

New Textual Evidence for Intellectual and Religious Connections between the Ottomans and Aceh

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Introduction

BEYOND THE THEMES OF TRADE, WAR, DIPLOMACY AND LITERATURE, studies on the Ottoman–Acehnese relationship have been limited. Studies of the Islamic intellectual connections between the Ottomans and Aceh, or Southeast Asia in general, are especially rare, even though traces of these links are quite evident. For instance, a certain religious text, the *Barzanjī*, which takes its name from its author, Ja‘far ibn Hasan ibn ‘Abd al-Karim al-Barzanji (1690–1766), is one of the most popular religious texts throughout the Archipelago, recited not only on 12 Rabi‘ al-awwal, the Prophet’s birthday, but also on numerous other occasions. The *Barzanjī*’s author was a member of the most influential family of ulama and *ṭarīqah* shaykhs in southern Kurdistan, and it has been highlighted as a sign of Kurdish influence in Southeast Asia.¹ Such research, however, remains limited.

This chapter therefore attempts to start to fill this gap with a discussion of Arabic and Malay manuscripts relating to Islamic connections in the intellectual sphere between the Ottomans and Aceh in particular, and Southeast Asia in general, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. This focus is possible thanks to the survival of a number of Arabic and Malay manuscripts that allow us to trace such interactions, although further studies are required to obtain more detailed information.

¹ M. van Bruinessen, ‘Kurdish Ulama and Their Indonesian Disciples’ (available online from www.hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/m.vanbruinessen/publications/Kurdish_ulama_Indonesia.htm) pp. 1–2 (revised version of ‘The Impact of Kurdish ‘Ulama on Indonesian Islam’, *Les Annales de l’autre Islam*, 5 (1998), 83–106).

One such text, namely the *Ithāf al-dhakī*, was the subject of a previous study;² the discussion of the work here focuses on its significance in terms of the intellectual connections in the seventeenth century with special reference to the manuscript copies of the *Ithāf al-dhakī* preserved in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. Other manuscripts under consideration are some Sufi Shattariyyah *silsilah* manuscripts from Aceh and Mindanao, the '*Umdat al-muhtājīn* and a Malay treatise, the *Sakarāt al-mawt*, both by 'Abd al-Ra'uf ibn 'Ali al-Jawi al-Fansuri (1615–93). All these sources are connected to the important role of a Kurdish scholar, Ibrahim ibn Hasan al-Kurani, as discussed below. In addition, two Aceh *khuṭbah* manuscripts from Leiden University Library and the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta will be examined in brief.³

The final manuscript under consideration here is the *Tarjumān al-mustafid*, a Malay Qur'anic exegesis by 'Abd al-Ra'uf which has been edited and published by Peter Riddell;⁴ my focus here is on the Turkish scholar Baba Dawud al-Jawi ibn Isma'il ibn Agha Mustafa ibn Agha 'Ali al-Rumi, who helped the author to complete the work, as is mentioned in its colophon.

Ibrahim al-Kurani: Bridging Two Islamic Traditions

Ibrahim al-Kurani or Shaykh Mulla Ibrahim, or to give him his full name, Ibrahim ibn Hasan al-Kurani al-Shahrazuri al-Shahrani al-Kurdi al-Madani al-Shafi'i (1616–90), henceforth referred to as al-Kurani, was a Kurdish scholar who was born in Shahrazur, a town in present-day Iraqi Kurdistan. His name suggests both his ethnic origin and intellectual affiliation. The labels of al-Shafi'i and al-Madani show his religious affiliation to the Shafi'i *fiqh* school of law (*madhhab*), and his association with Medina, where he spent much of his career. Al-Kurani obtained his early Islamic education from local scholars in Shahrazur, becoming proficient in Arabic, and gaining a sound mastery of the rational sciences,⁵ before moving on to study various branches of Islamic scholarship in Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo. He

² O. Fathurahman, '*Ithāf al-dhakī* by Ibrahim al-Kurani: A Commentary of Wahdat al-Wujud for Jawi Audiences', *Archipel*, 81 (2011), 177–98; a critical edition of the text has been published as *Ithāf al-dhakī: Tafsīr Wahdatul Wujud bagi Muslim Nusantara* (Jakarta, 2012).

³ These manuscripts came to my attention thanks to M. S. Hidayatullah, who has studied a collection of manuscripts on jihad sermons in Aceh from a philological and linguistic point of view. M. S. Hidayatullah, *Khotbah dorongan berjihad pada perang Aceh abad XIX: Suntingan teks dan analisis wacana* (Depok, 2014).

⁴ P. Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition: 'Abd al-Ra'uf Al-Singkili's Rendering into Malay of the Jalālayn Commentary* (Berkeley CA, 1990).

⁵ A. H. Johns, 'Friends in Grace: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli', in S. Udin (ed.), *Spectrum: Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana* (Jakarta, 1978), p. 473.

finally settled in Medina under the spiritual guidance of Ahmad al-Qushashi (1583–1661) and succeeded him as *khalīfa* of the Shattariyyah Sufi order. In Medina, al-Kurani and his circle became a hub connecting the Ottoman intellectual tradition with various other Islamic traditions, including those from the Malay world, Nusantara.⁶

