community in Bali, but it is more concerned with the tradition of contemporary Bugis Muslims making grave pilgrimages, whereas this article seeks to show the interconnectedness of Islamic knowledge and intellectual traditions not confined to Bugis communities.⁴

Couteau⁵ said that the study of the history of the relations of Islam and Hinduism in Bali was rarely carried out and therefore he filled that void. In fact, the same thing happens to our focused study that discusses the traditions and intellectual networks of Islam developing in Bali in the middle of the Hindu community and its relationship with the Islamic intellectual traditions network outside the island of Bali. It is as if the Balinese Muslim community does not have a network of Islamic intellectual traditions such as Malay and Javanese whose intellectual networks have been reconstructed by a number of scholars,⁶ so that it seems disconnected from other Muslim communities outside Bali Island which can be caused by several things, one of which is a matter of limited research resources

Syaifudin Zuhri, "Inventing Balinese Muslim Sainthood," *Indonesia and the Malay World*, Volume 41, Number 119 (2013), 1-13. Indriana Kartini, "Dinamika Kehidupan Minoritas Muslim di Bali", *Masyarakat Indonesia*, Volume XXXVII, Number 2 (2011), 155-145.

⁴Mustolehudin, Nur Laili Noviani, Siti Muawanah, Joko Tri Haryanto, Zakiyah, Umi Muzayanah, "The Practice of Islamic Traditions among the Bugis in Bali", *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Volume 19, Number 1 (2024), 157-169.

⁵Jean Couteau, 'Bali et l'islam: 1. Rencontre historique', *Archipel*, Volume 58, Number 3 (1999), 159-88.

⁶Azyumardi Azra, "Networks of the Ulama in the Haramayn: Connections in the Indian Ocean Region", *Studia Islamika*, Volume 8, Number 2 (2001), 83-120; Azyumardi Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia: networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. Crows Nest, N.S.W. : Allen & Unwin, 2004; Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "Tārīkh al-Ma'had al-Turāthī wa Thaḡafātuhu", *Studia Islamika*, Volume 7, Number 1 (2000), 119-133; Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*, Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2006; Sunarwoto, "The Influences of The Meccan Education on the Pesantren Tradition with Special Reference to Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus", *Studia Islamika*, Volume 15, Number 3 (2008), 467-500.

sufficient to reconstruct the network of Islamic intellectual traditions in Bali.

Islam in Bali has left a written legacy that can be used as sources to reconstruct the network of Islamic intellectual traditions. As Couteau ⁷ stated in the sequel article, some Muslim communities in Bali have Malay and Javanese texts, but no studies have been conducted on the contents of these texts, even though the texts are certainly able to provide valuable information about how the Islamic tradition developed in Bali and its relationship with Islamic intellectual networks outside the island, thus gaining a place in Islamic studies in Indonesia. The existence of Islamic manuscripts in Bali has actually also been pointed out by Pigeaud ⁸ and Saefullah and Islam,⁹ but focused more on Javanese or Balinese texts, because of the similarity of characters. Studies on Islamic doctrine and its relation to Hinduism in *Krama Selam* texts have been conducted,¹⁰ but other studies on Islamic manuscripts found in the community have not been conducted.

The attention to Islamic manuscripts in the middle of a Balinese tradition which is predominantly Hindu can show more dialectics of religions within a particular cultural sphere. Besides, attention and maintenance of Balinese texts in the Hindu-Balinese tradition-especially those made from palm-leaf-relatively are well maintained,¹¹ even still well

⁷Jean Couteau, 'Bali et l'islam: 2. Coexistence et perspectives contemporaines', *Archipel*, Volume 60, Number 4 (2000), 45-64.

⁸Theodore G. Th Pigeaud, *Literature of Java: Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Public Collections in the Netherlands*, Volume I edition. Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde, 1967.

⁹Asep Saefullah and M. Adib Misbachul Islam, "Beberapa Aspek Kodikologi Naskah Keagamaan Islam di Bali", *Lektur Keagamaan*, Volume 7, Number 1 (2009), 53-90.

¹⁰I Kadek Widiananta, "The Concept of the Oneness of God in the *Geguritan Krama Selam* Text As Reinforcement of Religious Moderation," *Proceedings of the International Seminar of Dharma Acara Faculty, December 2022*, Institut Agama Hindu Negeri Tampung, Penyang, Palangka Raya.

¹¹Dick van der Meij, *Indonesian Manuscripts from the Islands of Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok*,

recorded among families or institutions that own manuscripts.¹² Balinese manuscripts that nuanced Islamic teachings rarely get attention, and even a catalogue describing the collection of Islamic manuscripts in Bali is not available until now, so the condition, characteristics, and history of the collection of Islamic manuscripts in the middle of the tradition of Hindu-Balinese manuscripts are unknown.

