

Sullam al - Mustafidin: **The Theological Discourse in Aceh in 17th** **Century**

Nur Rahmah

Religious Literature, and & Heritage
Research and Development Center
of Religion The Ministry of Religion
Jl. M.H. Thamrin No.6, Jakarta Pusat

Email: Nurrahmahhusein@yahoo.com

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Abstract

The 17th century was the era of glorious for the development of intellectual history in Aceh, which is characterized by the presence of four well-known scholars, one of them is Abdurrauf Singkel. His work entitled Sullam al - Mustafidin contains views on theology that comes from the teachings of the ahl Sunnah wa al - Jamaah which also confirmed its existence as a Sunni scholar. Abdurrauf's theological views has also become important notion in the middle of debate between Hamzah Fansuri and Nuruddin Arraniri about wujudiyah in Aceh in the 17th century. Although al - Mustafidin Sullam text does not explicitly answer the question of wujudiyah in Aceh, but most likely this text was written to neutralize the chaos of religious (read:

wujudiyah) and calls on Muslims to return to I'tiqad ahl sunnah wa al-Jamaah.

Keywords: Aceh, Abdurrauf, texts, theology, wujudiyah, ahl sunnah wa al jamaah

Abstrak

Abad ke-17 adalah masa keemasan bagi sejarah perkembangan intelektual di Aceh yang ditandai dengan hadirnya empat ulama yang sangat masyhur. Salah satunya adalah Abdurrauf Singkel. Karyanya yang berjudul *Sullam al-Mustafidin* berisi beberapa pandangan teologisnya yang diambil dari faham *ahlussunnah wal Jamaah*, yang juga menegaskan eksistensinya sebagai seorang ulama sunni. Pandangan teologis Abdurrauf Singkel juga menjadi sangat penting di tengah perdebatan antara Hamzah Fansuri dan Nuruddin Arraniri tentang Wujudiyah di Aceh pada abad ke-17. Meskipun teks *Sullam al-Mustafidin* tidak secara eksplisit menjawab persoalan wujudiyah di Aceh, namun nampaknya teks ini ditulis untuk menetralsir kekacauan keagamaan (akibat faham wujudiyah) dan meminta kaum muslimin untuk kembali kepada i'tiqad Ahlassunnah wal jamaah.

Kata kunci: Aceh, Abdurrauf, teks, teologi, wujudiyah, ahl sunnah wa al jamaah

Introduction

Sullam al - Mustafidin (SM) as Abdurrauf Singkel's work is a manuscript written in the genre of Sufism in 17th century. (Fathurahman, 1999: 28). Selection of texts from Aceh is based on the historical fact that Aceh is one of the areas that has become the most important center in the production of manuscripts, particularly Malay manuscripts. Even more than 500 manuscripts are still preserved at Leiden University in the Netherlands. (Henri and Fathurahman, 1999: 33)

Aceh is also the largest contributor in the writing of the islamic manuscript Islam in the archipelago. This is not surprising because in this area the great Islamic empire first emerged, initially Samudra

Pasai (1270-1514 AD) and then Aceh Dār al-Salam (1516-1700 AD), the largest Islamic sultanate which is also the most important center of Islamic civilization in Asia East before the arrival of the colonial era. (Steenbrink, 1984: 65-66)

In addition, at the beginning of the 17th century is a glorious century for the development of intellectual history in Aceh, which is characterized by the presence of four well-known scholars, one of which is Abdurrauf Singkel. (Abdullah, 1980: 30)

Sullam al - Mustafidin (SM) manuscript is important to study for at least three reasons. *First*, this text was written by a great scholar who was very influential in the development of Islam in the archipelago. *Second*, in the text there are teachings of monotheism which is important for Muslims. *Third*, the text will prove where the direction of theological schools Abdurrauf is and its response to the conflict in Aceh in 17th century.

As we know that in Aceh in the 17th century the issue of wujudiyah school of thought became a prolonged conflict among scholars there. The conflict was initially triggered by a Sufi named Nurrudin Arraniri (w.1666). (Azra, 2004: 169) who considers the teachings of wujudiyah by Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsudin al-Sumatrani are heretical. According to al-Raniri, wujudiyah teachings are deviant from Islamic theology, so that they are unrepentant and reject stripped understand proficiency level, can be considered infidels and condemned to death. (Azra, 2004: 182). In this context, it is Abdurrauf Singkel's life.

Manuscripts of *Sullam al - Mustafidin*

Sullam al - Mustafidin is a very popular script. It is characterized by the existence of a copy of the text in some manuscripts storage and collector, both domestically and abroad. This proves that the SM text is an important text that needs to be copied frequently.

Based on the inventoried date, there are six copies of the SM manuscript, and i obtained 4 (four) of them from the collection of the manuscripts.

The first comes from a collection of Syahrial father who lives in Lingom Indrapuri village, a subdistrict of Aceh. The second is from the Library Foundation of Education Ali Hasjmi and already recorded in the catalog Ali Hasjmi with the code 11B / TS / 9 / YPAH / 2005 and 11D / TS / 10 / YPAH / 2005. (Fathurahman, 2007: 52)

Two manuscripts are from an Islamic boarding school (*Dayah Tanoh Abee*) in Aceh and have been listed in the catalog Tanoh Abee with code 1A / 45 / TH-1 / TA / 2006 and 33/46 / TS-2 / TA / 2006. (Fathurahman, 2010: 47-48), as well as one from the collection of the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia (PNRI) with ML.109 code. (Behrend, 1998: 225)

It is important that the author obtained copies of the texts kept by three manuscript collectors, in the form of digital photographs, except manuscripts originating from the collection of the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia, which was obtained in the original form. Unfortunately, the special script of the Lingom village has different destiny. A week after being photographed, the original

manuscript was sold to a collector in Jakarta. The other copies of two manuscripts originating from the collection dayah Tanoh Abee were obtained in digital photo format, but only the part of beginning, middle and end pages. According to the compilers of the catalog, namely Oman Fathurahman and his team, the attempt to photograph the manuscript was challenging because the owner of the manuscript -in this case the family Dayah- did not give permission to photograph the manuscript as a whole. The last two manuscripts obtained were from the collections of Ali Hasjmi Education Foundation, in the form of digital photographs. Almost all of the texts have also been described, including and catalog Ali Hasjmi Tanoh Abee.