In this context, a shared religious attitude and especially *madhhab* affiliation was obviously very important. The Kurds, including those from Shahrazur like al-Kurani, were generally Sunnis and followers of the Shafī'i rite of Islamic law,⁷ which was also popular in Southeast Asia (in contrast to the 'official' Ottoman *madhhab*, Hanafism). Like the *Jawi* (Southeast Asian) Muslims, they also showed special interest in mysticism and metaphysical speculation and a firm belief in miracles and sainthood. These two factors, according to Martin van Bruinessen, may explain why the Malay Muslim communities in the Haramayn (Mecca and Medina) were very keen to learn Islam from a Kurdish Sufi master such as al-Kurani.⁸ As van Bruinessen has noted, in the seventeenth century al-Kurani was the most influential of the several influential Kurdish scholars in the Hijaz whom Nusantaran disciples sought out as their teacher. He emphasises that Shahrazur deserves special mention in this connection since it produced numerous scholars who would have an impact on the development of Islam in Nusantara, including those regions which are part of current Indonesia.⁹

In the terms of Ottoman–Aceh intellectual connections in the seventeenth century, al-Kurani's role was particularly significant. He wrote an Arabic work entitled *Ithāf al-dhakī* for *Jawi* audiences, and his teachings on commentaries on the doctrine *wahdat al-wujūd* were transmitted by 'Abd al-Ra'uf into both Arabic and Malay.¹⁰ Al-Kurani had an important influence on the development of Islam in the Malay world also because of his special relationship with 'Abd al-Ra'uf. They had been friends in Medina, and they corresponded across the Indian Ocean for thirty years after 'Abd al-Ra'uf returned to Aceh in 1661.¹¹ In his *Umdat al-muhtājīn*, 'Abd al-Ra'uf names seventeen shaykhs under

⁶ Many Arabic sources mention his biography. Among them are: Isma'il Basha al-Baghdadi, *Hadīyat al-'arīfīn: asmā' al-mu'allifīn wa āthār al-musannifīn* (Baghdad, 1951–5), I, p. 19; Khayr al-Dīn al-Zarkalī (Al-Zerekly), *Al-A'lām: qāmūs tarājīm*, 3rd edn (Beirut, 1389/1969), I, p. 28; and Muhammad Khalil ibn 'Ali al-Muradi, *Silk al-durar fī a'yān al-qarn al-thānī 'ashar* (Cairo, 1988), I, p. 6; on his close relationship with the *Jawi* students, especially 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fansuri, see Johns, 'Friends in Grace', pp. 476–9.

⁷ M. van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State: the Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London, 1992), p. 23.

⁸ Van Bruinessen, 'Kurdish 'Ulama'', p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ O. Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māsyī: Menyoyal Wahdatul Wujud, kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh abad ke-17* (Bandung, 1999).

¹¹ A. H. Johns, 'al-Kūrānī' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn (Leiden, 1960–2005).

whom he studied various works on religious science during his sojourn in the holy lands of the Hijaz. The last one he specifically mentions is al-Kurani, of whom he says:¹²

Seventeenth, the successor of the afore-mentioned, i.e. the worthy and erudite Shaykh Burhan al-Din Mulla Ibrahim son of Hasan al-Kurani. It was this Shaykh who completed my education after the death of Shaykh Aḥmad, as he was his [designated] successor. It was he who awarded the *ijāzah* [licence to transmit his works] after the death of the above-mentioned Shaykh.

The *‘Umdat al-muḥtājīn* is, to date, the only source that has come to light mentioning that ‘Abd al-Ra’uf got his *ijāzah* directly from al-Kurani. Even though there are many Sufi manuscripts that contain Shattariyyah *silsilahs* (lists of spiritual masters) in the Malay world, all of them traced ‘Abd al-Ra’uf’s spiritual lineage directly to Ahmad al-Qushashi.¹³ However, this does not contradict the idea that al-Kurani played an important role in the development of the Shattariyyah Sufi order in Nusantara. Of the fourteen Shattariyyah *silsilah* manuscripts I examined,¹⁴ nine of them mention al-Kurani’s name as one of the *murshids* from whom a chain of authority of other Malay students can be traced. MS Or. 16767 in the British Library,¹⁵ for instance, contains a *silsilah* of a female Acehnese Sufi (fol. 101v). The date is probably nineteenth century. She is Hamidah, daughter of Sulayman, who was initiated by her shaykh in the Zawiyah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar, ‘Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1894), who had been initiated by Shaykh Muhammad Asad Tahir, the great-great-grandson of al-Kurani. Besides Hamidah’s *silsilah*, this manuscript also contains ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s own *silsilah* (fol. 102v) and several different texts, including *al-Ḥaqīqah al-muwāfaqah lil-sharīah* (fols 43v–55v), a commentary on *al-Tuḥfah al-mursalāh ilā al-Nabī* by the Indian scholar Fadlallah al-Hindi al-Burhanpuri (d. 1620).

¹² Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition*, pp. 230, 236: ‘... Ketujuh belas, khalifah syekh yang tersebut itu, yaitu syekh yang muḥaqqiq lagi ‘allāmah Burhān al-Dīn Mullā Ibrāhīm anak Hasan al-Kurani. Bahwa syekh inilah yang menyempurnakan fakir ini daripada wafat syekh Ahmad yang tersebut itu, karena ia khalifahnya. Dan ialah yang memberi ijazah kemudian daripada wafat syekh itu yang tersebut itu ...’.

¹³ On the latter see A. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia* (Crowns Nest, NSW, Australia and Honolulu HI, 2004), pp. 16–18.

¹⁴ Those fourteen Shattariyyah *silsilah* manuscripts are: (a) MS 07_00104, (b) 07_00506, (c) MS 07_00786, (d) 07_03150 of Museum Negeri Aceh Collection; (e) MS Or. 16767 of the British Library Collection; (f) MS 212 of Zawiyah Tanoh Abee Collection; (g) MS 203/TS/15/YPAH/2005 of Ali Hasjmy Collection; (h) MS 211_KCR028 of Kraton Kacirebonan; (i) MS of drh. Bambang Irianto Collection, Cirebon; (j) MS CRB/OS/01/D/2012 of Opan Safari Collection, Cirebon; (k) MS Kamumuan Sungai Limau Padang Pariaman; (l) MS 2 of Syekh Ahmad Basher Collection, Mindanao; (m) MS 1 Bungkos 7 of Shaykh Muhammad Said Collection, Mindanao; and (n) MS PSM Takeran, East Java.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Annabel Teh Gallop for inviting me to scrutinise this manuscript, where I identified the little-known female Malay Sufi name listed in the *silsilah*.

