

PRELIMINARY STUDY ON THE ACCOUNTS OF SOME OF THE MALAY-JAWI 'AQIDAH TEXTS AND COMMENTARIES

Che' Razi Jusoh¹

Khulasah

Karya-karya dalam bidang 'aqidah sama ada ditulis dalam bahasa Arab ataupun dalam bahasa Melayu Jawi telah menyumbang kepada kepercayaan yang kukuh dan asas beragama yang betul kepada umat Islam di rantau ini. Karya terkenal yang mula beredar semasa kurun ke-17 bermula dengan *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafī* kemudiannya diteruskan lagi dengan karya-karya syarahan *Umm al-Barāhīn* dan *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* tidak dinafikan lagi telah membuka ruang yang besar dalam perkembangan tradisi pendidikan Melayu.

Katakunci: teks Melayu Jawi, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*, *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī

Abstract

The works in 'aqidah either in Arabic or in Malay Jawi have significantly contributed to the strong and correct fundamental belief of Muslims in this part of the world. Famous works which circulated during 17th century started with *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafī* were then continued primarily by the commentaries of *Umm al-Barāhīn* and *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*. Undoubtedly they opened a great horizon in the Malay legacy of learning tradition.

Keywords: Malay Jawi texts, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*, *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī

¹ Che' Razi Jusoh, PhD, is an Assistant Professor at General Department, Kuliyah of IRKHS, IIUM, Gombak.

Introduction

It is a known fact that Abu Ḥassan al-‘Ash‘arī (d.260/873), the founder of Ash‘arite school of thought, has left a legacy of ideas which ultimately carved a solid system for understanding the fundamental belief of Islām. His great struggle was then continued by other Ash‘arites scholars like al-Bāqillānī (d.403/1012), al-Juwaynī (d.478/1085), al-Ghazzālī (d.505/1111) and others. From the elucidation of those great people purportedly had exerted Muḥammad bin Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d.895/1489) to produce a terrific works in ‘aqidah particularly the one that widely is spread to many Islamic countries i.e *Umm al-Barāhīn*. The same framework for interpreting the ‘aqidah had entailed some other texts such as *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* of Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Imdād Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥasan Ibn ‘Alī al-Laqqānī (d.1041/1631), *Durr al-Farīd* of al-Nahrawī, *Aqīdat al-‘Awām* of Shaykh Aḥmad Marzūqī (d.c.1258/1842) *etc*. In view of what has been said by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Faṭānī (d.1325/1907) in his book *Jumānat al-Tawḥīd* that knowledge on ‘aqidah is similitude of the sun while other types of knowledge are like stars². It inferentially signifies the necessity of studying ‘aqidah as a priority than other types of knowledge. Nevertheless, by all means it does not nullify the importance of other knowledge as well which also contributes to mould and build a strong belief in Allah and embody with the worldview of Islām. Thus, the emphasis upon the correct understanding of ‘aqidah has been entirely main priority for the muslim scholars during their da‘wah mission in this part of the world for hundreds of years ago.

It is more comfortable perhaps, to see Malay-Jawi sharh works in ‘aqidah which have been referred for such a long period of time for maintaining the ‘*aqīdah Ahl al-*

² See Wan Muhammad Saghir ‘Abdullāh (2002), *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam Ulama Asia Tenggara*. Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, Volume III, p. 45.

Sunnat wa al-Jamā'ah. It is a fact that the school of Ash'arī and Māturidī are the sole component of the mainstream 'aqidah in this region since 13th century³. Thus, the famous texts from both schools such as *Umm al-Barāhin* by Yūsuf al-Sanūsī, *Jawharat al-Tawhīd* of Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī and *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī* of Imām Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d.537/1142) have been commented, elaborated and taught vigorously by Malay scholars. In this respect, we would try to expose the most possible number of 'aqidah works which have been traced available in printed copies or in manuscript form for the sake of our study to see the richness of the Malay-Jawi commentary works in 'aqidah.

In this particular short survey we would try to expose the previous account of 'aqidah works especially with regard to the Malay-Jawi *sharḥ* which were written by the Malay scholars hitherto. In light to that, it is feasible to divide the works into five main categories; First, works which deal with al-Nasafī's *al-'Aqā'id*; second, works which deal with Yūsuf al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhin*; third, works that deal with Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī's *Jawharat al-Tawhīd*; Fourth, works that deal with framework mixed with any of the above or specifically discussed within the parameter of *Ahl al-Sunnat wa al-Jamā'ah* such as Nahrāwī's *al-Durr al-Farīd fī 'Aqā'id ahl al-Tawhīd*; etc.

First Category: Works Attributed to al-Nasafī's 'Aqā'id

As far as the research is concerned it was suggested that the writings in 'aqidah could have started in the late 16th

³ The polemic on the exact date of the coming of Islam in the Malay Archipelago has been a long debate by many scholars be it Muslim or the orientalist. See A. Hasymy (1993) *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islām di Indonesia*. Pt al-Ma'arif; (n.a) (1963) *Risalah Seminar Sedjarah Masuknja Islām ke Indonesia*. Published by Panitia Seminar Sedjarah Masuknja Islam ke Indonesia and Hashim Musa (1997) *Epigrafi Melayu: Sejarah Sistem Tulisan dalam Bahasa Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp 63-89.

century Malay archipelago with the discovery of the Malay interlinear text of *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*. There is no dispute therefore in proclaiming that the Malay interlinear text of *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*, which was completed on 4th *Rabī' al-Akhir*, 998/ Saturday, February 10th, 1590⁴ by an anonymous author is the earliest and oldest 'aqidah treatise in Malay language. It is also the only surviving work to date to represent the 'aqidah work during the 16th century. This work was firstly introduced by Syed Muḥammad Naquib al-Attas in 1998 and became the best reference in the study of Malay commentary of *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafī* till today. The Malay interlinear text of *al-'Aqā'id* is a direct translation of the text and it is within the range of *sharḥ* genre. The second and only available Malay *sharḥ* after it was the *Durrat (Durar) al-Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* by Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī. The work which was completed in 1045/1635, most probably could have been written during the period he stayed in Pahang before he was stood up rendering his service to Sulṭan Iskandar Thānī (d.1050/1640) and Sultānah Tāj al-'Alam Ṣafiyat al-Dīn Shah (1641-1675)⁵ after 1047/1637. This work maintained hitherto as the only Malay commentary for *al-'Aqā'id* of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī.⁶

Second Category: Works Attributed to Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*

There are number of works which have been significantly circled among the people which attributed to Yūsuf al-

⁴ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (1988) *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th Century Malay Translation of the 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, p. 9.

⁵ Please see S.M.N. al-Attas (1986) *A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture, p.12.

⁶ As for 'Rānirī's *Durrat*, a print facsimile of the manuscript along with a poem entitled "*Talsīr Puisi Hamzah Fansur*" was published in 1996 Khazanah Fathaniyah and reprinted in 2004.

Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* since the 18th century.⁷ The first Malay-Jawi *sharḥ* for Yūsuf al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* known to date was *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* by Shaykh Muḥammad Zayn bin Faqīh Jalāluddīn al-Āshī. It was completed in 1170/1756⁸. Muhammad Zayn also composed another work on 'aḳidah entitled *ʿIlm al-Tawḥīd* in 1114/1702, yet it ceased with no further information about it.⁹ Therefore, it seems that *Bidāyat* of al-Āshī is the only 18th century Malay-Jawi commentary work for *Umm al-Barāhīn* which still survive and known to the public.

⁷ With regard to the early Arabic commentaries of *Umm al-Barāhīn*, to mention but a few such as *Faṭḥ al-Muʾīn* by ʿAmr bin Ibrāhīm al-Tilimthānī al-Mallālī (d.1000/1591), *Iṭḥāf al-Mughram al-Mughrā* by Al-Maqqārī (d.1041/1632), *Bahjat al-Nāzīrīn fī Maḥāsīn* by al-Junaymī (d.1044/164), *Iṭḥāf al-Murīdīn* by al-Ghadamisi al-Miṣrī (d.1064/1654), *Tawḥīd ahl ʿIrḑān wa maʿrifat Allāh wa rasulihī wa al-Burhān* by anonymous author, but it's commentary was done by Mahdī ʿIsā bin Saktānī but no record for the title given, *Majmūʿ* by Zaid al-Fāsi al-ʿArif (d.1096/1685), *Fī Sharḥ Ṣīlat al-Samaʿ* by al-Daḳīq al-Mālīkī (d.1150/1737), *al-Bahjat al-Saniyah* by ʿIsā al-Barrawī al-Shāfiʿī (d.1182/1768), *Ḥāshiyat al-Hudhūdī ʿalā Umm al-Barāhīn* by Maṣnūr al-Hudhūdī whose work was commented then by Hijazi al-Sharqawī (d. 1227/1808) entitled *Ḥāshiyat al-Sharqawī ʿalā al-Hudhūdī, Ḥāshiyat al-Dusūqī ʿalā Umm al-Barāhīn* by Muhammad al-Dasuqī (d.1230/1815), *Ḥāshiyat al-Bayjūrī ʿalā Matn Umm al-Barāhīn* by Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī (d.1277/1861), *Taqrīr* by Aḥmad al-Ujurī (d.1293/1876), *Taqrīr* by Aḥmad al-Anbābī (d.1313/1895) and etc. Please see Bockelmann, C. *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*. Leiden: E.J Brill, 2 volumes., 1949; and supplementbandedn, 3v.,1937-38, 1942. (thereafter will be referred as GAL and GALS respectively) GALS, 2:353, GAL 2:324 and see Gibb, H.A.R. and J.H Kramers (eds). *Shorter Encyclopēdia of Islam*, Leiden: E.J Brill, 1974. p. 503.

⁸ Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī was the editor cum initiator for the publication of this work and through his effort this work was printed in Makkah, Egypt and Turkey. Please see Wan Mohd Saghir Abdullāh "Antara Karya Syekh Muḥammad Zayn yang Terkenal", *Majalah Qiblah* (Nov.1989): pp 21-23.

⁹ Wan Mohd Shaghir (2000-2002). *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam Ulama Asia Tenggara*, 5 volumes, Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, vol. III, p.14

Entering the 19th century, one notable Malay-Jawi commentary work of *Umm al-Barāhīn* came into the light with the completion of *al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Bayān 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī¹⁰ in 1232/1816 in Makkah, about 60 years after Muḥammad Zayn's *Bidāyat*. We could say that though *al-Durr al-Thamīn* was the first Malay Jawi *sharḥ* on 'aḳīdah which was written in the early 19th century, yet even now it is easy to get a copy especially in some bookshops in Kuala Lumpur and Kelantan.¹¹ Out of ten works of Shaykh Dāwūd in 'aḳīdah, *al-Durr al-Thamīn* happened to be his first work and interestingly, it is not entirely an elaboration based upon the method used by Yūsuf al-Sanūsī but also is benefited by the idea of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn 'Umar al-Nasafī from his masterpiece of *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*.¹² This approach was also followed

¹⁰ See Richard Winstedt (1996) (Revised Edited and Introduced by Y.A.Talib). *A History of Classical Malay Literature*. MBRAS, reprint No.12. Eagle Trading Sdn.Bhd, p.105; Mohd Nor Ngah (1983). *Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars*. Singapura: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, p.67; Hashim bin Musa (1999). *A Brief Survey on the Study of the Malay Sastera Kitab on Malay Islamic Thought*. Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Melayu, University Malaya. p.81; Wan Saghir, Wawasan I, p.16, V, pp.46,80,130 and Proudfoot. I (1993), *Early Malay Printed Books: A Provisional account of materials published in the Singapore-Malaysia area up 1920, noting holdings in the major public collections*. Academy of Malay Studies and the Library, University of Malaya. p.224; Irwan Masduqi, *Jejak Kitab Indonesia dan Jawa Pegon di Cairo* posted on the website <http://irwanmasduqi83.blogspot.com> on 8 December 2008., no.15. As for the manuscripts; PNM2, nos, 64,153,202,209, 253, 490, 569; PNM 10, 20. Printed editions, Cairo: Bab al-Halabi, 142/1924; Singapore, 1913, and Heer p. 28.

¹¹ Based on my short survey to Jaafar Rawas bookshop in Jalan Dato' Pati, Kota Bharu and few in Wisma Yakin Kuala Lumpur in 2008 and 2009 respectively.

¹² For more details about the book please see Dāwūd al-Fatānī (n.d) *al-Durr al-Thamīn*. Bangkok: Maktabat wa Maṭba'at Muhammad al-Nahdi wa Awlādahu, p. 6.

and adopted by Shaykh Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Fatānī in his '*Aqīdat al-Nājīn*, another large Malay commentary of *Umm al-Barāhīn*. With regard to size *al-Durr al-Thamīn* it consists of 103 pages and could be categorized as a medium size (*mutawassīf*) work, neither too short like his *al-Bahjat al-Saniyyah* nor too large as *Ward al-Zawāhir*.¹³ Besides *Durr al-Thamīn*, Shaykh also had written another work entitled *Sifāt dua Puloh* but with no date of completion. Obviously, one may discern that it is a commentary of *Umm al-Barāhīn* only by looking at the title, what more with the content that enumerating the twenty Divine attributes of Allāh, the impossibilities and the possibility as stipulated in Sanusi's work.

Meanwhile, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's *Al-Bahjat al-Saniyyah fī al-'Aqā'id al-Sunniyyah* also known as *Tashīl Nayl al-Muram li Bayān Manzūmat 'Aqīdat al-'Awām* is also a part of this category. There is no record as to when it was composed except what it was completed on Saturday, during Aṣar time, on 6 Safar in Makkah. *Al-Bahjat* is an adaptation and commentary work on his master Shaykh Aḥmad al-Marzūqī's work whose full name was Abū al-Fawz al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marzūqī Ibn al-Marḥūm al-Sayyid al-Sharīf Muḥammad Ramaḍān al-Ḥasanī wa al-Ḥusaynī.¹⁴ This work consists only 23 pages

¹³ At the beginning this work was being printed by Maktabat al-Miriyyah and Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyyah, Egypt, but then reprinted by Percetakan al-Ma'ārif Press, Penang, Maktabat Muḥammad Nahdi, Bangkok, Singapore, and also Maktabat Thaqaḥīyyah, Surabaya. Manuscripts at Malaysia National Library can be accessed under call nos; MS 64, 153 and 253, meanwhile at Islamic Arts Museum under the catalogue nos; MI53 and 446 respectively.