These manuscripts are then described and compared based on codified aspects. From this comparison, the author took the manuscript from the PNRI manuscript collection as grounding issue. There are three reasons for this, the contents of the text are complete, easily accessible in the original form and from the basic paper used, the script is quite old. Whereas the script from the Tanoh Abee collection cannot be processed due to its incomplete form. Meanwhile, the author did not make the runway of the manuscript collections of Ali Hasjmi because the copying is relatively young and it is not exhaustive. The author also did not make the runway of the manuscript from Lingom village as it received not in the 'original' form but only digital photos.

The Theological Discourses of Abdurrauf Singkel in manuscript *Sullam al - Mustafidin*

Based on his works, Abdurrauf deserves to be called as a Sufi figure and a theologian. Spirit theology and mysticism often appeared in his writings. This shows that although Abdurrauf was concerned with mystical world, but he was not left behind in discussing

theological discourse that had been studied by previous scholars. Below are some theological discourses of Abdurrauf Singkel's:

A. Divinity Discourse

In the *Sullam al - Mustafidin* (SM) script, Abdurrauf confirms that the divinity is the first thing required for students who want to explore the path of God. As stated in the text:

Then from that, please know the pupil, that the first of all is obligatory that you mean of Him is to monothe your Lord. He is God who is eternal.

Kemudian dari itu, maka ketahui olehmu hai murid. Bahwa pertamata-tama wajib yang kau qasadkan akan Dia itu mentauhidkan Tuhanmu, yaitu Tuhan yang bersifat azali (SM. 9)

From the quote above, it is clear that Abdurrauf was a figure of a scholars who emphasized the importance of the basic conviction of strong monotheism for people who want to enter the world of Sufism. This also confirms that Abdurrauf was a follower of Sufism "amali" which makes the value of monotheism as the foundation for the practice of sufism.

In order to strengthen the values of monotheism in the heart of the Muslims, Abdurrauf recommends to always say *La Ilāha Illā Allāh*, because in that statement, the four dignities of monotheism accumulate. That is monotheism *uluhiyah* (Oneness of Lordship of God), *tawhid af'al* (Oneness of God's action), the monotheistic nature (Oneness of Allah's attributes), and the unity of substances (substances Oneness of Allah), as cited in the text:

Then, it is to collect all of dignity to the Lā ilāha Illā Allāh. Because it shows the first monotheism with manzuq, and three for those with istilzam. So, with this word, we should always say Lā ilāha illa Allāh,

as well as assert Him so that the results and rāsikh in our bosom are all tauhid. (SM.11)

Maka adalah menghimpunkan segala martabat yang tersebut itu kepada Lā ilāha illā Allāh. Karena ia menunjukkan atas tauhid yang pertama itu dengan manzuq. Dan atas tiga yang bagi itu dengan istilzam. Maka dengan kata ini seyogyanyalah kita senantiasa mengata Lā ilāha illa Allāh, serta mentasdiqkan Dia supaya hasil dan rāsikh

The statement above also confirms that although lafaz *lā ilāha illā Allāh* seems ordinary, but for Abdurrauf, in the lafaz is filled with nuances of Sufism. If someone remembrance with lafaz *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, then until someone loses consciousness and goes into a state where he has died and only God himself appears in him, then indeed he has reached the highest state of monotheism.

In discussing the issue of God's attributes, Abdurrauf was seen to be greatly influenced by the theological concept of al-Sanusi by dividing the nature of God into 20 characters. There were referred to the nature of *Nafsiyah, salbiyah, ma'nawiyah and ma'āniy*. Among the categories, the *ma'āniy* is said to be the mother of all the realm of origin (SM.12-13) . The *Ma'āniy that include Qudrat, Iradat, ' Ilm, Hayāt, Sama ', Basar and Kalam.*

B. Kalam Discourse

In the text of *Sullam al - Mustafidin* (SM), also discussed some *Kalam* scholars' thoughts, among other human actions, see God in the hereafter and status of a sinful believer. For Abdurrauf, these ideas are not entirely true, almost wrong and misguided. Therefore, in this section Abdurrauf threw his criticism towards the thoughts of *kalam* scholars in regardss to the topic above.

1. Human acts

As we know in the discourse of theology, there are differences of opinion for the *ahl kalam* of human power in creating actions. *Jabariyah* believes that human has no independence in determining their wills and actions. Opposite is the opinion of *Qadariyah*. They say that human dominate over his actions. (Al-Shahrastani, tt: 86-88). This is different from a second opinion, quoting his teacher, *Aburrauf* has a view as stated in the SM text:

Kata Syaikh, “*Wa- al-kasbu takh̄jilun bi- i©n Allāh lā mustaqillan fa-ista’in bi-Allāh.*”

Syaikh said: ... and it is exspection produces something with God’s permission, there is no mustaqil. So, with this word, help you to God.

Dan adalah asa itu menghasilkan sesuatu dengan izin Allah tiada mustaqil. Maka dengan kata ini menuntut tolonglah engkau kepada Allah.

Fa- al-jiru manfiyyu ka- al-istiqlāli bi©ā atā tanzihu ©i al-jalāli.

If it is the meaning of “kasab” like that, then i’tiqād Jabari is rejected and , like vanity i’tiqād istiqlāl

Apabila adalah makna kasab seperti yang tersebut itu, maka i’tiqād Jabari itu semata-mata menafi’lah ia, lagi batil. Seperti batil i’tiqād istiqlāl

From the above statement, it is clear that *Abdurrauf* believes that human can create their will, but it can only be realized by Allah’s permission. What this means is that humans and God both have the intention to create human actions, but when the human’s contribution in creating their actions are not by Allah’s contribution, it is almost weak, passive, and everything becomes domination of God. Therefore, *Abdurrauf* calls on people to always expect help from Allah, because God gives permission for that realization of human actions.

