

THE ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL NETWORK BETWEEN NUSANTARA AND CENTRAL ASIA IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY: AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF INTELLECTUAL TRACES, GENEALOGY AND KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER

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Abstract. This research investigates the Islamic intellectual network between Nusantara and Central Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries. The study examines the Islamic intellectual network pattern between Nusantara and Central Asia, including the underlying factors of the connection and its influence on Nusantara's traditional Islamic educational institutions, namely Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*). This research employs the historical method and cultural diffusion theory to help the analysis. The research identified a clear influence of the Islamic intellectual network on Nusantara ulama's scholarly output in the 19th and 20th centuries, evident in their works covering various subjects such as *'aqīdah*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and *tasawwuf*. These works, known as Kitab Kuning, derived their name from the yellow papers on which they were commonly written and printed. We also found that al-Azhar (Egypt) and Ḥaramain (Mecca and Medina) were crucial in mediating the Islamic intellectual network between Nusantara and Central Asia. The establishment of *pesantren* by scholars returning from their studies in Egypt and Ḥaramain marked the final step in linking intellectual genealogy between Nusantara and Central Asia. The formation of the network primarily occurred through two key patterns: knowledge transfer facilitated by teacher-student relationships and the transmission of knowledge through the *sanad* (knowledge chain).

Keywords: *Intellectual networks, Nusantara, Central Asia, genealogy of knowledge.*

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1. Introduction

Studies on the network of Muslim scholars in the Indonesian archipelago (Nusantara) have consistently been linked to Muslim scholars in the Middle East, including Haramain, Egypt and Iraq. Azyumardi Azra's study on the Network of Muslim Scholars in the Middle East and Indonesia in the 17th and 18th centuries positioned Haramain, Mecca and Medina as the central hubs in the network of Nusantara Muslim scholars (Azra, 1994). A recent work written by Muhajirin on the revival of hadith in Nusantara also affirmed this finding, emphasizing that the

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resurgence and dynamics of *hadīth* studies in Nusantara were closely linked to the Middle Eastern network, particularly Haramain (Muhajirin, 2016). Meanwhile, Martin Van Bruinessen identified Iraq and Kurdistan as the origins of *kitab kuning* (the yellow books), which later became the focal point of the network of Nusantara and the Middle East. This shows that the Middle East continues to bring a significant influence in terms of the intellectual and scholarly networks, as well as Islamization on Nusantara Muslim scholars. However, in addition to the Middle East, Central Asia, comprising Bukhara, Samarkand, Nishapur, Tirmidh, Nasaf, Baihaq and Khwarazmi, has links with Nusantara Muslim scholars, encompassing Islamic intellectualism, scholarship and the process of Islamization (Sunyoto, 2012). Many works by Central Asian Muslim scholars in the fields of Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh and Sufism have been widely disseminated in Nusantara, thus bringing influences on Nusantara Muslim scholars, through their works and Islamic educational institutions, particularly the traditional Islamic boarding schools known as *pesantren*.

Studies on the intellectual and scholarly network between Nusantara and Central Asia are relatively scarce. However, related studies on this topic can be classified into three categories. The initial category pertains to historical studies on the intellectualism of Central Asia before its subjugation by the Soviet Union and Russia. This includes examining its associations with Muslim scientists and scholars from the region, thereby influencing the advancement and evolution of Islamic civilization (Nur, 2017). This study tends to view Central Asia as the focal point of Islamic civilization during the classical era of Islam (Asimov & Bosworth, 1998; As-Sirjani, 2009). The second category focuses on Central Asia after it was conquered by the Soviet Union, particularly regarding ideas developed in that region, comprising Islamic politics (Yazdani, 2009; Valiev, 2021), Islamic radicalism and institutionalization (Jamshid, 2000; Sadibecov, 2014). The third group comprises studies on Central Asia in relation to Nusantara Muslim scholars (Aizd, 2016). Among these three categories, research within the third category remains scarce and is primarily confined to the glory of Central Asia during the zenith of its civilization (An-Nashr, 2009). Meanwhile, Research on the intellectual network and scholarship genealogy, including the dissemination of scholarly knowledge between the two, has been relatively overlooked by scholars. Consequently, this gap in research forms the focal point of this article. Such study is considered important because, historically, Islamic scholarship in Nusantara is closely linked to and inseparable from the Islamic scholarship in Central Asia. In addition, Islamic scholarship in Central Asia demonstrated a strong network in Islamic sciences through educational institutions in the Islamic world globally, especially the Middle East, as well as regionally and locally in Nusantara through *pesantren* and *madrasa*. This network exists in the intellectual world through the genealogy and dissemination of Islamic scholarship throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

We argue that Central Asian Muslim scholars have made significant contributions to the Islamic scholarly and intellectual network in Nusantara through their contributions to Islamic sciences disseminated in educational institutions, the network, while not directly evident, is implicitly established. This is because the genealogy of scholarship of Nusantara Muslim scholars is linked through the scholarly dissemination in these institutions. This argument counters the prevailing view that the Middle East has been the mainstream intellectual network with Nusantara, serving as the focal point of Islamic knowledge. This argument counters the prevailing view that the Middle East

has been the mainstream intellectual network with Nusantara, serving as the focal point of Islamic knowledge, overlooking that during the 10th to the 12th century AD, Central Asia was one of the centers of Islamic scholarship, where there were numerous Muslim scholars whose works remain influential until today. The Middle East, including Haramain, Egypt and Iraq, played a role as mediators due to their position as centers for Islamic education in the Islamic world in the 19th and 20th centuries (Hak, 2021). This period coincided with the period by which the Soviet Union had conquered Central Asia.