¹⁴ See Shaykh Dāwūd bin Shaykh Wan Abdullāh al-Faṭānī (1999), *Al-Bahjat al-Saniyyah fī al-'Aqā'id al-Sunniyyah*. Khazanah Fataniyyah, p. 3. According to Shaykh Fuad bin Kamaludin al-Maliki that the title of al-Marzūqī is attributed to al-'Arif billah Marzūq al-Kifafī, one of his ancestors. For details please see Muḥammad Fuad bin Kamaluddin al-Māiki (2008), *Manzūmah 'Aqīdat al-'Awām al-*

and the copy, which is in my hand, was printed by Sahabat Press, Yala Thailand, having no date.¹⁵ *Bahjah* comes from the root word *bahija* that connotes great, fine and beautiful. It perhaps refers to the greatness of the book which discusses on the fundamental belief that propogated in the teaching of 'aqidah *Ahl-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*. The initiation of Shaykh Dāwūd to compose a commentary upon Shaykh Aḥmad al-Marzuqī's 'Aqīdat al-'Awām geared him to be the first to undertake the job and Shaykh Nawawī al-Bantānī who had written *Nūr al-Zalām 'alā Manzūmāt (bi-Sharḥ) 'Aqīdat al-'Awām*¹⁶ (n.d) was the second individual from the Malay world who did that. The only different is that Shaykh Nawawī wrote his work in Arabic while Shaykh Dāwūd composed his *Bahjat* in Malay-Jawi.

As for other works of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī in 'aqidah such as *al-Bahjat al-Wardiyyah fi 'Aqā'id Ahl al-Jama'at al-Sunniyyah*, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fi Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*, *'Aqd or 'Aqdat al-Jawāhir*,¹⁷ *Kifāyat al-Mubtadī wa*

'Allāmah al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marzūqī al-Mālikī al-Makkī. Selangor: Sofa Production, pp. viii-x.

¹⁵ There are few manuscripts kept in Islamic Arts Museum under the call nos; MI 244, 295 and 359.

¹⁶ Two printed editions were done in Cairo in 1303 and 1309 respectively. See Heer, 50.

¹⁷ Many read 'aqīdat such as Wan Saghir, (1990) *Syeikh Dāwūd bin 'Abdullah al-Faṭānī: Ulama dan Pengarang Teruhung Asia Tenggara*. Shah Alam: Penerbit Hizbi. (henceforth will be referred as *Pengarang Teruhung*), p. 56; Mohd Zain bin Abd. Rahman (2000), M.A Thesis "An Annotated Translation and Transliteration of al-Manhal al-Safi fi Bayan Ramz Ahl al-Sufi of Shaykh Shaykh Dawud al-Faṭānī", ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur. (will therefore be referred as *al-Manhal* afterwards), 28. In the text is written 'ayn, qaf, dal and ta. Thus, if there is no 'ya' after qaf, surely it is not 'aqīdat. We assume 'aqdat is the most possible because the original text is called *jawharat* which the plural is *jawāhir*: So Shaykh Dāwūd subscribes *jawāhir* (pearls) and in order to tie the *jawāhir* must have a knot which the best rendered by 'aqdat. In page 3 of *Ward al-Zawāhir* is written "alā risālat laṭīfat mulaqqabat bi 'aqd al-jawāhir." As in the text of 'aqdat

*Irshād al-Muhtadī, Risālah Ta'alluq bi Kalimāt al-Īmān, Tahṣīl al-Marām li Bayān Manẓūm al-'Aqā'id al-Anwār*¹⁸, *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibin fi Bayān Ḥaqqīqat al-Īmān al-Mu'minūn* and *Ward al-Zawāhir li Ḥill al-fāz 'Aqd al-Jawāhir* are of different category.

The discussion on the 'aqīdah based on al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* in the 19th century continues with a work written by Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭayyib Ibn Mas'ūd al-Banjārī entitled *Miftāḥ al-Jannah*. A work which was completed on Monday, 16 Syawal 1247/1831 is a precise treatise that completely based on the platform set up by Imām Yūsuf al-Sanūsī.¹⁹ Kitāb which lies on the hand of mine is printed by Muḥammad al-Nahdī which is combined together with other works such as *Uṣūl Taḥqīq pada Ilmu Uṣūl al-Dīn, Maw'izāt li al-Nās pada menyatakan kayfiyyat sembahyang dan segala rukunnya, Tajwīd al-Qur'ān* and gloss (*Hamish*) *Risālah Asrār al-Dīn*. All those works were written by anonymous authors who refused to reveal their names fearing of boasting (*riyā'*).²⁰ The strong hold upon the 'aqīdah based on al-Sanūsī's formulation continues with the writing of small treatise by Shaykh Muḥammad Azharī bin 'Abdullāh al-Falimbānī entitled *'Aṭīyyat al-*

al-Jawāhir is written "dan inilah sucinya yang dinamakan dia* dengan 'aqdat al-jawāhir sanya telah dibersihkan dia." Please see *Ward al-Zawāhir*, p.3, 11 and 431 respectively. Mohd Zayn had listed *Aqīdat al-Jawāhir* and *'Aqd al-Jawāhir* as different work, yet shared the same number of manuscript MI 84. It is very clear that the only one work written by Shaykh Dāwūd is *'Aqdat al-Jawāhir* and not *'Aqīdat al-Jawāhir*. Please see *al-Manhal*, p. 23 and 33 respectively. Likewise in *Pengarang Terulung*, p. 79.

¹⁸ The study has been done on this work entitled "Tahṣīl al-Marām li Bayān Manẓūm al-'Aqā'id al-Anwār: Satu Induktri dan Taḥqīq" by Fauziah bt Abas, for Latihan Ilmiah Ijazah Sarjana Muda Pengajian Jabatan Islam Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, session 1991-1992.

¹⁹ See Muḥammad Ṭayyib Ibn Mas'ūd al-Banjārī (n.d) *Miftāḥ al-Jannah*. Bangkok: Maktabat wa Maṭba'ah Muḥamad al-Nahdī wa Awlādahu, p. 3.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 1.

Rahmān, completed in 1259/1843. This kitāb usually is printed together with another kitāb namely *Sirāj al-Hudā* written by Syekh Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn bin Muḥammad al-Badawī al-Sumbawī. It was completed in 1304/1886 approximately after gap of 43 years.²¹ No additional information could be gathered in between those works.

Meanwhile, near the end of the 19th century, *Aqīdat al-Nājīn* which was completed in 1308/1890 came into picture. It is another Malay-Jawi *sharḥ* for *Umm al-Barāhīn* that attested a great deal of popularity and fame like *al-Durr al-Thamīn*.²² This work has been mentioned by Brockelmann together with *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* of al-Āshī and *Sirāj al-Hudā* of al-Sumbawī.²³ However, it was not clear whether the statement by Snouck Hurgronje that Zayn al-Ābidīn's work on "An anthology of traditions concerning the Hereafter" as he mentioned in 'Mekka' referred to, *Aqīdat al-Nājīn* or other Zayn al-Ābidīn's work since the former did not outrightly coined the title.²⁴ Most probably the work that he meant was "*Irsyād al-'Ibād Ilā Sabīl al-Rashād*" but this work is somehow merging

²¹ *Sirāj al-Hudā* of Sumbawī was among three cited works as the Malay *Umm al-Barāhīn* by Brockelmann, see Brockelmann, GAL, 2:232.

