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Classical Islamic Malay Writing: The Contribution of Malay Ulama in the 17th Century

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Abstract

This article discusses the involvement of Malay ulama in the production of religious books or also known as kitab kuning, especially fiqh books in the 17th century. This century, as stated by some local historians, is the beginning of the development of classical Malay books in various fields including religion. The discussion in this article is focused on two things namely the development of writing religious books, focused on fiqh books in the 17th century, while the second case reviews two sample books that have been written in the 17th century namely (1) the Sirat al-Mustaqim and (2) the Mir'ah al-Tullab fi Tashil Ma'rifah Ahkam al-Shari'ah li Mulk al-Wahhab. From the discussion of the above, it can be concluded that the activity of writing classical Malay religious works developed along with the activity of writing in other fields including the fields of Malay literature, Sufism, Malay and Islamic history, Quran and Islamic medicine

Keywords

Islamic Writing, Books of Malay Scholar, Malay Jurisprudence, 17th Century

Abstrak

Artikel ini membincangkan penglibatan ulama Melayu dalam penghasilan kitab-kitab agama atau juga dikenali dengan kitab kuning khususnya kitab-kitab fiqh pada abad ke-17. Abad ini, seperti yang dinyatakan oleh beberapa sejarawan tempatan, merupakan permulaan perkembangan kitab-kitab Melayu klasik dalam pelbagai bidang termasuk bidang agama. Perbincangan dalam artikel ini tertumpu kepada dua perkara iaitu perkembangan penulisan kitab-kitab agama, difokuskan pada kitab fiqh pada abad ke-17, manakala perkara kedua mengulas dua kitab sample yang telah ditulis pada abad ke-17 iaitu (1) kitab Sirat al-Mustaqim dan (2) kitab Mir'ah al-Tullab fi Tashil Ma'rifah Ahkam al-Shari'ah li Mulk al-Wahhab. Dari perbincangan mengenai perkara di atas, dapat disimpulkan bahawa aktiviti penulisan karya agama Melayu klasik



berkembang seiring dengan aktiviti penulisan dalam bidang lain termasuk bidang sastera, tasawuf, sejarah dan al-Quran dan perubatan Islam.

Katakunci:

Penulisan Islam, Karya Ulama Melayu, Karya Fiqh, Abad ke-17

Introduction

There are many classical Malay works in manuscript form either printed or unprinted, showing the activity of Malay scholars to write and produce written works in various fields, especially in the field of religion. It also proves that the Malay realm has been the intellectual center of Malay Islam for a long time. Usually, the existence of manuscripts in a certain language or a race is used as a basis of measurement to evaluate the achievements and thoughts of a race, including to measure the achievements of the Malays. The arrival of Islam to the Malay Realm became the main contributor to the writing of Malay language works, especially related to religion. Apart from opening a new dimension in work, Islam also provides a new culture to build a civilization. In addition to learning and teaching, writing is also part of the purpose of one's involvement with religious studies. This is because, writing activities give an impression of the wisdom of scientists in expressing the meaning and ideas of thought in various disciplines. Either the identification of writing is theoretical such as a theological discipline or practical in accordance with human life such as fiqh and Sufism.

According to Abdul Kadir Muhammad, the history of fiqh writing in the Malay realm is divided into several stages of development. Among them, the early writing of Islamic law, the writing of Islamic law in the 19th century and the writing of Islamic law in the 20th century. Before the 16th century, the history of the development of fiqh writing in the Malay realm was still vague and could not be clearly ascertained. If we go back to the early stages of Islamic da'wah in the Malay realm, there were no formal fiqh study sessions using systematic teaching patterns using fiqh books. The preachers who spread Islam, they focus on the teachings and practices of basic worship such as prayer and fasting as the demands of the new Malay community to convert to Islam. The appreciation of the understanding of worship includes the knowledge of fardu ain, purification, prayer, ablution as the basis of the teachings of Islam.

Classical Malay Works

In the practice of Islamic teachings, the Malay community does not have a specific reference to the book of fiqh, but rather their practice is guided by the practical practices carried out by scholars and preachers. Therefore, any form of affairs involving the sociology of fiqh law such as marriage is led by scholars who understand the ins and outs of religion. During this period, the writing materials used were based on Arabic manuscript sources brought from Arab countries or other Islamic countries such as India. This situation does not mean that the study of fiqh has been neglected and not given priority. On the other hand, it is possible that the knowledge learned at that time was only recorded and written as religious memorization material and not officially written for the public to see. This means that before the 17th century, there was no systematic construction of teaching fiqh. The focus of informal learning

through memorization and oral, the writing is incomplete and not arranged in the form of writing works. This is also because the education system at that time was tied to the method of capturing books that were only read and less motivating for writing activities.