Therefore, this article aims to further analyze this network to identify patterns, ways of dissemination and genealogy of scholarship and intellectuality between Nusantara and Central Asia. In this regard, the article represents an initial step in addressing the significant research gap related to this network. The research is designed around three main question: (1) How the patterns of the genealogy of the scholarly networks between Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars were established? (2) Who serves as the mediators connecting the patterns of scholarly and intellectual networks between Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars? (3) What are the impacts on the development of Islamic scholarship in Nusantara?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Nusantara and Central Asian Ulama Networks

In addition to its connections with Middle Eastern 'Ulama, the linkages between Nusantara and Central Asian 'ulama also played a central role in Islamization's success across Nusantara. According to Azra (Azra, 1998), the connection between Middle Eastern, particularly Haramain and Nusantara's 'ulama was formed between the 17th and 19th centuries. Interestingly, Nusantara's network with Central Asian 'ulama' had been developed earlier between the 15th and 16th centuries. In Nusantara, the Middle Eastern network was led by three well-known figures: Nur al-Din Al-Raniri, Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili and Muhammad Yusuf al-Makassari. They developed and reformed Islamic teachings in Nusantara by spreading Neo-Sufism movements (Muhammad, 2012).

The Nusantara and Central Asian ulama networks were formed in two phases. The Islamization in Java pioneered by Maulana Malik Ibrahim Assamarkandi from Samarkand in the 15th century marked the first phase. He came to Nusantara through Champa, Palembang and finally settled in Java. He was among the first of nine saints known as *Wali Songo*, the nine figures of Islamization in Nusantara (Sunyoto, 2012). The second phase of the network was formed through the centers of the Islamic learning institutions in Haramain and Al-Azhar, Egypt, at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Maftuhin, 2018).

In the 19th and 20th centuries, Central Asia ceased to function as a center for Islamic learning due to its subjugation under the socialist-communist regime. However, the works of Central Asian ulama were widely studied in Haramain and Al-Azhar, Egypt. These two had become the primary mediators between Nusantara and the Central Asian Ulama network. The network was connected through knowledge chain transmission obtained by several Nusantara's ulama, particularly those from Java Island, such as Imam Nawawi al-Bantani and Abdul Mannan al-Tarmisi. The field comprises hadith, fiqh and tasawwuf, resembling the primary disciplines in both Haramain and al-Azhar.

The mediation between the scholars and the ulama in the Middle East by the Javanese community strengthened the network (Azra, 1994). The network also enhanced their insight into religious-political values that developed in Ḥaramain then (Faslah, 2016). This fact confirmed Burhanudin's thesis on the importance of the Central Asian ulama network as the source of tradition, as well as the intellectual resource and foundation that helped ulama to reconstruct, reformulate and modify the Islamic tradition in Nusantara (Burhanuddin, 2012). Furthermore, Iswanto (Iswanto, 2013) highlighted that this network also played a vital role in the establishment of major Islamic organizations in Indonesia, such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and the Indonesia Ulama Council (MUI), the elite organizations in the Indonesian government.

It is crucial to note that, as Ghofur stated (2011), the incorporation of Islam into the local tradition was the key to the success of Islamization by Nusantara's ulama. This incorporation explained how Islamic values developed in Nusantara differed from those set in the Middle East. As a result, a distinctive color of Islam was established in Nusantara, which gave a sense of portability to the Islamic faith system. The portability that occurred might be related to its association with the political power of local kingdoms. Furthermore, Islamization's success in Nusantara was bolstered by literacy improvement in society and the openness of Nusantara's ulama to ideas (Salehudin *et al.*, 2017). The study by Abubakar (2016) on the arrival of Islam in Nusantara and its acculturation process by examining the Jawi Manuscript strengthened this argument.

2.2. The Genealogy of Knowledge

Initially, genealogy was the study of the family as well as its lineage tracking and history, known as biological genealogy. Genealogists exploit stories, historical records, genetic analysis and other records to obtain information about a family and depict the kinship and genealogy of its members (Muhajirin, 2016). The results were displayed either in a chart or written narrative. After being thoroughly discussed philosophically by Michael Foucault (1962-1984), genealogy was also employed in the study of sociology, anthropology and historiography. Foucault highlighted the relationship between power, knowledge and the body and subsequently argued that genealogists are diagnostic experts. He noted that power is relational and exists in action. Instead of valuing power as something negative, he considered power as a creative force that drives society. His idea of the genealogy of knowledge concerned with power, the evolutionary transfer of power and the measures in which it could operate within society (Fulton, 2015).