²² Recently an academic research on the aspects of divinity (*ilāhiyyāt*) as discussed in *Aqīdat al-Nājīn* was done by Faizuri Abd Latif entitled "Pemikiran Tuan Minal dalam akidah ketuhanan: kajian terhadap kitab 'Aqidah al-Najin". See Faizuri Abd Latif (2009) "Pemikiran Tuan Minal dalam akidah ketuhanan: Kajian terhadap kitab 'Aqidah al-Najin", (Ph.D Thesis. Kuala Lumpur: Academy of Islamic Studies).

²³ See GAL, 2:232. According to Brockelmann it was published for the first time in Bombay but with no date, but then the researcher found that it reprinted several times afterwards by other publishers such as Percetakan al-Ma'arif Sendirian Berhad and Maktabah Muḥammad Nahdī wa Awlāduhu.

²⁴ See Hungronje, Snouck (1970). *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, trans. H.J Monahan. Leiden: E.J (henceforth will be referred as *Mekka*, pp.286-287.

between 'aqidah and fiqh²⁵ and has not much discussed much eschatological matters what more on hereafter. We believed that Snouck Hurgronje had mistakenly referred "*Irshād al-'Ibad'*" of Zayn al-'Ābidīn with another work which also bears same title "*Irshād al-'Ibad Penjaga dan Bekal Hari Akhirat.*" It was written by 'Uthman bin Shihāb al-Dīn al-Funtiyānī whose work edited by shaykh Wan Aḥmad. It was printed on 13th Syawwal 1324/30 November 1906.²⁶ This work is dedicated entirely on the matters related to hereafter and suits the title as per mentioned by Snouck. Shaykh Zayn al-'Ābidīn also wrote a short treatise attributed to *Umm al-Barāhīn* which entitled *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd.*²⁷ The seven pages precise and concise *Miftāḥ* is a piece of work that shows the sharpness of the Shaykh for abridging the core

²⁵ As for the discussion of 'aqidah Shaykh did not follow any specific framework of earlier scholars be it al-Sanūsī or al-Nasafī, yet he came out with his own elaboration by exerting the quintessence of ma'rifat inferred from the verses of al-Qur'an, but little of Qur'anic verses was mentioned. For the first twenty pages it entirely elaborates on 'aqidah, but it gradually move into tasawwuf. As for fiqh he starts up with the procedures in dealing with the body after demise as he said "*(Faedah) pada menyatakan barang yang bergantung dengan mayat daripada memandikan dia dan kafannya dan sembahyang atasnya...*". There is no written date of completion on the colophon, however it is stated that "the success of printing of the risalah for the first time in Makkah on the early Muḥarram, 1333/December 1914 and the completion of second time printing in Matba'ah al-Ahmediyah in 1344/1925 in Singapore". See Shaykh Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī (n.d) *Irshād al-'Ibād Ilā Sabīl al-Rashād.* Bangkok: Maktabah Muhammad Nahdī wa Awlādahu, 20; also see another edition was done by Wan Saghir which combined the *Irshād al-'Ibād* with *Tabassum al-Shāribīm* and published by Khazanah Fathaniyah in 1420/1999, p. 50.

²⁶ See Ibid, cf; Uthman bin Shihāb al-Dīn al-Funtiyānī (1420/1999) *Irshād al-'Ibād.* Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, cf; Snouck, *Mekka*, p. 286.

²⁷ See Shaykh Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī (n.d), *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd.* Bangkok: Maktabat wa Maṭba'ah Muḥammad al-Nahdī wa Awlādahu.

ideas of *Umm al-Barāhīn* into another form of *sharḥ*. The development of the Malay-Jawi commentary towards the end of the 19th century continues with Saiyid Uthmān bin 'Abdullāh bin 'Aqīl bin Yahyā al-'Alawī al-Batawī's (d.1333/1914) who produced a *sharḥ* entitled *Kitāb Ṣifāt Dua Puluh* in 1304/1886. He was the contemporary of another renowned scholar from West Jawa Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar al-Nawawī al-Jāwī al-Bantānī al-Tanarī or popularly known as Nawawi Banten or Imām Nawawi the second²⁸ (1230/1814-1306/1888). He had written a commentary on *Umm al-Barāhīn* but it was written in Arabic. The work is entitled *Ḍarī'at al-Yaqīn 'alā (ilā) Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*²⁹ or better known as *al-Durrat al-Nadrā 'alā 'Aqīdat al-Sughrā*³⁰.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the rhythm of writing *sharḥ* for the *Umm al-Barāhīn* more flourished with the contribution of another Malay scholar Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī (d1325/1907). Nevertheless, no one denies that *Farīdat al-Farā'id fi 'Ilm al-'Aqā'id* only one work of Shaykh Aḥmad succinctly received popularity and fame is. This work was completed on 12th Rabiul awwal 1313/2nd September 1895 in

²⁸ See 'Abd al-Rachman, 1996. "Nawawī al-Bantānī, An Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition" *Studia Islamika*, Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies, volume. 3, no.3, pp. 81-114. Azra gave another date for his birth and death, i.e 1813-97, see Azyumardi Azra (2004). *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia, Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Easter 'ulama in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries*, Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.151.

²⁹ Found printed by Bulaq in 1292 and Cairo in 1297 and 1927. See Heer 47. Also see GAL, II, 323 (250), S, II, p. 353.

³⁰ There are 13 works of him were printed and distributed in Egypt in the 19th century. Please see 'Ayidah Ibrāhīm Nāṣir (1990), *Al-Kutub al-'Arabīyyah allatī nusyirat fi Miṣr fi al-qarn al-tāsi' 'asyar*. Al-Qahirah: Qism al-Nashr bi al-Jāmi'at al-Amirikīyyah bi al-Qahirah, pp. 75-76.

Makkah.³¹ It is pretty rare to find out that like *Farīdat* of Shaykh Aḥmad any other Malay commentary receives two glosses. First commentary was done by Tuan Guru Ḥajjī Nik 'Abdullāh Aḥmad al-Jambuwī al-Faṭānī entitled *Patī Farīdat al-Farā'id* which later on was edited and annotated with some enhancements in the modern approach of Malay language by Professor Ibrāhīm Abu Bakar.³² Second, by Tuan Guru Ḥajjī 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥaj Ibrāhīm bin Abd al-Karīm al-Faṭānī al-Jabi entitled '*Umdat al-Ṭālib al-Mujtahid fī Sharḥ Farīdat al-Farā'id*. Other writings of Shaykh Aḥmad in 'aqīdah are '*Iqd al-Jumān fī 'Aqā'id al-Īmān* which completed on 6th Muharram 1306/1st September 1888 followed by '*Aqīdat Uṣūhuddīn* which was completed in 1321/1904, but unfortunately there is no further information about this work. Interestingly, he also produced *Jumānat al-Tawḥīd*³³ and *Munjiyāt al-Awām li Manhaj al-Hudā min al-Zalām* in Arabic language. *Jumānat* was written in 27th Ramadan 1293/1876 and *Munjiyāt* was completed on Friday 12th Rabi'al-Awwal 1293/1876. Both of them in Arabic and there is no reference on the nature of discussion of these works. *Risālah mā lā buddā minhu* by Ismā'il bin Mūsā al-Kelantānī was completed in 1308/1890. Likewise, a famous work of *Zahrāt al-Murīd fī 'Aqā'id al-Tawḥīd* by Shaykh 'Alī bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Ghafūr Kutān al-

³¹ A Romanized version of *Farīdat* was done by Wan Mohd Saghir entitled *Farīdatul Farā'id Syeikh Aḥmad al-Fathani*. Khazanah Fathaniah, 1990.

