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IN SOUTH SULAWESI: ENCOUNTERING THE LOCAL,
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Mehmet Özay

‘Rumi’ Networks of al-Sinkilī:
A Biography of Bāba Dāwud

Abstract: *This paper introduces Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā‘il ibn Mustafā Rūmī (also known as Bāba Dāwud or Mustafā al-Rūmī) who was an Islamic scholar believed to have lived in Aceh sometime between 1650 and 1750 to the larger Muslim world. Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā‘il ibn Mustafā Rūmī is important for three reasons: (a) he lived during the time of the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam (16th – 17th centuries) and he was the leading student and religious caliph of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Sinkilī (Teungku Syiah Kuala), the well-known Acehnese religious scholar; (b) his Risālat masā’il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-muhtadī has been taught at Islamic institutions in Aceh and all around the Malay world; and (c) no scholarly works have yet been written about him, despite the striking fact that he and Teungku Syiah Kuala co-founded the Dayah Manyang Leupue educational institution, to which he subsequently remained affiliated.*

Keywords: Bāba Dāwud, Rūmī, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Sinkilī, Aceh Darussalam Sultanate, Southeast Asia.

Abstrak: Artikel ini membahas Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā'il ibn Mustafā Rūmī (juga dikenal dengan nama Bāba Dāwud atau Mustafā al-Rūmī), yang merupakan seorang ulama yang dipercaya hidup di Aceh sekitar tahun 1650 dan 1750, kepada khalayak Muslim yang lebih luas. Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā'il ibn Mustafā Rūmī dianggap penting karena tiga alasan: (a) dia hidup pada masa Kesultanan Aceh Darussalam (Abad 16-17) dan sebagai murid utama serta mufti dari 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī (Teungku Syiah Kuala), seorang ulama Aceh yang sangat terkenal; (b) karyanya, Risālat masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-muhtadī, diajarkan di lembaga-lembaga keagamaan di Aceh dan dunia Melayu; dan (c) belum ada sarjana yang menulis tentang dia, terlepas dari fakta bahwa dia dan Teungku Syiah Kuala bersama-sama mendirikan Dayah Manyang Leupue yang kemudian menjadi afliasiannya.

Kata kunci: Bāba Dāwud, Rūmī, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī, Kesultanan Aceh Darussalam, Asia Tenggara.

ملخص: هذا المقال سوف يقدم إلى العالم الإسلامي الأوسع الشيخ داود بن إسماعيل بن مصطفى رومي (المعروف أيضا باسم بابا داود أو مصطفى الرومي). وهو عالم يعتقد أنه عاش في آتشيه في الفترة ما بين عامي ١٦٥٠ و ١٧٥٠، ويعد من الشخصيات المهمة لثلاثة أسباب: (أ) أنه عاش في عهد سلطنة آتشيه دار السلام (في القرنين السادس عشر والسابع عشر) بصفته تلميذا رئيسيا ومفتيا لعبد الرؤوف السنكلي (تينغكو شياه كوالا) عالم شهير من آتشيه؛ (ب) أن كتابه المعنون رسالة مسائل المهتدي لإخوان المهتدي يتم تدريسها في المؤسسات الدينية في آتشيه وفي العالم الملايوي؛ و(ج) لم يكتب لحد الآن أي عمل علمي يتحدث عنه، بغض النظر عن الحقيقة التي تشير إلى أنه يشترك مع تينغكو شياه كوالا في تأسيس مؤسسة داباه مانيانغ ليوبو التعليمية التي أصبح فيما بعد ينتمي إليها.

الكلمات المفتاحية: بابا داود، رومي، عبد الرؤوف السنكلي، سلطنة آتشيه دار السلام، جنوب شرقي آسيا.

This article briefly discusses the life of Bāba Dāwud or Mustafā al-Rūmī, the scholar of Turkish descent whose grave is located in the provincial capital of Banda Aceh. It also attempts to answer several questions including, “Who was Bāba Dāwud or Mustafā al-Rūmī?”, “How did he come to Aceh?” and “How did he obtain his education?” Much like in other pre-modern Southeast Asian societies, written culture was rare in Aceh and because of this, “biographic details of Malay writers of the pre-modern period are hard to come by” as other researchers on Malay manuscripts and literature have remarked (Hussainmiya 1989, 1). Thus, even though Aceh has produced many scholars, today few details are known from only a small number of them (Hurgronje 1906, 18; Johns 1976, 312, 1999, 109–10). The present undertaking should be seen as a modest contribution to the body of research on this least known scholarly individual who was virtually the only known scholar in Aceh of a Turkish background.

Existing documents on his life and scholarly personality, his works, and information about his offspring, are also presented below. Unfortunately, the relative lack of authentic primary sources is a serious obstacle. Nevertheless, the works he produced show that he seems to have been a figure of note among Acehnese scholarly circles.

