Linking Identity to Collective Action:
Islam, History and Ethnicity in the Aceh Conflict

Mohammad Hasan Ansori

The Roots of the Writing Tradition
of Ḥadīth Works in Nusantara:
Ḥidāyat al-Ḥabīb by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī

Oman Fathurahman

Education, Young Islamists
and Integrated Islamic Schools in Indonesia

Noorhaidi Hasan

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Table of Contents

**Articles**

1. **Mohammad Hasan Ansori**  
   Linking Identity to Collective Action: Islam, History and Ethnicity in the Aceh Conflict

47. **Oman Fathurahman**  
   The Roots of the Writing Tradition of Hadith Works in Nusantara: *Hidāyât al-ḥabīb* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī

77. **Noorhaidi Hasan**  
   Education, Young Islamists and Integrated Islamic Schools in Indonesia

113. **M. Dien Madjid**  
   Tun Sri Lanang fī Masār al-Tārīkh wa ʿAlāqatuhu bi Intishār al-Islām fī Aceh

163. **M. Adib Misbachul Islam**  
   Al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī wa Siyāqiyyat al-Shariʿah al-Islamiyyah: Dirāsah ʿalá Kitab *Tākhyirah*

**Book Review**

191. **Azyumardi Azra**  
   Intelektual Muslim Baru dan Kajian Islam

**Document**

203. **Muhammad Nida Fadlan**  
   Digitalizing and Cataloging Islamic Manuscripts in Pesantren


Akan tetapi, di antara karya-karya keagamaan yang masuk dalam kategori ‘perintis’ di Aceh tersebut, bidang hadis tampaknya merupakan salah satu yang terlupakan. Nyaris tidak ada sarjana pengkaji Islam Indonesia yang pernah memberikan perhatian khusus serta menelusuri sejauh mana tradisi dan perkembangan awal penulisan kitab-kitab hadis di Nusantara tersebut.

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

47 Studia Islamika, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2012
Meskipun dari segi jumlah memang kalah jauh dibanding bidang keilmuan lain, terutama tasawuf dan ikh, karya-karya lokal di bidang hadis, terutama dalam bahasa Melayu, dapat dijumpai, baik berupa kompilasi utuh sejumlah hadis maupun semata terjemahan dari kitab hadis berbahasa Arab.


The Roots of the Writing Tradition of Ḥadīth Works in Nusantara: *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī

Oman Fathurahman

In the conclusion, it is generally recognized that a large number of Islamic scholars were born in the eastern lands and produced a large number of eminent scholars in the field of Islamic sciences. Among them, scholars such as Zayn al-Abidin and the scholars of Al-Rānīrī, Abd al-Rūbā'ī and 'Umar al-Fānsūrī, were active in the eleventh century and their works were also translated into other languages and had a great impact on the development of Islamic sciences.

The impact of these works was not limited to the fields of Islamic sciences, but also extended to the fields of art and history. Some of these works, such as *Salāt al-Salāṭīn* and *Ṣādāt al-Wūnār*, are considered as definitive works in their fields.

In addition, the works of these scholars had a significant impact on the development of Islamic sciences in the region. They were used as references by later scholars and influenced the development of Islamic sciences in the region.
بالرغم من أن النسخة من النص الأول لم تكن متاحة إلى الآن، إلا أن النص الثاني لم يكن أقل أهمية بالنسبة إلى المؤلفين، وخصوصاً من حيث التخصصات الأخرى خاصة في مجال النصوص الفقهية، إذ أن النصوص الفقهية الخاصة باللغة العربية موجودة سواء في صورة مجموعة كاملة عدد من الأحاديث أم مجرد ترجمة للكتب الأحاديث من اللغة العربية.

ومع ذلك، فإن كتاب أُخرى فارغة في النص الثاني، بمعنى أنه لا يوجد كتاب هدایة الحبيب في الفقه، المسؤول عن النموذج الرئيسي؛ لقد كتب النص إلى النصات من النصات في النصات، في ذلك النصون هدایة الحبيب مبسطة بدرجة كبيرة، فيما يبدو بضمنية الوصول إلى الصور الأول الممثلة في الخلاصات. فقد تم تأليف كتاب النص في 14 مارس 1636 هـ، وهو يحتوي على مئات وألفات وثلاثين حديثاً من مختلف المصادر.

