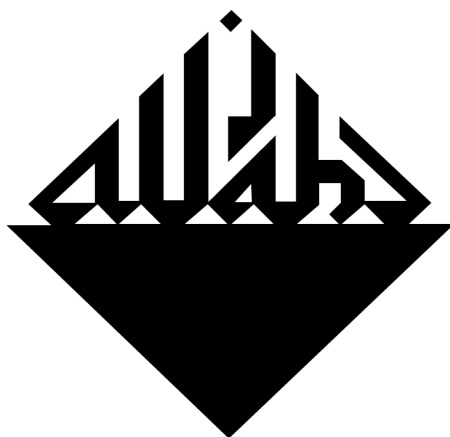


# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 19, Number 1, 2012



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LINKING IDENTITY TO COLLECTIVE ACTION:  
ISLAM, HISTORY AND ETHNICITY IN THE ACEH CONFLICT

Mohammad Hasan Ansori

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THE ROOTS OF THE WRITING TRADITION  
OF ḤADĪTH WORKS IN NUSANTARA:  
*HIDĀYĀT AL-ḤABĪB* BY NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ

Oman Fathurahman

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EDUCATION, YOUNG ISLAMISTS  
AND INTEGRATED ISLAMIC SCHOOLS IN INDONESIA

Noorhaidi Hasan

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# **STUDIA ISLAMIKA**



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Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 19, no. 1, 2012

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT/DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976). It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and South-east Asian Islamic Studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 83/Dikti/Kep/2009).

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or [studia.ppim@gmail.com](mailto:studia.ppim@gmail.com). Website: [www.ppim.or.id](http://www.ppim.or.id)

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia,  
institution: US\$ 75,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$  
25,00; individual: US\$ 50,00 and the cost of a single copy  
is US\$ 20,00. Rates do not include international postage  
and handling.

Please make all payment through bank transfer to:  
**PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karno's,**  
**Indonesia,** account No. **101-00-0514550-1 (USD), Swift**  
**Code: bmriidja**



Harga berlangganan di Indonesia untuk satu tahun,  
lembaga: Rp. 150.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 50.000,-;  
individu: Rp. 100.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 40.000,-.  
Harga belum termasuk ongkos kirim.

Pembayaran melalui **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP**  
**Tangerang Graha Karno's, No. Rek: 128-00-0105080-3**

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*Oman Fathurahman*

## The Roots of the Writing Tradition of Ḥadīth Works in Nusantara:

*Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī

**Abstrak:** *Di antara sejumlah wilayah di Nusantara yang banyak melahirkan para ulama produktif di bidang keilmuan Islam, Aceh adalah salah satu yang paling terkemuka. Dari tangan ulama-ulama semisal Hamzah Fansūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrā'ī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, dan 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fansūrī di abad ke-17, serta Jalāl al-Dīn al-Tursānī, Muḥammad Zayn al-Āshī, Khaṭīb al-Langgīnī, 'Abbās al-Āshī, Ismā'il al-Āshī, dan beberapa lainnya di abad-abad berikutnya, Aceh telah mewariskan khazanah karya keislaman yang sangat penting dalam bahasa Arab, Melayu, dan Aceh.*

*Karya-karya keislaman yang lahir dari Serambi Mekah dapat dianggap sebagai 'karya perintis' di bidangnya. Di antaranya adalah karya-karya puisi sufistik Hamzah Fansuri, kitab Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm karangan al-Raniri sebagai kitab fikih ibadah pertama dalam bahasa Melayu, kitab Tarjumān al-mustafid karya Abdurrauf al-Fansuri sebagai kitab tafsir lengkap berbahasa Melayu pertama, kitab Sulālat al-salāṭīn (Perteturan Segala Raja-raja) karya Tun Seri Lanang sebagai karya sastra sejarah yang fenomenal, dan lain-lain.*

*Akan tetapi, di antara karya-karya keagamaan yang masuk dalam kategori 'perintis' di Aceh tersebut, bidang hadis tampaknya merupakan salah satu yang terlupakan. Nyaris tidak ada sarjana pengkaji Islam Indonesia yang pernah memberikan perhatian khusus serta menelusuri sejauh mana tradisi dan perkembangan awal penulisan kitab-kitab hadis di Nusantara tersebut. Padahal, hadis diyakini oleh semua pemeluk agama Islam, termasuk Muslim Nusantara, sebagai sumber terpenting kedua setelah Quran.*

*Artikel ini mencoba membuktikan bahwa tradisi penulisan kitab-kitab hadis di kalangan ulama Nusantara tidak 'sesepi' yang dikesankan selama ini.*



*Meskipun dari segi jumlah memang kalah jauh dibanding bidang keilmuan lain, terutama tasawuf dan fikih, karya-karya lokal di bidang hadis, terutama dalam bahasa Melayu, dapat dijumpai, baik berupa kompilasi utuh sejumlah hadis maupun semata terjemahan dari kitab hadis berbahasa Arab.*

*Salah satu kitab hadis Melayu terawal yang menjadi bahan diskusi dalam artikel ini adalah Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb fi-al-targhib wa-al-tarhib, karangan Nuruddin al-Raniri. Minimnya kajian tentang tradisi penulisan karya-karya hadis, termasuk terhadap teks Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb ini tampaknya sangat dipengaruhi oleh masih terbatasnya akses terhadap sumber-sumber primer berupa naskah-naskah tulisan tangan (manuscript) di bidang ini. Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb ditulis pada 6 Syawal 1045 H/14 Maret 1636 M. Kitab ini mengandung 831 buah hadis dari berbagai sumber, seperti kitab Bukhārī, Muslim, Turmudhī, dan lain-lain.*

*Selain Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb, artikel ini juga menunjukkan beberapa karya lain yang membuktikan sudah cukup kuatnya akar tradisi penulisan kitab hadis di Nusantara, seperti Sharḥ laṭīf ‘alā arba‘in ḥadīthan li al-Imām al-Nawāwī karangan Abdurrauf bin Ali al-Jawi al-Fansuri, Tanbih al-ghāfilin karya Abdullah bin Lebai Abdul Mubin Pauh Bok al-Fatani, Farā'id fawā'id al-fikr fi al-imām al-mahdī dan Kashf al-ghummah karya Dawud bin Abdullah al-Fatani, Tanqih qawl ḥathīth karya Nawawi al-Bantani, dan lain-lain.*

*Contoh lain adalah Mahfudz Termas yang dikenal melalui salah satu karyanya, Manhaj dhawī al-nazar fi sharḥ al-manzūmāt ‘ilm al-athar. Kitab berbahasa Arab ini merupakan komentar atas kitab al-Manzūmāt ‘ilm al-athar karangan Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, dan berhasil menempatkan Mahfudz Termas menjadi salah seorang ulama Nusantara terkemuka di bidang hadis, sehingga kitab tersebut dirujuk oleh para ulama di dunia Islam secara keseluruhan. Demikian juga dengan Muḥammad Yāsīn ibn ‘Isā al-Fādānī al-Makkī di penghujung abad ke-20. Kitabnya yang berjudul Asānīd wa-ijāzāt wa-musalsalāt al-Fādānī, mengandung sanad dan ijazah al-Fadani yang sangat otoritatif di bidang hadis. Konon, ia bahkan menerima ijazah hadis dari 700 lebih ulama hadis sepanjang hidupnya. Dengan bukti-bukti tekstual yang masih tercecceh tersebut, artikel ini mencoba meyakinkan bahwa sejumlah ulama Nusantara memang memiliki sanad yang kuat dan otoritatif sebagai ulama hadis, serta terhubung dengan para ulama hadis di dunia Islam.*

*Oman Fathurahman*

## The Roots of the Writing Tradition of Ḥadīth Works in Nusantara:

*Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī

**الخلاصة:** من بين الولايات في الارخبيل ما أنتجت كثيرا من العلماء الغزيري الانتاج في مجال العلوم الاسلامية هو آتشييه من أقدمها، فمن أيدي علماء كأمثال حمزة الفانصوري وشمس الدين السومطراي ونور الدين الرانيري وعبد الرؤوف بن علي الجاوي الفانصوري في القرن السابع عشر الميلادي وجلال الدين الترساني ومحمد زين الآتشي، والخطيب اللانجيني وعباس الآتشي واسماعيل الآتشي وعدد آخر في القرون التالية، لقد أورت آتشييه تراثا ضخما من المؤلفات الاسلامية الهامة باللغة العربية والملايوية والآتشييه.