The absence of description of Islamic manuscripts in Bali makes it difficult to reconstruct the historical intellectual traditions and networks of Islam in Bali. Indeed there have been several studies on Islamic manuscripts, especially for Qur'an manuscripts.¹³ According to the study, most of the owners of Qur'an manuscripts are the Bugis and Makassar tribes, although it is not yet clear whether the manuscript was copied in Bali or migration of manuscripts. However, as mentioned in several other studies,¹⁴ there are several other tribes in Bali who also have their own history, and even inherit the text tradition. Some Islamic manuscripts in Karangasem and Klungkung have been identified,¹⁵ but their nature is still general and has not provided knowledge about the traditions and intellectual networks of Islam. This article seeks to complement it further by focusing on one place or village.

Leiden: Brill, 2017.

¹²Anton Zaelani and Enang Sudrajat, *Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno di Bali: Jejak Peninggalan Suku Bugis dan Makassar, Suhuf*, Volume 8, Number 2 (2015), 303-24.

¹³Couteau, 'Bali et l'islam :1. Rencontre historique'...

¹⁴Agus Iswanto, Umi Masfiah, and Moch Lukluil Maknun, "Naskah Keislaman di Klungkung dan Karangasem Bali: Sebuah Penelusuran Awal terhadap Koleksi Masyarakat", *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Naskah dalam kajian Antardisiplin*, ed. by Priscilla F. Limbong, Munawar Holil, and Mamlahatun Buduruh, Seminar Nasional Naskah dalam Kajian Antardisiplin, Depok, 5-6 November 2019, Laboratorium Filologi Departemen Ilmu Susastra Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya Universitas Indonesia.

¹⁵Carool Kersten, *A History of Islam in Indonesia: Unity in Diversity*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017; Michael Francis Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011; Azra, 'Networks of the Ulama in the Haramayn...'; Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia...*

This article intends to broaden the study of the intellectual traditions and networks of Islam in Bali by pointing out Islamic sources of manuscripts found in an Islamic village in Karangasem Regency. This is an effort to show another alternative to the face of Islam in Bali, which has been paying more attention to the regions of Buleleng, Jembrana, Denpasar, and Gelgel Klungkung. This article gives new evidence about Islamic intellectual traditions and networks in the archipelago,¹⁶ with special cases of Bali that rarely get attention. In this way, this article is expected to place the Islamic community in Bali and its intellectual traditions in the discussion of Islamic scholarship in Indonesia, and Southeast Asia in general.

Islamic manuscripts in Kampung Saren Jawa, Karangasem

The Islamic villages widely discussed are those in the North Bali region (Buleleng)¹⁷, West Bali (Jembrana),¹⁸ and Central Bali (Denpasar and Klungkung). Meanwhile the East Bali region or rather Karangasem receives little attention. Regarding its population, according to a survey of the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Province of Bali in 2010, Karangasem Regency is among those with the least Muslim population of the regencies or cities. However, Karangasem keeps a large collection of manuscripts compared to other Muslim villages in other parts of Bali, and one of the Muslim villages the inhabitants of which keep several manuscripts is Kampung Saren Jawa, in Budakeling Village, Bebandem District, Karangasem Regency. In fact, the Gelgel village widely referred to as the Islamic village since the Gelgel Kingdom has no manuscripts.

¹⁶Arif, "Taqīd Ngunya li muslimī Pegayaman bi Bali...; Barth, *Balinese Worlds...*; Erni Budiwanti, *The Crescent Behind the Thousand Holy Temples...*

¹⁷Bagenda Ali, *Awal Mula Muslim di Bali: Kampung Loloan Jembrana Sebuah Entitas Kuno*, Yogyakarta: Deepublish Publisher, 2019.

¹⁸Hasan Muarif Ambary, "Mesjid Kampung Gelgel, Kabupaten Klungkung (Bali)", *Archipel*, Volume 30, Number 1 (1985), 39–41; Zaelani and Sudrajat, "*Mushaf AlQur'an Kuno di Bali...*", 303–324.

Karangasem Regency has around 26 Islamic villages (Mashad 2014, 170), but we visited eight villages, and of those eight villages, there are only five villages that store Islamic manuscripts, including Saren Jawa. The other four villages are Ujung Pesisir, Dangin Sema, Kecang Islam, and Sindu.

Some of Muslim in Karangasem originated from Java; therefore there is Kampung Saren Jawa. According to oral history, Kampung Saren Jawa began when Kyai Jalil from Mataram (Java) was given a gift of land as a place to live because of his ability to conquer a raging cow in an area called "sare" (Mashad 2014, 177). Until now Muslims in Saren Jawa are referred to as Javanese ancestry. The manuscripts in Saren Jawa are the most found among other villages in Karangasem.