ومع ذلك، فإن كتاب هدایة الحبيب يتطرق النص أيضًا إلى مؤلفات أخرى تكفي في إثبات رسوخ الاعتمادات. لقد كتب النص في النصات في النصات في النصات، في ذلك النصون هدایة الحبيب مبسطة بدرجة كبيرة، فيما يبدو بضمنية الوصول إلى الصور الأول الممثلة في الخلاصات. فقد تم تأليف كتاب النص في 14 مارس 1636 هـ، وهو يحتوي على مئات وألفات وثلاثين حديثاً من مختلف المصادر.

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

The names of those who were clear links in the chain of Nusantara ulama who studied in the Haramayn and who were collectively known as Jamāʿat al-Jāwīyīn (friends from Jāwī) in Mecca include Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658 AD), ʿAbd al-Raʿūf ibn ʿAlī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī (1615-1693 AD), Muhammad Yūsuf al-Makassārī (1629-1699 AD), ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, Arshad al-Banjarī (1710-1812 AD), Dāwūd al-Fatānī (d. 1847 AD), Nawawī al-Bantānī (1813-1879 AD), Ḥāmid Rifāʿī Kāfīsālāk (1786-1870) Ḥāmid Khaṭīb Sāmīs (1803-1875), Muhammad Saleh Darat al-Samaranī (d. 1903M), Ḥāmid Khaṭīb al-Mīnangkabawī (1860-1916), and Muḥammad Yāsin al-Padanī (1917-1990).

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

This was the situation in the Nusantara region in the past. The rather long history of the contacts between the region and other parts of the Muslim world also resulted in a wealth of texts both in translations, renditions, adaptations and works that may be called ‘original’. Due to the conditions of the time, the authors wrote these texts in longhand and their students and followers subsequently copied and disseminated them to ensure the transmission of these sciences. At present, the bulk of Nusantara Islamic texts are found in the form of manuscripts written on European or local paper (such as tree bark
paper [dluwang]) which, for historical reasons, not only found their way over the Nusantara region itself, but also disseminated to other places, especially libraries and museums in all parts of the world.5

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

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

Pioneering Islamic Works and Literature in Aceh

Aceh is the foremost among the many regions in Nusantara that produced prolific ulama who wrote Islamic works in various disciplines. Among them are Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatra’ī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ibn ‘Ali al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī in the 17th century, and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Tursanī, Muḥammad Zayn al-Āshī, Khaṭīb al-Langginī, ʿAbbās al-ʿĀshī, and Ismāʿīl al-ʿĀshī in the next centuries. They have passed down a wealth of very important Islamic works written in Arabic, Malay, and Acehnese.7

In addition, a number of Islamic texts that were produced in Aceh may also be regarded as ‘pioneering works’ in their fields of study. Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, with his Sufi poetry, for instance, is acknowledged as the forerunner of the Malay Nusantara Islamic poetic literary tradition.
which was to influence Malay Islamic poetic genres in Nusantara in the times to come.

In the field of Islamic Jurisprudence, we can cite the Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm by al-Rānīrī as the first Malay fiqh al-‘ibādah (Islamic law that regulates the practicing of worship and the relation between people and God), while the Mir‘at al-للāb by ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Fanṣūrī was the first one on fiqh al-mu‘āmalah (Islamic law that regulates the relations between humans and all their activities). The latter author also wrote the first Malay comprehensive treatise on Qur’anic Exegesis entitled Tārjumān al-mustafīd which was inspired by the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn by al-Suyūṭī and al-Maḥallī and the Anwār al-tanzīl by al-Bayḍāwī.

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

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

“…cara kitab itu melukiskan sesuatu hal dengan tjara jang sederhana sehali dan oleh isi kitab itu jang amat indah2nya; mereka membuat terjemahan2 dan daftar isi tjerita itu….”