Another manuscript, Bungkos 7 MS 1 from the Shaykh Muhammad Sa'id Collection of Maktabah al-Imam al-Sadiq Husayniyyah in Karbala, Biaba Damag, Marawi City, Mindanao, in the southern Philippines, mentions Muhammad Jalal al-Din al-Bansayani (fols 26v–27r), who probably lived in the eighteenth century, who obtained his place on the Shattariyyah *silsilah* from Shaykh Muhammad Ṭahir al-Madani, son of Ibrahim al-Kurani.¹⁶ This manuscript also contains al-Bansayani's *silsilahs* of the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi order (fols 28v–29r) and of the al-'Alawiyyin family (*al-silsilah al-ashrāf al-'alawī* [sic.]) (fols 23v–25r), and other texts including *Umm al-barāhin* (fols 31v–59r) by Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. al-Wali al-Salih Yusuf al-Sanusi al-Maliki al-Maghribi al-Tilimsani (1437–90) with an interlinear translation in Malay, and *Maṭālib al-sālikīn* (fols 89v–94v), a Sufi treatise by the famous Southeast Asian scholar Yusuf al-Makassari (d. 1699).

The name of al-Kurani can also be found in a Malay manuscript of 'Abd al-Ra'uf's *Sakarāt al-mawt* (a treatise on the unconscious state of a person who is about to die).¹⁷ In this work, 'Abd al-Ra'uf clarifies the syncretic understandings of the Acehnese people regarding the *Sakarāt al-mawt*. In the final part of this text 'Abd al-Ra'uf relates that after completing this work he sent a letter to al-Kurani in Medina to ask him whether what he wrote was justified according to reputable Islamic sources. After some time, 'Abd al-Ra'uf received a reply from al-Kurani who sent him a treatise entitled *Kashf al-muntazar* validating his approach. In one place, the text says:

Know, O Student that after completing this treatise, I sent a letter to Medina to the Shaykh, the perfect and perfection-bestowing, the sea of the science of realities and subtleties, namely our Shaykh Mulla Ibrahim ... and after some time, al-Shaykh sent his work entitled *Kashf al-muntazar* ...¹⁸

Based on the Islamic manuscripts examined above, there is no doubt that al-Kurani had close connections with the Malay world, not only through 'Abd al-Ra'uf but also with other Malay students from several areas. Al-Kurani became more than just 'Abd al-Ra'uf's spiritual shaykh alongside al-Qushashi, he also became a close friend, as Johns has suggested.¹⁹

¹⁶ My special thanks go to Kawashima Midori, who invited me to join in her research project on Mindanao historical sources, in the course of which I found this *silsilah*.

¹⁷ MS 07_00705 of Museum Negeri Aceh Collection.

¹⁸ MS 07_00705, fols 5r–6v: 'Maka diketahui olehmu hai talib bahwasanya tatkala sudah hamba karang risalah ini, maka hamba kirim surat ke Madinah al-Rasul kepada hadirat al-Shaykh kamil mukammil lagi laut ilmu haqa'iq dan daqa'iq, yaitu Shaykh kita Mulla Ibrahim ... kemudian beberapa lamanya maka dikirim Shaykh suatu risalah karangannya dinamai akan dia *Kashf al-muntazar* ...'.

¹⁹ Johns, 'Friends in Grace'; see also Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 75–6.

Ithāf al-dhakī: a Treatise Addressed to the ‘Jamā’ah min al-Jāwiyyīn’ in the Sülemaniye Library

As stated above, some *Jawi* students (*jamā’ah min al-jāwiyyīn*) asked al-Kurani to prepare a commentary (*sharh*) upon al-Burhanpuri’s controversial Sufi treatise entitled *al-Tuhfah al-mursalāh*, dealing with the doctrines of unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) and seven grades of emanation (*martabat tujuh*). This work was very popular in the Malay world, although it had resulted in misinterpretations among those who had studied it with an insufficient grounding in Islamic law and theology. To fulfil this request, al-Kurani wrote a treatise entitled *Ithāf al-dhakī bi-sharḥ al-Tuhfah al-mursalāh ilā al-Nabī ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama* (The bestowal dedicated to one of discriminating intelligence in explanation of the gift addressed to the spirit of the Prophet SAW). This work can be regarded as one of the rare sources which confirm the existence of intellectual interactions in the seventeenth century between Ottoman scholars, in this case al-Kurani, and the Malay world, through his students or those he calls the *jamā’ah min al-jāwiyyīn*.²⁰

Even though it was initially written at the request of some of the *jamā’ah min al-jāwiyyīn* to expound specifically the interpretation of al-Burhanpuri’s work, the *Ithāf al-dhakī* offered a broad theoretical exposition of theology. This made it very popular as the answer to theological questions, or more specifically, the answer to questions about the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, which preoccupied readers from other areas in the Muslim world.²¹ It is therefore not surprising that there are thirty-one manuscripts of the *Ithāf al-dhakī* scattered over various libraries around the world.²²

Nine manuscript copies of *Ithāf al-dhakī* are preserved in several collections of the Sülemaniye Library in Istanbul. We will here discuss six of them, in the context of the intellectual connection between the Ottoman and the Malay world. Those nine manuscripts are: MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 820; MS Laleli 3765; MS Esad Efendi 1491; MS Ayasofya 2169; MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 2385; MS Atıf Efendi 2789; MS Carullah 2102; MS Hamidiye 1440; and MS Reşid Efendi 996. I will also mention briefly one further copy of the text held in Istanbul, in Beyazit Devlet Library, MS Veliyüddin Efendi 3215.

