

FATIMAH AL-BANJARI (d. 1828 CE) INDONESIA'S WOMAN ULAMA

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ABSTRACT: *This study discusses the da'wah contribution of Indonesian female ulama Fatimah Al-Banjari (d. 1828 AD). This research uses qualitative methods by making and observing works, books, academic research, videos, internet sources, and historical documents. The existing data is then analyzed using the explanatory analysis method where the logic of social phenomena is common sense by using historical, anthropological, and sociological approaches. This research tries to show the role model of female ulama Fatimah Al-Banjari so that women today can learn and imitate the activities and struggles of these female ulama so that many benefits are generated for the improvement of the ummah, especially women. The concept of women scholars, contributions, strategies carried out by these women scholars are presented. Then the supporting and inhibiting factors of women ulama in preaching are also discussed so that they can be understood in depth.*

Keywords: *Fatimah Al-Banjari, Ulama Perempuan, Indonesia*

INTRODUCTION

History records that apart from male clerics, there are also female ulemas with the capacity and influence in society. However, their existence did not develop any further, like the existence of male clerics. As a result, the spread of Islam to various places in the world, including in Indonesia, was carried out by male clerics. Then when Indonesia became independent, the ulama became a kind of authority attached to men only. Meanwhile, female clerics do not get enough proportions in public areas, affecting many people. On the other hand, the position and role of ulama since independence until now have been more dominant in the hands of men.

Although in Islamic teachings such as in Surah An-Nahl verse 97, Annisa verse 124, Al-Ahzab verse 35 shows the equality of degrees between women and men in the sight of Allah and only piety makes the difference in the sight of Allah; the dignity of women in Islam where: Human civilization will not continue without women, women have given birth to humanity both men and women, and respect for women is the command of Allah and His Messenger; however, women must be knowledgeable because the degree of a man or woman, if he believes and has knowledge will be much higher than a man or woman who believes but does not try to study. In the verses of the Qur'an we also find many texts that encourage women to learn knowledge. Not only the knowledge of the hereafter but also the knowledge of the world. Even women at the time of the Prophet SAW did not only

take care of household affairs. They were also active in other activities outside the home. In fact, it has become a daily profession. However, the condition of the majority of patriarchal-based societies positions men as the center of socio-cultural construction so that social problems arise that affect various aspects of human life. And by gender activists and feminists, so that in various aspects related to women, positioning women unequally.

Women in Islam are also elevated by the presence of the Prophet Muhammad with Islamic law. So to position women who also have good dignity, women are required to improve their social conditions by having good knowledge. With the knowledge of women, their condition will automatically be better and they can even reach the position of authority as men. In Indonesia, the patriarchal culture also has an impact on the condition of women. The anxiety of many circles about the ulama scarcity in Indonesia is allegedly due to the religio-sociological construction that focuses on the ulama's concept. In the context of Indonesia, expertise in the field of fiqh alone cannot be called an ulama. Many people in Indonesia are experts in this field but are not yet seen as ulama. There is a contradictory definition; people active in socio-religious activities such as assemblies of taklim to the provision of prayers are called ulama. Often people have little knowledge but are still seen as scholars because they have pesantren. And this debate is still heating up as the dynamics of the ummah's development. They are thirsty for the needs of Islamic teachings but are presented with increasingly diverse choices.

Moreover, with the development of new media (internet), the claims of the clergy are increasingly undirected. And if we look at female figures who have clerical status, the convenience of social media as a source of da'wah content encourages the emergence of "Millennial Ustadzah." The rise of the appearance of Nyai, ustadzah, dā'iyah, influencers, and students and students in the Muslim community on internet-based social media also helps the presence of women as actors of da'wah and also what the general public calls women clerics.¹

However, in this study, the assumption of the inexistence of female scholars due to patriarchal traditions cannot be fully justified because this study shows that great women who hold the status of ulama can still show their existence as scholars in the community as well as male scholars. It's just that because of the nature of women who are more in the domestic sphere, only a few women can become scholars compared to the percentage of men who become scholars. In fact, the ulemas of these women were also recognized by the community in their time. As specifically emphasized in 3 (three) verses, namely: QS. Ali Imran in verse 195, QS. an-Nisa in verse 124 and QS. an-Nahl in verse 97; all three hint at the concept of ideal gender equality and provide assertion that individual achievements, both in the spiritual field and professional careers, do not have to be dominated by one gender alone.

Because the relationship between men and women is a relationship that complements each other. Both have their own weaknesses and strengths. All men and women cannot be equalized. Everyone is competing to be the best. However, in this race,

¹ Badrah Uyuni dan Mohammad Adnan. 2021. Woman Ulama's Authority on Social Media. Ilmu Ushuluddin, 8(2), 237-254.

they should not corner or demean each other. All of them have the same point and provision. The focus of the goal in this race is to reach the degree of taqwa in His sight. Interestingly, besides not being allowed to discredit or subordinate women or men, this race is helping and working together. For this reason, maintaining good relations between men is highlighted by the Qur'an when describing the creation of humans. More specifically, to maintain silaturrahmi between each other. Suppose we look more deeply; before Indonesia's independence, female ulama appeared and initiated efforts to strengthen Islamic, humanitarian, and national values through the struggle against the colonialists and the development of education for women. As in Aceh, there is Sultanah Sri Ratu Tajul Alam Syafiuddin Johan Sovereign (1612-1675), a brilliant and active person in developing science. During her reign (1644-1675), science and literature flourished. There is also Siti Aisyah Wetin We Tenrille (d. 1919) from South Sulawesi, a female scientist specializing in government and literature, author of the Epos La-Galigo, which reaches 7,000 folio pages, and the founder of the first modern education for men and women in Ternate.²

Cut Nyak Din (d. 1908) and Cut Meutia (1870-1910) from Aceh, women fighters against the Dutch in the Aceh war. The struggle continued with Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904), a student of KH. Sholeh Darat (1820-1903) from Semarang was an intelligent woman pioneer of the Indonesian women's movement. There was Dewi Sartika (1884-1947) from Bandung (wife of Raden Kanduruan Agah Suriawinata, administrator of Sakola Istri Bandung), founder of Sakola Istri (1904), which later turned into Sakola Kautamaan Istri (1910), a place for women to learn and practice skills. Make handicrafts typical of Bandung.³

Another female cleric was Nyai Siti Walidah (1872-1946), the wife of KH. Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923), from Yogyakarta. She and her husband pioneered education for women, such as Sopo Tresno (1914), Wal-Ashri, and the Maghreeb School, which was the embryo of the founding of Aisyiyah..⁴ Nyai Walidah's clerical capacity posited her being invited by ulama in Solo to present her efforts to pioneer women's education in front of male clerics. Furthermore, there was Rahmah El Yunusiah (1900-1969) from Padang Panjang, a pioneer in Islamic women's education and a freedom fighter. Rahmah studied with several scholars and aspired to improve the position of women through modern education based on religious principles. Rahmah also founded the Padang Panjang Putri Diniyah School.⁵

And far away if we look around the 18th-19th centuries there was a female scholar who preached among women in her time. It's just that because there is little literature that raises her, understanding about her is very difficult to examine. Moreover, there is limited information about the female ulama. She is Fatimah Al-Banjari (d. 1828 AD). This ulama

² Atmosiswartoputro, Mulyono. 2020. *Perempuan-Perempuan Pengukir Sejarah*. Bhuana Ilmu Populer.

³ *ibid*

⁴ Aisyiyah is the implementation of understanding the verse of Q.S. an-Nahl (16): 97 and at-Taubah (9): 71.

⁵ Pimpinan Pusat Aisyiyah. 1992. *Sejarah pertumbuhan dan perkembangan Aisyiyah*. Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Aisyiyah.

deserves to be discussed and recognized because there are works produced but her work is not published on her behalf due to the strong patriarchal tradition in her time. Based on the above explanation, this article tries to examine and answer How is the contribution of da'wah made by Fatimah Al-Banjari (d. 1828 AD)? and How is the da'wah strategy, supporting and inhibiting factors in da'wah?