At this stage, it is important to bear in mind the presence of Syiah Kuala, the renowned scholar who was Bāba Dāwud’s guru starting from the second half of the 17th century. This will allow us to clarify the era Bāba Dāwud was born in and when he shaped his intellectual identity. After Sultan Iskandār Thānī’s death (r. 1637-1641), Aceh was ruled by female sultans for almost sixty years (1641-1699). During these years, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Sinkilī played a constructive role for the first *sultānah*, Iskandār Thānī’s widow, Ṣafiyat al-Dīn (1641-1675), and for her successors. al-Sinkilī, who brought the Shaṭṭariyah Order to the Malay Archipelago (Azra 2004, 78; Daly 1994, 22, 30; Daudy 1997, 73; Hurgronje 1906, 18; Riddell 1984, 21; Rinkes 1996, 21), worked in the palace of Aceh as *walīy al-Mulk* (deputy *sultān*) (Azra 2004, 78) and he continued to produce scholarly works, including the first Malay interpretation of the Quran (Al-Attas 1969, 16) (according to Bayzavī’s commentary) and a book on canon law entitled *Mir’at al-ṭullāb fī tashīl mā rifat aḥkām al-sharī’ah li al-Malik al-Wahhāb* (Daly 1994, 2)¹ both of which rank among his most important works. al-Sinkilī also wrote about theology, canon law (*fiqh*), hadith, and Sufism (Amiruddin 2005, 13).

Bāba Dāwud

Bāba Dāwud was probably born and raised some time after 1650.² His full name was Bāba Dāwud al-Jāwī ibn Ismā'īl al-Jāwī ibn Aghā Mustafā ibn Aghā Rūmī. Bāba Dāwud was also known as Mustafā al-Rūmī (M. S. Abdullah 1999a, 15–16). The name tag *al-Jāwī* indicates the possibility of his mother's Malay origin or of his birth in Indonesia (Azra 1998, 211; Laffan 2003, 351).³

There is no definite information about his birth and death dates. However, if we bear in mind that his teacher, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī, lived from 1615 to 1693 and returned to Aceh in 1661 after his studies in Arabia, we may safely assume that he lived sometime between 1650 and 1750.⁴

Bāba Dāwud is considered one of Syiah Kuala's leading students because of his role both in establishing Dayah Manyang Leupue and because he completed translations of important works (Azra 1992, 211).⁵ To date, authentic information about his identity has been found in two main works. The first is in the introduction to the *Turjumān al-mustafād*⁶ which is a translation of *Tafsīr al-jalālayn* or of *Tafsīr Bayḍawī*⁷ by al-Sinkīlī and contributed to by Bāba Dāwud. The source says that Bāba Dāwud was a student of al-Sinkīlī and that he had the following lineage: Bāba Dāwud ibn Ismā'īl; Ismail ibn Aghā Mustafā; Aghā Mustafā ibn Aghā 'Alī al-Rūmī.⁸ The second work is entitled *Manzar al-ajlā Martabat al-A'lā* and was written by Shaykh Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Kamāl al-Dīn, one of Bāba Dāwud's students. It states that Bāba Dāwud was one of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī students (M. S. Abdullah 1999a, 24–25).⁹

There are several opinions of the way Bāba Dāwud reached Aceh. According to Azyumardi Azra, he was one of the many soldiers the Ottomans deployed to support the Sultanate of Aceh to defend itself against the Portuguese (Azra 1992, 211, 2004, 258). But Wan Muhammad Shaghbir Abdullah criticized this view and opined that Bāba Dāwud ar-Rūmī's father was likely Ismā'īl al-Rūmī (d. 1631/1643), the shaykh of the Qādirī Order who was sent from Turkey to Aceh in this period (M. S. Abdullah 1999a, 24–25).¹⁰

Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā'īl ibn Mustafā al-Rūmī is also known as *Tunku Chik di Leupue* (the Shaykh of Di Leupue), as it was a common practice to call religious scholars not by their own name but by the location where they had settled. In regard to this, Bāba Dāwud was

called 'Tunku Chik di Leupue', because of his administrative service in the Dayah he had helped Syiah Kuala to establish in Banda Aceh's region called Leupeu. It is reputed that Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'ūf wanted him to manage Dayah Leupeu (Hasjmy 1977, 117; Ismuha 1971, 42; Mokhtar 2008, 56; Yakub 1980, 323).¹¹

A close relation between 'Abd al-Ra'ūf and Bāba Dāwud was established by the customary handing over by the guru of a handwritten Quran to his student. In regard to this, a copy of the Quran, written by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'ūf in a special form of calligraphy was given to Bāba Dāwud. Upon the latter's death, it was transferred to Haji Yahya, the leader of Dayah Leupue and, apparently, handed down from generation to generation to his descendants. Until recently, it was in the hands of Teungku Abdulaziz Ujung in Peunauyong. Ali Hasjmy noted that he had once seen it (Hasjmy 1983, 218). It is believed that one of Syiah Kuala's descendants, by the name of Mahmud, owns a photocopy of this Quran.¹²

It is relevant to consider the word 'Rūmī' as it is part of Bāba Dāwud's full name. The word 'Rūmī' is commonly used in his name to refer to his Anatolian origins. Arabs and Persians usually used the word "Rūmī" to refer to the Byzantine Empire (Reid 2005, 69).¹³ After the Saljuq Turks conquered Anatolia and established Turkish sovereignty there, the name Rūmī was transferred onto them (Bates 1994, 257–59; Bressan 1997, 4; Flemming 1988, 125; Mersinli 1941, 160).¹⁴ When Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror defeated Constantinople, the name was used for the Ottoman Turks as well and continued to be the common designation for their empire even after it had become a major world power in the mid-fifteenth century. Therefore, Muslims who came to the Archipelago from this land were called "Rum" (İnalçık 1973, 73; Seljuq 1980, 301).¹⁵