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

Teuku Iskandar adds that all the stories in the Sulālat al-salāṭīn, such as the preparations for war before the Portuguese attack, the acts of war themselves, and the retreat of the Sultan to Muar and Pahang, are written so lively that it is as if the author himself was present and had witnessed everything himself with his own eyes. Muhammad Haji Salleh even acknowledges:
“… Feeling that I am standing at the entrance of the secret forest of my ancestors’ thoughts that, as a Malay reader, no matter how far removed I am from these roots, and also as an author facing his predecessors, I stand in awe…”


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The dearth of sources and the excessive focus scholars on Indonesian Islam had towards Sufism and *fiqh* are two of the reasons that the ḥadīth works, and the discourse on Nusantara ḥadīth ulama remain relatively little known. Moreover, this is also the reason behind the completely erroneous conclusion drawn in one of the studies on the history of the
transmission of Nusantara hadith that it only started in the 20th century through Mahfūz al-Tarmasī (d. 1919 AH/1920 AD). This study claims that al-Tarmasī’s predecessors including Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ibn ‘Ali al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī, Nawāwī al-Bantanī had no expertise in the field of hadith. This kind of conclusion is in need of reexamination in view of the availability of a number of hadith treatises that precede al-Tarmasī as will be demonstrated below.

The Pioneer Hadīth Works in Nusantara

We will start our discussion here with a Malay treatise on hadith written by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and entitled Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb16 fi-al-targhib wa-al-tarhib which is translated by the author as Haluan akan Nabi saw pada menyatakan menggemari segala kebajikan dan menjauh daripada segala amal kejahatan (the Prophetic guidance to instill the desire to do good deeds and to frighten to keep them from doing bad deeds). This work is also popularly known as al-Fawā'id al-bahīyah ‘an al-aḥādīth al-nabawīyah (the Beautiful benefits of the Prophetic traditions). The lack of studies on the writing tradition of hadith treatises, including the Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb is evidently due to the still limited access to primary manuscript sources.

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

Apart from al-Rānīrī, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ibn ‘Ali al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī, another Nusantara ulama also wrote a work in the field of hadīth. His work, Sharḥ latif ‘alá Arba’īn ḥadīthan lil Imām al-Nawāwī (a concise commentary on the Arba’īn ḥadīthan by al-Nawāwī), is a Malay translation of the Sharḥ arba’īn by Sa’d al-Dīn Maṣ’ud ibn ‘Umar al-Taftajānī and contains commentaries on 40 ḥadīth by al-Nawāwī. So far, I found one manuscript of this work in the library of Leiden University (Cod. Or. 3301) and another in the National Library of Malaysia, MS 1314.

Apart from these two, various scholars also mention the al-Mawā’iz al-badi‘ah (the Magnificent advices) as having been written by ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Fanṣūrī. However, after more detailed research it appeared
that this work may more correctly be considered a treatise on ethics (akhlāq) because it contains religious advices, or “pengajaran” which he mostly, but not always, based on the ḥadīth qudsi (The words of God orally transmitted through the Prophet Muhammad, but not as part of the Qur’an). Actually, it has not yet been fully established that this work is by Ḥarb al-Ra’ūf al-Fanṣūrī, since there are no convincing supportive data yet that clearly establishes him as the author.21 However, I have not yet been able to prove that Ḥarb al-Ra’ūf al-Fanṣūrī is definitely the author of the al-Mawā‘iẓ al-badī‘ah.

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

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

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

From this period we also have a Malay hadith work of which the author has not yet been established. It was finished on 2 Ramaḍān 1225 AH/1 October 1910 AD and entitled Shifā‘ al-qulūb (Medicine of the hearts) and contains 40 chapters. Its preface explains that:
“...Aku himpunkan akan beberapa hadis Nabi Saw. yang diriwayatkan akan dia dengan isnad yang sahih dan dengan riwayat yang kepercayaan, tetapi di sini aku buangkan segala isnadnya dan aku tinggalkan akan alfaznya, aku ambilkan akan segala maknudunya juga supaya jangan payah orang yang menyurat dia, dan supaya jangan jenuh orang yang membaca dia, dan aku jadikan akan dia satu kitab.