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses qualitative methods by making and observing works, books, academic research, videos, internet sources, and historical documents. The existing data is then analyzed using the explanatory analysis method where the logic of social phenomena is common sense by using historical, anthropological, and sociological approaches. This research tries to show the role model of women scholars so that women today can learn and imitate the activities and struggles of these women scholars so that many benefits are generated for the improvement of the ummah, especially women. The concept of women scholars, contributions, strategies carried out by these women scholars are presented. Then the supporting and inhibiting factors of women scholars in preaching are also discussed so that they can be understood in depth.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Profile

Fatimah Al-Banjari is the daughter of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Al-Bugisi (d. 1790 AD) and Syarifah bint Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari a propagator of Islam in Kalimantan.⁶ Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari (d. 1812 AD) himself was awarded the age of 105 years and married 11 wives. Among his eleven wives who have only seven children. And the total number of their sons and daughters is 30 children.⁷

Born in Martapura, Muhammad Arsyad initially received religious education in his village from his parents and local teachers. Since he was young, he has shown his artistic

⁶Sayyid Ja'far Bin Sayyid Abdullah Bin Habib Abu Bakar Al Hindi Al Aydarus or Sheikh. Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (March 17, 1710 – October 3, 1812) was a Syafi'i school of jurisprudence who came from the city of Martapura in Tanah Banjar (Banjar Sultanate), South Kalimantan. He lived during the years 1122-1227 Hijri. He was also called Tuan Haji Besar and was posthumously nicknamed Datu Kalampaian. He is the author of Kitab Sabilal Muhtadin, a reference for many followers of Islam in Southeast Asia, Egypt, and the whole world.

While studying there, Sheikh. Muhammad Arsyad established friendships with fellow students of knowledge, such as Sheikhs. Abdussamad al-Falimbani (1116-1203 H), Sheikh. Abdurrahman Misri al-Jawi, and Sheikh. Abdul Wahab Bugis until they are known as the Four Series from Tanah Jawi (Malay)

After feeling enough to study in Medina and withdrawing his intention to go to Egypt, Syaikh Arsyad and some of his friends intend to return to Mecca. In Mecca, he met his younger brother named, Zainal Abidin. His sister came to visit him. From his sister, he got the news that the first daughter, Syarifah, had grown up and left a ring as a souvenir for the father. Knowing that Syaikh Arsyad has a grown-up daughter, his three friends compete to propose to her. Because there was more than one proposal, a lot was done for them, and they fell to the Shaykh. Abdul Wahab al-Bugisi. Sheikh. A through the auspicious guardian married Syarifah to this friend in Mecca. See Saifuddin, S. 2016. Mutiara Yang Terlupakan: Biografi Dan Pemikiran Fatimah Binti Abdul Wahab Bugis..

⁷ Saifuddin, S. 2016. Mutiara Yang Terlupakan: Biografi Dan Pemikiran Fatimah Binti Abdul Wahab Bugis.

talent and intellectual intelligence in the eyes of his parents and the surrounding community. Moreover, while traveling to the villages, the Sultan met him and was attracted by his extraordinary talent, especially his painting ability. Then the Sultan asked his parents to bring Muhammad Arsyad to the palace. His parents fulfilled this request. In the palace environment, he was educated with the Sultan's children to learn to recite the Koran or several other branches of science. After reaching adulthood, he was then married to a woman from the palace which was known to be pious and religious, named Bajut. When his wife was pregnant, the Sultan sent her to Haramain to study further at the expense of the Sultanate. From the womb of his first wife was born a pious daughter named Syarifah and Aisyah bint Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad.⁸

Born in Martapura, Syarifah grew up without being accompanied by her beloved father. When he got the news that his son had grown up, Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad then married him in an auspicious way with Sheikh Abdul Wahab Bugis, his study friend in Haramain. However, when she arrived in Banjar, it turned out that Syarifah had been married off by the Sultan as guardian of the judge to a man named Uthman and had given birth to a child named Muhammad As'ad.

Muhammad Arsyad resolved this case in a pretty exciting way, namely by examining the time of the marriage with his expertise in astronomy, considering the time difference between Mecca and Martapura. From the examination results, the marriage in Mecca occurred sometime before the wedding in Martapura. Because of this, Syarifah's marriage to Uthman was canceled (fasakh), and Syarifah's marriage to Sheikh Abdul Wahab Bugis was declared valid. From the marriage of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Bugis with Syarifah bint Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, two children were born, namely Fatimah and Muhammad Yasin. Reportedly, Muhammad Yasin did not live long, so he has no zuriah (descendants) and any biographical traces.⁹

Fatimah's father, Syaikh Abdul Wahab Bugis,¹⁰ It also includes great and honorable scholars. Abdul Wahab comes from a well-respected aristocratic family. He is the son of a king from the land of Bugis, South Sulawesi, who holds the title Sadenreng Daeng Bunga Wardiyah. So the full name of this character is Abdul Wahab Sadenreng Daeng Bunga Wardiyah Bugis.¹¹ Along with Shaykh Abdul Rahman al-Mashri, Shaykh Abdul Shamad al-

⁸ Saifuddin, S. 2016. *Mutiara Yang Terlupakan...*p. 12

⁹ Saifuddin, S. 2016. *Mutiara Yang Terlupakan...*p. 13

¹⁰ *If the Shaykh Muhammad Arshad and Shaykh Abdus Samad al-Palimbani spent most of their time studying in Mecca, then Abdul Wahab and his friend the Shaykh. Abdurrahman Misri spent most of their time studying in the city of Egypt. So in the writings of Abu Daudi, Abdul Wahab was listed as one of the students of Shaykhul Islam, Imamul Haramain Alimul Allamah Shaykh. Muhammad bin Sulaiman al-Kurdish. That is why he accompanied his teacher to the city of Medina when he wanted to teach, develop religious knowledge and Adab and hold public recitations. It is where the triumvirate then meets, and then the Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and Abdus Samad al-Palimbani also attend Shaykh's recitation assembly. Sulaiman Kurdi, who later sparked the birth of Shaykh's writings. Muhammad Arsyad entitled Treatise Fatawa Sulaiman Kurdi. See Raka Wiryawan. Shaykh. Abdul Wahab Bugis. <https://way4x.wordpress.com/KH.-abdurrahman-wahid/foto-%E2%80%93-foto-para-ulama/Syaikh.-abdul-wahab-bugis/> accessed in 2 January 2021 at 09:55.*

¹¹ *Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad also studied in the Middle East. Abdul Wahab spent most of his time studying in Egypt. He probably studied for twenty years in Egypt, five years in Medina, and several years in Mecca.. Abu Daudi, Syaikh. Muhammad Arsyad, p. 51-55; Zulfa Jamalie dan Syaiful Hadi, "Mengungkap Riwayat", h.*

Palimbani (d. 1789 AD), and Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, he is known as one of the figures of the "four series" of Javanese (Malay-Archipelagic) scholars.¹²

After growing up in Al-Banjari, Fatimah was married to one of her father's family, H. M. Said Bugis, in 1792, when she was 18. From her marriage to H. M. Said Bugis, Fatimah has two children, Abdul Ghani and Halimah. Abdul Ghani married his cousin, Sauda bint Muhammad As'ad and had two children who died when they were young, while Halimah had no children. Abdul Ghani then remarried a woman from Mukah (Sarawak-Malaysia) and had two children named M. Sa'id and Sa'diyah. M. Sa'id then married and gave birth to Adnan and Jannah, while Sa'diyah lowered Sailis (Sekadu-Pontianak). Meanwhile, Fatimah's brother, Muhammad Yasin, had no children and was thought to have died young. It is estimated that Fatimah died when she was 53 years old, in 1828 AD, and was buried in the Tungkaran Village Cemetery complex, Martapura District, a complex with the graves of her father and mother.¹³

2. Education

Fatimah grew up and was primarily educated by her grandfather, Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. Because when he was 11 years old (in 1786), he had been abandoned by his father.

Fatimah bint Abdul Wahab inherited much Islamic knowledge from her father, a great and well-known scholar. He and his mother, Muhammad Asad, received education directly from his grandfather, Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad. The two grandchildren of Shaykh Arsyad studied several disciplines, including Arabic, interpretation, hadith, ushuluddin, and fiqh. After mastering various disciplines, both were allowed to teach religion. Muhammad Asad became a teacher for the men. Meanwhile, Fatimah bint Abdul Wahab appeared as a teacher for women. As a child who was born and raised in an educated family or even in an "Islamic boarding school" environment, Fatimah has greater access to be involved in the transmission chain of Islamic knowledge and education.¹⁴

3. Socio-Cultural Conditions and Conditions of Da'wah in his lifetime

a. Islamic Kingdom of Banjar

6; A. Hafizh Anshary, "Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari", p. 295. in Saifuddin, S. (2016). *Mutiara Yang Terlupakan: Biografi Dan Pemikiran Fatimah Binti Abdul Wahab Bugis*.