The manuscripts are stored in five places, namely in the Ayu Mudin's home, Martilah, Subki Muhammad Nur, Asy'ari, and Lawwamah. Ayu Mudin himself is the Head of the Village or Head of the Kampung Saren Jawa. Most of the manuscripts in Saren Jawa are Ayu Mudin's collections. The manuscripts were inherited from his father, who was also inherited from his grandfather. Ayu Mudin's father and grandfather were figures who had been religious teachers. The collection of manuscripts from Ibu Martilah is a legacy from her husband who was also a religious teacher in the village. Likewise, the manuscript collections of Subki Muhammad Nur, Asy'ari, and Lawwamah are also inherited from their parents. The total number of Islamic manuscripts found in Kampung Saren Jawa is 107 manuscripts.

Manuscripts kept by Ayu Mudin are 41 bundles; those kept by Subki Muhammad Nur are 27 manuscripts; kept by Asy'ari are 21 manuscripts; those kept by Murtilah are 17 manuscripts; Lawwamah is keeping 1 manuscript. The condition is no longer good, some volumes have been removed, the papers have holes.

The colophons are valuable as a reconstruction of Islamic intellectual networks, at least those that developed in the late 19th and early 20th

centuries in Bali. There are 15 manuscripts containing colophones (generally, it contains information about the copier's identity, time and place of copying, as well as other information related to copying activities. It has an important role in finding out the age and identity of the manuscript)¹⁹ in Kampung Saren Jawa. The mention of the title in the colophon is useful for finding a common thread in the reception of Islamic texts on other parts of the island in the archipelago. The colophons also provide information about the copy manuscripts that were indeed in Karangasem, so that it could be concluded that the manuscript was brought (migrated) from another place, although it was also mentioned that the manuscript was inherited from other places even though they were fellow Islamic villages in Bali Island.

Islamic intellectual traditions and its networks

Previous studies have not shown how the Islamic intellectual tradition in Bali is connected to the Malay world,²⁰ as no manuscript sources have been found to show this. Islamic manuscripts in Saren Jawa related to intellectual traditions in Malay regions. The existence of these manuscripts could be because it was indeed a reception, either through copying,

¹⁹Henri Chambert-Loir, 'Kolofon Melayu', in Muchlis et al. (eds), *Filologi dan Islam Indonesia*. Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan, Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2010: 151-80.

²⁰Adrian Vickers, "Hinduism and Islam in Indonesia...", 31-58; Asep Saefullah and M. Adib Misbachul Islam, "Beberapa Aspek Kodikologi Naskah Keagamaan Islam di Bali", *Lektur Keagamaan*, Volume 7, Number 1 (2009), 53-90; Anton Zaelani and Enang Sudrajat, "Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno di Bali...", 303-24; Syaifudin Zuhri, "Inventing Balinese Muslim Sainthood", *Indonesia and the Malay World*, Volume 41, Number 119 (2013), 1-13; Martin Slama, "From Wali Songo to Wali Pitu: The Travelling of Islamic Saint Veneration to Ali", in Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and David D. Harnish (eds), *Between Harmony and Discrimination: Negotiating Religious Identities within Majority-Minority Relationships in Bali and Lombok*, London and Boston: Brill, 2014, 112-43; Kunawi Basyir, "The "Acculturative Islam" as a type of home-grown Islamic tradition religion and local culture in Bali", *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Volume 13, Number 2, 2019, 326-349.

translation, or adaptation, the local Muslim community to certain texts, as well as “migration” of the manuscripts from one place to another due to Islamic learning activities or the transfer of domicile of the owner of the manuscript. The manuscripts that are further explained are those which textually clearly mention the title clearly, author or copyist or indicate a certain connection with the Islamic intellectual network outside the island of Bali.

Table 1. Works Explaining the Relation of Islamic Intellectual Traditions between Malay World and Bali

Works of manuscripts	Authorship	Content, and Context of Relationship between Malay world and Bali
<i>Asrār al-Insān fī Ma‘rifah al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥman</i>	Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (d. 1658 AD)	Aceh. A form of acceptance of Sufism from a famous Malay scholar in Aceh by Muslim community in Bali
<i>Risālat Masā’il Muhtadī li Ikhwān al-Mubtadī</i>	Bāba Dāwud al-Jāwī ibn Ismā‘īl al-Jāwī ibn Aghā Muṣṭafā ibn Aghā Rūmī, or also known as Muṣṭafā al-Rūmī (1650-1750. AD)	This book discussed <i>tawḥīd</i> and fiqh. Discussion of fiqh received more portions in the book. Discussion of <i>tawḥīd</i> was about the words of faith, Islam, and <i>Iḥsān</i> , <i>tawḥīd</i> and <i>ma‘rifat</i> , and <i>shahadah</i> . All the discussions in this book used the question-and-answer model. This book is popular in the Malay world, and Aceh in particular. It can