Three of these copies have typical Ottoman waqf seals, which were stamped on manuscripts to show that they were endowments which had been permanently donated to a charitable library or institution. All the Ottoman

²⁰ MS Süleymaniye, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 820, fol. 1v.

²¹ Johns, ‘Friends in Grace’, p. 481.

²² Fathurahman, ‘*Ithāf al-dhakī* by Ibrahim al-Kurani’, 182–3.

sultans and Grand Viziers had their own waqf seals.²³ One such seal can be found on fol. 61 of MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 820, and is inscribed as follows: ‘hādhā mimmā waqqafahu al-Wazīr Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Wazīr Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘urifa bi-kubrīlī aqālallāhu ‘ithārahumā 1088’ (This [manuscript] is part of waqf of al-Wazir ‘Abu al-‘Abbas Ahmed, son of al-Wazir Abi ‘Abd Allah Mehmed known as Köprülü, may God release them from their mistakes, 1088). Thus this manuscript was endowed as waqf in AH 1088/AD 1677–8. The seal refers to Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (1635–76), who served as a Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire from 1661 after he inherited the title from his father, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (1575–1661), a preceding Grand Vizier and the founder of the Köprülü dynasty, who is named in the seal as ‘al-Wazīr Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad [Mehmed] ‘urifa bi-kubrīlī [Köprülü]’. The manuscript was probably part of the Grand Vizier’s private library, before being donated to the Köprülü Library, which was built by the Grand Vizier himself following conditions in his father’s will, and was completed in 1678 by his younger brother Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Pasha (1637–91).²⁴

The interest of the Ottoman elites in the *Ithāf al-dhakī* continued in the subsequent era, as can be seen in a second waqf seal, found on fol. 38r of MS 3765 of the Laleli Collection as follows: ‘... hādhā waqf Sulṭān al-Zamān al-Ghāzī Sulṭān Salīm Khān ibn al-Sulṭān Muṣṭafā Khān ‘afā ‘anhumā al-Raḥmān 1217...’ (This is a waqf [manuscript] from Sultan al-Zaman al-Ghazi Sultan Salim Khan ibn al-Sultan Mustafa Khan, May He forgive them, 1217). This is Sultan Selim III (1761–1808), who ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1789 to 1807, the son of Sultan Mustafa III (1757–74), and who is known as a reformer and composer.²⁵

We have a third waqf seal on fol. 1r of MS 2169 of the Ayasofya Collection as follows: ‘al-ḥamd lillāh al-ladhī hadānā li hādhā wa-mā kunnā li nahtadiya law lā an hadānā Allāh, waqf Maḥmūd Khān ibn Muṣṭafā Shāh al-Muṣaffar dā’iman’ (All praises to God, who has guided us to this; and we would never have been guided if God had not guided us, waqf from Mahmud Khan ibn Mustafa Shah the ever victorious [a quotation from the Qur’an, Sūrat al-Araf 7:43]), followed by a waqf seal of Sultan Mahmud I, who reigned from 1730 until his death in 1754.²⁶ Besides these waqf seals, there are two other

²³ The details concerning the waqf seal and references below are based on helpful information provided to me by Annabel Teh Gallop and Andrew Peacock; I am very grateful for their help.

²⁴ T. Çavdar, ‘Traditional Waqf Libraries’, in G. Ağoston and B. Masters (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 2009), p. 335.

²⁵ K. Şakul, ‘Selim III’, in Ağoston and Masters (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 514. The same seal with its description is also printed in G. Kut and N. Bayraktar, *Yazma eserlerde vakıf mühürleri* (Istanbul, 1984), p. 41. I would like to thank Annabel Teh Gallop for helping me to identify the seals found in some of the *Ithāf al-dhakī* manuscripts.

²⁶ This seal is also described in I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Mühürler seksiyonu rehberi* (Istanbul, 1959), p. 13.

seals found on the same page of MS 2169 of the Ayasofya collection; the first (at the top) is of Sultan Selim III, modelled on the well-known one of Sultan Selim (r. 1512–20), which is the oldest seal held in the Topkapı Palace Museum;²⁷ it is written in a *thuluthī* complex style of calligraphy as follows: ‘Sultān Salīm Thālith’ in the middle, and ‘tawakkul ‘alā khāliqī’ (reliance on my Creator) around the edges, twice. The second seal (at the bottom of the page) consists of the Persian words: ‘yā rabbī, zi tū tawfiq tamannā kunad Aḥmad’ (Oh lord, Ahmad asks you for success).²⁸ The Ahmad referred to in the seal must be Ahmed Şeyhzade, who is named in the waqf statement as inspector of the waqfs in the Holy Shrines of the Hijaz (‘al-mufattish bi-awqāf al-Ḥaramayn al-Musharrafayn’) who wrote the waqf (‘ḥarrarahu al-faqīr Aḥmad Shaykhzāda ...’).

There is another waqf seal on an eighteenth-century manuscript of *Ithāf al-dhakī* in the Beyazit Devlet Library in Istanbul, namely MS Veliyüddin Efendi 3215. The seal reads: ‘... waqf Shaykh al-Islām Walī al-Dīn Efendi ibn al-marḥūm al-ḥajj Mustafā Aghā al-marḥūm al-ḥajj Ḥusayn Aghā sanat 1175 ...’. As the seal indicates, the manuscript must have been in the possession of Veliyüddin Efendi (d. 1183/1769), the noted bibliophile who held several important religious positions including the office of *shaykh al-islām*, the senior position in the Ottoman religious hierarchy.

