

***MIR'AT AL-TULLAB* BY SYEIKH ABDUL RAUF SINGKEL: A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF MANUSCRIPTS KEPT IN THE SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY**

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Abstract

Mir'at al-Tullab by Syeikh Abdul Rauf Singkel is one of the masterpieces in the history of Malay writing in Aceh. The work written in 1661 demonstrates knowledge of Shari'ah law including the subjects on commercial law, matrimonial law and criminal law. The major idea that runs through the whole work is that of the role of sultan and *ulama* in preserving Islamic laws of the state. The importance of *Mir'at al-Tullab* is reflected in the large number of manuscripts that are available. In spite of its importance, there is still a lack of studies of the work especially those based on several Jawi manuscripts that are known to exist in Leiden University Library. This article is a preliminary study of five manuscripts of *Mir'at al-Tullab* kept in the Special Collections, Leiden University Library, and to identify basic features of the Islamic laws in Aceh in the mid-seventeenth century based on the manuscripts. *Mir'at al-Tullab* portray an early example of the implementation of Islamic law in Aceh as to replace the *adat* law practices that existed before.

Keywords: *Mir'at al-Tullab*, Syeikh Abdul Rauf Singkel, history of Malay, Islamic law, manuscripts

INTRODUCTION

Generally, Malay *adat* laws can be described as a system of customary laws containing a list of rules based on the customs, norms or values that existed in the traditional Malay society. They first appeared in verbal forms and passed down from one generation to another. They were documented as early as in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.¹ The author or the compiler of these works were unknown. The most we can say is that they were learned ministers or noble men at court. The laws merely functioned as guidance for the rulers and ministers in administering the conduct of behaviour of members of a community or country. Anyone found to break the law would be punished according to what was written in the law text. The *adat* laws were certainly not similar to the so called “the law of the jungle”.²

Until now, *Undang-Undang Melaka* can be considered as the oldest written Malay law. The law was written during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Syah (1422-1444), the first sultan of Malacca who embraced Islam. Some additions to the law were then made during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Syah (1445-1458). The history of *Undang-Undang Melaka* gives some insight into the early writings of the Malay laws in the past, under the order of the king, and amendment was made from time to time. A similar process also can be observed in the writing of *Undang-Undang Kedah*, *Undang-Undang Pahang*, etc.

Islam has held great influence in the development of Malay *adat* laws, which can be seen in the writings of *Undang-Undang Melaka*, *Undang-Undang Sembilan Puluh Sembilan Perak*, *Undang-Undang Pahang*, *Undang-Undang Kedah*, *Undang-Undang Minangkabau*, *Undang-Undang Aceh*, *Undang-Undang Raja Nati* and *Undang-Undang Jambi*. However, the principles of Islamic laws in those writings can be observed as being still a mixture with the *adat* laws.³ In the advancements that follow, many Islamic law texts were written by religious ministers and religious scholars and they correspond to the Shari’ah laws. One of the pertinent examples is *Mir’at al-Tullab* by Syeikh Abdul Rauf Singkel in 1661. *Mir’at al-Tullab* portray an early example of the implementation of Islamic law in Aceh as to replace the *adat* law (or customary law) that existed before.⁴

SYEIKH ABDUL RAUF SINGKEL

Syeikh Abdul Rauf, was a famous religious scholar who had studied Islamic knowledge in Arabia and had then returned to Aceh to teach Islam in that

region. His full name is ‘Abd al-Ra’uf bin ‘Ali al-Jawi al-Fansuri al-Singkili who was born around 1615 at Singkil (Singkel), north of Fansur (west coast of Sumatra). He most probably had his early education in Singkel, or in other parts of Aceh, and furthered his study in Mecca, Madinah and Yaman. He came back to Aceh in 1661 and served as Qadhi Malik al-Adil in the Acehnese court during the reign of Sultanah Taj al-Alam Safiyyat al-Din Shah (1641-1675).⁵ Riddell (1990: 4-13), in his study about the life of Syeikh Abdul Rauf has divided his life-span in four period as follows:

- (a) Religious Doctrines during Abdul Rauf’s Early Years in Aceh (1615-1642).
- (b) Religious Turmoil in Aceh (1637-1642) and Abdul Rauf Departure for Arabia.
- (c) Abdul Rauf’s Sojourn in Arabia (1642-1661).
- (d) The Return to Aceh (1661-1693).