³² Please see Ibrāhīm Abu Bakar (editor) (2007), *Farīdat al-Farā'id li 'Im al-'Aqā'id*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

³³ *Jumānat* and *Munjiyāt* and together with two other works; '*Unqud al-Lali* (completed in 1296/1879) and *Manzūmat al-Awām li Manhaj al-Hudā min al-Zalām* (completed in 1293/1876) had been studied by students of al-Azhar, see Ḥj Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullāh (2005) *Syeikh Aḥmad al-Fathani Pemikir Agung Melayu dan Islām Jilid I*. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara & Khazanah Fathaniyah, p.53.

Kalantānī who also done in 1310/1892. The title similar to Shaykh Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's work as mentioned above but the latter is rather easy to get in several bookshops until today. While in 1331/1912 Shaykh Wan Ismā'il bin 'Abd al-Qādir bin Mustaffā al-Faṭānī (Pakda El al-Faṭānī) produced 18 pages commentary work of *Bakūrat al-Amānī*.³⁴ About four years later, in 1335/1916 he wrote the 40 page commentary of his *Bakūrat* which he named *Tabṣīrat al-Adānī bi ilhānī Bakūrat al-Amānī*. Another important work which is needed to be highlighted here is *Mabhath al-Kalām fi 'Ilm al-Kalām* by Tuan Guru 'Abd al-Qādir bin Wangah kampong Sekam Waratan Patani. It was completed on Wednesday, 13th Rabi' al-Thani 1374. This work basically discussed the *Ṣifāt Ma'ānī* of Allāh which comprises *Ṣifāt Quḍrat, Irādat, 'Ilmu, Ḥayat, Sama', Baṣar and Kalam*.³⁵ Tuan Guru also had written *Taqrīb al-Ikhwān fi Ta'allum 'Aqā'id al-Īmān*, which he completed writing it on 3rd Dzul Hijjah 1378/1958. One of the most recent commentary of *Umm al-Barāhīn* was *Risālat al-Misbāḥ al-Munīr* by Tuan Guru 'Abd 'Aziz bin Ismā'il al-Faṭānī, he completed it on Sunday, 2nd Jamadil Awwal 1409/1989 and was printed by Pustaka Aman Press in 1989, 1990 and 1994 respectively.³⁶

³⁴ See *Bakūrat al-Amānī li isyārat 'awāmi ahl al-Faṭānī* [and] *Sharḥ Bakūrat al-Amānī li al-'allamah al-Shaykh Wan Ismā'il bin 'Abd al-Qādir bin Mustaffā al-Faṭānī* (1421/2000), Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah.

³⁵ 'Abd al-Qādir bin Wangah (1375) *Mabhath al-kalām fi 'Ilm al-Kalām*. Patani: Percetakan Saudara Press.

³⁶ This short and precise treatise was widely spread especially in Kelantan and Southern Thailand. Amongst the popular and pull crowd talaqqi class was the one led by Tuan Guru Ismail Sepanje in Pondok Dala, Patani whose attracted hundred of peoples and from which a complete compact disc recorded on the entire session had been sold to public.

Third Category: Works Attributed to al-Laqqānī's *Jawharat*

Out of the Malay *sharḥ* works which deal with Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī's *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*, the earliest one was written by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī entitled *Ward al-Zawāhir li Ḥill Alfāz 'Aqd al-Jawāhir*.³⁷ It was completed in Makkah in 1245/1829. The attached work to it is '*Aqd* or '*Aqdat al-Jawāhir* whose year of completion is 1245/1830.³⁸ Many biographers regarded this work his own, separated from any other works written by Shaykh Dāwūd. Actually this poetic writing in theology is a Malay translation of text (*matn*) *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* of Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī. It seems doubtful because *Ward al-Zawāhir* is completed earlier than the '*Aqd al-Jawāhir* since the former is the commentary for the latter, yet it is possible if we consider both works are the translation of the original version in Arabic. Thus, either one is possible because the *Ward al-Zawāhir* does not truly bind with '*Aqd al-Jawāhir* since the latter only is required for translation unlike the former which is not only a translation but also Shaykh Dawud's

³⁷ Wan Muḥammad Saghīr Abdullāh considered *Ward al-Zawāhir* as a rare text due to the difficulty in getting it either in the manuscript form or even in a published text. Among the works that kept in the manuscript form are; first, a manuscript that was copied by Maḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad on Wednesday, 13th Syaawal (1846), 173 s, measuring 20.5 x 16.6 cm, with the average 23 lines per page. This manuscript is located at the Centre of Malay Manuscript of the National Library of Malaysia under call number MS 1136. The second manuscript that available in Malaysia is kept in the library of Islamic Arts Museum, Malaysia,³⁷ under call numbers MI 139 and MI 496 respectively. A known published item to date is the one which was published by Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyah, Mecca. The measurement of the book is 26 x 17.6 cm consists of 432 pages which on the average of 33 lines per page. Two sons of Shaykh Muḥammad bin Ismāil Shaykh Dāwūd both Shaykh 'Abdullāh Dāwūd and Shaykh Muḥammad Nūr Dāwūd held responsible for the first publication of this work.

³⁸ Manuscript can be accessed in Islamic Arts Museum of Malaysia.

other thoughts are blended. Another important work of Malay-Jawi commentary of *Jawharat* was done by an anonymous author whose description about the work is as follows;

“Inilah kitab *sharah* bagi Matan *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* bagi al-Imām al-Shaykh Ibrāhim al-Laqqāni telah diterjemahkan dia oleh seorang ulama' Jawi dengan bahasa Melayu *Jaza Allāhu mu'allifihimā khayrā*³⁹.”

From what we understand explicitly that the above written title is the title of the kitāb, but what was written on the first page does not match to this fact, he wrote;

(dan) kunamai akan syarah ‘*aqīdat al-Īmān* dalam sharh *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* halnya ku'ibaratkan dengan bahasa Jawi supaya mudah orang yang mu'tadi dalam agama⁴⁰.”

Translation: (and) I name it commentary ‘*aqīdat al-Īman* in *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* by which I do it in Jawi language so that it could be easy for the beginner in the religion.

