

SHAYKH 'ABD AL-RA'UF AL-FANŞŪRĪ (1615-1693 CE): A STUDY OF HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN THE MALAY WORLD

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22452/afkar.vol22no2.6>

Abstract

Acheh as one of the earliest centres of the spread of Islam in the Malay Archipelago, had played a significant role in advancing Islamic education in the region. History recorded many scholars who came from Acheh and most of them had great influence, not only in the country, but also in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. Among the scholars were Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭra'ī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fanṣūrī. Undoubtedly, these scholars had made significant contributions to the progress of Islamic education in this area. This study aims to investigate the contribution of 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fanṣūrī in the effort to advance Islamic education in the archipelago in the context of Islamic educational institutions, the development of Islamic knowledge fields and literature, as well as the orientation of Islamic education. This study is based on qualitative research using document analysis methods. The findings of this study show that 'Abd al-Ra'uf has played a significant role in advancing Islamic education in the archipelago during the 17th century. Among his efforts in this field were the establishment of Islamic educational institutions, expanding the fields of Islamic knowledge by composing many works on each fields of knowledge, and also by introducing

and applying a new orientation of Islamic education which is equilibrium between exoteric (*sharī'ah*) and esoteric (Sufism) aspect of Islamic teaching.

Keywords: 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fanṣūrī; Islamic Education; Aceh; Malay World.

Khulasah

Acheh sebagai salah satu pusat terawal penyebaran Islam di Nusantara, telah memainkan peranan cukup penting dalam memajukan pendidikan Islam di rantau ini. Sejarah mencatat ramai ulama yang muncul dari Aceh yang sebahagian dari mereka memiliki pengaruh, tidak hanya di negeri ini, tetapi juga di kepulauan Melayu-Indonesia. Antara ulama tersebut adalah seperti Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭra'ī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī dan 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fanṣūrī. Tidak diragukan lagi, para ulama ini telah memberikan sumbangan bermakna terhadap kemajuan pendidikan Islam di kawasan ini. Kajian ini bertujuan menyelidik sumbangan 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fanṣūrī dalam usaha memajukan pendidikan Islam di Nusantara dalam konteks institusi pendidikan Islam, pengembangan bidang-bidang ilmu keislaman dan persuratan, serta orientasi pendidikan Islam. Kajian ini berasaskan penyelidikan kualitatif yang menggunakan metode analisis dokumen. Dapatan kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa 'Abd al-Ra'uf telah memainkan peranan signifikan dalam memajukan pendidikan Islam di Nusantara pada kurun ke-17. Antara usaha-usaha beliau dalam bidang ini ialah mendirikan institusi pendidikan Islam, mengembangkan bidang-bidang ilmu keislaman dengan mengarang banyak karya berkenaan setiap bidang ilmu tersebut serta memperkenalkan dan menerapkan orientasi baru pendidikan Islam iaitu keseimbangan antara aspek zahir ajaran Islam (*sharī'ah*) dan aspek batinnya (tasawuf).

Kata kunci: 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fanṣūrī; pendidikan Islam; Aceh; Nusantara.

Introduction

'Abd al-Ra'ūf was one of the greatest Muslim scholars of the 17th century in Aceh who had contributed significantly and played a major role on the development of Islamic education in the Malay-Indonesian world. He is well-known as a prominent jurist (*faqīh*), a man of letter (prolific author), an education figure, a great Ṣūfī scholar as well as a chief successor of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in this region.

In the field of literature and Sufism he is considered among the earliest Malay Muslim authors and famous Malay Ṣūfīs of 16th-17th century besides Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī (d. 1016/1607), Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī (d. 1039/1630) and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658).¹ In the context of Aceh, the prominence of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf in the field of literature could not been reached by subsequent generations as stated by T. Iskandar:²

“Among intellectual authors, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf is considered as the last. Even though there had appeared many authors after him, they were not too important”.

The excellence of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf in the field of Sufism is recognized by the authority in Sufism studies such as Annemarie Schimmel. Schimmel affirms that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was a genius man in his interpretation of Sufism. This remark is stated by Schimell after having read 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's work entitled *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf*

¹ See Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 2nd printing, 1995), 190; Sir Richard Windstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, revised, edited and introduced by Y.A. Talib (Petaling Jaya, Selangor: Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society, n.d), 101-102.

² T. Iskandar, “Abdurrauf Singkel Tokoh Syatariah (Abad ke-17)”, in *Tokoh-Tokoh Sastra Melayu Klasik*, ed. Mohamad Daud Mohamad (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1987), 72.

which is, according to her, "very authentic and brilliant".³ The greatness of 'Abd al-Ra'uf on Sufism could not be replicated either by any scholar in Aceh in the later period as stated by Bruinessen, "'Abd al-Ra'uf was the last great Šūfī of Aceh".⁴

The expertise of 'Abd al-Ra'uf in the field of Islamic law and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) is proven through his appointment as *Qādī Mālik al-Ādil* or *Mufīī* in the Sultanate of Aceh. His role in the development of Islam in the Archipelago was recognized by contemporary scholars on Islam and the Malay-Indonesian world. Azra, for instance, lists 'Abd al-Ra'uf as one of the renewal figures (*mujaddid*) of the 17th century in the Malay-Indonesian world.⁵ Until the present time, 'Abd al-Ra'uf is constantly estimated as among the Acehnese with a popular name, "*Teungku Syiah Kuala*".⁶ His religious thoughts and teachings are still guidance among the Acehnese until today as indicated by Aceh adage (*pepatah-petitih*), "*Adat Bak Po Teumeureuhom, Hukum Bak Syiah Kuala*" (the custom determined by the Sultān, meanwhile the law and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) according to 'Abd al-Ra'uf).

It seems the earliest study on 'Abd al-Ra'uf is *Abdoerraef van Singkel: Bijdrage tot de Kennis van de*

³ Annemarie Schimmel, "The Primordial Dot: Some Thoughts about Sufi Letter Mysticism," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam (JSAI)* 9 (1987); Azyumardi Azra, "Tanbīh al-Māsyī: Otentitas Kepakaran Abdurrauf Singkel", foreword in Oman Fathurrahman, *Tanbīh al-Māsyī: Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1999), 16.

⁴ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 192.

⁵ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 238-70.

⁶ "Syiah" is Aceh's term for "Shaykh", whereas *Kuala* means mouth of river. "Syiah Kuala" means Šūfī master who lived around the mouth of river. 'Abd al-Ra'uf popularly known as *Syiah Kuala* because he lived and established the centre of Islamic learning in the place nearby the mouth of river, see, Iskandar, "Abdurrauf", 72.

Mystiek op Sumatra en Java by D. A. Rinkes.⁷ Through this study, Rinkes investigates the influence of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's mystical ideas and teaching had in Sumatera and Java in particular and in the Archipelago in general.

Peunoh Daly studies certain aspects of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's work on jurisprudence, i.e., *Mir'at al-Ṭullāb* through his study entitled *Hukum Nikah, Talak, Rujuk, Hadanah dan Nafkah Kerabat dalam Naskah Mir'at al-Ṭullāb Karya Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel: Suatu Studi Perbandingan Hukum Islam menurut Ahlussunnah (The Laws on Marriage, Divorce, Reconciliation, peace and Sustenance of Relatives in the Text of Mir'at al-Ṭullāb of Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel: A Comparative Study of Islamic Law according to the People of Tradition)*.⁸

Research on 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's work of Qur'anic exegesis was carried out by Salman Harun through his study entitled, *Hakikat Tafsir Tarjuman al-Mustafid Karya Syeikh Abdur Rauf Singkel (The Essential of the Commentary of Tarjumān al-Mustafid by Shaykh Abd al-Rauf Singkel)*.⁹ Peter Ridell also studies certain parts of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's *Turjumān al-Mustafid (Transferring a Tradition: 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkili's Rendering into Malay of the Jalalayn Commentary)*.¹⁰ It seems the latest

⁷ D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraef van Singkel: Bijdrage tot de Kennis van de Mystiek op Sumatra en Java*, (Heerenven: Hepkema, 1909)

⁸ Peunoh Daly, "Hukum Nikah, Talak, Rujuk, Hadanah dan Nafkah Kerabat dalam Naskah *Mir'at al-Ṭullāb* Karya Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel: Suatu Studi Perbandingan Hukum Islam menurut Ahlussunnah," Master Thesis, Program Pasca Sarjana, Fakultas Syariah, Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, 1982.