Foucault criticized historical meta-narratives in the social sciences and humanities. He called it *histoire totalisante* and proposed an analysis of the "history of locality" (Ristić & Marinković, 2019). The genealogical approach can also extend its epistemology horizontally across social space and vertically in the temporal dimension. Foucault challenged the idea of epistemological value by arguing that the genealogy of knowledge connected the learned knowledge and local memory, allowing us to build historical knowledge about struggles and tactfully utilize this knowledge (Percy & Stirling, 2004). The genealogy of knowledge concerns the continuity and discontinuity of the transfer of power relations as well as how these issues influence and shape current practice (Fulton, 2015). Furthermore, the genealogy of knowledge can be used to identify the role of practices in shaping knowledge and identity (Ristić & Marinković, 2019). In terms of knowledge transfer, the genealogy of knowledge can be

traced through three kinds of linkages: teacher-student, either directly or indirectly; knowledge chain transmission (*sanad*) and scholarly works employed as curriculum in educational institutions (Maftuhin, 2018).

2.3. Manuscripts of Nusantara's Islam

Scholars interpreted religious manuscripts differently. Rochmiatun (2018) argued that this kind of text represents past intellectual events that later became intellectual heritage. Shoheh and Sugito (2019) argued more or less the same, considering it as an intellectual treasure and cultural heritage. During the intensified process of Islamization, the writing tradition among the people of Nusantara found its momentum. As a result, the adaptation, transition and shifting ideas in the indigenization of Islam in Nusantara were inevitable. Some demonstrated a harmonious fusion between Islam and the local culture, as reflected in the tradition of Malay texts. Others displayed a contestation and resistance, as seen in Javanese texts' traditions, such as *Serat Cebolek*, *Serat Gotoloco* and *Serat Centini*. The three *serat* (letters) depicted the Islamization of Java and the Javanization of Islam. Taufik Abdullah called this development a 'chemical process' of Islamization of Nusantara. The process involved mingling normative and empirical Islam and determining whether Islamic ideology was accepted in the pre-existing value system, i.e., Hindu-Buddhist and local religious values (Fathurahman, 2011).

Religious texts and their background history are intertwined; thus, they constitute one of our main discussions in this research. Three issues are closely associated with the history of Islam in Nusantara: historical actors, processes and the Islamization period (Azis, 2015). Azis examined the literary text *Sejarah Melayu* as the primary source to reconstruct the Islamization process in Nusantara. His study confirmed one of the existing theories that Islam had penetrated Nusantara by the end of the 7th century, i.e., the early days of the development of Islam in Arabia (Azis, 2015). The Islamization process involved *ulama'*, royal elites and traders through a top-down approach. However, traders and *Sufis* had played a more bottom-up approach earlier. As Yunardi noted (2012), religious manuscripts have historical value. We can understand the religious life of the community by examining them in three main aspects: translation, transliteration, as well as content and contextual analysis.

3. Method

This research is conducted using historical method, comprising heuristic, source verification, interpretation and historiography. The primary sources employed consist of manuscripts of works written by Central Asian Muslim scholars in various fields of Islamic scholarship, encompassing *Tafsir*, *Hadith*, *Aqidah*, *Fiqh* and *Tasawuf*, which are widely available today both in libraries and in Islamic educational institutions, particularly in *pesantren*. Meanwhile, the secondary sources comprised books, articles, journals, theses, dissertations and other scholarly works related to the study.

Both primary and secondary sources underwent thorough verification, including internal and external source criticism. The internal criticism aimed to ensure that the data sources used were credible and valid by examining the paper and writing in the original manuscripts written by Central Asian Muslim scholars or the works of Nusantara Muslim scholars that explain the works of Central Asian Muslim scholars. To test the validity of the data, the abovementioned sources were verified through a

credibility test of historical sources as well as an authenticity test (Gottschalk, 1985). Both the credibility and authenticity tests were conducted through a critical review of the abovementioned primary historical sources.

The verified data sources were then interpreted, through analysis and synthesis, to find meaning and conclusions (Madjid & Wahyudi, 2014). The concluding step involved historiography, where research results were presented using the inductive method. Specific historical facts and written data about the works and thoughts of Central Asian Muslim scholars were provided, leading to generalizations and conclusions.

4. Results and Discussion

This section unveils the findings in mapping the knowledge network between Central Asian Ulama' and Nusantara's Ulama. These are several findings obtained from the study. First, Central Asia once played as one of the centers of Islamic learning. The works of its scholars that studied across Islamic lands and generations confirmed this claim. Subsequently, this spread of works constituted a scholarly network, reaching Nusantara. Second, the connection between Central Asian ulama and Nusantara's ulama can be traced by examining three centers of Islamic learning, i.e., Haramain, Al-Azhar Egypt and pesantren. Third, this connection was formed indirectly via genealogical linkage, i.e., teacher-student contact. To accurately illustrate the connection, the ulama of Nusantara did not study the works of Central Asian ulama directly from its authors but rather through their students. Therefore, Haramain and Al-Azhar Egypt were mediators between Central Asian Ulama and pesantren in Nusantara. This connection is apparent in the works employed in pesantren's curricula encompassing three main fields: *'aqīdah*, *sharī'ah* and *akhlāq* (morality). These works were known as kitab kuning (religious works), which lexically means yellow book.