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

Subsequently, Ḥasan Besut ibn Ishāq al-Ṭañānī (d. 1860 AD) also wrote a translation of 40 hadith originally written by ʿAbd al-ʿĀzīm al-Mundhirī which he gave the title Ḥidāyat al-mukhtār fī faḍl al-ṭalāb al-ʿilm wa-faḍl ṣāḥbihi min kalām sayyid al-akhyār. It was finished in 1259 AH/1833 AD.²⁵

The writing tradition of hadith treatises in Nusantara was continued by Nawāwī al-Bantānī (b. 1230 AH/1914 AD), an ulama from Banten. Among his many works, mainly in the field of fiqh, are two hadith books of which the first, in Arabic, is entitled Ṭanqīḥ qaʿal ḥathīth (Reexamination of rapid words), which is a commentary on the Lubāb al-ḥadīth (the Prime hadith) by Imām al-Suyūṭī. Al-Nawāwī’s second hadith work is the Nasāʾīḥ al-ʿibād (the Advises for the servants of God), which was finished on Thursday, 21 Safar 1311 AH/1893 AD and contains about 250 hadiths. This work is a commentary on the Munabbihāt ʿalā al-istiḍād li-yawm al-maʿād (Commentary of the Awakening in preparation the Day of Judgement) by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Shāfīʿī, who is more popularly known as Ibnu Ḥajar al-ʿAthqalānī.

It is clear that through the hadith works he wrote, al-Bantānī shows that he shared a clear chain with other hadith ulama and because of that, his authority in this field was unquestionable. Another Nusantara ulama who wrote a commentary on the Lubāb al-ḥadīth is Wan ʿAli ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Kutan al-Kelantanī which is entitled al-fawhar al-mawhūb (the Gifted jewel) and was finished on Monday night, 2 Jumādá al-awwal 1306 AH/1888 AD. While al-Bantānī wrote his commentary in Arabic, al-Kelantanī wrote his in Malay.
At the close of the 19th century there was yet another Nusantara ulama who devoted his attention to ḥadīth sciences. He was Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, the son of another Fatani ulama, Muḥamad Zayn al-Faṭānī. He wrote a number of ḥadīth works both in Arabic and in Malay including the Bishārat al-ʿāmilin wa-nazarat al-ghā’ilin (Good news for the dutiful, and a warning for the neglectful), Hadis memulakan makan dengan garam dan disudahi dengannya (the Prophetic tradition recommends eating salt before and after meals), Hadis-hadis pilihan (Selected ḥadīths), and the Daftar rijal hadis (A list of ḥadīth transmitters).

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

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

Entering the 20th century, it appears that the writing tradition of ḥadīth treatises in Nusantara did not diminish. We may at least note the Ḥadīth ʿAtaqah by Muḥammnad Mukhtār ibn ʿAṭārid al-Jāwī al-Batāwī al-Bawāqirī from Bogor, West Java. It was finished on 21 Dhū al-ḥijjah 1330 AH/1 December 1912 AD. The last Malay ḥadīth treatise I encountered is the Bahṛ al-mādhī written by Muḥammnad ʿIdris ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Marbawī al-Azharī on 2 Jumādá al-ākhir 1377 AH/24 December 1957 AD. It is a commentary on the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Turmudḥī. As explained in the introduction to the first volume, he based this work on memory and the knowledge he obtained from his teacher, Muḥammnad Ibrāhīm al-Samalutī, during ḥadīth lessons at the Al-Azhar University, and augmented them by references from various reliable sources. The author states:

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“…kemudian manakala aku pulang ke rumah, tiadalah lagi berpaling melainkan aku jalankan barang kalam aku di pipi sahifah-sahifah sebagai mana yang kuingat dan aku faham daripadanya, berikut dengan sedikit-sedikit perkataan Imām Shā’ī di dalam al-Umm, dan perkataan Nawāwī di dalam *Sharḥ Muslim*, dan perkataan al-Qusṭalānī, dan Ibn al-‘Arabī, dan lainnya…”

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

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

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

As mentioned above, the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* was written by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī whose full name is Nūr al-Dīn Nuruddin Muḥḥammad bin ibn ‘Ali Ali bin ibn Ḥasanji Ḥasanji al-Ḥamid Ḥāmid al-Sha’ī al-Ṣaḥḥ arousī al-Rānīrī. Although he is known as an Acehnese scholar, he was in fact of mixed Arab, Indian, and Malay descent as his mother had Malay blood while his father was a Ḥaḍramī immigrant from Southern Arabia who had moved from East Asia to Southeast Asia.

