



## Madrasah in the Haramain and The Transmission of Islamic Knowledge to the Nusantara

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### Abstract:

This paper examines the historical development of madrasah in the Haramain and their contribution to the transmission of Islamic knowledge to Nusantara. It focuses on the Haramain as transregional centers of Islamic learning and on the intellectual networks connecting Mecca and Medina with Muslim scholars from the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. The study employs a historical research method with a qualitative approach, using library research and historical-document analysis. Data were obtained from primary and secondary sources, including historical works, biographical literature, Islamic educational texts, and recent scholarly studies on the Haramain-Nusantara intellectual network. Historical criticism and contextual analysis were used to reconstruct the development of madrasah and examine their role in knowledge transmission. The findings indicate that economic patronage, political interests, theological considerations, and social factors contributed to the emergence and development of madrasah in the Haramain. These institutions developed organized educational systems, distinctive curricula, and teaching practices based on oral instruction, memorization, discussion, and writing. The study further demonstrates that the Haramain played a significant role in shaping Nusantara ulama (Nusantara scholars) through scholarly networks, teacher-student relationships, knowledge transmission, and *sanad*. The study contributes to a broader understanding of Islamic education by demonstrating that the Haramain-Nusantara relationship was not merely a process of knowledge transfer but also a dynamic process of intellectual exchange and reproduction.

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## Introduction (مقدمة)

The Haramain, referring to Mecca and Medina, occupies a distinctive position in the history of Islam as both a sacred geographical space and a major center of religious learning. Mecca became the destination of Muslims from across the Islamic world through the institution of Hajj, while Medina retained a central position in the study and transmission of Prophetic traditions and Islamic scholarship. Their religious significance was therefore accompanied by an enduring intellectual function. Across different historical periods, scholars, students, pilgrims, merchants, and religious travelers converged in the Hijaz, creating conditions for the circulation of texts, ideas, legal traditions, theological positions, and scholarly authority. The Haramain should consequently be understood not merely as holy places but also as important nodes in the wider geography of Islamic knowledge.

The intellectual significance of the Haramain was closely connected with the mobility generated by pilgrimage. Hajj brought Muslims from geographically distant regions into sustained contact with scholars and learning communities in Mecca and Medina. Such mobility created opportunities for the exchange of religious knowledge and for the establishment of personal relationships between teachers and students. In the history of Islamic education, knowledge was transmitted not only through formal institutions but also through mosques, *halaqah*, *ribath*, private residences, scholarly gatherings, and direct oral instruction. The institutionalization of learning in madrasah therefore developed within an already established culture of scholarly mobility and interpersonal transmission. The historical development of Islamic educational institutions cannot be separated from this wider ecology of learning (Hitti, 2005; Makdisi, 1970).

The emergence of madrasah marked an important transformation in the institutional history of Islamic education. Although mosque-based learning and *halaqah* remained influential, madrasah provided more structured settings for teaching, student accommodation, administration, curriculum organization, and the reproduction of scholarly traditions. The development of madrasah across the Islamic world was associated with political patronage, charitable endowments, theological interests, and the increasing organization of Islamic scholarship. In the Haramain, these institutions became part of a complex educational environment in which madrasah interacted with mosques, *ribath*, *zawiyah*, and other forms of learning. The history of madrasah should therefore be examined not simply as the emergence of a physical school but as part of a broader process of institutionalizing the transmission of Islamic knowledge (Makdisi, 1970; Azra, 2013).

The Haramain's educational role became particularly important for the Muslim communities of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, or Nusantara. From the early modern period onward, Muslims from Nusantara traveled to Mecca and Medina for pilgrimage while also pursuing religious study. Some remained for extended periods, joined scholarly circles, and developed relationships with prominent teachers. These relationships created intellectual networks through which knowledge, books, scholarly credentials, and chains of transmission (*sanad*) circulated between the Haramain and Nusantara. Recent scholarship confirms that the movement of Jawi scholars to the Hijaz constituted a significant dimension of the intellectual history of Islam in Southeast Asia (Hadi, 2018; Qurtuby, 2021).