¹² Saifuddin, S. 2016. *Mutiara Yang Terlupakan...*p. 13

Excellent service, role, and struggle towards the development of da'wah, especially in Banjarmasin. Even though he is not a Banjar, his knowledge, charity, and his life's struggle have been devoted to the success of Islam in Banjar Land. He is known as one of the Four Series of Ulama Nusantara members who lived contemporaneously and studied knowledge in Tanah Haramain; that is, Sheikh. Abdul Shamad al-Palimbangi, Shaykh. Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, and Shaykh. Abdurrahman al-Misri al-Betawi. See Jamalie Zulfa. 2013. "Syaiikh. Abdul Wahab Bugis dan Perjuangan Dakwahnya 1722-1786 M." In: Konferensi Nadwah Ulama Nusantara (NUN) V Kuala Lumpur.

¹³ Zulfa, J. 2019. "Kitab Parukunan: Karya Tulis Keagamaan Ulama Perempuan Banjar." Puslitbang Lektor dan KH.azanah Keagamaan Kementerian Agama RI Jakarta. 17(2).

¹⁴ Zulfa, J. 2019. "Kitab Parukunan..."p. 15

Prior to the arrival of Al-Banjari to Martapura in 1772 AD, insufficient information was found about the spread of Islam, both from the Banjar Sultanate and from its people. However, little information was found that there were two datu who, although not well known in the history of Banjar Islam, were both entirely instrumental in the development of Islamic teachings. Unfortunately, it is unknown when the two of them took part in the community and how they related to the Banjar Sultanate. One of the datu lives in the northern part of South Kalimantan. This Datu was named H. Abdul Rasyid or known as Datu Kandang Haji. He taught people to read the Qur'an and revived Friday prayers which the community had long abandoned. Datu's tomb is near the mosque he built himself in Paringin Village, Hulu Sungai Utara Regency. The second datu is in the southern part (Tapin). This Datu named H.M. Thahir is known as Datu Sanggul or Datu Muning. Among its activities is providing wooden iron poles (ulin wood) to build mosques. His grave is currently located in Tatakan village, Tapin district. However, it seems that the two Datu have not contributed much to the Islamization of society, and the Sultanate of Banjar.¹⁵

The palace of the Banjar Sultanate supported the da'wah of Islam, among others, by dispatching prospective clerics to the holy land to perform the pilgrimage and gain religious knowledge there. In his book, Islamic Countries in Kalimantan 1425-1905, Subroto explains that Islamic law began to be institutionalized in the Sultanate of Banjar after Sultan Tahmidullah II came to power the period 1761-1801. Among the prominent preachers was Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. The cleric named Datu Kelampayan returned from studying in Mecca in 1772. Since then, the state's teaching of Islam and the Shari'a system has undergone fundamental changes in Banjar.¹⁶

Thus, before the arrival of Al-Banjari to Martapura in 1772 AD, it seems that Islamization is still limited to the palace environment. This is based on the opinion of Azyumardi Azra: Although with the establishment of the Sultanate of Banjar, Islam seems to have been considered the state religion officially, Muslims are, in fact, only a minority group among the population. The adherents of Islam, in general, were limited to Malays; Islam could only enter slowly into the Dayak tribe. Even among Malay Muslims, obedience to Islam was minimal by the sultan and was nothing more than the proclamation of the shahada. Under the generations until Muhammad Arsyad, it was clear that the rulers made no serious efforts to advance Islamic life. Despite the Islamization activities carried out by the itinerant preachers, their efforts remained largely unaffected.¹⁷

The statement provides information that prior to the presence of Al-Banjari in the land of Banjar, at that time, there was no strenuous effort in Islamizing the environment of the Banjar sultanate, the Banjar people, or that since the Banjar Kingdom, which was centered in the State of Dipa and the State of Daha, then continued with Sultanate of

¹⁵ For more details about the periodization of the Sultanate of Banjar, see Abu Daudi, Mardana Syaikh., p.5-13. Compare to Alimad Julaidi, "Prolog Kerajaan Banjar," h. 17-8. Dalam Zulfa, J. 2019. "Kitab Parukunan...p. 16

¹⁶ Anshary, A. Hafizh. "Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari", in Azyumardi Azra et al., (ed.). 2005. Ensiklopedi Islam. Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve.

¹⁷ Lihat Azyumardi Azra. 1994. Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII, (selanjutnya disebut dengan Jaringan Ulama), Bandung: Mizan. 1st. edition, ... 252-27.

Banjar, starting from Sultan Suriansyah (reigned 1520-1540 AD) to Sultan Tamjidillah (1857-1859 AD), strenuous efforts in Islamization in the Sultanate of Banjar do not seem to produce many significant results..¹⁸

During the reign of Sultan Adam Al-Watsiq Billah bin Sultan Sulaiman Saidullah II was the Sultan of Banjar (reigned 1825-1857 AD), the Banjar State Law in 1835 took complete reference from Islam. Sultan Adam was widely known as a pious leader and paid great attention to the da'wah of Islam in Kalimantan. However, in the spirit of enforcing Shari'a in Bumi Banjar, there was an enormous challenge in the form of Dutch infiltration. Furthermore, the agreement on August 13, 1787, between the Banjar and the Dutch ended Islamic sovereignty in the Sultanate..¹⁹

b. Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari (1710-1812 AD)

Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari was the earliest Banjar scholar figure whose life history became an example for later scholars. At the age of 30 years, precisely in 1734 AD, Sheikh Arsyad was sent by Sultan Tamjidillah to Arabia to perform the pilgrimage and, at the same time, study Islam there. Shaykh Arsyad did this until 1759 AD. This means that he was in the holy land for 25 years. His age at that time was approximately 55 years..²⁰ It was enough to study in Mecca, and he decided to continue to Egypt. However, he did not have time to do that because, during his trip to Egypt, he stopped first in Medina, and in that city, he met a prominent sheik, namely Shaykh Sulaiman. Shaykh Sulaiman forbade him to continue studying in Egypt because, according to Shaykh Sulaiman, his knowledge was mature, and no scholars could teach him anymore. Finally, Shaykh Arsyad decided to study in Medina alone. Moreover, he did that for five years. Besides, he was still learning from the masses there and took the time to teach. If we look at the ulama who played a role in Banjar society from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century, most of

¹⁸ Azyumardi Azra. 1994. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah...*p. 112

¹⁹ Sultan Tahmidillah II was powerless to face the Dutch forces, increasingly interfering in the kingdom's internal affairs. The area belonging to the Sultanate of Banjar, which stretched from the east coast of Kalimantan to the areas of Paser, Pulau Laut, Tabanio, Mendawai, Sampit, Pembuang, and Kotawaringin, became a Dutch colony. Finally, in 1860 the sovereignty of Banjar can be said to have disappeared since the Dutch claimed to include it in the order of the Dutch East Indies. With the end of the Banjar War in 1905, the country of Banjar was under the control of the local Dutch residents. Supreme leadership was given to Governor Haga. See *Republika*. 25 Maret 2019. *Sepintas Sejarah tentang Kesultanan Banjar*. Basuni, Ahmad. 1986. *Nur Islam di Kalimantan Selatan: Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Kalimantan*. Surabaya: Bina Ilmu.

²⁰ Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari studied with some leading scholars, including Shaykhs in Mecca. Athaillah bin Ahmad al-Mishry, al-Faqih Shaykh. Muhammad bin Salman al-Kurdi and 'Arif billah Shaykh. Muhammad bin Abdul Karim al-Samman al-Hasani al-Madani. Sheikh. The last mentioned is one of Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari's teachers in the field of Sufism. Under his guidance, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari practiced suluk and khalwat, from which Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari obtained the Khalifah (tasawuf) title. Among Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari's other teachers are Syeikh Ahmad bin Abdul Mun'im al-Damanhuri, Syeikh Muhammad Murtadha bin Muhammad al-Zabidi, Syaikh. Hasan bin Ahmad al-Yamani, Syaikh. Salim bin Abdullah al-Basri, Syaikh. Shiddiq bin Umar Khan, Syaikh. Abdullah bin Hijazi al-Syarqawy, Syaikh. Abdurrahman bin Abdul Aziz al Maghrabi, Syaikh. Abdurrahman bin Sula al-Ahdal, Syaikh. Abdurrahman bin Abdul Mubin al-Fathani, Syaikh. Abdul Garli bin Muhammad Hilal, Syaikh. Abis al-Saudi, Syaikh. Abdul Wahab al-Thantawy, Syaikh. Abdullah Mirghani, Syaikh. Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Jauhari, dan bin Syaikh. Muhammad Zain Faqih Jalaluddin. Abu Daudi. *KITAB, MUHAMMAD ARSYAD AL-BANJARI dan "BAB II."*

them followed the model of education and work of Shaykh Arsyad al-Banjari. They went to Haramain for the pilgrimage and to study religion, then returned to their hometown to preach. And some of them are building institutions and writing religious books so that the symbols of Islam are brighter.²¹