Apart from waqf seals, some *Ithāf al-dhakī* manuscripts in the Sülemaniye Library provide information regarding the date and place of copying. The first page of MS 820 of the Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Collection, for example, contains very detailed information that the writing of this manuscript started on Sunday, 30 Rabi‘ al-awwal 1076 / 20 September 1665, and was completed in early Jumada II / December of the same year. This manuscript can be regarded as the oldest known copy of the work, and is not too distant in time from al-Kurani’s work.²⁹ We may safely assume that this manuscript is the closest to the autograph. The fact that *Ithāf al-dhakī* was one of the manuscripts endowed on behalf of the Grand Vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha very shortly after its composition by al-Kurani indicates that the issues relating to the *Jawi* Muslim community immediately attracted Ottoman elites at the time.

The second oldest date of copying of the *Ithāf al-dhakī* is found in MS 2789 of the Atif Efendi Collection. The colophon states: ‘... bulighat muqābalatuhu ‘alā yad al-faqīr ilā Allāh ‘Abd al-Ghānī al-Ḥalabī thumma al-Madanī 29 J[umada II] sanat 1087, wa-ṣallallāh ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallama ... bulighat qirā’atuhu yawm al-Jum‘ah sanat 1087’ (It

²⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Mühürler*, p. 12; the same seal is reproduced on the front cover of this book.

²⁸ The reading and translation of these Persian words has been provided by Andrew Peacock.

²⁹ See R. Şeşen, C. İzgi, C. Akpınar and E. İhsanoğlu, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library* (Istanbul, 1986), I, p. 401.

has been collated by a humble and God-fearing servant of God ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Halabi al-Madani, on 29 Jumada II 1087, may the greeting and peace to the Prophet Muhammad, and his family, and his companions ... its reading was completed on Friday, 8 September 1087/1676). We may assume that this manuscript was initially finished by an unknown copyist, then verified and corrected in 1087/1676 by ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Halabi al-Madani, who compared it to another copy of *Ithāf al-dhakī*.

The next two manuscripts of *Ithāf al-dhakī* in the Sülemaniye Library confirm the place of copying: the first one is MS Laleli 3765, which contains a note that this manuscript was finished on Wednesday night, 8 Muharram 1123/26 February 1711, in Constantinople. The colophon states: ‘... faragnā min kitābatihi ba’d al-‘ishā’i laylat al-thāmin min Muḥarram al-ḥaram laylat al-khams sanat thalāth wa-‘ishrīn wa-mi’at wa-alf fī al-Qusṭantīniyah, sāna Allāh ‘an al-laylah ...’ (We finished writing this manuscript after ‘Isha Prayer time, 8 Muharram Wednesday night 1123 in Constantinople. May God protect from the night).

The second manuscript copied in Constantinople is MS 1491 of the Esad Efendi Collection, which was completed slightly later, on Thursday, 22 Rajab 1126 / 2 August 1714. The colophon states: ‘... wa-waqa’a al-farāgh minhu fī yawm al-khamīs al-thānī wa-al-‘ishrīn min shahr rajab al-aṣamm min shuhūr sanat sittīn wa-‘ishrīn wa-mi’ah wa-alf ba’d al-hijrah al-nabawīyah ‘alā muḥājirihā afdal al-salāh wa-al-taḥīyah fī baldat Qusṭantīniyah al-maḥmīyah ...’ (It was finished on Thursday, 12 Rajab al-Asamm by the scribe with the best prayer and respect, in protected Constantinople). There is no information in the colophon of this manuscript regarding the name of the copyist. However, it is likely to be al-Hadi Yasin ibn Husayn al-Baghdadi—his name is mentioned at the end of another text in this manuscript, and the writing is in the same hand and in the same year.

The last copy of *Ithāf al-dhakī* in the Sülemaniye Library mentioning the date and place of copying is MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 2385. This manuscript is written using a larger *naskhi* script than the others. It is mentioned in the colophon that the manuscript was completed in Basra on Tuesday, 5 Rajab 1145 / 22 December 1732 by ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdullah ibn al-Marhum al-Hajj Sulayman. The colophon states: ‘... qad tamma hādha al-kitāb khāmis min rajab yawm al-thalāthā sanat alf wa-mi’ah wa-khams wa-arba’in; wa-dhālika ‘alā yad afqar al-‘ibād wa-aḥwajihim yawm al-tanād ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Marḥum al-Ḥājī Sulaymān fī baldat al-Baṣra al-maḥmīya sanat 1145 ...’ (The manuscript was finished on Tuesday, 5 Rajab 1145 by the most poor and humble servant in the Day of Calling, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdullah ibn al-Marhum al-Hajj Sulayman in the protected Basra).

The existence of nine manuscripts of *Ithāf al-dhakī* in the Sülemaniye Library, on the one hand, is a consequence of the policy of the Turkish

authorities to preserve the Ottoman past, including their manuscript heritage, as part of their national history.³⁰ On the other hand, however, the nine manuscripts of *Ithāf al-dhakī* can be specifically regarded as a sign of high respect in which the author, Ibrahim al-Kurani, was held in both the Ottoman and Southeast Asian intellectual worlds of the seventeenth century. No manuscript copies of *Ithāf al-dhakī* have been found in Southeast Asian collections. Nevertheless, the Islamic theosophical ideas proposed by al-Kurani spread widely in Nusantara thanks to his students, particularly ‘Abd al-Ra’uf, who rendered al-Kurani’s thoughts into Malay.