In addition, the writing tradition is influenced by classical oral literature which is only recited and told by word of mouth from generation to generation. This can be seen, the classical Malay intellectual tradition began with the oral tradition followed by writing and printing. This makes the tradition of written writing somewhat limited, in the next development the development of intellectual writing develops according to the development of time and times from the teaching of Arabic books to the writing and production of translations, satirical or original works in Malay in full. With this development, the writing activity gives the impression that Malay scholars have played a significant role in the development of religious knowledge so that it becomes a reference for the society in the Malay Realm¹

Method

Moving on to the methodology of the study, this article is a study based on a qualitative approach². The data and information obtained are processed qualitatively according to a specific theme, which is the writing of 17th-century Malay fiqh works. The relevant data is obtained from major libraries in Malaysia and Indonesia either by in-person visit or through online book loans. Some manuscripts and books were also borrowed from authoritative websites such as the repository of the University of Lieden, the British Library, London and the repository of the University of Um al-Qurra Mecca. The acquisition of classical Malay fiqh works is also carried out at several Malay manuscript storage locations such as the National Museum and the Aceh Museum repository. Efforts to trace Malay fiqh works are carried out through the method of literature.

Meanwhile, the document analysis method is an analysis based on library studies. The document analysis method was used in the two works discussed. It can be divided into two sources. First, primary sources such as 17th-century Malay fiqh manuscripts. In addition, traceability is also carried out through Malay historical records, fragments and Malay fiqh works in the year and century studied. Second, secondary sources such as scientific writings such as books, theses, dissertations, journal articles, books, articles, papers and individual information on the subject of the study. After obtaining sufficient data by applying the data collection method, the researcher analyzed the information in a directional manner with the content analysis method.

The content analysis method is applied in the research of Malay fiqh works by referring to Malay fiqh written versions of manuscript works and printed editions. All of these materials were analyzed through the induction of intellectual history and

¹ Abdul Hadi, W. M. (2006), "Islam in Indonesia and Cultural Transformation," in Komaruddin Hidayat and Ahmad Gaus A. F. (eds.), *Becoming Indonesia: 13 Centuries of Islamic Existence in the Malay Land*, Jakarta: Mizan, p. 470-471

² Qualitative research is a discovery that cannot be achieved by using statistical procedures or by means of quantification. Research methods are used to examine community life, history, behavior, organizational functionalization, social movements or kinship relationships; Lexy J. Moleong (1993), *Qualitative Research Methodology*, Bandung: Karya Cv, p. 1-3; Basrowi Sukidin (2002), *Micro-Perceptive Qualitative Research Methods*, Surabaya: Insan Cendakia, p. 1.

typology of writing. Meanwhile, two classical Malay fiqh works of the 17th century were analysed and unraveled the intellectual history of writing through the induction of the development of writing.

The *objective of this article* is to briefly discuss the pattern of development and writing of fiqh works in the last century, namely the 17th century. The discussion of the development and writing of fiqh works is discussed in two aspects, the first is the historical aspect of its development in general while the second aspect is the analysis of the writing of several sample works to take a closer look at the form of works produced in the century. By using these two approaches, it is hoped that it can provide a clear and solid picture of the writing of fiqh works in the century discussed.

Results and Discussion

Writing of Classical Malay Works of the 17th Century

In the 17th century, the tradition of Malay fiqh writing began to develop in Aceh and the surrounding areas.³ The production of works in the 17th century was somewhat distant from each other because it was in the early days, for example, the gap between the work of *Sirat al-Mustaqim* (1644 AD) and the work of *Mir'ah al-Tullab* (1672 AD) was an interval of 28 years. The difference in the length of time to produce the second Malay fiqh work after *Sirat al-Mustaqim*. In my opinion, this long period of time slowed down the process of intellectual development of Malay fiqh writing in the 17th century. However, there are certainly several factors that led to the delay, including the focus of the government and society more on issues related to the faith and Sufi. What is real about these works is that the authors are from Acehnese scholars.⁴

Although this century is said to be the century of Malay intellectual development⁵ in Aceh, the writing process did not develop as worthy of the name of its glory days. This situation is caused by the form of spreading Islamic teachings in Aceh, which the preachers say consists of Sufi experts. In traditional historiography, the king and the state are seen from a sufistic approach, not from the point of view of fiqh or sharia. Historians almost agree that Islam that came to Malay in the 13th century⁶ had a sufistic pattern.⁷ Various practices of the tarekat are practiced by the

³ The arrival of Islam in Aceh formed the first Islamic kingdom in Southeast Asia and the kingdom that emerged from the transmission network of Islamic teachings in the Malay Realm. The Kingdom of Aceh also influenced the kingdoms of the East and West coastal regions of Aceh (Sumatra) such as Pedir, Pasai, Perlak, Aru, Dili and Malaya until the unification of the Pasai kingdom into the kingdom of Aceh.

⁴ Aceh was an Islamic kingdom in the Malay Realm since the fall of Malacca 1511 AD. Islam began to establish a foothold in Aceh at the end of the first century of Hijrah. Aceh played the role of a region that made a great contribution to the development and progress of Islamic civilization in the Malay Realm. Mahdalena Nasrun (2012), "Malay Fiqh of the Malay Nature of the Pre-Colonial Era," *Journal of Ijtihad: Journal of Islamic Law and Humanities Discourse*, Vol. 12, p. 100. The existence of a group of scholars in Aceh became known as a famous center for the dissemination of knowledge after the fall of Malacca.