It should also be remembered that in the Malay world the sovereignty of the Ottoman Sultans was expressed with the legendary words '*Raja Rum*' (Andaya 1977, 129). One commonly comes across this usage in manuscripts and handwritten documents such as the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, the famous Kedah Annals (Marong Mahawangsa 2011, 11). There is also the term *Benua Rom* as found in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (K. Ahmad 1997, 501).¹⁶

Regarding the sultanate that was widely known as 'Rum/Greek Sultanate' in the Malay world, Azyumardi Azra had the following to say:

“In Indonesia and the Malay world there is a special narrative about the Rum Sultanate that was handed down from generation to generation. In the past, not only Turks, but also Arabs and Iranians played important roles in trade and Islamic education. Though there is no definite proof about this issue, Turks too, contributed to the Islamization of this region at the beginning.” (Azra 1992, 47, 2004, 35).

Emperoum, a village located very close to the center of Banda Aceh, supports this argument because this name apparently stems from its first inhabitants: a group of Ottoman subjects (Lombard 2007, 170).¹⁷ *Empe* is an honorific phrase, whereas *Rum* is used for people coming from Anatolia. In this context, *emperoum* was used to address the people who lived in this village as an expression of respect and, eventually, it became the name of the village (Cab Sikureueng (Segel Sultan Aceh): *Buku Objek Peninggalan Sejarah dan Kepurbakalaan Aceh* 1995, 20; Özey 2006, 111).

The Ottoman State’s political and cultural power impacted the entire Muslim world including the Islamic sultanates in the Malay Archipelago. In the fifteenth century, Muslims in the Malay world used to call the Ottoman sultan the “King of Rum” (*Raja Rum*) because of the conquest of Istanbul (Azra 1992, 103; Göksoy 2004, 11).¹⁸ Besides, this concept is also used for the geographical location beyond Anatolia as seen in the work of Abu’l Fazl. He states that the word *Rumistan* was used for the Ottoman dependencies of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and in Northern Africa (Khan 1999, 27).

His Works, Scholarly Personality and Student

Bāba Dāwud was one of the most important students and successors of al-Sinkīlī, who was widely regarded as not only Aceh’s but also the Malay world’s greatest scholar. The significance of Bāba Dāwud’s scholarly personality can be seen from his creation of the *Dayah Manyang Leupue*, an Islamic education center, together with al-Sinkīlī (Hasjmy 1977, 117, 1983, 81).¹⁹ Bāba Dāwud helped his teacher to complete the *Turjumān al-mustafid* which is considered the first Malay-language translation and commentary of the Quran (Riddell 2001, 161).²⁰ This work, which is considered a significant contribution to the development of Islamic knowledge in the Malay world, was first published in Istanbul in 1884 and has been reprinted from time to time ever since (M. S. Abdullah 1999c, 16; Amiruddin 2005, 13; Johns

1999, 112; Voorhoeve 1980, 38).²¹ The original copy was given to one of Bāba Dāwud's descendants in southern Thailand and then passed on to Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, who published the first edition of this study.

Although his descendants who still live in Patani and Kelantan say that Bāba Dāwud wrote several books, no concrete confirmation of this has ever been discovered. Bāba Dāwud's manuscript work was copied by Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī, who was the former's descendant, also known as Tok Daud Katib. And Shaykh Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, Daud Katib's cousin, later took over it. The work was subsequently rewritten by Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī and Shaykh Idrīs ibn Ḥusayn Kelantanam, all of whom made corrections to the original work. The first copies were published in Istanbul, in Mecca and in Egypt (M. S. Abdullah 1999a, 16; Mokhtar 2008, 54).

There is also an academic paper that said that Bāba Dāwud contributed to the translation of the *Mir'at al-ṭullāb*, the work of al-Sinkilī. Ṣafiyat al-Dīn, the first queen, who ruled Aceh between 1641-1675, asked 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī to write a Malay text book. Hence, since al-Sinkilī had spent almost two decades abroad he could no longer write in Pasai Malay, which is known as classical Malay, and he wrote in Arabic instead. After that, the book was translated by two people one of whom was Bāba Dāwud (Daly 1994, 35; Hanafiah 1972, 4).

In addition to contributing to al-Sinkilī's work, Bāba Dāwud wrote "*Risālat masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-muhtadī*" (The Guide for Right Path for the New Starting Brothers),²² a Malay text, which for nearly three hundred years was used as the basic text for instruction in religious schools in Aceh and other parts of the Malay world.²³ This book is also known as *Kitāb masā'il*, particularly in Aceh.²⁴ It has been used during the first stage of Islamic education in Aceh, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Southern Thailand where Malay was spoken (Hasjmy 1983, 18).²⁵ Considering it an important work, Ali Hasjmy asserts that this book has contributed to the religious education of hundreds of thousands of Malay students and is still being used, though partly, in Aceh (Hasjmy 1978, 81).²⁶ In addition, Oman Fathurahman states that this work is assumed to have been widely known and studied in the the religious schools and that copies are available in various libraries (Fathurahman 2010, 177).