The relationship was not limited to the movement of students from Nusantara to the Haramain. Nusantara scholars also became active participants in the scholarly life of Mecca and Medina. Studies of Jawi scholars demonstrate that scholars from the Malay-Indonesian world could attain recognized positions within the intellectual environment of the Haramain, teach students, produce Islamic writings, and establish networks that extended across regions.

Rohmana (2023), for example, demonstrates the substantial presence of Jawi scholars in nineteenth-century Mecca, while Firdaus and Imawan (2024) emphasize the intellectual prominence of Nusantara scholars such as Nawawi al-Bantani and Mahfudz al-Tarmasi in the Haramain. These developments indicate that the Haramain–Nusantara relationship involved reciprocal participation rather than a simple center-to-periphery model of knowledge transfer.

The scholarly network also operated through texts and chains of authority. The transmission of Islamic knowledge traditionally involved direct relationships between teachers and students, authorization to transmit particular works, and the preservation of *sanad*. Modern studies of Nusantara scholarship have shown that these networks connected scholars in the Haramain with intellectual communities in the Archipelago through hadith studies, fiqh, theology, tasawwuf, and other Islamic sciences (Avivy, 2018; Rohmana, 2021). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this network continued to develop through figures whose writings and teaching activities linked Mecca with educational institutions in Nusantara. Imawan (2024), for instance, demonstrates how Muhammad Yasin al-Fadani's manuscript *\*al-'Iqdu al-Farid min Jawahir al-Asanid\** provides evidence of extensive scholarly connections between Nusantara scholars and the wider Islamic world.

Despite the growing body of scholarship on the Haramain–Nusantara intellectual network, existing studies have often concentrated on individual ulama, *sanad*, pilgrimage, Sufism, or the general circulation of Islamic ideas. Other studies have addressed the history of Islamic education or madrasah without sufficiently connecting institutional developments in the Haramain with the formation of Nusantara scholarly networks. This creates an analytical gap concerning the specific contribution of madrasah as educational institutions within the wider process of transregional knowledge transmission. A study that brings together the institutional history of madrasah, their educational characteristics, and their relationship with the formation of Nusantara ulama can therefore provide a more integrated understanding of how Islamic knowledge was transmitted, reproduced, and adapted across geographical boundaries.

This perspective is especially important because the influence of the Haramain on Nusantara was historically multidimensional. Returning scholars did not simply reproduce everything they encountered in Mecca and Medina. They interpreted and adapted scholarly traditions within local intellectual, social, and political contexts. The knowledge acquired through study could be embodied in teaching practices, incorporated into pesantren and other educational institutions, transmitted through books, and continued through teacher–student relationships. The Haramain–Nusantara network consequently functioned as a mechanism of intellectual exchange and institutional reproduction. Contemporary scholarship similarly emphasizes the diversity of Indonesian scholars educated in Saudi Arabia and the complexity of their intellectual orientations and social networks (Qurtuby, 2021).

Against this background, this article examines the historical emergence of madrasah in the Haramain, the economic, political, theological, and social factors that contributed to their development, their institutional and pedagogical characteristics, and their contribution to the formation of Nusantara ulama. The study seeks to address the gap between scholarship on the history of madrasah and scholarship on Haramain–Nusantara intellectual networks by placing both within a single historical framework. It argues that madrasah in the Haramain constituted important institutional spaces within a broader transregional system of Islamic learning and that their significance for Nusantara lay not only in the transfer of religious knowledge but also in the formation of scholarly authority, intellectual networks, educational traditions, and mechanisms of knowledge reproduction.

## Method (منهج)

This study employs a historical research method with a qualitative approach to examine the development of madrasah in the Haramain and their role in transmitting Islamic knowledge to Nusantara. The research focuses on the historical development of educational institutions in Mecca and Medina and the scholarly connections established between the Haramain and Nusantara from the emergence of madrasah to the development of transregional ulama networks. The historical approach is used to reconstruct changes in educational institutions, scholarly mobility, teacher-student relationships, and patterns of knowledge transmission within their respective historical contexts.