With regard to the date of completion the author had recorded it on the last page;

“wa qad faragha min hādhihi al-Nukhat al-mubārakat fi yawm al-arbi‘ā' min shahri Ramaḍān sanat 1292/[1875] Hijrah termaktub di Sambas

³⁹ See anonymous (n.d) *Inilah kitab sharah bagi Matan Jawharat al-Tawḥīd bagi al-Imām al-Shaykh Ibrāhim al-Laqqāni*. Pulau Pinang: Maktabat wa Maṭba'ah Dar al-Ma'arif.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 2.

Kampung Pariq dalam hampir Sulṭān Muḥammad
Ṣafiyī al-Dīn.⁴¹

However, perhaps this is the work as described by Gerhard Bowering on the Malay translation of *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*,

“Toward the end of the 19th century a Malay translation of *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* with commentary, based on a manuscript compiled in Sambas on the Island of Borneo (Kalimantan), was printed in Mecca for the benefit of students from Southeast Asia studying in the Holy City of Islām. The wide circulation of *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* and many commentaries and glosses written on it by Muslim scholars all over the Islamic world give an eloquent witness to the popularity of the text as a theological teaching tool in the network of the Muslim madrasas from Morocco to Malaysia for almost four centuries”⁴²

It is to note here that the title *Sharḥ 'Aqīdat al-Īmān* is exactly the same as the work attributed to Shaykh Syihābuddīn al-Haj bin 'Abdullāh al-Jāwī who had produced *Sharḥ 'Aqīdat al-Īmān* in 1162/1748.⁴³ What more

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 78.

⁴² See a scholarly note of Gerhard Bowering in Moulavi M.H.Babu Sahib (2000), *The Tenets of Islām* (Being a translation and extensive commentary on *Kitāb Jawharatu'l-Tawḥīd* of Imām Burhānu'd-dīn Ibn Harun al-Laqqani). Singapore: Majlis Ugama Islam Singapura, p.xiv. (henceforth shall be referred as The Tenets)

⁴³ Little is known about this scholar, he was believed to write few works other than the above such as *Kitāb 'Aqīdat al-Bayān, Risālah* and *Sharḥ Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*. See Heer, Nicholas (2009). *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and their Works*. Unpublished work which can be accessed at:

coincidence, according to Drewes as cited by Nicholas Heer that Syihābuddīn al-Haj bin 'Abdullāh al-Jāwī⁴⁴ had also written a commentary of *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*⁴⁵ and *Kitāb 'Aqīdat al-Bayān* but unfortunately there is no further information about those works to date. Thus, to assume that Syihābuddīn al-Haj bin 'Abdullāh al-Jāwī was the one who wrote the above *matn Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* would not be possible because the time gap between the two works is too large.

From the above exposition it is clear enough that the *Ward al-Zawāhir* of Shaykh Dāwūd was written earlier than the one completed by the anonymous author, however, both of which representing the 19th century works on 'aqīdah based on the *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* in Malay-Jawi. Meanwhile, at the early 20th century 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Filfilānī⁴⁶ had written *Matn al-Jawharat al-Tawḥīd Gantung Ma'na* which he completed it in 1331/1912. Thus, he turned to be the fourth scholar who produced a *sharḥ* on *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*. That also impliedly concludes that there is no other work in Malay-Jawi literature written thereafter until today.

The Fourth Category: Mixed Frameworks

This category lists most of the works about which we do not have further information and the nature of discussion

<http://faculty.washington.edu/heer/handlist.pdf> (thereafter will be referred as Heer), p. 60.

⁴⁴ Little is known about this scholar, he was believed to write few works other than the above such as *Kitāb 'Aqīdat al-Bayān*, *Risālah* and *Sharḥ Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*. See Heer, p. 60.

⁴⁵ See Heer, 60. Also see G.W.J. Drewers (1977) *Directions for Travellers on the mystic Path. Zakariyya al-Ansari's kitab Fath al-Raḥmān and Its Indonesian Adaptations with an Appendix on Palembang manuscripts and authors*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, pp. 219-220.

⁴⁶ Nicholas Heer wrote al-Filfilani, see Heer p.11, but Wan Saghir wrote it Filfilani instead, see Wawasan, V, p. 50.

is also not known either from al-Sanūsī or al-Nasafī. The first is to take a lead is the kitab written by Aḥmad Aminuddin Qadhi, entitled *ʿIlm al-Tawḥīd* which was written in the year 1032/1622.⁴⁷ It then follows by a work written by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Falimbānī (d.1203/1789) entitled *Zahrāt Murīd fī Bayān Tawḥīd* which completed in 1178/1764. According to Azyumardi Azra that Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad wrote this work primarily because to fulfill his friends' request. They asked for a work that could help them understood the teaching of al-Damanhuri.⁴⁸ The main discussions in this work are on logic and 'aqīdah. Meanwhile, in 1188/1774,⁴⁹ which is more than ten years after that Sheikh Muḥammad Arsyad bin ʿAbdullāh al-Banjari produced *Tuḥfāt al Rāghibīn fī Bayānī Ḥaqīqat ʾImān al-Muʾminīn* and this work is believed to be printed in Singapore around December 1887-1894.⁵⁰ It is to note here that al-Falimbānī and al-Banjari's work mentioned above are quite difficult to find and most probably they are ceased to be used anymore.

Another 'aqīdah treatise composed by Shaykh Dāwūd was *Al-Bahjat al-Wardiyah fī ʿAqā'id Ahl al-Jamā'at al-Sunniyyah*. It was completed in 1258/1842. It is an adaptation work which is based on ʿAbd al-Raḥman ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Saffurī's work entitled *Manẓumat fī al-Tawḥīd*. This is a commentary upon an 'aqīdah work written by Shaykh Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Raḥmān al-Jazā'irī.⁵¹ Another

⁴⁷ Wawasan, vol.III, p.6 and vol.V. p.45, also see Heer, p.17.

⁴⁸ Azyumardi Azra (2004), *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad xvii & xviii*. Bandung: Mizan, p.312.

⁴⁹ Wan Muhammad Saghir (1421/2000), *Penyebaran Islam dan Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu*, Jilid 8, Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara and Khazanah Fathaniyah, Kuala Lumpur.

⁵⁰ Manuscripts could be referred at Malaysia National Library under call nos; MSS 5, 309, 455, 506.

⁵¹ *Al-Bahjat al-Wardiyah* was printed in Makkah in 1331/1916 and was listed by maktabat al-Fatāniyyah, a bookshop which was

important work of Shaykh Dāwūd is *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī Ma'rīfat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*. This work seems popular and still being studied based on the fact that this work is available in the academic circles. Interestingly since some of its copies are printed together with *al-Durr al-Thamīn*, it automatically became popular like the former.⁵² Other than the above mentioned works, there are some other works in 'aqīdah whose writing place, time of completion and the exact nature of framework they are based are not known for example *Taḥṣīl al-Marām li Bayān Manzūm al-'Aqā'id al-Anwār*; *Tuḥfāt al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat al-Īmān al-Mu'minin* and *Kifāyat al-Mubtadī wa Irshād al-Muhtadī*.