This *risālah* can easily be acquired since it is sold in book stores in Banda Aceh, and in the city of Patani, Thailand as well, as the writer observed on his travels for his research. In addition, during my research I consulted some religious scholars in various regions such as Aceh, Patani and Kelantan about the existence of the *Masā'il*. On the other hand, copies which I have come across in various libraries in Malaysia and Aceh seem to be not the original versions Bāba Dāwud himself wrote but rather the ones various individuals copied throughout time. This is quiet understandable because of the tropical conditions which does not allow paper products to “survive much more than a century” (Jones 2013, xiii).

Written in Malay in the form of a question-answer dialogue, the best-known method of the time, it imparted elementary religious knowledge to first-year students who did not know Arabic. Interestingly it is still being used today, with no change in content, to teach issues related to faith, worship, and other subjects (Amiruddin 2005, 39; Hasjmy 1983, 382, 1984, 106; Sulaiman 1997, 31).²⁷

What makes this book special is that though it is short, it is complete and explains the matter clearly and accurately. One of the salient characteristics of this book is that it managed to reach the common people, particularly the younger generation and newly converted individuals as may be understood from the title. As said elsewhere in this paper, the work was also written in Acehnese and because of its outstanding characteristics some scholars translated it into various other ethnic languages such as Sundanese and Javanese (Hasjmy 1995, 490). There is no doubt that the purpose he wrote the *risālah* in Acehnese was to forge a link between members of scholarly circles and the common people. The content of the book was designed to convey the fundamental knowledge of Islam needed both for establishing *'aḳīdah*, and for daily *'ibādah*, practical reasons. The question and answer method of the book was also very practical because it was an easy way to convey information to the audience. This is very unique at a time when there were few books for common readers and the available books were intended to serve a relatively higher level of scholarly circles such as specialists, the closed group of religious scholars and their students (Reid 1993, 140). Hence, *Masā'il al-muhtadi* is not one that belongs to this group of works and it was easy for various circles to reproduce it which made that it easily found its way to local communities and outside regions.

It is well-known that in the history of Aceh, Bandar Aceh, the capital city of Aceh had become an international trade and cultural mart. It may be assumed that this feature made the inhabitants of the city multi-national and multi-religious. In regard to this, the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* might have been a very useful media for non-Muslims to understand the basics of Islam. There is no doubt that Bāba Dāwud was a Muslim proselytists and the book clearly proves his scholarly capacity and his ability to explicate the basics of Islam in the form of a very short book.

However, we do not know whether Bāba Dāwud also produced other works besides the *Masā'il al-muhtadi*. It should not be forgotten that Bāba Dāwud was a disciple of al-Sinkilī, who was very prolific religious scholar, and collaborating with him in the establishment of the Dayah Manyang. If all these elements are considered, Bāba Dāwud might very well have produced other works he either wrote himself or as al-Sinkilī's co-writer. In addition, it is also commonly known that in the past, religious scholars did not put their names in the books they wrote as they saw this as a sort of arrogance (Hanafiah 2000, 152; Salleh 1978, 5). I might just assume here that at least the work entitled *Bidāyat al-muhtadi*, which can be found as attached to the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* in various libraries in Indonesia and Malaysia may be the work of Bāba Dāwud (Fathurahman 2010, 130).²⁸

Many famous scholars studied under Bāba Dāwud, among them Nayan al-Baghdādī, the son of al-Fayrūz al-Baghdādī, the founder of Dayah Tanoh Abee,²⁹ and Muḥammad Zayn (M. S. Abdullah 1999d, 2; Hermaliza 2007, 7). Al-Baghdādī continued his education in Dayah Leupue di Penaoyung under the supervision of Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā'il ibn Muṣṭafā Rūmī. When al-Baghdādī earned his certificate, Bāba Dāwud encouraged him to open an Islamic educational center in Seulimum, Aceh Besar, 40 km. outside Banda Aceh (Hasjmy 1995, 490, 1997, 4). Thus, Bāba Dāwud is credited with having been the force behind opening Islamic educational institutions there. Shaykh Faqīh Celaledin, from Aceh, was also among the scholars who studied with Bāba Dāwud (M. S. Abdullah 1999b, 41).

Tomb of Bāba Dāwud and His Offspring

I got my first information about Bāba Dāwud from Imran Nyak Musa, a local resident of Montasik, while conducting fieldwork in Aceh

in September-December 2005. His tomb is located in a small cemetery near the Leupue Mosque, Gampung Mulia, near Peunayoung.³⁰ After the enormous damage caused by the 2004 tsunami, local residents surrounded his tomb with pieces of wood and wire and marked it with the note: *Makam Ulama Atjeh. Anak Murid Tg. Syiah Kuala*.

During my 2005 visit, intense construction activities were being executed by foreign NGOs and a carpenter's workshop had been set up next to the cemetery. Thanks to the local residents, who had not forgotten the past, the location of Bāba Dāwud's tomb was identified.