⁹ Salman Harun, "Hakikat Tafsir *Tarjuman al-Mustafid* Karya Syeikh Abdur Rauf Singkel," Ph.D thesis, Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN), Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, 1988.

¹⁰ Peter Ridell, *Transferring a Tradition: 'Abd al-Ra'uf Al-Singkili's Rendering into Malay of the Jalalayn Commentary* (California: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies University of California at Berkeley, 1990), Monograph 31.

article on this field is *Tafsir Tarjumān al-Mustafīd Karya 'Abd al-Rauf al-Fanshuri: Diskursus Biografi, Kontestasi Politis-Teologis dan Metodologi Tafsir* by Arivaie Rahman.¹¹

Azyumardi Azra, through his study on the origin of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia entitled *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*,¹² places 'Abd al-Ra'uf as one of the reformists of the 17th century Malay world, besides al-Rānīrī and Yūsuf al-Maqassārī, who played a significant role in the transmission of Islamic reformism carried out by Middle East scholarly network centred in al-Haramayn.

Oman Fathurahman studies 'Abd al-Ra'uf works of Sufism by employing philological approach through his work, entitled *Tanbīh al-Māshī: Menyoal Wahdat al-Wujud, Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17 (Tanbīh al-Māshī: The Question of Wahdat al-Wujūd, the Case of Abdurrauf Singkel in Aceh in the 17th Century)*. It is a philology study on 'Abd al-Ra'uf's main work on Sufism entitled *Tanbīh al-Māshī*. The study employs the method of text editing and content analyses including translation of the text from Arabic to Indonesian language.¹³

¹¹ Arivaie Rahman, "Tafsir *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* Karya 'Abd al-Rauf al-Fanshuri: Diskursus Biografi, Kontestasi Politis-teologis dan Metodologi Tafsir," *Miqot* 42(1) (2018), 1-22, doi:10.30821/miqot.v42i1.419, date accessed: 16 Oct 2020.

¹² It is a PhD dissertation at Columbia University, New York in 1992. It was published in Indonesian edition firstly in 1994 (Bandung: Mizan, 1994). The English edition then published as the *Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2004; Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

¹³ The study was published as Oman Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māshī: Menyoal Wahdat al-Wujūd. Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1999).

Another research on 'Abd al-Ra'uf works of Sufism was doing by A. H. Johns,¹⁴ through his work *Daka'iq al-Huruf* by 'Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel. Through this work he points out that 'Abd al-Ra'uf is an orthodox Šūfī unlike Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn who are regarded as the exponents of heterodox Sufism. Another study which is philology in nature is *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn: Satu Kajian Teks ('Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn: A Textual Study)* by Fairuzah Haji Basri.¹⁵ Even though this study is categorized as a philological study, Fairuzah analysed the text through a literature perspective.

Mohd. Syukri Yeoh Abdullah studies 'Abd al-Ra'uf's Islamic preaching (*da'wah*) in a study entitled, *Pemikiran Dakwah Shaykh Abdul Rauf Ali al-Fansuri al-Singkili (The Preaching Thought of Shaykh Abdul Rauf Ali al-Fansuri al-Singkili)*.¹⁶ The research of Yeoh Abdullah discovers that the thought, method and approach of 'Abd al-Ra'uf had succeeded in overcoming and solving various problems that threat the stability of Aceh of the time either among Muslim scholars, between Muslim scholar and the ruler, or between society and the ruler. Another work in this field is an article by an article by Zulkefli Aini¹⁷ entitle "Pendekatan Dakwah al-Wasatiyyah Syekh

¹⁴ A. H. Johns, "Daka'iq al-Huruf by 'Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel," *JRAS* 1(2) (1955), 55.

¹⁵ Fairuzah Haji Basri, "Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn: Satu Kajian Teks," Master thesis, Fakulti Sains Kemasyarakatan dan Kemanusiaan, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002.

¹⁶ Mohd. Syukri Yeoh Abdullah, "Pemikiran Dakwah Shaykh Abdul Rauf Ali al-Fansuri al-Singkili," PhD thesis, Fakulti Sains Sosial dan Kemasyarakatan, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), 2008.

¹⁷ Zulkefli Aini, Che Zarrina Sa'ari & Mohamad Zulkifli Abdul Ghani, "Pendekatan Dakwah al-Wasatiyyah Syekh Abdul Rauf Ali al-Fansuri (m.1693)," *Afkar: Journal of Aqidah and Islamic Thought* 20(1) (2018), 179-212. Available at: <https://ejournal.um.edu.my/index.php/afkar/article/view/12227>. Date

Abdul Ra'uf Ali al-Fansuri (m.1693)" studies 'Abd al-Ra'uf's way of *da'wah* i.e, moderation (*wasatiyyah*) approach.

Among studies on 'Abd al-Ra'uf's work in the field of *hadīth* is *Sharh Laṭīf 'alā Arba'īn Ḥadīthan li al-Imām al-Nawāwī* *Karangan Syeikh Abd Ra'uf al-Fansuri: Satu Kajian Text*,¹⁸ *Hadith Written in Early Islam in Malay Region*,¹⁹ and *Antologi Kitab Hadits Karya Abdul Ra'uf al-Singkili*.²⁰ Among work studied entrepreneur aspect of 'Abd al-Ra'uf's thought is *Teori dan Prinsip Keusahawanan Islam: Peranan dan Sumbangan Syeikh Abdul Rauf Ali al-Fansuri*.²¹ In the fields of Malay literature, Mohd Taufik Arridzo²² studied 'Abd al-Ra'uf's poem entitled *Syair Ma'rifah* through his work *Syair Makrifat: Mencanai Mutiara Memperkasa Agama*.

Based on previous studies conducted by various scholars, it is clear that there is no single study that systematically and specifically devotes itself to analyse

accessed: 16 Oct. 2020. doi:
<https://doi.org/10.22452/afkar.vol20no1.6>.

¹⁸ Ahmad Baha' bin Mokhtar, "*Sharh Laṭīf 'alā Arba'īn Ḥadīthan li al-Imām al-Nawāwī* *Karangan Syeikh Abd Ra'uf al-Fansuri: Satu Kajian Teks*," Master thesis, Akademi Pengajian Islam, University of Malaya.

¹⁹ Latifah Abdul Majid et al., "Hadith Written in Early Islam in Malay Region", *Advances in Natural and Applied Sciences*, 6(3) (2012), 472-477.

²⁰ Arie Fauzi Rahman, "Antologi Kitab Hadits Karya Abdul Ra'uf al-Singkili", *Diroyah Jurnal Studi Ilmu Hadis* 4(1) (2019), p. 49-56. Date accessed: 16 Oct. 2020.

²¹ Zulkifli Haji Aini & Muhammad Subari Ramli, "Teori dan Prinsip Keusahawanan Islam: Peranan dan Sumbangan Syeikh Abdul Rauf Ali al-Fansuri". http://www.internationalconference.com.my/proceeding/ice2008_proceeding/PAPER_017_SyeikhAbdulRauf.pdf, date accessed September 16th, 2013.

²² Mohd Taufik Arridzo Mohd Balwi, "Syair Makrifat: Mencanai Mutiara Memperkasa Agama", *Jurnal Melayu* 13 (2014), date accessed: 16 Oct. 2020.

the role of 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fanṣūrī on the development of Islamic education in the Malay world.