It is clear that Abdurrauf believes that humans can create their will, but their will can only be realized by Allah's permission. What this means is that humans and God both have the intention to create human actions, but human contributions in creating their actions are not by God's contribution, almost weak, passive, and all become God's domination. Therefore, Abdurrauf calls on people to always expect help from Allah, because God gives permission for the realization of human actions. Such a view is clearly similar to the opinion of Ash'ariyah. They found that realizing human action is God. Humans only have the power and choice to do God's will. Humans are not *fa'il*, but *kāsib*. On this basis the theory of *kasb* appears. Al-Shahrastani said that the birth of human action with God to impose his sunnah through new forces was made together with action.

Such a view is clearly similar to the opinion of Asy'ariyah. They found that realizing human actions is God's. Humans only have the power and the choice to do the will of God. Humans not *fa'il*, but *kāsib*. On this basis, the theory of *kasb* appears. Al-Shahrastani said that the birth of human actions with God to impose his sunnah through the newly forces created together with the action. (Al-Shahrastani, nd: 97)

It is almost certain that the view is the same between Abdurrauf and Asy'ariyah. Although in terms of substance there is little resemblance to Jabariyah's view, but Abdurrauf criticizes the stream as a stream of falsehood or misguided. As written in the text SM:

So as for i'tiqād jabari, that is only the school of someone named Jahm the son of Sofwan, and all who follow him and their i'tiqād are no quwwah. Then the servant is everything and majbūr. That is to be confirmed also in his job. So, from that, they were called Jabariyah.

Maka adapun i'tiqād jabari semata-mata itu yaitu mazhab seseorang

yang bernama Jahm anak Sofwan. Dan segala yang mengikut dia dan adalah i'tiqād mereka itu tiada quwwah. Maka hamba itu segala-gala dan adalah hamba itu majbūr. Yakni dikukuh jua pada fi'ilnya. Maka dari karena itulah dinamai mereka itu Jabariyah.

On the basis of this quote, one can interpret that Abdurrauf opinion about human actions is not really similar to the Jabariyah. It is possible that what Abdurrauf meant by *kasb* is true that human actions are controlled by God, but humans also have a role, though the role is not effective.

Abdurrauf also criticized Mu'tazila thoughts that says that humans have power and freedom to create his actions. I'tiqad Mu'tazila regarded as I'tiqad vanity. As said in the text SM:

And the i'tiqād of the istiqlāl is i'tiqad ahl al-i'tidāl, and it is their i'tiqād that all the servants jobs are wāqi`. He is with the servant will for the istiqlā way, and with no ijāb, only by his endeavor/will. Then these two i'tiqāds are vanishing both with a number of propositions that show the vanity of both.

Dan adapun i'tiqād istiqlāl itu yaitu i'tiqad ahl al-i'tidāl. Dan adalah i'tiqād mereka itu bahwa segala fi'il hamba itu wāqi`. Ia dengan qudrat hamba atas jalan istiqlāl, dan dengan tiada ijāb, hanya dengan ikhtiar dirinya jua. Maka adalah dua i'tiqād ini batil keduanya dengan beberapa dalil yang menunjukkan kepada batil keduanya.

From the above-mentioned quote of the term I'tiqad Istiqlāl it is *I'tiqad ahl al - i'tidāl* is referring to the group Mu'tazila who say that human beings have freedom in his actions. To assert falsehood Jabariyah and Mu'tazila, Abdurrauf said in the text:

So with all these arguments, we know that the servant job give ta'sir with the permission of Allah, and i'tiqād Jabari and Istiqlāl is a fallacy. And the best i'tiqād/faith between both of them is i'tiqād ahl al-sunnah wa-al-jamā'ah, and it is a fallacy their i'tiqād with dharūri because it is mukābarah and rejects for something that is ma'lūm with

badihāh

Maka dengan segala dalil ini tahulah kita akan fi'il hamba itu memberi ta'sir ia dengan izin Allah. Dan batillah i'tiqād Jabari dan Istiqāl. Dan adalah i'tiqād yang sahih antara keduanya itu i'tiqād ahl al-sunnah wa- al-jamā'ah. Dan adalah batil i'tiqād mereka itu dengan dharūri karena ia mukābarah lagi menolakkan bagi sesuatu yang ma'lūm dengan badihāh

2. Seeing God in the Hereafter

About the possibility of viewing God in the hereafter, the scholars kalam also have different opinions. The Mu'tazilah opinion is God can not be seen by physical eyes, because it is immaterial. If God can be seen with the eyes, surely God will be seen by now in this realm as well. In contrast, the Ash'ariyah believe that human being can and will view God with eyes, in the hereafter. ('Abd Jabbar, 1960: 253)

Associated with it, Abdurrauf have a view that is parallel to the Asy'ariyah, as mentioned in the text:

As for all mukmin at i'tiqād ahl sunnah wa-al-jamā'ah, then they see their God in heaven. So, it is in mawqif and in the fields of mahsyar even thabit, that is according to the argument of quran and hadith.

Adapun segala mukmin itu pada i'tiqād ahl sunnah wa- al-jamā'ah, maka melihat mereka akan Tuhan mereka dalam surga. Dan demikianlah pada mawqif dan pada padang mahsyar pun thabit yang demikian itu dengan dalil qur'an dan hadis (SM. 98)

From this quote, it is clear that according to Abdurrauf with I'tiqad ahl sunnah wa al- jamā`ah, argued that God can be seen by the faithfuls in heaven. Whether the vision is material or immaterial, Abdurrauf did not explain it in detail. However, it is foreseeable that there is the possibility Abdurrauf say that God can be seen in the material or with eyes directly. This is only for the believers, while for

unbelievers, he can not see God. As for Abdurrauf, his argument is that God can be seen in the hereafter as stated in the text:

The half of the proposition that mentions the vision of heaven is the word of God Almighty:

Adapun setengah daripada dalil yang menyebutkan penglihatan dalam surga itu yaitu firman Allah Ta'ala:

وجو يومئذ نضره الى ربها نظره

All faces on that day saw nothing to their Lord.