		be said that the Islamic intellectual tradition in Bali, especially in Saren Jawa had a relationship or the same as the Islamic intellectual tradition that developed in the Malay world, Aceh, especially in the 17th or 18th century.
Fragment of <i>Bidāyat al-Hidāyah</i>	Muḥammad Zayn ibn al-Faḳīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Shāfi'ī al-Ashī (died c. 1770 AD)	This book discussed <i>tawḥīd</i> or monotheism (<i>sifat Allah</i> and <i>Nabi</i>).
<i>Al-Yawāqīt wa-al-jawāhir fi 'uqūbat ahl al-kabā'ir</i>	Muḥammad 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Rashīd ibn 'Abd Abd al-Jāwī al-Qāḍī al-Sumbāwī	This book contains the great sins and torments received by the culprit, as well as a description of heaven and doomsday. Written in Mecca in 1243 hijri. This manuscript was indeed copied in Saren Jawa, not a book imported or brought from outside. This further strengthens the argument for the reception of this book written in Malay in the Saren Jawa Muslim community, and that means there was an intellectual network through the reception in the form of copying books.

<i>Hikayat Isrā'</i> Mi'raj	Unknown/ Anonymous	<p>In Malay and Jawi script, the story of Mi'raj tells that the Prophet Muhammad was taken walwing one night from the Masjid al- al-Ḥarām to the al-Aqsa Mosque, and then ascending into the sky. This text has already existed since the 17th century. This text is also spread in various languages in the Indonesia, namely Malay, Aceh, Javanese, Bugis, Makassar, Madura, and Sundanese. The most copies of manuscripts are in Malay stored in various countries. it clearly shows that there was a network of Islamic tradition between the Balinese Muslim community and the Muslim community in the Malay world outside and others.</p>
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Table 1 lists manuscript works that demonstrate the relationship and influence of the Islamic intellectual tradition in the Malay world in the Balinese Muslim community. The first is the manuscript entitled *Asrār al-Insān*. It belongs to Ayu Mudin. This manuscript is in Malay. It discusses sufism, especially the soul and God. Seeing the discussion of this manuscript, it is indicated that this is a book written by Nūr al-Din al-Ranīri (d. 1658 AD),

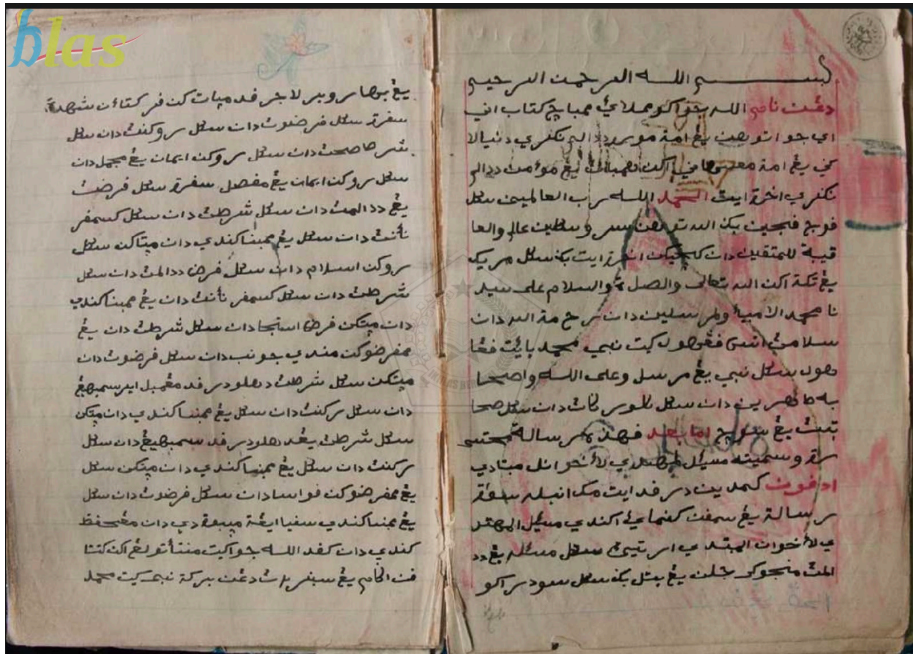
which is complete titled *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma‘rifah al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥman* (The Secret of Humans in Knowing the Soul and God). This book was composed by al-Ranīri on the orders of Sultan Iskandar Thāni and was only completed during the time of Sulṭānah Ṣafiyatuddīn in Aceh Sultanate. In this book al-Ranīri also utilized the writings of other sufism figures, such as Ibn ‘Arabī and al-Ghazālī (Fang 2011, 397). It can be said this was a form of acceptance of sufism from a famous Malay scholar by Muslim community in Bali.