Brief Account on 'Abd al-Ra'uf

Amīn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ra'uf ibn 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī was born in Singkil (Singkel), a town in the west coast of Sumatera which was a section under the Sultanate of Aceh. His date of birth is not known precisely. D. A. Rinkes,²³ estimates that 'Abd al-Ra'uf was born in 1024/1615. Meanwhile, Voorhoeve²⁴ states that he was born in 1620 C.E.

'Abd al-Ra'uf received his early education in his hometown, especially from his father who was a leader of a centre of Islamic learning. It is most probably that he continued his learning in Fanṣūr (Barus).²⁵ He then continues his learning in several centers of Islamic learning in Middle East, i.e., Doha (Qatar), several cities in Yemen, Jeddah, Mecca, and finally in Medina.²⁶ Among his prominent masters are Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1660 C.E.) and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1690). Al-Kūrānī granted 'Abd al-Ra'uf the license (*al-ijāzah*) to spread Islamic teaching in general and some Ṣūfī orders in particular in his homeland (Aceh).

Having returned to Aceh,²⁷ 'Abd al-Ra'uf establishes an Islamic learning centre near the mouth of

²³ Iskandar, "Abdurrauf", 72-73.

²⁴ Voorhoeve, *Encyclopedia of Islam* I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 88.

²⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, Perennial edition, 2013), 240.

²⁶ 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fanṣūrī, *Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn*, Manuscript W 41, Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta, 70-75.

²⁷ 'Abd al-Ra'uf indicates that he return to Aceh not so long after the death of al-Qushāshī. Most scholars assumed that he return to Aceh around 1661 C.E., i.e., one year after the death of the latter, see Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 251.

river (*kuala*) of Aceh.²⁸ 'Abd al-Ra'uf returns to Aceh in the reign of Sulṭānah Ṣāfiyyat al-Dīn Syah. He serves as *mufṭī* in the sultanate of Aceh during the reign of four sulṭānah i.e., Sulṭānah Ṣāfiyyat al-Dīn Syah (r. 1641-1675), Sulṭānah Nūr 'Alam Naqīyyat al-Dīn Syah (r. 1675-1678), Sulṭānah Zākīyyat al-Dīn Syah (r. 1678-1688) and Sulṭānah Kāmalat al-Dīn Syah (r. 1688-1699).²⁹

'Abd al-Ra'uf was a prolific author who wrote many works. Azra, for instance, points out that 'Abd al-Ra'uf had composed at least around 22 works,³⁰ Shaghir Abdullah lists 25 titles,³¹ Fathurahman mentions 36 works³² and Zainuddin states that 'Abd al-Ra'uf's works reached 56 titles.³³ During his career in Aceh, 'Abd al-Ra'uf had composed a number of works on various fields of Islamic religious sciences such as Islamic law and jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*), ethics (*akhlāq*), history (*tārīkh*), eschatology, theology (*tawḥīd and kalām*), and Sufism (*taṣawwūf*).³⁴

²⁸ 'Abd al-Ra'uf lived and taught in this place until his death. Hence, he was popularly known among the Acehnese as "Syiah Kuala" or "Teungku Syiah Kuala" that means *Shaykh* who lives in *Kuala*, see Iskandar, "Abdurrauf", 72.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 252-54.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 254.

³¹ Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1991), 2 volumes, I, 39-41.

³² Oman Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māsyī. Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud: Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1999), 28-30.

³³ H. M. Zainuddin, *Tarich Atjeh dan Nusantara* (Medan: Pustaka Iskandar Muda, 1961) as cited by Mohd. Syukri Yeoh Abdullah, "Zawiyah Shaykh Kuala: Pusat Penyebaran Islam di Alam Melayu Abad Ke-17 Masihi", *Sari-International Journal of the Malay World and Civilization* 27(2) (2009), 87-118.

³⁴ Further description and analysis on 'Abd al-Ra'uf works, see Peter Ridell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World* (Singapore, Horizon Book Pte Ltd, 2001), 129-132; Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah* I, 39-190; Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 255-64.

Among these works are: *Turjumān al-Mustaḥḍir* (Qur'anic exegesis); *Sharḥ Laṭīf 'alā Arba 'in Ḥadīthan li al-Imām al-Nawāwī* (A Detailed Commentary upon the Forty Ḥadīth of al-Imām al-Nawāwī, Ḥadīth); *Waṣīyah* (Concerning 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's advices to his students, Ethics); *Mir'at al-Ṭullāb fī Tashīl Ma'rifah al-Aḥkām al-Sha'iyyah li al-Mālik al-Wahhāb* (The Mirror of Students to Facilitate Knowing of the Laws of God, Islamic law and jurisprudence); *Tanbīh al-Māshī al-Mansūb ilā Ṭarīq al-Qushāshī* (Guidance for Those who take al-Qushāshī Order, Sufism); *'Umdah al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn* (Guideline for Those who Take the Sufi Path, Sufism); *Sullam al-Mustaḥḍirīn* (The Stair of those who Seek the Benefit, Theology); *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf* (The Deep Understanding of Letters, Sufism); *Lubb al-Kashf wa al-Bayān li Mā Yarāhu al-Muhtadār bi al-'Iyān* (Essential Exposition and Elucidation on the Visionary Experience of the Dying and What Make Him Glad, Escatology) and *'Umdat al-Ansāb* (The Guideline of Genealogies, History).

'Abd al-Ra'ūf died in 1105/1693 in the era of Sulṭānah Kāmalat al-Dīn Syah (r. 1688-1699) and was buried near the mouth of a river (*kuala*) beside the tomb of Teungku Anjong.³⁵ His tomb was regarded as the most holy tomb in Aceh after the tomb of Teungku Anjong.³⁶ To remember his greatness, his name was chosen as the name of a university in Aceh, Universitas Syiah Kuala (Syiah Kuala University).³⁷

Establishing Islamic Learning Institution

As a Muslim scholar, undoubtedly 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was interested in and concerned on the developing of Islamic education. His contribution in this field was proven by his effort to establish a centre of Islamic learning known as

³⁵ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 269.

³⁶ Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, translated from Dutch by A.W.S. O'Sullivan, 2 volumes, 2, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906), 17-18.

³⁷ Iskandar, "Abdurrauf" 78.

Zāwiyah Shaykh Kuala. *Zāwiyah* 'Abd al-Ra'uf had played a significant role as a centre of the spread Islamic religious science in the 17th century in the Malay world. Through this institution, 'Abd al-Ra'uf educates young Malay Muslims as well as creates the next generation of Muslim scholars who will continue the effort of the spread of Islam through establishing Islamic learning institution as well as Islamic propagation (*da'wah*) in their own homeland.

Due to his excellent scholarship, 'Abd al-Ra'uf had earned high reputation among the Malays. This is indicated by the fact that many Muslims from various places of the Malay region were attracted to come to Aceh for the sake of learning with him. Among of them become prominent Muslim scholars in their native. They continued 'Abd al-Ra'uf's efforts of development of Islam in general and Islamic education in particular by establishing Islamic learning institution. Based on this fact, the contribution of 'Abd al-Ra'uf on the development of Islamic education through establishing Islamic learning institution is undoubtedly since his disciples established and developed Islamic education in various part of Malay region.

Among the leading disciples of 'Abd al-Ra'uf who became prominent scholar in their native were Burhān al-Dīn from Minangkabau (West Sumatera); 'Abd Muhyi from West Java and 'Abd Mālik ibn 'Abd Allāh from Terengganu, Peninsular Malaysia.³⁸ Burhān al-Dīn³⁹ of

³⁸ Brief profile on these scholars will be mentioned below.

