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IN INDONESIA
Muhamad Ali

ISLAM AS AN IDEOLOGY:
THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF TJOKROAMINOTO
Hasnul Arifin Melayu

NEW LIGHTS ON THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF SHAIKH DAWUD AL-FATTANI
Mohd. Zain Abd. Rahman

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New Lights on the Life and Works of Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani

Abstrak: *Sejauh menyangkut tradisi keilmuan Islam di Dunia Melayu, khususnya pada abad ke-19, Patani —salah satu dari empat provinsi paling selatan di Thailand— telah memberikan kontribusi yang sangat besar dan signifikan. Dari wilayah ini, telah muncul sejumlah ulama mumpuni dan produktif semisal Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani dan Shaikh Ahmad al-Fattani. Di antara para ulama di Dunia Melayu, Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani bahkan dianggap sebagai “the most productive author of Kitab Jawi in the nineteenth century”. Hal ini terkait dengan sejumlah karangan yang sering dinisbatkan kepadanya, baik di bidang fikih, tasawuf, kalam, dan bidang-bidang keilmuan Islam lainnya.*

Periode Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani sendiri sesungguhnya dapat dianggap sebagai masa keemasan bagi tradisi intelektual Islam di wilayah Melayu-Patani ini. Karya-karya keagamaan Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani banyak menjadi rujukan penting, baik bagi komunitas Muslim di Patani sendiri, maupun bagi komunitas Muslim di luar wilayah tersebut. Umumnya, karya-karya Shaikh Dawud ini berupa terjemahan atau penjelasan dalam bahasa Melayu atas kitab-kitab penting berbahasa Arab yang ditulis menggunakan tulisan Jawi, sehingga karenanya sering disebut sebagai kitab Jawi.

Dalam konteks tradisi keilmuan di kalangan Muslim Melayu, kitab-kitab Jawi karangan Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani —dan juga karangan beberapa ulama Patani lainnya— ini merupakan khazanah budaya yang sangat penting, karena merupakan bukti historis adanya tradisi intelektual Islam yang signifikan. Penting karena dalam kenyataannya, kitab-kitab Jawi tersebut kemudian dipakai oleh masyarakat Muslim Melayu yang lebih luas, bahkan hingga masa kontemporer ini. Lebih dari itu, kitab-kitab Jawi karangan Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani juga telah menghubungkan dunia Islam Melayu dengan dunia Islam yang lebih luas, mengingat di beberapa wilayah di Timur Tengah sendiri, kitab-kitab tersebut mendapat tempat terhormat sebagai bagian dari literatur Islam. Ini, misalnya, terlihat dari apresiasi beberapa penerbit yang sangat antusias menerbitkan dan mendistribusikan beberapa karya

penting karangan Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani. Melalui peran penting penerbit inilah, karya-karya Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani lebih tersebar dan tersosialisasi.

Sayangnya, hingga kini, pengetahuan yang berkaitan dengan biografi Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani sendiri masih terbatas, baik mengenai tahun lahir dan wafatnya, maupun mengenai karir lengkap keilmuannya. Hal ini terjadi terutama karena tidak adanya satu karangan pun, baik yang ditulis oleh Shaikh Dawud sendiri atau oleh murid-murid dan koleganya, berkaitan dengan riwayat hidupnya. Ini berbeda misalnya dengan ulama Melayu lain semisal Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili, yang dalam sebuah karyanya, 'Umdat al-Muhtâjîn, memberikan catatan lengkap mengenai dimana dan kepada siapa ia belajar pengetahuan keislaman selama sembilan belas tahun di Tanah Arab.

Sejauh ini, beberapa sarjana memang pernah menulis tentang Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani. Beberapa di antaranya adalah Voorhoeve (1983), yang menulis artikel pendek tentang kontribusi Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani terhadap perkembangan wacana keislaman di Dunia Melayu melalui kitab-kitab karangannya. Kemudian C. Snouck Hurgronje (1970), juga pernah membahas tentang luasnya persebaran kitab-kitab keagamaan karangan Shaikh Dawud di Tanah Suci Makkah pada sekitar abad ke 18 dan ke 19 melalui berbagai percetakan. Sayangnya, kebanyakan tulisan tentang Shaikh Dawud, termasuk dua contoh tulisan Voorhoeve dan Snouck Hurgronje di atas, tidak mengemukakan pembahasan yang memadai berkaitan dengan riwayat hidup dan karir keilmuannya.

Artikel ini, antara lain, bertujuan untuk mengisi kekosongan literatur tentang biografi Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani tersebut dengan mengemukakan riwayat hidup, karir keilmuan, dan juga karangan-karangannya. Penulis artikel ini mencoba menghimpun informasi yang diperoleh secara lisan dari keluarga dan keturunan Shaikh Dawud, dan dari murid-murid yang masih dapat dilacaknya. Informasi tersebut kemudian dipadukan dan dicek silang dengan beberapa serpihan catatan yang terdapat dalam beberapa sumber tertulis, antara lain dalam kitab yang merupakan komentar atas beberapa karya Shaikh Dawud.

Yang menarik dari artikel ini—dan tentunya sangat bermanfaat untuk penelitian lebih lanjut tentang Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani—adalah penulis menyertakan daftar paling mutakhir dari kitab-kitab karangan Shaikh Dawud, baik yang diketahui sebagai koleksi perorangan maupun yang tersimpan di beberapa perpustakaan, khususnya di Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM), dan Muzium Islam Malaysia (MIM).

New Lights on the Life and Works of Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani

خلاصة: إنه طالما الأمر يتعلق بالتراث العلمي الإسلامي في عالم الملايو وخاصة في القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي فإن فطاني — التي هي إحدى المناطق الأربعة الواقعة أقصى جنوبي تيلاند — قد أسهمت بدور كبير وهام في سبيل ذلك، حيث برز فيها عدد من العلماء المسلمين المتمكنين وغريزي الإنتاج من أمثال الشيخ داود الفطاني والشيخ أحمد الفطاني، بل يعد الشيخ داود الفطاني منهم أكثر الشيوخ إنتاجا في مجال تأليف الكتب الجاوية في القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي، وذلك لكثرة ما نسب له من كتب ومؤلفات سواء في مجال الفقه أم التصوف أم الكلام أم العلوم الإسلامية الأخرى.

والواقع أن الفترة التي عاش فيها الشيخ داود الفطاني نفسها تعد عصرا ذهبيا للفكر الإسلامي بمناطق ملايو-فطاني، حيث صارت أكثر كتبه ومؤلفاته مرجعا أساسيا في الفكر الإسلامي سواء على مستوى المجتمعات بمناطق فطاني أم المجتمعات الإسلامية خارجها، وكان أكثر كتبه وأعماله إما ترجمة للكتب الإسلامية الهامة إلى اللغة الملايوية أو شرحا لها مستخدما في ذلك كله الحروف الجاوية أعني اللغة الملايوية المكتوبة بالحروف العربية فأطلق على أعماله اسم الكتب الجاوية.

وبالنسبة للوسط الفكري الإسلامي بملايو فإن مؤلفات الشيخ داود الفطاني وكذلك عدد آخر من علماء فطاني أصبحت تراثا ثقافيا هاما لأنها تعد شهادة تاريخية للأهمية التي يكتنفها الفكر الإسلامي بالمنطقة، وهي هامة لأنها في الواقع مرجع للمجتمعات الإسلامية الممتدة على طول عالم الملايو وعرضه ويستمر الوضع على هذه الحالة حتى علمنا اليوم، ثم إنها تلعب كذلك دور الوساطة التي

تصل ما بين ملايو والمناطق الأخرى من العالم الإسلامي الواسع، حيث اعتبرت هذه المؤلفات في عدد من مناطق الشرق الأوسط من التراث الإسلامي وتحتل مكانة مرموقة، ويظهر ذلك على سبيل المثال في موقف عدد من الناشرين الذين يتسارعون إلى إعادة طبع بعض هذه المؤلفات ويتنافسون في توزيعها، وبذلك كتب لها الانتشار الواسع.

على أن مما يؤسف له أن معرفتنا بحياة الشيخ داود الفطاني نفسها مازالت محدودة للغاية سواء فيما يتعلق بمولده أم تاريخ وفاته بل سيرة حياته العلمية الكاملة، ويرجع السبب في ذلك إلى أنه لا يوجد مؤلف يتكلم عن حياته سواء في كتبه ومؤلفاته هو أم فيما يكتب عنه آخرون من تلاميذه أو معاصريه، وذلك خلافا لما عليه الآخرون من علماء ملايو أمثال الشيخ عبد الرؤوف السنكلي الذي سرد في كتاب له أسماء عمدة المحتاجين فس سلوك مسلك المفردين سيرة حياته كاملة حول مكان طلبه للعلم ومن أين تلقى علومه ومن من الشيوخ الذين درس على أيديهم لمدة تسعة عشر عاما في الحجاز.

ومع ذلك فهناك عدد من الدارسين كتبوا فعلا عن حياة الشيخ داود الفطاني، فمنهم فورهوف (Voorhoove) (١٩٨٣) الذي قدم بحثا قصيرا عن دور الشيخ داود الفطاني في تطوير الفكر الإسلامي بعالم الملايو من خلال مؤلفاته، وقد قام كذلك سنوك هرجرونجي (C. Snouck Hurgronje) (١٩٧٠) ببحث مستفيض حول انتشار مؤلفات الشيخ داود الفطاني بمكة المكرمة في القرنين الثامن عشر والتاسع عشر الميلاديين عن طريق عدد من المطابع، ولكن ذنك الباحثين لم يقدموا دراسة وافية عن سيرة الشيخ داود وحياته العلمية.

وهذه المقالة تستهدف إملاء الفراغ في تراثنا حول حياة الشيخ داود الفطاني إذ تعرض لسيرته وحياته العلمية وسرد مؤلفاته، وقد بذل الكاتب جهودا مضنية في جمع المعلومات سواء بالطريقة الشفوية من أسرة الشيخ وأبنائه ومن تلاميذه مهما تقيأ التعرف عليهم، وقد قورنت هذه المعلومات ببعض الملاحظات والهوامش الواردة في بعض المصادر التي تناولت شرح مؤلفات الشيخ داود.

والمثير من هذا البحث — وبالطبع سيستفيد من ذلك الدراسات القادمة حول حياة الشيخ داود الفطاني — أن الكاتب قدم أحدث قائمة لكتب الشيخ داود ومؤلفاته التي جمعها من أفراد قاموا بحفظها أم تلك التي وضعت تحت رفوف المكتبات العامة وخاصة في مكتبة الدولة والمتحف الإسلامي بماليزيا.