إن المؤلفات الاسلامية الصادرة في شرفة مكة يمكن اعتبارها مؤلفات رائدة في مجالها، ومن بينها أعمال شعرية صوفية لحمزة الفانصوري وكتاب الصراط المستقيم للرانيري وهو كتاب في فقه العبادات باللغة الملايوية وكتاب ترجمان المستفيد لعبد الرؤوف الفانصوري وهو أول كتاب في التفسير الكامل باللغة الملايوية وكتاب سلالة السلاطين لتون سري لانانج وهو كتاب استثنائي في الأدب والتاريخ إلى غير ذلك من المؤلفات.

بيد أن المؤلفات الدينية التي تدخل ضمن المجموعة الريادية في آتشييه تلك يبدو أن مجال الحديث من المجالات المغفول عنها، ويكاد ينعدم من الدارسين والباحثين عن الاسلام في اندونيسيا من كان لهم اهتمام خاص للاطلاع على المدي الذي وصل إليه التطور في المرحلة الأولى لتأليف كتب الأحاديث في الأرخبيل، مع أن المؤكد هو أن المسلمين جميعا بما فيهم المسلمون في الارخبيل يعتقدون في الحديث على أنه المصدر الهام الثاني بعد القرآن الكريم.

يحاول هذا المقال أن يثبت أن الاتجاه إلى التأليف في كتب الحديث بين أوساط العلماء

بالارخبيل لم يكن بالندرة كما هي متصورة إلى الآن، رغم أنه من حيث العدد لم يصل إلى ما وصل إليه التخصصات الأخرى خاصة في مجالي التصوف والفقهاء، إلا أن المؤلفات المحلية في مجال الحديث، و بصفة خاصة باللغة الملايوية موجودة سواء في صورة مجموعة كاملة لعدد من الأحاديث أم مجرد ترجمة لكتب الأحاديث من اللغة العربية.

ومن بين كتب الأحاديث باللغة الملايوية الأوائل التي هي موضوع البحث في هذا المقال هو كتاب هداية الحبيب في الترغيب والترهيب للشيخ نور الدين الرانيري ؛ لقد كانت ندرة البحوث في الاتجاه إلى تأليف كتب الحديث بما في ذلك نصوص هداية الحبيب متأثرة بدرجة كبيرة فيما يبدو بصعوبة الوصول إلى المصادر الأولى المتمثلة في المخطوطات في هذا المجال، فقد تم تأليف هداية الحبيب في ٦ شوال ١٠٤٥هـ الموافق ١٤ مارس ١٦٣٦م، وهو يحتوي على ثمانمائة وواحد وثلاثين حديثا من مختلف المصادر مثل صحيح البخاري، وصحيح مسلم وسنن الترمذي ما إليها.

وبالإضافة إلى كتاب هداية الحبيب يتطرق المقال أيضا إلى مؤلفات أخرى تكفي في إثبات رسوخ الاتجاه إلى تأليف كتب الحديث في الارخبيل مثل شرح اللطيف على أربعين حديثا للامام النووي لمؤلفه عبد الرؤوف بن علي الجاوي الفانصوري، وكتاب تنبيه الغافلين لمؤلفه عبد الله بن ليثي عبد المبين باوه بوك الفطاني، وكتابي فرائد فوائد الفكر في الامام المهدي وكشف الغمة لمؤلفهما داود بن عبد الله الفطاني، وكتاب تنقيح القول الحثيث لمؤلفه النووي البنتاني وغير ذلك من الكتب.

مثال آخر هو المؤلف محفوظ ترماس المعروف من خلال كتابه منهج ذوي النظر في شرح منظومات علم الأثر، وهو كتاب باللغة العربية شارح لكتاب منظومات علم الاثر لجلال الدين السيوطي وقد نجح في وضع الشيخ محفوظ ترماس في صفوف العلماء الارخبيل البارزين في مجال الحديث حيث صار الكتاب مرجعا للعلماء في العالم الاسلامي جميعا، وكذلك الشيخ محمد ياسين بن عيسى الفاداني المكي في اواخر القرن العشرين، فقد احتوى كتابه أسانيد وإجازات ومسلسلات الفاداني على الاسانيد والاجازات الموثوق بها في مجال الحديث، بل يقال إن لديه اجازة للأحاديث من سبعمئة محدث تلقى على أيديهم طوال حياته ؛ وبهذه الشواهد المكتوبة التي لم تزل مشتتة ثبت هذا المقال بما لا يدع مجالاً للشك أن عددا من علماء الارخبيل لديهم الاسانيد الموثوق بها من علماء الحديث ولها صلة بالحدثين في العالم الاسلامي.

The intimate political and intellectual relations that were developed, especially since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, between the Nusantara world<sup>1</sup> and Mecca and Medina (Ḥaramayn), as the centers of Islamic learning, stimulated the emergence of an intellectual Islamic tradition in this, often considered peripheral region in the Islamic world.<sup>2</sup> This close intellectual relation was marked by, among others, teacher-student relations between a number of Nusantara ulama and ulama in the Haramayn.

The names of those who were clear links in the chain of Nusantara ulama who studied in the Haramayn and who were collectively known as *Jamā'at al-Jāwīyīn* (friends from Jāwī) in Mecca include Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658 AD), 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī (1615-1693 AD),<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Makassārī (1629-1699 AD), 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī,<sup>4</sup> Arshad al-Banjārī (1710-1812 AD), Dāwūd al-Fatānī (d. 1847 AD), Nawawī al-Bantānī (1813-1879 AD), Aḥmad Rifa'ī Kalisalak (1786-1870) Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas (1803-1875), Muḥammad Saleh Darat al-Samaranī (d. 1903M), Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minangkabawī (1860-1916), and Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Padanī (1917-1990).

As in other places where Islam developed, the Nusantara world also produced valuable texts in various subjects, such as Quranic Exegesis (*tafsīr*), The Prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth*), Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), Islamic Jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and Theology (*tauhīd*), some of which were written by the prolific ulama mentioned above. The tradition of the production of Islamic texts developed in such a stunning and systematic way that they turned into and remained an inseparable part of the development of Islam irrespective of where it grew. It is thus not surprising that the Islamic world has passed down a wealth of texts and treatises in the disciplines mentioned above.

This was the situation in the Nusantara region in the past. The rather long history of the contacts between the region and other parts of the Muslim world also resulted in a wealth of texts both in translations, renditions, adaptations and works that may be called 'original'. Due to the conditions of the time, the authors wrote these texts in longhand and their students and followers subsequently copied and disseminated them to ensure the transmission of these sciences. At present, the bulk of Nusantara Islamic texts are found in the form of manuscripts written on European or local paper (such as tree bark

paper [*dluwang*]) which, for historical reasons, not only found their way over the Nusantara region itself, but also disseminated to other places, especially libraries and museums in all parts of the world.<sup>5</sup>

Different from the Arab world in general, Islamic intellectual works originating from the Nusantara region and written by authors or ulama from this part of the world were not homogeneous and written in one language and one script such as Arabic, for instance, but in Arabic and dozens of local languages including Malay, Javanese, Acehnese, Minangkabau, Madurese, Sundanese, Buginese, Sasak, Wolio and using local scripts such as Pegon, Serang, Hanacaraka, Cacarakan, Rejang, Kaganga, and others.

It is clear that these local Islamic manuscripts are in essence the products of their author's interpretations of Islamic universal and cosmopolitan doctrines. They were written in order to adjust these doctrines to local contexts and cultures, because, although the seed of Islam is the same as that in its place of origin, the 'soil' where it is sown has much sociological variation so that there was a strong need for the creativity of religious experts to distinguish and formulate their own identity and particularities. It is therefore no exaggeration when Taufik Abdullah states that Nusantara Islamic texts are the products of the 'intellectual restlessness' of the ulama in former times who were looking for a way to realize the ultimate perfection of human religious believes.<sup>6</sup>

### **Pioneering Islamic Works and Literature in Aceh**

Aceh is the foremost among the many regions in Nusantara that produced prolific ulama who wrote Islamic works in various disciplines. Among them are Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatra'ī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Faṣṣūrī in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Tursanī, Muḥammad Zayn al-Āshī, Khaṭīb al-Langginī, 'Abbās al-Āshī, and Ismā'īl al-Āshī in the next centuries. They have passed down a wealth of very important Islamic works written in Arabic, Malay, and Acehnese.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, a number of Islamic texts that were produced in Aceh may also be regarded as 'pioneering works' in their fields of study. Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī, with his Sufi poetry, for instance, is acknowledged as the forerunner of the Malay Nusantara Islamic poetic literary tradition

which was to influence Malay Islamic poetic genres in Nusantara in the times to come.