It is mysterious from the *Asrār al-Insān* manuscript that we found to write at least two times “*berkata shaikh kami Aḥmad Pariamani*”. Did “Pariamani” mean the one in West Sumatra or not? If so, it would certainly be interesting data about the connection between Bali and Minangkabau. However, we cannot be sure who was meant by that name. It is sufficient that the writing shows the connection between the Islamic intellectual tradition in Saren Jawa, Bali and the Islamic intellectual tradition outside Bali Island, especially in the Malay world.

The other manuscript strongly indicated links to intellectual traditions from the Malay world is *Risālat Masā’il Muhtadi li Ikhwān al-Muhtadi*. This text is even still being read by the public in Kampung Saren Jawa, especially mothers, every Monday and Tuesday night every week. We found a total of 10 manuscripts, although not all of the titles were clearly written, but we can be sure it was the *Masā’il Muhtadi* book after being compared with other copies. This shows that this text was popular among the people of Kampung Saren Jawa, and even possibly among Karangasem Muslims, Bali. Although today, the text has been scattered in printed form, most of the text that we found is still in handwriting, even in modern lined paper. This shows how the tradition of copying Islamic texts was still ongoing to the texts considered important for the community. Broadly speaking, this book discussed *tawḥīd* and *fiqh*, but indeed the discussion of *fiqh* got more portions in the book. Discussion of *tawḥīd* was about the words of faith,

Islam, and *Ihsān*, *tawhīd* and *ma‘rifat*, and shahadah. All the discussions in this book used the question-and-answer model.

Figure 1. The first page of *Risālat Masā'il Muhtadi li Ikhwān al-Mubtadi* Manuscript from Subki Muhammad Noer Collection of Kampung Saren Jawa



Source: <https://wanantara.blasemarang.web.id/index.php/wanantara/catalog/book/155>

The popularity of this book can be traced in several manuscript collections elsewhere. The National Library holds four manuscript copies of this book (ML 325, ML 326, ML.350-351). This manuscript is also stored in Dayah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar which holds at least four.²¹ The copies

²¹Oman Fathurahman, *Katalog Dayah Tanoh Abee, Aceh Besar*, Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2010, 176-179.

are also at the Yayasan Pendidikan dan Museum Ali Hasjmy.²² According to Fathurahman,²³ this book seemed to be very popular in its day, evidently found many copies in several other collections, but unfortunately not yet known who the author was.

To note a few places that also store this manuscript, this can be seen through some of the results of the manuscript digitalization carried out by a number of projects, for example, the Endanger Archives Program (EAP) project undertaken by the British Library featuring a number of manuscripts of the *Masā'il Muhtadi* in a number of private collections in Pidie and Aceh Besar (EAP329 / 5/24, EAP329 / 10/20, EAP329 / 10/58, EAP329 / 1 / 117, EAP329 / 1/59, EAP329 / 4/5, EAP329 / 1/84, EAP329 / 7/3).

In the catalogue of Kitabs in Southeast Asia, this book is also found in three printed productions, namely *Maktabat al-Shaykh Sālim ibn Sa'd Nabhān* Surabaya, Semarang Family Sources, and Semarang Jaya Science Sources, all using Malay²⁴. In addition, Özay²⁵ also mentions that copies of this manuscript are also available in Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (two copies), in Leiden and Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Although some catalogues²⁶ mention that this book is anonymous, an article gives a clear indication about who the author of this book is.

²²Oman Fathurahman dan Munawar Holil, *Katalog Naskah Ali Hasjmy, Aceh*, Tokyo: Centre for Documentation and Area-Transcultural Studies (C-DATS), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS), in collaboration with Yayasan Pendidikan dan Museum Ali Hasjmy Banda Aceh, Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta, Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara (Manassa), 2007, 140.

²³Oman Fathurahman, *Katalog Dayah Tanoh Abee...*, 177.

²⁴Kawashima Midori, Arai Kazuhiro, Oman Fathurahman, Moteki Akashi, Ervan Nurtawab, Sugahara Yumi, Yanagiya Ayumi, *A provisional catalogue of Southeast Asian kitabs of Sophia University*, Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures - Center for Islamic Area Studies, Sophia University, 2015, 135-136.

²⁵Mehmet Özay, "Rumi" networks of al-Sinkīlī: A biography of Bāba Dāwud", *Studia Islamika*, Volume 24, Number 2 (2017), 247-69.