Any consideration of the achievement of a scholar must take into account his life and times which have an impact on his intellectual development. Thus, it is pertinent for us to provide a description on the biography of our figure, Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani (Patani).¹ However, not a lot is known about this scholar since he did not provide us with any background information about his life. Moreover, there is no work about his life written by his students and companions. Thus, it is difficult to obtain biographical details, since nothing is known about him in detail in one single text written either by the scholar himself or by his students. This is a common phenomenon with respect to the scholars of this region. It is perhaps out of humility, a character trait of a pious person, that the scholar himself does not want any publicity or undue praise.² This is further aggravated by the dearth of scholarly research on him particularly among the local researchers who have paid less attention to his thought than they have paid to the study of mythological and animistic literature, such as the *bikayats*.

The few works available concerning Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani are scattered in seminars papers, short paragraphs, and illustrations in works written for different purposes.³ A brief article on him written in English by P. Voorhoeve in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*⁴ has brought to light some information about the contribution of Shaykh Dawud in the Malay region particularly through his writings on various topics in Islam. However, since it is just a brief illustration about the scholar, some information given needs further research to ascertain its accuracy concerning certain facts and events. The same condition also applies to many seminar papers written by our local historians and biographers. Even though there are attempts among local historians to write about the life of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani, the accuracy of their information and their logical analysis could be further improved.⁵ It is significant to note here that their biographical information on Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani is mostly based on interviews. Most of them relied mainly on the narration of the descendants of Shaykh Dawud who have now settled in Kelantan, Patani and also Makkah. But these primary sources too sometimes contradict each other and are clearly in need of clarification. Thus, this paper attempt to synthesize and scrutinize all these ambiguities and hope to present a new light on the life, education and works of such a great scholars in history of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

His Life

Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani is one of the most prominent scholars among the Muslims of the Malay region. His thoughts serve as a legacy for the generation of our modern time, while his works are the source of knowledge that will last forever. His full name, according to Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, is Wan Dawud bin Wan Abdullah bin Wan Idris bin Wan Abu Bakr bin Wan Ismail (Tok Kaya Pandak) bin Andi Faqih Ali Datok Maharajalela.⁶ However, Shaykh Dawud, in his writing introduced himself as *Shaykh Dâwûd bin ‘Abd Allâh bin Idrîs al-Jâwî al-Faṭṭânî al-Malâyûwî*.⁷ He is also known as Shaykh Dawud bin Abdullah bin Senik Fattani⁸. Above all, he is better known among the Malays as *Tok Shaykh Dawud Fattani*⁹ or *Shaykh Dawud Patani*.¹⁰

The biographers of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani have differed with regard to his birthplace. At least three places are said to be his birthplace; Kerisek, Parit Marhum and Bendang Gucir. The claim saying that Shaykh Dawud was born in Kerisek is merely based on the opinion of the majority of the people of Kerisek and the popularity of Shaykh Dawud among them.¹¹ It is also based on the report of Tok Kelaba,¹² a student of Shaykh Dawud, who claimed that his master was born in Kerisek, the village that is located near the river.¹³

Meanwhile, another writing reported that Shaykh Dawud was born in Parit Marhum which is located near Kerisek.¹⁴ This information is based on the report of Shaykh Muhammad Nur bin Muhammad bin Ismail al-Fattani (d. 1363 A.H.),¹⁵ in his *Kifâyat al-Mubtadî*, a commentary on Shaykh Dawud’s treatise *Sullam al-Mubtadî*.¹⁶

“Kemudian berkata musannif (telah sempurnalah maksud faqîr ilâ Allâh Ta‘âlâ Dawud bin Abdullah) bin Senik (Fattani), kampung Parit¹⁷ Marhum yang hampir (daripada menterjemahkan) daripada bahasa Arab kepada bahasa Melayu akan (Risalah yang bernama *Sullam al-Mubtadî fî Bayân Ṭarîqat al-Muhtadî*) yang diterjemahkan daripada kitab yang mu‘tabarahî.¹⁸

(“The author then said the intention of the poor Dawud bin Abdullah bin Senik of Fattani, from the village of Parit Marhum, is fulfilled to approximate (the meaning of) his translation, from Arabic into Malay language in the treatise named *Sullam al-Mubtadî fî Bayân Ṭarîqat al-Muhtadî*, from authentic works”).

The last opinion concerning the birthplace of Shaykh Dawud claimed that he was born in Bendang Gucir,¹⁹ also located near Kerisek and Bendang Gucir, within the Patani territory. This claim, in fact,

did not receive much attention since there is no evidence or report to support it. Hence, we can just note it as a mere claim.

From the opinions mentioned above, we may sum up that Shaykh Dawud was born in either Kerisik or Parit Marhum. I am more inclined to the view that the latter is his birthplace, for it is based on the report of Shaykh Muhammad Nur al-Fattani whose father was the adopted son of Shaykh Dawud. Even though different reports claimed different places as his birthplace, one fact is for sure that these places are all located in Patani. This implies that Shaykh Dawud is, in fact, a man from Patani, one of the great Malay Kingdoms of the past.

There is no unanimity either with regard to the exact date of his birth. Basically, there are three possible dates of his birth; 1133 A.H., 1153 A.H. and 1183 A.H., proposed by the biographers. Shaykh Dawud, based on the record of Hajjah Wan Zainab binti Shaykh Ahmad al-Fattani,²⁰ was born in 1133 A.H. (1720 C.E.). In another account, Hajjah Siti Sa'udah who is the mother of Hajjah Wan Zainab, is of the opinion that Shaykh Dawud was born in 1153 A.H. (1740 C.E.).²¹ Meanwhile, another report from Haji Nik Ishak Tikat, another descendent of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani states that Shaykh Dawud was born in the year 1183 A.H. (1769 C.E.).²² However, the last two opinions seem to be nullified by the report of Haji Abdul Hamid bin Haji Abdul Qadir al-Sanawi, another descendant of Shaykh Dawud who resides in Teluk Manok, in the province of Narathiwath, Thailand. According to him, Shaykh Dawud died in 1297 A.H during the reign of Sultan Sharaf Arshad Khan al-Abbas, at the age of 166.²³ Thus, he comes to the conclusion that Shaykh Dawud must have been born in 1131 A.H. (1718 C.E.) which is closer to 1133 A.H.

In order to determine the date of birth of Shaykh Dawud, we are quite certain to adhere to the agreed opinion of the biographers stating that Shaykh Dawud arrived in Makkah when he was in his twenties and had the opportunity to study under Shaykh 'Îsâ al-Barrâwî who died in 1182 A.H. (1769 C.E.).²⁴ Considering the year of death of al-Barrâwî, we come closer to proposing the year 1153 A.H. as the birth date of Shaykh Dawud since it implies that he must not have been more than 29 years old while he was a student of Shaykh al-Barrawi.²⁵ This also suggests that Shaykh Dawud was a colleague of Shaykh Abdussamad al-Falimbani (d. ca. 1800 C.E.) and Shaykh

Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari (d. 1227 A.H./1812 C.E.), two other well-known scholars of his period. According to Shaykh Abdurrahman Siddiq, in his book, *Shajarat al-Arshadiyyah*,²⁶ Shaykh Abdussamad studied in Makkah together with his other colleagues from the Malay region, among whom were Muhammd Arshad al-Banjari, Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi, Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari, and Dawud al-Fattani.²⁷

Regarding the death of Shaykh Dawud, the report of Haji Nik Ishak Tikat states that he died in Tâ'if, in 1263 A.H. (1847 C.E.) at the age of 80 (if the birthdate is 1183 A.H.)²⁸ which is different from what was reported by Haji Abd al-Hamid al-Sanawi. In order to synthesize these proposals, the most important criterion to take into account is the works of Shaykh Dawud. His works, which comprised almost 100 titles, demonstrate that his earliest dated work was finished in 1204 A.H., while the last was in 1259 A.H.(1843 C.E.).²⁹ Considering the date of his last work, Shaykh Dawud must surely have died after 1259 A.H. and the period of time before his death must not have been long. The view saying that Shaykh Dawud died in 1297 A.H. is therefore not plausible since the period of 22 years after his last work seems to be so long. Considering the fact that he had produced about 100 works within the period of 55 years (between 1204-1259 A.H.), it is inconceivable that Shaykh Dawud did not produce any work within the period of 22 years before he died. Hence, we would prefer to accept the report of Haji Nik Ishak Tikat saying that Shaykh Dawud died in 1263 A.H. (1847 C.E.) as this was not long after his last work. This is also in line with the views of his biographers who generally estimate that he must have died in the middle of the 19th century. Thus, we would suggest that Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani might had been living between the years 1153-1263 A.H. (1740-1847 C.E.)

Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani spent most of his life in the cities of Makkah, Madinah and Tâ'if teaching and writing books for the sake of the Muslim ummah. Shaykh Dawud died in Tâ'if, presently in Saudi Arabia and was buried close the tomb of Sayyidinâ 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs, the cousin of the Prophet Muhammad (Allâh's blessing and peace be upon him).³⁰ However, according to Hajjah Wan Sa'udah, his grave was removed by Shaykh Nik Mat Kechik, the adopted son of Shaykh Dawud, to Makkah to prevent it from being destroyed by the Wahnâbîs.³¹

His Educational Background

Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani received his first education from his family members. He received his early Islamic education from his father Shaykh Wan Abdullah; his grandfather, Shaykh Wan Idris; and his uncle, Shaykh Safiuddin al-Fattani who were the religious scholars of Patani of that time. At a very early age, he had already memorized the Holy Qur'ân, and became learned in Arabic language as well as other Islamic sciences like *tafsîr*, ḥadîth, and Arabic literature. Later on, he was sent to receive the formal education of that time in a traditional religious school —commonly termed *Pondok* among the Malays. It is reported that he studied in *Pondok Pauh Bok* in his hometown under the supervision of Shaykh Abdurrahman bin Abdul Mubin al-Fattani, a religious scholar of that time.³²

After a period of five years studying in Patani, Shaykh Dawud went to Aceh to broaden his knowledge of Islam under the supervision of Shaykh Muhammad Zayn bin Faqih Jalaluddin al-Ashi.³³ He spent about 2 years in Aceh before he traveled to Makkah and Madinah to further his study. It has been reported that Shaykh Dawud arrived in Makkah in the 1760s when he was in his late twenties. This report is based on the fact that he had the opportunity to study under Shaykh 'Îsâ al-Barrâwî who died in 1182 A.H. (1768 C.E.)³⁴ Thus, the biographers inferred that Shaykh Dawud must have gone to Makkah before the death of al-Barrâwî, that is before 1768 C.E. As soon as he arrived in Makkah, he immediately joined the classes which were attended by other colleagues from the Malay Archipelago. Among these students were Shaykh Muhammad Salih bin Abdurrahman al-Fattani³⁵, Shaykh Ali bin Ishaq al-Fattani,³⁶ Shaykh Abdussamad al-Falimbani,³⁷ Shaykh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari,³⁸ Shaykh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari³⁹ and many others. It is reported that Shaykh Dawud was the youngest of these students and, thus, it gave him the opportunity to consult with them after class about the lectures that he did not understand.⁴⁰

Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani met many great scholars while studying in the Holy City. There he was exposed to various fields of Islamic sciences as well as various Sufi orders. Most of his teachers were scholars from Egypt and three of them, at one time or another, served as the Rector of Azhar (*shaykh al-azhar*) of Egypt. These meetings may

have, in fact, occurred in classes organized during their visits to the Holy City of Makkah during the *Hajj*. It was the usual practice of great scholars to remain in Makkah for a period of time after performing *Hajj*. The Rectors of Azhar, who at one time or another, taught Shaykh Dawud, are al-Barrâwî (d.1182 A.H.),⁴¹ al-Sharqâwî (1150-1227 A.H.),⁴² and al-Shanawânî (d. 1233 A.H.).⁴³ Apparently, all these scholars had a close connection to each other particularly in their intellectual genealogy.⁴⁴

Shaykh Dawud also received instruction in various Islamic disciplines from other prominent scholars from Egypt as well as from Haramayn. These include Shaykh Ibrâhîm ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salâm al-Ra’îs al-Zamzamî al-Makkî,⁴⁵ Shaykh Muḥammad Sa’îd ibn Muḥammad Safar ibn Muḥammad ibn Amîn al-Madanî al-Ḥanafî,⁴⁶ Shaykh Aḥmad al-Marzûqî,⁴⁷ and Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karîm al-Sammân.⁴⁸ Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani also studied under Shaykh ‘Aṭâ’ Allâh, one of the Muftis of Makkah who later granted him the *ijâzah* (license) to hold classes in the Holy Mosque.⁴⁹

Besides the scholars mentioned above, there are many others claimed to be teachers of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani. However, since there is lack of documents and reports, further research is still needed in order to verify their status. Among the scholars cited as having been teachers of Shaykh Dawud are Shaykh Muḥammad Sâlih ibn Ibrâhîm (d.1240/1825),⁵⁰ Shaykh Muhammad ibn Sulaymân al-Kurdî (d. 1194/1780),⁵¹ Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghanî al-Hilâlî,⁵² Sayyid ‘Abd Allâh al-Mirghânî,⁵³ Sayyid Abî al-Fayḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍâ ibn Muḥammad al-Zabîdî,⁵⁴ and al-Sayyid Sulaymân ibn ‘Umar al-Ahdal.⁵⁵

After studying for a long time in Makkah, Shaykh Dawud was given permission, as mentioned earlier, by his master Shaykh ‘Aûâ’ Allâh, the Mufti of Makkah, to hold classes in the Holy Mosque of Makkah. This permission to hold classes in the Holy Mosque was a great honor for scholars from outside the Arab world especially from the Malay region. In fact, there were very few scholars from the Malay region who were granted such permission. Shaykh Dawud lived in Makkah and Madînah for about 40 years before he moved to Ṭâ’if, where he spent the rest of his life.

Besides the great scholars that he met, Shaykh Dawud also had many students especially from the Malay region. The great names

among them are Shaykh Muhammad bin Ismail Dawud al-Fattani, the author of the well-known work, *Matla' al-Badrayn*,⁵⁶ Shaykh Abdul Halim al-Kalantani, the religious advisor to the Sultân of Kelantan, Sultân Muhammad I; Shaykh Muhammad Zayn bin Mustafa al-Fattani, the father of Shaykh Ahmad al-Fattani who brought the works of Shaykh Dawud to print; and many others.⁵⁷ Besides teaching a number of students in Makkah, Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani also made major contributions by writing a number of books which consisted of more than 100 titles.

His Works

Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani was one of the most prolific scholars in the history of the Malay Archipelago. His works are many and the subjects he dealt with are various. His writings cover various fields of expertise including jurisprudence, metaphysics, ethics, theology, eschatology and history. These works mostly comprise Malay commentaries and translations of Arabic works. It is interesting to note that even though Shaykh Dawud spent most of his life in Makkah, most of his works were written in Malay. This is because, according to him, his works were basically meant for the Malays who do not possess a good command of the Arabic language. Although the titles of his works are mostly in Arabic, the subject matter is usually elaborated in Malay written in *Jawi* script.

The works of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani have been copied and reprinted from the very early days of the nineteenth century down to the present. Most of his works were originally printed in Makkah, and later reprinted in various places including Istanbul, Cairo and Bombay. After that, the publication of his works gradually moved to the regional printing houses in Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand.⁵⁸

There are few studies on the works of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani. His biographers believe that he wrote over one hundred books even though they could not list them all. This number includes printed works as well as those that still remain in manuscript form. For instance, Martin van Bruinessen in his project to collect all the *Jawi* books available in this region including Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia, found only 14 works of Shaykh Dawud that are still unprinted.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, the Australian Professors in Malay studies, Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker successfully listed 21 books as

being his works. According to them, 12 works are still accessible, while the other 9 are no longer readily available in bookshops. They remain in manuscript form and are kept in library or museum collections. They further added that there may well still be other works of Shaykh Dawud in private hands, or in other libraries.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, two local biographers namely Ismail Che Daud and Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, have listed the works of Shaykh Dawud based on materials available in their collection as well as in the collection of Ismaic Museum of Malaysia (Muzium Islam Malaysia: MIM) and National Library of Malaysia (Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia: PNM). Ismail Che Daud successfully listed 41 titles as being the works of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani while estimating that there are 89 to 120 treatises written by him.⁶¹ On the other hand, Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir listed 61 works⁶² of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani even though he believed that the real number of his works is as high as 99 or 101 treatises.⁶³

At this point, we will try to make necessary amendments by compiling the bibliographical details of the lists as mentioned above.⁶⁴ The manuscript catalogues of the Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM)⁶⁵ and the Muzium Islam Malaysia (MIM)⁶⁶ are also used in our compilation. This is in order to shed some light on many of Shaykh Dawud's writings that were unknown to earlier scholars or were considered lost. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first bibliographical list of all the discovered works of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani.⁶⁷ The following is the list in alphabetical order:

1. *'Aqâdat al-Jawâhir*. A Dogmatic work (*'aqa'id*) in poetic form (*shi'r*). The date of completion is 1245 A.H. (1830 C.E.). The manuscript in MIM is catalogued as MI 84.
2. *Bâb al-Nikâh*. Listed in the catalogue of books for sale in Egypt dated 1347 A.H. (1929 C.E.) which was compiled by Shaykh Muhammad Idris al-Marbawi, the well-known author of the Arab-Malay dictionary "*al-Qâmûs al-Marbawî*".⁶⁸
3. *Bâb al-Jinâyah*. This work still remains in manuscript form in MIM and is catalogued as MI 623.
4. *Al-Bahjat al-Marçiyyah*. Its full title is *al-Bahjat al-Marçiyyah fî 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mûm 'an al-Imâm*. The text is printed in

the margin of *Munyat al-Muṣallî* of the same author by al-Ma'ârif of Penang and Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok. It is a small treatise on prayer (*ṣalât*). The colophon states that the work was completed in the city of Makkah in the year 1259 A.H. (1843 C.E.) The manuscripts in MIM are catalogued as MI 19, 126, 136, 152, 244, 295, 359 and 721.

5. *Al-Bahjat al-Saniyyah fî al-'Aqâ'id al-Saniyyah*. A Malay translation of *Tahṣîl Nayl al-Marâm Sharh 'Aqîdat al-'Awwâm* of al-Sharîf Ahmad al-Marzûqî, a teacher of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani in Makkah. It is a treatise on theology which revolves around the principles of belief in Islam such as belief in God, the Prophets (also Prophet Muhammad and his family) and Angels (*Malâ'ikah*). The translation was completed in 1258 A.H. (1842 C.E.), and printed in Makkah in 1303 A.H. (1886 C.E.), and in Istanbul in 1306 A.H. (1889 C.E.).⁶⁹ It was later reprinted at an unspecified date by Sahabat Press, Jala, Thailand.
6. *Al-Bahjat al-Wardiyyah*. Listed in the booklist of al-Maktabah al-Fattaniyyah, a bookshop established in the late 19th century, in Qashâshiyah, Makkah.⁷⁰ It is a Malay version of 'Abd al-Rahmân ibn 'Abd al-Salâm al-Saffûrî's commentary on the *Manzûmat fî al-Tawhîd* by Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Jazâ'irî, printed in Makkah 1331.⁷¹ The full title of this work is *al-Bahjat al-Wardiyyah fî 'Aqâ'id Ahl al-Jamâ'at al-Sunniyyah* which was completed in 1258 A.H. (1842 C.E.).
7. *Bayân al-Aḥkâm*. This work, according to Ismail Che Daud, is available in manuscript form in the MIM collection, uncatalogued.⁷²
8. *Bidâyat al-Hidâyah*. A Malay translation of al-Ghazâlî's *Bidâyat al-Hidâyah*. The PNM possesses its manuscript which is catalogued as MSS 1544.
9. *Bishârat al-Ikhwân bi Asbâb al-Mawt 'alâ al-Îmân*. The treatise was mentioned in Tok Kelaba's *Hidâyat al-Sâ'il*,⁷³ the work on eschatology completed in Makkah in 1226 A.H. (1811 C.E.)⁷⁴ is a translation of Mawlânâ Sayyid 'Abd Allâh al-Mirghânî's work. It was once printed together with *Jam' al-fawâ'id*, also by Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani.

10. *Bughyat al-Tullâb li-Murîd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkâm bi-al-Ṣawâb*. This work focuses on religious observances (*ibâdah*), based on commentaries on Nawâwî's *Minhâj al-Tâlibîn*. Among the commentaries it is based on are the *Mughnî al-Muḥtâj* of Khatîb al-Sharbinî (d. 977 A.H.), the *Tuḥfab* of Ibn Hajar al-Haytamî, the *Nihâyah* of Ramlî, and the *Fath al-Wahhâb* of Zakariyyâ al-Anṣârî (d. 925 A.H.). It was first published in Makkah, Egypt and Turkey, and reprinted by al-Ma'ârif Press, Penang and Maktabah Muhammad al-Nahdi, Bangkok. Printed in the margin of this work is a book called *Nahj al-Râghibîn wa-Sabîl al-Muttaqîn* by the same author. The manuscripts in MIM are catalogued as MI 85, 128, 184 and 407.
11. *Bulûgh al-Marâm fî Kayfiyyat Muqâranât Takbîrat al-Iḥrâm*. A work on the principle of the *niyyah* (intention) before prayer. This treatise is available in printed form together with *Kashf al-Kirâm* by Shaykh Muhammad Zayn bin Faqîh Jalaluddin of Aceh, the teacher of Shaykh Dawud, and also *Risâlah Muqâranah* by Shaykh Dawud's student Shaykh Ismail bin Abdullah. This treatise was completed in 1227 A.H. (1812 C.E.).⁷⁵ The manuscripts in MIM are catalogued as MI 19, 151, 303, 327 and 615; while the PNM catalogued it as MSS 1889.
12. *Diyâ' al-Murîd fî Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawhîd*. This work, according to Prof. Tan Sri Abdul Jalil Hasan, was written during the visit of Shaykh Dawud to Sambas, Kalimantan at the request of Sultan Muhammad Safiuddin who was also a student of Shaykh Dawud.⁷⁶ The text, which contains the *dhikr* of the Shattâriyyah Order, is available in printed form in the margin of *al-Durr al-Thamîn* of Shaykh Dawud. The manuscripts in MIM are catalogued as MI 487, 622 and 668; while the PNM catalogued it as MSS 1798.
13. *Al-Durr al-Thamîn fî 'Aqâ'id al-Mu'minîn*. This is the most well-known work of Shaykh Dawud dealing with Ash'arite creed (*i'tiqâd*). The colophon stated that Shaykh Dawud completed his work in Makkah in 1232 A.H. (1816 C.E.). Its earliest printed edition were those made by Maktabah al-Misriyyah, Makkah, and Dâr Iḥyâ' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, Egypt. It was reprinted by local printing houses such as al-Ma'ârif Press, Penang, Maktabah Muhammad Nahdi, Bangkok and also Maktabah Thaqaifiyyah, Surabaya. The manuscripts in PNM are catalogued