Syeikh Abdul Rauf’s religious thoughts have attracted a great deal of attention from many scholars as may be seen from several studies devoted to them.⁶ His credibility as an *ulama* and as a great writer may be seen through his 20 *kitab*, written in Arabic and Malay, mostly about religion and Sufism. Some of the *kitab* were written as religious teaching materials and some were written as his commentary on Qur’an and Hadith. From these *kitab*, he shows his mastery of Arabic and Malay, and reveals his great knowledge of the Qur’an, Hadith and *tafsir*:

Riddell (1990:1) in his study of *Tarjuman al-Mustafid* conclude that Syeikh Abdul Rauf is “one of the most eminent religious scholars to live during the Golden Age of the Acehnese Sultanate”. After Sultanah Taj al-Alam Safiyyat al-Din Shah, Syeikh Abdul Rauf continues his service during the reign of Sultanah Nur al-Alam Nakiyyat al-Din Shah (1675-1678) and Sultanah Inayat Shah Zakiyyat al-Din Shah (1678-1688). He is a truly *ulama* who served under the patronage of Queens of Aceh, and this reflected his thought about the legitimacy of a woman to serve as the ruler of a Muslim state. It is believed that Syeikh Abdul Rauf died in Aceh in 1693 during the reign of Sultanah Kamalat Shah (1689-1699), and buried at the site near the Aceh River, and known as Teungku Syiah Kuala.

MIR’AT AL-TULLAB AS A TEXT OF THE SHARI’AH LAW

The full title of Syeikh Abdul Rauf’s work as written in the introductory part

of the text is *Mir'at al-Tullab fi Tashili Ma'rifat al-Ahkami al-Shar'iyyah il al-Malik al-Wahhab* or “*Cermin Segala Mereka yang Menuntut Ilmu Fikah pada Memudahkan Mengenal Hukum Syarak Allah*”, hereafter cited as the *Mir'at al-Tullab*. Also in the introductory part of the text Syeikh Abdul Rauf states his purpose of his work to write a book regarding the duty of *qadhi* as had been requested by Sultanah Safiyyat al-Din. He also states his sources of reference. The text is the fourth Malay book written by him, revealing his great interest in knowledge of the Islamic law. The *Mir'at al-Tullab* reveals the capability of Syeikh Abdul Rauf as an *ulama*. It deals with Shari'ah law and is concerned more with the commercial law, matrimonial law and criminal law.

In the introductory part of *Mir'at al-Tullab*, Syeikh Abdul Rauf mentioned that he obtained the instruction from Sultanah Safiyyat al-Din to write the text in Malay language (*bahasa Jawi*). The date of the instruction is unknown but most probably in 1661 right after Syeikh Abdul Rauf return to Aceh from Arabia. The date of the book's completion is also unknown, but it may be estimated at sometime before 1672 (The colophon of MS Cod. Or. 5834 mentioned that the writing was finished on 1083 H / 1672 M). Also in the introductory part of *Mir'at al-Tullab*, Syeikh Abdul Rauf mentioned that the difficulty he faced in writing the book, because his command of Malay was insufficient, as he had lived in Yaman, Mecca and Madinah for a long time. But, he thanks Allah for giving him two Malay scribes who assisted in writing the book. According to the copyist of Cod. Or. 5837 (p. 5-6), the names of the Malay scribes are Faqih Seri Inda Salih and Katib Seri Raja:⁷

Syeikh Abdul Rauf is one of the earliest authors in traditional Malay literature, after Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani and Nuruddin al-Raniri, who have mentioned the source of references in his works.⁸ In the introductory part of *Mir'at al-Tullab*, Syeikh Abdul Rauf clearly states his Arabic reference books, that is, the *Fath al-Wahhab*, the *Fath al-Jawwad*, the *Tuhfah al-Muhtaj* and *Sharh Sahih Muslim*. All these books have been identified as follows:

- (a) *Fath al-Wahhab* by Abu Yahya Zakariya al-Ansari (1420-1520 M).
- (b) *Fath al-Jawwad* by Ibn Hajar al-Haytami (1504-1567 M).
- (c) *Tuhfah al-Muhtaj* by Ibn Hajar al-Haytami (1504-1567 M).
- (d) *Sharh Sahih Muslim* by Al-Nawawi (1234-1278 M).
- (e) *Al-Najm al-Wahhaj* by Abu Baqa Kamal al-Din Muhammad (1341-1405 M).