²⁶Mehmet Özay, "Rumi" networks of al-Sinkīlī...the well-known Acehnese religious scholar; (b

Although it still needs further research, Özay's²⁷ opinion about the author is interesting to express. According to him, Bāba Dāwud or Bāba Dāwud al-Jāwī ibn Ismā'īl al-Jāwī ibn Aghā Muṣṭafā ibn Aghā Rūmī, or also known as Muṣṭafā al-Rūmī²⁸ was the author of *Masā'il Muhtadi*. He lived about 1650-1750. AD. According to Azra²⁹, Bāba Dāwud's full name indicates that he most likely came from Turkey (Rūmī). His father was probably one of the Turkish mercenaries who came in large numbers to assist the Sultanate of Aceh in its struggle against the Portuguese (Lombard 2014, 169-70). The addition of the name *al-Jāwī* might indicate that his mother was a Malay, or that he was born in the Nusantara.³⁰

Through a study of colophons in the manuscript of *Turjumān al-mustafid*, a book of Tafsīr, Azra³¹ indicates that Bāba Dāwud was a student of 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkīlī (1615-1693 CE). As it is well known, one of al-Sinkīlī's famous works is *Turjumān al-mustafid*. The colophon of the book indicates that Bāba Dāwud was instructed by al-Sinkīlī to make several additions to the commentary. Besides, there is the impression that he did so under al-Sinkīlī's direct supervision before finally dying. Another evidence showing that Bāba Dāwud was a disciple of al-Sinkīlī is from a book called *Manẓar al-ajlá Martabat al-A'lá*, which was authored by Faqīh Jalāl al-Din ibn Kamāl al-Din, disciple of Bāba Dāwud. The book says that Bāba Dāwud was a student of al-Sinkīlī³². Thus, the argument that Bāba Dāwud was an al-Sinkīlī disciple is acceptable.

Apart from whether Bāba Dāwud authored this book or not, because Özay himself also relied on other secondary sources and argued that

²⁷Mehmet Özay, "Rumi" networks of al-Sinkīlī...the well-known Acehese religious scholar; (b

²⁸Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia...*

²⁹Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia...*

³⁰Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia...*

³¹Özay, "Rumi" networks of al-Sinkīlī...the well-known Acehese religious scholar; (b

³²Özay, the well-known Acehese religious scholar; (b "Rumi" networks of al-Sinkīlī...

scholars in the past rarely included names as authors³³ and because this book is popular in the Malay world, and Aceh in particular, it is possible that this book was actually composed by one of the most well-known scholars in Aceh, very likely the Bāba Dāwud. If this conclusion is acceptable, it can be said that the Islamic intellectual tradition in Bali, especially in Saren Jawa had a relationship or the same as the Islamic intellectual tradition that developed in the Malay world, Aceh, especially in the 17th or 18th century.

The questions are how the *Masā'il Muhtadi* book could be accepted and studied by the Muslim community of Kampung Saren Jawa and who played the role of popularizing this book in society. These questions still require further research. That this book was really popular in the Malay world, especially Aceh because of its easy writing style and Malay language, so that it was easily understood by common people or those who had just converted to Islam, is certainly acceptable if we look at the Aceh context³⁴, but not Bali. The manuscripts that we found also did not provide clear information about the copyist; only the owner's information was available. Is it possible for some Muslims in Bali, including in Saren Jawa to study Islamic intellectual centres in the Malay world, such as Aceh, West Sumatra, or Palembang? Or indeed this book was popular and carried everywhere by Muslims anchored on the coast of Bali, and then finally spread as stated by Couteau³⁵. Apart from that, the fact is that this book was widespread in Bali, and it shows a connection with the tradition of Islamic knowledge in other parts of the island in the Malay world. Thus, we can say that there was an

³³Özay, the well-known Acehnese religious scholar; (b "Rumi" networks of al-Sinkili...

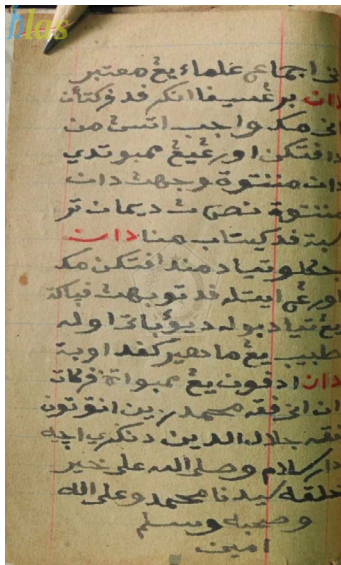
³⁴Couteau, 'Bali et l'islam: 1. Rencontre historique'...

³⁵Mohd Fauzi Moh Amin, Kabiru Goje, Amiruddin Mohd. Sobali, «Penilaian Hadith Maudhu' Dalam Kitab al-Yawaqit wa al-Jawahir fi 'Uqubah Ahli al-Kabair, Karangan Muhammad Ali Bin Abdul Rasyid bin Abdullah al-Jawi al-Qadhi al-Sambawi,» *Sains Insani*, Volume 03, Number 3 (2018), 52-9.