Artinya: Segala muka pada hari itu paras menilik kepada Tuhan mereka dengan tiada betapa. (Qs. Al-Qiyāmah: 22) (SM.99)

3. Moslem Sin

In the idea of a sinful Moslems position, the Kalam scholars also had different opinions. According to the Khawarij, Muslims who sinned were transferred to infidels and had left Islam. The Murji'ah believe that muslims who committed sin, remains having their status as muslims, not become infidel. However, the reckoning of the sins they have committed will be postponed until the Day of the Judgment. Meanwhile, Mu'tazila found that believers who committed major sins, do not lose their status of being muslims nor become kafir due to no faith in their hearts. But yet they are also not believers, because their faith is not longer perfect. Therefore, the perpetrators of major sins, has their own place, *manzilah bayna manzilatay*, a place in between hell and heaven. ('Abd Jabbar, 1960: 727)

According to Abdurrauf opinion, moslem who committed sins still likely to go to heaven. As stated in the text:

If he is dead in wrong deed, because each Muslim are in i'tiqād ahl al-

sunnah al-jamā'ah, they enter heaven.

Jikalau ada ia mati maksiat sekalipun, karena tiap-tiap muslim itu pada i'tiqād ahl al-sunnah wa- al jamā'ah masuk surga.

Abdurrauf quoted his teacher's statement:

That is why the Shaykh said, "Wa- kullu muslimin yamūtu 'ājiyan wa- lam yatub min ʿānbihi fanājiyan".

Beginning with every bad Muslim who committed sins and dies, and does repent of his sin, then he escapes from hell.

Abdurrauf mengutip pernyataan gurunya:

Sebab itulah kata Syaikh, "Wa- kullu muslimin yamūtu 'ājiyan wa- lam yatub min ʿānbihi fanājiyan". Artinya: Bermula tiap-tiap muslim yang mati ia padahalnya maksiat dan tiada ia taubat daripada dosanya, maka luput jua ia daripada neraka. (SM.86)

From some of the quote above, it is clear that there is the same thought between Abdurrauf and ahl Sunnah wa al - jamā'ah, saying that the believers who commit major sins will still go to heaven, although it should receive the punishment in hell first. But in the end, they will go to heaven, too. As mentioned in the text:

In the beginning, any muslims committed unlawful, immoral works, no matter how bad it is, will not turned into an infidel. So if he does not become an infidel, surely he will enter heaven in the end. Sometimes with Allah's forgiveness for him, a man will only go to hell to wash his sins.

Bermula, barang siapa mengerjakan salah suatu daripadanya dengan tiada yang halal kepadanya, niscaya adalah ia maksiat jua, tiada jadi kafir. Maka apabila tiadalah ia jadi kafir, niscaya masuk surga jua pada akhirnya. Adakalanya dengan ampunan Allah baginya atau kemudian daripada ia masuk neraka akan balas maksiatnya. (SM.96)

B. Eschatology Discourse

The eschatology is a study of life after death with all phenomena of its commencement. In Islamic doctrine, eschatology is an essential

part of the basic creed of Islam, in which life believed to end. By knowing the doctrine of the existence of life after death, it is possible, for the human spirit to always serve God according to predefined rules. Understanding all phenomena can also be a warning for people to always be hasty in doing good, for all the deeds will be calculated later at the end of time.

1. The phenomenon of the End of the world

According to Abdurrauf, the phenomenon of the end of the world, marked by at least several things. Among them are the appearance of Imam Mahdi and Dajjal, the descending of Prophet Isa, the monstrous Yajuj wa Ma'juz creature, the sun rises from the west, the coming out of Dabbah and blowing sangsakala. As mentioned in the text:

Starting from the emergence of all kinds of creatures, such as the Mahdi the Imam, and the Dajjal. Then the Prophet Isa went down to kill the Dajjal. Then Ya'juz wa Ma'juz appeared, and the sun will rise from the west. Then Dabbah and the Sangsakala came out. As for Imam Mahdi, he came out at the end of time. We better not forget him.

Bermula, daripada segala pekerjaan yang datang dahulu daripada segala makhluk itu, yaitu keluar Imam Mahdi dan keluar Dajjal dan turun Nabi Allah Isa as. Membunuh dajjal itu dan keluar Ya'juz dan Ma'juz dan terbit matahari daripada pihak maghrib. Dan keluar dābbah dan tiup sangsakala. Maka adapun Imam Mahdi itu adalah keluarnya pada akhir zaman. Seyogyanya jangan kita lupa akan dia.

1.1. The Coming Out of Imam Mahdi

According to Abdurrauf, based on the hadith of the prophet Muhammad, the characteristics of the Mahdi was quoted as written in the text:

And half of the story 'Alì Karrama Allāh al-Wajh ra, he said that:

Dan setengah daripada ceritera 'Alì Karrama Allāh al-Wajh ra, telah berkata ia demikian bunyinya:

المهدي مولده بالمدينه من اهل البيت النبي

“Mahdi is the place in the land of Medina rather than the contents of the house of peace.”

Mahdi tempat jadinya di negeri Madinah daripada isi rumah SAW.

And half of the story came from Abu Tufayl that the Messenger of Allah bears the character of Mahdi. Then he mentioned half of all the Mahdi's qualities, his tongue was red. And when he talked softly, he would strike his left thigh with his right hand.

Dan setengah daripada ceritera daripada Abu Tufayl bahwasanya Rasulullah saw mensifatkan Mahdi. Maka disebutkannya setengah daripada segala sifat Mahdi itu, merah lidahnya. Dan apabila lembut katanya keluar, niscaya dipukul pahanya kiri dengan tangan kanannya.

From the above hadith, we get the impression that Abdurrauf strongly believed in the arrival of the Mahdi at the end of the world. However, keep in mind that the traditions that legitimate the arrival of the Mahdi at the end of the world, had caused much debate among scholars and Muslim scholars. The scholars and thinkers of Islam rationally assess the hadith about al-Mahdiyah and conclude that it is weak and incompetent.

According to Azyumardi Azra, a hadith about the Mahdi could be engineered for political purposes, both for the Shia and Sunni. Despite all of these, it seems acceptable that the real al-Mahdi will soon emerge. Therefore, Azyumardi assumed that people's beliefs about their Sunni reformers who would appear every hundred years, nuanced messianic and eschatological teachings, were manifestations

of the real Al-Mahdi. (Azra, 1999: 101)

1.2. Out of Dajjal

In the text SM, Abdurrauf quote some statements about the profile and characteristics of the Antichrist. As mentioned in the text:

And as for the dajjal, its appearance is the greatest slander in the world, because, the first he claims himself as prophet. Then, he declares himself as God. The emergence of dajjal is like Mahdi's, it is the sign of the end of the world.