According to Bruinessen (1990), *Mir'at al-Tullab* is an early Malay translation of the *Fath al-Wahhab*. But, this study reveals that the *Mir'at al-Tullab* is not a wholly translation of the *Fath al-Wahhab*. In fact, Syeikh Abdul Rauf has admitted that many parts of the *Fath al-Wahhab* has been neglected due to a very hard for him to understand them (Co. O. 5837: 6).

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The original manuscript of *Mir'at al-Tullab* has not yet been found and is probably lost.⁹ The existing manuscripts are all copies made by different copyists. Most of the manuscripts are incomplete. Any attempt to study the whole text must be based on several manuscripts, which are kept at different places. At least twenty seven manuscripts of *Mir'at al-Tullab* are known to exist: three in Kuala Lumpur, four in Jakarta, thirteen in Aceh, one in London, one in Berlin and five in Leiden (see Appendix). A short descriptions of five manuscripts in the Special Collections, Leiden University Library, is as follows:

(a) MS Cod. Or. 1633

MS Cod. Or. 1633 is also an old manuscript but it contains no date. The manuscripts was first mentioned by H.N. Van de Tuuk in 1886. It was written in *deluang* paper and mentioned Hakim Abdul Latif Sung of Gorontalo as scribe. The whole text is written without vocalization. The manuscript contains *hukum bai'*, *hukum nikah* and *hukum jenayah*, and it is a complete text of *Mir'at al-Tullab*. Nevertheless, the preface of the text did not mention the name of two scribes who assisted Syeikh Abdul Rauf in writing the *Mir'at al-Tullab* (Cod. Or. 1633: 4).

(b) MS Cor. Or. 3255

MS Cod. Or. 3255 is still in a good condition but incomplete because its contains two chapters of Abdul Rauf's work i.e. section on *hukum bai'* and *hukum nikah*.

(c) MS Cod. Or. 5834

Based on the date given at the colophon, Cod. Or. 5834 kept in Leiden University Library could be the oldest manuscript of *Mir'at al-Tullab* we have known today. The date 1083 H (1672) is just 11 years after it was

written by Syeikh Abdul Rauf in 1661. The manuscript could be similar with two other manuscripts that kept in Tanoh Abee Library (Perpustakaan Kuno Tanoh Abee), Aceh i.e. MS No. 6, *Mir'at al-Tullab*, dated 1083 H & MS 2X4.1, *Mir'at al-Tullab*, dated 1083 H. Nevertheless, the MS Cod. Or. 5834 is really in a bad condition.

(d) MS Cod Or. 5837

The manuscripts is still in a very good condition and could be the most complete manuscript of *Mir'at al-Tullab*. The manuscripts dated 1274 H (1858).

(e) MS Cod Or. 7651

Another very important manuscript is Cod. Or. 7651. It was copied by Ahmad ibn Abdullah in Jakarta and the date of copying is given as 1105 A.H. / 1694, which is older compared to other manuscripts. In term of its contents, MS Cod Or. 7651 is a complete manuscript. Nevertheless, some parts of the manuscript are seriously damaged and are unreadable, so we have the to read it by microfilm. Voorhoeve (1980: 38) in his study on Bajan Tadjalli, has stated that, the MS Cod. Or. 7651 was copied in Batavia from a copy which had been brought from Aceh by one of Abdul Rauf's pupils. This information is important because it give us an idea about the originality sources of the manuscript. MS Cod. Or. 7651 also stated the owner of the manuscript was Hafiz Abdullah ibn Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Salangkatuya, including the latest owner as Haji Muhammad Faqir bin Bahman al-Haj Muhammad Kelanah Faqir Abdul Mujibullah in Betawi.