In the field of Islamic Jurisprudence, we can cite the *Şirāt al-mustaqīm* by al-Rānīrī as the first Malay *fiqh al-‘ibādah* (Islamic law that regulates the practicing of worship and the relation between people and God), while the *Mir‘āt al-ṭullāb* by ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Fanşūrī was the first one on *fiqh al-mu‘āmalah* (Islamic law that regulates the relations between humans and all their activities). The latter author also wrote the first Malay comprehensive treatise on Qur’anic Exegesis entitled *Tarjumān al-mustafid* which was inspired by the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by al-Suyūṭī and al-Maḥallī and the *Anwār al-tanzīl* by al-Bayḍāwī.<sup>8</sup>

Aceh not only had prolific authors in the fields mentioned above. It also had Tun Seri Lanang, a phenomenal author in historical literature. Although we know that he only wrote one work, the *Sulālat al-salātīn* (The Chain of Sultans), written in 1612, it has been appreciated and has drawn the attention of scholars for almost two centuries. Hooykaas explains that “...*tak ada tulisan Melayu jang demikian banjaknya diselidiki* [selain *Sulālat al-salātīn*] “... (there is no other Malay work that has been studied so extensively as the *Sulālat al-salātīn*)...”<sup>9</sup>

In the history of the study of classical Malay literature, the *Sulālat al-salātīn* may be considered the most important text to have drawn and captivated the attention of many scholars. Apart from the quote above, Hooykaas also emphasized that these scholars were so attracted to the *Sulālat al-salātīn* because of:

“...*cara kitab itu melukiskan sesuatu hal dengan tjara jang sederhana sekali dan oleh isi kitab itu jang amat indah2nya; mereka membuat terdjemahan2 dan daftar isi tjerita itu...*”<sup>10</sup>

“the simple way this book sketches situations and because of the beauty of its contents; they made multiple translations and synopses of the stories...”].

Teuku Iskandar adds that all the stories in the *Sulālat al-salātīn*, such as the preparations for war before the Portugese attack, the acts of war themselves, and the retreat of the Sultan to Muar and Pahang, are written so lively that it is as if the author himself was present and had witnessed everything himself with his own eyes.<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Haji Salleh even acknowledges:

“... Dengan rasa bahawa saya sedang berdiri di depan rimba rahasia fikiran leluhur maka sebagai seorang pembaca Melayu, betapa pun saya terpisah dari akar ini, dan juga sebagai seorang pengarang yang menghadapi pendahulunya, saya berdiri kagum...”<sup>12</sup>

“... Feeling that I am standing at the entrance of the secret forest of my ancestors’ thoughts that, as a Malay reader, no matter how far removed I am from these roots, and also as an author facing his predecessors, I stand in awe...”

Over the past two centuries, many books, articles, and text editions of the *Sulālat al-salāṭīn* have been written and published. The first among them was John Leyden’s, *Malay Annals: Translated from the Malay language by the late Dr. John Leyden with an introduction by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (London: Longman etc., 1821, reprinted in Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, 2001). After him came Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir [ed.] with *Sejarah Melayu* (Singapore: Thomas McMicking, 1841) and W.G. Shellabear [ed.] *Sejarah Melayu* (Singapore: Methodist Publishing House, 1898), R. O. Winstedt, “The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu: The Earliest Recension from MS 18 of the Raffles Collection,” *JMBRAS* 16, 3 (1938): 1-226, T.D. Situmorang & A. Teeuw [eds.], *Sedjarah Melayu Menurut Terbitan Abdullah (ibn Abdulkadir Munsji)* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1952), and lastly Muhammad Haji Salleh, *Sulalat al-Salatin, ya’ni Perteturan Segala Raja-raja Karangan Tun Seri Lanang* (Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan & Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1997).

A more recent publication on the *Sulālat al-salāṭīn* is an article by Henri Chambert-Loir who tries to understand the text as ‘a Malay political myth’, ‘The *Sulalat al-Salatin* as A Political Myth’ which was published in *Indonesia* 79 (April 2005). He stresses that the episodes in the *Sulālat al-salāṭīn* are more than mere recordings of the facts of the past. They should be regarded as political myths in the sense that they are deliberately used to provide a particular vision of history.<sup>13</sup>

Another recent appreciation of the *Sulālat al-salāṭīn* is an article jointly authored by Abdurrahman, Muhammad Ridhuan Tony Lim Abdullah, and Raja Ahmad Iskandar Raja Yaacob. It is entitled “The Malay World: an Analysis of Quranic Verses in the *Sulalat al-Salatin*”. It was presented at the “2011 International Conference on Social Sciences and Society” in Shanghai, 14-15 October 2011 and presents

a review of the Quranic verses quoted by the author of the *Sulālat al-salātīn*.

Moreover, there is a bundle of unpublished papers on the *Sulālat al-salātīn* and its author, Tun Sri Lanang, that were presented in the international seminar on “Ketokohan Tun Sri Lanang dalam Sejarah Dua Bangsa” held in Bireuen, Aceh in 8 December 2011 organized by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, in collaboration with the Tun Sri Lanang Foundation, the Association of Indonesian Historians, and the local authorities in Aceh.<sup>14</sup>

The attention of these scholars and institutions is not too surprising if we remember that the *Sulālat al-salātīn* is a rare Acehnese literary and intellectual heirloom rare because it explains early Islamic influences in the Malay Sultanate in Malacca in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Nevertheless, among the ‘pioneering’ works in Aceh, ḥadīth were evidently overlooked. There is hardly any scholar of Nusantara Islam who has ever devoted particular attention to, or who has explored the extent of the early tradition and development of writing treatises on ḥadīth in this region, even though all Muslims consider ḥadīth as the second important source of Islam after the Qur’an. That’s why in the Islamic scholarly tradition in general, ḥadīth works have been written in great numbers each having their own level of authority such as the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* by Imām al-Bukhārī (d. 870 AD), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* by Imām Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 875 AD), *Sunan al-Ṣughrā* by al-Nasā’i (d. 915 AD), *Sunan Abū Dāwud* by Abū Dāwud (d. 888 AD), *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* by Imām al-Tirmidhī (d. 892 M), and *Sunan Ibn Mājah* by Ibn Mājah (d. 886 AD).

### **The Writing Tradition of Ḥadīth Treatises Among Nusantara Ulama**

The writing tradition of ḥadīth treatises among Nusantara ulama is not as ‘empty’ as assumed so far. Even though they are less in numbers compared to other Islamic disciplines, especially Sufism and *fiqh*, there are local ḥadīth treatises, especially in Malay in the form of compilations of ḥadīths or mere translations of other Arabic ḥadīth treatises.

The dearth of sources and the excessive focus scholars on Indonesian Islam had towards Sufism and *fiqh* are two of the reasons that the ḥadīth works, and the discourse on Nusantara ḥadīth ulama remain relatively little known. Moreover, this is also the reason behind the completely erroneous conclusion drawn in one of the studies on the history of the



transmission of Nusantara ḥadīth that it only started in the 20<sup>th</sup> century through Mahfūz al-Tarmasī (d. 1919 AH/1920 AD). This study claims that al-Tarmasī's predecessors including Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī, Nawāwī al-Bantanī had no expertise in the field of ḥadīth.<sup>15</sup> This kind of conclusion is in need of reexamination in view of the availability of a number of ḥadīth treatises that precede al-Tarmasī as will be demonstrated below.

### **The Pioneer Ḥadīth Works in Nusantara**

We will start our discussion here with a Malay treatise on ḥadīth written by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and entitled *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb*<sup>16</sup> *fi-al-tarḥīb wa-al-tarḥīb* which is translated by the author as *Haluan akan Nabi saw pada menyatakan menggemari segala kebajikan dan menjauh daripada segala amal kejahatan* (the Prophetic guidance to instill the desire to do good deeds and to frighten to keep them from doing bad deeds). This work is also popularly known as *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyah 'an al-aḥādīth al-nabawīyah* (the Beautiful benefits of the Prophetic traditions).<sup>17</sup> The lack of studies on the writing tradition of ḥadīth treatises, including the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* is evidently due to the still limited access to primary manuscript sources.