³⁹ Burhān al-Dīn is a new name given by his master, 'Abd al-Ra'uf while he completed his learning in Aceh. Many opinions concerning his origin name. The first one stated that it was "*Buyuang Panuah*" which means perfect boy. The second one mentioned that it was "*Buyuang Pono*", derived from *sampono* or *samparono* (*sempurna*, perfect) which was also means perfect boy. The third one narrated, that it was "*Qanun*", see Duski Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin*

Ulakan (d. 1692 C.E.) is reckoned to be the first Ṣūfī scholar who brought and spread the Shattāriyyah order in Minangkabau (West Sumatera).⁴⁰ He came from a village in Minangkabau named Pariangan, Padang Panjang. His father was Pampak Sati Karimun Merah and his mother was Puteri Cukuik Bilang Pandai.⁴¹ There is not much information regarding his date of birth. But historians assume that he was born in the early 17th century.⁴² He received his first learning on Islamic religious sciences from Shaykh Abd Allāh 'Ārif⁴³ (d. 1039/1619)⁴⁴ who is also known as Tuanku Madīnah.⁴⁵ Then, upon suggestion of this scholar, Burhān al-Dīn continued his studies in Aceh, i.e. with 'Abd al-Ra'uf. There is no exact information concerning Burhān al-Dīn's education with 'Abd al-Ra'uf. Mahmud Yunus, for instance, points out that Burhān al-Dīn studied with 'Abd al-Ra'uf for as long

dan Islamisasi Minangkabau: Syarak Mandaki Adat Manurun, (Jakarta: The Minangkabau Foundation, 2003), 20-25.

⁴⁰ See Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau: Teks dan Konteks* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, Ecole Francaise D'extreme-Orient, Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta, KITLV-Jakarta, 2008), 111-12.

⁴¹ Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin*, 19.

⁴² Azra, for instance, stated that he was born 1056/1646, while Mahmud Yunus assumed the year of 1066/1655.

⁴³ Shaykh 'Abd Allāh 'Ārif was considered among the early Muslim scholar who spreads Islam in West Sumatera in general, in Pariaman in particular. There has been narrated that he was friend to 'Abd al-Ra'uf (the subsequent master of Burhān al-Dīn) while they studied in Medina with Shaykh Ahmad al-Qushāshī. Burhān al-Dīn studied with this scholar during three years only due to the death of this scholar, see Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin*, 23-24.

⁴⁴ Most probably this date was incorrect because Burhān al-Dīn was born on 1646 C.E. or 1655 C.E. If it is assumed that 'Abd Allāh 'Ārif died in 1619 C.E., it means Burhān al-Dīn never met 'Abd Allāh 'Ārif.

⁴⁵ In Minangkabau (West Sumatera) context, "Tuanku" is the highest title of Muslim scholar. See HAMKA, *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera* (Shah Alam: Pustaka Dini, 2010), 27-28.

as 21 years and returned to Minangkabau in 1680.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, H. M. Letter claims that it was 30 years, i.e., 2 years in Singkil and 28 years in Banda Aceh⁴⁷ since 'Abd al-Ra'uf was appointed by Sultānah Šāfiyyat al-Dīn (1641-1675) as *Qāḍī Mālik al-'Adil* or *Muftī*.⁴⁸

Soon after his return from Aceh, Burhān al-Dīn established a centre of Islamic learning, a *surau*⁴⁹ in Tanjung Medan, Ulakan.⁵⁰ Through this institution, he

⁴⁶ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: n.p, 1979), 18, as cited by Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin*, 29.

⁴⁷ If we accept the data of Burhanuddin Daya who stated that Burhān al-Dīn establish his first *surau* on 1680 C.E., the opinion of either Mahmud Yunus or M. Letter was rejected. This is because the interval between the date of 'Abd al-Ra'uf's return from Arabia (1661 C.E.) and date of Burhān al-Dīn's return to Minangkabau (1680 C.E.) was just 19 years. Based on this, we can conclude that Burhān al-Dīn learned with 'Abd al-Ra'uf below 19 years.

⁴⁸ Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin*, 29.

⁴⁹ The term "*surau*" or "*suro*" employed widely in Malay-Indonesian World. This term mostly employed in Minangkabau (West Sumatera), Southern Sumatera, Malaysian Peninsula, and Patani (Southern of Thailand). Etymology, the word "*surau*" means "place" or "place of worship". According to its origin meaning, *surau* is a small building which established for worship the spirit of ancestors. Due to the arrival of Islām, the meaning and function of *surau* was changed. Now, it is understood as a small mosque that used for Islamic religious activity either as a place of worship or a centre of Islamic learning. In the context of Minangkabau, history noted that the first *surau* was established by the King of Minangkabau, namely Adityawarman in 1356 in Gombak hill area. At that time, the function of *surau* is a centre of Hindu-Buddha worship as well as a centre of learning for arrival of Islām, the later function of *surau* was continued beside as a place of worship and Islamic religious activity. *Surau*, as a complete learning centre in Minangkabau, is firstly developed by Burhān al-Dīn. Since Burhān al-Dīn era, *surau* has a new function, i.e. as the centre of the spread of Šūfī order (*ṭarīqah*) especially Shaṭṭāriyyah order which spread by Burhān al-Dīn. See Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru* (Ciputat: PT Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1420/2000), 117-19.

⁵⁰ According to Burhanuddin Daya, Burhān al-Dīn established his first *surau* in 1680. See Burhanuddin Daya, *Gerakan Pembaharuan*

carried out his mission, i.e. Islamization of Minangkabau people and custom as well as spreading of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order.⁵¹ Furthermore, the *surau* of Burhān al-Dīn became popular as the only centre of Islamic learning in Minangkabau.⁵² Undoubtedly, Burhān al-Dīn paid great contribution to the development of Islamic education in Minangkabau. He was not only well-known as the first master (*murshīd*) of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order, he was also considered as a successful of Moslem scholar who manages to Islamize Minangkabau people and their custom.⁵³

Unfortunately, we could not investigate his religious thought precisely because he did not composed works that manifest his mystical ideas and teaching. Even though he left a work entitled *Kitāb al-Taḥqīq*, it was just a summary of a number of works on Sufism.⁵⁴ In addition, according

Pemikiran Islam: Kasus Sumatera Tawalib (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Tiara Wacana, 1990), 79, as cited by Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah*, 112.

⁵¹ Shaṭṭāriyyah order was considered as the first Sūfī order came and spreads in Minangkabau (West Sumatera). After Burhān al-Dīn era (18th Century), came to Minangkabau other Sūfī order namely Naqshbandiyyah order which centered in Cangking, Agam. Tuanku Nan Tuo of Cangking is regarded to be the first master of this Sūfī order in Minangkabau, despite he had ever learned Shaṭṭāriyyah order by one among the students of Burhān al-Dīn namely Tuanku Nan Tuo di Mansiangan, see HAMKA, *Ayahku*, 26-30.

⁵² Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 267. Further exposition regarding the *Surau* of Ulakan, see Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional*.

⁵³ Concerning biography, intellectual life and role of Burhān al-Dīn on Islamization of Minangkabau people and culture, see for instance, Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin*.

⁵⁴ This manuscript is written by Burhān al-Dīn. Currently it was on the hand of the 42nd successor of Burhān al-Dīn, namely Syahril Luthan Tuanku Kuning in the *Surau* of Burhān al-Dīn, Tanjung Medan, Ulakan. It was in Arabic. The manuscript used old paper with yellow colour and thicker than standard paper and its writing using starch ink. In the introduction chapter of that manuscript, the author obviously stated that "this book was summarized from 20 popular books of Sufism which was used widely in the school of *Ahl Sunnah*

to Duski Samad, the task of Burhān al-Dīn was not merely to spread Islamic teaching in general and Shattāriyyah order in particular, he also received a mandate from the Sultanate of Aceh to be the ruler in the western coast of Sumatra. Among the evidence is a stamp of the Sultanate of Aceh that was found within the legacy of Burhān al-Dīn, i.e. a stamp with nine heads.⁵⁵

Another leading student of 'Abd al-Ra'uf was 'Abd al-Muḥyī of Pamijahan, Tasikmalaya, West Java.⁵⁶ He came from a noble family because his father, Sembah Lebe Warta Kusumah was a descendant of the King of Galuh (Pajajaran). He was born in Lombok, Mataram, Nusa Tenggara Barat in 1071/1660 and dead in Pamijahan in 1151/1738. His childhood was spent in Ampel, Surabaya, East Java. He received his early education from his father and other local scholars. At the age of 19 years, he departed to Aceh for the sake of studying with 'Abd al-Ra'uf.