4.1. Central Asia: Center of Islamic Learning and Islamic Scholarship

Central Asia was once the center of Islamic sciences and civilization in the classical (650-1250) and the middle period (1250-1800) (Rochmawati & Mughni, 2017). Bukhara and Samarkand were among the most prominent regions in that period. Scholars who resided in both cities produced a wide range of works in different fields, comprising Islamic sciences, religion, science, social sciences and humanities. We confine this section to examine works of Central Asian 'ulama in Islamic sciences, including the works on *'aqīdah*, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and *tasawwuf*. Our primary concern in this examination is mainly to trace the genealogy network and knowledge transfer between Nusantara and Central Asian 'ulama.

Table 1 shows that the works of Central Asian 'ulama' in the field of Islamic sciences mainly covered six areas: *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *sirah*, *aqīdah*, *fiqh* and *tasawwuf*. Of all six, *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* were the most popular topic followed by *sirah*, *aqīdah*, *tasawwuf* and *tafsīr*. Those works were popular in Nusantara which subsequently forming genealogical network and transfer of knowledge between Central Asia and Nusantara as seen in Table 2.

Table 1. The works of Central Asian Ulama' in Islamic sciences

Central Asian Ulama'	Works	Area of Study	Timeline	Learning Center
Abū Laith al-Samarqandī	<i>Tafsīr al-Samarqandī (Baḥrul 'Ulūm)</i>	Tafsīr	301-375/914-986	Samarkand (Uzbekistan)
	<i>Asrār al-Wahy</i>	Ulum al-Qur'an		
	<i>Bahjatu-l-'Ulum Sharḥ Aqīdati-l-Uṣul</i>	Aqidah		
	<i>Khizānatu-l-Fiqh</i>	Fiqh		
	<i>Al-Nawāzil fī al-Fatāwā</i>			
	<i>'Uyūn al-Masā'il fī Furū' al-Fiqh al-Ḥanafī</i>			
	<i>Nawādhir al-Mufīdah</i>			
	<i>Masail Abu Laits</i>			
<i>Tanbihul Ghafilin</i>	Sufism			
Al-Zamakhsharī	<i>Tafsīr al-Kashshāf</i>	Tafsīr	467-538 H./1074-1114 M.	Zamakhshar, Khwarizm (Uzbekistan)
Muhammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī	<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī</i>	Ḥadīth	194-256/810-870	Bukhara (Uzbekistan)
	<i>Tarikh al-Shagīr</i>	<i>Sīrah</i> (History of the Prophet)		
	<i>Tarikh al-Ausath</i>			
	<i>Tarikh al-Kabir</i>			
Abu-l-Hasan Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj	<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>	Ḥadīth	204-261/821-875	Nisaphur
Abā 'Īsā Muhammad b. 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī	<i>Sunan al-Tirmidhī</i>	Ḥadīth	209-277/825-891	Termez (Uzbekistan)
Bakr b. Mūsā al-Bayhaqī	<i>Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah</i>	<i>Sīrah</i> (History of the Prophet)		Beyhaq
Imam Nasa'i	<i>Sunan an-Nasā'ī</i>	Ḥadīth	215-303/829-916	Nasa
Al-Ḥākim	<i>Al-Mustadrak 'alā Ṣaḥīḥain</i>	Ḥadīth	321-405/933-1012.	Nisaphur
al-Zarnūjī	<i>Ta'līmu-l-Muta'allim</i>	Pedagogy	d. 591/1195	Zarnuj

Table 2. Some of the most popular works of Central Asian Ulama' in Nusantara

No	Works of Central Asian 'Ulama'	Author	Areas of Study	Nusantara Ulama Reviewing the work	Genealogy of Knowledge	Learning Center
1.	<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī</i>	al-Bukhārī	Ḥadīth	Mahfūz al-Tarmisi, KH Hasyim Asy'ari	23rd teacher-student relationships/sanad	Egypt, Ḥaramain, Pesantren
2.	<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>	Muslim	Ḥadīth	Mahfūz al-Tarmisi	Teacher-student genealogy/sanad	Egypt, Ḥaramain, Pesantren
3.	<i>Sunan al-Tirmidhī</i>	Imam Tirmidhī	Ḥadīth	Mahfūz al-Tarmisi	Teacher-student genealogy/sanad	Egypt, Ḥaramain, Pesantren
4.	<i>Sunan Abū Dāwūd</i>	Abū Dāwūd	Ḥadīth	Mahfūz al-Tarmisi	Teacher-student genealogy/sanad	Egypt, Ḥaramain, Pesantren
5.	<i>Sunan an-Nasā'ī</i>	Al-Nasā'ī	Ḥadīth	Mahfūz al-Tarmisi	Teacher-student genealogy/sanad	Egypt, Ḥaramain, Pesantren
6.	Masā'il Abī Laith	Abū Laith	Fiqh	al-Nawawi	Book review by sanad	Ḥaramain, Islamic Boarding School
7.	Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn	Abū Laith	Sufism		Review in <i>kitab kuning</i>	Ḥaramain, Islamic Boarding School
8.	Ta'līm al-Muta'allim	Al-Zarnūjī	Sufism/Akhlaq		Review in <i>kitab kuning</i>	Boarding school

Source: (Maftuhin, 2018; Muhajirin, 2016; al-Turmusī, n.d.)