⁵ The 16th to 18th centuries are considered the glorious era of intellectual development in the Malay Realm; Rahimin Affandi Abd. Rahim, Siti Maimunah Kahal and Muhammad Yusri Yusof (2016), "Fiqh Version of the Malay Nature: An Analysis of History," *Journal of Fiqh*, Jil. 13, p. 141.

⁶ Since the 13th century, the Malay Realm has been visited by Sufi scholars who spread Islam and produced many writings of Sufism; Azumardi Azra (1995), *The Network of Middle East and Nusantara Islands in the XV and XVIII Centuries*, Bandung: Mizan Publishers, p. 32.

⁷ A. H. Johns (1961), "The Role of Sufism in the Spread of Islam in the Malaya and Indonesia" *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Jil. 9, h. 143-161; A. H. Johns (1961), "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History" *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Jil. 2, Bil. 2, h. 10-23.

people of Aceh, including the Qadiriyyah order.⁸ In fact, the sultans in Aceh were very strongly attached to the practice of Sufism. So it is not surprising that the teachings of Sufism have become a more dominant and successful teaching in religious practices in Aceh. Therefore, the focus of writing activities is more focused on the science of Sufism and faith rather than fiqh.⁹ This is based on the existence of Sufism¹⁰ and 'Tawhid'¹¹ works that spread in the early centuries of writing religious works in the Malay Realm. Therefore, the aspect of writing and producing fiqh works is not given special attention to be written and booked. In addition, the form of study that is delivered orally to the Malay community is a factor in the lack of need to write a separate fiqh work. In addition, the limitations of Malay fuqaha writing fiqh works are due to the constraint of obtaining sources and writing materials.¹² This is because, the field of writing was only pioneered by the palace and aristocracy who were able to obtain writing materials which at that time most of them were more inclined to sufistic studies.

In analyzing the development of the writing of classical Malay fiqh works in the 17th century, the research of the location and pattern of fiqh development is considered relevant to its time. Aceh is considered to be the earliest region to establish religious intellectual relations¹³ with the centers of Islamic civilization in the Middle East, especially Mecca and Medina. It is the most important stopover location for the pilgrims of the Malay Realm on their way to and from the land of Haramayn.¹⁴ Thus, the influence of Islamization indirectly helped the development of Malay fiqh writing in Aceh. This is evidenced by the production and existence of ancient writings and manuscripts¹⁵ around Aceh written by Malay scholars in various disciplines.¹⁶ According to Mursyid, the earliest writing in Aceh was by *al-Hadi al-Mubtaj fi Sharh al-*

⁸ Marzuki (2017), "Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah Suryalaya: Its Spread and Influence in Aceh," NIZHAM Journal of Islamic Studies, Jil. 1, No. 1, ch. 110-124; Sifa Sasmanda (2018), "The History of the Development and Thought of Sufism in Aceh in the 16th Century AD," KALPATARU Journal of History and History Learning, Jil. 2, ch. 73-76

⁹ Shah Rul Anuar Nordin (2014), "The Impact of Dakwah Kitab Taj al-Salatin on the Malay Community in Aceh," Paper, International Seminar on Da'wah and Ethnicity, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, p. 3

¹⁰ *Sayr as-Salikin* MSS 324, Malay Manuscript Centre, National Library of Malaysia Kuala Lumpur; *Bidayah al-Hidayah* MSS 566, Malay Manuscript Centre, National Library of Malaysia Kuala Lumpur; *Hidayah as-Salikin* MS 464, Malay Manuscript Centre, National Library of Malaysia Kuala Lumpur.

¹¹ *Tuhfah al-Raghibin* MS 5, Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia Kuala Lumpur; *Tuhfah al-Raghibin fi Bayan Haqiqah Iman al-Mu'min*, cet. akhir (1939), Mesir: Maktabah Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi wa Awladuhu; *Aqidah al-'Awam* MSS 2809, Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia Kuala Lumpur; Karya *Dur al-Manzum*, *Siraj al-Huda ila Bayan 'Aqa'id Abl at-Taqwa* MSS 749, Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia Kuala Lumpur; A. Samad Ahmad (1996), *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, h. 58. Karya akidah yang diperkenalkan *al-'Aqa'id al-Nasafi*, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (1988), *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th Century Malay Translation of the al-'Aqa'id of al-Nasafi*, Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya, h. 8.

¹² The atmosphere of the Acehnese people is in dire need of religious reference materials in Malay to make them understand religious matters. Zulkifli Mohd Yusoff and Wan Nasyrudin Wan Abdullah (2005), "Tarjuman al-Mustafid: An Analysis of Translated Works," Journal of Malay Studies, Jil. 16, p. 157.

¹³ Abdullah Ishak (1992), *Islam in the Archipelago Especially in Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Affairs Division, Prime Minister's Department, p. 116-117

¹⁴ Ali Mohammad (2009), "The Role of Ulama in Upholding Islamic Civilization in Malaya: Focus on Abdul Rauf Singkel," *Al-Tamaddun Journal*, Jil. 4, p. 82

¹⁵ Manuscripts are collections of handwritings that have not been printed or published

¹⁶ The tradition of copying manuscripts has long been recorded in Aceh and the Malay Realm. Ajidar Matsyah (2013), "The Network of Malay Scholars in Manuscripts," Paper, Regional Seminar on the Study of Malay Manuscripts and Local Wisdom, Banda Aceh, p. 18.