The *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* may be considered the first ḥadīth treatise in Malay. According to the colophon found at the end of the printed edition of this work, it was written on 6 Shawwāl 1045 AH/14 March 1636 AD.<sup>18</sup> The book contains 831 ḥadīth taken from various valid sources including works by Bukhārī, Muslim, and Turmudhī. A more detailed discussion of this treatise will be offered below.

Apart from al-Rānīrī, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī, another Nusantara ulama also wrote a work in the field of ḥadīth. His work, *Sharḥ laṭīf 'alā Arba'in ḥadīthan lil Imām al-Nawāwī* (a concise commentary on the *Arba'in ḥadīthan* by al-Nawāwī), is a Malay translation of the *Sharḥ arba'in* by Sa'd al-Dīn Ma'sūd ibn 'Umar al-Taftajāni and contains commentaries on 40 ḥadīth by al-Nawāwī. So far, I found one manuscript of this work in the library of Leiden University (Cod. Or. 3301) and another in the National Library of Malaysia, MS 1314.<sup>19</sup>

Apart from these two, various scholars also mention the *al-Mawā'iz al-badī'ah* (the Magnificent advices) as having been written by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Fanṣūrī.<sup>20</sup> However, after more detailed research it appeared

that this work may more correctly be considered a treatise on ethics (*akhlāq*) because it contains religious advices, or “*pengajaran*” which he mostly, but not always, based on the ḥadīth *qudsī* (The words of God orally transmitted through the Prophet Muhammad, but not as part of the Qur’an). Actually, it has not yet been fully established that this work is by ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Fanṣūrī, since there are no convincing supportive data yet that clearly establishes him as the author.<sup>21</sup> However, I have not yet been able to proof that ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Fanṣūrī is definitely the author of the *al-Mawā‘iz al-badī‘ah*.

The next ḥadīth treatise is *Tanbih al-ghāflīn* (Admonition of the neglectful) by ‘Abd Allāh ibn Lebai ‘Abd al-Mubīn Pauh Bok al-Faṭānī, which was finished in 1184 AH/1770 AD.<sup>22</sup> It is a translation of a treatise with the same title written by Abū Layth al-Samarqandī. The author is the son of Lebai ‘Abd al-Mubīn ibn Muḥamad Jaylanī Pauh Bok al-Faṭānī, an ulama from Patani in southern Thailand who was a contemporary of ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Fanṣūrī.

In further period, Dāwūd ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī (born in 1718 AD), which is mostly known as the author of Sufism and *fiqh* treatises only, had written a ḥadīth work entitled *Farā'id fawā'id al-fikr fī al-imām al-mahdī*, which was finished in 1215 AH/1800 AD. Manuscripts of this text are to be found in the PNM of Malaysia under shelf number MS 652 and in the private collection of the late Hj Wan Mohd. Shagir Abdullah.<sup>23</sup> It is a Malay translation of an Arabic work under the same title written by Shaykh Mar’ī ibn Yūsuf Karmī (d. 1623 AD). As stated in the title, the ḥadīths contained in this work concern a variety of explanations on al-Imām al-Mahdī and it is probably the first Malay ḥadīth work that exclusively addresses al-Imām al-Mahdī in a comprehensive way.

Dāwūd al-Faṭānī also wrote the *Kashf al-ghummah* (Disclosing the sadness) in 1236 AH/1822 AD which is a Malay translation of a work under the same title written by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī.<sup>24</sup> When the Khazanah Fathaniyah publishing dynasty reached the height of its supremacy in the printing world, this work was one of the books that was validated and it was printed in 1303 AH/1885 AD.

From this period we also have a Malay ḥadīth work of which the author has not yet been established. It was finished on 2 Ramaḍān 1225 AH/1 October 1910 AD and entitled *Shifā al-qulūb* (Medicine of the hearts) and contains 40 chapters. Its preface explains that:

“...Aku himpulkan akan beberapa hadis Nabi Saw. yang diriwayatkan akan dia dengan isnad yang sahih dan dengan riwayat yang kepercayaan, tetapi di sini aku buang segala isnadnya dan aku tinggalkan akan alfaznya, aku ambilkan akan segala maksudnya juga supaya jangan payah orang yang menyurat dia, dan supaya jangan jemu orang yang membaca dia, dan aku jadikan akan dia satu kitab.

“I collected a number of ḥadīth of the Prophet Saw. narrated with a valid chain of authorities and a reliable transmission. However, here I have not included the entire chain but I retained the texts. I have also summarized their meaning so that people have no problem to write them and in order to avoid people who read them to become bored and I have put them in one book.”

Subsequently, Ḥasan Besut ibn Ishāq al-Faṭānī (d. 1860 AD) also wrote a translation of 40 ḥadīth originally written by ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Mundhirī which he gave the title *Hidāyat al-mukhtār fi faḍl al-ṭalab al-‘ilm wa-faḍl ṣāhibihi min kalām sayyid al-akhyār*. It was finished in 1259 AH/1833 AD.<sup>25</sup>

The writing tradition of ḥadīth treatises in Nusantara was continued by Nawāwī al-Bantānī (b. 1230 AH/1914 AD), an ulama from Banten. Among his many works, mainly in the field of *fiqh*, are two ḥadīth books of which the first, in Arabic, is entitled *Tanqīh qawl ḥathīth* (Reexamination of rapid words), which is a commentary on the *Lubāb al-ḥadīth* (the Prime ḥadīth) by Imām al-Suyūṭī. Al-Nawāwī’s second ḥadīth work is the *Nasā’ih al-‘ibād* (the Advises for the servants of God), which was finished on Thursday, 21 Ṣafar 1311 AH/1893 AD and contains about 250 ḥadīths. This work is a commentary on the *Munabbihāt ‘alā al-isti’dād li-yawm al-ma’ād* (Commentary of the Awakening in preparation the Day of Judgement) by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Shāfi’ī, who is more popularly known as Ibnu Ḥajar al-’Athqalānī.

It is clear that through the ḥadīth works he wrote, al-Bantānī shows that he shared a clear chain with other ḥadīth ulama and because of that, his authority in this field was unquestionable. Another Nusantara ulama who wrote a commentary on the *Lubāb al-ḥadīth* is Wan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Kutan al-Kelantanī which is entitled *al-Jawhar al-mawhūb* (the Gifted jewel) and was finished on Monday night, 2 Jumādā al-awwal 1306 AH/1888 AD. While al-Bantānī wrote his commentary in Arabic, al-Kelantanī wrote his in Malay.

At the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was yet another Nusantara ulama who devoted his attention to ḥadīth sciences. He was Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, the son of another Fatani ulama, Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī. He wrote a number of ḥadīth works both in Arabic and in Malay including the *Bishārat al-‘āmilīn wa-nazarat al-ghāfilīn* (Good news for the dutiful, and a warning for the neglectful), *Hadis memulakan makan dengan garam dan disudahi dengannya* (the Prophetic tradition recommends eating salt before and after meals), *Hadis-hadis pilihan* (Selected ḥadīths), and the *Daftar rijal hadis* (A list of ḥadīth transmitters).<sup>26</sup>

The most notable ḥadīth expert from Nusantara at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century is Maḥfūz Termas whose full name is Muḥammad Maḥfūz ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Mannān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Termasī. He was born in Termas, Pacitan, Central Java, on 12 Jumādā al-awwal 1285 AH/31 August 1868 AD. He lived in Mecca until his death on 1 Rajab 1338 AH/20 May 1919 AD.<sup>27</sup>

Maḥfūz Termas is the author of the *Manhaj dhawī al-nazar* (Method of the speculative thinkers), which he finished writing in 1329 AH/1911 AD, about nine years before he died. This Arabic treatise is a commentary on the *al-Manzūmāt ‘ilm al-athar* (Treatise in verse on the science of the Tradition) by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. It made Maḥfūz Termas one of the most authoritative Nusantara ulama in the field of ḥadīth so that his work was referenced by ulama in the entire Muslim world.