My study of *Mir'at al-Tullab* held in the collection of the Leiden University Library particularly focus on Cod. Or. 5837. The reasons for this choice are due to the following considerations. Firstly, it is a good manuscript of *Mir'at al-Tullab*. More important than that, MS Cod. Or. 5837 is the only one that stated the name of Syeikh Abdul Rauf as the writer of the text whereas all other manuscripts did not have that particular part. Further more, MS Cod. Or. 5837 also the only one that mentioned the name of two Malay scribes who assisted Syeikh Abdul Rauf in writing the book i.e. Faqih Seri Inda Salih and Katib Seri Raja.¹⁰

Even though the date of the Cod. Or. 5837 is rather new (1274 H / 1858), but in term of its contents, MS Cod Or. 5837 could be the most complete manuscript that we have today compared to the others, preserved

in the Special Collections, Leiden University Library. MS Cod. Or. 5837 (p. 482) also stated the scribe of the manuscript was al-Haj Alwi ibn al-Haj Muhammad Zamzam, including the owner as Haji Khatib Muhi al-Din ibn Almarhum al-Haj Khatib Mas'ud.

BASIC FEATURES OF THE ISLAMIC LAWS IN *MIR'AT AL-TULLAB*

Based on Cod. Or. 5837, a complete text of *Mir'at al-Tullab* can be divided into seven sections or topics of discussion, i.e. the preface or introduction, about the duties of *qadhi* (judge), *hukum bai'* (commercial law), *hukum nikah* (matrimonial law), *hukum jenayah* (criminal law), the weaknesses of *qadhi* (*adab qadhi*), and finally the colophon. The text could be best considered as a "handbook about Islamic law" (Witkam, 2007:82) in Aceh in the mid of seventeenth century. It contains a vast features of the Shari'ah law particularly taken from Abu Zakariya al-Ansari' Fath al-Wahhab and Ibn Hajar al-Haytami's Fath al-Jawwad and Tuhfah al-Muhtaj, including the sayings of Imam Nawawi and Imam Abu Hassan al-Bakri. Quotations from the Qur'an, Hadith, and sayings of *ulama* make up a large part of the writings as a means for the author's elaboration of the qualities and rules needed for *qadhi*.

Besides giving a long descriptions on certain topic, Syeikh Abdul Rauf also make use Question-Answer technique in his writing as to make discussions easier to follow. My reading of Cod. Or. 5837 has found at least 932 Question-Answer has been used by Syeikh Abdul Rauf throughout the text. Each Question (*Soal*) will be followed by an Answer (*Jawab*) as can be seen as follows (Cod. Or. 5837: 24):

Soal: Jika bertanya seorang, betapa hal orang buta jika ia hendak berniaga?

Jawab: Maka hendaklah ia berwakil pada pekerjaan itu.

Qadhi (Judge) are jurists in Islamic law. They are usually learned men, scholars of the Qur'an and Hadith, and *kitab* commentators. In the context of courts in the past, the duties of *qadhi* covered all aspects of Islamic law in the state, and therefore they had a close relationship with the king and people. In the *Mir'at al-Tullab*, the section on the office of *qadhi* is given in the first part of the text, after the chapters on *mukadimah*. This indicates that the office of *qadhi* was very important at court especially in connection with the practice of justice towards the people. According to Syeikh Abdul

Rauf, it was compulsory for kings to appoint *qadhi* to help them at court. The author then quotes from *Fath al-Wahhab* on some of the basic qualifications of *qadhi*, such as being a Muslim and knowing Arabic, possessing intelligence and a sense of justice, as well as having a superior knowledge of the Qur'an, Hadith, *kitab* and Islamic law (Cod. Or. 5837: 9-10).

One of the most important qualities required from a *qadhi* was justice. Throughout the section, Syeikh Abdul Rauf also emphasizes the danger of being a *qadhi*. The duties of *qadhis* concern the affairs of the people, and in some cases, involve matters of life and death. Many quotations from the Qur'an, Hadith and sayings of *ulama* are quoted to show the dangers of being a *qadhi* (Cod. Or. 5837: 7-8).

The explanation above reveals Syeikh Abdul Rauf strongly emphasizes the duties of *qadhi*, especially as far as the theme of justice is concerned. This could be probably because of the office of *qadhi* is very important at the Acehese court particularly in practicing the Islamic law in the state. Besides this, Syeikh Abdul Rauf's emphasis on *qadhi* could be probably because he was a *qadhi* himself during the reign of Sultanah Taj al-Alam Safiyyat al-Din and involved in juridical matters at the Acehese court. And, as been stated above, the last section of *Mir'at al-Tullab* is concerns on some weaknesses of being a *qadhi*. The *qadhi* are always being reminded to use their power rationally, being just and knowledgeable. For that reason, they must avoid any deed that may tarnish their image, such as being weak, incompetent, unjust, unstable, etc. The message from the author is that the *qadhi* who do not follow the principles of Islamic justice will ruin the harmony of the community and will be punished by God (Cod. Or. 5837: 282).