- as MS 64, 153 and 253; while the MIM catalogued them as MI 53 and 446.
14. *Fatḥ al-Mannân li-Ṣafwat al-Zubad*. A translation of *Matn al-Zubad*⁷⁷ of Shaykh Ahmad ibn Raslân al-Dimashqî (d. 844 A.H./1441 C.E.) was completed in 1249 A.H. (1834 C.E.). It was printed by al-Maṭba‘ah al-Misriyyah of Makkah, in 1330 A.H. (1912 C.E.).⁷⁸ The manuscript is believed to be in private hands.⁷⁹
 15. *Fatwa Berjual-beli dengan Kafir*. It is a work on the fatwas of the law of transaction with non-Muslims. It is available only in manuscript form, believed to be in private hands.⁸⁰
 16. *Farâ'id Fawâ'id al-Fikrî fi al-Imâm al-Mahdî*. A translation of al-'Allâmah al-Shaykh Mar'î ibn Yûsuf's work on the issue of the coming of Imâm Mahdî. The PNM possesses an incomplete manuscript of this work catalogued as MS652.⁸¹
 17. *Furû' al-Masâ'il wa-Uṣûl al-Masâ'il*. The major work on Law and Theology. The book is the extraction of the *Fatâwâ* of Shaykh Muhammad Ramli and the *Kashf al-Lithâm 'an As'ilat al-Anâm* by Shaykh Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Mahallî. The treatise was completed in Makkah in 1257 A.H. (1841 C.E.) and was printed in Makkah in 1332.⁸² A reprint of this edition by Dâr al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah of Egypt in two volumes is widely used today. Recent editions include those by Maktabat al-Îmân, Egypt, al-Ma'arif Press of Penang, Matba‘ah Muhammad Nahdi of Bangkok and Pustaka Nasional of Singapore. Printed in the margin of all these editions is the *Kahsf al-Ghummah*, a treatise by the same author. The MIM possesses the manuscripts which are catalogued as MI 30, 72, 147, 242, 258, 405, 476, 477, 478 and 594; while the PNM catalogued it as MSS 1688.
 18. *Ghâyat al-Marâm fi Kayfiyyat adâ' al-Ḥajj [fi] al-Islâm*. The other title of this work is *Manâsik al-Ḥajj wa-al-'Umrah*. It was completed in 1229 A.H. (1814 C.E.). It is reported to have been reprinted many times in Makkah, Egypt and Turkey, but only the Egyptian edition is available. It was printed in 1373 A.H. (1954 C.E.) by Dâr al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah in cooperation with 'Îsâ Bâbî al-Halabî, Egypt.⁸³

19. *Ghâyat al-Taqrîb fî al-Irth wa-al-ta'sîb*. A treatise on the Shâfi'ite law of inheritance (*farâ'id*). The book was completed in Makkah in 1226 A.H. (1811 C.E.). The local publishers have reprinted it based on the Egyptian version of Dâr al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah. This reprint edition is available in local bookshops in Patani, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore and also Indonesia. The manuscripts in the possession of the MIM are catalogued as MI 121, 127, 387, 391, 481, 587, 651 and 709; and the PNM has catalogued them as MSS 1543 and 1747.
20. *Hidâyat al-Muta'allim wa-'Umdat al-Mu'allim*. Sufi maxims for travelers on the path of God. This was completed in 1244 A.H. (1829 C.E.) in Makkah. The manuscripts in the possession of the MIM are catalogued as MI 382 and 589.
21. *Hikayat Laki-laki yang Salih daripada Bani Israil*. This title is listed in the booklist of al-Maktabah al-Fattaniyyah, a bookshop established in the early 19th century, located in Qashâshiyah, Makkah.⁸⁴
22. *Hukum Hayd dan Istihadah*. A treatise on menstruation. This is an incomplete manuscript believed to be in private hands.⁸⁵
23. *Îcâb al-Bâb li-Murîd al-Nikâh bi-al-Şawâb*. A treatise on the Shâfi'ite law of marriage. This book is based on the *Minhâj al-Ṭalibîn* of Muhyî al-Dîn al-Nawâwî and its commentaries. It was completed in Makkah in 1224 A.H. (1809 C.E.) and was printed in Egypt by Dâr al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, Egypt, and also by Dâr al-Ṭibrâ'ah al-Misriyyah al-Kubrâ in 1348 A.H. (1930 C.E.).⁸⁶ The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI 88, 117, 131, 169, 194, 247, 328, 410, 586, 597, 598 and 731; while the PNM catalogued them as MSS 1546, 1626 and 1628.
24. *Iqd al-Jawâhir*. The work presents the doctrines of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa-al-Jamâ'ah in a poetic form. The manuscript in the MIM is catalogued as MI 84.
25. *Jam' al-Fawâ'id*. This is a book of *adab* dealing with the virtues of the Holy days and months in Islam, the rights of a wife and the education of children. It is primarily based on the traditions of the Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him), the advice of the Companions, the pious scholars and the Sufi masters. It was completed in 1239 A.H. (1824 C.E.) and was published for the first time in Makkah in 1303 A.H. (1885 C.E.). It was later

- reprinted by Sulaymân Mar'î of Singapore, and Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok. In the margin is *al-Farwâ'id al-Bahiyah*⁸⁷ of Shaykh Nuruddin al-Raniri, the great scholar from Aceh of 17th century. The manuscripts in MIM are catalogued as MI 91, 350 and 351; while the manuscripts in the PNM are catalogued as MSS 1540 and 1781.
26. *Al-Jawâhir al-Saniyyah*. The full title is *al-Jawâhir al-Saniyyah fi Sharh al-'Aqâ'id al-Dîniyyah wa-Ahkâm al-fiqh al-Marçiyah wa-Tarîq al-Sulûk al-Muhammadiyyah*. The treatise comprises three major disciplines of Islamic sciences; *kalâm*, *fiqh* and *tasawwuf*. The book, according to Shaykh Dawud, is meant for a public readership, especially the beginner. It was completed in 1252 A.H. (1836 C.E.) in the city of Tâ'if. The current edition is printed by Pustaka Nasional of Singapore, and Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok. The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI 20, 34, 153, 213, 248, 363, 484, 630 and 660; while the PNM catalogued them as MS 152, 206 211, 316, 323, 325, 494, 496 and 1623.
 27. *Jihâyat al-Takhtub*. The title is listed in the exhibition guidebook on Islamic Development held in Kuala Lumpur in 1980.⁸⁸
 28. *Kanz al-Minan 'alâ Hikam Abî Madyan*. A translation of a commentary on the maxims of Abû Madyan Shu'ayb ibn al-Husayn al-Andalusî which was completed in 1240 A.H. (1825 C.E.). The printed edition discovered so far is the edition of al-Maţba'ah al-Miṣriyyah bi-Makkah al-Mahmiyyah, dated 1328 A.H. (1910 C.E.).
 29. *Kashf al-Ghummah*. Its full title is *Kashf al-Ghummah fi Aḥwâl al-Mawtâ fi al-Barzakh wa-al-Qiyâmah*. It is a treatise explaining the situation of the deceased and the condition of the Resurrection Day. It was completed in 1238 A.H. (1823 C.E.) in Makkah. The text was printed in the margin of *Furû' al-Masâ'il* by the same author. It was also printed separately in Singapore in 1347 A.H. (1928 C.E.).⁸⁹ The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI 145, 149, 375, 463 and 591; while the PNM catalogued it as MS 1744.
 30. *Kayfiyyat Khatam al-Quran*. A book on *adab* to the Holy Qur'ân. The author also recorded the *silsilah* (chain of masters) of the Shattâriyyah and the Sammâniyyah Orders. The earliest printed

edition discovered so far is by ‘Îsâ al-Bâbî al-Halabî, Egypt, 1344 A.H. (1926 C.E.).⁹⁰ Another early edition is that published by Maṭba‘ah ‘Uthmâniyyah in Makkah at an unspecified date. The text was printed together with another work entitled *Fâ‘idah Muḥimmah Maṭlûbah fî Kayfiyyah Ṣalât al-Tarâwîh* and *Waraqât Qalîlah fî Manâsik al-Ḥajj* by Shaykh Muḥammad Zayn al-Dîn bin Muḥammad Badawî Samawî, who is believed to be a student of Shaykh Dawud. The MIM possesses the manuscripts which are catalogued as MI 81, 227, 539 and 560; while the PNM catalogued it as MSS 1744.

31. *Kayfiyyat al-Mubtadî*. It is also listed under the title *Irshâd al-Afâl al-Mubtadî‘în fî ‘Aqâ‘id al-Dîn wa-al-Ad‘iyat al-Nâfi‘at [fî] al-Dîn*. This book deals with degrees of Îmân. It was printed for the first time by al-Maṭba‘ah al-Miṣriyyah of Makkah, in 1309 A.H. (1841 C.E.).
32. *Kayfiyyat Ṣalât Tarâwîh*. A treatise on the *tarâwîh* prayer in the month of *Ramadân*. It also deals with manners of visiting graves according to the Prophet’s tradition. In it, the author also recorded the chain of his Sufi masters of the Shattâriyyah and the Sammâniyyah Orders. The manuscript, which was transcribed by Shaykh Nik Mat Kechik al-Fattani, the adopted son of Shaykh Dawud, is believed to be in private hands.⁹¹
33. *Kifâyat al-Muḥtâj fî al-Isrâ‘ wa-al-Mi‘râj*. A treatise on the *isrâ‘* and the *mi‘râj*, the Prophet’s journey by night from Makkah to Jerusalem and his ascension to the highest heaven. The work was completed in Makkah in 1224 A.H. (1809 C.E.).⁹² It has been rendered into Malay from the *Qiṣṣah mi‘râj al-nabî* by al-Ghaytî (d.1504).⁹³ In the margin of the work is the biographies of Prophet Muhammad and those of other Prophets. It was reprinted by al-Ma‘ârif Press of Penang, Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok, and al-Saqafiyyah Press of Surabaya all of which are based on the earlier Egyptian edition printed by Dâr Iḥyâ‘ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyyah. Another edition was reprinted in Bombay, in 1298 A.H. and in Egypt by Dâr al-Ṭibâ‘ah, at an unspecified date. An edition printed by Maṭba‘ah Dâr al-Mirza Press, Singapore in 1929 C.E. is available in the library of the University of Malaya.⁹⁴ The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI 134, 324, 442, 507, 582, 583, 588, 613, 674 and 696.