Entering the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it appears that the writing tradition of ḥadīth treatises in Nusantara did not diminish. We may at least note the *Ḥadīth ‘Ataqah* by Muḥammad Mukhtār ibn ‘Aṭārid al-Jāwī al-Batāwī al-Bawāqirī from Bogor, West Java. It was finished on 21 Dhū al-ḥijjah 1330 AH/1 December 1912 AD. The last Malay ḥadīth treatise I encountered is the *Baḥr al-mādhi* written by Muḥammad ‘Idrīs ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Marbawī al-Azharī on 2 Jumādā al-ākhir 1377 AH/24 December 1957 AD. It is a commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Turmudhī*. As explained in the introduction to the first volume, he based this work on memory and the knowledge he obtained from his teacher, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Samalatū, during ḥadīth lessons at the Al-Azhar University, and augmented them by references from various reliable sources. The author states:

“...kemudian manakala aku pulang ke rumah, tiadalah lagi berpaling melainkan aku jalankan batang kalam aku di pipi sahifah-sahifah sebagaimana yang kuingat dan aku faham daripadanya, berikut dengan sedikit-sedikit perkataan Imām Shāfi’i di dalam *al-Umm*, dan perkataan Nawāwī di dalam *Sharḥ Muslim*, dan perkataan al-Qusṭalānī, dan Ibn al-‘Arabī, dan lainnya...”<sup>28</sup>

“... thus, everytime I went home, I did not do anything else but I continued to write with my pen on the paper what I remembered and understood from him adding some words by Imām Shāfi’i in the *al-Umm* and by Nawāwī in the *Sharḥ Muslim* and by al-Qusṭalānī and Ibn al-‘Arabī and others...”

This is the writing tradition of ḥadīth treatises among Nusantara ulama as far as I was able to trace thus far. The dearth of references on this topic is a challenge in itself for further research.

### **A Glimpse of the Author of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb***

As mentioned above, the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* was written by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī whose full name is Nūr al-Dīn Nuruddin Muḥammad bin ibn ‘Alī Alī bin ibn Hasanji Ḥasanjī al-Hamid Ḥāmid al-Shafi’i Shāfi’i al-Ash”arī al-Aydarūsī al-Rānīrī.<sup>29</sup> Although he is known as an Acehese scholar, he was in fact of mixed Arab, Indian, and Malay descent as his mother had Malay blood while his father was a Ḥaḍramī immigrant from Southern Arabia who had moved from East Asia to Southeast Asia.<sup>30</sup>

Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman wrote that al-Rānīrī’s father probably hailed from the al-Ḥāmid ibn Zuhrá family who were descendants of one of the ten Quraysh families.<sup>31</sup> Other sources tell that al-Rānīrī was a descendant of the al-Ḥumaydī family who were often related to ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr al-‘Asadī al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219 AH/834 AD), the author of the *Musnad al-Ḥumaydī*.<sup>32</sup>

According to Azyumardi Azra,<sup>33</sup> al-Rānīrī was a reformer ulama in the Malay-Indonesian world in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century next to ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Fanṣūrī. His scholarly and political carrier was indeed in large part spent in the Acehese Sultanate at the end of Sultan Iskandar Muda’s reign (r. 1607 and 1636 AD), and during that of his successor, Sultan Iskandar Tsani (r. 1636-1641 AD). Especially in the beginning of his sojourn in the palace as ‘*Shaykh al-Islām*’, al-Rānīrī was fully supported by Sultan Iskandar Muda to take care of religious, social, economic, and political issues.

Because the Sultanate fully supported him, al-Rānīrī grew into an influential and productive ulama who wrote Islamic treatises in various disciplines, especially *fiqh*, Sufism, and theology. Shagīr Abdullah lists no less than 34 titles of al-Rānīrī's works.<sup>34</sup> As mentioned above, his *Ṣirāṭ al-mutaqīm* is regarded as the first Malay *fiqh al-ʿibādah*, while the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb*, the main topic of this article, is the first treatise in the field of ḥadīth. Shagīr Abdullah states that the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb fi-al-targhīb wa-al-tarhīb*, which he also gave the title *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyah ʿan al-aḥādīth al-nabawīyah*, is the first ḥadīth work written in Malay.<sup>35</sup>

Irrespective of his scholarly contribution to the Islamic intellectual tradition in Aceh in particular and in Nusantara in general, al-Rānīrī is also known as an ulama who was strongly opposed to the *wujūdīyah* teaching, especially as disseminated by Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭraʿī in a number of their works.<sup>36</sup> Al-Rānīrī, who was in Aceh from 1637 to 1644 AD) considered Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭraʿī's *wujūdīyah* teachings as heretic. As an orthodox ulama who prioritized the implementation of Islamic law (*sharīʿah*), al-Rānīrī issued a *fatwá* (a legal pronouncement in Islam) that the *wujūdīyah* doctrine was heterodox and deviated from the 'true' Islamic faith so that those who refused to repent and to renounce this understanding should be considered unbeliever (*kāfir*) and should be sentenced to death.<sup>37</sup>

Sultan Iskandar Tsani fully supported al-Rānīrī's *fatwá*, and the *wujūdīyah*'s followers suffered violent actions by the realm's forces. They were hunted and forced to renounce their convictions of the *wujūdīyah* doctrine. Besides, Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī's mystical works were collected and burned in front of the Bayt al-Raḥmān Mosque in Aceh because they were considered the sources of the deviation from the Islamic faith.<sup>38</sup>

Al-Rānīrī is thus considered an early major ulama in Nusantara who was rather controversial. On one side, he was a prolific reformer who wrote many works on Islamic sciences, but on the other he was an extremely orthodox ulama, at least when compared to his successor, ʿAbd al-Raʿūf ibn ʿAlī al-Jāwī al-Faṣṣūrī. Of course, al-Rānīrī's attitude was formed by many factors, and political aspects of the Sultanate may have been among them.

## About the Manuscript of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb*

So far, only one manuscript of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* has been found. It is preserved in the collection of the National Library of Malaysia with shelf number MS 1042.<sup>39</sup> However, we may assume that other copies may be found, especially in Aceh although the two largest collections there, those of the Aceh Province Museum and Ali Hasjmy Foundation appear not to have manuscripts of the text. Actually, there is another large collection of Islamic manuscripts in Aceh, namely that of Zawiyah Tanoh Abee in Aceh Besar that probably preserves thousands of them. However, among the 367 texts already catalogued in 2010, there is no copy of *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb*.<sup>40</sup>

The problem in Aceh, as in other regions, is that manuscripts are not only owned by museums and libraries, but also by private individuals whose collections are sometimes larger than those of these institutions, but access to them is limited. The assumption that copies of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* may be found among the population has to be reckoned with. For instance, collector of Acehese manuscripts, Tarmizi Hamid, once said that he thought he had a manuscript of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* among the dozens of manuscripts in his collection although he could not say this with certainty.<sup>41</sup>

It is also important to mention that the text of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* has been printed by the publishing house Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlāduh in Cairo in 1346 AH/1927 AD, in the margins of another text entitled *Jam' al-fawā'id wa-jawābir al-qalā'id* by Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. However, because of small number of copies and limited distribution, access to this printed version is also limited while it contains a number of variant readings compared to the version encountered in the PNM manuscript.

One of the most significant differences is that the printed version carries the title *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyah fi al-a's'ilah al-nabawīyah*, although the translation continues to point to the title of the manuscript version, namely: “*Pada menyatakan menggemari segala amal kebajikan dan menjauh daripada segala amal kejahatan*”.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, there is no information about the manuscript version the printing house used for its publication so that more in-depth research is needed to learn more about the reasons behind these differences. In the philological and *taḥqīq*<sup>43</sup> perspective, the title of a text should be based on

information in the original text, as far as this information can be found.

Another important difference is that the colophon at the end of the printed version states that al-Rānīrī finished writing the work on Friday, 6 Shawwāl 1045 AH/13 March 1636 AD. The complete text of the colophon is:

“...telah selesai fakir daripada menghimpunkan hadis ini pada tatkala hijrah Nabi Saw. seribu empat puluh lima tahun, pada hari Jumat enam hari bulan Syawal, yang penuh dosanya Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥasanjī ibn Muḥammad Ḥāmid Rānīrī al-Shāfi‘ī, diampunkan Allah kiranya baginya dan bagi ayah bundanya dan sekalian Islam...”<sup>44</sup>

“...I, a humble person, finished collecting these ḥadīths, in the hijrah year of the Prophet Saw. one thousand forty five, on 6 Friday of Shawwāl, who is full of sin Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥasanjī ibn Muḥammad Ḥāmid Rānīrī al-Shāfi‘ī. May Allah forgive him and his father and mother and all Muslims...”

A number of sources state that al-Rānīrī wrote his *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* when he was still in Pahang and that he brought it to Aceh in 1637 AD under the rule of Sultan Iskandar Tsani.<sup>45</sup>

The *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* in the collection of the National Library of Malaysia is written on European paper without a watermark. The manuscript has been properly restored as witnessed by the new covers made of firm carton and the fact that the holes in the paper have been filled up and the paper has been laminated so that the manuscript is easily readable and the reader does not have to fear that he ruins the manuscript while reading it by turning its leaves. The manuscript measures about 22.6 x 16.5 cm while the text block measures 20 x 11 cm. It has an average of 19 lines per page.