4.2. Network of Nusantara and Central Asian Ulama via the Egyptian Route

Egypt's role as one of the centers of Islamic learning started in the classical period (650-1280) and maintained this status through the modern period. The region played a central role in connecting Central Asian ulama and Nusantara's ulama in the modern period (19th and 20th centuries) through its most prominent Islamic learning institution, Al-Azhar. The connection was established in two ways. First, Nusantara's ulama were in contact directly with Egyptian scholars in Egypt. Second, they were in contact with Egyptian scholars who migrated to Ḥaramain.

Two prominent figures of Nusantara's ulama played the vital role in this connection: Abdul Mannan of Tremas and Nawawi al-Bantani. Abdul Mannan (1820–1830 AD) was the founder of *Pesantren Tremas* and the grandfather of the famous Nusantara religious figure, Mahfuz al-Tarmasi. Abdul Mannan and Nawawi al-Bantani went to Egypt to study under Shaikh Ibrahim al-Bayjuri, the 19th shaikh of al-Azhar, who wrote *Fath al-Qarib*, which became one of the most famous fiqh works in Nusantara. Al-Bayjuri's connection to Central Asian 'ulama' was apparent in his three works: *Ta'liqat* (captions) of *Tafsīr al-Kashaf* written by al-Zamakhshari from Khwarizm; *Hāshiyah* (gloss) of *Matn al-Samarqandiyah* written by Abu Laith al-Samarqandi from Samarkand and *Hāshiyah* of *Mawāhib al-Ladunniyyah* on *Shamail Muhammadiyah* written by al-Turmudhi from Termez. On the other hand, both Abdul Mannan and Nawawi al-Bantani also went to Ḥaramain to study under Shaikh Muhammad Shatha (d. 1226 H./1848 AD), an al-Azhar Scholar who resided and taught in Ḥaramain.

4.3. Network of Nusantara and Central Asian Ulama via Ḥaramain

Ḥaramain, one of the centers of Islamic learning in the 19th and 20th centuries, also played a crucial role in developing the network between Nusantara and Central Asian ulama. The connection was mainly through knowledge chain transmission (*sanad*). Two Nusantara scholars became prominent in establishing this network: Mahfuz al-Tarmasi and Yasin b. Isa al-Fadani (1916-1990). Both studied in Ḥaramain under Islamic scholars who possess knowledge chain transmission (*sanad*) to Central Asian ulama. The works studied comprised *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, *al-Tirmidhī*, *Sunan Ibn Majah* and *Sunan An-Nasa'i*. For instance, Mahfuz al-Tarmasi held the 23rd position in the transmission chain series of Sahih Bukhari. Meanwhile, Yasin b. Isa al-Fadani was a student of Sheikh Abdullah Muhammad Niyazi al-Bukhari, a scholar from Ḥaramain who specialized in the study of ḥadīth. Later, Yasin himself became one of the most prominent ḥadīth scholars in Ḥaramain in the 20th century. The detail of the knowledge chain transmission between Nusantara's ulama and Central Asian ulama via Ḥaramain can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Knowledge transmission chain between Nusantara's ulama and Central Asian ulama through Ḥaramain

Works of Central Asian 'Ulama'	Author	Nusantara Ulama	Sanad (knowledge chain transmission) & Teacher-Student Relationships	Learning Center
<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī</i>	al-Bukhārī (Uzbekistan)	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi from Abu Bakr Syatha	Ḥaramain
<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>	Muslim	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi, from Abu Bakr Syata, from Isa al-Barawi from Sheikh Ahmad Abdul Fatah al-Malawi, from Sheikh Ibrahim b. Hasan al-Kurdi, from Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Qosyasi, from Syamsu Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ramli, from al-Zaini Zakariya b. Muhammad al-Ansari, from Abdurrahim al-Farati, from Mahmud b. Khalifah al-Damaski, from Abdul Mukmin b. Khalaf al-Dimyathi, from Abu al-Hasan al-Mu'ayyad b. Muhammad al-Tusi, from Abdullah Muhammad b. Fadhlī al-Farawi, from Abdul Ghafir b. Muhammad al-Farsi, from Abu Muhammad al-Juludi, from Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Sufyan al-Nisaburi, from Abu Husayn Muslim b. Hajaj b. Muslim al-Qusyairi al-Naisaburi.	Ḥaramain
<i>Sunan Abī Dāwūd</i>	Abū Dāwūd	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi, from Sheikh Sayyid Muhammad Amin al-Madani, from Sheikh Abdul Ghani b. Abu Sa'ad al-Umari, from Sheikh Abid al-Ansari, from Sayyid Abdurrahman b. Sulaiman al-Ahdal, from Sayyid Sulaiman b.	Ḥaramain