34. *Al-Manbal al-Sâfi fi Bayân Ramz abl al-Sûfi*. A small treatise on Sufism concerning the seven degrees of existence, known among the Malays as *martabat tujuh*. The glossary of the Malay Sufi technical terms is also part of this treatise. It is, perhaps, the first glossary of Sufi technical terms to be rendered in Malay. The only printed edition discovered so far was published by Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok, and Pustaka Aman Press, Kelantan, both based on the third reprint, dated 1373 A.H. For the manuscripts, the MIM catalogued them as MI 17, 48, 128, 137, 262, 354, 414, 429, 448, 467, 504, 603 and 669; while the PNM catalogued them as MS 147(A), 188(B), 204, 205, 232, 460, 519, 547(A), 622, 629(A), 649(A), 693, 1088, 1333, 1386 and 1495(A).
35. *Minhâj al-Âbidîn*. It is translated from *Minhâj al-Âbidîn* of the Proof of Islam, Imâm al-Ghazâlî, a work on Sufism. This work was completed in Makkah, in 1240 A.H. (1825 C.E.). It was printed for the first time in Istanbul in 1305 A.H. (1887 C.E.) by Matba'ah al-Hâj Muhammad Afandi.⁹⁵ The present edition is printed by al-Ma'ârif Press of Penang and Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok based on the Egyptian edition published by Dâr Ihyâ' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah. Incomplete manuscripts are available in the library of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Malaysia (MS 59; 76 pages) and also the National Museum in Jakarta, Indonesia (Cat. ML775[XI.53]).⁹⁶
36. *Mudhâkarah al-I*. A treatise on Sufi advices and reminders which was completed in 1249 A.H. It was printed together with *Fath al-Mannân* by the same author which was published by al-Matba'ah al-Miṣriyyah of Makkah in 1330 A.H.⁹⁷
37. *Munyat al-Muṣallî*. A well-known treatise of Shaykh Dawud on the manual of prayers based on the Qur'ân and traditions of the Prophet as well as the dicta of the 'ulamâ'. The work was completed in 1242 A.H. in the city of Makkah. The early edition was printed in 1310 A.H. by al-Matba'ah al-Miṣriyyah in Makkah. The margin contains *Risalat muhimmah pada bicara kelebihan dan kepujian pada buat baktian perempuan bagi suaminya dan kecelakaan pada meninggalnya dan derhakanya* by Shaykh Abdullah bin Abdurrahim Kerisik al-Fattani.⁹⁸ The present edition was published by al-Ma'ârif of Penang and Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok, the margin of which contains *al-Bahjat al-*

- Mardiyyah* by the same author. The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI 130, 132, 136, 152, 165, 174, 175, 202, 205, 238, 299, 302, 348, 358, 392, 393, 425, 469, 512, 584, 585 and 727; while the PNM has catalogued it as MS 1874.
38. *Musawwaddah*. A work on the *sûrah* of the Prophet Muhammad. It was completed in 1234 A.H. The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI 95, 154, 182, 329, 394 and 718.
 39. *Muta'allim*. The text was printed in the margin of Shaykh Zayn al-Abidin bin Muhammad al-Fattani's *Miftâh al-Murîd fî 'Ilm al-Tawhîd*⁹⁹ which was printed by al-Ma'ârif of Penang and Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok, both undated. The title was also listed in the booklist of al-Maktabah al-Fattaniyyah, Makkah which indicated that it was also printed in a separate book.
 40. *Nahj al-Râghibîn wa Sabîl al-Muhtadîn*. A treatise on the law of transaction in Islam which was completed in 1226 A.H. It was printed in Makkah, Egypt and Istanbul. However, we only have a copy of the reprint edition by Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok which contains Shaykh Dawud's *Bughyat al-Tullâb* printed in the margin. The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI 195, 314 and 480.
 41. *Nubdhah fî Bayân Shurûl al-Jum'ah*. A work on rules and regulations governing the *Jum'ah* prayer. The manuscript is believed to be in private hands.¹⁰⁰
 42. *Qismat al-Zakât bayn al-Ashnâf*. It contains the *fatwas* of Shaykh Dawud regarding the eligibility of Muslims to receive almsgiving (*zakât*). The manuscript is also believed to be in private hands.¹⁰¹
 43. *Qissah Nabi Yusuf*. A treatise on the story of Prophet Yûsuf (may God blessed him). It was printed in Makkah by al-Matba'ah al-Misriyyah in 1329 A.H. (1911 C.E.).¹⁰² The manuscript is available in the MIM, yet uncatalogued.
 44. *Al-Qurbah ilâ Allâh*. The title is mentioned as being the work of Shaykh Dawud in *Sejarah Perkembangan Ulama' Kelantan* written by Nik Abdul Aziz bin Haji Nik Hasan.¹⁰³
 45. *Risalah Jawab Persoalan*. The manuscript is reported to be kept in the MIM collection, yet uncatalogued.¹⁰⁴
 46. *Risalah Kelebihan Basmalah*. A treatise on the virtue of reciting the *basmalah*. The manuscript in the MIM is catalogued as MI 303.

47. *Risalah Kelebihan Hamdalah*. A treatise on the virtue of reciting the *hamdalah*. The text was written together with the *Risalah Kelebihan Basmalah*.¹⁰⁵
48. *Risalah Ta'alluq bi-kalimat al-Îmân*. This title is mentioned as being the work of Shaykh Dawud on the front page of *Tâj al-Mulûk*.¹⁰⁶ The MIM has a manuscript of this treatise which is still uncatalogued.¹⁰⁷
49. *Risalat al-Tarîqah al-Shattâriyyah wa-al-Sammâniyyah*. A short treatise on the involvement of Shaykh Dawud in the Sufi orders of the Shattâriyyah and the Sammâniyyah. The manuscript is believed to be in private hands.¹⁰⁸
50. *Risâlat al-Masâ'il*. It is reported to discuss the issues pertaining to the Jum'ah prayer. However, the details of the treatise are unknown.
51. *Al-Sayd wa-al-Dhabâ'ih*. A treatise on Islamic law concerning the regulation on hunting and slaughtering. It was written in Makkah and completed on Wednesday 10th Safar, but no year is mentioned. The earliest printed edition discovered so far is the one printed by al-Matba'ah al-Misriyyah of Makkah dated 1322 A.H. It is stated to be a third edition.¹⁰⁹ The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI189, 246, 388 and 449; while the PNM has catalogued them as MSS 1620, 1621 and 1886.
52. *Sullam al-Mubtadî fî Bayân Tarîqat al-Muhtadî*. This treatise discusses the sources of religious doctrine according to the opinion of the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa-al-Jamâ'ah*. It discusses also the precepts of jurisprudence in general. The author completed this work in 1252 A.H. in the city of Makkah. This work has been extensively commented upon and explained in *Kifâyat al-Muhtadî* by Muhammad Nur bin Muhammad al-Fattani, which contains *Sullam al-Mubtadî* in the margin, published by Dâr Iḥyâ' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, Egypt. It was reprinted by al-Ma'arif of Penang and Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok and also Maktabah Saqafiyyah of Surabaya. The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI 62, 114, 123, 133, 173, 176, 183, 224, 287, 373, 420, 475, 675 and 688; while the PNM catalogued it as MS 1547.
53. *Ta'lîq Laḥîf mimmâ Yata'allaq bi-Jawâz Ta'addud al-Jum'ah*. A treatise pertaining to the *Jum'ah* prayer. The author tried to explain the validity of building a new mosque to perform the *Jum'ah*

prayer in a town which already has a mosque to function for that purpose. So, the problem concerned is about the validity of holding two *Jum'ah* prayers at one time in one place (town). The manuscripts in the MIM are catalogued as MI 15, 151, 156 and 374.

54. *Tanbîh al-Ghâfilîn*. The manuscript of this work is available in the MIM collection, yet uncatalogued.¹¹⁰
55. *Tarikh Patani*. The documentation on the history of Patani written by Shaykh Faqih Ali al-Fattani. Shaykh Dawud transcribed this work and made necessary amendments to it. He also wrote in a few pages an introduction to the work. Due to these amendments, we list this work as Shaykh Dawud's work. The manuscript of this work appears to be in a private collection.¹¹¹
56. *Tuhfat al-Ikhwân fi Nisf Sha'bân*. A work on the virtues of the month of Sha'bân. The manuscript of this work is believed to be in private hands.¹¹²
57. *Tuhfat al-Râghibîn fi Bayân Haqîqat Îmân al-Mu'minîn*. A work on theology which discussed mainly the degrees of belief and the groups or sects (*firâq*) among the Muslims. The work, which is available in manuscript form, is kept in the MIM and catalogued as MI 57 and MI 650.
58. *Tuhfat al-Râghibîn fi Sulûk Tarîq al-Muttaqîn*. This is a work on *fiqh* available in manuscript form. The MIM catalogued it as MI 267, 318, 487, and 629.
59. *Ward al-Zawâhir li-Hall Alfâz 'Iqd al-Jawâhir*. A work on theology which was completed in 1245 A.H., in Makkah. The first edition was printed by al-Maṭba'ah al-Miṣriyyah of Makkah in 1332 A.H. (1914 C.E.).¹¹³ The MIM possessed the manuscripts which are catalogued as MI 139 and 406.
60. *Waṣâ'yâ al-Abrâr wa-Mawâ'iz al-Akhyâr*. A treatise on Sufism which is reported to be translated from the work of Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Ghamarî al-Wâsitî. The manuscript of this work is believed to be in private hands.¹¹⁴

Despite of the works that can be listed above, there are some other works and untitled manuscripts attributed to Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani. These manuscripts are available in the Islamic Museum of Malaysia (MIM) catalogued as MI 36, 75, 135, 335, 395, 658. In fact, we do believe that there must be some other works of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani that are kept in other libraries and institutions. This needs serious effort to identify and uncover an intellectual heritage of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