The Ottoman Sultans in Two Aceh *Khuṭbah* Manuscripts of the Nineteenth Century

Elizabeth Lambourn’s study on the *khuṭbah* (sermon) or *du’ā* (prayer) network in late thirteenth-century India has suggested the existence of networks operating in the Indian Ocean that linked Sunni Muslim communities living outside the *Dār al-Islām* to Islamic polities within the *Dār al-Islām*. The study shows that the inclusion of a Caliph’s name in a *khuṭbah* as *du’ā lil-sulṭān* or *da’wat al-sulṭān* may communicate a sense of religious, specifically Sunni, belonging and thus reinforce belief in the ideal of the Caliphate and its ultimate authority. This practice of including names of a Caliph appears to have continued in *khuṭbahs* outside the *Dār al-Islām*.³¹ In a subsequent study, Lambourn examined the involvement of the Ottomans and the Timurids in the *khuṭbah* or *du’ā* network in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. She suggested that in these periods ‘the Indian Ocean’s *khuṭbah* networks were transformed beyond recognition as superior Ottoman military technology and Ottoman claims of universal Caliphal authority changed the relationship between parties into a barter of *khuṭbah* for cannon with which to confront the recent European entry into the Indian Ocean’.³²

We may assume that Aceh was one of the regions involved in such networks since the sixteenth century. Lambourn’s analysis of the archival document

³⁰ Since 1988 the authorities in Turkey have initiated a large-scale project to classify and catalogue manuscript archives. This has documented more than 300,000 manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, making Turkey the major centre of Ottoman studies in every respect. G. Ágoston, ‘Introduction’, in Ágoston and Masters (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 2009), pp. xxxii–xxxiv.

³¹ E. Lambourn, ‘India from Aden: *Khuṭba* and Muslim Urban Networks in Late Thirteenth-Century India’, in K. R. Hall (ed.), *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400–1800* (Lanham MD, 2008), pp. 79–83.

³² E. Lambourn, ‘*Khuṭba* and Muslim Networks in the Indian Ocean (Part II): Timurid and Ottoman Engagements’, in K. R. Hall (ed.), *The Growth of Non-Western Cities: Primary and Secondary Urban Networking, C. 900–1900* (Lanham MD, 2011), pp. 132–3.

TSMA E.8009 confirms that the Sultan of Aceh sent a letter requesting permission to include the Ottoman Caliph's name in his *khuṭbah*. In addition, many studies have confirmed the development of diplomatic relations between Aceh and the Ottomans in the sixteenth century, as the Sultan of Aceh required military assistance from the Ottoman Empire to defend Aceh against the Portuguese. In 1566, Sultan Alauddin Shah sent a letter addressed to Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, which has been interpreted as proposing that the Ottoman Caliph consider Aceh as a vassal province of the Ottoman Empire.³³

Two *khuṭbah* manuscripts of the nineteenth century provide a clearer illustration of the involvement of Aceh in the *khuṭbah* network with the Ottoman Empire in the later period. These manuscripts are Cod. Or. 2269 of Leiden University Library collection³⁴ and ML 465 of the Jakarta National Library collection.³⁵ A detailed codicological description of the manuscripts is unnecessary to obtain an understanding of their significance in the context of the religious connection between the Ottomans and Aceh. In both manuscripts, the *khaṭīb*, namely the official who is responsible for delivering the *khuṭbah*, clearly names the Ottoman sultans in the second part of the *khuṭbah* and prays for the perpetuation of their rules. It states: '... wa-ayyada allāhumma dīn al-islām bi-baqā'i dawlat mawlānā ...' (O Lord, please support the religion of Islam by perpetuating the Sultanate of our lord ... [name of the Sultan]), etc.

The first manuscript, Cod. Or. 2269, names mawlana al-Sulṭan ibn al-Sulṭan 'Abd al-'Aziz Khan ibn al-Marhum Mahmud Khan ibn al-Marhum 'Abd al-Hamid Khan. This refers to Sultan Abdülaziz (1830–76), who came to the throne upon the death of his elder brother, Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–61) on 25 June 1861. He ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1861 until shortly before his death in 1876.³⁶

The second manuscript, ML 465, names Mawlana al-Sulṭan ibn al-Sulṭan ibn al-Sulṭan 'Abd al-Hamid Khan ibn al-Sulṭan 'Abd al-Majid Khan ibn Mahmud ibn 'Abd al-Hamid Khan, which refers to Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842–1918), who ruled at a time of political upheaval from 1876 until 1909, succeeding his brother, Sultan Murad V.³⁷

³³ İ. H. Göksoy, 'Ottoman–Aceh Relations as Documented in Turkish Sources', in R. M. Feener, P. Daly and A. Reid (eds), *Mapping the Acehnese Past* (Leiden, 2011), p. 69.

³⁴ P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*; Codices Manuscripti (Leiden, 1980), p. 163.

³⁵ T. E. Behrend (ed.), *Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara Jilid 4. Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia* (Jakarta, 1998), p. 291.

³⁶ S. A. Somel, 'Abdülaziz', in Ágoston and Masters (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 5–6.

³⁷ S. A. Somel, 'Abdülhamid II', in Ágoston and Masters (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 6–8.