Today, there are no living descendants of Bāba Dāwud in Aceh. In southern Thailand, however, the famous scholar Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā'īl al-Cavi al-Faṭānī lived in Patani and has been put forward as one of his grandsons. Another descendant, Haji Nik Wan Fatma (Kak Mah) binti Haji Wan Abdulkadir Kelantan ibn Shaykh Dāwud ibn Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī died on 26 July 1999, in Kota Baru (M. S. Abdullah 1999a, 26–27).³¹

Conclusion

For a long time, scholars have tried to determine why Islam became so popular in the Malay Archipelago, and also the region's inhabitants have expressed interest in the findings of their research. What kind of phases did Islamization pass through until it became firmly established? Various studies indicate that the indigenous people's adoption of Islam occurred over a long period of time, beginning in the eighth century and continuing up to our own time. Islam was introduced by merchants and Sufis who moved and sometimes resided among the local people. Efforts made by indigenous scholars also helped this transformation. The development of Islam as a result of individual communication demonstrates its slow, but steady penetration.

Aceh, the "Doorway to Mecca" (Azra 2004, 84; Hall 1976, 42, 219; Lapidus 1995, 95),³² played the primary role in this process. During the first period of Islamic history, its rulers invited scholars from various Muslim lands, especially the Middle East and India (Iskandar 1978, 45; Tjandrasmita 1988, 71; Yusuf 1980, 5–6) as a result of which indigenous religious training centers and scholars emerged. Scholars played important roles in the palace, in educational institutions, and in society. With the start of Islamic missionary activities (*da'wah*), the number of Islamic educational institutions increased in the region

and indigenous scholars produced works on various topics. Thus, this corner of the Muslim world created its own civilization and established Islam on solid grounds.

Scholars who came to Aceh, either on their own or on invitation from by the rulers deeply planted the roots of their Islamic teaching by establishing Islamic educational institutions. Although many scholars either came to Aceh or were born and raised there, very little is known about them today. Bāba Dāwud, who was of Turkish descent, shares a similar fate. As we know that religious scholars were very active in Aceh social life particularly until the nineteenth century, (Hasjmy 1984, 101) it may be assumed that Bāba Dāwud was one of the last members of this generation.

As argued above, Bāba Dāwud lived in an era with a very fruitful literary environment which contemporary scholars accepted as the classical period (Johns 1999, 109). In regard to this, there is no doubt that, the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* in particular deserves to be accepted as part of the literary heritage of Islamic works from the 17th century. And considering that these literary works were vehicles for Malay Islamic enlightenment, there is also no doubt that Bāba Dāwud's work(s) is/are salient putative contribution(s), if remembered that he used Malay and Acehnese which definitely enabled a large sector of society both in Aceh and in the greater part of the Malay world, to study his work in the ensuing decades and even centuries.

Besides that, the prominent political leader and scholar in the twentieth century, Ali Hasjmy, argued that the use of Bahasa Melayu-Jawi was inevitable and played a crucial role in the expansion and improvement of Islamic culture and civilization. In regard to this, particularly the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* and other possible works of Bāba Dāwud can also be assumed as crucial contributions to this intellectual environment (Hasjmy 1984, 106; Ismail 1995, 724).

The *Masā'il al-muhtadi* can be regarded as one of the works that contributed to the improvement of Malay Islamic culture and civilization on the course of time. It may be of interest to add, as some researchers have highlighted and proved, that several Malay manuscripts and scholarly works were in use in Muslim communities in Sri Lanka. In regard to this, copies of the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* may have been moved to Sri Lanka and used as course materials in the classical Islamic education institutions like those found in Aceh and in the Malay Peninsula. As

mentioned, there were some “small Malay schools intended to import rudimentary instructions in Malay and Tamil functioned during the 19th century” (Hussainmiya 1989, 13).³³

After all, the only reason Bāba Dāwud is mentioned at all in various books is because he was a student of Syiah Kuala. Based on these data and the role of scholars in Aceh, this study provides some general information about Bāba Dāwud. Due to the lack of well-organized works about him, more comprehensive and deeper studies on this scholar and his works need to be undertaken.