Minhaj.¹⁷ It was written by Imam Abi Qasim Imam al-Din 'Abd al-Karim ar-Rafi'e in 1610 AD. The emergence of *al-Hadi al-Muhtaj fi Sharh al-Minhaj* had an impact and influence on the pattern of fiqh writing around Aceh.

Meanwhile, according to Dwi Laili Sukmawati, there are several fiqh texts related to Islamic law written in Madura, an area in East Java. Meanwhile, according to Ali Rosdin, there are around 340 manuscripts in the manuscript of Buton, Sulawesi Island in the eastern region of Indonesia. This includes the legal texts that make up fiqh writing. The tradition of storytelling in Buton continued in line with the development of Islam at that time, its activities peaked during the reign of Sultan La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin from 1824 AD to 1851 AD. Manuscript writing activities in Buton flourished during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin who was known as the Sultan and great scholar of Buton.¹⁸ In addition, the Sultanate of Banten is also a famous center of knowledge in the Malay Realm with the presence of so many students to Banten. The Sultan of Banten himself was involved in various scientific discourse activities. For example, Sultan Abdul Qadir (1626-1657 AD) proposed several statements about *al-Ghazli Nasibah al-Muluk* (a suggestion for rulers). The question was brought to Mecca by a special delegation in 1638 AD and posed to Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali Ibn 'Alan al-Siddiqi 1588-1647 AD, the eminent scholar of Haramayn.¹⁹ The impact of the network and local locality relationships that developed in the area around Aceh led to the development of Malay fiqh intellectual writing activities in the 17th century.

Analysis of 17th Century Malay Classics

Malay fiqh writing is a reflection of the intellectual development of Islamic scholarship in the Malay world. Sometimes, in certain circumstances, writing can explain the development of Islamic social intellectual history.²⁰ In historical records, the dynamism of the development of Islamic knowledge in the Malay realm occurred before or after the 16th century. In explaining the intellectual history of Malay fiqh writing in the 17th century, two famous classical Malay fiqh writings were chosen.²¹ What is certain, these two works have had²² a great influence and contribution in the

¹⁷ From the scope of language, the work explores various fiqh issues such as; purification, prayer, zakat, fasting, hajj, marriage and muamalat issues based on the approach of writing fiqh Madhhab Syafie. Mursyid (2011), "The Pattern of Fiqh in Aceh During the Reign (Study of the Manuscript of al-Hadi al-Muhtaj fi Sharh al-Minhaj by Imam Abi Qasim Imamuddin Abdul Karim ar-Rafi'e)," *al-Qalam*, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 105.

¹⁸ Ali Rosdin (2015), "Buton dan Tradisi Pernaskahan," *International Journal of the Malay World and Civilisation (Iman)*, Jil. 3, Bil. 1, h. 51- 53.

¹⁹ Oman Fathurahman (2004), "Ulama Network: Renewal and Reconciliation in the Islamic Intellectual Tradition in the Malay-Indonesian World,"

STUDIA ISLAMIKA Journal for Islamic Studies, Jil. 11, Bil. 2, h. 371.

²⁰ Azyumardi Azra (1999), *Islamic Education: Tradition and Modernization Towards the New Millennium*, Jakarta: Logos Discourse of Science, p. 116

²¹ Although there are other famous Malay fiqh works, researchers have taken a difficult path to see and obtain them physically, including the works in unknown individuals.

²² The works of Acehnese scholars have received high attention to be used as a scientific study from the perspective of scientific dementia. Erawadi (2011), *Traditions, Discourses and Intellectual Dynamics of Aceh Islam in the XVIII and XIX Centuries*, Jakarta: Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, Agency for Research and Development and Training of the Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature, p. 2-11

writing of classical Malay fiqh works.²³ Both are considered to be the oldest classical Malay fiqh works to appear in Aceh.²⁴ Therefore, the history of writing classical Malay fiqh works is focused on famous works that were selected in different places and locations.²⁵

Malay fiqh writing plays a significant role in the development of Islamic scientific disciplines in the Malay Realm. From the results of the writing, we can understand the writing approach and the idea of Malay fuqaha thought in the first three centuries.²⁶ It covers the approach of writing, references, structure, methods, styles, language and manhaj of writing. As a result of the research, in the development of Malay fiqh writing, there are two initial descriptions that can be stated. First, the writing of fiqh works in the form of translations from works of Arabic origin then in the form of a filter until the production of the work.²⁷ Second, the fiqh work used in the early stages of writing. Its use is widely used in the process of teaching and learning knowledge in the Malay Realm. This is because, in the early centuries, there was a limitation of the Malay community to get printed works.²⁸ Therefore, the landscape of knowledge writing activities builds an understanding of the practice of worship, the legacy of intellectual thought and the sociology of law.²⁹ As a result, the tradition of the development of Malay fiqh writing has had a great impact on the life of the Malay community.