It seems that the inclusion of the Ottoman sultan's names in the *khutbah* in Aceh was carried out long before the era of both Sultan Abdülaziz and Sultan Abdülhamid II. Göksoy's study on materials from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul suggested that on 24 November 1851 an Aceh delegation in Istanbul reported to Sultan Abdülmecid that the Friday sermons in the Aceh mosques were already being said in the name of the Ottoman Caliph. The aim, of course, was to encourage the Ottoman Caliph to consider Aceh as Ottoman territory in a bid for aid during the difficult circumstances of Dutch encroachment on north Sumatra.³⁸

Baba Dawud al-Jawi al-Rumi and Other Ottoman Scholars Known in the Malay World

Some studies have suggested that there was an Ottoman colony settled in Aceh by the beginning of the seventeenth century.³⁹ However, it is difficult to find Ottoman scholars aside from Ibrahim al-Kurani who can be documented to have played a significant role in the development of Islamic intellectual traditions in the region. Baba Dawud al-Jawi ibn Isma'îl ibn Agha Muştafâ ibn Agha 'Ali al-Rumi might be regarded as an exception. His name is found in a colophon of *Tarjumân al-mustafîd*, which for almost 300 years remained the only commentary in Malay on the Qur'an as a whole, written by 'Abd al-Ra'uf. Baba Dawud identifies himself as '... aşghar talâmidhihi wa-aḥqar khuddâmihi ...' (his ['Abd al-Ra'uf's] most poor student and the most humble servant). The colophon—given first in Arabic and then in Malay—states:

His most poor student and the most humble servant, Baba Dawud al-Jawi ibn Isma'îl ibn Agha Mustafa ibn Agha 'Ali al-Rumi, added some parts of its stories mostly taken from [the *tafsîr* of] al-Khâzin, and some of the narratives relating to the *qirâ'a* (readings), based on his orders.⁴⁰

³⁸ Göksoy, 'Ottoman–Aceh relations', p. 82; cf. A. Reid, *The Contest for North Sumatra: Atjeh, the Netherlands and Britain 1858–1898* (Kuala Lumpur, 1969), p. 84.

³⁹ D. Lombard, *Le Sultanat d'Atjeh au temps d'Iskandar Muda* (Paris, 1967), pp. 33, 117–18.

⁴⁰ My source is MS 1/TF/5/YPAH/2005 of *Tarjumân al-mustafîd*, which is preserved in the Ali Hasjmy Collection, Banda Aceh. See O. Fathurahman and M. Holil, *Katalog naskah Ali Hasjmy Aceh* (Tokyo, 2007), pp. 32–3. There are many other copies of *Tarjumân al-mustafîd* in several libraries, among them ML 290 and ML 116 of Jakarta National Library, and MSS 3316 of Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM), Kuala Lumpur. The text reads: 'Wa-yazîdu 'alayhi aşghar talâmidhihi wa-aḥqar khuddâmihi Bāba Dāwud al-Jāwī ibn Ismā'îl ibn Aghā Muştafā ibn Aghā 'Alī al-Rumī ghafarallāhu la-hum qişşahu al-ma'khūdhā aktharuhu min al-Khāzin wa-ba'ḍ riwāyatihī fī al-qirā'a bi-amrihi ... dan menambah atas sekecil-kecil muridnya dan sehina-hina khadamnya, yaitu Bāba Dāwud Jawi anak Ismā'îl anak Aghā Muştafā anak Aghā 'Alī Rūmī, diampuni Allah jua kiranya sekalian mereka itu akan segala kisahnya yang diambil kebanyakannya daripada Khāzin dan setengah riwayatnya pada khilaf qiraat dengan suruhnya.'

The colophon confirms that Baba Dawud was a Malay-speaking Ottoman scholar, one of the close students of ‘Abd al-Ra’uf, who was assigned to add and complete the work upon the author’s orders. Peter Riddell’s study on *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* shows us that the additions made by Baba Dawud are significant. As mentioned in the colophon, these additions include stories or anecdotes originating from ‘Ali b. Mahmud al-Khazin’s (d. 1341) Qur’anic commentary—the *Lubāb al-ta’wīl fī ma’ānī al-tanzīl*—and information on various acceptable ways of reading the Qur’anic text (*qirā’a*). Baba Dawud distinguished between his additions and the original by using the headings *qiṣṣah* and *fā’idah*, which appear regularly at various points in the work.⁴¹

Unfortunately, there appears to be no further information to enlighten one on Baba Dawud’s origins, life and other works. The word ‘Baba’ in his name, which means missionary or popular preacher, was widely used by shaykhs of various mystical orders in both the Ottoman lands and India,⁴² while the label ‘al-Rumi’ is further evidence of Ottoman forebears.⁴³ Moreover, the word ‘Agha’ is a Turkish term for a title of respect for those with a senior position, a military commander, or a tribal chief,⁴⁴ while ‘al-Jawi’ indicates his Malay identity. Azyumardi Azra assumes that his mother was probably a Malay, or at least that he was born in the Archipelago.⁴⁵ So, it is reasonable to assume that Baba Dawud was an Ottoman–Jawi scholar who made a significant contribution to the development of the intellectual Islamic tradition in the Malay world.

Besides *Tarjumān al-mustafīd*, Mehmet Özay states that Baba Dawud was the author of another Malay work entitled *Masā’il al-muhtadī li-Ikhwān al-mubtadī*. However, he does not provide any further evidence, and there is no such internal information in the text to support this.⁴⁶ To assume that this claim is true suggests that the influence of Baba Dawud through the *Masā’il* probably echoed not only in Aceh, but also in other regions of the Malay world, since the work remained highly popular even until the early twentieth century. Copies of the *Masā’il* manuscript are extremely common in both private and museum collections, while its printed version has been continually reproduced.⁴⁷

⁴¹ For a detailed discussion relating to these additional parts of Baba Dawud in the *Tarjumān al-mustafīd*, see Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition*, pp. 42–60.

⁴² J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford, 1971), p. 301.

⁴³ Riddell, *Transferring A Tradition*, p. 42.

⁴⁴ See, for example, M. van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London and New Jersey, 1992), p. 341.

⁴⁵ Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 86.

⁴⁶ M. Özay, ‘Baba Davud: A Turkish Scholar in Aceh’, in S. Kayadibi (ed.), *Ottoman Connections to the Malay World: Islam, Law, and Society* (Kuala Lumpur, 2011), p. 45.