Banjar scholars who went to Haramain at the end of the 19th century generally first studied in the Fence with Shaykh Arsyad, then left there. At the same time, those who went to Haramain in the 20th century studied religious knowledge in various formal educational institutions scattered in South Kalimantan, such as Nagara, Amuntai, Barabai, and Martapura. One of the centers of Islamic education outside Dalam Pagar that developed rapidly from the end of the 19th century was Nagara, Hulu Sungai Selatan district.²²

Another approach taken by Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari in preaching is by way of marriage. This is very effective in the spread of da'wah, as evidenced by the results of his marriage that the descendants of Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari spread throughout the kingdom and even outside the kingdom, which he got from his wives. They have all become scholars who are highly respected and respected in the wider community. Until now, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari has also brought about reconciliation between the aristocrats and ordinary people in the Banjar Sultanate area. This made Sultan Tahmidullah (ruled 1700-1717 AD/1720-1745 AD), a friend and student of Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, always supported and helped with the smooth journey of his da'wah.²³

Like other Nusantara scholars, Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari was quite productive in producing written works, both in the fields of creed, fiqh, and Sufism. A comprehensive review of these three fields certainly involves a comprehensive study, review, and discussion.²⁴

²¹ Basuni, Ahmad. 1986. *Nur Islam* ...p. 30

²² Basuni, Ahmad. 1986. *Nur Islam*...p. 30

²³ Basuni, Ahmad. 1986. *Nur Islam*....p. 31

²⁴ *Islamization before the arrival of Al-Banjari was mostly through marriages between the royal or sultanate families and the Banjar, Javanese, or Dayak people. However, after the presence of Al-Banjar, Islamization has gained momentum. Many ulama cadres Al-Banjar educated have become traveling preachers while trading to remote and inland Kalimantan lands. The Dayak community inhabited it. So there is a term that Dayaks who convert to Islam are considered to be Malays or Banjarese. The Islamization of the Dayak tribe mainly occurs on the outskirts of the Barito river. The Ngaju Dayak tribe, who mostly adhered to Islam, was later named the Bakumpai Tribe.*

Bakumpai is associated with the name of the village of Bakumpai in Marabahan City. The term Bakumpai is also taken from the Banjarese language, and the term likely comes from the words of the Banjar people, namely "Ba," meaning "to have," and "Kumpai," meaning "grass." Therefore, "Bakumpai" means an area with much grass. Indeed, much grass was overgrown on the outskirts of the Barito river at that time, while the river was the only way of transporting the trade of traveling preachers. The Islamization of the Bakumpai Dayak took place on a large scale after Marabahan and the State became an important port and trade city.

*Descendants of the Shaykh inhabited both cities. Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari, like Mufti Jamaluddin and Tuan Guru Haji Abd al-Shamad in Marabahan and Muhammad Husin in Negar. These three clerics, their children, and students are considered to have played an essential role in the Islamization of the Barito region. Because it was through the ulama that many of his students and descendants spread to the interior of Kalimantan. Among the areas that have experienced Islamization is Muara Untu in 1802 AD; Puruk Cahu circa mid-19th century; Muara Laung circa 1882 AD; Muara Teweh circa 1869 AD; and Buntok circa the 1880s. See Khairil Anwar. 2016. dkk., *Kedatangan Islam di Bumi Tambun Bungai*. Palangkaraya: STAIN*

Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari died Tuesday night between Isha and Magrib time on 6 Shawwal 1227 H (13 October 1812 AD) and was buried in Kalampayan, Astambul District, Banjar Regency. Every year, his death is commemorated by a massive haul attended by thousands of worshipers from various circles of South Kalimantan society. This proves how influential and loving the people of Kalimantan are of the figure of Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari.²⁵

c. The Dalam Pagar Pesantren

When Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari returned to settle in Martapura, Kalimantan, after being a teacher in Mecca (Masjidil Haram) and Medina for approximately 35 years, Shaykh Arsyad's good intentions received full support from the Sultan of Banjar. Even the Sultan gave a piece of land to support his da'wah. Previously, the Sultan had given him education costs while studying in the Middle East. Moreover, before that, he had lived for several years in the kingdom because of the Sultan's invitation to get further education.

*At that time, the Sultan gave the land *lungguh* (land), which was quite prominent in the area of the sultanate's capital. The Sultan's closeness to Shaykh Arsyad was like father and son because he was considered an *affix* (big family of the aristocrats). On that land, an educational institution was built. Because of the vast land, it was made into a village with Islamic nuances. Aside from being a place for religious education, the land was also used by Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad as an agricultural field. This happened in 1812 AD, and to secure the area, Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad made a simple fence that was thought to be made of bamboo and Galam wood. As said by Guru Fadlan, "So in the past, when people came to study with Datu Kelampayan, they were asked: Where are you going? The answer is they want to go inside the fence (a location that is fenced off) so that the place is famous for being the Village Dalam Fence," and this *halaqah* became the forerunner of the Dalam Pagar Village. Moreover, on orders from the Sultan of Banjar, Sheikh Arsyad formulated the duties of the mufti and qadhi. He is considered the first to devise rules and methods for establishing a sharia court with limitations in law for leaders and qadhis. Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari designed the cadre of ulama by building a village or a fostered village called "In the Fence." The process of a cadre of scholars took a long time, namely 80 years.²⁶*

Through educational institutions within the fence. Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari tried his best to produce competent ulama cadres. In addition, he also teaches the science of how to preach or give speeches. The science of rhetoric supports the science of religion that is qualified. So that one day, when they return to their respective hometowns, they will have a strong mentality in delivering religious teachings. In addition to the students, Shaykh Arsyad provides intensive teaching to his children, wives, and relatives so that da'wah's power is better.

Press. Revision edition, p. 66-71 Khairil Anwar. 2020. *Teologi Al Banjari*. Airlangga University Press.

²⁵ Abu Daudi. KITAB MUHAMMAD ARSYAD AL-BANJARI. "BAB II."

²⁶ Abu Daudi. KITAB MUHAMMAD ARSYAD AL-BANJARI...p. 10

The spirit of Shaykh Arsyad's da'wah is not enough to be transmitted to his children, wife, and relatives. He is also still able to educate his grandchildren. Among them were Muhammad As'ad, Muhammad Yasin, Fatimah bint Abdul Wahab al-Bugisi, Idris bin H. Zainal Abidin (nephew).²⁷

Inside the fence, which is bordered by the Halat-Astambul River line, Datu Kalampayan, Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjary, with his sorogan system recitation, facilitated by Sultan Nata Alam, succeeded in educating his family's Bubuhan network to become Tuan Guru in Martapura as well as the sons of Banjar from various ethnic groups. And most of whom are also Tuan Guru. Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjary composed various books to be studied at his pesantren. The books are like; Sabilal Muhtadin, Kaulul Mukhtasar, Tuhfaturragibien, Kanzul Ma'rifah, and others, so they become the leading books in the study at the Pesantren Dalam Pagar. This pattern of education has been continued by Zuriat Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjary and his students until now.²⁸

The role of halaqah, which is very beneficial for the people in Kalimantan. It was continued by their children and grandchildren to the seventh generation and developed into a Madrasa equivalent to an elementary school in 1931 AD. "That is why many of the books we use today are written by Sumatran people, such as those by Muhammad Arsyad Tolib Lubis and from Java," explained Guru Fadlan.²⁹

"In 1963 AD, it was again replaced with the name Madrasah Syar'iyah which Tuan Guru Zainal Ilmi fostered. Then in 1988 AD, the pesantren again changed its name to Sullamul Ulum. This name change was also based on the advice of one of the great scholars in Banjar, namely, Shaykh Muhammad Sya'rani Arif. Because there are additional levels such as Wustho and Ulya (junior and high school level, ed)," explained Teacher Fadlan. Until 1990 AD, Madrasah Syar'iyah was again replaced by being ascribed to the founder of the halaqah, the Syaikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari Islamic Boarding School. "Until now, the number of students in Islamic boarding schools is around a thousand people who come from various regions in Kalimantan," explained Teacher Fadlan.³⁰

Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad is a preacher with high authority. All the problems in the government would not drag on because all the Sultans of Banjar who lived contemporaneously with him willingly accepted his opinions and suggestions. Therefore, the ranks of the government never offended Shaykh Arsyad in the slightest; they all had the highest respect for him. Because of that, Islam thrived there, and its impression is still evident today. In Indonesia, the first very intense spread of Islam was in Aceh Darussalam, and the second was in Banda Aceh, which is famous for its Veranda of the City of Mecca. There were also many merchants who not only traded but also taught Islam. So it is clear why the spread of Islam there is ranked number one. Then number two is Banjar. Why in

²⁷ Several descendants and disciples of the Shaykh. Arsyad, which has been successful in cadres, is then disseminated to several areas to build langgars (mushollah) for prayer and recitation places.

