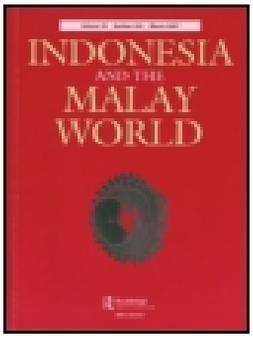

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A NEW LIGHT ON THE SUFI NETWORK OF MINDANAO (PHILIPPINES)
The Sheikh Muhammad Said manuscript collection

Oman Fathurahman

ABSTRACT
This article attempts to fill the gap in the very limited knowledge of the history of Islam and Muslim intellectual tradition in Mindanao in the 19th century. It particularly deals with a set of primary sources of Islamic manuscripts recently found in the Lanao area of Mindanao, southern Philippines, which formerly belonged to a Maranao ulama, Aleem Ulomuddin Said, who inherited the manuscripts from his father, Sheikh Muhammad Said bin Imam sa Bayang (1904-1974). This manuscript collection contains several texts written in Malay, Arabic, and Maranao languages on various fields. I will argue that these manuscripts indicate the close contact Muslim communities of Mindanao developed during the 18th and 19th centuries with their Malay colleagues, especially those in Aceh and Banten. It also confirms their network with the wider Islamic world, more specifically with Mecca and Medina through the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order. The manuscript content in this collection confirms that the 19th century Mindanao Muslim authors referred to both Arab and Malay sources. This not only underlines the importance of the Malay scholars but also suggests that the development of the Islamic intellectual tradition in Mindanao came rather late in the 19th century.

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Islamic manuscripts; Malay network; Mindanao; Shaṭṭārīyah

Introduction

Networks and translation of Islam in Southeast Asia

As far as Islamic studies are concerned, Southeast Asia is a very dynamic area where the universal norms and values of Islam met cultures and traditions of the local societies. The translation of Islam into cultures vastly distant and different from those of the Middle East has produced a diversity of Islamic traditions, which though distinctive should still be regarded as an integral part of the Islamic world. Some Southeast Asianists (Johns 1975; Reid 1993) have suggested that small numbers of Muslim communities have existed in this region since the early centuries of the Islamic era, although the institutionalisation of Islam with the formal conversion of the ruler of a state first took place around the 13th century in North Sumatra (Gallop 2015: 13; Johns 1955: 70). In succeeding periods, the influence of Islam became hegemonic and can be traced through various historical artifacts, including local languages, scripts, literatures and customs. Anthony Reid

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(1999) argues that the presence and spread of Islam in Southeast Asia was supported by trade activities and consolidated by political and military power.[1]

A fascinating study by Azyumardi Azra (2004) on the networks of the Southeast Asian Muslim (*Jawi*) scholars, connecting with those in the Middle East, has clearly shown that the development of Islam in this region is inseparable from the Arab world. Azra (2015: 69) points out that the cosmopolitan international scholarly networks centred in the Haramayn (Mecca and Medina) played a very crucial role in continuously sending reformative impulses to Southeast Asia from the 17th and 18th centuries onwards.

Due to their Islamic education during their stay in the Haramayn, some Jawi Muslims became prominent scholars and wrote religious works in various Islamic fields such as Sufism, Islamic jurisprudence, theology, Quranic exegesis, hadith, etc., both in Arabic and local languages (Riddell 2001). A number of manuscripts found in manuscript collections today suggest that their works were significant and highly influenced the development of Islamic intellectual traditions in Southeast Asia. Michael Feener (2015) suggests that the scholarly credentials of Jawi Muslims was generally appreciated, as the biographer of the Arab scholars, ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Sulayman al-Ahdal (d. 1250 H./1835 CE), includes the Sumatran-born scholar ʻAbd al-Samad al-Palimbani in his *tabaqat* (biographical dictionary) *Al-Nafas al-Yamani,* in recognition of al-Palimbani's position within the complex scholarly networks and his prolific output of intellectual Islamic works in Arabic and Malay.