Endnotes

1. This work was ordered by the *sulṭānah*, Sri Sultan Tāj al-ʿĀlam Ṣafiyat al-Dīn and was translated from Arabic into Malay (Alfian 2004, 14; Voorhoeve 1980, 36–37). This work was printed after edited by Shaykh Dāwud al-Faṭānī at 'Umm al-Qura Mekkah' in 1884 (H. 1309) (Ismail 1995, 730). Since it is known that ʿAbd al-Raʿūf al-Sinkilī could not write scholarly works in Malay due to his long sojourn abroad, it is probable that some of his students, including Bāba Dāwud, might have given him a hand.
2. Regarding the accessibility to Bāba Dāwud's biography, we faced the same difficulty as with Hamzah Fansuri (Braginsky 1999, 136) and the best way was to reconstruct certain parts of his biography based on available data.
3. For example, a descendant of an Arab in Jambi may be named "Sayyid Shaykh ibn al-Marḥūm Sayyid al-Sharif Abū Bahr al-Jāwī" (See Fang 1976, 19).
4. I got this information for the first time on October 4, 2005 and I visited his grave in Kampung Mulia, next to Peunayong, Banda Aceh. Bāba Dāwud's grave is referred to as Makam Teungku di Leupu (Haşjmy 1977, 117; Ibrahim 1977, 17).
5. Bāba Dāwud is also considered one of Syiah Kuala's few *khalīfahs* (See Kraus 1995, 30 [f.n.11]). And, as Kraus argues in his discussion of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Muḥyī, who was another of Syiah Kuala's students, the latter was not liberal in appointing *khalīfahs*. In regard to this, it is assumed that Bāba Dāwud must have spent many years with Syiah Kuala (Kraus 1995, 24). In addition, it should be emphasized that '*dayah*', a word transformed from '*zawiyah*', historically existed in Aceh as general religious education centers (Voorhoeve 1980, 38; Yakub 1980, 322).
6. This work is the first Quranic exegesis in Malay written in Arabic script (*Jawī*). It measures 22 x 31 cm. and has 540 pages (Johns 1999, 111; Pameran Literatur Islam 1994, sec. Panitia Festival Baiturrahman Ke-2). This work was written during the time of Sulṭānah Tāj al-ʿĀlam Ṣafiyat al-Dīn (Braginsky 2004, 355–56; Haşjmy 1977, 115).
7. The exact title of Abdullah bin Omar bin Muhammed Shirazi al-Baydawi's work is *Tafsīr anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār taʿwīl*. Some researchers argue that this work is a translation of *Tafsīr Bayzawī* (Haşjmy 1977, 115; Voorhoeve 1980, 38; Yunus 2008, 190–91). On the other hand, Anthony Johns asserts that this Quranic exegesis is based on two '*jalālayn*', one Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 1459), and the other Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) (Johns 1999, 111 [f.n.]).
8. The name Bāba Dāwud is mentioned on page of 683 of a manuscript of the *Turjumān al-mustafīd*, See MSS 3316, Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, Perpustakaan Negeri Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. And ʿAbd al-Raʿūf al-Sinkilī mentions Bāba Dāwud's name as Ali al-Rūmī who contributed to the writing of the Quranic exegesis (M. S. Abdullah 1991, 160; Daly 1994, 30; Hamka 1980, 4). This book was also published in two volumes in Constantinople in H. 1302 (Voorhoeve 1980, 38).
9. Jalāl al-Dīn was a disciple of Bāba Dāwud (M. S. Abdullah 1999b, 41).
10. Regarding the authority of Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, I would say that Werner Kraus refers to him as a resource person (Kraus 1990, 706).
11. *Leupue* is a name given to the mosque on the road from Peunayong to the Lampulo fish market. Hence this name is also remembered at least by some quarters as Bāba Dāwud's epithet. Peter Riddell mentions that Bāba Dāwud's guru, Abdurrauf as-Singkili was living in Peunayong in 1693 (Riddell 1984, 23). In addition, he is also known as Baba Rūmī. And he is remembered as the descendant of a Turkish migrant, who may have arrived in Aceh during the reign of the third sultan, Al-Kahhar (1537-1570) and who settled somewhere in Banda Aceh. What makes him significant in the history of Aceh is no doubt his being a prominent student of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raʿūf al-Sinkilī. It is believed

- that he contributed to some of Syiah Kuala's writings and collaborated to establish a Dayah near the Aceh River. This is the region which at the time is assumed to have been called Leupue, after which Dayah Manyang Leupue was named. That's why he spent his life there and the reason he was called Tgk. di Leupue. He was buried in the graveyard in the same region. It was fortunately saved by local residents who just wrote "*Makam Ulama Atjeh. Anak Murid Tkg. Syiah Kuala*" on a plaque after the tsunami of the 26th of December 2004. Today it is possible to pay a visit to his tomb which was rebuilt by the generous contribution of the inhabitants (Z. Ahmad 1971, 55).
12. Mr. Mahmud whom I personally visited in 2005 in Neusu, Banda Aceh, claims to be a descendant of 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili. Since the beginning of 2005 after the earthquake and the tsunami of 26th December, 2004, he has made efforts to reconstruct al-Sinkili's complex which is located near the sea at the end of Jalan Syiah Kuala. He allowed me to see a photocopy of a hand-written Quran as well.
 13. In regard to the term 'Rūmī', there are some explanations in various books which particularly talk about the number of nations operating as soldiers, traders et cetera in the port cities around the Indian Ocean and the Archipelago. For example Diu, a port city in the Western part of India, is called as 'the port of the Turks, the port of Rūmīs because of the large number of foreigners from Anatolia who lived there (Temple 1928, xlv). In another reference, the concept of 'Rum' covers a larger group of people including Saljuq, Ottoman Turks and the people from Anatolia beyond the earlier usage for the Byzantines, as Orthodox Christians living in Anatolia (Conrad 2005, 237; Hinz 1992, 63).
 14. When they were expelled from Baghdad, they had already established other power centers in Anatolia and Anadolu in Asia Minor. Shortly after he had become master of Baghdad, Tughrilbeg dispatched his nephew, Alp Arslan to secure the realm's borders. In 1071, Alp Arslan won one of the most crucial battles in history by defeating the Byzantines and capturing the emperor. Byzantium never recovered and Eastern Anatolia was liberated. As early as 1072, Suleyman, a relative of Alp Arslan, conquered most of Asia Minor. While the First Crusade was reconquering most of Anatolia, Suleyman's son returned to Anatolia and established the state of the *Saljuqs of Rum* (Gordon 1999, 49–50).
 15. It is important to remember that different sources refer to the Turks with different words such as Rum, Rumes, and Turks (Cortesão 1990, 142). Another mentioning of the term 'Rūmī' may be found in the classical text *Hikayat Aceh* (Iskandar 1978, 175).
 16. For similar contexts regarding to 'Rome' See Salleh (2011, 479).
 17. There is also a relatively early reference to the existence of a Turkish community in Banda Aceh in the beginning of the 17th century, when Thomas Best visited the area (Foster 1934, 159–60). The *silsilah* I personally received from a family in Lam Kabeue in Aceh Besar, emphasizes the importance of Kampung "Eumpeue Rom" where some groups of Turkish military personnel, including some *Ghazi* resided. See "*Silsilah Nasab dan Zurriat*".
 18. There are various other Rum stories in the Malay world. John Bowen refers to one of them he came across when he did his research in Gayo, the central part of Aceh (Bowen 1989, 673).
 19. *Dayah Manyang* is the term to refer to the highest level of classical Islamic education in the region. This term was also used for the education center with various departments that was established in the Masjid Baiturrahman in the 17th century (Hamzah 1986, 3). As we know that 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili was the founder of the Shattariyyah Order in the Archipelago, as one of his successors, Bāba Dāwud could be regarded as the representative of this *tariqah* after his *guru* had passed away (Archer 1937, 17; Daudy 1997, 73). As stated by Shaghir Abdullah (1999b, 41), Bāba Dāwud transmitted this *tariqah* tradition to Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn.