²⁸ Abu Daudi. KITAB, MUHAMMAD ARSYAD AL-BANJARI

²⁹ Asal Mula Desa Dalam Pagar, Gudang Ilmu dari Kota Serambi Mekah. <https://ramadan.apahabar.com/2021/04/asal-mula-desa-dalam-pagar-gudang-ilmu-dari-kota-serambi-Mekah/> accessed in 2 January 2022

³⁰ Starting from a piece of vacant land, be Kampung Dalam Pagar

Banjar? Because besides Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad with his da'wah and works, there is also Shaykh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari (1735-1812 AD). He is the author of the book *ad-Durun Nafis*. However, Shaykh Arsyad is better known by the public. Because Shaykh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari is not as heroic as Shaykh Arsyad in preaching. Shaykh Nafis only preached in the surrounding villages, while Shaykh Arsyad preached more thoroughly in the village and the city. Plus, he has a new method of preaching, namely by opening recitations everywhere and many others.

The intensity of preaching is none other because the literacy is excellent. Apart from the ulama contributing to various kinds of da'wah, they also write so that their thoughts. It can be studied for different periods, even though they are all gone. It is not only valuable for the region but can be enjoyed by people outside the region; that is the reason why the Banjar area is known as an area that is intense in the spread of Islam and is number two after Aceh.³¹

The infrastructure in learning at that time was quite simple. Even the most basic needs, such as books to be studied, are minimal. One of the Malay language books with the title *Shiratal Mustaqim* written by Shaykh Nuruddin ar-Raniri (d. 1658 AD), is one of the selected books taught to his students. The *Shiratal Mustaqim* book is a book that has the same meaning and purpose as the *Sabilul Muhtadin* book written by Shaykh Arsyad himself. As for Shaykh Nuruddin's work, which was first published and Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad tried to perfect it, the goal is none other than to get better at studying for his students. The *Shiratal Mustaqim* book is the first fiqh book in Southeast Asia, while the *Sabilul Muhtadin* book is the second fiqh book.³²

What is more, it is a problem if the facilities are limited, there is a book you want to study right away. The books studied at that time were all copied, either in written form (if there was already a notebook) or to remember, because writing paper was also scarce at that time. Maybe even if there is, it cannot be followed because the ability to buy *pan santri* from the poor is doubtful. Copying in the form of handwriting is now a habit. Even Shaykh Arsyad al-Banjari has never seen his work neatly printed because all his writings are handwritten. An example of Shaykh Arsyad's work entitled *Sabilul Muhtadin* was only printed after one hundred years, counting from the completion of the essay. The fourth-period Southeast Asian cleric pioneered the printing of the essay; he was Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain al-Fathani (1856-1908). After being printed in book publishing, the book of *Sabilul Muhtadin* was distributed to Egypt, Mecca, and Turkey.³³

In addition to opening schools, madrasas, and Islamic boarding schools, the activities of the ulama as educators and community mentors are to give lectures or religious lessons regularly at various recitations, either in alternate homes, in the prayer room, or the mosque. It can also be at the house of particular residents holding a celebration. It is possible that the ulama carried out this activity of giving recitations or lectures when the

³¹ HJ Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, Syaikh. Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari Pengarang Sabil Al-Muhtadin. p. 51 lihat Imam Alfiannor. "Kitab Parukunan Jamaluddin Karya Jamaluddin Bin Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari (Pasal Qadha Hajah Dan Istinja)".

³² Imam Alfiannor. "Kitab Parukunan Jamaluddin...p. 5

³³ Imam Alfiannor. "Kitab Parukunan Jamaluddin...p. 5

early period of Islam entered the Banjar area in the 16th century. However, no doubt, in the 18th century, since Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad returned home after drinking the sweetness of the honey of the ocean of knowledge, his da'wah spirit was getting higher. Moreover, it is supported by the Sultan of Banjar, so Islam is easier to spread and permeate the traditions of the Banjar people.³⁴

Zuriyat Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad bin Abdullah al-Banjari spread throughout Southeast Asia. For his activity is none other than preaching. Some countries that have descendants of Sheikh Arsyad are Mecca, Brunei Darussalam, Fathani Darussalam, and Malaysia. Because in Indonesia itself, what is clear is that most live on the islands of Kalimantan, Sumatra, and East Java.³⁵

d. Malay Language and Urang Banjar

The early history of the entry and development of Islamic da'wah in South Kalimantan cannot be separated from the services, roles, and struggles of the ulama and Islamic figures who lived in the past. Because of their services and struggles, Islam developed and became the lifeline of the Banjar people today. In addition, their presence on the earth of Kalimantan has made this area rich with Islamic intellectual treasures. So that in the view of Karel S. Steenbrink, it is stated that South Kalimantan (Banjarmasin) in the historical record was once a center of Islamic studies, which produced many religious and literary works. In addition, the areas of Palembang and Aceh had never received intensive attention for the study and codification of these works. So naturally, through the figures of Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and Shaykh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari, Banjarmasin played an essential role in the network of Nusantara scholars at the end of the 19th and 20th centuries AD, as stated by Azyumardi Azra in his book entitled *The Network. Middle Eastern clerics in the 19th and 20th century Archipelago*. In addition to the two scholars above, one other scholar who contributed significantly to spreading Islam in the Banjar Land was even a friend and worked hand in hand with Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari when fostering the Banjarese community. is Shaykh Abdul Wahab Bugis al-Banjari.³⁶

In the book Islamization of Banjarmasin (15th to 19th centuries) by historian of the University of Lambung Mangkurat, Yusliani Noor reveals that Malay as the language of instruction for trading activities has had a unique position in Banjarmasin since the 15th century. The Muara Bahan Commerce Airport has become a center for Muslim traders.

"The use of the Malay language is essential, considering the language factor plays a role in delivering messages and media for da'wah. Yusliani also revealed that interpersonal communication requires language. Therefore the use of Malay is related to the Banjar language, the trading language in Banjarmasin. Banjar language is

³⁴ Khairil Anwar. 2020. *Teologi Al Banjari*....p. 10

³⁵ Khairil Anwar. 2020. *Teologi Al Banjari*....p. 11

³⁶ Azyumardi Azra. 1994. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*. Bandung: Mizan.

categorized as Malay, the concept of diffusion from various languages such as; Ngaju, Maanyan, Bukit, and Lawangan, plus elements of Old Javanese, Arabic, and Persian languages that form the structure of the Banjar language.”³⁷

The intelligence of the Banjarmasin Dayak ethnic group in the face of the 15th-century globalization era driven by Islamic traders was characterized by adaptation, diffusion, assimilation, and acculturation of Dayak culture with Islamic culture. The Biaju-Ngaju-Bakumpai ethnicity takes on the role of dynamic economic change, from a subsistence economy to a trade economy, not only river trade but also maritime trade. They are affiliated with Bubuhan Tutus Raja-Raja Banjar and form a symbiotic relationship in trade, including facing trade competition with China and the Netherlands. Dayak ethnicity; Biaju-Ngaju, Maanyan, Lawangan, and Bukit, who later accepted Islam and, even intelligently, immediately absorbed the teachings of Islam in the land of Mecca.³⁸

They become Tuan Guru and build an Islamic community in their area. The Bubuhan Tuan Guru network, which was formed at least in the early 17th century, in such a way, intelligently and dynamically built the cells of the Islamization channel network and made Islam a new identity. Rivers form a network of affixes, interests, and power for the Dayak community as a means of transportation.³⁹

Malay (Banjar) as the Lingua Franca language bridges communication between the Dayak and other ethnic groups in Banjarmasin. Arabic letters not only become a tool for communication through writing but also for increasing knowledge through books written by Banjar scholars, using Arabic script in Banjarese Malay. Dayak Islam, as a merchant, joined the Malay-Malacca trading community and was united by the Sultanate of Banjarmasin. As a result of affiliations and trade partnerships, as well as the continuous dynamic relationship with the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, the Dayak identity merged into the Banjar identity. Those who bring merchandise from the interior bring their wares to Banjar. Moreover, those who come to the interior are called coming from Banjar. Meanwhile, traders who were long madam in Banjar have received the status of Urang Banjar.⁴⁰

The Islamization of Banjarmasin resulted in a new identity for the Islamic Dayak ethnicity as Malay as well as a Banjar, and similarly to other ethnic groups such as; Javanese, Malay, Bugis-Makassarese, and Wajo, especially those who are affiliated, are mixed and are in the suzerainty of the Banjar Sultanate. These ethnic groups produce a

³⁷ Yusliani Noor. 2012. *Sejarah Perkembangan Islam di Banjarmasin dan peran Kesultanan Banjar (Abad XV-XIX)*. Al-Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman. 2(2).