Ronit Ricci (2011) has also added the idea of literary networks in which she explores processes of literary transmission, translation, and religious conversion through the *Book of One Thousand Questions* from its Arabic into Tamil, Javanese, and Malay versions. Her argument ʻcentered on the ways in which language and literature, often via translation, participated in creating, forging, and sustaining such networks across both time and space' (Ricci 2011: 260). As a result of these scholarly, trade, political and literary networks, Muslims in Southeast Asia have become an integral part of the global Muslim world whilst reflecting at the same time their own distinctive character with regard to their cultural and literary traditions.

The details of the translation of Islam into local contexts in the regions of Southeast Asia may vary, but certain general patterns can be found especially in areas where script, language and tradition were shared. One immensely important impact of the coming of Islam from the Arab world was the emergence of modified forms of the Arabic script shared by various Austronesian languages in Southeast Asia including Malay, Acehnese, Gayo, Minangkabau, Sundanese, Javanese, Bugis/Makassar (Serang), Gorontalo (Sulawesi), Ternate, Wolio (Buton), Tausug (Sulu), Maranao, Iranun and Maguindanao.

For the Maranao Muslim in the southern Philippines in particular, this Arabic-based script has apparently played an important role in their religious, social, cultural, and political development, since it related to their efforts to retain their Muslim minority identity. They used several local terms for this Arabic-based script in writing the Maranao language, such as *batang Iranon*, *batang Arab*, and *kirim*. According to Kawashima et al. (2011: 2), ʻthe terms *batang Iranon* and *batang Arab* may refer to the Arabic-

[1]See also Leirissa (2004) where she highlights the significant influence of the traders in the process of Islamisation of Southeast Asia.

based script used in any type of documents, while the term *kirim* refers to a written text of Maranao literature that uses the Arabic-based script'.

In this sense, the process of Islamisation of Mindanao in the southern Philippines is not an exception; it should be considered in the context of the interaction of Islam with local cultures in Southeast Asia (see Abubakar 2005: 45). However, as demonstrated by several sources, the history of Islam and Muslim intellectual tradition in Mindanao has received less attention than it deserves. In this regard, the assumption by Cesar Adib Majul (1999: 39) is still relevant, that as a field of inquiry, the introduction of Islam in the Philippines has received scant attention from scholars. Despite its uncontested academic merit, Azra's research about 17th- and 18th-century networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian ulama does not include or mention any single work or name of a Muslim scholar from the Philippines, while he does include those from another 'peripheral' and Muslim minority area, Patani, in south Thailand (Azra 1994, 2004). Nor did the works of the late Wan Shagir Abdullah (1999) on the biographies and genealogies of Muslim scholars in the Malay world list a single manuscript from Mindanao.

This article aims to fill this gap by claiming that, as referred to above, existing Islamic manuscripts indicate that Muslim communities of Mindanao during the 18th and 19th centuries were in close contact with other Southeast Asian Islamic intellectual networks. These included in particular those in Aceh, Cirebon and Banten (Fathurrahman 2012), and also with the wider Islamic world, more specifically with Mecca and Medina through the Shaṭṭārīyah brotherhood (Fathurahman 2016: 92–104).

Islamic manuscripts in Mindanao

In contrast to other collections in the Malay Muslim manuscript culture of insular Southeast Asia, there is as yet no satisfactory publication regarding the existence of Islamic manuscripts found in Mindanao in particular, and southern Philippines in general, which provide information on the history and dynamics of Islam and Muslims in this region. However, considering the very strategic position in the Muslim trade network straddling insular Southeast Asia since at least the 14th century (Clavé 2018), it may be surmised that Muslim communities in the Philippines were in close contact with co-religious communities in neighbouring areas and manuscripts were among the goods being exchanged within these networks as testimony of the written Islamic tradition.

The dearth of scholarly attention towards such testimony, of course, does not mean that there has been no study or cataloguing efforts towards the Islamic manuscripts in Mindanao. It was Najeeb Saleeby who can be considered the first scholar who paid attention to the traces of manuscripts from this area. As a surgeon in the US Army during the Philippine-American war, he was sent to Mindanao and developed friendly ties with Muslim leaders in Mindanao and Sulu, aided by his familiarity with the Arabic language and Islam. In his *Studies in Moro history, law and religion* [1905] he included local manuscripts containing *tarsila* (genealogy), law codes, and *khutba* (sermon), as part of his sources (Kawashima 2011b: 100). However, the category of manuscripts used by Saleeby was limited to the local types of Islamic manuscripts in Mindanao, while other Islamic genres such as the Quran, Quranic exegesis, hadith, Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and Sufism were not included.