The research is based on library research using primary and secondary historical sources. Primary sources include biographical dictionaries of Muslim scholars, classical Islamic educational texts, works written by Nusantara ulama, records of scholarly chains (*sanad*), manuscripts and published editions of classical works, and historical documents concerning educational activities in the Haramain. Secondary sources include scholarly books, peer-reviewed journal articles, and recent studies on madrasah, Haramain scholarship, and Nusantara ulama networks. Recent studies confirm the importance of Haramain as a center of Islamic education and the role of teacher-student relationships and *sanad* in the formation of Nusantara intellectual networks (Avivy, 2018; Qurtuby, 2021; Rohmana, 2023; Hak et al., 2024).

Data collection followed four historical stages: heuristics, source verification, interpretation, and historiography. The heuristic stage involved identifying and collecting sources relevant to the emergence of madrasah, their institutional characteristics, educational practices, and connections with Nusantara scholars. Source verification was conducted through external and internal criticism. External criticism examined the origin, authorship, date, authenticity, and provenance of each source, while internal criticism assessed the credibility, consistency, and historical context of the information contained in the source (Howell & Prevenier, 2001).

The interpretation stage analyzed the collected evidence through three interconnected dimensions: institutional development, scholarly networks, and knowledge transmission. Institutional development was examined by identifying changes in the organization, curriculum, teachers, learning facilities, and pedagogical practices of madrasah in the Haramain. Scholarly networks were traced through biographical information, teacher-student relationships, *sanad*, scholarly mobility, and connections between Haramain scholars and Nusantara ulama. Knowledge transmission was examined through the circulation of Islamic texts, teaching traditions, scholarly authorization, and the return of Nusantara scholars to their regions of origin. This approach allows the study to identify not only who transmitted knowledge but also through which institutions, relationships, texts, and intellectual networks the transmission occurred.

The verified and interpreted data were synthesized through historical reconstruction and historiographical analysis. The findings were organized chronologically and thematically to explain the emergence of madrasah, the factors underlying their development, their institutional and pedagogical characteristics, and their contribution to the formation of Nusantara ulama. Attention was given to whether the relationship between the Haramain and Nusantara represented a one-way transfer of knowledge or a reciprocal process of intellectual exchange. This methodological framework enables the study to position madrasah not merely as educational institutions but as institutional infrastructures supporting the continuity, transmission, and reproduction of Islamic scholarly networks between the Haramain and Nusantara.

## Result (نتائج)

The study finds that madrasah in the Haramain developed as organized centers of Islamic learning alongside the educational functions of the holy mosques. Their development was influenced by economic patronage, political interests, theological considerations, and social needs. The institutions had more structured administration, curricula, teaching practices, and teacher–student relationships.

A major finding is that the Haramain played an important role in the formation of Nusantara ulama through scholarly mobility, pilgrimage, teacher–student relationships, *sanad*, and the circulation of Islamic texts. These networks facilitated the transmission and reproduction of Islamic knowledge in Nusantara (Avivy, 2018; Hadi, 2018; Qurtuby, 2021; Rohmana, 2023).

The study differs from previous research that primarily emphasizes individual ulama and scholarly networks by demonstrating that madrasah functioned as an important institutional infrastructure for sustaining and reproducing those networks. The Haramain–Nusantara relationship was therefore not merely a one-way transfer of knowledge but a dynamic process of intellectual exchange, adaptation, and reproduction.



## Discussion (مناقشة)

### Madrasah in the Haramain and the Formation of Nusantara Ulama

The Haramain occupied a privileged position in the intellectual history of the Nusantara. Studying in Mecca or Medina was widely regarded as an important marker of religious competence and scholarly authority. Latif (2013) notes that graduates of the Haramain were often perceived as possessing particularly high levels of Islamic knowledge. The Haramain consequently became an important destination for Nusantara students seeking advanced religious education.

The movement of Nusantara students to the Haramain had been occurring since at least the sixteenth century. Increasing numbers of pilgrims also contributed to the growth of student mobility. Many Nusantara Muslims who traveled to the Haramain did not limit their activities to pilgrimage; they also sought to deepen their religious knowledge and improve their understanding and practice of Islam (Latif, 2013). The development of transportation subsequently facilitated this movement. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the development of steamship transportation made travel between the Nusantara and the Hijaz relatively easier and faster (Majid, 2008).