³⁸ Yusliani Noor. 2012. *Sejarah Perkembangan Islam di Banjarmasin...*p. 16

³⁹ M. Idwar Saleh has explained the importance of rivers for the Banjar people. See M. Idwar Saleh, 1983/1984, *Sekilas Mengenai Daerah Banjar dan Kebudayaan Sungainya Sampai Dengan Akhir Abad – 19*, Banjarbaru: Museum Negeri Lambung Mangkurat Propinsi Kalimantan Selatan, p. 2-7. According to a report of the Dutch Commission of Science in 1847, the outskirts of Barito had grown into new villages due to the trade process and the Islamization of Banjarmasin. See Bambang Subiyakto dan Djoko Suryo. 2001, *Pelayaran Sungai di Kalimantan Tenggara: Tinjauan Historis tentang Transportasi Air Abad XIX*. Sosiohumanika, 4(1) p. 29. See Yusliani Noor. 2012. *Sejarah Perkembangan Islam di Banjarmasin dan peran Kesultanan Banjar (Abad XV-XIX)*. Al-Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman. 2(2).

⁴⁰ Yusliani Noor. 2012. *Sejarah Perkembangan Islam...* p. 16

mixed generation due to marriage, which also becomes Banjar. These various ethnicities are united by the genius transformation and transculturation of religiosity. From the beliefs and cultures of Kaharingan-Balian and Hindu-Buddhist to Islam and become an Islamic culture. They have Banjar Malay as Lingua-Franca, as well as a unifying language. They have a Nation State called the Sultanate of Banjar. Therefore, the term Banjar was originally a national identity, a banyu land identity, a linguistic identity, and a religious identity. However, the Dutch politically exposed the latter to separate most of the Dayaks who became Banjars because of Islam and some of the Dayaks who were still religious. Kaharingan-Balian or who converted to Christianity. Banjar and Dayak still feel "Badangsanak" until now. It is the historical reality of the formation of the Banjar nation within a framework of the sovereignty of the Nation-State called the Banjar Sultanate as the fruit of the Islamization of Banjarmasin since the 15th century.⁴¹

Malay is the medium used by Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari in his book Sabilal Muhtadin. The book of Jawi is one of the historical shreds of evidence and Islamic civilization in the archipelago. The book of Jawi is strong evidence of the civilization of the archipelago at that time. The existence of the Jawi book is historical evidence of the magnitude of the Islamic civilization of the archipelago, especially in science. Since then, Malay has become the language of science, scientists, and nobility. Writing and translating Arabic books into Malay in Arabic script was one of the forms of advanced civilization at that time.⁴²

e. Purification of Faith

The delivery of Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari's da'wah material in the field of faith seems inseparable from the socio-cultural environment surrounding it. He composed books on the concept of faith and the concept of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah, as well as his views on the "appearance" of Imam al-Mahdi and the signs of the Kubra (big) apocalypse. He opposes teachings that contradict the Qur'an. An and Hadith. He also purified Islamic teachings in a wise way so that there was never any unrest or agrarian conflict among the people. Because since Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari returned from Mecca to Banjar Land, he often saw that there were still seeds of faith. animism with several rituals such as menyanggar, and mambuang pasilih, etc. The ceremony is carried out by placing offerings handed over to the spirits so their wishes can be realized. Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari strongly rejects such rituals; through this approach, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari finally succeeded in enlightening the public to return to the actual teachings of Islam. In the above incident, there was another incident, namely Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari cleaning up religious teachings from the Wahdah al-Manifest school, which Shaykh Abdul Hamid Ambulung taught. The laws of the Banjar Sultanate Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari cleansed this teaching well and wisely to save the wahdatul embodiment and the kingdom from this sect's rebellions.

⁴¹ Yusliani Noor. 2012. *Sejarah Perkembangan Islam...* p. 17

⁴² M. Abubakar. 2017. "Kitab Jawi dan kontribusinya dalam kajian Islam di Kepulauan Nusantara." ARICIS PROCEEDINGS, 1.

4. The Dakwah Contribution of Fatimah Al-Banjari (w. 1828 M)

Fatimah Al-Banjari may not be well known among Malay-Nusantara clerics. However, this female cleric is often cited as the author of the Parukunan Melayu, a yellow book with Arabic-Malay (Jawi) script widely studied in almost all regions. Malay-Indonesian. As Alai Nadjib's mother stated: "Although there are other works produced, they are still in manuscript form that is still stored in Kalimantan, and it is still not proven whether they are her works."⁴³

The following are the contributions that have been made and produced by Fatimah Al-Banjari:

a. The Book of Parukunan Jamaluddin

The Book of Parukunan Melayu itself is one of the largest nomenclatures ever produced by Banjar-Malay scholars, in addition to the book Sabîl al-Muhtadîn by Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and Durr al-Nafis by Shaykh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari. This book is further considered to be very influential in Malay literature. In the Malay-Banjar santri community, the Parukunan book is still used in the villages, especially among the traditionalists. Several Malay santri communities in Southeast Asia, such as Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Pattani (Thailand), Mindanao (Philippines), Vietnam, Cambodia, and Burma, also use the Parukunan book as a reference in religious lessons. This book contains the basics of the significant religion of Islam, such as the pillars of Islam and the pillars of faith, prayers, and other things that guide daily worship.

In the Banjar language, "perukunan" is a basic description of things required by religion. According to Martin Van Bruissen's research, the Book of Parukunan is also known as the Book of Parukunan Jamaluddin, although Fatimah bint Abdul Wahab Bugis Al-Banjari wrote it. It is because Fatimah relied on her writings to her uncle Mufti H. Jamaluddin bin Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari.⁴⁴

Muhammad Shaghir Abdullah differed from Martin van Bruinessen's view that the work belonged to Mufti Jamaluddin Al-Banjari. In his writings, Muhammad Shaghir Abdullah also admits that the actual owner of the work is still under debate. There are many other works of Mufti Jamaluddin al-Banjari, but they are less well known. One identified is his work entitled Bulugh al-Maram fi Takhalluf al-Muafiq fi alQiyam (1247 H/1831 AD).

The Book of Parukunan Jamaluddin is composed of 3 main parts: first, discussing faith; second, the fiqh of worship; and third, fiqh muamalah. The Book of Perkunan, which contains practical recipes for prayer procedures, was first published by Mathba'ah al-

⁴³ Based on the results of interviews with Ustadzah DR. Hj. Ala'I Nadjib, MA in 24 November 2021

⁴⁴ There is even the Parukunan Book, referred to as the work of the Shaykh. Muhammad Arsyad, grandfather of Fatimah. On the first page, this book is "the composition of al-'alim al-'allamah mufti Jamaluddin ibn al-marhum al-'alim al-fadhil al-syaik Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari."