With regard to Maranao Islamic texts, in 2011, Kawashima and her Filipino colleagues published *A catalogue of the Maisie van Vactor collection of Maranao materials in the Arabic script at the Gowing Memorial Research Center*. It includes 15 manuscripts of Islamic stories which were translated from either Malay or Arabic into Maranao (Kawashima et al. 2011: 1). This catalogue could be one of the pioneering works about indigenous source materials that shed new light on various aspects of the culture, history, and society of the Maranao people.

Recently, other scholars have directed their research to Philippine manuscripts, such as Annabel Teh Gallop who greatly enriched our knowledge about Islamic manuscripts through her studies of handwritten Quran copies produced in the Philippines. In her research report, Gallop (2011b) describes a few Islamic manuscripts from the Philippines, most of which incomplete Quran, preserved in a number of libraries in the US. Among them is a rare Quran held in the Library of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York State, to which she paid particular attention because it contains interlinear translation in Malay (Gallop 2011c). Furthermore, in cooperation with Midori Kawashima, she wrote a note on the Qur'an of Bayang with illustrated Islamic manuscripts from the Philippines (Gallop 2011a).

Kawashima has also been involved in several research projects about Islamic manuscripts of the Muslim community in Mindanao, which brought her to the conclusion that there exists a considerable number of Islamic manuscripts written, copied, or used by Islamic intellectuals of the southern Philippines, either in private collections or in libraries and archives. They, however, have neither received adequate attention, nor have they been used in research projects concerning Islam and Muslims in the Philippines (Kawashima and Fathurahman 2011: 251–255).

Furthermore, Kawashima points out that the ignorance of scholars concerning the local sources on the history of Islam and Muslim in Mindanao is partly caused by the fact that, during their colonial period in the Philippines, American military personnel seized manuscripts and transported them to the US without adequate academic attention being paid to them. Moreover, due to the prolonged armed conflicts in the area, many of the remaining manuscripts were damaged, destroyed, or neglected by their owners.

Fortunately, in recent years, new information about the existence of Islamic manuscripts in the Lanao area of Mindanao has appeared, due to a preservation and digitisation project of two collections of manuscripts in Marawi City initiated by Kawashima. The collections of this project were the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (AS) Library of Husayniyyah in Karbala and Sheikh Ahmad Basher Memorial Research Library of Jamiat Muslim Mindanao in Matampay. In several academic forums and lectures she presented her thoughts on the significance of the Mindanao manuscript studies, and wrote on the subject (see for instance Kawashima 2012).

This article is part of the afore mentioned project with special focus on the manuscripts in the first collection, that of the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (AS) Library of Husayniyyah, which formerly belonged to the late Alim Ulomuddin Said. It was inherited by Sheikh Muhammad Said bin Imam Bayang or Saiduna, before it was transferred to his son, Sheikh Muhammad Said II. Recently, Hadja Sinab Said, the wife of the late Alim Ulomuddin, and their son Baquir Said, became the new custodians of the collection, which I will henceforth refer to as the Sheikh Muhammad Said (SMS) collection. The discovery of this very important but hitherto unknown collection of Islamic manuscripts provides a significant

contribution to our knowledge of the history of Islam and the Muslim intellectual tradition in the Lanao area of Mindanao.

As far as the preservation of Mindanao manuscripts is concerned, this is the first comprehensive project, which aims to survey, preserve, digitise, research, and publish on the Islamic cultural heritage in the region. One of the results of the project is a catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the collection of the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (AS) Library of Husayniyyah, due for publication and tentatively entitled 'The library of an Islamic scholar of Mindanao: the Shaykh Muhammad Said collection at the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (AS) Library, Marawi City, Philippines: an annotated catalogue with essays' (Fathurahman and Kawashima forthcoming).