Most of the forms of writing Malay fiqh works are also influenced by the writing form of the fuqaha of Mazhab Syafie. The meaning of the form of writing, a subject that is only written without any special and comprehensive discussion. The rationale of this article is to present the form of writing to identify the patterns and diversity of forms of writing such as fiqh, usul fiqh, *qias*, *'uruf*, history, faith, sirah, tafsir. Similarly, in the approach of diversity of methods of statement of reference sources that are in line with the context of writing that has the characteristics of adherence and translation. It is also a platform to assess the diversity of information related to the writing and translation of texts according to the Malay fiqh writing approach.

The form of writing proves that Malay fuqaha thought is a measure to identify the essence of idealism that is eternal, ahead of its time. Apart from having a high scholarly paradigm in legal thought, Malay fuqaha remains consistent in interacting with nas in any situation involving questions of Islamic law. Therefore, the form of writing and the method of reference statements are presented to approach various aspects of writing.

²³ The reception of writing works was great and was widely used in Aceh and remote parts of the Malay Realm until the 19th century. Shafie Abu Bakar (1997), *Islamic Writers of the Malay Realm*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, p. 573

²⁴ Muhad Pawad Abdul Malik, Faisal @AhmedFaisal Abdul Hameed Dean Rahimin Afandi Abdul. Rahim (2018), "Analysis Panolson Karya Fiqh Milao 1600-1800," *Journal al-Sue*, Jal. 6, Bill. 2, h. 71-89

²⁵ The history of writing developed in various human civilizations in different places. Similarly, in Malay historiography, the study of Malay fiqh writings in different locations in Aceh, Malaya and Patani

²⁶ The first three centuries of the development of Malay fiqh works, the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

²⁷ Fauzi bin Deraman and Norhasnira bt Ibrahim (2009), "The Methodology of Tuan Tabal in Kitab Minhah al-Qarib," *Jabeaik Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 135.

²⁸ Rahim Abdullah (1983), "Pondok Lessons in Kelantan" in Khoo Kay Kim (ed.), *Some Aspects of Kelantan Heritage II*, Kota Bharu: State Museum Corporation, p. 3.

²⁹ Muhammad Mustaqim Mohd Zarif (2012), "MSS2761B (Hadith Arba'in): Analysis and Transliteration of a Hadith Text in the 17th Century AD," *Journal of Malay Philology*, Jil. 19, pp. 9-10

The Writing of the Book of *Sirat al-Mustaqim* (1644 AD)

The development of the sequence of intellectual history of Malay fiqh writing in the 17th century began with the writing of *Sirat al-Mustaqim*³⁰ in 1644 AD. It was written by Syekh Nuruddin al-Raniri in Jawi Malay.³¹ The content of the writing contains 445 pages³² focusing on the discussion of *rubu'* ibadat which contains 7 *books*, 21 *chapters* and 90 *fasl*.³³ In the structure of writing, titles, subjects and discussions are arranged in a writing format that makes it easier for the Malay community to learn them. Although the writing of the subject of worship does not cover all subjects and topics of fiqh. The emergence of *the work of Sirat al-Mustaqim* is considered the pioneering work of the first fiqh of Malay worship and became a specific reference in the study of fiqh of the Acehnese community and was even widely used in the Malay region.³⁴

As a result of the search, at the Malay Manuscript Centre Kuala Lumpur, there are various versions of the writing of *Sirat al-Mustaqim* based on differences in copying.³⁵ As a result of the research, *the work of Sirat al-Mustaqim* is one of the most copied and edited classical Malay fiqh works in the written version of the Malay fiqh manuscript. There is a possibility, there is a high demand in the Malay community because it is a specialized worship writing. His fame as the first work of Malay worship fiqh writing had a tremendous influence³⁶ on the Malay world region.³⁷ Hence, this makes its copying and distribution widespread in the remote parts of the Malay Realm. In the history of intellectual development, the writing of *Sirat al-Mustaqim* has been widely studied by both Western and Eastern scholars.³⁸ Undoubtedly, the results of

³⁰ *Sirat al-Mustaqim* MSS 144, Malay Manuscript Centre, National Library of Malaysia Kuala Lumpur; The researcher chose the MSS 144 version because of the complete manuscript work. According to Najahudin Lateh, the manuscripts of *Sirat al-Mustaqim* stored at the Malay Manuscript Centre are 79 manuscripts, 29 manuscripts are complete while 50 more are incomplete. Najahudin Lateh et al. (2013), "The Golden Thematic in the Work of Fiqh of Malay Scholars: A Review of the Book of al-Sirat al-Mustaqim, Furuk al-Masail and Bahr al-Madhi," Paper, Regional Seminar on the Study of Malay Manuscripts and Local Wisdom, p. 65

³¹ Azyumardi (1995), *Network of Middle Eastern Scholars and Malay Natural Islands*, p. 181; Che Siah Che Man (2005), "MS 469 Manuscript: Kitab Sirat al-Mustaqim, The First Book of Fiqah in Jawi (Malay)," *Journal of Malay Philology*, p. 41.

³² Syekh Nuruddin al-Raniri stated that at the end of the writing, his work was completed and completed on Zohor on Saturday of Sha'ban in 1644 AD.