20. In the course of time, this work was edited by several scholars such as Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī and Shaykh Idrīs Husayn al-Kelantanī (Ismail 1995, 730).
21. Acehnese scholars exerted great influence in other parts of the Archipelago particularly between the 16th and the 19th centuries (M. S. Abdullah 1999c, 11).
22. In Aceh, this *risālah* is known under its abbreviated title *Masā'il* (Sulaiman 1997, 31). Manuscripts of the *Masā'il al-muhtadi li ikhwān al-muhtadi* are available in the Pusat Manuskrip Melayu and in various other libraries such as the Aceh Museum Library, No Inv. 07.315/2280; Perpustakaan Negeri Malaysia, in Kuala Lumpur., MSS 3316, MSS 3662. There are five copies of this book in the Dayah Tanoh Abee Library, Selimum, Aceh Besar, Aceh (Fathurahman 2010, 176, 178-79, 286 and MS in Aceh: INMA 131. Jakarta Vt.80. 17x10.5 cm. Ff. 2v-12v. 15 LL. of 8.5cm. There are also poetic renditions of the contents of the Malay *Masā'il al-muhtadi li ikhwān al-muhtadi* is available in the Indonesian National Library (Ronkel 1909, 397) and in Leiden (Ronkel 1909, 57, 1921, 109; Voorhoeve 1994, 234–35 and Cod.Or. 8506c(2) in the. Damsté Collection). At the back of a copy of the Malay *Masā'il al-muhtadi* there is a *Nalam rukon seumayang* in pencil (Voorhoeve 1994, 241 see also Amsterdam 2454/5). Damsté Collection (Voorhoeve 1994, 242). Teuku Iskandar (1999, 947) also refers to Masail this *risālah*.
23. Since religious-based scholarly works were the mainstream intellectual written works in the pre-modern era, the use of the Malay language should be taken into special consideration. In regard to this, both native scholars and wandering ulama from various regions who came to Aceh produced their works in Malay. These works included literature and treatises on astrology, mathematics, philosophy, law, history, *fiqh*, and *taṣawwuf* and the *Kitāb masā'il al-muhtadi* is one among them (Hasjmy 1984, 105–6).
24. Literally '*kitāb*' means 'book' but in Malay usage, it only means 'religious book' (Ngah 1982, viii).
25. See also Ismail (1995, 726).
26. If, particularly, the earlier period is taken into consideration, the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* made a significant contribution to the Aceh-Malay religio-cultural tradition. This is supported by Ali Hasjmy who stresses that the Malay-Jawi language was an undeniable aspect of the Islamic culture and civilization in the Archipelago. It has also been argued that *Masā'il al-muhtadi* has been used as a text book throughout the centuries in various geographies of the Malay Archipelago (Hasjmy 1984, 106).
27. John Anderson, during his visit to the east coast of Sumatra, came across several religious books among which he considered the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* as the principal work (Anderson 1971, 291). During my interview with him on 16 August 2015, Nyak Imran Musa said that some decades ago another version was written in Acehnese. In relation to this oral information, it is also interesting to note that Abdussalam at-Tirawi (from Tiro), another of al-Sinkili's disciples, also wrote his book entitled '*Ṭarīq al-mustaqīm ilā jannat al-na'im*' in Acehnese in 1806 (H. 1221) (Voorhoeve 1980, 2). Some other works, such as *Qawā'id al-Islām*, *Kitab Delapan*, *Soal Jawab Akidah*, *Ṭarīq al-mustaqīm ilā jannat al-na'im*, and *Asal Tahqiq*, were written in the same questions and answers form as the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* (Fathurahman and Holil 2007, 51–52, 60, 61; Ismuha 1976, 14–15; Voorhoeve 1980, 22, 23). *Ilmu Taubid dan Syahadat*, which was written by Shaykh 'Abd al-Jalil al-Ashī uses the same style (Pameran Literatur Islam 1994, sec. Panitia Festival Baiturrahman Ke-2 20). Syamsuddin Sumatrani's Malay work about the Islamic creed entitled *Mir'at al-mu'minīn* (1601), and the *Kitab Seribu Masalah* (Thousand Questions) dealing with religious dogma and Islamic cosmology, one of the most popular Persian works rendered into Malay and Javanese were also written in questions and answers form (Reid 1993, 155). It has been argued that this book was written in Persian by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bal'amī under the title '*Ṭabarī*'. And later on 'Abdullāh ibn Salīm rewrote