What is of special interest is that, in a number of manuscripts kept in the SMS collection of Mindanao Malay texts, we find indications of the existence of scholarly networks which connect the Muslim community in Mindanao with similar ones in western parts of the Malay world and Java. These indications are found in the main body of these texts, and in the paratexts of these manuscripts. The information about these connections form an important contribution for the further exploration of Muslim networks straddling the Malay world and will also provide indications about the use of marginal notes in such manuscripts.[2]

The Sheikh Muhammad Said collection of Islamic manuscripts

This collection is located in Karbala,[3] that is part of Biaba Damag of Marawi city, and consists of 18 *bungkos* (Tagalog for 'bundle') and 43 volumes of manuscripts, mostly in Malay, but also in Arabic and Maranao. The word *bungkos* is used by the owner of this collection to name a number of manuscripts, and a few printed materials, loosely wrapped in cloth. Both the materials and various texts of the collection indicate the existence of the intellectual Islamic network and connections of Maranao ulama with their colleagues in the other parts of the Malay world, including Aceh in North Sumatra in the 18th and 19th centuries. The exploration of the physical aspects of the manuscripts, on the one hand, will enhance our knowledge on the nature of the writing culture in this region, especially of the 19th century, while the analysis of the content of those manuscripts on the other hand, may contribute to the discourse on the networks of Sufi orders in Southeast Asia carried out by Azyumardi Azra (2004). As can be seen in a recent study on the Shaṭṭārīyah *silsilah* (genealogy) manuscripts in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao, Muslim scholars in this region were strongly connected both to other Malay Muslims in Southeast Asia and their teachers in the Haramayn through the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order (Fathurahman 2016).

Compared to Islamic manuscripts collections in other areas in Indonesia, such as Aceh or Minangkabau for instance, the total number of manuscripts in the Sheikh Muhammad Said collection is rather small. It 'only' consists of 43 volumes of manuscripts, although each volume may contain between 3 and 14 different texts and short fragments. In

[2]Of course, marginal notes and other paratexts are certainly not rare in Islamic manuscripts from other parts of the Malay world, such as in Acehnese Tanoh Abee collection, which are analysed in the introduction to the catalogue of this collection (Fathurahman et al. 2010).

[3]In the history of early Islam, 'Karbala' refers to a very significant place name, especially for Shi'a Muslims. However, we have to be careful not to associate this manuscript collection with the Shi'a tradition. I will deal with this issue later in the article.

comparison, the Zawiyah Tanoh Abee collection in Aceh is presumed to hold more than 1,000 Islamic manuscripts in Arabic, Malay and Acehnese,[4] while in Minangkabau, Surau Shaykh Abdul Wahhab Calau, a small *surau*[5] in Nagari Muaro Sijunjung, West Sumatra, holds 99 Islamic manuscripts.[6] There are many other collections in Indonesia and Malaysia, which have received scholarly attention. Suffice it to say here that compared to the neighbouring Malay areas in Southeast Asia, our knowledge of the Islamic manuscripts collection in the Mindanao area is still very limited.

Regardless of their limited number, the Sheikh Muhammad Said collection is very significant for their existence as the first Islamic manuscript collection known to the public from the region. On the one hand, the characteristics of their manuscripts which are written mostly in Malay, besides Arabic, with some notes in Javanese, may be a clue as to what kind of Malay was used in the Mindanao area in the 18th and 19th centuries, and how strong their connection with the traditions in other Malay areas was. On the other hand, marginal notes in Maranao found in some manuscripts, and the existence of three manuscripts written mostly in Maranao, also indicate the strong local foundation of this collection.

The category and composition in this collection can be seen in Figure 1.

Among those manuscripts, Bungkos 1 MS 1 consists of some Malay words combined with the Maranao sentences stating that universe was created from four elements, namely water (*ig*), earth (*lupa*), fire (*apoy*), and wind (*ndo*), all of which were derived from *Nur Muhammad* or the light of the Prophet Muḥammad by the will of Allah. Sometimes, the Maranao words are placed as part of the main text, but in another case such as Bungkos 1 MS 4, a brief note in Maranao is written vertically in the marginalia with blue ink to indicate that the manuscript was willed to and obtained by Mambuay, the son of Sheikh Muhammad Said. The note says: *Amanaton giyaan miyakowa i Mambuay ibn Sheikh Muhammad Said* (This [manuscript] was willed to and obtained by Mambuay, the son of Sheikh Muhammad Said).[7]