³³ Jamalluddin Hashim (2011), "Kitab al-Sirat Al-Mustaqim by Shaykh Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri (Kitab Al-Taharah and Al-Salah): Text and Analysis," Doctoral Thesis, Department of Fiqh and Usul, Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya; Che Siah (2005), "MS 469 Manuscript," pp. 41-43. The writing of worship fiqh was given priority in the early centuries of Islamic law studies in the Malay Realm. In fact, the tendency of writing in the scope of worship still remains consistent to this day.

³⁴ Jamalluddin Hashim, Abdul Karim Ali and Hasanulddin Mohd (2014), "Analysis of the Influence of Local Fiqh Elements in Kitab al-Sirat al-Mustaqim by Shaykh Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri," *International Journal of the Malay World*, Vol. 1, p. 3.

³⁵ There are complete works of *Sirat al-Mustaqim* and there are incomplete works. Search results of researchers at the Malay Manuscript Centre; *Sirat al-Mustaqim* MS 144, MS 237, MS 469, MS 930, MS 1047, MSS 1569, MSS 2248, MSS 2352, MSS 2731, MSS 2755, MSS 2876, MSS 2896, MSS 3217, MSS 3255, MSS 3426, MSS 3500, MSS 3563, MSS 3811, MSS 3832, MSS 3906, MSS 4113, MSS 4123, MSS 4146, MSS 4147, MSS 4148, MSS 4158, MSS 4161, MSS 4170, MSS 4193, Malay Manuscript Centre, National Library of Malaysia Kuala Lumpur.

³⁶ Ahmad Rizal Khadapi (2017), "Tinjauan Atas Kitab al-Sirat Al-Mustaqim Karangan Syaikh Nur al-Din al-Raniri," Disertasi Sarjana, Fakulti Ilmu Agama Islam, Universiti Islam Indonesia, Yogyakarta

³⁷ Marzuki Abu Bakar (2016), "Kitab Jawi and Its Contribution in Islamic Studies in the Malay Archipelago," Paper, Proceedings of ARICIS-Ar-Raniry International Conference on Islamic Studies, Bil. 1, pp. 438-446.

³⁸ Ahmad Rizal Khadapi, "A Review of the Book, 2017

an objective study have some weaknesses detected in the content of *the writing of Sirat al-Mustaqim* such as a brief description that requires additional explanation. The content of the writing is translational, copy and writing are limited to specific aspects of worship only. However, the updating of the content of the writing was carried out by the Malay fuqaha afterwards.

Writing *Mir'ah al-Tullab fi Tashil Ma'rifah Ahkam al-Shari'ah li Mulk al-Wahhab* (1672 CE)

The historical exploration of the writing of classical Malay fiqh works in the 17th century was developed with the writing of *Mir'ah al-Tullab fi Tashil Ma'rifah Ahkam al-Shari'ah li Mulk al-Wahhab* in 1672 AD.³⁹ It was written by Syekh Abdul Rauf al-Fansuri⁴⁰ of Malay fuqaha who continued the tradition of Malay intellectual writing.⁴¹ He was born in 1615AD in Fansur, Singkel which is located in the West Coast part of Sumatra.⁴² *Mir'ah al-Tullab* 's work was written by the order of His Majesty Sultan Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Riayat Syah. The search results, at the Malay Manuscript Centre of Kuala Lumpur, there are complete works by *Mir'ah al-Tullab*. Similarly, there are digital versions of works from the British Library⁴³ and Singapore Library collections.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the printed edition of *Mir'ah al-Tullab* is printed by the printing house of *matba'ah al-Miriyyah al-Ka'inah* Mecca.⁴⁵

Mir'ah al-Tullab's work is an introductory work to the fiqh of Madhhab Syafie. His writing became a complementary work to the work of *Sirat al-Mustaqim*. The format and structure of his writing almost resembles the writing of *Sirat al-Mustaqim* but the content of the writing is different. As a result of the research, the content of *Mir'ah al-Tullab* explores the fiqh of worship and aspects of fiqh knowledge including politics, social and is the earliest work of fiqh muamalat in the Malay language.⁴⁶ The content of muamalat writing covers the laws of buying and selling, *riba*, *kehiyar*, *sharikah*, *qirād*, *sulh*, *hivālah*, *daman*, *wakalah*, *iqrār*, *musāqah*, *lāqit* within the scope of the fiqh discussion of Madhhab Syafie.⁴⁷ On the other side of the study,⁴⁸ *Mir'ah al-Tullab*

³⁹ *Mir'ah al-Tullab fi Tashil Ma'rifah Ahkam al-Shari'ah li Mulk al-Wahhab* MSS 1532, Malay Manuscript Centre, National Library of Malaysia Kuala Lumpur.

⁴⁰ Oman Fathurrahman (1999), *Tanbih al-Masbi Questioning Wihdatul in the Case of Abdurrauf Singkel in Aceh in the 17th Century*, Bandung: Mizan, pp. 162-163.