Not all pilgrims who traveled to the Haramain returned to the Nusantara. Dutch colonial statistics indicate that the number of pilgrims returning was lower than the number departing, although the precise reasons for this difference were not always documented. Some may have died during the journey or while residing in the Hijaz, while others may have remained in Mecca or Medina to pursue religious study (Majid, 2008). The presence of Nusantara Muslims in the Haramain therefore represented more than a pilgrimage movement. It was also an intellectual movement. Students and pilgrims participated in religious learning and established connections with scholars from various parts of the Muslim world.

From the seventeenth century onward, scholars associated with the Haramain played important roles in Islamic intellectual and social developments in the Nusantara. The Haramain became a center where religious, social, cultural, and political ideas were circulated. Scholars who returned to the Nusantara frequently participated in Islamic educational activities and broader processes of religious reform (Azra, 2013). The intellectual networks of the Haramain also

contributed to the emergence of reformist and anti-colonial consciousness. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the Nusantara was increasingly subjected to Dutch colonial domination, some pilgrims and scholars returning from the Haramain brought with them ideas that influenced resistance to colonial authority. They became involved in *pesantren*, *surau*, *dayah*, *rangkang*, Sufi orders, and other Islamic institutions (Azra, 2013). (Qurtuby, 2021; Firdaus & Imawan, 2024)

Colonial authorities recognized the significance of these networks. The Dutch government sought to regulate the movement of pilgrims through various Hajj regulations, including the 1825 Resolution and the 1859 Ordinance. These regulations imposed administrative and financial restrictions on prospective pilgrims and enabled the colonial government to monitor their movement (Majid, 2008). Dhofier (1994) records the financial burden imposed by colonial regulations, including the requirement for pilgrims to obtain a passport at considerable cost. Returning pilgrims were also required to report to local authorities. Such measures illustrate the extent to which the colonial administration attempted to control the movement and social influence of Muslims connected to the Haramain.

### Scholarly Networks and *Sanad*

The intellectual relationship between the Haramain and the Nusantara was sustained by extensive networks of ulama. Azra (2013) identifies early scholarly networks as well as a core network that became particularly significant during the seventeenth century. (Avivy, 2018; Ghozali, 2024) Among the scholars associated with the earlier network were Ali bin Ahmad al-Fuwziy, Muhammad Jamal al-Din Zhahinah, Muhammad Dhiya al-Din al-Hindi, Muhammad bin Dhiya al-Din al-Saghani, Muhammad bin Abd al-Rasul al-Barzanji, al-Hafizh al-Ajami, and Hasan bin Ali al-Ajami. The core network included scholars such as Abu al-Hasan bin Rizq Allah al-Anjari, Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Saghani, Jamal al-Din Muhammad bin Abd Allah bin Zhahirah, Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Zhahirah, Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Aqili, Abd al-Latif bin Salim al-Zabidi, Qutb al-Din al-Nahrawali, and Nashir bin Abd al-Rahman al-Mashari al-Makki (Azra, 2013).

These scholars were not simply teachers in a narrow institutional sense. They formed part of an international scholarly community that connected the Hijaz with Muslim communities across the world. The certification of teachers further strengthened this system. Scholars who were authorized to teach could conduct instruction in madrasah, the Grand Mosque, and the Prophet's Mosque. The authorization system helped maintain the continuity and legitimacy of scholarly transmission, or *sanad*, within Islamic education (Azra, 2013). (Ghozali, 2024) The *sanad* system was therefore an important mechanism through which knowledge acquired in the Haramain could be transmitted to the Nusantara. Students did not merely receive texts; they established personal relationships with recognized scholars and became part of a chain of intellectual authority.

### Influential Nusantara Ulama Graduates of the Haramain

Before colonial intervention became extensive, the Nusantara already possessed established forms of Islamic education. Basic education commonly focused on Qur'anic recitation, prayer, and fundamental religious obligations. Instruction could take place in the homes of mosque leaders or other respected members of Muslim communities, while more advanced education was conducted in *pesantren* (Steenbrink, 2017).

The educational system of the *pesantren* was predominantly traditional. Teaching relied heavily on textual study, imitation, and memorization. Students learned from teachers and subsequently transmitted their knowledge to communities in their places of origin. Such educational practices shared similarities with traditional Islamic learning in the Haramain (Karim, 2017).