⁴⁷ N. Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and their Works* (Seattle WA, 2011), Ver. 2.2, p. 27; see also M. Kawashima et al. (eds), *A Provisional Catalogue of Southeast Asian Kitabs of Sophia University* (Tokyo, 2010), p. 136.

This *Masā'il* is organised as a series of *su'āl* (questions) and *jawāb* (answers), seemingly a dialogue between teacher and student; it covers several issues of theology (*tawhīd*) and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). John R. Bowen points out that the *Masā'il* was one of four *kitab*s used for religious instruction in the Gayo highlands of Aceh in the 1920s and 1930s. Quoting a Gayo scholar, he mentions that the question–answer format emphasised the ability to respond quickly to any religious issue.⁴⁸ Further research remains necessary in order to clarify the authorship of this work, and in particular to verify its relationship with Baba Dawud.

Baba Dawud was also a crucial figure in spreading and continuing 'Abd al-Ra'uf's lineage of the Shattariyyah Sufi order in Aceh. One of the Malay manuscripts containing Baba Dawud's pedigree in the Shattariyyah, and also Qadiriyyah, is MS 07_01126 of the Aceh Museum collection.⁴⁹ This pedigree goes down to his Acehnese student, Faqih Jalaluddin ibn Kamaluddin al-Ashi, who lived during the reign of Alauddin Johan Shah (r. 1735–60), and whose work of *Shams al-ma'rifah ilā ḥaḍratihī al-sharīfah* is enclosed (fols 167v–178r) before the pedigree (fols 177v–178r). The first part of the pedigree reads: '... maka adalah fakir yang hina Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn mengambil baiat dan talkin dan khirqah dan ijazah daripada shaykhnya yang 'ārif billāh, yaitu Shaykh Bābā Dāwūd ibn Ismā'īl Peunayong ...' (The humble Faqih Jalal al-Din took a vow of allegiance and authority (*bay'ah*, *talqīn*, *khirqah* and *ijāzah*) from his gnostic master, namely Shaykh Baba Dawud ibn Ismail Peunayong). This also confirms that Baba Dawud certainly stayed in the Peunayong district of Banda Aceh, and is popularly known as Teungku Chik di Leupe.⁵⁰

However, these mentions of Baba Dawud in the *silsilahs* are relatively rare, since others, including (but not limited to) Teungku Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhab of Tanoh Abee (d. 1894) and Teungku Muhammad ibn Khatib Langgien of Pidie, had their *ijāzah* (authority) from another line, which went back to Muhammad Ṭahir (d. 1733), his father Mulla Ibrahim al-Kurani, Ahmad al-Qushashi, and onwards until the Prophet.

Apart from Baba Dawud, Drewes's investigation on the literature of the city of Palembang at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century names at least two scholars who had intellectual links to the Ottomans, and whose works were well known in the Palembang Kraton (Palace) library, and even adopted to reveal another work by local scholars. One of scholars was Muhammad ibn Pir 'Ali al-Birgawi [Mehmed Birgevi or al-Birgili], a strictly orthodox Turkish preacher and scholar of great renown

⁴⁸ J. R. Bowen, *Muslims Through Discourse* (Princeton NJ, 1993), pp. 43–4.

⁴⁹ Source: MS 07_01126 in *Manuskrip-manuskrip Peninggalan Aceh*, 21 January 2013.

⁵⁰ Özey, 'Baba Davud', p. 43.

(d. 1572), whose work *al-Ṭarīqah al-Muḥammadiyah* was widely read and inspired ‘Ali ibn Hasan b. Sadaqa al-Misri to write *Idrāk al-ḥaqīqah fī takhrīj al-ṭarīqah* in 1640. The manuscript of the later work belonged to the Palembang Kraton library, and was then presented to the Batavia Society (now Jakarta National Library) by Ki Agus Hajji Abdalmalik in the mid-nineteenth century.⁵¹

The second scholar was ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Ahmad al-Bistami (d. 1454), a Syrian scholar who was a favorite of the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (d. 1451)—the latter’s court was a centre for scholars and writers. Al-Bistami’s *Baḥr al-wuqūf fī ‘ilm al-tawfīq wa-al-ḥurūf* became a main source of *Baḥr al-‘ajā’ib*, a Malay adaptation of the work dealing with the calculations for the prediction of future events, written in 1808 by a Palembang scholar, Kemas Muhammad ibn Ahmad, at the behest of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II (r. 1803–13 and 1818–52).⁵²

Conclusion

To date, only a few texts have come to light which prove the existence of the intellectual Islamic connection between Aceh and the Ottomans. Such connections developed mostly through indirect contact between Aceh and the Ottoman centre at Istanbul, thanks to the role of the Haramayn as a melting pot. This allowed the Kurdish scholar Ibrahim al-Kurani to meet some students from the Archipelago, especially ‘Abd al-Ra’uf ibn Ali al-Jawi al-Fansuri. On the basis of the material outlined above, which inevitably is limited to what is currently available, it indicates that diplomatic and military links between Aceh and the Ottoman Empire during this period were more intense than those relating to intellectual and religious life. This conclusion may be misleading, however. Religious thought and spirituality generally may not generate the same level of documentation as worldly affairs, notwithstanding their importance in social life. In any case, there is always the hope, and indeed the probability, that more material will be discovered as research continues.

Note. I would like to thank to Andrew Peacock, Anthony Johns and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions on this article. Any mistakes are my own. My sincere thanks go also to all those who have made available the manuscripts consulted here.

⁵¹ G. W. J. Drewes, *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path* (The Hague, 1977), p. 202.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 224–5.

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