⁴¹ Abdul Rauf Ali al-Fansuri also known as Tengku Syekh in Kuala was a writer who taught in Aceh in 1661 AD. He was highly respected as a scholar and received his education for 19 years abroad such as in Mecca, Medina, Jedah and Zabid. National Library of Malaysia (1995), *Catalogue of International Malay Manuscript Exhibition*, Kuala Lumpur: National Library of Malaysia Kuala Lumpur, p. 9; "The Scholars of Spreading Islam in Aceh and the Fruits of Their Works (16-17th Centuries)," accessed July 4, 2019, <http://jurnal-rakyat.blogspot.com/2015/11/inilah-ulama-ulama-penyebar-Islam-di.html>.

⁴² Azyumardi Azra (1999), *Southeast Asian Islamic Renaissance History of Discourse and Power*, Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, p. 133

⁴³ "*Mir'ah al-Tullab*," British Library (BL), London No kod Or. 16035 karya digital, diakses 25 Desember 2017, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_16035_f001r.

⁴⁴ "*Mir'ah al-Tullab*," Singapore Library, diakses 27 Desember 2017, <http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/printheritage/detail/b5042e02-fd82-414383a0c83ee26f547f.aspx?s=Islam>.

⁴⁵ *Mir'ah al-Tullab fi Tashil Ma'rifah Ahkam al-Shari'ah li Mulk al-Wahhab*, Mekah: Matba'ah al-Miriyyah al-Ka'inah, 1892

⁴⁶ Shahrul Hilmi Othman et al. (2019), "Aspek Muamalat dalam Kitab Mir'at al-Thullab Karya Shaykh Abdul Rauf Ali al-Singkili," *Journal Ulwan*, Jil. 4, Bil. 1, p. 1-13

⁴⁷ Shahrul et al. (2019), "Aspek Muamalat dalam Kitab Mir'at al-Thullab," h. 1-13.

⁴⁸ Harun Mat Piah et al. (2006), *Traditional Malay Literature*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, p. 446.

's writings contain three areas of Islamic law and are documentation of the records of the administration of Islamic law in Aceh. First, trade law and civil law. Second, the law of marriage and the third law related to adultery. All the scope of the discussion is comprehensively elaborated according to the local wisdom of the Acehnese people.

Meanwhile, according to Shahrul Hilmi Othman,⁴⁹ the discussion of muamalat in *Mir'ah al-Tullab* is divided into several aspects, including the debate on contracts/contracts and cancellation of contracts, prohibitions in muamalat such as usury. Similarly, exchange transactions between individuals and individuals in buying and selling, rent and wages, *mudarabah* and *shirkah*. Similarly, there are descriptions of voluntary or courtesy transactions between human beings such as alms, grants and loans. Meanwhile, the description of individual transactions with the community in zakat, waqf and infaq. The content of the writing of muamalat is a guide for the people of Aceh in the practice of muamalat transactions. In addition, *Mir'ah al-Tullab's work* became the main reference material among the kadi and muftis of the Syafie Mazhab in the Malay Realm. According to Oman Fatturahman, Syeikh Abdul Rauf al-Fansuri also authored several works of fiqh written in Malay including, *Bayan al-Arkan* (explanation of the pillars), *Bidayah al-Balighah* (perfect beginning), *Majmu' al-Masa'il* (a collection of problems) and *Fatihah Syeikh Abdul Rauf* (Syeikh Abdul Rauf's method of recitation al-fatihah), *a prayer organized by Syeikh Abdul Rauf Kuala Aceh, Sakaratul Mau'*⁵⁰ and *Hidayah al-Balighah*.⁵¹

From my observation, the principle of intellectualism in *Mir'ah al-Tullab's writing* uses a writing approach in the form of questions and answers. In the development of classical Malay fiqh writing, the approach to writing questions and answers was written in the 19th century by Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani in the work *Furu' al-Masa'il*. From the readings done, there is no form of writing questions and answers in the 19th century except in the works of *Furu' al-Masa'il* and the works of *Kashf al-Litham 'an As'ilah al-Anam*.⁵² Although the form of approach written is almost the same, there are differences in the content of the writing. The preparation of the writing format of *Mir'ah al-Tullab's work* is incomplete covering *books, chapters* and *fasl* compared to the work of *Furu' al-Masa'il*. The emergence of the Malay fiqh question and answer writing approach pioneered by Syeikh Abdul Rauf al-Fansuri developed and influenced the writing of the following century.

The question and answer writing approach was rewritten in the 20th century with the emergence of several classical Malay fiqh writings, including *Tadrib al-Banin wa al-Banat bi Umur al-Din al-Wajibat* 1933 AD which explores children's fiqh questions in the form of questions and answers.⁵³ In addition, the work *Some Pearls that are Good and Beautiful* written by Sheikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Mutalib Mandili explores the issue of Islamic religious law in the form of questions and answers. Discussion of Q&A on *qada* prayer according to the views of madhhab and the number of scholars.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Shahrul et al. (2019), "Aspek Muamalat dalam Kitab Mir'at al-Thullab," h. 1-13

⁵⁰ Oman (1999), *Tanbih al-Mashi*, p. 28

⁵¹ Erawadi (2011), *Islamic Intellectual Traditions, Discourse and Dynamics*, p. 43.