Dan adapun dajjal itu maka adalah keluarnya itu sebesar-besar fitnah yang dalam dunia, karena pertama ia menda`wahi dirinya nabi. Kemudian, maka mendakwahi ia dirinya Allah. Dan adalah keluarnya itu seperti keluar Mahdi pada pihak ia alamat akan hampir kiamat.

From the quote above, it is obvious that one of the features of the dajjal is that he considered himself a prophet then proclaimed himself as God. He will come out at the end of time as a sign that the end of the day is closer. He also became a huge slander for humans. In addition, Abdurrauf also said that:

Bi- annahu a'samu fitnatin turā fitnatu dajjālin la'inin a'warin.

"It will be that the most profound work that is seen is the blindness of the blind dajjal. Then let us remember all the people of the qasad."

Akan bahwasanya pekerjaan yang terlebih berfitnah yang dilihat yaitu fitnah dajjal yang mal'ūn yang buta itu. Maka hendaklah kita beringat-ingat segala segala manusia akan qasad itu. (SM. 52)

1.3. The fall in Isa al-Masih

Judgment marks the third is the decline in Isa al-Masih. He will come down to earth after the release of Imam Mahdi and the Antichrist as mentioned in the text:

And as for Jesus' ascension, he was already out of the Mahdi and Dajjal. Because that, Shaykh ra said:

"Wa 'inda dzāka yanzilu al-masihū wa-yaqtulu al-dajjālu idz yabihu"

And when the Mahdi and the dajjal came out Isa the son of Mary and killed the dajjal when Allah required him to kill him.

Dan adapun turun Isa as itu adalah ia pada masa sudah keluar Mahdi dan dajjal itu. Sebab itulah kata Syaikh ra, "Wa 'inda dzāka yanzilu al-masihū wa- yaqtulu al-dajjālu idz yabihu".

Dan tatkala keluar Mahdi dan dajjal itu turunlah Isa anak Maryam dan dibunuhnyalah dajjal waktu diharuskan Allah baginya membunuh dia.

From the above quotation, Abdurrauf while quoting his teacher wanted to say that Isa al-Masih will come down to earth in the time of man in critical condition and fierce fighting between the Mahdi and the Antichrist. After the Antichrist and his forces were killed, Isa al-Masih led the world for forty years.

1.4. Ya'uj wa Ma'uj

The fourth phenomenon is the end-time discharge of Ya'uj wa ma'uj. According to Abdurrauf, they are gods manifold including human beings. They are descendants of the prophet Nuh. As said Abdurrauf:

And as for the out of Ya'uj and Ma'uj were in the time of Jesus, and they filled the earth and were destroyed by the blessings of Jesus' prayer. That is why the word Shaykh ra:

"Yakhakhrujūna ya'uj ma'a ma'uj wa-yamlu 'ūna al-ar" an yamūjū."

"And come out ya'uj and ma'uj even though they filled the earth. When they are because of their numbers. So, they were of the sons of Adam. Then than the son of his father, the son of Noah.

Dan adapun keluar Ya'uj dan Ma'uj itu adalah ia pada masa Isa jua.

Dan adalah mereka itu memenuhi bumi dan adalah binasa mereka itu pun dengan berkat doa Isa jua. Sebab itulah kata Shaykh ra, “Wa-yakhrujūna ya’jūj ma’a ma’jūj wa- yamla’ūna al-ardh an yamūjū. Artinya: Dan keluarlah ya’juj serta ma’jūj padahal dipenuhi mereka itulah bumi. Tatkala.....mereka itu sebab banyaknya. Maka adalah mereka itu daripada anak Adam. Kemudia daripada anak bapaknya anak Nuh as. (SM. 61)

Abdurrauf by quoting a hadith also informed about the characteristics of Ya’juj and Ma’juj as follows:

And in a history, every one of them leaves a thousand instead of his offspring. And on one face also that they collect with the goods desired by them. And no one dies of them but leaves a thousand offspring or more than a thousand. And in a history the length is a few inches or fewer. And they were three inches long.

Dan pada suatu riwayat adalah tiap-tiap seseorang daripada mereka itu meninggalkan seribu daripada dzurriyahnya. Dan pada suatu wajah pula bahwa adalah mereka itu jama’ dengan barang yang dikehendaki oleh mereka itu. Dan tiada ada mati seseorang jua pun daripada mereka melainkan meninggalkan seribu dzurriyahnya atau lebih daripada seribu. Dan pada suatu riwayat adalah panjang mereka itu sejengkal-jengkal atau lebih sedikit. Dan adalah sepanjang-panjang mereka tiga jengkal.

The above quote shows that Ya’juj and Ma’juj are creatures with the most offsprings. They will not die before leaving a thousand offspring. It is all-round three-inch long they are. In this manuscript also implicitly explained that Ya’juj and Ma’juj like spreading evil and make mischief on the earth, so God sent the prophet Isa to destroy them.

1.5. The rising of the Sun from the West

The phenomenon of the end of the fifth era is the sunrise from the west. As pointed Abdurrauf:

Beginning, it is sunrise rather than the maghrib. Half of all addresses of apocalypse such as out of Ya'juj and Ma'juj. That is why, Shaykh said, "Thumma ulu'u al-syamsi min- maghribihā wa- mani'u imānin li- mu'minin bihā"

Then, it is the sun rises from the sunset and the benefits of faith at that time for those who believe in Allah Ta'ala and rasulallah by seeing that. As for the rising sun than the maghrib like closing the door, because if the sun rises from the maghrib, the door to repentance is surely closed.