			Yahya al -Abdal (his father), from Sayyid Ahmad b. Maqbul al-Ahdal, from Sayyid Yahya b. Umar al-Ahdal, from Sayyid Yusuf b. Muhammad al-Ahdal, from Sayyid Tahir b. Hasan al-Ahdal, from Abdurrahman b. Ali al-Diba al -Syaibani, from al-Zaini al-Sarji, from Sulaiman b. Ibrahim al-Alawi, from Ali b. Abu Bakr bin Syadad, from Abu Abbas Ahmad b. Abu Khair al-Syamakhi, from Abu Khair al-Syamakhi (his father), from Sulaiman b. Aqil al-Asqolani, from Nasr b. Abu al-Faraz al-Hashari, from Naqib Abu Talib b. Zaid al-Alawi, from Abu Ali al-Tastari, from Qasim b. Ja'far al-Hasyimi, from Abu Ali Muhammad b. Ahmad al-lu'i	
<i>Sunan al-Tirmidhī</i>	al-Tirmidhī	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi, from al-'Allamah Muhammad Sa'id b. Muhammad Babasil al-Hadrami, from Sayyid Ahmad b. Zaini Dahlan, from Sheikh Usman al-Dimyathi, from Sheikh Muhammad b. Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Amir al-Maliki, from Ali al-Sa'idi, from Sheikh Muhammad b. Aqilah al-Makki, from Sheikh Hasan al-Ajimi, from Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Qasyasi, from Ahmad b. Ali al-Sanawi, from Ali b. Abdul Qudus al-Sanawi (his father), from Sheikh Abdul Wahab al-Sya'rani, from Zain Zakariya b. Muhammad al-Ansari, from Zainudin al-Marghi, from Isma'ilm b. Ibrahim al-Jabarti, from Abu Hasan Ali bin Umar al-Wani, from Mahyuddin Muhammad b. Arabi, from Abdul Wahab b. Ali al-Baghdadi, from Abul Fatah Abdul Malik b. Abdullah al-Khurki, from Abu Ismail Abdullah b. Muhammad al-Ansari, from Abdul Jabar al-Jarahi, from Abu Abbas Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Mahbubi, from Imam al-Khafidz Isa Muhammad b. Isa	Haramain
<i>Sunan an-Nasā'ī</i>	al-Nasā'ī	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi from Muhammad Sa'id Babasil, from Sayyid Ahmad b. Zaini Dahlan, from Sheikh Usman al-Dimyati, from Sheikh Muhammad b. Aqila al-Makki, from Sheikh Hasan al-Ajmi, from Ahmad bin	

			Muhammad al-‘Ajali , from Yahya b. Muqram al-Thahari, from al-Khafidz Abdul Aziz b. Fahad, from Abu al-Yemen Muhammad b. Muhammad Abdullah al-Jiftawi, from Mujidudin Ismail b. Ibrahim al-Kanani, from Abu Abdullah Muhammad b. Ismail bin Abdul Aziz al - Ayubi, from an-Syaqirullah b. Sham'a, from Abu Bakr Abdul Aziz b. Ahmad al-Husain al-Kaisari, from al-Khafidz Abu Bakr Ahmad bin Muhammad b. al-Sani, from Imam al-Khafidz Abu Abdurrahman Ahmad b. Su’aib bin Ali al-Nasa’i.	
<i>Sunan Ibn Mājah</i>	Ibn Mājah	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi	Mahfūz al-Tarmasi, from Sheikh Sayyid Abu Bakar Syatha al-Makki, from Ahmad b. Zaini Dahlan, from Sheikh Usman b. Hasan al-Dimyathi from Muhammad b. Ali al-Syinwani, from Abdullah b. Salim al-Bashori from Muhammad b. Ali al-Babali, from Ibrahim b. Hasan al-Qani, from Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ramli, from Zakariya b. Muhammad al-Ansari, from Ahmad bin Ali b. Hajar Al-Asqalani, from Ahmad b. Umar b. Ali al-Baghdadi, from Hajjaj bin Yusuf b. Abdurrahman al-Maziyyi, from Imaduddin Ismail al-Bengali al-Hanbali, from Muaffiq al-Din Abdullah b. Ahmad b. Qaghamah al-Maqdis, from Abu Dar’ah Tohir b. Muhammad Tohir al-Maqdis, from Abu Mansur Muhammad b. Husain al-Maqawwimi, from Abu Tholhah al-Qasim b. Abu al-Mandzur al-Khatib, from Abu al-Hasan Ali b. Ibrahim al-Qathani, from Imam al-Khafidz Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Majah.	Ḥaramain

Source: Kifāyah al-Mustafid limā ‘Alā min-al-Asānīd by Mahfūz al-Turmusī (al-Turmusī, n.d.)

4.4. Network of Nusantara and Central Asian Ulama via Pesantren

Complementing Egypt and Ḥaramain, pesantren played a crucial role in serving as the final link connecting the ulama of Nusantara and Central Asia. Nusantara’s ulama returning to their hometown from Ḥaramain, like Kholil Bangkalan and Hasyim Ash’ari, later acquired followers and imparted to them the knowledge they had studied. Apart from disseminating and teaching Central Asian ulama’s works to their followers, they also wrote summaries, commentaries (*sharḥ*) and glosses (*hashiyah*). The

increasing number of followers empowered them to establish Islamic learning centers known as *pesantren*. These institutions subsequently strengthened the network of Islamic knowledge between Nusantara and Central Asia. For instance, Hasyim Asy'ari obtained the *sanad* of *Sahih Bukhari* in Madrasa Salathiyah Mecca prior to introducing the book in his *pesantren*, Tebu Ireng. Among the most popular works by Central Asian ulama works taught in *pesantren* include *Ta'līmu-l-Muta'allim* by Azzarnuji, *Bahjat al-Ulum Sharḥ Aqidatul Uṣul* and *Masā'il Abū Laith* by Abu Laith Assamarqandi. Nawawi al-Bantani wrote commentaries on the last two.