The relationship between the Haramain and Nusantara educational traditions became particularly important as scholars who studied in Mecca and Medina returned home. Asroruddin and Amin (2020) argue that the development of Islamic educational institutions in the Nusantara cannot be separated from the contribution of scholars who studied in the Haramain. (Jihadi, 2021; Qurtuby, 2021)

The political and theological contestation between Sunni and Shi'i traditions also influenced educational developments. When Sunni political authority became dominant in the Hijaz, this orientation affected the development of madrasah in Mecca and Medina and, through scholarly networks, influenced Islamic education in the Nusantara (Asroruddin & Amin, 2020). The Shafi'i school was particularly influential in the Nusantara. Shafi'i jurisprudence became deeply embedded in pesantren traditions in places such as Lasem, Termas, Jombang, Cirebon, Banten, and Pasai. These educational institutions were connected through scholarly genealogies with the wider Islamic world, including the Haramain (Karim, 2017).

The arrival of European colonial powers in the Nusantara created a new context for Islamic education. The Dutch arrived in the region at the end of the sixteenth century, and their political influence gradually expanded. Initially, colonial authorities did not directly interfere extensively in Islamic education. However, as Muslim resistance to colonial domination increased, the government introduced policies designed to monitor and regulate Islamic education (Ricklefs, 2005).

In 1882, the Dutch colonial administration established the *Priesterraden* to supervise religious life and Islamic education. Teachers were required to obtain permission before conducting instruction. Later regulations became increasingly restrictive. In 1925, additional measures were introduced to regulate which *kyai* were permitted to teach. In 1932, the colonial government introduced further regulations that could be used to close unlicensed Islamic schools and madrasah (Zuhairini et al., 1992). These restrictions did not eliminate Islamic educational activity. On the contrary, the development of the Ethical Policy contributed indirectly to the expansion of education and literacy among indigenous communities. Access to modern education, newspapers, and magazines broadened intellectual horizons and contributed to the emergence of reformist consciousness (Sunanto, 2017).

The relationship between Islamic reform in Indonesia and intellectual networks in the Middle East became increasingly visible in the twentieth century. Scholars from Minangkabau played a particularly important role in the early development of Islamic reform. Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin spent many years in Mecca together with Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi. Ahmad Khatib became imam of the Grand Mosque and was a prominent advocate of the Shafi'i school. His students included Muhammad Djamil Djambek and Haji Rasul, both of whom subsequently became important figures in Islamic reform in Indonesia (Ricklefs, 2005).

The reformist movement subsequently spread to Java. Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, also traveled to Mecca and studied within the scholarly environment associated with Ahmad Khatib. In 1926, Wahab Chasbullah, with the support of Hasyim Asy'ari, established Nahdlatul Ulama. Both figures related to the Haramain scholarly tradition (Ricklefs, 2005). The Haramain network thus contributed to different forms of Islamic institutional development. Its influence was not limited to one ideological orientation. Rather, scholars connected to the Haramain participated in the development of reformist, traditionalist, educational, and organizational movements. (Rohmana, 2021; Nuha, 2022)

The Nusantara scholars associated with the international scholarly networks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries transmitted Islamic reform through teaching and writing. Some remained in the Haramain and became teachers and authors, while others returned to the Nusantara and transmitted their knowledge to students and communities. Those who remained

in the Haramain participated in a cosmopolitan scholarly community consisting of students and scholars from different parts of the Muslim world (Azra, 2013).

This cosmopolitan environment was important for the development of Nusantara Islamic scholarship. Continuous interaction with different intellectual traditions enabled scholars to participate in a wider Muslim discourse. The Haramain therefore functioned not merely as a destination where Nusantara Muslims received knowledge, but as a transregional arena in which Nusantara scholars actively participated in Islamic intellectual life.

Among the prominent Nusantara scholars associated with the Haramain were Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Muhammad al-Nawawi al-Bantani, and Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi. These scholars played important roles in continuing the transmission of Islamic scholarship between the Haramain and the Nusantara (Latif, 2013). (Jihadi, 2021; Rohmana, 2023)

Earlier generations of Nusantara scholars connected to international networks included Nur al-Din al-Raniri, Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili, and Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassari. Later scholars associated with the eighteenth-century networks included Syihab al-Din bin Abd Allah Muhammad, Kemas Fakhr al-Din, Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani, Kemas Muhammad bin Ahmad, Muhammad Muhyi al-Din bin Syihab al-Din, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari, Abd al-Wahhab al-Bugis, and Abd al-Rahman al-Mashri al-Batawi (Azra, 2013).