Bermula, adalah terbit matahari daripada pihak maghrib itu. Setengah daripada segala alamat kiamat seperti keluar Ya'juj dan Ma'juj. Itu sebab itulah kata Shaykh, "Thumma ulu'u al-syamsi min- maghribihā wa- mani'u imānin li- mu'minin bihā".Artinya: Kemudian dari itu maka terbitlah matahari dari pihak magribnya dan terteguhlah manfaat iman pada ketika itu bagi yang percaya akan Allah Ta'ala dan akan Rasulallah dengan sebab melihat yang demikian itu. Adapun terbit matahari daripada pihak magrib itu, akan adalah ia umpama menutup pintu, karena apabila terbitlah matahari itu daripada maghrib, niscaya tertutuplah pintu taubat. (SM. 64)

From this statement, Abdurrauf remind Muslims that one of the signs of Judgment is the sunrise from the west. If that happens, then the door of repentance has been closed. Furthermore, the statement also expressed his teaching thoughts that in such conditions, only firmed faith was most helpful.

1.6. *Out of Dabbah*

The phenomenon of the end of the world is the sixth release of *Dabbah*. The word comes from *Dabbah* (*Catatan: the word ini merujuk kemana? Kata apa yang datang dari Dabbah? Saran: sempurnakan kalimat sehingga dapat dipahami oleh pembaca*), which means walking slowly. In language the word *Dabbah* means all animals have a life, not understanding beakal (*Catatan: "beakal" maksudnya apa?*), male/male or female/female. Typically said *Dabbah*

used to indicate a quadruped Dabbah will come out before the Day of Judgment. (Shihab, 2000: 278) Abdurrauf explain, as written in the text:

And the release of the daba is a sign of all the great signs of the end of the world. So, when the first sign of the sign falls, than the great sign, then all the signs are then successive

Dan adalah keluarnya dābbah itu suatu tanda daripada segala tanda yang besar akan tanda hari kiamat. Maka tatkala jatuhnya tanda pertama tanda daripada tanda yang besar itu, niscaya berturut-turutlah segala tanda kemudian (SM.76)

The release of the Dabbah a sign of all great signs that will be the mark the Day of Judgment. Then, when the first signs appeared, the next followed. (SM. 76)

Abdurrauf also gave information about the characteristics of Dabbah and time of discharge, namely:

Beginning, their half word was that the length of the dābah was sixty cubits. And he has four feathered legs all over his body. And it is apparently sharing like all hayawan. And in a history, his head is like an ox head, and his eyes are like a pig's eye, and his ears are like an elephant's ear, and his horn is like an animal's horn called "ayyil" jungle goat, and his neck is like a n-`-imh neck, and his chest like a tiger's chest, and the color is like the color of a tiger. Its roots and waist are like a cat's waist, and its tail is like a sheep's tail, and its four legs are like camel's feet. Each of its two joints, twelve cubits. So, this is the place of the dābah. (SM. 76) And as for going out the dabbah, then he was at the time of the day, the day that was published, he had said that the human experience of death, then there were several phases that must be passed. As disclosed in the text:

Bermula, kata setengah mereka itu adalah bahwa panjang dābbah itu enam puluh hasta. Dan adalah ia mempunyai empat kaki-kaki berbulu-bulu segala tubuhnya. Dan adalah rupanya itu berbagi-bagi menyerupai segala hayawan. Dan pada suatu riwayat, kepalanya seperti kepala lembu, dan matanya seperti mata babi, dan telinganya

seperti telinga gajah, dan tanduknya seperti tanduk binatang yang bernama "ayyil" ya`ni kambing hutan, dan lehernya seperti leher n-`-i-m-h, dan dadanya seperti dada harimau, dan warnanya seperti warna harimau. Akar dan pinggangnya seperti pinggang kucing, dan ekornya seperti ekor biri-biri, dan empat kakinya seperti kaki unta. Tiap-tiap antara dua sendinya, dua belas hasta. Maka inilah tempat dābbah yang tersebut itu. (SM.76) Dan adapun keluar dābbah itu, maka adalah ia pada waktu dhuha, hari yang terbit He also informed that when the human experience of death, then there are several a phase that must be passed. As disclosed in the text:

The above quote explains that Dabbah is a kind of animal, but not like animals in general. She has distinctive characteristics, both in terms of his greatness, physical beauty and strength.

2. The life After Death

In the script SM, Abdurrauf not only discuss end-time phenomena. But he also describes the happenings of life after death. According to Abdurrauf, afterlife will be preceded by an inflatable sangsakala. As mentioned in the text:

So when the first sign of the sign falls than the great sign, then all the signs are then successive. Then came the trumpet blow.

Maka tatkala jatuhnya tanda pertama tanda daripada tanda yang besar itu, niscaya berturut-turutlah segala tanda kemudian. Maka datanglah tiup sangkakala. (SM.76)

He also informed that when the human experience of death, then there are several a phase that must be passed. As disclosed in the text:

There are many things that come to us and meet us from the life after dead. Part of it facing the questions from munkar and nakir and the torment of the grave. The other part is to rise from the grave, the scale, the bridge, the heaven and hell, and to gather with all people, to meed Allah Allah half of it is the scale. And half of it is bridge and heaven and hell and see Haq Ta'ala in mawqif and mahsyar and in heaven.

Then it is all in truth. Again, the reality will come in this book.

Adapun segala yang datang dan ditemui kemudian daripada mati itu, maka yaitu amat banyak. Yaitu setengah daripadanya su'āl munkar wa- nakir dan siksa kubur. Dan setengah daripadanya bangkit dari dalam kubur. Dan setengah daripadanya timbangan. Dan setengah daripadanya titi dan surga dan neraka dan melihat Haq Ta'ala pada mawqif dan mahsyar dan dalam surga. Maka adalah sekalian itu sebenar-benarnya. Dan lagi akan datang kenyatannya pada kitab ini. (SM.78)

The above explanation stated that when human experience death, then the phases that must be passed is to answer questions by Munkar and Nakir angels, the punishment in the grave, rose from the grave, calculating the deeds, past the pedestrian bridge, go to heaven or hell and is likely to see God. With regard to the question of angels Munkar and Nakir, Abdurrauf said:

That is what is asked of the two angels to us, who is our god and what is our religion, and who is our prophet. And it is our answer that Allah is my God, and Islam is my religion, and Muhammad is my prophet. But let us believe in all that before we die by believing that. So that we may be protected from the danger of the grave, for the thing which he has not trusted in all his lifetime, surely, he is of all those who have no helper.