⁵² Syeikh Zaynu al-'Abidin bin Muhammad al-Fatani (t.t.), *Kashf al-Litham 'an As'ilah al-Anam*, Juzuk 1, t.tp: Maktabah wa Matba'ah Muhammad al-Bahri wa Awladuhu; Syeikh Zaynu al-'Abidin bin Muhammad al-Fatani (192), *Inilah Juzuk yang kedua daripada Kitab Kashf al-Litham 'an As'ilah al-Anam*, t.tp: al-'Alamiyyah.

⁵³ Ismail bin Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain (1981), *Tadrib al-Banin wa al-Banat bi Umur al-Din al-Wajibat*, Patani: Patani Press.

⁵⁴ Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Mutalib Mandili (1960), *Some Beautiful Pearls*, Egypt: Matba'ah al-Anwar

Likewise, the works of *Siasat and Loteri and Alim Ulama* explain legal issues in the form of questions and answers.⁵⁵ For writers, the format and technique of writing are important aspects of the writing style. An effective approach to writing questions and answers in fiqh simplifies the teaching process and accelerates the readers' understanding. This is because spontaneous answers to questions facilitate direct understanding of fiqh issues. In this regard, the question-and-answer approach practiced by Syeikh Abdul Rauf al-Fansuri in the work of *Mir'ah al-Tullab* managed to attract the interest and attention of readers in his time. The question and answer writing approach is a new approach in writing classical Malay fiqh works.

Conclusion

From what has been stated above, it can be concluded that Malay scholars have been actively involved in the production of written works in various fields of knowledge, especially in the field of religion and especially in the field of fiqh. The involvement of scholars in the writing of classical Malay fiqh works generates a variety of forms, patterns and approaches of writing. The presentation presented by the Malay fuqaha as a medium of worship and legal sociology. The early century of development began in the 17th century although the writing of fiqh was still vague and written concisely from the translations. Furthermore, the 18th century was a refinement of the writing and translation efforts of the 17th century which recorded new updates of titles and subjects accompanied by notes, footnotes, commentaries and translation of words.

Although there is a projected development of Malay fiqh writing that varies according to year and century, its writing is more clearly found in the records after the 17th century.⁵⁶ It can be said that the 17th century was the first steppe to the good development of the following centuries i.e. the 18th and 19th centuries. The 18th century was the process of perfection of the development of classical Malay fiqh writing. This century witnessed the emergence of Malay fuqaha figures.⁵⁷ It was the beginning of the century when new variations of titles and subjects of classical Malay fiqh writing were recorded. The restrictions are not limited to the topic of worship but there is an update on the subjects of fiqh al-qadi, mu'amalah and fiqh al-mirath. The emergence and creation of a new subject of writing is a struggle to develop knowledge that arises from the Malay fuqaha mind to raise the importance of the new idealism of fiqh writing. In addition, a developmental study, especially writing, must involve various factors. Among them, social, political and economic factors. Similarly, the complex socio-political-intellectual life of the Malay community also contributed to the development of diverse thoughts.

⁵⁵ Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Mutalib Mandili (1962), *Siasat dan Loteri serta Alim Ulama*, Mesir: Matba'ah al-Anwar

⁵⁶ Mohd Puaad Abdul Malik, Faisal @ Ahmad Faisal Abdul Hamid and Rahimin Affandi Abd. Rahim (2020), "Analysis of Local Development and Wisdom: A Work of Classical Malay Fiqh," *Journal of Fiqh*, Jil. 17, No. 1, ch. 89-134.

⁵⁷ The excellence of Malay literature has resulted in dozens of books and masterpieces written by Malay scholars such as the work of Hamzah Fansuri. Wan Mohd. Shaghir (1996), *Tafsir Poetic Hamzah Fansuri*, Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, p. 7; Wan Mohd. Shaghir (1999), *The Spread of Islam and the Genealogy of the Universal Scholars of the Malay World*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Pengkaji Khazanah Klasik Nusantara dan Khazanah Fathaniyah, p. 45-46; Syahrizal Abbas (2008), *The Pattern of Islamic Legal Thought of Syeikh Abdurrauf As-Singkili: A Study of the Book of Mir'ah al-Tullab Women Judges*, Banda Aceh: Pena's Foundation, p. 28

The emergence of Malay fiqh writings as heritage treasures of high value for the ages. It attracted the interest of the Malays not only in the Malay land but also other races who studied it. This proves that its content and scientific interpretation have high scientific value to generate intellectual thought. The results of the assessment, sacrifice and perseverance of Malay fuqaha can explain the question of fiqh to the community. They did not merely translate and duplicate but also inserted elements of local fiqh in a number of writing content as early as the 17th century. However, the wisdom approach is sometimes seen as implied in static and coherent classical discussions. It needs to be unraveled and elaborated by contemplation. Objectively, I think that the writing of classical Malay fiqh works is written in a general form without any specific description of the legal discussion. Instead, the emphasis of writing needs to focus. plot and scope of the discussion chapter in more depth. Likewise, the content of his writing is almost as if he wrote classical Arabic fiqh of the Syafie School.

Informed Consent Statement

Informed consent was not required for this study.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

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