Endnotes

1. The early history of Patani refers to the Kingdom of Langkasuka which, according to the Chinese chronicles, had existed since the 2nd century or around the year 80-100 C.E. The location of the kingdom is believed to be in the Northeast of the Malay Peninsula, but historians differ on the exact location of the kingdom. As a matter of fact, the Chinese chronicles stated that Admiral Cheng Ho used to stop in Langkasuka on his way to Ayuthaya, through the Gulf of Siam, in order to warn its king not to attack Malacca. Based on this report, we, therefore, believe that this Langkasuka refers to Patani, the city on the Northeast coast of the Malay Peninsula. In this connection, A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt stated "*Langkasuka was an important trading port for Asian sailors, particularly when mariners began to sail directly across the Gulf of Siam from the Southernmost tip of Vietnam to the Malay Peninsula which often brought them to a landfall in the region of Patani*". Based on these facts, Paul Wheatley and Roland Braddell agreed that the Kingdom of Langkasuka was situated in Patani. For further discussion and examples upon this issue, see A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani (The Story of Patani)*, 2 volumes, (The Hague: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal, 1970). See also Mohd. Zamberi A. Malek, *Umat Islam Patani: Sejarah dan Politik* (Shah Alam: Penerbit Hizbi, 1993), 1-22. Cf. Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Pengantar sejarah Patani* (Alor Setar: Pustaka Darussalam, 1994), 3-10.
2. What is important, to them, is to preach the message of Islam to Muslims. That is why we find many of anonymous manuscripts and even published works in which the author simply introduces himself as *al-faqîr wa-al-ḥaqîr ilâ Allâh 'Abd Rabbihî*, or, in Malay, *hamba Allah yang teramat miskin lagi hina*, that is the poor and destitute servant of God.
3. For example, *Majalah Dian* and *Pengasuh* seem to pay more attention to the early Malay scholars who contributed greatly to intellectual development in the history of the Malay Archipelago. Both journals are published by Syarikat Dian Sendirian Berhad, Kota Bharu, Kelantan and Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, respectively.
4. See P. Voorhoeve, "Dawûd al-Fattânî" *EI2*, 2(1983): 183. The contribution of Shaykh Dawud has also attracted the attention of orientalists, C. Snouck Hurgronje and R. O. Winstedt. Hurgronje, for example, reported about the wide use of Shaykh Dawud's works in the Holy City of Makkah in the 18th and 19th centuries. The work, according to him, was first printed in Istanbul where it received a grant from the Ottoman Government. It, then, was reprinted so many times in many countries like Egypt, India and the countries of the Malay region. Meanwhile, Winstedt in his work listed some works of Shaykh Dawud which were widely read and studied among the Malays. In fact, both orientalists provided us more on the influence of Shaykh Dawud's works among the Malays, but less attention was paid to the biography of the author. See R. O. Winstedt, "The History of Classical Malay literature" (Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, no. 12), 105; and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the later part of the 19th century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 287.
5. See, for example, Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani: Ulama dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (Shah Alam: Penerbit

- Hizbi, 1990); Ismail Che Daud, "Syeikh Daud al-Fatani (1769-1847)", in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama Semenanjung Melayu (1)*, ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 1988).
6. Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 9. Cf. Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 3.
 7. *Al-Jâwî* refers to one who speaks and writes in Malay, while *al-Fattânî* refers to one who resides in the state of Patani on the Northeast coast of the Malay Peninsula, and *al-Malâyyuwî* refers to Malay, his racial group.
 8. See Muhammad Nur bin Muhammad bin Ismail al-Fattani, *Kifâyat al-Muhtadî pada Menerangkan Sullam al-Muhtadî* (N.p.: Dâr al-Fikr, 1351 A.H.), 386.
 9. See Yusuf Zaki Yaacob, "Sastera Islam di Malaysia", *Majalah Dian*, 72 (1971): 9.
 10. See M. B. Hooker, *Islamic Law in South-East Asia* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984), 32.
 11. Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 20.
 12. He is Shaykh Muhammad Husayn ibn Abd al-Latif al-Kalabawi al-Fatani. He is known to have transcribed a lot of Shaykh Dawud's works. He is reported to possess 30 works of Shaykh Dawud, in manuscript form, in his personal collection. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Sejarah ringkas Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani dan Karya-karyanya". Paper presented at the *Nadwah Ilmiah Tokoh Ulama Peringkat Kebangsaan Kali Keempat (Syeikh Daud Abdullah al-Fatani)*, BAHEIS, Kuala Lumpur, 17-19 Desember 1991, 20-21.
 13. Tok Kelaba stated this in the form of a poem on the cover page of the manuscript of Shaykh Dawud's *Hidâyat al-Muta'allim*. The transcription of this manuscript was done by Tok Kelaba himself. See the facsimile of this page in Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 83.
 14. Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 3.
 15. He is the great-grandnephew of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani. His father, Shaykh Muhammad bin Ismail al-Fattani, or better known as Shaykh Nik Mat Kecil, is the grandnephew and adopted son of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani. See Ahmad Fath al-Fattani, "Rumpun Keluarga Ulama Fattani", *Pengasuh* (July-Aug. 1992): 16.
 16. Printed in the margin of *Kifâyat al-Muhtadî* by Dâr al-Fikr, undated.
 17. The text reads *Parik Marhum* instead of *Parit Marhum*.
 18. Muhammad Nur, *Kifâyat al-Muhtadî*, 386.
 19. Abdullah al-Qari, "Pujangga Syeikh Daud Fatani", *Majalah Dian* 10 (1967): 131.
 20. Shaykh Ahmad al-Fattani is known to have played an important role in bringing the Malay works including those of Shaykh Dawud's to the printing press. In fact, he was entrusted by the Turkish government to be the supervisor of the Malay press in Makkah. See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 286.
 21. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Sejarah Ringkas Syeikh Daud*, 4.
 22. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 4.
 23. See Haji 'Abd al-Hamîd bin Haji 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Sanâwî, *Risalah Babasan Niat Sembahyang*, as cited in Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Sejarah Ringkas Syeikh Daud*, 8-9.
 24. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara abad XVII dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 262.
 25. See Faudzinaim Hj. Baharuddin, "Syeikh Daud al-Fatani: Sebuah Kajian Khusus

- terhadap *Kitab Manhal al-Sâfi*". Paper presented at the *Seminar Penyelidikan Dalam Pengajian Islam*, Fakulti Pengajian Islam, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, 20 Desember, 1997, 2-4. See also Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan ulama*, 261-262.
26. 'Abd al-Rahmân Siddîq ibn Muḥammad 'Afif al-Banjarî, *Shajarat al-Arshadiyyah* (Singapore: Matba'at al-Ahmadiyyah, 1334 A.H.)
 27. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad Palembang: Ulama Sufi dan Jihad Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1996), 34-35.
 28. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 32.
 29. We are of a different opinion to P. Voorhoeve who had suggested that the earliest dated work of Shaykh Dawud was finished in 1224 A.H./1810 C.E. and the latest in 1259 A.H./1843 C.E., but did not give any title of the works that he claimed. In fact, we discover that the earliest dated work of Shaykh Dawud was finished in 1204 A.H. entitled *Kifâyat al-Muhtâj fi Isrâ' wa-al-Mi'râj* based on the manuscript (MI 674) in the possession of the Islamic Museum of Malaysia (MIM). See Engku Ibrahim Ismail and Osman Bakar (eds.). *Bibliografi manuskrip Islam di Muzium Islam Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya dan Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam, Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 1992), 80. Cf. P. Voorhoeve, *EI2* 2 (1983): 183.
 30. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 33. Cf. Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 24.
 31. This is due to the penchant of the Wahabis to eradicate *Bid'ah*, that is all practices in religion regarded as innovations. One of them was to eradicate the belief in the miracles (*karâmah*) of the saint (*walî*). See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 24.
 32. Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani had recorded his early education in Patani in a poem in his transcription of *Bidâyat al-Hidâyah* of Shaykh Muhammad Zayn bin Faqîh Jalâl al-Dîn of Aceh. Cited from Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Munyat al-Musalli Syeikh Daud al-Fatani: Pengetahuan Sembahyang Masyhur* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1991), 22-23.
 33. The well-known scholar from Aceh who lived during the time of Sultan Alauddin Mahmud Shah (1174-1195 A.H.). His famous works which are still extant are *Bidâyat al-Hidâyah*, a well-known commentary of al-Sanûsî's *Ummi al-Barâbîn*, and *Kashf al-Kirâm*. Both works were written during his stays in Makkah in 1170 A.H./1757 C.E. and 1171 A.H./1758 C.E. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan ulama*, 261.
 34. *Ibid.*, 261-262.
 35. He is the son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmân ibn 'Abd al-Mubîn al-Fattani who was the first master of Shaykh Dawud while he studied in Pondok Pauh Bok, in Patani.
 36. A Sufi master who introduced the Shattâriyyah Order to Shaykh Dawud and conferred the licence (*ijâzah*) of this Order on him.
 37. The noted scholar and the author of *Sayr al-Sâlikîn* and *Hidâyat al-Sâlikîn* in which he enlarged and commented upon al-Ghazali's *Ihyâ' 'ulûm al-Dîn* and *Bidâyat al-Hidâyah* respectively. These works are extant.
 38. This pious scholar is known for his masterpiece, *Sabîl al-Muhtadîn*, a commentary on Rânîrî's *Sirât al-Mustaqîm*, the oldest known Malay treatise on Islamic Jurisprudence. Both works are extant and printed together by the Muhammad al-Nahdi Press, Bangkok, undated.