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

According to Azyumardi Azra, al-Rānīrī was a reformer ulama in the Malay-Indonesian world in the mid 17th century next to ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Fanṣūrī. His scholarly and political carrier was indeed in large part spent in the Acehnese Sultanate at the end of Sultan Iskandar Muda’s reign (r. 1607 and 1636 AD), and during that of his successor, Sultan Iskandar Tsani (r. 1636-1641 AD). Especially in the beginning of his sojourn in the palace as ‘Shaykh al-Islām’, al-Rānīrī was fully supported by Sultan Iskandar Muda to take care of religious, social, economic, and political issues.
Because the Sultanate fully supported him, al-Rānīrī grew into an influential and productive ulama who wrote Islamic treatises in various disciplines, especially *fiqh*, Sufism, and theology. Shagir Abdullah lists no less than 34 titles of al-Rānīrī’s works. As mentioned above, his *Ṣirāṭ al-mutaqīm* is regarded as the first Malay *fiqh al-‘ibādah*, while the *Hidāyat al-ḥabīb*, the main topic of this article, is the first treatise in the field of hadith. Shaghir Abdullah states that the *Hidāyat al-ḥabīb fī-al-targīb wa-al-tarhib*, which he also gave the title *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyah 'an al-abādih al-nabawīyah*, is the first hadith work written in Malay.

Irrespective of his scholarly contribution to the Islamic intellectual tradition in Aceh in particular and in Nusantara in general, al-Rānīrī is also known as an ulama who was strongly opposed to the *wujūdīyah* teaching, especially as disseminated by Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭra’ī in a number of their works. Al-Rānīrī, who was in Aceh from 1637 to 1644 AD) considered Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭra’ī’s *wujūdīyah* teachings as heretic. As an orthodox ulama who prioritized the implementation of Islamic law (*sharī‘ah*), al-Rānīrī issued a *fatwā* (a legal pronouncement in Islam) that the *wujūdīyah* doctrine was heterodox and deviated from the ‘true’ Islamic faith so that those who refused to repent and to renounce this understanding should be considered unbeliever (*kāfīr*) and should be sentenced to death.

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

Al-Rānīrī is thus considered an early major ulama in Nusantara who was rather controversial. On one side, he was a prolific reformer who wrote many works on Islamic sciences, but on the other he was an extremely orthodox ulama, at least when compared to his successor, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ibn ‘Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī. Of course, al-Rānīrī’s attitude was formed by many factors, and political aspects of the Sultanate may have been among them.
About the Manuscript of the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb*

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

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

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

One of the most significant differences is that the printed version carries the title *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyah fī al-as'ilah al-nabawīyah*, although the translation continues to point to the title of the manuscript version, namely: “Pada menyatakan menggemari segala amal kebajikan dan menjauh daripada segala amal kejahatan”. Unfortunately, there is no information about the manuscript version the printing house used for its publication so that more in-depth research is needed to learn more about the reasons behind these differences. In the philological and *taḥqīq* perspective, the title of a text should be based on
Another important difference is that the colophon at the end of the printed version states that al-Rānīrī finished writing the work on Friday, 6 Shawwāl 1045 AH/13 March 1636 AD. The complete text of the colophon is:

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

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

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

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

The text is preceded by eight pages of prayers, including a prayer to be uttered when attending a party where food is served. One prayer sounds as follows: ‘...allāhumma ighír li-ṣāḥibi hādhā al-ṭa'ām wa-tammim niyyatahu... [Oh Allah, forgive the sins of the owner of this food and improve his intention...]’. This is followed by a short
explanation of the *Nūr Allāh* (the Light of God) and *Nūr Muḥammad* (the Light of Muhammad), and the start of Sūrat al-Baqarah with a translation in Malay.