Table 4. Network of Nusantara's Ulama and Central Asia's Ulama through *Pesantren*

Works of Central Asian 'Ulama'	Author	Area of Study	Learning Center	Knowledge Genealogy	Additional information
<i>Tafsīr al-Kashshāf</i>	al-Zamakhsharī	tafsīr	al-Azhar, Cairo (Egypt)	Indirect	Reviewed in the <i>pesantren's</i> intermediate level
<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī</i>	al-Bukhārī	ḥadīth	al-Azhar and Ḥaramain	<i>Sanad</i> (knowledge chain transmission)	
<i>Masail Abū Laith</i>	Abū Laith al-Samarqandī	'aqīdah	Ḥaramain and <i>pesantren</i>	Indirect	
<i>Bahjatu-l-'Ulūm fī Sharḥ 'Aqīdati-l-Uṣūl</i>	Abū Laith al-Samarqandī	'aqīdah	Ḥaramain	Indirectly, via learning center	
<i>Ta'līm al-Muta'allim</i>	al-Zarnūjī	Pedagogy	<i>Pesantren</i>	Indirectly, via learning center	

The current research on the scholarly network of Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars showed four tendencies. First, Central Asian Muslim scholars contributed to the scholarly network of Islam, with the chains/roots (*sanad*) of their scholarship connected through Islamic study centers, such as those in Egypt and Haramain. Second, this scholarly network was established through the dissemination from the center of scholarship (Central Asia) to the educational hubs in the Middle East, namely Egypt and Haramain. From these two, a new network emerged in the form of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in Nusantara through a learning process with a pattern teachers-students (*kiai-santri*) relationship. In this context, Nusantara Muslim scholars, primarily the founders of *pesantren*, forged connections in the chains of scholarship between the center of scholarship in Central Asia and the center of Islamic education in Egypt and Haramain. Third, *pesantren* establishes a network with Central Asian Muslim scholars through its scholarly tradition, specifically engaging in the study of works by Central Asian Muslim scholars within the broader chain of Muslim scholars from the Al-Azhar, Egypt and Haramain. Fourth, although Al-Azhar, Egypt and Haramain acted as mediators in the scholarly network between Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars, no evidence was found indicating direct teaching by Central Asian Muslim scholars in these two centers.

5. Educational Institutional Authority, Works of Muslim Scholars and Scholarly Networks

These four tendencies confirm that the intellectual network and scholarly chains of Nusantara and Central Muslim scholars were established through two authorities: the institutional authority of Islamic education and the scholarly authority within the chains of scholarship. Through these two authorities, a continuous genealogical relationship between Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars can be established, even though it is indirect or lacks a face-to-face teacher-student relationship. This is attributed to their non-contemporaneous existence and their works were studied through a process facilitated by a teacher (*sheikh*) with a scholarly chain connected to the author of the book (work). This process commonly took place at centers of Islamic institutions, such as those in Haramain and Egypt.

This indirect genealogical relationship between Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars is different from the network of Nusantara and Middle Eastern Muslim scholars (Haramain), as in Azra's study (1994). According to Adhi Maftuhin, there was a direct network and a direct genealogical relationship between Nusantara and Haramain Muslim scholars, such as the link between Abdullah Syatta, an Egyptian scholars residing in Haramain and Sheikh Mahfūz al-Tarmasi from Nusantara (Maftuhin, 2018). Additionally, in the scholarly genealogy of Haramain and Nusantara Muslim scholars, a teacher-student relationship existed among Nusantara Muslim scholars permanently residing in Haramain and those studying in Haramain, owing to their contemporaneous presence. This can be seen in the context of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, who studied under Sheikh Mahfūz al-Tarmisi, Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi etc.

Conversely, the intellectual dissemination from its center (Central Asia) through Egypt and Haramain found relevance in the similarities of the studied and developed books, derived from the works of Central Muslim scholars. The dissemination of scholarly traditions through indirect transmission (*sanad*) between Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars occurred due to the fact that the works of Central Asian Muslim scholars had been written during the classical period between the 10th and 12th centuries AD. Meanwhile, studies of Islamic scholarship in Egypt and Haramain developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, so the chain of teacher-student relationships mediated the continuity of such indirect networks. In line with the network pattern described by Percy & Stirling, where scholarly genealogy is associated with the continuity and discontinuity of dissemination, this pattern shapes knowledge practices (Fulton, 2015) and contemporary identities (Ristić & Marinković, 2019). Drawing from Foucault, as cited by Percy & Stirling (2004), scholarly genealogy has the capacity to construct historical knowledge concerning struggles and the utilization of knowledge.