Bahwa adalah yang ditanya daripada oleh dua malaikat itu daripada kita, siapa tuhan kita dan apa agama kita, dan siapa nabi kita. Dan adalah jawab kita yang terlebih bagi Allah Tuhanku, dan Islam agamaku, dan Muhammad nabiku. Tetapi hendaklah kita percaya akan sekalian itu dahulu daripada mati kita dengan percaya yang tersebut itu, supaya kita terpelihara daripada bahaya kubur, karena barang yang tiada ia dipercayai akan sekalian itu pada masa hidupnya, niscaya adalah ia daripada segala orang yang tiada beroleh penolong. (SM.78)

According to Abdurrauf, there are some groups that might not get the two angels and the punishment of the grave, the martyrs, those who met the enemy, but were patient to continue fighting eventhough

they had to die, those who are waiting for the city in the direction of the country with the intention to fight against infidel, those who read at prayer rug and read surah Alif lam al-Mulk before sleeping, people who read surah al-Mulk every night, those who died on the day or the evening of Friday, those who died of ta'un illness, children and people who read surah al-ikhlas when sick, and suddenly died. (SM.81)

C. Sufism Discourse

The Sufism is the knowledge or understanding of how to involve or approach God as closely as possible. Usually, in undergoing a relationship, there are provisions that must be followed, so that the purpose of God's search path can be achieved.

According to Abdurrauf, people who want to live the life of Sufi mysticism or, should know some of the values that must be known, believed and passed. As stated in the text:

Beginning, when laying out manzūm this shaykh rather than i'tiqād to Allah Ta'ala as he said it, then whoever wants to go the way to Allah on the path of ahl Allāh, then agreed to this intention, then it should for him at first, he knew Mabni al-tariq. That is, the place to do that path, and know all origin. That is the tree for the action mu'āmalah. And know of all things which he treats himself from all his illness. And knowing the origin of all 'illat, and all the sharat of one of all mashāyikh ahl al-tariqah which is worthy of the disciple he commits to do. And knowing the association of all behavior adab as well as the Shaykh, and if even with ijmal.

Bermula, apabila memadailah manshūm syaikh ini daripada pihak i'tiqād kepada Allah Ta'ala seperti yang telah dikatanya itu, maka barang siapa hendak menjalani jalan kepada Allah atas jalan ahl Allāh, kemudian daripada jabat berjabat kepada i'tiqād ini, maka seyogyanya baginya pada pertamanya mengetahui Mabni al-tariq. Artinya, tempat berbuat jalan itu, dan mengetahui segala asal. Yakni pohon bagi mu'āmalah. Dan mengetahui segala asal yang dengan dia

mengobati diri daripada segala 'illatnya, ya'ni penyakitnya. Dan mengetahui asal segala 'illatnya, dan segala syarat seorang daripada segala mashāyikh ahl al-tariqah yang patut murid membuang dirinya kepadanya. Dan mengetahui perhimpunan segala adab serta Syaikh, dan jikalau dengan ijmal sekalipun. (SM. 112).

From this quote, the main value of which should be known is a salik. The first, knowing *mabni al- ariq* is a way to do the Lord's way. The second, knowing all origin. The third, know the origin of all that with him to heal than any *'illatnya*, namely illness. The fourth, determine the origin of all 'illat. The fifth, knowing requirements to be *syaiikh ahl ariqah*. The sixth, mannerisms of students and *syaiikh*.

As for doing a path to God, Abdurrauf quoted Sayid Sulayman Ahdal as follows:

Then as for the way to do that, then that is for all things which are five. Sayid Sulayman Ahdal said:

"Mabni ariqhum 'alā udzūl khams biha tasir al-wudzūl".

The place to do their way, which is for all origins which are five. With him it is the disciples who come to God.

So first of all it was fearful. It means fearing Allah in zahir and batin; Wara', which is to maintain oneself from forbidden things. And second from it ittibā 'al-kitāb wa-al-sunnah. It means to follow the quran and hadith on his actions and words, to conclude him by maintaining himself with good temperament and by way and third of them, al-a'rād 'an kulli al-wari. It means to turn away from idolizing humans, be careful with resignation and patience. And fourth of them, ridhā 'an al-rabb. It means to be pleased with God's will, submission of himself to Allah with qanaah. And the fifth of them, al-rāji 'ilā al-rabb. It means ask for protection to the Lord for all the work that is beneficial and harmful, praising God, and thanking Him for good and bad things. Then these are the origin of the five that were done on their path.

Maka adapun tempat berbuat jalan itu, maka yaitu atas segala asal yang lima. Kata sayid Sulayman Ahdal, "Mabni ariqhum 'alā udzūl

khams biha tasir al-wudzūl". Artinya: Tempat berbuat jalan mereka itu, yaitu atas segala asal yang lima. Dengan dia itulah murid sampai kepada Allah. Maka pertama daripadanya itu takwa. Artinya takut akan Allah pada zahir dan batin, mentahqiqan Dia. Wara', yakni memelihara diri daripada haram. Dan kedua daripadanya ittibā' al-kitāb wa- al-sunnah. Artinya mengikuti qur'an dan hadis pada perbuatannya dan perkataannya, mentahqiqan dia dengan melihara diri dengan perangai yang baik Dan dengan jalan dan ketiga daripadanya, al-a'rād 'an kulli al-warì. Artinya berpaling daripada segala manusia, mentahqiqkan dengan tawakkal dan sabar. Dan keempat daripadanya, ridhā 'an al-rabb. Artinya ridha akan Tuhan pada tiap-tiap yang dihukumkannya akan dia, mentahqiqkan dia dengan menyerahkan dirinya kepada Allah dengan qana'ah. Dan kelima daripadanya, al-rāji' ilà al-rabb. Artinya ruju' kepada Tuhannya pada segala pekerjaan yang memberi manfaat dan mudarat, mentahqiqkan Dia dengan memuji Allah, dan shukur kepada-Nya pada hal baik dan jahat. Maka inilah segala asal yang lima yang diperbuat atas jalan mereka.