Miriyah al-Kainah, Mecca, in 1315 H/1897 AD. Subsequently, it was published in Singapore in 1318 Hijriyah. After that, it was reprinted in Bombay (India), Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia. It shows that the Book of Perkunan is very influential for the Islamic community. In fact, in the archipelago itself, the Book of Perkunan has inspired other Nusantara scholars to be adapted and translate it into other regional languages.⁴⁵

The Book of Parukunan, in the tradition of the religious life of the Banjar people in the past, was one of the books that must be owned by the Banjar people, apart from the Qur'an and Sahih Bukhari. The Qur'an is the primary source for studying Islam, tadarus, or the Koran. Sahih Bukhari is a reference for studying authentic and familiar hadiths of the prophet, who are also an essential part of the tradition of rejecting reinforcements "Parading the Book of Bukhari." The Book of Parukunan is a practical requirement for the people of Banjar in realizing Islamic teachings about issues of Islamic law (fiqh), faith or belief (tawhid), and goodness or harmony of life (sufism). Because of its importance, it is associated with the religious tradition of the Banjar people, and it is said to be pamali if it does not have the three books in question.⁴⁶

The presence of Fatimah and the Book of Parukunan that she collected became an essential part of the history of the tradition of writing religious works in Banjarmasin. In addition, when compared to the current condition, it is scarce for female clerics to be able to show their existence in their work. Therefore, Fatimah's footsteps should be a follow-up in filling the void of female clerics. In its later development, the Parukunan Book got various additions and different versions of the designation; some call it "The Book of Parukunan Melayu," "Parukunan Besar," Parukunan Besar Melayu, "Parukunan Abdul Rasyid," and others. Even though they have different names judging from the completeness of their contents, because there are additions, everything starts and ends with the writings compiled by Fatimah and then printed into the Book of Parukunan Jamaluddin.⁴⁷

The Book of Parukunan Jamaluddin is one of the fiqh writings written by Shaykh Jamaluddin bin Muhammad Arsyad and designated the Mufti Heaven by the Dutch East Indies government. The themes discussed in this book are closely related to the daily life of the Banjar people at that time, most of whom lived along the Martapura and Barito rivers. For example, the discussion of Qadha Hajah mentions the latrine as a place to defecate/urinate. Whereas the latrines referred to at that time were built on the banks of the river so that human waste fell into the river. However, the condition of the river at that time was able to neutralize any impurities dissolved in it so that it did not cause pollution that could have an impact on the health of living things. It is different from the current condition, where the river cannot neutralize the dirt that enters it due to silting up river water, garbage, and mining waste.

⁴⁵ Sayyid Uthman al-Batawi, 19th a century cleric who wrote the Babul Minan Book. This Malay language book is very famous among the Betawi people and is usually used as a guide for novice students and those who are just learning religion.

⁴⁶ Zulfa, J. 2019. Kitab Parukunan...p. 25

⁴⁷ Wan Mohd. Shagir Abdullah, "Mufti Jamaluddin al-Banjari Ahli Undang-Undang Kerajaan Banjar", lihat dalam <http://www.sabrial.wordpress.com/tag/ulama-banjar/>, accessed in 14 September 2007. in Zulfa, J. 2019. Kitab Parukunan...p. 26

The unlimited use of water for the sake of istinja cannot be separated from the life of the Banjar people, who are familiar with the abundance of water sources, especially rivers, as the largest source of fresh water in the Banjar area. That is why Shaykh Jamaluddin conveyed his fiqh about the unlimited water use for istinja. Compared with the current condition of the river, the water with high pollution levels is no longer suitable for purification. The Book of Parukunan Jamaluddin is still being reprinted and can be found today; even some Banjar people have it. On the one hand, this book is a practical guide in carrying out Islamic teachings for its adherents. However, on the other hand, this book's issues of fiqh thinking must be changed, such as the need to include provisions for building latrines that do not pollute river water.

The works of ancient scholars must be understood contextually, considering historical, social, and political backgrounds. The yellow book, with all its contents, is not absolute truth but reflects the culture, needs, and general opinion of the place and time it was written. The content of the yellow book is a combination of the central teachings of Islam (Qur'an and hadith) with local culture. Culture is constantly changing, so if the contents of the yellow book do not suit us, maybe it is because our culture is different from the author's culture.

The unlimited use of water for the sake of istinja cannot be separated from the life of the Banjar people, who are familiar with the abundance of water sources, especially rivers, as the largest source of fresh water in the Banjar area. That is why Shaykh Jamaluddin conveyed his fiqh about the unlimited water use for istinja. When compared with the current condition of the river, the water with high pollution levels is no longer suitable as a means of purification.

In terms of content, Jamaluddin's Kitab Parukunan is not much different from other similar books. Fatimah is not a feminist who deliberately writes alternative jurisprudence. The book is straightforward and only explains some basic teachings related to prayer, fasting, and how to take care of the dead. However, the author does not place women in a lower or less exalted position than men. It avoids significantly different things between the two sexes (such as aqiqah, inheritance, or testimony). When he talks about menstruation and bathing after menstruation, there is no impression as if menstruating women are dirty. It does not use terms such as "pure" (which implicitly states menstruating women are not "pure"); more neutrally, he wrote that there are five things that make bathing obligatory: death (except martyrdom), menstruation, childbirth, wiladah (miscarriage), and janabah (intercourse). There is no long description of things that are prohibited for women during menstruation.

JAMALUDIN'S PARUKUNAN CONTROVERSY

Scholars and researchers have different opinions regarding the true identity of the author of the book Parukunan Melayu. Some scholars argue that Mufti Jamaluddin wrote the book. This opinion is perhaps the most popular because, in several printed editions, the name Mufti Jamâluddîn is written. Some scholars, such as Ahmad Basuni, mention that Syarifah bint Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad wrote the same book. This opinion does not seem

popular enough and is not supported by solid arguments. Some scholars, such as Zafry Zamzam, Abu Daudi, Alfani Daud, Asywadie Syukur, Hafizh Anshary, Gazali Usman, et al., and Martin van Bruinessen, argue that the book was composed by Fatimah bint Abdul Wahhab Bugis. This last opinion seems to have a more robust argumentation basis because long before Shaykh Abd al-Rahmân Shiddîq (1857-1939 AD), a great scholar descended from Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad and a mufti in the Indragiri Sapat Kingdom, had provided convincing information that the *Parukunan Melayu* book was the work of Fatimah bint Abdul Wahhab Bugis, but in the publication of this book in the name of her uncle (Mufti Jamâluddîn).⁴⁸

So far, it is unknown exactly why Mufti Jamâluddîn named the book. In the world of the yellow book, there is no copyright, and copying other people's writings without credit has become a habit. However, according to Martin van Bruinessen's observation, it may be that the author's true identity was deliberately hidden under the assumption and culture at the time that writing books were a man's job. Likewise, Ahmad Basuni explained why the book was named after Mufti Jamâluddîn and that it was not right then to mention the name of a woman as the book's author..⁴⁹

Meanwhile, Ahmad Juhaidi explained why the work was named after Mufti Jamâluddîn. There are at least two possibilities for that to happen. First, the kingdom only recognized the authority of religious knowledge owned by the royal mufti, whom Mufti Jamâluddîn held. Religious fatwas that the royal mufti did not issue were not recognized in the structure of the Banjar Kingdom. Perhaps, if the book is claimed to be the work of Fatima, who is not the kingdom's mufti, the various fiqh laws in it are not recognized as valid. Second, Fatimah saw greater importance by not being named as the book's author. By including the name Jamâluddîn, the book will quickly be recognized by the kingdom and the wider community. Fatimah, as a nephew, may feel obliged to respect her uncle, who, in fact, holds the highest Islamic authority in the Kingdom of Banjar.⁵⁰

The *Parukunan Melayu* manuscripts began to be printed around the end of the 19th century AD and continue to be reprinted to this day by different publishers, including:

- 1) Penerbit Mathbaah al-Mîriyah al-Kâinah, Mekah, 1315 H/1897 M.
- 2) Penerbit Dâr Ihyâ al-Kutub al-Arabiyyah, Mekah-Mesir, 1912 M. This edition has been corrected by Syaikh Abdullâh ibn Ibrâhîm Langgar al-Qâdhî and Syaikh Abd al-Rasyîd ibn Isrâm Panangkalan Amuntai al-Banjari.
- 3) Penerbit al-Haramain, Singapura-Jedah. This edition has been corrected by Haji Ilyâs Yaqûb al-Azharî.
- 4) Penerbit Bungkul Indah, Surabaya. This edition has been published by al-Haramain and corrected by Haji Ilyâs Yaqûb al-Azharî.

In the printed edition published by the publishers of al-Haramain, Singapore, and Jeddah, this book of *Parukunan* only consists of 39 pages (40 pages if added with the table

⁴⁸ See Zulfa, J. 2019. *Kitab Parukunan*... p. 27

⁴⁹ Zulfa, J. 2019. *Kitab Parukunan*...p. 28

⁵⁰ Zulfa, J. 2019. *Kitab Parukunan*...p. 28

of contents). On the edge of this print is also included the book of the Law of Jarâh compiled by Shaykh Muhammad ibn Abdillah Bâid al-Âsyî (a cleric from Aceh).⁵¹

Based on historical studies, oral traditions of the Banjar people, and interviews with several prominent historians, it can be ascertained that the author of the Book of Parukunan is Fatimah. Regarding this fact, it is necessary to explain several important notes related to the Parukunan Book.

First, the Parukunan Book is, in principle, a kind of summary (*khulasah*) of the *Sabil al-Muhtadin* book written by Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and printed for the first time in Mecca in 1300 H. Therefore, compared the contents and discussions described in it have similarities with the Book of *Sabil al-Muhtadin*. It is understandable because both the Book of Parukunan Jamaluddin and the Book of *Sabil al-Muhtadin* lead to the same source, Al-Banjari.