5.1. Scholarly Dissemination and Pesantren Educational Institutions

Scholarly dissemination, carried out through indirect teacher-student relationships in the study of *kitab kuning* written by Central Asian Muslim scholars, affirms Foucault's opinion that the scholarly genealogy underwent continuity and discontinuity. The relationship between the author of a book and the book studied by students as mediated by a teacher has made the scholarly dissemination of the works of Central Asian Muslim scholars undergo continuity across various generations, giving rise to

educational institutions such as Al-Azhar in Egypt and Pesantren in Nusantara. Through these educational institutions, the works and thoughts of Central Asian Muslim scholars were widely disseminated globally, thus playing a significant role in the dissemination of their scholarship.

Traditional *pesantren* in Nusantara not only engaged in studying the works of Central Asian Muslim scholars through *sorogan* and *bandongan* methods but also advanced them by providing explanations (*sharh*) of the books studied. For instance, the book *al-Ta'lim wa-l-Muta'allim* in the field of akhlaq, written by Al-Jurzani and widely embraced by traditional *pesantren*, was re-explained by Hasyim Ash'ari in his work *Adab al-Ālim wa al-Muta'allim*. In this context, the dissemination of works by Central Asian Muslim scholars contributed to the development of *kitab kuning* in Nusantara's *pesantren*. Traditional *pesantren* shared similar curricula, leading them to study the same *kitab kuning* covering *Aqīdah*, *Tafsīr*, *Hadīth*, *Fiqh*, *Tasawwuf* and Arabic Grammar (*Nahw-Sharf*) as they followed the same chain of teachers.

In the context of scholarly dissemination, discontinuity does not stem from the process of scholarly dissemination itself but rather from Central Asia's altered position, no longer serving as the central hub of Islamic scholarship in the modern era, including the 19th and 20th centuries AD. During this period, Central Asia had become part of the Soviet Union and Russia. Nevertheless, this shift in position did not impede the dissemination of the works and thoughts of its Muslim scholars in Islamic sciences, as Islamic educational institutions continued to play significant socio-historical and socio-cultural roles.

5.2. Scholarly Dissemination and the Formation of Pesantren Identity

Traditional *pesantren* (*salafiyyah*) in Nusantara has developed the examination of *kitab kuning* as an inseparable heritage within, which serve as a manifestation of indirect scholarly dissemination. Kiai (*pesantren* caregiver) teach their *santris* (students) the works of Central Asian Muslim scholars on *Aqīdah*, *Tafsīr*, *Hadīth*, *Fiqh*, *Tasawwuf* and others, typically in two methods, *bandongan* and *sorogan*. The tradition can be trace back to Haramain (Mecca and Medina) and partly Egypt. Those Kiais, who had spent some time in those centers of Islamic learning then brought the same learning method in their *pesantren*.

In its development, the tradition of *kitab kuning* has become the distinguished characteristic of traditional *pesantren* (*salafiyyah*), contrasting it from modern *pesantren* (Silfiana, 2020). The tradition of *kitab kuning* can also be seen as unique value that separate *pesantren* from Indonesian Islam in general by which, according to Gus Dur (1986), make it subculture entity. This identity has been maintained and preserved by traditional *pesantren* throughout generations and still exist today.

6. Conclusion

The network of Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars has a strong historical foundation, established through two networking patterns. First, the networking pattern facilitated by the centers of Islamic learning, Egypt and Haramain (Mecca and Medina). Second, the networking pattern through *pesantren*, especially traditional *pesantren* as oppose to modern *pesantren*. The first networking pattern takes place through the study of works written by Central Asian Muslim scholars in Egypt and Haramain. In Egypt, Al-Azhar played a key role where the linkage to Central Asian

Muslim scholars obtained through *sanad* (chain-transmission) possessed by its teachers. In some cases, the linkage between Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars is via Egypt only, which makes Egypt one layer mediator between them. Other cases, both Nusantara and Central Asia connect via Egypt and Haramain subsequently, which makes Haramain as the second layer mediator between Nusantara and Central Asia.

Both patterns of the relationship between Nusantara and Central Asian Muslim scholars through Egypt and the Haramain mediation show no direct genealogical teacher-student relationships, where Nusantara Muslim scholars did not directly study under Central Asian Muslim scholars. This emphasizes that patterns of scholarly networking can undergo continuity and discontinuity through indirect networks. In the classical period, Central Asia was one of the centers of Islamic scholarship and civilization. However, during the middle ages, it underwent a decline and in the modern era, it became integrated into Russia.

Nevertheless, the genealogy of scholarly dissemination between Nusantara and Central Asia Muslim underwent continuity via Egypt and Haramain. This networking pattern then existed and developed widely in Nusantara, thanks to Nusantara Muslim scholars established *pesantren* to study, preserve and develop the works of Central Asian Muslim scholars. Thus, *pesantren* play a significant role in preserving the genealogy of Islamic scholarship from Central Asian Muslim scholars, ensuring that their works remain influential in the intellectual character and development of Islam in Nusantara.

This study has limitations in exploring the works of Muslim scholars in a general sense. Future researchers should focus specifically on examining manuscripts from Central Asian Muslim scholars. Additionally, incorporating field studies through direct observation is advised. It is also recommended that future researchers utilize sources available in the Central Asian region.

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