In Aceh, he studied with 'Abd al-Ra'uf for 6 years, i.e. 1090-1096/1679-1684. Then, he continued his learning in Arabia and it is narrated that he had the opportunity to study with Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. He also journeyed to Baghdad. Finally, he returned to Java through Mecca and married in Ampel, Surabaya. After his marriage, he started to spread Islamic teaching (*da'wah*) and chose Kuningan, West Java as the first place to live.⁵⁷ After moving from

wa al-Jamā'ah". Then the author listed the title of those books: *Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh ilā Rūh al-Nabī, al-Ma'lūmāt, Jawāhir al-Ḥaqā'iq, al-Mulaḥazah, Khātimah, Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān, Maj al-Baḥrayn, Mi'dān al-Asrār, Fuṣūṣ al-Ma'rifaḥ, Bayān Allāh, Bahr al-Lahūt, Asrār al-Ṣalāh, al-Waḥdah, Futuḥāt, Sharḥ al-Ḥikam, al-Asrār al-Insān, Anwār al-Ḥaqā'iq, al-Baitīn, Tanbīh al-Māshī, Adāb 'Āshiq wa Khalwah*, see Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin*, 54-55.

⁵⁵ Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin*, 12-13.

⁵⁶ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 268; Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah*, 35.

⁵⁷ In this place, 'Abd al-Muḥyī lived around seven years (1678-1685 C.E.). See Wan Mohd. Shaghbir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam dan Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu 5* (Kuala Lumpur: Pusat

one village to another,⁵⁸ he finally decided to live in Gua Safar Wadi, Desa Karang, Pamijahan, Tasikmalaya, West Java.⁵⁹ He lived there until his death.

'Abd al-Muḥyī had played an important role on the Islamization of the native society, i.e. to change their belief from Animism or Hinduism to Islam as well as developing Islamic education through his Islamic learning institution in Pamijahan. In the field of Sufism he played a central role on the spread the Shattāriyyah order in West Java. Through his effort, Shattāriyyah order spread throughout West Java. Fathurahman's research discovers that Ṣūfī genealogical tree (*silsilah*) which was contained in a manuscript of Yogyakarta's version demonstrates that 'Abd al-Muḥyī's disciples' network was not merely limited to West Java, but spread to Yogyakarta, most probably also to East Java and Centre Java. There was a narration that his students spread this Ṣūfī order to Peninsular Malaysia. This is proven by many genealogies (*salāsilah*) of the Shattāriyyah order in Java and Peninsular Malaysia through his name.⁶⁰

'Abd al-Ra'ūf also had a prominent student in Peninsular Malaysia named 'Abd al-Mālik ibn 'Abd Allāh⁶¹ from Terengganu (1089-1149/1678-1736)⁶² who

Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara & Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1420/1999), 46.

⁵⁸ After Kuningan, 'Abd al-Muḥyī moved to Pameungpeuk, Garut, also in West Java. In this place, he lived for just one year (1685-1686 C.E.). During his stay in this village, he succeeded on Islamized people whom recently embraced Hinduism. He moved to Batuwangi and then to Lebaksiuh In 1686. In Lebaksiuh he stayed around 4 years (1686-1690). Again he succeeded on changed the belief of people from Hinduism to Islam, see Shaghīr Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam* 5, 47.

⁵⁹ Shaghīr Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam* 5, 45-48.

⁶⁰ Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyyah*, 36.

⁶¹ The latest research of Shaghīr Abdullah discovered that the name of 'Abd al-Mālik's father is Sharif Muḥammad. This data is based on a *silsilah* in a manuscript which was kept by descendent of 'Abd al-

was popularly known as Tok Pulau Manis. He received his early education from some local scholars in his hometown. Then he departed to Aceh to study with 'Abd al-Ra'uf in Aceh before continuing his studies in al-Ḥaramayn. According to Saghir Abdullah, among the teachers of 'Abd al-Mālik in al-Ḥaramayn is Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. 'Abd al-Mālik composed several works,⁶³ and was very active in giving lecture. It has been narrated that he also granted some miraculous gifts (*karāmāt*).⁶⁴

It can be concluded that *zāwiyah* of 'Abd al-Ra'uf had played a significant role on development of Islamic education in the Malay world. The role of the *zāwiyah* was not merely limited to the field of education but it also played an interesting role as the centre of Muslim scholar network, of research, of information and of astronomy.⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, this *zāwiyah* had played a significant role as a centre of spreading Sufism and the Shaṭṭāriyyah order. This *zāwiyah* had arisen and reached its progress during four reign of sultanate of Aceh, i.e., reign of Sulṭānah Ṣāfiyyat al-Dīn Syah (1641-1675), of Sulṭānah Nūr al-'Ālam Naqīyyat al-Dīn Syah (1675-1678), of Sulṭānah

Mālik. According to that manuscript, Sharif Muḥammad was a *sulṭān* (king) in Baghdad. He travelled to Mecca and then to Terengganu. He has two sons, namely 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Mālik. Hence, 'Abd Allāh is brother to 'Abd al-Mālik, not his father. Another version narrated that grandfather of 'Abd al-Mālik, namely Sharif 'Abd al-Qahhar has a son namely 'Abd Allāh. 'Abd Allāh is father of 'Abd al-Mālik, see Shaghir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam* 7, 18.

⁶² According to Shaghir Abdullah, the latest research on this scholar resulted that he was born on 1650 C.E. See Shaghir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam* 7, 20.

⁶³ Among 'Abd al-Mālik works is *Kitāb Kifāyah*. See Shaghir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam* 7, 21.

⁶⁴ Shaghir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam* 7, 13; Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 268-69

⁶⁵ Syukri Yeoh, "Zawiyah Shaykh Kuala", 92-97.

Zākiyyat al-Dīn Syah (1678-1688) and of Sulṭānah Kamālat Syah (1688-1699).

Developing Fields of Islamic Religious Sciences

Another effort of 'Abd al-Ra'uf in the development of Islamic education is developing fields of Islamic religious science through composing works in various branch of religious sciences. As has been touch earlier, he is a prolific author who composed many works. 'Abd al-Ra'uf contribution in this field is very interesting because, 'Abd al-Ra'uf had composed numerous works representing mostly every field of Islamic religious sciences. The contributions of 'Abd al-Ra'uf on this matter are invaluable since he is the first Malay scholar who composed religious treatises on almost every main field of Islamic knowledge.