Under this category additionally there are two other 'aqīdah works related to Shaykh Nawawī Banten. He had written commentaries on three other earlier works in 'aqīdah namely *Fatḥ al-Majīd fī Sharḥ Durar al-Farīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd*, it was completed in 1264/1847 and *Tijān al-Ḍararī fī Sharḥ 'alā Risālat al-Bayjūrī* and *Nūr al-Zalām 'alā Manzūmat (bi-Sharḥ) 'Aqīdat al-'Awānī*⁵³ (n.d). The *Fatḥ al-Majīd* turned to be the only *sharḥ* on *Durar al-Farīd* of Shaykh al-Nahrāwī, which is available in the local market and perhaps is being used for academic purposes in certain institutions in this region.⁵⁴ *Tijān al-Ḍararī* unfortunately there is no further detail available about this *sharḥ*, moreover the platform of the discussions of

established at the end of the 19th century in Qashshiyah, Makkah
A list of printed works stated at the back of the translation of *Kanz al-Minan 'alā Ḥikam Abī Madyan*, printed by Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyah, Makkah, 1328.

⁵² Manuscript could be accessed at Islamic Arts Museum under the call nos; MI 487, 622 and MI 668, and in National library with the call no. MSS1798.

⁵³ Two printed editions were done in Cairo in 1303 and 1309 respectively. See Heer, p. 50.

⁵⁴ It based on the demand and the availability of the kitab in bookshops Kelantan and Kuala Lumpur.

the *Risālat al-Bayjūrī* cannot be ascertained because al-Bayjūrī commented upon both *Umm al-Barāhīn* and *al-Jawharat*. With regard to *Nūr al-Zalām* which is a commentary upon Shaykh Aḥmad al-Marzūqī's '*Aqīdat al-ʿAwām* has been touched in the foregoing discussion.

Haji Muḥamad Ḥussein bin ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Faṭānī or better known as Tok Kelaba, wrote *Muqaddimat al-aṭfāl fi Ṣifāt ilāhi dhi al-Jalāl* in 1305/1887. The subsequent work later on was followed by *Irshād al-Muhtadī ila Sharḥ Kifāyat al-Muhtadī* of Shaykh ʿAbd Ṣamad bin Muḥammad ʿAlī bin ʿAbdul Qādir al-Khatib Quddus. He completed it on Thursday 3rd Muḥarram 1306/1888. Undoubtedly, by the rise of works composed in Arabic indirectly uplifted the status of Malay-Jawi scholar at par with other scholars of Islām around the globe. Furthermore, all those *sharḥ* works on al-Nahrawī, al-Bayjūrī and *Umm al-Barāhīn* itself shows that the commentaries written by Malay-Jawi scholars could used and read by other Muslims particularly in Arab countries.

As such, the Malay-Jawi writings approached the 20th century, other ʿaqīdah works came into limelight. Most of these works are included in this category. They are like iaitu '*Aqā'id al-Īmān* and *Badi' al-Zamān fi Bayāni Qawā'id al-Īmān* of Shaykh Muḥammad Azharī bin ʿAbdullāh al-Falimbānī. They were completed in 1309/1891 and 1310/1892 respectively. Meanwhile, two years after that Tok Kelaba wrote *Hidāyat al-Sayl fi Bayān al-Masā'il* in 1312/1894. At the same year another Kelantanese scholar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Wan Sulaimān al-Kalantani also produced a kitab entitled *Majmu' al-'Irfān fi Ma'rifati 'Aqā'id al-Īmān*. Perhaps the last work produced in the 19th century was '*Umdat al-Murīd fi 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* by Shaykh Dāwūd bin Ismā'il al-Faṭānī in 1317/1899. Concisely, the 19th century was not only witnessing the rise of eminent Malay scholars but also the largest production of Malay-Jawi *sharḥ* works in ʿaqīdah ever.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the work *Tamrīn al-Sibyān fī Bayāni Arkān al-Islām wa al-Īmān* of Tuan Husein Naşir al-Banjari and *Hidāyat al-Raḥmān* of Hāji 'Abd al-Laṭīf bin Hāji Muḥammad Nuruddin (Hāji Tambi Melaka) could be the first 'aqīdah work in Malay Jawi literature. They were completed in 1318/1900. They were followed by *Irshād al-Anam fī Bayāni Qawā'id al-Īmān wa al-Islām* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin Şabir Mandahiling (Mendailing). It was completed on Monday 22 Jumad al-Awwal 1320/1902. It was followed by *Uşūl al-Dīn I'tiqād Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* of Shaykh Muḥammad Azharī al-Falimbānī. It was completed in Thursday, 24th Dhulqā'idah 1323/1905.

A year later another work entitled *Fatḥ al-'Alīm* of Mufti Hāji 'Abd al-Raḥmān Şiddiq bin Muḥammad 'Afif al-Banjari was completed on Friday, 10th Sya'abān 1324/1906. Likewise, a work by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alwī bin 'Abdullāh Khatib Andut al-Kampari entitled *'Aqīdat al-Munjiyati fī Bayāni 'Aqīdat al-Mu'minīn wa al-Mu'mināt* was completed in 1324/1906. In 1325/1907, 'Abd al 'Azīz bin Muḥammad Nūr al-Funtiyānī (Pontianak) produced *Isnād al-Ghulām fī Bayāni al-Īmān wa al-Islām*, he completed it on Thursday, 12th Jumad al-Awwal 1325/1907. Hāji Muḥammad bin Hāji Muḥammad Şalīḥ al-Ḥaddād wrote *Kifāyat al-'Awām*, he completed it on 12th Sya'ban 1326/1908. There is no record of production in 1909, but in 1910 kitab *Uşūl al-Dīn fī Sabīl al-I'tiqād* of Hāji Muḥammad Qasim bin Hāji Aḥmad Pontianak was completed on 2nd Syawwal 1328/1910. *Bidāyat al-Tawḥīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* of Shaykh Muḥammad Basiyuni 'Imran was completed on Wednesday 13 Jumad al-Akhīr 1336/1917. In 1918 Tuan Husein Naşir al-Banjari had produced *Hidāyat al-Mutafakkirīn fī Taḥqīqi Ma'rifati Rabb al-'Ālamīn*. He also wrote another work entitled *Uşūl al-Tawḥīd fī Ma'rifat Turuq al-Īmān li al-Rabb al-Majīd*, but there is no further

record as to when it was completed.⁵⁵ At the same year, another Malay-Jawi 'aḳīdah came in to existence, its title is *Najat al-Ikhwān fī mā Yaḥṣulu bihī al-Islām wa al-Īmān* by Haji 'Abd al-Mubīn bin Muḥammad Ṭayyib Jabbar Shah al-Jarimī al-Faṭānī. He completed the work during the time Asar prayer, Monday 12th Sya'ban 1337/12th May 1918.