39. The pious Sufi master whose work, *al-Durr al-Nafis*, is regarded as containing the high level discussion on Sufism. The work, which is extant, is published by many local publishers like Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok and al-Ma'arif Press of Penang, both undated.
40. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 261. Cf. Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 9.
41. He is Shaykh 'Îsâ ibn Ahmad ibn 'Îsâ ibn Muhammad al-Zubayrî al-Barrâwî al-Shâfi'î al-Qâhirî al-Azharî, better known as al-Barrâwî, a learned Imâm and pious jurist. He was born and grew up in Cairo. He is reported to have memorized the Qur'ân and the Hadîth and studied *fiqh* under his father. He studied theology and became proficient and expert in it and also the *fiqh* of al-Shâfi'î. After the death of his father, he succeeded him and became famous, and he was ranked among the best scholars of his time. He died suddenly in Tantâ, where he had gone to visit the shrine of Sîdî Ahmad al-Badawî, on Wednesday, the third of Rabî' al-Awwal, 1182 A.H. He wrote many books, the most famous of which are *al-Taysîr li-Hall Alfâz al-Jâmi' al-Saghir* and *Hâshiyah 'alâ Sharh Jawharat al-Tawhîd li-Ibrâhîm al-Laqqânî*. Even though Shaykh al-Barrâwî spent almost all of his life in Cairo, he frequently visited Haramayn in order to perform *Hajj* and at the same time to held classes with his students there. This opportunity was taken by Shaykh Dawud to acquire knowledge from him in the sciences of *hadîth*, *fiqh* as well as *kalâm*. In fact, his chain of masters in theology connects him to the major scholars in this field like 'Abd Allâh al-Basrî, 'Alâ' al-Dîn al-Bâbilî, Shams al-Dîn al-Ramlî and Zakariyyâ al-Ansârî. See Al-Jabartî, *'Ajâ'ib al-Âthar fi al-Tarâjim al-Akhhâr*, translated into English as *'Abd al-Rahmân al-Jabartî's History of Egypt*, eds. Thomas Philipp and Moshe Perlmann, 4 in 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994), 1: 699; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm: Qâmûs Tarâjim li-Ashhar al-Rijâl wa-al-Nisâ' min al-'Arab wa-al-Musta'mirîn wa-al-Mustashriqîn*, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dâr al-'Ilm lil-Malâyîn, 8th ed., 1990), 5: 100.
42. He is Shaykh 'Abd Allâh ibn Hijâzî ibn Ibrâhîm al-Shâfi'î al-Azharî, known as al-Sharqâwî, the most learned scholar, grammarian and jurist, and the Rector of Azhar. He was born around 1150 A.H. (1737 C.E.) in the town of Tawîla in Sharqiyâ Bilbays near al-Qurayn, where he was brought up. It is reported that he had already memorized the Qur'ân before he went to al-Azhar, the place where he studied under many great scholars like al-Malawî, al-Jawharî, al-Damanhûrî and al-Saqqât, the man from whom he studied *al-Muwatta'*. Finally, he mastered the Sufî path of Shaykh Mahmûd al-Kurdî. He wrote in many fields of Islamic sciences i.e. *fiqh*, *kalâm* and *tasawwuf*. He wrote many works which are indicative of his excellence, including his glosses to the *Tahrîr* and a commentary on the poetry of Yahyâ al-'Amrîtî and a commentary on *al-'Aqâ'id al-Mashriqiyyah*, a short commentary on *kalâm*, *fiqh*, and *tasawwuf*, well known in Dâghistân, a commentary on the *Risâlah* of 'Abd al-Fattâh al-'Adîlî on theology, and a synopsis of *al-Shamâ'îlî* with commentary, a treatise on the words "There is no god but God", another treatise on a legal question in *Jam' al-Jawâmi'*, a commentary on *al-Hikam*, and *al-Wasâiyâ al-Kurdiyyah fi al-Tasawwuf*, a commentary on al-Bakrî's *Wird Sabar*, a synopsis of *al-Mughnî fi al-Nahw*. He also compiled the biographies of some of the early and modern Shâfi'î jurists, in which he took the information from al-Subkî's

and al-Isnawî's *al-Tabaqât al-Shâfi'iyyah*. His most popular works among the Malays are *al-Sharqâwî 'alâ al-Hudhudâ*, a commentary of al-Sanûsî's *Umm al-Barâhîn* and *al-Sharqâwî 'alâ al-Tahrîr*. The work which is widely used in the Malay region especially in traditional Islamic schools, was first published in Egypt by Dâr al-Kutub. It was reprinted many times by local publishers like Muhammad al-Nahdi, Bangkok and Dâr al-Ma'ârif, Penang, both undated. The work is still available in the bookshops in Malaysia and Patani. He died on Thursday, the second of Shawwâl 1227 A.H. (1812 C.E.) in Cairo, and was buried in the tomb he built for himself in Bâb al-Barqiyyah. See al-Jabarti, *'Ajâ'ib al-Âthar*, 4: 221-228.

43. He is Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Alî al-Shanawânî al-Shâfi'î al-Azharî, the jurist, grammarian and logician. He was appointed as the Rector of Azhar right after the death of al-Sharqâwî even though he declined to accept the position in order to give way to other candidates who were better than him. He studied jurisprudence in the classes of Shaykh 'ÿsâ al-Barrâwî, from whom he received the ijâzah. Shaykh al-Shanawânî's lessons were of great benefit to his students at the mosque known as al-Fâkahânî, near his residence at Khushqadam. He was a well-mannered person, humble and self-effacing, but cordial to everyone. He would roll up his sleeves to work, sweeping the mosque and lighting the lamps. He died on Wednesday, the 24th of Muharram 1233 A.H. (Dec. 4, 1817 C.E.) and was buried in al-Mujâwirîn Cemetery. Among his compositions are his excellent glosses, well known to students, on the commentary by Shaykh 'Abd al-Salâm on *al-Jawharah*. In fact, Shaykh Dawud had the opportunity to study *fiqh* and *kalâm* during his stay in Makkah. See al-Jabarti, *'Ajâ'ib al-Âthar*, 4: 414.
44. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Jabartî in his work *'Ajâ'ib al-âthar fi al-Tarâjim al-Akbbâr* had lucidly recorded the intellectual geneology among the Egyptian scholars particularly those who graduated from and later served in al-Azhar as the professors and even the Rectors of Azhar. See Al-Jabartî, *'Ajâ'ib al-âthar fi al-Tarâjim al-Akbbâr*, translated into English as *'Abd al-Rahmân al-Jabartî's History of Egypt*, eds. Thomas Philipp and Moshe Perlmann, 4 in 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994). For the history of al-Azhar as well as the list of the Rectors of Azhar, we may also see Bayard Dodge, *Al-Azhar: A Millenium of Muslim Learning* (Washington D.C.: The Middle East Institute, Memorial Edition, 1974).
45. He was born in Makkah in 1110 A.H. (1698 C.E.). He studied under many great scholars of his time like Ibn 'Aqîlah, Shaykh 'Aÿsâ Allâh al-Misrî, Sayyid 'Abd Allâh al-Mirghânî and many others. Al-Jabartî reported that his master, Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahmân al-'Aydârûs had authorized al-Zamzamî to perform the *dbikr* in the manner of the Naqshabandiyyah Order and to compose a treatise on his behalf entitled *al-Bayân wa-al-Ta'yîm li-Muttabi' Millah Ibrâhîm*, in which he mentioned his line of ascription. Meanwhile, Sayyid Mustafâ al-Bakrî, a student of al-Jabartî's father, granted al-Zamzamî authorization for the Khalwatiyyah Order and made him substitute to open *dbikr* meetings. In fact, he was also known as a book lover in which he had acquired precious books in all the sciences, but unfortunately, after his death, his children broke up the collection and sold them off cheaply. See al-Jabarti, *'Ajâ'ib al-Âthar*, 2: 115.
46. He was a resident of Makkah and teacher in its sacred territory, a great scholar and distinguished jurist. He had studied jurisprudence under a number of Makkan

authorities and hadîth under Shaykh Muhammad ibn ‘Aqîlah and Shaykh Tâj al-Dîn al-Qal’î and their contemporaries. He also studied hadîth in Madînah with Shaykh Abû al-Hasan al-Sindî al-Kabîr. Shaykh Muhammad Sa’îd came to Cairo in 1174 A.H. (1760 C.E.), then to Turkey via Aleppo, where he lectured on hadîth before the local ‘ulamâ’. He then returned to the Haramayn and took up residence in Madînah. He continued living a pious life of worship and teaching until his death in 1192 A.H. (1760 C.E.). He wrote many books like *al-Arba’at al-Anbar fi Madh al-nabî al-Mukhtâr*. See al-Jabarti, ‘*Ajâ’ib al-Âthar*, 2: 54. Meanwhile, Shaykh Dawud was reported to have been exposed to the Hanafite school of law through him. However, Shaykh Dawud is known to have been inducted into the Shattâriyyah Order by him based on what has been recorded by Shaykh Dawud himself in his book, *Kayfiat khatam Qur’ân*. In addition, Shaykh Dawud had also studied theology under him which demonstrates another chain of masters of Shaykh Dawud in relation to his study with al-Barrâwî and al-Shanawânî. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 35-40.

47. His full name, as recorded by Shaykh Dawud in his book, *al-Bahjat al-Saniyyah*, is al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Marzûqî ibn al-Marhûm al-Sayyid al-Sharîf Muhammad Ramadân al-Hasanî wa al-Husaynî, which indicated that he was a descendent of the Prophet Muhammad (Allâh’s blessing and peace be upon him). It is also reported that Shaykh Dawud al-Fatani studied the Malikiite *fiqh* as well as the *hadîth* from al-Marzûqî. However, it seems that his influence upon Shaykh Dawud is mostly in theology in which Shaykh Dawud made a commentary in Malay on al-Marzûqî’s work, *Tahsîl Nayl al-Marâm li-Bayân manzûmat ‘Aqîdat al-‘Awwâm*, and named it, *al-Bahjat al-Saniyyah fi al-‘Aqâ’id al-Saniyyah*. See *al-Bahjat al-Saniyyah* (Jala: Sahabat Press, n.d.), 2.
48. The Madinah scholar and the chief of the Sammâniyyah Order. Shaykh al-Sammân was born in Madinah in 1130 A.H. (1718 C.E.) and brought up by his father. His father had sent him on business in Cairo, but he held a *dhikr* service in the Husaynî Mosque and later was the focus of much attention. He then returned to Madînah. Upon his father’s death, he succeeded him as the Shaykh of the Order. He continued in his way until he died at the age of 80, on the fourth of Dhu’l-Hijjah of the year 1189 A.H. (1775 C.E.). See al-Jabarti, ‘*Ajâ’ib al-Âthar*, 1: 700. He was very influential among scholars of the Malay region like Shaykh ‘Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani and Shaykh Muhammad Nafîs al-Banjarî who were the leading preachers of the Sammâniyyah Order in the Malay world. Even though Shaykh Dawud did study under al-Sammân, there is no record saying that he received the *ijâzah* of this Order directly from al-Sammân, but rather received it from Shaykh Ali bin Ishaq al-Fattani who in turn received it from Shaykh Muhammad Salih ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Fattani. Both were the seniors of Shaykh Dawud in the circle of the Sammaniyyah Order. For a brief discussion about the historical background of this *tariqah* as well as its influences in the Malay world, see Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarikat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Pustaka Mizan, 1995), 55-87.
49. He was Shaykh ‘Atâ’ Allâh ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Atâ’ Allâh ibn Ahmad al-Azharî al-Makkî (d. ca. 1186 A.H./1772 C.E.), the jurist, grammarian, logician and Sufi. He was born in Cairo and received his education in al-Azhar. He then lived in Makkah

and became a distinguished Shâfi'ite Muftî there. He wrote many books in various sciences among them *Nafhat al-Jûd fî Wabdat al-Wujûd*, *Mantiq al-Hâdir wa-al-Bâdî*, *Nihâyat al-'Arab fî Sharh Lâmiyah al-'Arab*, and many others. Most of his books were published in Cairo by Dâr al-Kutub. See al-Ziriklî, *Qâmûs Tarâjim*, 4: 236.