The left hand margins at the bottom of each verso side of the pages contain catchwords that refer to the first word on the recto side of the following page and which function to mark page sequence. There are no illustrations or illuminations in the entire manuscript.

The text is preceded by eight pages of prayers, including a prayer to be uttered when attending a party where food is served. One prayer sounds as follows: ‘...*allāhumma iḡfir li-ṣāḥibi hādhā al-ṭā‘am wa-tammim niyyatahu...* [Oh Allah, forgive the sins of the owner of this food and improve his intention...].’ This is followed by a short



explanation of the *Nūr Allāh* (the Light of God) and *Nūr Muḥammad* (the Light of Muhammad), and the start of *Sūrat al-Baqarah* with a translation in Malay.

As generally encountered in old manuscripts, rubrication, that is marking in red of parts of the text is found throughout, especially to mark parts of the Arabic texts of the ḥadīths. From the start until the end, 831 ḥadīths are presented with the Arabic first followed by a translation and explanation in Malay. The first sentence of the text runs as follows:

‘...dengan nama Allah juga aku mulai kitab ini Ia juga Tuhan yang amat pada memberi rizki akan sekalian hambanya dalam dunia ini lagi yang amat mengasihani segala hamba-Nya yang mukmin dalam negeri akhirat itu...’<sup>46</sup>

‘... in the name of Allah I start this book. He is God Who bestows sustenance to all His human beings on this earth and Who is the All-Beneficent for all His worshipers in the hereafter...’



Photograph 1. First page of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb*, collection of the National Library of Malaysia, MS 1042.

Al-Rānīrī explains that the ḥadīths collected in his work refer to reliable ḥadīth collections. As an ‘academic accountability’, he also provides a particular sign at the end of each ḥadīth in order to mark the source he used for that ḥadīth. A complete list of his sources is as follows:

1. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, marked by the letter ‘kh’;
2. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, marked by the letter ‘m’;
3. Sunan al-Tirmidhī, marked by the letter ‘t’;

4. Sunan Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, marked by the letter ‘alif’;
5. Sunan Abū Dāwud, marked by the letter ‘d’;
6. Kitāb Ibn Ḥibān, marked by the letters ‘ḥ dan b’;
7. Kitāb al-Dāruquṭnī, marked by the letters ‘q dan ṭ’;
8. Sunan Ibn Mājah, marked by the letters ‘j dan h’;
9. Kitāb al-Quda’ī, marked by the letters ‘ayn dan y’;
10. Kitāb Imam Ḥākim, marked by the letters ‘k dan m’;
11. Kitāb Ṭabrānī, marked by the letters ‘ṭ’;
12. Kitāb Imām Daylamī, marked by the letters ‘m dan y’;
13. Kitāb Abū al-Qasam, marked by the letters ‘ayn dan m’;
14. Kitāb Imām al-Bayhaqī, marked by the letters ‘q dan y’;
15. Kitāb al-’Askarī, marked by the letters ‘r dan y’;
16. Kitāb Abū Ya’lá, marked by the letters ‘y dan ayn’;
17. Kitāb al-Nasa’ī, marked by the letters ‘n dan s’;
18. Kitāb Ibn ‘Adī, marked by the letters ‘ayn dan d’;
19. Kitāb al-Khaṭīb, marked by the letters ‘kh dan ṭ’;
20. Kitāb al-Khuzaymah, marked by the letters ‘m dan h’;
21. Kitāb Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, marked by the letter ‘y dan alif’;
22. Kitāb Abī Zār, marked by the letters ‘b’ and ‘alif’.

Also at the end of the work, where he touches upon the issue of the conditions for repentance, al-Rānīrī mentions another of his works entitled *Durrat al-farā'id bi-sharḥ al-‘aqā'id*, a Malay translation of an Arabic text entitled *Sharḥ ‘aqā'id* by Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 791 AH/1387/8 AD). Naguib Al-Attas once stated that the manuscript of this text has become lost,<sup>47</sup> although further research revealed that three copies can be consulted in the collections of Yayasan Ali Hasjmy (55D/Th/19/YPAH/2005 and 144A/Th/20/YPAH/2005)<sup>48</sup> and the Jakarta National Library (W26).<sup>49</sup>

The colophon of the manuscript of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* provides information about the owner, the copyist, and the time of copying. It sound as follows:

*‘...tamat kitab Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb pada waktu hari Sabtu waktu duha ... yang empunya kitab ... Teungku Putih... yang menyurat Teungku Amar yang di negeri f-d-w-q, wallāhu ‘alam tammat āmīn yā rabb al-‘ālamīn...’*

*‘...the kitab Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb was finished on Saturday morning ... the owner of the kitab .... is Teungku Putih and Teungku Amar wrote it in f-d-w-q, Allah knows the best, finished, Amen O’Lord of the worlds...’*



Photograph 2. The last page of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb*, collection of the National Library of Malaysia, MS 1042.

Similar to the first pages, marginalia are found on the last pages as well as notes that have no direct relation with the main text. One of them mentions a cure for stomachache and the special virtues of the *Ayat tujuh* ('seven verses', a compilation of prayers taken from seven verses of the Quran). Apparently, notes with similar contents were rather common in manuscripts in the past.<sup>50</sup>

### The Organization of the Themes Addressed in the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb*

As al-Raniri himself remarked (p. 2v), he divided his discussion of the ḥadīths in his *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* into a number of chapters for the benefit of his readers. He says, '*wa-ja'altuhu mubawwaban li-yu'imma al-naf'a li al-rāghibīn*,' which he translated as '*dan kujadikan ia beberapa bab supaya manfaatnya bagi segala yang menggemari akhirat*' (...and I turned it into a number of chapters to facilitate all who desire the hereafter...). The complete chapters are as follows:

1. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari niat* (chapter on desiring intentions);
2. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari Islam dan iman dan ihsan dan ikhlas* (chapter on desiring Islam, faith, perfect goodness, and sincerity);
3. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari sembahyang dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring prayers (*ṣalāh*) and fearing not to do them);

4. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari mem[b]eri zakat dan sadaqah dan menakut bagi yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring alms, charity, philanthropist, and fearing those who leave it);
5. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari mem[b]eri hadiah* (chapter on desiring to donate presents);
6. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari berjamu-jamuan* (chapter on desiring hospitable reception);
7. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari puasa dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring fasting and frightening to leave it);
8. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari naik haji dan umrah ke Baitul Haram, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan keduanya* (chapter on desiring the *hajj* and *umrah* to Bayt al-*Harām*, and frightening to leave them);
9. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari fadilah Masjid dan membuat dia* (chapter on the advantages of mosques and the benefit to build them);
10. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari mem[b]aca Quran dan barang yang ta'alluq dengan dia dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring reading the Quran and other activities relating to it, and frightening to leave it);
11. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari bermimpi hendak melihat Nabi Saw. dan mengunjungi kuburnya dan menggemari mengucapkan salawat akan dia, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan mengucapkan salawat akan dia* (chapter on desiring to dream of meeting the Prophet Muḥammad Saw, to visit his grave, desiring to salute him, and frightening to not to do so);
12. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari ilmu dan orang yang alim dan orang yang muta'allim dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring knowledge, respect ulama and people who seek knowledge, and frightening to leave it);
13. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari takut akan Allah taala dan menakut atasnya yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring devotion to Allah Swt., and frightening to leave it);
14. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari kasih akan Allah taala dan menyebut-nyebut Allah dan hampir kepada-Nya* (chapter on desiring to love Allah Swt., to be thoughtful of Him, and to seeking proximity of Him);

15. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari percaya akan qada dan qadar* (chapter on desiring to believe in fate and destiny);
16. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari syukur dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring to be thankful and frightening to leave it);
17. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari berbuat bakti akan ibu bapak dan berkasih-kasihnya dengan segala keluarga dan menakut atas berbuat durhaka akan ibu bapak dan memutuskan berkasih-kasihnya dengan keluarga dan hak anak atas ibu bapak* (chapter on desiring to respect and show kindness towards parents, and upholding the ties of kinship, and frightening to be disobedient to parents, and to breach the ties of kinship, and desiring the rights children have on their parents);
18. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari sabar dan rida* (chapter on desiring patience and satisfaction [with Gods' will]);
19. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menahan kuasa dan memadamkan amarah dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring gentleness, to suppress anger, and frightening to leave it);
20. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari harap akan Allah taala* (chapter on desiring to having complete trust in Allah Swt.);
21. *Bab pada menyatakan peri menakut daripada zina dan liwatah* (chapter on the prohibition of illicit sex and sodomy);
22. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas minum khamar* (chapter on the prohibition to drink intoxicating beverages);
23. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang memakan riba* (chapter on frightening those who practice usury);
24. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang berkata dusta dan naik saksi dengan dusta dan bersumpah dengan dusta* (chapter on the prohibition to lie, to provide false testimony, and to pledge an false oath);
25. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang mencuri dan khianat akan amanat orang dan me[nye]mbunyikan mendapat arta orang yang gugur dan tiada mengembalikan arta orang yang dipinjam dan makan arta anak yatim dengan aniaya* (chapter on the prohibition of theft, betraying people's trust, hiding found items, not returning borrowed items, and the prohibition to using the belongings of orphans unjustfully);

26. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari membayar nazar dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan membayar dia* (chapter on desiring to fulfill vows and promises, and frightening not to achieve them);
27. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang takabur dan ujub* (chapter on the prohibition of being conceited and vane);
28. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang berbuat riya* (chapter on the prohibition of ostentation);
29. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang dengki dan dendam* (chapter on the prohibition of envy and vengeance);
30. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang mengupat-upat dan dan mengadu-adu* (chapter on the prohibition of slander and playing people off against each other);
31. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas segala yang zalim* (chapter on the prohibition of being tyrannical);
32. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang mem[b]unuh mukmin* (chapter on the prohibition of killing believers);
33. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari amal kejaan raja dan amir dan qadi, dan menakut atas mereka itu* (chapter on desiring the work of the king, emir, and judge, and stand in awe of them);
34. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari sunat Rasulullah Saw. dan menakut atas yang bid'ah* (chapter on desiring the tradition of the Prophet, and frightening religious innovations);
35. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari jangan berkehendak kepada barang yang ada dalam tangan manusia, dan menakut daripada loba dan toma dan lanjut angan-angan* (chapter on desiring not to desire what belongs to someone else, and frightening to be greedy, ambitious, and having extreme hopes);
36. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari benci akan dunia, dan menakut atas yang mengasih dunia* (chapter on desiring asceticism, and frightening to love the world for the world's sake);
37. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari pencarian yang halal, dan menakut atas pencarian yang haram* (chapter on desiring to look for permissible livelihood, and frightening to look for forbidden ones);
38. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menolong mukmin dan mengasihani akan segala hamba Allah, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring to help believers and to be merciful to the servants of God, and frightening to leave it);

39. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari segala sifat Mukmin, dan menakut atas sifat kafir dan sifat munafik* (chapter on desiring the characteristics of a believer, and frightening the characteristics of infidels and hypocrites);
40. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari perangai yang baik, dan menakut atas perangai yang jahat* (chapter on desiring having a good character and high morals, and frightening of having a bad character);
41. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari berkasih-kasihan dengan istri, dan menakut atas yang tiada berkasih-kasihan dengan dia, dan hak suami atas istri dan hak istri atas suami* (chapter on desiring to be in a loving relationship with one's wife and frightening of not having such a relationship, and on the rights of a husband towards his wife and vice versa);
42. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari merendahkan diri, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring to be modest and frightening not to be so);
43. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari musyawarah dan sembahyang istikharah, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia keduanya* (chapter on desiring to engage in deliberations and to pray for guidance, and frightening not to do both);
44. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari diam, dan menakut atas kata-kata yang tiada berguna* (chapter on desiring to be silent, and frightening to talk unnecessarily about trifles);
45. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menyunyikan diri, dan menakut daripada mukhalatah dengan manusia* (chapter on desiring to be in seclusion, and frightening the social intercourse with people);
46. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari bersahabat dengan yang salih dan barang yang ta'alluq dengan dia, dan menakut daripada bersahabat dengan yang jahat* (chapter on desiring to interact with and befriend devout people and everything related to it, and frightening to interact with and befriend evil people);
47. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menangis, dan menakut daripada tertawa* (chapter on desiring to cry, and frightening to laugh a lot);
48. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari barangsiapa membawa amal salih selama lagi hidupnya, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan*

- dia* (chapter on desiring to engage in pious deeds all during life and frightening not to do so);
49. *Bab pada menyatakan menakut daripada pergi bertenung dan percaya akan yang mem[b]eri alamat daripada segala burung sebagainya, dan menggemari akan simpan yang baik* (chapter on frightening to visit soothsayers and superstitious belief in birds or other bad omens, and desiring to believe good omens);
  50. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari fi sabilillah, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring to engage in *jihad*, and frightening not to do so);
  51. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menyuruh berbuat kebajikan dan melarangkan daripada berbuat kejahatan, dan menakut yang meninggalkan dia keduanya* (chapter on desiring to enjoin good and forbidding evil, and frightening not to do so);
  52. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menyebut-nyebut mati senantiasa dan mentalkinkan mayit dan berjalan serta janazah, dan menakut atas menganang-anang hendak mati dan meratap mayit* (chapter on desiring to always be mindful of death, doing *talqin* and to escort the dead and to bury them, and frightening to desire death and of lamenting the dead);
  53. *Bab pada menyatakan menggemari minta ampun dan taubat, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia* (chapter on desiring to beg forgiveness from God and to repent, and frightening not to do so).

### Closing remarks

This article discusses the results of my initial investigation into the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* as one of the early Nusantara ḥadīth treatises that have escaped the attention of scholars. I have proved here that ḥadīth works written by Nusantara ulama are not as scarce as perceived so far.

In the future, efforts to study the history of the spreading of Islam in Nusantara in the past, and research on local Islamic treaties in various fields of scholarship should certainly be carried out, especially in view of the enormous wealth of especially Islamic manuscripts. More in-depth research on the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* in particular and the writing tradition of ḥadīth treaties among Muslims in Nusantara in general still needs to be carried out.



## Endnotes

- I would specially thank to “Cik” Rahimah Hj. Ahmad and other colleagues at Pusat Manuskrip Melayu of National Library of Malaysia (PNM) for their generosity and help to access the digital copy of *Hidāyat al-ḥabīb* manuscript in the collection.
- 1. The Nusantara World refers to the Archipelago area as a whole and the Malay Peninsula.
- 2. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, second edition, 1994); see also Peter Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses* (Singapore: Horizon Books, 2001).
- 3. Some sources, including Azra (1994), add ‘al-Sinkili’ at the end of his name. However, his full name is ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ibn ‘Alī al-Jawī al-Fanṣūrī, as mentioned in one of his canonical works, *Tarjumān al-mustafid* (Fathurahman & Holil 2007:32-33). A scholarly edition of one of his Arabic works, *Tanbih al-māshī al-mansūb ilā ṭariq al-Qushāshī*, has been done by Fathurahman (1999).
- 4. We do not have exact information about when he lived and about his career. See Azra 2004:113.
- 5. Henri Chambert-Loir & Oman Fathurahman. *Khazanah Naskah: Panduan Koleksi Naskah Indonesia Sedunia/World Guide to Indonesian Manuscript Collections* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia and EFEO, 1999).
- 6. Taufik Abdullah, *Nasionalisme dan Sejarah*, (Bandung: CV. Satya Historika, 2001), p. 14.
- 7. See, for instance, Oman Fathurahman & Munawar Holil, *Katalog Naskah Ali Hasjmy Aceh* (Tokyo: C-DATS TUFS, in cooperation with PPIM UIN Jakarta and Manassa, 2007).
- 8. See Peter Gregory Riddell, “Abd al-Rauf al-Singkili’s Tarjumān al-Mustafid: A Critical Study of his Treatment of Juz 16”, doctoral dissertation (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1984); Salman Harun, “Hakikat Tafsir *Tarjuman al-Mustafid* Karya Syekh Abdur Rauf Singkel”, doctoral dissertation (Jakarta: IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1988); A.H. Johns, “The Qur’ān in The Malay World: Reflections on ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf of Singkel (1615-1693),” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9.2 (1998): 120-145.
- 9. C. Hooykaas, *Perintis Sastra* (Groningen, Djakarta: J. B. Wolters, 1951), p. 132.
- 10. C. Hooykaas, *Perintis Sastra*, p. 131.
- 11. Teuku Iskandar, *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad* (Brunei: Jabatan Kesusasteraan Melayu, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1995), p. 242.
- 12. Muhammad Haji Salleh, *Sulalat al-Salatin: Adikarya Akalbudi Melayu* (downloaded from the internet site MCP), p. 1.
- 13. Henri Chambert-Loir, “The *Sulalat al-Salatin* as a Political Myth” in *Indonesia* 79 (April 2005), p. 160.
- 14. See the seminar proceeding, “Sinopsis dan Makalah Seminar Ketokohan Tun Sri Lanang dalam Sejarah Dua Bangsa”, Bireuen-Aceh, 8 December 2011. Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif, Direktorat Jenderal Sejarah dan Purbakala Direktorat Nilai Sejarah; in collaboration with Yayasan Tun Sri Lanang, Masyarakat Sejarawan Indonesia, Pemerintah Provinsi Aceh, Pemerintah Kabupaten Bireuen.
- 15. See Muhajirin, “Transmisi Hadis di Nusantara: Peran Ulama Hadis Muhammad Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi”. Doctoral dissertation, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. 2009.
- 16. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas reads the title as *Hidāyat al-ḥabīb*. See Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq of Nur al-Din al-Raniri* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture Malaysia, 1986), p. 25.
- 17. Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, *Riwayat Hidup Syekh Nuruddin al-Raniri dan Sumbangannya kepada Pengajian hadith* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2006), p. 55.
- 18. The manuscript version of this text does not include such colophon.
- 19. See H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara* (Kuala Lumpur:

- Khazanah Fathaniyah, Vol. I 1991), pp. 42-61; Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Tinjauan Kritis tentang Sajarah Banten* (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1983), p. 59.
20. See, for instance, Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*; Oman Fathurahman & Munawar Holil, *Katalog*, p. 21.
  21. H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Khazanah...*, p. 173.
  22. H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam dan Silsilah Ulama Sejangat Dunia Melayu Jilid 6*, Pengenal Siri Ke-7, (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara & Khazanah Fathaniyah), p. 28; and volume 13 (2000), p. 37.
  23. H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Penyebaran...* (vol. 13, 2000), p. 17.
  24. H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Penyebaran...* (vol. 10, 2000), p. 21.
  25. H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Penyebaran...* (vol. 13, 2000), p. 42.
  26. H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Al'Allamah Syekh Ahmad Al Fathani Abli Fikir Islam dan Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1992), pp. 44-48.
  27. Abdurrahman, Mas'ud, 'Mahfuz al-Tirmisi (d. 1338/1919): An Intellectual Biography'. *Studia Islamika* 5:2 (Jakarta: PPIM UIN Jakarta), pp. 33-35.
  28. Muḥammad 'Idris 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Marbawī al-Azhari, *Baḥr al-mādhibi sharḥ bagi Mukhtaṣar Ṣaḥīḥ al-Turmudhī* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlādūh, I 1933), p. 3.
  29. Like Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭra'ī, and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Faṅṣūrī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, who died in 1068 AH/1658 AD was actually also a Sufi who wrote about the *Wuḥūdīyyah* teachings of the school of Ibn 'Arabī which culminated in the *waḥdat al-wuḥūd* doctrine. However, apart from his scholarly status, he was a scholar who liked to indulge in polemics and he accused Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn of being infidels because they had stained God's transcendence and had mixed it with the plurality of creatures. For a comprehensive treatment of al-Rānīrī's scholarly genealogy, see Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Indonesian-Malay and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century* (Australia & Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 54-69; see also Riddell (2001), pp. 110-125.
  30. Azyumardi Azra & Oman Fathurahman. "Jaringan Ulama". *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam*, Ed. Azyumardi Azra (Jakarta: PT Ihtiar Baru van Hoeve), Vol. V, p. 115.
  31. The ten Banī Quraysh families meant here are Banī Ḥāshim, 'Umayyah Nawfal, Zuhra', Asad, Taym, Makhzūm, 'Adi, Jumah, and Sahm. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zaman*, Vol. 4, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, (n.y.), pp. 558-616.
  32. Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, *Riwayat Hidup...*, p. 3. Some information in this book cannot be really sustained. For instance, it says that al-Rānīrī, may have had 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Jawī al-Fansuri as his teacher, or that Tun Sri Lanang (b. 1565) had been al-Rānīrī's student whereas Tun Sri Lanang was much earlier than him.
  33. Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama...*, p. 169.
  34. H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Penyebaran...* Vol. 6, (1999), p. 7.
  35. H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Penyebaran...* vol. 5, (1999), p. 2
  36. Oman Fathurahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi: Menyoal Waḥdatul Wujud, Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17* (Bandung-Jakarta: Mizan, EFEO, 1999), p. 36.
  37. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan...* p. 182; this issue is also put forward in Oman Fathurahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi...* pp. 36-37.
  38. Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan...*, p. 182.
  39. H.W.M. Shagir Abdullah, *Khazanah...* II, p. 65.
  40. Oman Fathurahman et. al., *Katalog Naskah Dayah Tanoh Abee, Aceh Besar* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, TUFS, PPIM, Manassa, Dayah Tanoh Abee, 2010), pp. 11-26.
  41. Unfortunately, I have been unable to investigate this when I wrote this article.
  42. See Dāwūd ibn al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Jam' al-fawā'id wa-Jawhar al-qalā'id* (Kairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlādūh, 1346), p. 3.
  43. *Tahqiq* is the translation of the word 'criticism', which in a modest way can be understood as '*ihkam al-shay'* (to pass a sentence on something). In the literary context,

- taḥqīq* is defined as ‘*al-fahṣ al-‘ilm li-al-nuṣūṣ al-adabīyah min bayṭhu maṣdaruhā wa-siḅhat naṣṣihā wa-insbā’uhā wa-ṣifātuhā wa-tārikḅuhā*’ (a scholarly treatise about literary texts from aspects of sources, textual validity, dissemination, characteristics, and history of the text). See ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Faḍlī, *Taḥqīq al-turāth*, (Jeddah: Maktabat al-‘Ilm, 1982), pp. 31-32.
44. Dāwud ibn al-Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Jam’ al-fawā’id...*, pp. 329-330.
  45. See, for instance, Teuku Iskandar, *Nuruddin ar-Raniri-Bustanu’s-Salatin* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966), p. 3; Ahmad Daudi, *Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry* (Jakarta: Penerbit Bulan Bintang, 1978), p. 49; Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara Jilid 2* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyyah, 1991), p. 60.
  46. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī, *Hidāyat al-habib...*, p. 1v.
  47. Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th Century Malay Translation of the ‘Aqā’id of al-Nasafi* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1988), p. 8.
  48. Oman Fathurahman & Munawar Holil, *Katalog...* p. 53-54.
  49. Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Catalogus der Maleische HSS in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavia, VBG LVII, 1909), p. 401; Sutaarga, *Katalogus Koleksi Naskah Melayu Museum Pusat* (Jakarta: PNRI, 1972), p. 78.
  50. Oman Fathurahman et al., *Katalog Naskah Dayah Tanoh Abee, Aceh Besar* (Jakarta: Penerbit Komunitas Bambu in cooperation with TUFS, PPIM, PKPM, Manassa, and Dayah Tanoh Abee, 2010), pp. xx-xxiii.

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian  
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,  
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رقم الحساب:  
خارج إندونيسيا (دولار أميركا):  
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karno's, Indonesia  
account No. 101-00-0514550-1 (USD).

داخل إندونيسيا (روبية):  
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karno's, Indonesia  
No Rek: 128-00-0105080-3 (Rp).

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:  
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٤٠,٠٠٠ روبية. والقيمة لا تشمل على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوى.



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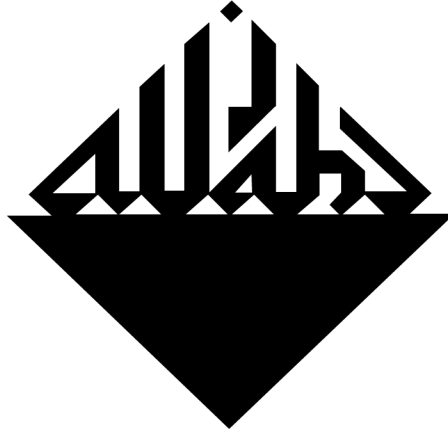


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وعلاقته بانتشار الاسلام في آتشيه

محمد دين ماجد

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