Although Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī was reckoned to be the first Muslim author in the Malay world, as an outstanding Ṣūfī scholar, his preserved works evidence that he devoted his writings to Sufism, especially philosophical Sufism (theosophy).⁶⁶ Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrā'ī seemed to have legalized Ḥamzah's style, as Saghīr Abdullah points out, "Most of Shams al-Dīn's work are dealt with Sufism,

⁶⁶ Although Ḥamzah was a famous Ṣūfī scholar and poet, there is small number of his works to be found. This might has been caused by the burning of his works gathered with Shams al-Dīn's works in Aceh in 1637 C.E., in the reign of Sulṭān Iskandar Thānī. According to Abdul Hadi W.M., the preserved of Ḥamzah works are: three works in prose, i.e., Sufism treatises and 32 or 33 compilations of poem that is regarded as the original one. The Sufism treatises meant are: *Sharāb al-'Āshiqīn* (also called as *Asrār al-'Āshiqīn* and *Zīnat al-Wāḥidīn* or *Zīnat al-Muwahḥidīn*); *Asrār al-'Ārifīn* and; *al-Muntaḥī*. These three treatises had been edited, romanized and translated by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas. Abdul Hadi W.M. also edits the *Sharāb al-'Āshiqīn* gathered with the poems of Ḥamzah, see al-Attas, *The Mysticism*, 205-472; Hadi, *Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī*, 13-44, 17-20, 64-102.

while other fields received less concern from him."⁶⁷ A subsequent scholar named al-Rānīrī, generally, is in the same situation. However, most of al-Rānīrī's works deal with theology and philosophical Sufism in which most of them devoted to attacking Ḥamzah's and Shams al-Dīn's teachings as well as their adherents' (*wujūdiyyah*).⁶⁸

⁶⁷ According to Shaghir Abdullah, Shams al-Dīn wrote in bilingual, i.e., Arabic and Malay. Among Shams al-Dīn's works written in Arabic are: *Jawhār al-Ḥaqā'iq*, *Tanbīh al-Ṭullāb fī Ma'rifaḥ Mālik al-Wahhāb*, *Risālah Bayn Mulāḥazat al-Muwahḥidīn 'alā al-Muhtadī fī Dhikr Allāh*, *Kitāb al-Ḥarakah*, *Nūr al-Daqā'iq*. Meanwhile the books written in Malay are: *Mir'at al-Īmān*, *Mir'at al-Mu'minīn*, *Sharḥ Mir'ah al-Qulūb*, *Mir'ah al-Ḥaqīqah*, *Mir'ah al-Muḥaqqiqīn*. Meanwhile, Abdul Aziz Dahlan had discovered and studied ten works of Shams al-Dīn: *Jawhār al-Ḥaqā'iq* (in Arabic); *Risālah Tubayyin Mulāḥazat al-Muwahḥidīn wa al-Mulḥidīn fī Dhikr Allāh* (in Arabic); *Mir'at al-Mu'minīn* (in Malay); *Syarah Ruba'i Hamzah Fansuri* (in Malay); *Sharah Sha'ir Ikan Tongkol* (in Malay); *Mir'at al-Īmān* or *Kitāb Baḥr al-Nūr* (in Malay); *Nūr al-Daqā'iq* (in Arabic and Malay); *Kitāb al-Ḥarakah* (in Arabic and Malay); *Fī Dhikr Dā'irat Qāb Qawsayn Awadnā* (in Arabic and Malay). According to Dahlan, there are some works ascribed to Shams al-Dīn he did not found. Among of them are: *Mir'at al-Muḥaqqiqīn*, *Mir'at al-Ḥaqīqah* and *Tanbīh al-Ṭullāb*. Based on Dahlan's study, he discovers that most of Shams al-Dīn's works deals with philosophical Sufism except *Mir'at al-Mu'minīn* that discusses the issue of Islamic creed (Theology), see Shaghir Abdullah, "Ḥamzah Fansūrī" 58-59; Abdul Aziz Dahlan, *Penilaian Teologis atas Paham Wahdat al-Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan Alam Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatranī* (Padang: IAIN IB Press, 1999), 25-29.

⁶⁸ Ahmad Daudi discovers that there are 24 titles of al-Rānīrī's preserve writings. There are 5 other titles that mentioned by al-Rānīrī in his works but they did not survive. The preserved books of al-Rānīrī, i.e., 24 titles are mostly deals with Sufism (12 treatises); 2 titles among them in *fiqh*: *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* and *Kayfiyyah al-Ṣalāh*; 1 work in history, i.e., *Bustān al-Salāṭīn fī Dhikr al-Awwālīn wa al-Akhirīn*; 1 writing in comparative religion, i.e., *Tibyān fī Ma'rifaḥ al-Adyān*; 2 treatises in eschatology: i.e., *Hidāyah al-Ḥabīb fī Targhīb and Tarḥīb*, *Akhbār al-Akhīrah fī Aḥwāl al-Qiyamah*; 2 books in cosmology: *'Ayn al-'Alam Qabla an Yukhlaq* and *Bad'u Khalq al-Samāwāt wa al-Arḍ*; 4 writings in theology: *Durrah al-*

Although he was considered to be the first scholar in the Archipelago who composed the treatise on jurisprudence, i.e., in the part of worship (*'ibādah*),⁶⁹ there was no source mentioned that he had composed any work in the field of *tafsīr* or *hadīth*.

In addition, the invaluable contribution of 'Abd al-Ra'uf in this field is his works not merely addressed to disciples of Islamic learning institution, but it was also an effort to spread Islamic teaching to ordinary people in order to guide them to the better understanding of Islam.⁷⁰ Therefore, 'Abd al-Ra'uf's efforts on educating Muslims are not merely limited to disciples who learned in Islamic learning institution but to Muslim community in general.

'Abd al-Ra'uf's effort on the development of fields of Islamic religious sciences indicated by a number of his important works in various branches of Islamic religious sciences such as jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the commentary of the Qur'an (*tafsīr*), prophetic tradition (*hadīth*), ethics (*akhlāq*), history (*tārīkh*), eschatology, theology (*tawḥīd*

Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id, Shifā' al-Qulūb, al-Lama'an fī Takfīr Man Qāla bi Khalq al-Qur'ān, and Hidayāh al-Īmān bi Faḍl al-Mannān. For more detail on al-Rānīrī works, see Ahmad Daudi, *Allah dan Manusia dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry* (Jakarta: CV Rajawali, 1983), 48-57.

⁶⁹ Mostly, this book discuss' the worship (*'ibādah*) aspect of jurisprudence that includes prayer, fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimage and sacrifice (*qurbān*). It is also touches little issue in *mua'āmalah* like the law of hunting and; lawful (*ḥalāl*) and unlawful (*ḥarām*) food. According to Daudi, this book is written before al-Rānīrī living in Aceh, i.e., in the year 1044/ 1634 and finished in the year 1054/1644, see Daudi, *Allah dan Manusia*, 48.

⁷⁰ 'Abd al-Ra'uf's concern to spread religious knowledge either *sharī'ah* sciences or Sufism to ordinary Muslim is supported by the fact that most of his works are written in Malay, although, as he recognized, he had not mastered the Malay language. hence, he assisted by two experts, i.e., Khatib Seri Raja and Faqih Indera Saleh in order to improve his Malay skill, after his return to Aceh. See Fairuzah Hj. Basri, *Umdah al-Muḥtājīn*, 55.

and *kalām*), and Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), as we shall see below.

'Abd al-Ra'ūf played a paramount role in the development of the commentary of the Qur'an (*tafsīr*) in the Malay world. He gave a significant contribution to this field because he was considered as the first Moslem scholar in this region who wrote the Malay commentary on the whole Qur'an entitled *Turjumān al-Mustafīd*⁷¹ that was compiled around 1675 C.E.⁷² As the first Malay commentary of the Qur'an, *Turjumān al-Mustafīd* was widely used in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. Its printed edition could even be found in the Malay

⁷¹ There was some opinion about the sources of *Turjumān al-Mustafīd*. For long period, it was regarded as the translation of *Tafsīr* written by al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286) namely *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrar al-Ta'wīl*. This opinion mostly based on a Dutch's orientalist opinion, C. Snouck Hurgronje. Hurgronje, without a carefully research, concluded that it was a bad translation of *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*. Hypothesis of Hurgronje was followed by his students namely, Rinke and Voorhoeve. Even, Rinke makes other mistakes by stating that *Turjumān al-Mustafīd*, beside a translation of *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, was also translation to some part of *Tafsīr Jalālayn*. Meanwhile Voorhoeve, after following Hurgronje and Rinke, changed his conclusion and affirms that the source of *Turjumān al-Mustafīd* was a number of Arabic *tafsīr*. Peter Riddell and Salman Harun in their investigation confidently proved that *Turjumān al-Mustafīd* was a translation of *Tafsīr Jalālayn*. It was in certain parts, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf cited *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* and *Tafsīr Khāzin*. According to Ridell, the text of *Turjumān al-Mustafīd* is composite in two ways. First, its sources are composite; the *Jalālayn* commentary provides the majority of the exegetical information contain in *Turjumān al-Mustafīd*, while the commentaries by *al-Bayḍāwī* and *al-Khāzin* are drawn on to a lesser extent. Second, the authorships composite; 'Abd al-Ra'ūf composed the core of the work, using the *Jalālayn* as his sources text, while his student Dāwūd Rūmī later added anecdotal interpolation and information on the variant readings, drawing from *al-Bayḍāwī*, *al-Khāzin* and other sources, including the *Jalālayn*. See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 258; Ridell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, 161.