The above statement referred to a notion that the place conduct God's the way to God are piety, follow the Qur'an and hadith, turning away from all human excessiveness with resignation and patience, be satisfied for all that God condemned by surrendering to God through qanaah, and restore all things to God. (Al - Ghazali, 3-10: 1980, Alwi, 94 : 2001)

According to Abdurrauf five points above, sourced from five points also. As stated in the text:

Starting, as long as all five origins are five cases. The first of these is 'ulw al-himmah. It means high mind. Secondly there is hifs al-hurmah. It means maintaining respect. Third, there are husn al-khudmah. It means good khudmah. Four of them, sidq al-'uzmah. That means intending. The five of them, ta'sim qudra al-ni'mah. That is, raising qudrah is requesting help from Allah.

Bermula, asal segala asal yang lima itu lima perkara pula. Yang pertama daripadanya itu 'ulw al-himmah. Artinya tinggi cita. Kedua daripadanya hifs al-hurmah. Artinya memelihara akan hormat. Ketiga daripadanya husn al-khudmah. Artinya baik khudmah. Keempat

daripadanya, sidq al-'uzmah. Artinya berniat. Kelima daripadanya itu, ta'sim qudra al-ni'mah. Artinya, membesarkan qudrah nikmat daripada Allah.

The statement indicates that to practice God's way one must begin with five important values. Must have high ideals, maintain the honor, good *service*, has the intention and increase the ability to apply the Sharia Qudrah endowment from God. Abdurrauf also quoted the teacher by saying that:

"Fa-aymā imra'a Ta'ālā himmatak irtafa'at 'inda Allāh ratbatahu (SM.113)

So, who has high glory, surely high glory but Allah.

Wa- hurrimat Allāh fa- man yahfasuhā yuhfasu lahu harramat hā fah-fasuhā.

And God respects him. So whosoever will nourishes him, Allah will maintain for him his honor. So keep it by your respect.

Maka yang mana manusia telah tinggi himmatnya, niscaya tinggi pada Allah Ta'ala pangkatnya.

Five points mentioned above was what Abdurrauf called muamalat. Muamalat also starts with the five values as well. Namely, to study, to be friends with scholars, leaving *tarākhis*, respecting time with wirid and abstinence, as mentioned in the text:

And as for all the suggestions for mu'āmalat, then that is five cases. First, study. Second, be friends with all scholars. Third, leave tarakhis, it is avoid disparaging mannerism towards all works. Fourth, respect time with zikr. Fifth, abstinence of lust. It is to defiles his lust And this is all origin for the mu'āmalah.

Dan adapun segala usul bagi mu'āmalat itu, maka yaitu lima perkara jua. Pertama, menuntut ilmu. Kedua, berkawan dengan segala ulama. Ketiga, meninggalkan tarakhis, ya'ni meninggalkan daripada mengambil mudah pada segala pekerjaan. Keempat, medhabitkan

waktu dengan wirid. Kelima, mentahimkan nafsu. Ya'ni menjahat akan nafsunya Dan inilah segala asal bagi mu'āmalah itu.

C. The Urgency of Abdurrauf Theological Thought in the Middle of Religion Conflict in Aceh in the 17th Century

As we know from the previous chapter that in the 17th century in Aceh, very fierce debate broke out between Hamzah Fansuri and Nuruddin al-Raniri associated with wujudiyah controversy. As a result of this controversy Muslims were in turmoil. Arraniri as palace scholar used his position to suppress Fansuri Hamzah and his followers to issue a fatwa against their infidel and death threats. Even the works of Fansuri Hamzah were also destroyed by fire in front of the mosque Bayt al-Rahman. (Azra, 2004: 182)

The conflicts was not only in the religious field. In the political field, too. Aceh as an area that has a very strong religious commitment, was led by the Sultanah (woman leader) that in Shafi'i teachings considered violating sharia (rules), therefore it was banned. As a result, some areas become Sultanah power, slowly and surely broke away from the empire, so the kingdom led by Sultanah was disintegrated. (Hadi, 2008: 126)

Tragically, Abdurrauf as scholars who is expected to be able to provide solutions to the problem of women's leadership, in the end did not contribute significant answer. Finally, the Muslims asked for a fatwa from Mecca scholars related to women's leadership. From this effort, the fatwa came out that women were prohibited from becoming rulers. With the issuance of this fatwa, then Sultanah Kamalat al-Din (1098-1109/1688-99) which was the fourth Sultanah, descended from

the royal throne. (Azra, 2004: 244). As usual, every leadership succession will have an impact.

Related to the context of SM text above, Abdurrauf did not say for what purpose it was written. He only said that the text was written to explain or more precisely to complete/support some teachers' thoughts namely Ahmad al-Qusyasyi and Ibrahim al-Kurani. Abdurrauf said that it was written so that those teachers' thoughts could be understood linguistically easier.

Although not explicitly responding to the conflict in Aceh, it is possible that Abdurrauf wanted to turn the public's attention to the growing religious discourse that developed at the time (read: wujudiyah). Then, through this text Abdurrauf also wants to remind Muslims to return to the actual *I'tiqad*, namely *I'tiqad ahl Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah*, because according to Hasjmi, wujudiyah as described in the previous chapter, is one product thinking of the Syiah. (Hasjmi,1983:48). It means is that if someone follows wujudiyah doctrine, in this case Hamzah Fansuri's wujudiyah, meaning it has deviated from the teachings of Sunnah ahl al-Jama'ah.

In this text, Abdurrauf also describes sins such as commit a murder, sentenced infidels, and speak ill of others (backbiting) are part of major sin. (Abdurrauf, tt: 89-93). When these outlines, Abdurrauf did not at all mention specific figures. However, it is difficult not to associate it to act against Hamzah Fansuri or Arraniri.

As a moderate cleric, Abdurrauf seems to want to be in a safe position. He may disagree with some thoughts, but he did not express disapproval in a frontal manner. He seems to using with general meaning rather than than specific words in a straightforward manner.

Through this text Abdurrauf might want to calm Muslims who think that it was chaotic. Muslims are encouraged to re-strengthen the faith in facing the challenge of becoming ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah, conduct sharia and following essential paths, as exemplified by the teachers.

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