- it under the title *Masā'il*. It was also translated in several other languages such as Arabic, Hindustani, dan Turkish (Sutrisno 1983, 15). In Aceh, books written in Arabic script are called *Kitab Jawoe* (Sutrisno 1983, 15). In addition, the language used in these works was also called 'Bahasa Jawoe Pasai' referring to the classical Malay language that developed during the time of the Sultanate of Pasai in northern Aceh between the 13th and the 15th centuries (Hasjmy 1984, 103–4; Ismail 1995, 725). The *Masā'il al-muhtadi* is registered in the catalogue of the Dayah Tanoh Abee Library as anonymous. According to this catalogue there are four manuscripts of this book. In addition, as witnessed in other libraries such as the Manuscript Library of Malaysia, the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* is attached to a book entitled *Bidāyatuhu muhtadi bi fadlillāh muhtadi* or *Bidāyat al-muhtadi bi fadlillāh al-mubdi* (Fathurahman 2010, 130) and the latter is regarded as anonymous as well (W. Abdullah and al-Fairusy 1980, 7). One of the five copies of the *Masā'il* is attached to another work entitled *Sharh nazbat al-ṭullāb fi al-kashf 'an qawā'id al-i'rab* (Fathurahman 2010, 178–79, 286). Apparently, both works use Arabic script and are written in Malay, totalling 178 pages, and measuring 27 x 17 cm (Pameran Literatur Islam 1994, sec. Panitia Festival Baiturrahman Ke-2 16, 32). In addition, both works are mentioned in the same place in a booklet which was exhibited during an event at the Masjid Baiturrahman in Banda Aceh, some decades ago. It is mentioned that the *Masā'il al-muhtadi* has 24 pages, while the *Bidāyatuhu muhtadi* counts 152 pages (Pameran Literatur Islam 1994, sec. Panitia Festival Baiturrahman Ke-2 16, 32). *Bahasa Jawi* was a very functional language and adopted in all the ports cities in the Archipelago throughout history. It may be assumed that by writing it in *Jawi*, Bāba Dāwud intended to make his book accessible to other parts of the Malay regions (Hasjmy n.d., 501; Yunus 2008, 192).
28. See MSS 3662, MSS 3316, Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, Perpustakaan Negeri Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur; ML 377, ML 502, National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta; Indeks Rol Mikrofilm, Daftar Isi Rol Mikrofilm Proyek, National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta, p. 619; Koleksi Von de Wall, (R-622), Rol 365.03 (Behrend 1998, 327).
 29. See for details Özay (2011).
 30. In Jule 2015 I observed that the mosque had been given an 'Arabic' name because of a donation from an Arab country. Azra states that Dawud al-Rūmī's grave is near the Aceh River near al-Sinkīlī. See Azra (2004, 86).
 31. I personally paid a visit to an elder lady during my field work. She ran an orphanage in a district in Kelantan and claimed to be a descendent of Bāba Dāwud. Unfortunately, she could not supply any information about her grand-grandfather. (July, 2011, Kelantan).
 32. In his poems, Hamzah Fansuri, the leading Sufi poet, refers to Banda Aceh as a developed and prosperous city (Batilul Makmur, Bandar Makmur) (Hasjmy 1976, 11). The verse is as follow: "*Hamzah gharib unggas quddusil/Akan rumahnya Bayt al-Māmuri/Kursinya sekalian kapuri/Min al ashjari di negeri Fansuri*" (Drewes and Brakel 1986, 74).
 33. It is rather significant that the Malay *Masā'il al-muhtadi* was easily accessible to various ethnic groups in the Archipelago and even up to Sri Lanka and Madagascar despite their relatively far geographical locations (Maier 2004, 8).

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Silsilah

Silsilah Nasab dan Zurriat, Lam Kabeue, Aceh Besar. (Personal visit and interview with the family, 2 August, 2015.

Interviews

Interview with Imran Nyak Imran Musa, Banda Aceh, September-December 2005.

Interview with Tgk. Mahmud in Neusu, Banda Aceh, September-December, 2005,

Interview with Hajjah Wan Hatijah, Kelantan, Malaysia, July, 2011.

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5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
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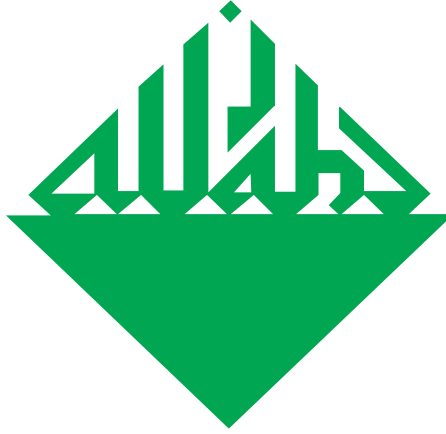
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