These scholars demonstrate the breadth of the Haramain-Nusantara intellectual network. Their contributions extended beyond individual scholarship to the establishment of educational institutions, the production of Islamic literature, the formation of scholarly communities, and the development of religious movements.

The influence of the Haramain should therefore not be interpreted simply as a one-way transfer of knowledge from the Middle East to Southeast Asia. Nusantara scholars were active participants in the production, interpretation, and dissemination of Islamic knowledge. Their interactions with scholars in the Haramain created a dynamic intellectual network through which ideas were transmitted, adapted, and reproduced in different social contexts. (Hadi, 2018; Qurtuby, 2021; Rohmana, 2023)



## Conclusion (خاتمة)

The Haramain have historically functioned as a central religious and intellectual destination for Muslims throughout the world. Mecca and Medina were not only places of pilgrimage but also important centers for the study, teaching, and transmission of Islamic knowledge. The emergence of madrasah strengthened this intellectual role by providing more organized institutional structures for Islamic education.

The development of madrasah in the Haramain was influenced by broader developments in the Islamic world, particularly the institutional model associated with the Nizamiyah madrasah in Baghdad. From the eleventh century onward, educational institutions in Mecca and Medina increasingly developed alongside mosque-based halaqah, ribath, and other forms of Islamic learning.

Several factors contributed to the emergence and development of madrasah in the Haramain. Economic patronage and waqf provided essential financial foundations. Political authorities established educational institutions to strengthen religious legitimacy and political support. Theological considerations encouraged the preservation and reproduction of particular Sunni traditions, while social considerations influenced the management of wealth and charitable endowments.

The madrasah in the Haramain possessed distinctive institutional characteristics. They had physical facilities such as classrooms, offices, libraries, and student residences. They also developed administrative structures involving teachers, qadhi, and other officials. Their curricula focused primarily on Islamic sciences, particularly Qur'anic studies, Hadith, theology, ethics, and jurisprudence. The four Sunni schools of law played an important role in organizing educational activities.

Teaching methods included oral instruction, memorization, reading, writing, and discussion. These methods reflected the broader traditions of Islamic knowledge transmission, in which direct interaction between teachers and students remained central. The *sanad* system reinforced the continuity of scholarly authority and connected successive generations of scholars.

The most significant contribution of the Haramain to the Nusantara was its role in the formation of ulama and the development of Islamic intellectual networks. Since at least the sixteenth century, Muslims from the Nusantara traveled to Mecca and Medina for both pilgrimage and study. The expansion of transportation in the nineteenth century further facilitated this movement.

Nusantara scholars who studied in the Haramain returned to their communities with religious knowledge, scholarly credentials, texts, educational traditions, and intellectual connections. Some established or strengthened pesantren, *surau*, *dayah*, and other Islamic educational institutions. Others became teachers, authors, community leaders, and organizers of Islamic movements.

The Haramain-Nusantara network also had important implications during the colonial period. Colonial authorities attempted to regulate the Hajj and Islamic education because of concerns about the social and political influence of returning pilgrims and scholars. Nevertheless, these restrictions did not prevent the continuing circulation of Islamic knowledge and reformist ideas.

The historical relationship between the Haramain and the Nusantara reveals a complex process of intellectual exchange rather than a simple one-directional transfer of knowledge. The Haramain provided a cosmopolitan environment in which Nusantara scholars encountered diverse Islamic intellectual traditions, established relationships with authoritative ulama, and became part of wider networks of Islamic scholarship. Upon returning to the Nusantara, they adapted and transmitted these intellectual resources within local educational and social contexts.

Thus, the contribution of madrasah in the Haramain to the Nusantara extended beyond the transmission of religious knowledge. These institutions helped sustain scholarly networks, reproduce ulama, preserve legal and theological traditions, and facilitate the circulation of intellectual and social ideas. Through these processes, the Haramain became one of the most important intellectual foundations for the formation and transformation of Islamic scholarship in the Nusantara.



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