50. His name is Muhammad ibn Sâlih ibn Ibrâhîm al-Zubayrî (1188-1240 A.H./1774-1825 C.E.), a Shâfi'ite jurist. He died in Makkah in 1240 A.H./1825 C.E. He wrote many books especially on the *fiqh* of Shâfi'î like *al-Fatâwâ* and *Fayd al-Malik al-'Allâm*. The latter work has been explained in commentary entitled *Irshâd al-Anâm ilâ Sharh Fayd al-Malik al-'Allâm* by al-Battâkh (d.1244 A.H./1828 C.E.), printed in Cairo in 1876 C.E. See al-Ziriklî, *Qâmûs Tarâjim*, 6: 163; and *GAL S II*, 809.
51. He was born in Damascus in 1127 A.H./1715 C.E., but grew up in Madinah. He was a well-known Shâfi'ite jurist of the Hijâz who later was appointed as the *Muftî*. He wrote many books such as *al-Fatâwâ*, *Fath al-Qadîr bi-Ikhtisâr Muta'allaqât Nusuk al-Ajîr*, *al-Hawâshî al-Madaniyyah 'alâ Sharh Ibn Hajar*, and many more. See al-Ziriklî, *Qâmûs Tarâjim*, 6: 152; and *GAL II*, 389. It is reported that he was also a teacher of Shaykh Abdussamad al-Falimbani. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, 40.
52. It is reported that he was the *Shaykh al-Islâm* of Makkah as well as the *Imâm al-Haramayn*. Besides Shaykh Dawud, he is also a teacher of Shaykh Abdussamad al-Falimbani and Shaykh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjarî. See, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad Palembang*, 38. Cf. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Sheikh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari: Pengarang Sabilal Muhtadin*. (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1990), 14.
53. He is 'Abd Allâh al-Mahjûb ibn Ibrâhîm al-Mîrghânî, a Sufi master of Makkah and the founder of the Mîrghaniyyah Order. He died in Dâ'if in 1207 A.H./1792 C.E. It is reported that Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani received the *wirid husn al-khâtimah* together with Shaykh Abdussamad al-Falimbani from al-Mîrghânî. *GAL II*, 386; *S II*, 523. See also Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, 40.
54. He was Shaykh Abû al-Fayd al-Sayyid Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Razzâq, known as Murtadâ al-Husaynî al-Zabîdî al-Hanafî. He was born in the year 1145 A.H. (1732-33 C.E.) and grew up in his town. He traveled in search of learning and made the pilgrimage to Makkah several times where he met Shaykh 'Abd Allâh al-Sindî and Shaykh 'Abd Allâh al-Saqqâf. He studied jurisprudence with Shaykh 'Abd Allâh al-Mîrghânî and sufism with Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahmân al-'Aydarûs in Makkah, who later had granted him authorization to teach. He settled in Tâ'if after having gone to Yaman and returning in the year 1166 A.H. (1752-53 C.E.). His major and well-known work is the commentary on the *Qâmûs* entitled *Tâj al-'Arûs*. See al-Jabarti, *Qâmûs Tarâjim*, 2: 322-346. This name is mentioned as a teacher to Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani and Shaykh Abdussamad al-Falimbani by Shaykh Yasin of Padang in his book *Tasnîf al-Asmâ'*. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, 41.
55. He was Sulaymân ibn Yahyâ ibn 'Umar al-Ahdal, the *muhaddith* and grammarian from Yaman. He wrote some books such as *al-Nafs al-Yamani* and *al-Azhariyyah wa Sharhbuhâ wa Sharh al-Ajrûmiyyah* in which the latter had been used by him to teach Shaykh Dawud Arabic grammar. See al-Ziriklî, *Qâmûs Tarâjim*, 3: 138; Bruinessen, *Kitab kuning*, 56; and Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Munyat al-Musallî*, 23-24.

56. The work was written in Jawâ script and completed in the Holy City of Makkah in 1303 A.H. It is well known among the people in the Malay region and is still used in the traditional schools as well as in the mosques. It has been printed so many times by regional publishers like Muhammad al-Nahdi of Bangkok and al-Ma'ârif of Penang, both undated.
57. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah had listed at least 22 names as the students of Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani. For the full list of these names as well as their biographical background, see Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 42-50.
58. For the history of the printing press of the *Jawi* books, see Hasan Madmarn, *The Pondok and Madrasah in Patani* (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1999), 52-54. See also Bruinessen, *Kitab kuning*, 136.
59. He has collected about 900 works of Jawi script that are still available in the bookshops in the Malay region. These works cover various disciplines of Islamic sciences in various languages such as Arabic, Malay, Jawa, Sunda, Madura, and Aceh. These works are now kept in a special collection in the library of KITLV, Leiden. See, Bruinessen, *Kitab kuning*, 131-171.
60. See Virginia Matheson and M.B. Hooker, "Jawi literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic tradition", *JMBRAS*, 61: 1 (1988): 21.
61. His list, besides his own collection, is based on the collection in the Muzium Islam Malaysia (MIM) particularly the works which still remain in manuscript form. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 20-29.
62. Wan Mohd. Shaghir is known as a collector of Malay manuscripts. It appears to us that his list is based on his personal collection as well as the works that are in the possession of the Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM). See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 55-92.
63. He based his claim on the report of his mother Hajjah Wan Zainab who said that the total number the treatises of Shaykh Dawud was 99 as reflected in the 99 Names of God. Meanwhile, a report from Hajj 'Abd al-Qâdir Sena, in his book *Risalah Babasan Niat Sembahyang*, stated that there are 101 treatises of Shaykh Dawud. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Mumyat al-Musallî*, 22-23.
64. The list of Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir's *Syeikh Daud*; Ismail Che Daud's *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*; and Matheson's *Jawi Literature*.
65. See *Katalog Induk Manuskrip Melayu di Malaysia: Siri Bibliografi Manuskrip no. 10* (Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM), 1993); *Manuskrip Melayu koleksi Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia: Satu Katalog Ringkas* (Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1987); and *Manuskrip Melayu koleksi Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia: Satu Katalog Ringkas (Tambahan Ketiga)* (Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM), 1997).
66. Engku Ibrahim Ismail and Osman Bakar (eds.), *Bibliografi Manuskrip Islam di Muzium Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya, dan Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam Malaysia, Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 1992).
67. It is important to note here that this survey will mainly cover the works of Shaykh Dawud, particularly the manuscripts, that are available in Malaysia only. While the works available outside Malaysia will be noted. According to P. Voorhoeve, there are some manuscripts of Malay works by Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani in Cambridge (Scoth. Coll.), Jakarta, Leiden and London (R.A.S) but none of them are published. See *EI2*, 2 (1983): 183.

68. Shaykh al-Marbawî had listed this work in the catalogue known as *Fabaras barga kitab di kedai Melayu di dalam Mesir bagi tahun 1347 Hijrah*. The work was also listed in *Katalog kitab/daftar barga tahun 1923 Masibi* which was sold in the Bookshop of Haji Muhammad Sirâj in Singapore. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, p. 27, footnote 20.
69. This edition (in poor condition) is kept in the Museum Nasional Jakarta. See Matheson, *Jawi Literature*, 61.
70. The list contained *Jawi* books which were sold in the city of Makkah during that period. This booklist was printed in the last page of al-Fattani's translation of *Kanz al-Minan 'alâ Hikam Abî Madyan*, which was printed by al-Matba'ah al-Misriyyah, Makkah, 1328 A.H.
71. See *EI2*, 2 (1983): 183.
72. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, p. 28, footnote 24.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 27 footnote 19.
74. It appears that the manuscript is kept in the private collection of Hj. Wan Mohd. Shaghir. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 62.
75. *Ibid.*, 71.
76. As cited by Ismail Che Daud in his *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 14.
77. Its full name is *Matn al-Zubad fî 'Ilm al-Fiqh 'alâ Madhhab al-Imâm al-Shâfi'î* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqâfiyyah, 1986).
78. This edition, which is considered rare, is kept in Madrasah Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn (Pondok Utan Tua, near Narathiwath). See Matheson, *Jawi literature*, 61.
79. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 83-85.
80. *Ibid.*, 92.
81. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Pendokumentasian karya-karya Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani yang belum pernah dicetakî, *Jurnal Dewan Bahasa* (Nov. 1990): 860-861.
82. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 13.
83. *Ibid.*, 31.
84. *supra* n. 70 above.
85. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 93.
86. This work, according to P. Voorhoeve, is a popular treatise on marriage law lithographed in Singapore in 1287 A.H. (1871 C.E.) while C. Snouck Hurgronje referred to it as a hand-book on the marriage-law anonymously published in Constantinople. See Matheson, *Jawi literature*, 183; and Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.
87. The other title of this treatise is *Hadiyyat al-Habîb fî al-Tarhîb wa-al-Tarhîb*. See Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddîq of Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture Malaysia, 1986), 25.
88. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, p. 27 footnote 21.
89. See Mohd. Nor bin Ngah, *Kitab Jawi: Islamic thought of the Malay Muslim scholars*. (Singapore: n. p., 1982), 24.
90. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 9.
91. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 68.
92. The work was previously believed to have been completed in 1224 A.H. However, we discover that the work was actually completed in 1204 A.H. based on the manuscript (MI674) of the Musium Islam Malaysia (MIM) which stated its date of

- completion. By this discovery, this work is thus considered the first dated work of Shaykh Dawud al-FaṣānĀ. See Matheson, *Jawi literature*, 24.
93. Martin van Bruinessen reported that this work was popular among the Malays after *Kitāb al-Barzanjī* of Ja'far al-Barzinjī. Both works represented the treatise on the history of the Prophet (*sīrah*). Ahmad Dardīr had also made a commentary upon the *Mi'rāj* of al-Ghaytī. See Bruinessen, *Kitab kuning*, 168.
 94. *Ibid.*, 24.
 95. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 36.
 96. See Matheson, *Jawi Literature*, 24.
 97. *Ibid.*, 61.
 98. See the facsimile of the cover page of this work in Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 2.
 99. The work is on the twenty attributes of God Most Exalted, which is a commentary of al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*. The date of the completion of this work cannot be determined since the author himself did not state it.
 100. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 93.
 101. *Ibid.*, 92.
 102. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 25.
 103. *Ibid.*, p. 28, footnote 22. There is another manuscript which we believe is the same work even though there is a slight difference in the title; that is *al-Qurb ilā Allāh*. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 67.
 104. *Ibid.*, 68.
 105. See *Risalah Kelebihan Basmalah*.
 106. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, p. 28, footnote 23.
 107. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 68.
 108. *Ibid.*, 92.
 109. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 23.
 110. *Ibid.*, 28, footnote 24. Interesting to note here is that there is a work of the same title but written by a different author of this region. He was Haji 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Mubīn. It was written in 1184 A.H. (1771 C.E.) and was reprinted by Muhammad al-Nahdi, Bangkok, 1936 C.E. Many people mistook this work as a work by Shaykh Dawud since it bears the same title.
 111. Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Pendokumentasian Karya Sheikh Daud*, 857-864.
 112. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah. "Warduz Zawahir: Kitab Usuluddin yang Terbesar di Dunia Melayu, Karya Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani." *Jurnal Dewan Bahasa* (Oct. 1991): 912-923.
 113. See Ismail Che Daud, *Syeikh Daud al-Fatani*, 5.
 114. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud*, 61.

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