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

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

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

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

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

1. *Ṣaḥiḥ al-Bukhārī*, marked by the letter ‘kh’;
2. *Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim*, marked by the letter ‘m’;
3. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, marked by the letter ‘t’;
4. Sunan Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, marked by the letter ‘alif’;
5. Sunan Abū Dāwud, marked by the letter ‘d’;
6. Kitab Ibn Ḥibān, marked by the letters ‘ḥ dan b’;
7. Kitab al-Dāruqūṭnī, marked by the letters ‘q dan ṭ’;
8. Sunan Ibn Mājah, marked by the letters ‘j dan h’;
9. Kitab al-Quda’i, marked by the letters ‘āyn dan y’;
10. Kitab Imam Ḥākim, marked by the letters ‘k dan m’;
11. Kitab Tabrānī, marked by the letters ‘r’;
12. Kitab Imām Daylamī, marked by the letters ‘m dan y’;
13. Kitab Abū al-Qasam, marked by the letters ‘āyn dan m’;
14. Kitab Imām al-Bayhaqī, marked by the letters ‘q dan y’;
15. Kitab al-‘Askarī, marked by the letters ‘r dan y’;
16. Kitab Abū Ya’lā, marked by the letters ‘y dan āyn’;
17. Kitab al-Nasī’ī, marked by the letters ‘n dan s’;
18. Kitab Ibn ‘Adī, marked by the letters ‘āyn dan d’;
19. Kitab al-Khaṭīb, marked by the letters ‘kh dan ṭ’;
20. Kitab al-Khuzaymah, marked by the letters ‘m dan h’;
22. Kitab Abī Zār, marked by the letters ‘b’ and ‘alif’.

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

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

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

‘...the kitab Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb was finished on Saturday morning ... the owner of the kitab .... is Teungku Putih and Teungku Amar wrote it in f-d-w-q. Allah knows the best, finished, Amen O’Lord of the worlds...’
Similar to the first pages, marginalia are found on the last pages as well as notes that have no direct relation with the main text. One of them mentions a cure for stomachache and the special virtues of the *Ayat tujuh* (‘seven verses’, a compilation of prayers taken from seven verses of the Quran). Apparently, notes with similar contents were rather common in manuscripts in the past.\(^5\)

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

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

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

16. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari syukur dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia (chapter on desiring to be thankful and frightening to leave it);

17. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari berbuat bakti akan ibu bapak dan berkasih-kasihnya dengan segala keluarga dan menakut atas berbuat durhaka akan ibu bapak dan memutuskan berkasih-kasihnya dengan keluarga dan bak anak atas ibu bapak (chapter on desiring to respect and show kindness towards parents, and upholding the ties of kinship, and frightening to be disobedient to parents, and to breach the ties of kinship, and desiring the rights children have on their parents);

18. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari sabar dan rida (chapter on desiring patience and satisfaction [with Gods’ will]);

19. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menahan kuasa dan memadamkan amarah dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia (chapter on desiring gentleness, to suppress anger, and frightening to leave it);

20. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari harap akan Allah taala (chapter on desiring to having complete trust in Allah Swt.);

21. Bab pada menyatakan peri menakut daripada zina dan liwatah (chapter on the prohibition of illicit sex and sodomy);

22. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas minum khamar (chapter on the prohibition to drink intoxicating beverages);

23. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang memakan riba (chapter on frightening those who practice usury);

24. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang berkata dusta dan naik saksi dengan dusta dan bersumpah dengan dusta (chapter on the prohibition to lie, to provide false testimony, and to pledge an false oath);

25. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang mencuri dan khianat akan amanat orang dan me[ny]mbunyikan mendapat arta orang yang gugur dan tiada mengembalikan arta orang yang dipinjam dan makan arta anak yatim dengan aniaya (chapter on the prohibition of theft, betraying people's trust, hiding found items, not returning borrowed items, and the prohibition to using the belongings of orphans unjustfully);
26. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari membayar nazar dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan membayar dia (chapter on desiring to fulfill vows and promises, and frightening not to achieve them);
27. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang takabur dan ujub (chapter on the prohibition of being conceited and vane);
28. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang berbuat riya (chapter on the prohibition of ostentation);
29. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang dengki dan dendam (chapter on the prohibition of envy and vengeance);
30. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang menggap-apat dan dan mengadu-adu (chapter on the prohibition of slander and playing people off against each other);
31. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas segala yang zalim (chapter on the prohibition of being tyrannical);
32. Bab pada menyatakan menakut atas yang mem[b]unuh mukmin (chapter on the prohibition of killing believers);
33. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari amal kejaan raja dan amir dan qadi, dan menakut atas mereka itu (chapter on desiring the work of the king, emir, and judge, and stand in awe of them);
34. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari sunat Rasulullah Saw. dan menakut atas yang bid‘ah (chapter on desiring the tradition of the Prophet, and frightening religious innovations);
35. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari jangan berkehendak kepada barang yang ada dalam tangan manusia, dan menakut daripada loba dan toma dan lanjut angan-angan (chapter on desiring not to desire what belongs to someone else, and frightening to be greedy, ambitious, and having extreme hopes);
36. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari benci akan dunya, dan menakut atas yang mengasih dunya (chapter on desiring asceticism, and frightening to love the world for the world’s sake);
37. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari pencarian yang halal, dan menakut atas pencarian yang haram (chapter on desiring to look for permissible livelihood, and frightening to look for forbidden ones);
38. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menolong mukmin dan mengasihani akan segala hamba Allah, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia (chapter on desiring to help believers and to be merciful to the servants of God, and frightening to leave it);
39. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari segala sifat Mukmin, dan menakut atas sifat kafir dan sifat munafik (chapter on desiring the characteristics of a believer, and frightening the characteristics of infidels and hypocrites);
40. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari perangai yang baik, dan menakut atas perangai yang jahat (chapter on desiring having a good character and high morals, and frightening of having a bad character);
41. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari berkasih-kasihan dengan istri, dan menakut atas yang tiada berkasih-kasihan dengan dia, dan hak suami atas istri dan hak istri atas suami (chapter on desiring to be in a loving relationship with one’s wife and frightening of not having such a relationship, and on the rights of a husband towards his wife and vice versa);
42. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari merendahkan diri, dan menakut dari mukhalatah dengan manusia (chapter on desiring to be modest and frightening not to be so);
43. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari musyawarah dan sembahyang istikharah, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia keduanya (chapter on desiring to engage in deliberations and to pray for guidance, and frightening not to do both);
44. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari diam, dan menakut atas kata-kata yang tiada berguna (chapter on desiring to be silent, and frightening to talk unnecessarily about trifles);
45. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menyunyikan diri, dan menakut daripada mukhalatah dengan manusia (chapter on desiring to be in seclusion, and frightening the social intercourse with people);
46. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari bersahabat dengan yang salib dan barang yang ta’alluq dengan dia, dan menakut daripada bersahabat dengan yang jahat (chapter on desiring to interact with and befriend devout people and everything related to it, and frightening to interact with and befriend evil people);
47. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menangis, dan menakut dari tertawa (chapter on desiring to cry, and frightening to laugh a lot);
48. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari barangsiapa membawa amal salib selama lagi hidupnya, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan...
49. Bab pada menyatakan menakut daripada pergi bertenung dan percaya akan yang mem[b]eri alamat daripada segala burung sebagainya, dan menggemari akan simpan yang baik (chapter on frightening to visit soothsayers and superstitious belief in birds or other bad omens, and desiring to believe good omens);

50. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari fi sabillah, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia (chapter on desiring to engage in jihad, and frightening not to do so);

51. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menyaruh berbuat kebajikan dan melarangkan daripada berbuat kejahatan, dan menakut yang meninggalkan dia kedua (chapter on desiring to enjoin good and forbidding evil, and frightening not to do so);

52. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari menyebut-nyebut mati senantiasa dan mentalkinkan mayit dan berjalan serta janazah, dan menakut atas menganang-anang hendak mati dan menutup mayit (chapter on desiring to always be mindful of death, doing talqīn and to escort the dead and to bury them, and frightening to desire death and of lamenting the dead);

53. Bab pada menyatakan menggemari minta ampun dan taubat, dan menakut atas yang meninggalkan dia (chapter on desiring to beg forgiveness from God and to repent, and frightening not to do so).