⁷² Ridell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, 161.

community in South Africa. It is also important to remark that its printed edition was not only published in Singapore, Penang, Jakarta and Bombay but also in the Middle East cities such as Istanbul,⁷³ Cairo⁷⁴ and Mecca.⁷⁵ This fact indicates the immense value of this work and the high level of 'Abd al-Ra'uf's intellectual. In Indonesia, the last edition was published in Jakarta in 1981. This proves that it is still used in the Muslim community in the Malay-Indonesian world until today.

Regarding the significance of *Turjumān al-Mustafīd* in the development of Islamic learning in the Malay world, A. H. Johns said that⁷⁶:

"It was, in many matters, guidance to Islamic intellectual history in Malay world. It had given much contribution to the study of the commentary of the Qur'an in this region and became mediator between translation and commentary (*tafsīr*), and therefore it had supported further investigation to Arabic commentary."

Similarly, Ridell states that⁷⁷:

Turjumān al-Mustafīd has played an important role in the history of Malay Islamic education. For almost three hundred years it was the only commentary in Malay on the Qur'an as a whole. Although other commentaries in Malay

⁷³ In Istanbul, it was published by Maṭba'ah al-'Uthmāniyyah in 1302/1884 and also 1324/1904, see Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 257.

⁷⁴ In Cairo, it was published by Sulaymān al-Maraghī, see Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 257.

⁷⁵ In Mecca, it was published by al-Amīriyyah, see Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 257.

⁷⁶ A.H. Johns, "Qur'anic Exegesis in the Malay World: in Search of a Profile", in *Approach to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 266, as cited by Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 260.

⁷⁷ Ridell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, 61.

and Indonesian have appeared during the last forty years, nevertheless *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* continues to be printed and widely used throughout Malaysia, Sumatera and Java. Not only has it greatly influenced the nature of Qur'anic studies in the region, but it has also undoubtedly greatly contributed to the study of exegetical works in Arabic.

'Abd al-Ra'uf also paid great contribution to the development of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). In this field, he is considered as the first Muslim scholar in the Malay world who had written the practical duties (*mu'āmalah*) of *fiqh* through his work entitled *Mir'at al-Ṭullāb fī Tashīl Ma'rifah al-Ahkām al-Shar'iyyāh li al-Mālik al-Wahhāb*.⁷⁸ This is the main work of 'Abd al-Ra'uf in the field of jurisprudence. In this work he discussed the practical duties of jurisprudence such as politics, social, economy and religious life of Muslims.

Through this work, 'Abd al-Ra'uf showed to Muslim community in the Archipelago that the Islamic law (*sharī'ah*) or jurisprudence (*fiqh*) is not merely concerned with the devotional duties (*al-'ibādah*), but it covers all aspects of human life including *mu'āmalah*. This is the first work written upon the request of Sulṭānah Ṣāfiyyat al-Dīn (1641-1675) and completed in 1074/1663.⁷⁹ Although this work is no longer used in the Malay world nowadays, in the past it spread widely. According to Hooker, the compilation of Islamic laws employed by the

⁷⁸ The main source of *Mir'at al-Ṭullāb* is *Fath al-Wahhāb* by Zakariyya al-Anṣārī a leading scholar of Shafī'ī School. 'Abd al-Ra'uf also refers several standard books such as *Fath al-Jawāb* and *Tuḥfah al-Muḥtāj* (both of them written by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1565), *Nihayah al-Muḥtāj* by Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī, *Tafsīr al-Bayḍawī* by Ibn 'Umar al-Bayḍawī (d. 685/1286) and *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīh Muslim* by al-Nawāwī (d. 676/1277). See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 255-256.

⁷⁹ Ridell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, 129.

Muslim community in Mindanao, Philippines since the middle of 19th century, was the *Mir'at al-Ṭullāb* as the main reference.⁸⁰

The significance of 'Abd al-Ra'uf's development of the prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*) in the Archipelago could not be neglected. His works entitled *Sharḥ al-Laṭīf 'alā Arba'īn Ḥadīth li al-Imām al-Nawāwī* (*The Commentary of the Forty Ḥadīth of al-Imām al-Nawāwī*) and *al-Mawā'iz al-Badī'ah* are considered as the earliest documentations of prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*) by Malay scholars in the Malay world⁸¹ whose writings were also commissioned by Sulṭānah Ṣāfiyyah al-Dīn (1641-1675).⁸² The *Sharḥ al-Laṭīf* is also considered as the earliest commentary on the *ḥadīth* written in the Malay region.

Despite *Ḥadīth Arba'īn* of al-Nawāwī being a small *ḥadīth* collection, it addresses the fundamental and key issues in Islamic belief and practice. Meanwhile, *Mawā'iz al-Badī'ah* is a compilation of sacred tradition (*ḥadīth qudsī*), i.e., God's revelation delivered to believers through the words of the Prophet (PBUH). Regarding *Mawā'iz al-Badī'ah*, he explained some issues concerning Allah and His relationship with creation, hell, paradise and viable ways for Muslim to get His pleasure. *Al-Mawā'iz al-Badī'ah* was published in Mecca in 1310/ 1892 and in Penang in 1369/1949. This indicates that it is still used in the Malay world.⁸³

The works of 'Abd al-Ra'uf in the field of prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*) indicates his true attention to ordinary Muslims for the sake of guiding them to a better

⁸⁰ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 256.

⁸¹ Latifah Abdul Majid, Haziyah Husain, Mazlan Ibrahim, Jawiah Dakir, "Hadith Written in Early Islam in Malay Region", *Advances in Natural and Applied Sciences* 6(3) (2012): 473.

⁸² This work was the second one commissioned by Sulṭānat Ṣāfiyyah al-Dīn Shah (1641-1675). See Ridell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, 129.

⁸³ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 261.

understanding of Islam. It seems, the reason for 'Abd al-Ra'uf to write such works in Malay is the inability of most Malays to use Arabic. Hence, in order to attract them to learn and understand *ḥadīth* accurately, 'Abd al-Ra'uf provided them a commentary that used Malay Sumatera language. In recent times of the Malay region, most of *ḥadīth* studies were written in the Arabic language by many scholars from the Middle East such as *Saḥīh al-Bukhārī* by al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīh Muslim* by Muslim and others.⁸⁴ In addition, the *Sharḥ al-Laṭīf* also addressed to elite Muslim who learn Sufism. This is because in giving commentary to some *ḥadīths* in the *Sharḥ al-Laṭīf*, 'Abd al-Ra'uf demonstrated the inward (*al-bāṭin*) meaning of the *ḥadīth*. In other words, 'Abd al-Ra'uf highlighted *ḥadīth* in the viewpoint of Sufism.