Section on commercial law (*fiqh al-mu'ammalat*) has taken a large part of *Mir'at al-Tullab*. At least 400 pages of volume one Cod. Or. 5837 are on commercial law. According to Syeikh Abdul Rauf, it is a duty of *qadhi* to have knowledge about various aspects of commercial law (Cod. Or. 5837: 10). The whole contents of the section can be summary as follows: *penjual* (seller), *pembeli* (buyer), *barang perniagaan* (goods), *harga* (prices), *syarat ijab dan kabul* (offer and acceptance), *gadai* (mortgaged), *hukum riba* (usury), *penjualan tanah* (sale of land), *menjual hamba sahaya* (slave trade), *binatang ternakan* (animals), *buah-buahan* (fruits), etc.

Generally, most of the Malay family laws in the Malay Archipelago in the past (such as on marriage, adultery, etc.) are taken from the Islamic laws. At least 300 pages of volumes one and two Cod. Or. 5837 are on matrimonial law. According to Syeikh Abdul Rauf, it is a duty of *qadhi* to

have knowledge about various aspects of matrimonial law (Cod. Or. 5837: 416) such as *hukum nikah* (marriage), *wali* (guardian), *mahar* (bridal gift), *talak* (repudiation), *cerai* (divorce), *zina* (unlawful intercourse), *iddah* (waiting period), etc.

Section on criminal law has taken a smaller part of *Mir'at al-Tullab*, that is around 170 pages of volume two Cod. Or. 5837. According to Syeikh Abdul Rauf, it is a duty of *qadhi* to have knowledge about various aspects of criminal law (Cod. Or. 5837: 214). The whole contents of the section can be summary as follows: *Qisas* (retaliation), *potong* (amputation), *diyath* (blood money), *denda* (fines), *murtad* (apostacy), *hukum had* (hudud punishment), *hukum saksi* (witness), *membunuh* (murder), *takzir* (discretion), *maksiat* (wrong doing), *perang sabillillah* (holly war), *hukum perburuan* (hunting), *sembelihan* (animal slaughter), etc.

CONCLUSION

The writing of *Mir'at al-Tullab* by Syeikh Abdul Rauf in Malay is one of the great efforts by the Acehnese rulers to give knowledge to people of how the Islamic law should be carried out in the country. From my study of *Mir'at al-Tullab* above, it can be observed that the writing and copying of the text as clear examples of the Malay sense of awareness of the Islamic law in Aceh in the mid of seventeenth century. The Islamic principle of justice forms the central part of *Mir'at al-Tullab*. A king must base his rule of the state on the principle of justice. A just king will lead his people and country to happiness, harmony and prosperity. On the other hand, unjust kings will ruin their people and countries and become the cause of their unhappiness. Their bad deeds go against God's guidance and will be punished, whether when they are still alive or after death. Numerous guidance and quotations from Qur'an and Hadith are designed to show God's reward for just kings and punishment for oppressive kings. The *Mir'at al-Tullab* indeed provides vast materials for the future research on the Malay manuscripts, especially for those in the field of Islamic studies.

NOTES

1. Within the context of illiterate society, it was a tradition that the court would always have someone or a group of people who inherit the *adat* laws orally from their ancestors. They are normally learned and respected men at the court. Their duties were to give legal rulings and advices to the king on matters of judicial importance. *Adat* law (customary