Closing remarks

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

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

• I would specially thank to “Cik” Rahimah Hj. Ahmad and other colleagues at Pusat Manuskrip Melayu of National Library of Malaysia (PNM) for their generosity and help to access the digital copy of Hidāyat al-ḥabīb manuscript in the collection.

1. The Nusantara World refers to the Archipelago area as a whole and the Malay Peninsula.


3. Some sources, including Azra (1994), add ‘al-Sinkili’ at the end of his name. However, his full name is ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ibn ‘Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī, as mentioned in one of his canonical works, Tarjumān al-mustafīd (Fathurahman & Holil 2007:32-33). A scholarly edition of one of his Arabic works, Ṭanbīh al-māshī al-mansūb ilá ṭarīq al-Qushāshī, has been done by Fathurahman (1999).

4. We do not have exact information about when he lived and about his career. See Azra 2004:113.


18. The manuscript version of this text does not include such colophon.

19. See H.W.M. Shagiz Abdullah, Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara (Kuala Lumpur:


29. Like Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭra’ī, and ‘ Abd al-Ra’ūf ibn ‘Alī al-Jāwī al-Fansuri, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, who died in 1068 AH/1658 AD was actually also a Suë who wrote about the Wujudiyyah teachings of the school of Ibn ‘Arabī which culminated in the waḥdat al-wujūd doctrine. However, apart from his scholarly status, he was a scholar who liked to indulge in polemics and he accused Hamzah and Shams al-Din of being infidels because they had stained God’s transcendence and had mixed it with the plurality of creatures. For a comprehensive treatment of al-Rānīrī’s scholarly genealogy, see Azyumardi Azra, The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Indonesian-Malay and Middle Eastern ‘Ulama’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century (Australia & Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), pp. 54-69; see also Riddell (2001), pp. 110-125.


32. Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, Riwayat Hidup…, p. 3. Some information in this book cannot be really sustained. For instance, it says that al-Rānīrī, may have had ‘ Abd al-Ra’uf ibn ‘Alī al-Jawi al-Fansuri as his teacher, or that Tun Sri Lanang (b. 1565) had been al- Rānīrī’s student whereas Tun Sri Lanang was much earlier than him.


37. See Azyumardi Azra, Jaringan… p. 182; this issue is also put forward in Oman Fathurahman, Tanbih al-Masyi: Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud, Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17 (Bandung-Jakarta: Mizan, EFEO, 1999), p. 36.

38. Azyumardi Azra, Jaringan… p. 182.


41. Unfortunately, I have been unable to investigate this when I wrote this article.

42. See Dāwud ibn al-Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Fatānī, Jami’ al-fawā’id wa-fawhar al-qalā’id (Kairo: Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Halabi wa-Awlāduh, 1346), p. 3.

43. Taḥqīq is the translation of the word ‘criticism’, which in a modest way can be understood as ‘ihkam al-shay’ (to pass a sentence on something). In the literary context,
tahqiq is defined as 'al-faḥṣ al-‘ilm li-al-nuṣūṣ al-adabīyah min haythu naṣdaruhū wa-
sibbat naṣṣihā wa-inšā’uhā wa-tārīkhuhā' (a scholarly treatise about literary
texts from aspects of sources, textual validity, dissemination, characteristics, and history
of the text). See ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Faḍlī, Taḥqiq al-turāth, (Jeddah: Maktabat al-‘Ilm,
1982), pp. 31-32.
45. See, for instance, Teuku Iskandar, Nuruddin ar-Raniri-Bustanu’s-Salatin (Kuala
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47. Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th Century
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49. Ph. S. van Ronkel, Catalogus der Maleische HSS in het Museum van het Bataviaasch
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50. Oman Fathurahman et al., Katalog Naskah Dayah Tanoh Abe, Aceh Besar (Jakarta:
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