The contribution of 'Abd al-Ra'uf to Islamic theology (*'ilm al-kalām*) and Ṣūfī literature in the Malay world cannot be doubted either. As a Ṣūfī figure, 'Abd al-Ra'uf wrote many works in this field as listed earlier. However, his works in this discipline were the most in number among his works. In the field of Sufism, 'Abd al-Ra'uf dedicated his works especially to the elite Muslims (*al-khawwās*) who took the Ṣūfī path (*sālik*). In this field, he composed around 41 works and among the popular of them are *Tanbīh al-Māshi*, *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, *Kifāyah al-Muḥtājīn*, *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf*, and *Bayān Tajallī*.

Based on the above facts, it could be said that the contributions of 'Abd al-Ra'uf to the development of Islamic education through developing fields of Islamic religious sciences demonstrate to us his expertise in various branches of knowledge. He was a highly educated scholar in almost every field of Islamic religious sciences. During his studies in the Middle East he had learnt with great scholars in various branches of religious sciences as

⁸⁴ Latifah Abdul Majid et al., "Hadith Written in Early Islam in Malay Region", 474.

propound earlier. In the field of *ḥadīth* for instance, he was highly educated in this discipline with great scholars in Yemen, Mecca and Medina. He had studied with leading scholar of this field such as 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Dayba' in Yemen; 'Alī ibn 'Abd Qādir al-Ṭabarī (d. 1660) and Badr al-Dīn al-Lāhurī in Mecca; Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'ad Allāh al-Lāhurī (d. 1673) in Medina.⁸⁵

It can be concluded that 'Abd al-Ra'uf has made interesting contributions to develop fields of Islamic religious sciences, Islamic literature as well as the development of intellectual Islamic tradition in the Archipelago as indicated by a number of his works in various branches of religious sciences.

Introduced and Applied a New Orientation of Islamic Education

Among the interested contribution of 'Abd al-Ra'uf to Islamic education in the Malay world is introducing a new orientation of Islamic education, i.e., equilibrium of Sufism and *sharī'ah* knowledge. As history noted, due to the significant role played by the Ṣūfīs on the Islamization of Malay-Indonesian world, Sufism has dominated the religious climate since the early arrival of Islam in this region. This phenomenon, according to Nor Huda,⁸⁶ was less appealing to Malay Muslims to be interested in *sharī'ah* knowledge like jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl fiqh*), religious moral (*akhlāq*), logic (*manṭiq*) and *balāghah*.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 100-101.

⁸⁶ Nor Huda, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2015), 197.

⁸⁷ Al-Rānīrī narrates that his uncle namely Shaykh Muḥammad Jīlanī ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Rānīrī came from Gujerat, India to Aceh in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn (r. 1577-1586 C.E.) to taught *sharī'ah* sciences since he is mastered in the fields. But due to the religious climate of Aceh of the time that is dominated by mystical teachings, he had go to Mecca to learn

This further, causes in-balanced understanding of Sufism and *sharī'ah* sciences among the Muslims. It is not rare the dispute and tension between Ṣūfīs and orthodox scholars are mostly caused by the in-equilibrium of the scholars' emphasis on Islamic teaching. On the one hand, orthodox scholars (theologians, traditionalist and jurists) emphasized on the exoteric aspect of Islam, while the Ṣūfīs had more concern for its esoteric meaning. This approach sometimes leads to extreme attitude in which one group claims that their understanding is absolutely true while the other is false.

This, as history has recorded, caused the appearance of accusation of heresy by orthodox scholars of the Ṣūfīs which sometimes led to execution as has been discuss earlier. Second, the lack of *sharī'ah* knowledge might rose risks to the disciples of Sufism since it is among the factors that caused the appearance of deviation as discussed below. Hence, in order to prevent such a deviation, Ṣūfī masters advises those who would embark on the Ṣūfī path to pursue firstly a sufficient amount of knowledge on *sharī'ah* before turning to Sufism.

In the context of the Malay world, the dominant of Sufism in religious life had caused a tension and conflict between al-Rānīrī and adherents of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭra'ī's during the reign of Sulṭān Iskandar Thānī (r. 1637-1641 C.E.). Such a tension had caused conflict and tragedy in Aceh history.⁸⁸ With

Sufism. This is because he could not answer some questions dealing with Sufism. Having spent some time, he returned to Aceh with well preparation of knowledge that enabled him to solve some issues in Philosophical Sufism. See Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, *Bustan al-Salatīn*, edited by Siti Hawa Haji Salleh (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992), 5.

⁸⁸ After Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭra'ī's times, there occurred a conflict in Aceh society due to the arrival of an India scholar named Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī during the reign of Sulṭān Iskandar Thānī. Al-Rānīrī condemned Ḥamzah's and Shams al-Dīn's

regard the conflict and tragedy of Aceh rooted in the understanding of Islamic teaching, 'Abd al-Ra'uf introduced and applied a new orientation of Islamic learning, i.e., the equilibrium between Sufism and *sharī'ah*. Among the approach of 'Abd al-Ra'uf in this effort is spreading *sharī'ah* sciences to Malay Muslims through composing treatises in various fields of exoteric knowledge (*al-'ulūm al-zāhir*) and of esoteric knowledge (*'ilm al-bāṭin*) as mentioned above.

Azra pointed out that, 'Abd al-Ra'uf approach of equilibrium of Sufism and *sharī'ah* influenced by the character of his intellectual masters, i.e., Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. According to him, within the whole of 'Abd al-Ra'uf works, the main concern of 'Abd al-Ra'uf, as his master Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī did, is reconciliation between Sufism and *sharī'ah* (*al-'ulūm al-zāhir and al-'ulūm al-bāṭin*). Therefore, the teaching spread by 'Abd al-Ra'uf in the Malay-Indonesian world categorized neo-Sufism.⁸⁹ Neo-Sufism has become the main characteristic of 'Abd al-Ra'uf; his works indicated that Sufism should go hand in hand with *sharī'ah*. It is only through the total obedience to *sharī'ah*, those who

teachings as deviating from Islamic principles. Even though al-Rānīrī is also a Ṣūfī scholar, in his criticism to Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn, apparently, he positioned himself as a theologian. As the then qāḍī or muftī in the sultanate of Aceh, al-Rānīrī issued an authoritative judgment (*fatwā*) that the teachings of Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn concerning *wahdat al-wujūd* had gone strayed from Islamic creed. Hence, he denounced the adherents of Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn as heretics (*zindīq*), heterodox (*murtad*) or unbelievers (*kufr*). If they did not repent, they had to be executed. Al-Rānīrī's *fatwā* was supported by the ruling Sulṭān, namely Sulṭān Iskandar Thānī. Thus, the adherents of *wujūdiyyah* were forced to change their belief or be executed by the ruler. Besides that, the works of Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī were burned in front of Masjid Bayt al-Raḥman, Aceh, since they are considered as the sources of deviation. See Daudī, *Allah dan Manusia*, 41.

⁸⁹ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 261.

embark *Ṣūfī* path would earn the *ḥaqīqah* (absolute reality and truth).⁹⁰

This is the great contribution of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf. Through composing works in the exoteric and esoteric sciences, he had attempted to create a new orientation of Islamic education i.e., equilibrium between Sufism and *sharī'ah*.

Conclusion

This study shows us that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf had paid significant contribution to the development of Islamic education in the Malay world. In this case, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf had employed various approaches like establishing Islamic learning centre, developing fields of Islamic religious sciences as well as introducing a new orientation of Islamic education, i.e., equilibrium between Sufism and *sharī'ah*. The existence and development of Islamic learning centre in various place of Malay world like *zāwiyah*, *surau*, *pesantren*, *pondok*, and *madrrasah*, as we have witness in present time, could not separate from 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's merit. This study also discovers that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf did not merely develop Islamic education but also carry out a reformation in Islamic education by his approach to introduce a new orientation of Islamic education i.e., equilibrium between Sufism and *sharī'ah*. These approaches of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf is still relevant until the present time and therefore should be legalized and revived by contemporary generation.

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⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 264.

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