- law), is used in contrast with the law of God (*hukum Allah*).
2. It is obvious that the law of the jungle (survival of the strongest) is not similar to the *adat* law. The law of the jungle is the act of an injustice ruler who takes the law into his own hands. However, the *adat* law is based on the tradition that has been accepted by the society, whether orally or written, handed down generation after generation. In this case, any view pertaining to the belief that the *adat* law is the same as the law of the jungle is irrelevant.
 3. Generally, most of the Malay family laws (such as on marriage, adultery, etc.) are taken from the Islamic laws (*Shari'ah*) whereas the Malay *adat* laws on criminal offences are always mixed up with the Islamic laws. See some studies on Malay *adat* laws and Islam in Ahmad Ibrahim (1965), Abdullah Alwi Haji Hassan (1980) & M. B. Hooker (1974).
 4. Ahmad Ibrahim (1965:1) states that, "The word Shari'ah is the name given to the whole system of the law of Islam, the totality of God's commandments. Each one of such commandments is called *hukm*."
 5. See Azyumardi Azra, 2004:78.
 6. Scholarly discussion on Syeikh Abdul Rauf's religious thought may be seen in Rinkes (1909), Johns (1955), Voorhoeve (1980), Riddell (1990), Bruinessen (1990), Azyumardi (1992), Hashim Musa (1999), and Feener (2011).
 7. According to Azyumardi Ara (2004:77), Katib Seri Raja is actually Katib Seri Raja bin Hamzah al-Ashi, the Secret Secretary of Sultanah Safiyyat al-Din.
 8. Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani and Bukhari al-Jauhari could be the earliest authors in Malay literature who were completely aware of the concept of personal authorship and mentioned reference books in their writings.
 9. As far as I know, the Jawi script of *Mir'at al-Tullab* has been published in 1971 under the title *Mir'at al-Tullab* oleh Teungku Sjeich Abdurrauf alias Teungku Tjhik Sjih Kuala by Universitas Sjah Kuala, Banda Aceh. This information is based on openlibrary.org website. A copy of book now kept in the Library of Congress. Until now, a proper philological study of *Mir'at-Tullab* especially in Ph.D level has not yet been done.
 10. Cod. Or. 7651 also has mentioned the name of two Malay scribes but only written in the margin of page 3 of the manuscript.

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APPENDIX 1

The list of Syeikh Abdul Rauf's works:

1. *'Umdat al-Muhtajin ila Suluk Maslak al-Mufridin.*
2. *Lubb al-Kasyr wa al-Bayan lima yarahu al-Muhtadhar bi al-'Iyan.*
3. *Lisan al-Jawiiyyat al-Samatra 'iyyah.*
4. *Mir'at al-Tullab fi Tashili Ma'rifat al-Ahkami al-Shar'iyyah il al-Malik al-Wahhab.*
5. *Kitab al-Fara'idh.*
6. *Tarjuman al-Mustafid.*
7. *Hadith Arba'in.*
8. *Al-Mawa'izh al-Badi'ah*
9. *Kifayat al-Muhtajin ila Masyrab al-Muwahhidin al-Qa'ilin bi Wahdat al-Wujud.*
10. *Daqa'iq al-Huruf.*
11. *Risalah Adab Murid akan Syaikh.*
12. *Risalah Mukhtasharah fi Bayan Syurut al-Syaikh wa al-Murid*
13. *Turahatuzzakirin wa Turghamatul Jahidin.*
14. *Bayan Tajalli.*
15. *Kitab Aqidatul Mundha Wamah.*
16. *Nikmatul Arwah.*
17. *Badruttaman fi Bayani Takhbiratul Ihram.*
18. *Miftahul 'Aqaidi liahlil Masyahid.*
19. *Tanbitul Masyi 'ala Tarikati Ahmad al-Qusyasyi.*
20. *Shawarim al-Shiddiq li Qath'i al-Zindiq*

APPENDIX 2

A short descriptions of all manuscripts *Mir'at al-Tullab*, except five manuscripts in Leiden, is as follows:

Malaysia National Library, Kuala Lumpur

- MS 1046 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
250 pages, 23.5cm x 6.5cm, black ink and red for some words, a fine manuscript (*Katalog Induk Manuskrip Melayu*, 1993: 80). An incomplete work of *Mir'at al-Tullab*, undated.
- MS 1352 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
191 pages, 21.9cm x 16.5cm, copied by Syeikh Abdul Salam in Mekah (*Katalog Induk Manuskrip Melayu*, 1993: 114). An incomplete work of *Mir'at al-Tullab*, undated.
- MS 4288 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
(not yet cataloged)

Indonesia National Library, Jakarta

- ML 289 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
107 pages, undated (Behrend, 1998:287)
- ML 399 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
193 pages, undated (Behrend, 1998:290)
- ML 445 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
814 pages, dated 1824 (Behrend, 1998:291)
- ML 473 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
279 pages, undated (Behrend, 1998:291)

A. Hasjmy Library, Aceh

- 105/FK/1/YPAH/2005 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
(Oman, 2007: 78)