Few months after that on 14th Rabi' ul Awwal 1338/7th December 1919, Haji Muḥammad Syarif bin 'Abd al-Raḥman composed *al-Muḥaddimāt al-Tawḥīdiyyah*. It was about the same time when *'Aḳā'id al-Īmān* of Mufti Haji 'Abd al-Raḥman Ṣiddiq bin Muḥammad 'Afif al-Banjari was completed on 16th Rabi'ul Awwal 1338/1919. We do not find any work until Qaḍi Haji Wan Ismā'il bin Shaykh Wan Aḥmad al-Faṭānī wrote *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* on 15th Sya'ban 1341/1922, followed with the work *Fath al-Majīd Fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* by Haji 'Abd al-Mubīn bin Muḥammad Ṭayyib Jabbar Shah al-Jarimi al-Faṭānī. It was completed on 20th Safar 1342/1923 and Haji Muḥammad Zayn Nuruddīn bin Tuan Imām Shaykh Haji 'Abbas Ibn Haji Muḥammad Lashub entitled *Fawā'id al-Zayn fī 'Ilm 'Aḳā'id Uṣūl al-Dīn*. It was completed on Ḍuḥā time, Friday, 7th Rabi'ul Awwal 1342/1923. On the same year on 10th Ramaḍan 1342/1923 the work *Dilālat al-'Awām* of Haji Aḥmad Suraji bin Isma'il bin Muḥammad al-Kalantānī was produced. Two years after Tuan Ḥusīn Naṣir al-Banjari had written *Bidāyat al-Ṭālibīn ilā Ma'rifati Rabb al-'Ālamīn* on 27th Rabi' al-Akhīr 1344/1925, meanwhile, Mufti Haji Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad Ṣalīḥ al-Kalantānī produced *Jiwa Iman Pada Menjilahkan Amalan* on 10th Jumadil Akhir 1345/1926. On 6th Syawwal 1346/1927 Tuan Ḥusīn Naṣir Banjari once again produced another kitab

⁵⁵ *Uṣūl al-Tawḥīd* was reproduced by Noraine Abu with a modern edition and was published by Penerbitan al-Hidayah, in 2006.

entitled *Uṣūl al-Tawḥīd fī Mā'rifat Ṭuruq al-Īmān li Rabb al-Majīd*. The work basically discussed general principles of religion, which merges between 'aḳidah and fiqh. On 10th Sya'ban 1352/1933 Tengku Maḥmud Zuhdi bin Tengku 'Abd al-Raḥman bin Tuanku Nur bin Raja Belat Ibnu Raja Datu al-Faṭānī al-Jāwī composed a work which the title completely in Malay language, i.e *Pegangan yang Terutama pada Sedikit Daripada Pangkal Agama*. On the same notion of the Malay title as written by Tengku Mahmud Zuhdi a poetic work entitled *Nazam sekurang-kurang Farḍū 'Ayn Pada Bicara 'Ilmu Usuluddin* was written by Haji Mustafa bin Muḥammad Ṭahīr al-Nakuni (Nakon Samarat) on Monday night 8th Rabi'ul Awwal 1354/1935. On 3rd Rabi'ul Awwal 1359/10th April 1940 a work entitled *Tarikh Sebutan Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* was written by 'Imran Salim bin Haji Al-Ash'arī 'Aqil in Belinyu Bangka.

Six years later in 1366/1946 Ḥaji Muḥamad Zayn Nuruddin bin Tuan Imam Shaykh Ḥaji 'Abbas ibn Ḥaji Muḥammad Lashub had written *Miftaḥ al-Ṣibyān fī 'Aqā'id al-Īmān*, while *Tadhkirat al-Ṣūfiyyah Fī Tawḥīdi Rabb al-Bariyyah* of Haji Ḥasan bin 'Umar al-Jakani al-Faṭānī, was completed two years later, by Jumaat 12th Jamad al-Awwal 1368/1948. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Mandilī al-Indunīsī had completed *Perisai Bagi Sekalian Mukallaf* on Tuesday, 2nd Jamad al-Awwal 1376/1956. In 1959, Ḥasan bin Isma'il bin Haji Husin from kampong Cempaka, Bachok, Naratiwat, Patani had produced *Ṭarīqat al-Hudā ila Allāh* followed by Yusuf bin Sulung two years later, on 13th Jumadi al-Thānī 1381/1961, with a work entitled *Kebersihan I'tiqād*.

Apart from the elaboration on the frameworks outlined by al-Nasafī and al-Sanūsī, which was based on Ash'arī and Māturidī which have been elaborated rigorously by in Malay-Jawi literature. We notice, there is one work which commented the framework of al-Taḥāwī in Malay-Jawi

which was composed by Abd al-Qadir bin 'Abd al-Muttalib al-Indunisi al-Mandili. The work entitled *Perisai bagi Sekalian Mukallaf* was printed in Egypt by Matba'ah al-Anwar in 1380/1960. So far, this is the only work we found elucidating the work of al-Taḥāwī as stated on the front page of the book;

Tanbih. Dihantarkan di atas akan al-'Aqīdah al-Salafiyah, bagi al-Ṭahawī dan mengiringi akan dia oleh terjemahnya maka syarahnya (perisai).⁵⁶

However, we do not have further information about the usage of this book whether it has been used as text book in certain traditional Islamic institutions or only utilized by individuals.⁵⁷

In 1966, a work entitled *Fatḥ al-Jalīl wa Shifā'ul Ghalīl* of Haji Wan Ibrāhīm bin 'Abd al-Qādir bin Muṭafā al-Faṭānī was completed on 12hb Rabī'ul Awwal 1386/1966. Few years later, an important work that dedicated to the young people was written by Isma'īl bin Encik Hat al-Kawī, Kampung Kubat Setar, Patani entitled *Manhāj al-Ṣibyān Fī Ma'rifati al-Islām wa al-Īmān*, he completed it on Wednesday 16th Jumadī al-Awwal 1389/1969. Meanwhile, Dato' 'Abdullāh bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muar had produced two Malay commentaries based on *al-'Uqad al-Durriyyah* of Shaykh Ḥamzah Faṭḥullah whose works are *Matnu Risālat al-Tawḥīdiyyah* and *Sharḥ Risālat al-Tawḥīdiyyah*. These are among the recorded 'aqīdah works that spread, read and used in this part of the world

⁵⁶ See 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Muttalib al-Andunisi al-Mandili (1961). *Perisai bagi Sekalian Mukallaf* Egypt: Matba'ah al-Anwar. P.1

⁵⁷ Ustaz Azhar Idrus, one of the popular celebrated religious figures among the youth in Malaysia in present days has been teaching this work in several places in his home town Terengganu. Some of his videos while teaching this text could be accessed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UC5EVHItB3c>.

whereby some are still searched for but some others seem ceased unknown.

Conclusion

The tradition of *sharh* in Malay-Jawi literature is not new to us, yet it was hidden behind the existing priority of most of the researchers whose tendency is to dig in on so called contemporary or relevant type of research according to today's needs. However, we believe that genre of *sharh*, as we have exposed, employs such a good ground work for seeing the phenomenon of today's problems socially, economically and even spiritually. The methodology used in those works enlightens us that to comment or to elucidate a work is not an easy job instead it is a very tough and challenging task because it needs correct understanding of relevant literatures, mastering various types of knowledge, and strong command of language. Those works which we have seen above tangibly correspond to what we have said because if those commentaries were easy to produce then surely more works could come up, unlike what we have recorded which sometimes take years to see the continuity between one and another. Moreover, when the Malay-Jawi commentaries are declined and rarely production by contemporary scholars obviously shows that scholars in the past had been very creative and contributive despite of lacking material tools such as computers, printers and so on, yet their works spread and read by generations as compared with what is happening in our contemporary world. The work of higher level is not necessarily be read or taught at institutions in our country.