Second, because it is a kind of summary from the Book of *Sabil al-Muhtadin*, it is reasonable to say that the discussion compiled in this Book of Parukunan is based on the material for recitations or religious lessons delivered or dictated by Al-Banjari to his students. Moreover, one of them was Fatimah. It can also be read from the writing style of the book, which is narrative and addressed to the listener or interlocutor, as illustrated in words: "know you, O thaalib" (student of knowledge), "then let us," and so on.

Third, the teaching materials delivered by Al-Banjari were compiled and used as a guide by Fatimah. It provided religious teaching to women in her time to continue what Al-Banjari (her grandfather) had done so that women's access and opportunities to study religion at that period were more expansive, not inferior to men. In particular, in the book Maulana Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (*Tuan Haji Besar*), Abu Daudi describes Fatimah's activities when giving religious teachings to women in her time.

"If the men are proud to see Muhammad As'ad, the first grandson of Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad, become a scholar, then the women are grateful for having a female teacher, the second grandson of Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad, who has also received the same knowledge. Fatimah sat in the midst of female students who came from various villages and cities, imparting knowledge to women, and realizing and strengthening the function of women in religion."⁵²

Based on the history and oral traditions of the Banjar people and confirmed by the figures, especially Abu Daudi in the book and from his statement, that this book was written or compiled by Fatimah has a solid historical basis and can be accepted. What is the argument for the statement that Fatimah is the author of the *Kitab Parkunan*? If this is true, some ask, why should the Parukunan Book be attributed to the name of his uncle, Mufti Jamaluddin? To answer this question, it is necessary to understand that the translation of this book to the name of Mufti Jamaluddin was not carried out by Fatimah or at the will of Mufti Jamaluddin but was carried out by the person who requested and brought the written text of the book to be printed and published by the publisher in Mecca. To information from Wan Mohd Shagir Abdullah, this book of Parukunan Jamaluddin was

⁵¹ Zulfa, J. 2019. *Kitab Parukunan*...p. 29

⁵² Abu Daudi in Zulfa, J. 2019. *Kitab Parukunan*...p. 208

printed and published for the first time in 1315/1897 AD or 1318 H/1900 AD. Both Fatimah and Mufti Jamaluddin himself, in 1897 AD or 1900 AD, died.⁵³ So of course there are many things or factors that are the cause and background.

Fourth, the discussion in the Book of Parukunan is more concise and practical. It includes the basics of religion (called by the corrector of the book, H. Ilyas Ya'qub al-Azhari, with the pillars of religion), fiqh worship, monotheism, morals, and Sufism. It was considered to be able to meet the needs of the Islamic community, especially women, for references or religious textbooks at that time, which were quite challenging to obtain and limited, in addition to the ease of learning them. Therefore, considering the limitations of women at that time, both in terms of the availability of time to attend recitations, study, and muthala'ah religious books, which were discussed at length or written in Arabic, as well as other factors, the presence of this Parukunan Book was very significant. And great influence for them, and even then for the people of Banjar. The Book of Parukunan is widespread and is owned by most of the Banjar people.

Fifth, considering all the limitations that existed at that time, such as writing tools, references, or writing traditions among women, this Parukunan Book's presence can be considered extraordinary. Because, until now, Banjar women scholars in particular, despite being in a very supportive period of writing books, have not been able to follow and continue in the footsteps of 'Alimatul Fadhillah Fatimah bint Shaykh Abdul Wahab Bugis.

Based on the description above, it is not wrong to say that this book is more appropriate and may be called the Book of Parukunan 'Fatimah'.

b. The Taklim Council for women at the Pesantren Dalam Pagar

As a child who was born and raised in an educated family or even in an "Islamic boarding school" environment, Fatimah has had greater access to being involved in the transmission chain of Islamic knowledge and education. Armed with a deep understanding of the Shari'a and good opportunities, Fatimah also taught women at that time.

This study describes:

First, the existence of these women scholars comes and grows with the support of people and environments that have a strong religious background, whether from father, mother, husband, teacher, or extended family who love religion. These women scholars do not stand alone, it is the supportive environment and social conditions that give them the opportunity to continue to develop in science and scholarship.

Secondly, these women are not only armed with a strong desire but also financial support that cannot be said to be small. Whether it is obtained from her parents, her husband, or from the surrounding community. Because one of the supporting factors for the success of da'wah is the cost or sacrifice of the property owned.

⁵³ It is estimated that Fatimah died in 1828 AD while Mufti Jamaluddin is estimated to have died in 1863 M. Zulfa, J. 2019. *Kitab Parukunan*...p. 208

Third, *da'wah* and the process of learning about Islam and how to implement Islamic values have always been carried out throughout her life. Women to be awarded and pinned the title of *ulema* is not because of a short and short path but through a long process, where at the time he lived the majority of women in Indonesia did not get a place in society, especially in the field of education. These women who later became scholars took a long time and struggled more painstakingly than ordinary people or male scholars so that they could become female scholars.

Fourth, if carefully observed, the intelligence, managerial skills and creativity of these female scholars are categorized as beyond their time. So that they can exist in addition to raising the status of women, also spreading benefits including for men.

This is in accordance with the principle of demanding knowledge as expressed by Imam Syafii,

أَخِي لَنْ تَنَالَ الْعِلْمَ إِلَّا بِسِتَّةٍ # سَأُنَبِّئُكَ عَنْ تَفْصِيلِهَا بِبَيَانٍ
ذِكَاةً وَجَرَصٌ وَاجْتِهَادٌ وَبُلْغَةٌ # وَصُحْبَةٌ أُسْتَاذٍ وَطَوْلُ زَمَانٍ

""My brother, one does not acquire knowledge except by means of six things of which I will give details: intelligence, enthusiasm, earnestness, sufficiency, friendship (learning) with the *ustadz* (teacher), and taking a long time." ⁵⁴

Because women can become scholars because of their struggle for knowledge, *da'wah*, and women. It is women who strive for the happiness of the afterlife who are ultimately known and remembered as scholars. Because they can use the opportunity of their life and devotion in the world for the hereafter. They not only understand the science of the hereafter but also understand the science of the world to support their ability to improve the order of human needs in general. However, the weariness of the world did not deceive them and make them desire worldly life and pleasures. Because they understand the interests of society and are sensitive to the public interest. They were like torches in their time. They were women who did not care about the opinions of the rulers nor did they care about the opinions of the people; these women showed the people what the *Qur'an*, *as-Sunnah*, and the scholars taught them.

CONCLUSION

The contribution of *da'wah* made by Indonesian female *ulama* Fatimah Al-Banjari (d. 1828 AD) consists of various aspects. These women scholars are not only active in teaching in *taklim* assemblies, they give whatever they have for their *da'wah*. In addition to support from families and students and the community, they build *da'wah* facilities and facilities with the assets (in the form of goods, valuables, and money) they have. These scholars also

⁵⁴ Syaikh. Az-Zarnuji. t.th. *Taklim Muta'allim* (terj).

give their energy and all their time for the betterment of the ummah, not only for women but also for men. Often they have to prioritize the benefit of the ummah over themselves. These women scholars are not only concerned with religious matters but also national and community affairs, education including the economy. They teach economic independence so that women can be independent and not depend on their husbands or parents. Because their goal is the pleasure of Allah, the spread of Islam, the realization of maqashid sharia, and the benefit of the ummah.

The various strategies carried out by these female scholars in their da'wah still show the existence of their ulema like men, namely their presence which is a mercy (helping all groups that must be helped and fought for as long as it does not conflict with Islamic law, Islamic Izzah and Muslims). Diligent in worship, choosing a simple life (zuhud, detaching themselves from material / worldly measures and interests, having knowledge of the hereafter, religious knowledge in sufficient levels, understanding the benefits of society, sensitive to public interests, and devoting all their knowledge to Allah, the right intention in science and charity. In addition to building educational institutions aimed at their people, they also poured their thoughts in developing society both for their students but also for women to continue to increase their status in all lines of life, including writing and community organizations. So that these efforts produce and strengthen the social integration of society, help people who are lacking, encourage people to be able to make new breakthroughs in an effort to meet the needs of their lives, and foster an attitude of caring in people's lives. Likewise, the supporting and inhibiting factors for women clerics in their time in preaching are diverse. In every century there are changes that also show that every era there is a shift in the position of women in their society and it is greatly influenced by the culture and events that occurred at that time.

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