- 218/FK/2/YPAH/2005 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
(Oman, 2007: 79)
- 6/26/Fk-13/TA/2006 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
384 pages, 22.5cm x 29.5cm, undated (Oman, 2010:111-12)
- 7/25/Fk-14/TA/2006 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
194 pages, 21cm x 30cm, undated (Oman, 2010:112-113)
- 9/24/Fk-15/TA/2006 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
234 pages, 17.5cm x 24cm, undated (Oman, 2010:114)

Tanoh Abee Library, Aceh

- MS No. 3 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
456 pages, undated (Wamad Abdullah, 1980:1)
- MS No. 6 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
Dated 1083 H (1672), 649 pages (Wamad Abdullah, 1980: 1)
- MS No. 24 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
120 pages, undated (Wamad Abdullah, 1980:4)
- MS No. 25 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
101 pages, undated (Wamad Abdullah, 1980:4)
- MS No. 26 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
156 pages, undated (Wamad Abdullah, 1980:4)
- MS 2X4.1 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
Dated 1083 H (1672), 650 pages (Zunaimar, 1993:44)
- MS 2X4.3 *Mir'at al-Tullab*
120 pages, undated (Zunaimar, 1993: 50)

Private Collections, Aceh

Mir'at al-Tullab owned by Tarmizi Abdul Hamid, Banda Aceh, not yet catalogued (see Radzie, www.acehkita.com)

British Library, London

Or. 16035 *Mir'at al-Tullab*

This manuscript dated 14 Muharram 1178 (14 July 1764) in the reign of Sultan Badr al-Din (1764-1765). 224 ff. Malay in Jawi script in a fine neat hand, 30 x 21 cm, 25 lines perpage.

Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

MS Or. Fol. 3352 *Mir'at al-Tullab*

Copied in Mekah in 1285 H (1868). 326 ff, 34.5cm x 21cm, black ink and brown for some words (*Katalog Manuskrip Melayu di Jerman Barat*, PNM, 1992:43-45).

APPENDIX 3

The detailed descriptions of the five manuscripts of *Mir 'at al-Tullab* kept in Leiden University Library. The format of the description is patterned based on Jones' (1974) "More light on Malay Manuscripts". The meaning of the letters in the first column are:

- a. the manuscript number,
- b. short title,
- c. the number of pages,
- d. the length and width of the manuscript page (in cm),
- e. the number of lines per page,
- f. the distance between the first and the last line (in cm),
- g. the length of the line (in cm),
- h. the date of completion as given in the colophon,
- i. the name of the scribe,
- j. the place of writing,
- k. the condition of the manuscript,
- l. the quality of the paper,
- m. the script,
- n. the colour of the ink,
- o. watermarks in the paper,
- p. the source where the manuscript is to be found,
- q. additional explanations,
- r. the catalogue or list in which it is mentioned: name of writer (s), year, page (s).

MS A

- a. Cod. Or. 1633
- b. *Mir 'at al-Tullab*
- c. 785
- d. 32cm x 25cm
- e. 25
- f. –
- g. –
- h. –
- i. Hakim Abdul Latif Sung of Gorontolo is mentioned as the scribe.
- j. –
- k. Good, with hard paper cover.
- l. Deluang paper, good
- m. Jawi, good and clear, without vocalized
- n. Black and red for some words
- o. –
- p. Leiden University Library
- q. The MS consists of three sections: (p. 15-307) is *Hukum bai'*, (p. 319-593) is *Hukum nikah* & (p. 595-785) is *Hukum jenayah*. H.N. Van de Tuuk bequest.
- r. Wieringa, 1998: 27-28 & Teuku Iskandar, 1999: 5-6

MS B

- a. Cod. Or. 3255
- b. *Mir 'at al-Tullab*
- c. 546
- d. 31cm x 20.5cm
- e. 25
- f. 21.5cm
- g. 12.5cm
- h. –
- i. –
- j. –
- k. Good, with hard paper cover
- l. Eur. Paper
- m. Jawi, neat writing, without vocalized
- n. Black and red for some words
- o. Horn
- p. University Leiden Library
- q. The manuscript consists of two sections: (p. 12-326) *Hukum bai' &* (p. 328-544) *Hukum nikah*. H.N. Van der Tuuk bequest.
- r. Teuku Iskandar, 1999: 129-30