Islamic intellectual tradition that connected Bali and the Malay world largely.

In addition to the *Masā'il Muhtadi* written by Bāba Dāwud, there is another author whose fragments are also found in the manuscripts of Kampung Saran Jawa. He is, as mentioned in the manuscript of the Asyari collection, '*Muḥammad Zayn anak Tuan Jalāl al-Dīn di Negeri Aceh*' (Muḥammad Zayn, son of Jalāl al-Dīn). His full name is Muḥammad Zayn ibn al-Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Shāfi'ī al-Ashī (died c. 1770 AD). His most famous book is *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, which deals with monotheism (*tawḥid*).³⁶ A fragment of the book was found in one of the manuscripts in the Saren Jawa, as shown in Figure 2. This shows how the works of Acehnese scholars were interrelated and became a source of Islamic learning in the Muslim community in Karangasem, Bali.

Figure 2. Fragment of *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* Manuscript Showing the Author of the text: Tuan Faqih Jalaluddin di Negeri Aceh. Asyari Collection from Kampung Saren Jawa



Source: <https://wanantara.blasemarang.web.id/index.php/wanantara/catalog/book/161>

³⁶Oman Fathurahman, *Katalog Dayah Tanah Abee...*, 57.

Another manuscript proving the use of the Malay/Jawi book in Kampung Saren Jawa is the one entitled *al-Yawāqīt wa-al-jawāhir fi ‘uqūbat ahl al-kabāir* from Subki Muhammad Nur collection. This book contains the great sins and torments received by the culprit, as well as a description of heaven and doomsday. It is written that this book was Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha’rānī which was later translated by Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Rashīd ibn ‘Abd Abd al-Jāwī al-Qāḍī al-Sumbāwī in Malay. The word al-Sumbāwī here was the island of Sumbawa, but we have not received further information about the life of al-Sumbāwī. The text in this manuscript states that Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Sumbāwī wrote this book when he was in Mecca in 1243 hijri, with the intention of translating the book by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha’rānī. However, according to a study, Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha’rānī did not write the book as translated by al-Sumbāwī³⁷, so it may be said that *al-Yawāqīt wa-al-jawāhir* was the work of al-Sumbāwī. Regardless of who actually wrote the book, this book was popular and has been printed by several bookmakers. It was also used in Southeast Asia³⁸.

This manuscript was copied in Kampung Saren Jawa by a copyist named Ash‘ari. It was written in the colophon, although it did not fully state when the copying was complete. Therefore, this manuscript was indeed copied in Saren Jawa, not a book imported or brought from outside. This further strengthens the argument for the reception of this book written in Malay in the Saren Jawa Muslim community, and that means there was an intellectual network through the reception in the form of copying books.

Other manuscripts indicate the similarity of the tradition of Islamic knowledge between Bali and outside it, both in the Malay and Javanese regions. The manuscripts contain *sifat dua puluh*, the book *Um al-Barāhin*, ‘Aqā’id 50,

³⁷Kawashima Midori, et. Al., *A provisional catalogue of Southeast Asian kitabs of Sophia University...*, 135-136.

³⁸V.I. Braginsky, *Yang Indah, Berfaedah dan Kamal: Sejarah Sastra Melayu dalam Abad 7-19*, Jakarta: INIS, 1998.

and so on. There is even a manuscript containing the *Shattariyah* tariqa which listed the teacher-student relationship in the gift, but unfortunately only up to Shaikh' Abd al-Muhyi Pamijahan, from West Java, student of 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili³⁹. It is possible that the manuscript was a *izājah* from a teacher to a figure in Saren Jawa to become a student of Shattariyah.

The relationship of the tradition of knowledge or Islamic texts between Bali and the Malay-Archipelago world is not limited to the texts of religious doctrine. It also appears in religious literary texts and Islamic traditions that are celebrated. One manuscript example is *Hikayat Isrā' Mi'rāj* or commonly written only *Hikayat Mi'rāj*. Indeed, we only found one text in Kampung Saren Jawa, but we also found several copies in other Islamic villages in Karangasem, such as Kampung Kecicang and Kampung Ujung Pesisir. Because the use of the text is still ongoing, copying is still ongoing too. The most recent copy we found was in Kampung Kecicang, while the manuscript copy of this text found in Saren Jawa is an older manuscript compared to other copies that we found in several other Islamic villages.