MS C

- a. Cod. Or. 5834
- b. *Mir'at al-Tullab*
- c. 496
- d. 31cm x 19.5cm
- e. 29
- f. —
- g.—
- h. 1083 H (1672)
- i. —
- j. —
- k. Bad condition, with hard paper cover
- l. Eur. Paper (yellowish white)
- m. Jawi, small and neat, without vocalized
- n. Black and red for some words
- o. Horn
- p. University Leiden Library
- q. MS consists of two parts. Part 1 (p. 1-97) is *Sirat al-Mustakim* by Nuruddin al-Raniri, and *Hukum jenayah*. H.N. Van de Tuuk bequest.
- r. Wieringa, 1998: 27-28 & Teuku Iskandar, 1999: 5-6

MS E a. Cod. Or. 5834

- a. Cod. Or. 7651 (ada Microfilm)
- b. *Mir'at al-Tullab*
- c. 478
- d. 19.2cm x 31.8cm
- e. 31
- f. 13.5cm
- g. 24.7cm
- h. 1105 H (1694)
- i. Ahmad ibn Abdullah al-Bugis Sumaling
- j. Jakarta
- k. Good, hard paper cover, but some parts of manuscript damaged due to acid ink
- l. Good
- m. Jawi, good. Arabic quotations vocalized.
- n. Black and red for some words
- o. "Horn"
- p. Leiden University Library
- q. Mentioned two names of author's assistance (Khatib Seri Raja & Faqih Indera Salih). Snouck Hurgronje bequest.
- r. Teuku Iskandar, 1999: 466-467 tepat.

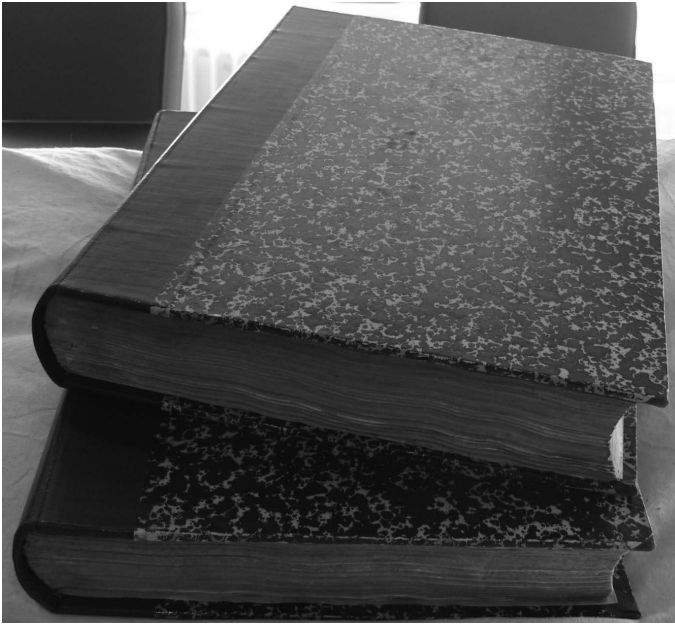
MS D

- a. Cod. Or. 5837 (Vol. 1) *Mir'at al-Tullab*
- b. *Mir'at al-Tullab* 31cm x 20.5cm
- c. 495
- d. 31.5cm x 20.5cm
- e. 21
- f. 22.5cm
- g. 13cm
- h. 2 Sya'ban 1274 H (1858)
- i. al-Haj Alwi ibn al-Haj Muhammad Zamzam. The owner name given in the *mukadimah* and colophon as Haji Khatib Muhi al-Din ibn Almarhum al-Haj Khatib Mas'ud ibn Almarhum Khatib Mahadi.
- j. —
- k. Very good, hard paper cover
- l. Eur. Paper, good
- m. Jawi, excellent. Arabic quotations vocalized
- n. Black and red for some words
- o. "PROPATRIA"
- p. Universiti Leiden Library
- q. The MS is in two volumes. Vol. 2 in 468 pages, very good condition, consists of section on marriage and *jenayah*. A complete text of *Mir'at al-Tullab*. Van Ophusyen bequest
- r. Teuku Iskandar, 1999: 229

APPENDIX 4



MS Cod. Or. 1633



MS Cod. Or. 5837



MS Cod. Or. 5837