Hikayat Mi'rāj is a type of story of the Prophet Muhammad that tells of his miracles. This story comes from *Sirah* (the book of the history of the Prophet) and a collection of well-known traditions about the Prophet Muhammad. This kind of story also aims to glorify the Prophet Muhammad as the end time prophet. The story of *Mi'rāj* tells that the Prophet Muhammad was taken walking one night from the Masjid al-al-Haram to the al-Aqsa Mosque, and then ascending into the sky.⁴⁰ According to Braginsky, this text has already existed since the 17th century.⁴¹

³⁹Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau: Teks dan Konteks*, Jakarta: Prenada Media Group bekerjasama dengan École française d'Extrême-Orient, Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta, KITLV-Jakarta, 2008, p. 91.

⁴⁰Liaw Yock Fang, *Sejarah Kesustraan Melayu Klasik*, Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2011, 273.

⁴¹Dick van der Meij, "Pluralism and Identity in the Indonesian-Malay World: The Isrā' Mi'rāj as Token of Both," *Studia Islamika*, Volume 11, Number 3 (2004).

There are many manuscripts about *Isrā Mi'rāj*'s. Besides this text is also spread in various languages in the Indonesia, namely Malay, Aceh, Javanese, Bugis, Makassar, Madura, and Sundanese. The most copies of manuscripts are in Malay stored in various countries ⁴². In addition, this story also spreads in various languages outside Indonesia, which are Arabic, Swahili, Persian, Urdu, Turkish, and Bengali.⁴³ However, no one has clearly explained who the actual author of this story is. Another version of this story, entitled *QiS}S}at al- Mi'rāj*, a version called the yellow book (*kitab kuning*) version widely printed, states the author is Najm al-Din al-Ghayt i, but certainly it is not what he meant because it has a different version from stories spread in Malay.

As Meij has stated, this story signifies a Muslim, and its identity in the Malay or Indonesian world in particular ⁴⁴ because the story becomes a clue to a Muslim's belief about a miracle event of the Prophet dated on 27 Rajab, which then resulted in the obligation to pray five times a day and night. This make it possible to say that with evidence of this manuscript in the Kampung Saren Jawa, it clearly shows that there was a network of Islamic tradition between the Balinese Muslim community and the Muslim community in the Malay world outside it.

These relationships and networks indicate the influence of the Islamic intellectual tradition in the Malay world on the Balinese Muslim community, at least in the 18th and 19th centuries. This is evidenced by the discovery of many Islamic written works in manuscript form that were also popular in the Malay world. These include *Risālat Masā'il Muhtadi li Ikhwān al-Mubtadi* and *Hikayat Isra Mi'raj*. There is no conclusive evidence of how these works came to be in Bali, but from the few manuscripts found, at

⁴²Dick van der Meij, "Pluralism and Identity in the Indonesian-Malay World..."

⁴³Dick van der Meij, "Pluralism and Identity in the Indonesian-Malay World..."

⁴⁴Vickers, "Hinduism and Islam in Indonesia..."

least in the colophon, some of them were brought from outside Bali and became their collection and were used in Islamic education, and some were actually copied in Bali, in Kampung Saren Jawa, so it can be said that the manuscripts were indeed produced from a work that became a reference, possibly brought from outside and copied by Balinese Muslims to be taught to the Balinese Muslim community in general. The Muslim community of Bali has also characteristics similar to the Muslim tradition of Java, leading to the *Wali-Pitu*.⁴⁵ However, evidences from manuscripts studied show the strongest connection with Islamic tradition is with the Malay world, especially Aceh. Nevertheless, the Balinese Muslim community coexists peacefully with the Balinese Hindu community as found in previous studies.

Conclusion

This article argues that Islamic manuscripts located in Kampung Saren Jawa have indicated the connection of the Islamic intellectual traditions in Bali with those outside Bali, especially in the Malay-Indonesian world. This relationship further suggests the influence of Malay world Islam on Balinese Muslim society, at least in the 18th and 19th centuries. This reinforces Vickers's view of Bali's relationship with the coastal (*pasisir*) world, particularly Balinese society's relationship with the coastal Malay world. It also breaks with the long-held assumption that the Islamic intellectual tradition in Bali was influenced only by Java or Lombok. Instead, this article shows the connection with Aceh. The collection of manuscripts makes an important contribution to further discussion about Islam and the tradition of Islamic knowledge that developed in Bali island, especially at least in the 19th century. It is also useful for mapping and

⁴⁵Martin Slama, "From Wali Songo to Wali Pitu...", 112–143; Syaifudin Zuhri, "Inventing Balinese Muslim Sainthood"..., 1-13.

reconstructing the network of Islamic intellectual traditions in the Bali region and its relationship with other regions in the archipelago, which until now has rarely been discussed in studies of the Islamic intellectual tradition network, including in Southeast Asia due to the limited written sources found. By discovering these manuscripts, a small scarcity of sources can be fulfilled.

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