Bungkos 10 MS 1 is probably one of the most interesting cases relating to the paratexts in this manuscript collection. The main text of this Bungkos is *al-Mustahal*, an Arabic work of *fiqh* of the *Shāfiʿī* school by an anonymous author, while additional texts and fragments contained in this manuscript are in Arabic, Malay and Magindanao. Most folios of this manuscript were made of coarse and fibrous paper of a brownish colour that appears to be Javanese *daluang* or handmade paper from the *saeh* tree bark (*Broussonetia papyfera*). These physical characteristics, including the paper type, embossed leather binding, and numerous marginal notes in Javanese suggest that this manuscript originated somewhere in Java and was studied by a Javanese Muslim scholar, who made his way to Mindanao or may have sent the manuscript to colleagues there. The existence of Maguindanao letters inside this manuscript also indicates that it was rebound with additional new folios after it was brought to Mindanao.

[4]Among them, only 280 manuscripts containing 367 texts have been catalogued so far (Fathurahman et al. 2010).
[5]Surau is a traditional Islamic education institution developed in Minangkabau, West Sumatra (see Azra 2003).
[6]A collaborative project between the Indonesian parties and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS) have digitised all the manuscripts in this collection, and its catalogue will be published in the near future.
[7]All Maranao and Maguindanao texts quoted in the article have been identified and translated by Kawashima with help and confirmation of Labi S Riwarung, a Mindanao scholar at the Mindanao State University (MSU). All this information will be part of a catalogue (Fathurahman and Kawashima, forthcoming).

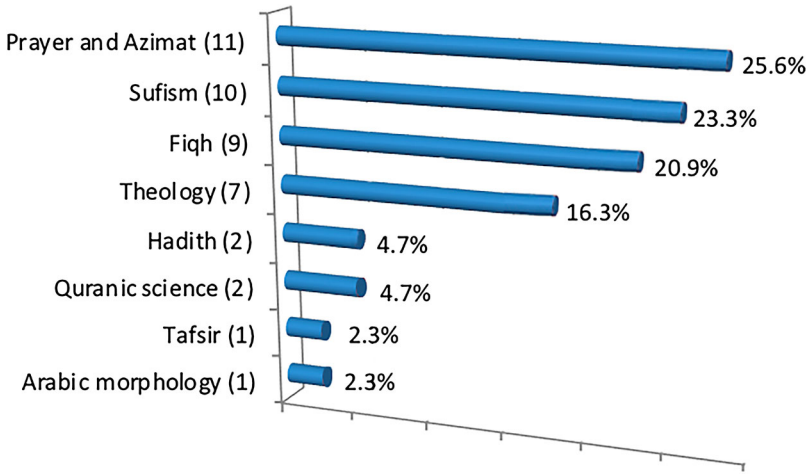

Figure 1. Categories and composition (43 volumes of manuscripts) of the Sheikh Muhammad Said manuscript collection in Marawi city, southern Philippines.

The content of the Islamic manuscripts in this collection also suggests that, as found in other areas in the Malay world, the esoteric teachings of Sufism (*tasawuf*), including the doctrine of the Unity of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), became one of the significant variables of early Islam in the Lanao area of Mindanao, and developed alongside the exoteric teachings of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology. This is unsurprising, when we know the studies about the spread of Sufism in Southeast Asia by scholars such as Johns (1995), Laffan and Feener (2005), and Azra (2004), that all indicate the intellectual depth of the Islamic tradition of this region in relation with the Islamic world. The academic argument that Southeast Asian Islam has made substantial, rather than only marginal, contributions to the Islamic tradition as a whole still needs further research. This article on the manuscripts of Mindanao will provide impetus for this argument by disclosing new information about the intellectual networks in the region.

More than 20 years ago Johns (1995: 183) wrote about the existence of Sufism in Southeast Asia and came to the conclusion that, 'the role of Sufism in our region is not all that different from that of Sufism in other parts of the Muslim world'. Thirty years prior to this Johns (1955: 70) stated:

> … thus not only was the most highly developed commercial centre of the Indonesian world at that time becoming thoroughly Muslim, but even its deviation from 'orthodox' Islam was, in this instance, not a matter of syncretism with primitive cults, but a deviation that was part of the Islamic tradition itself.

It is important to note that Figure 1 with the chart of subject based only on the number of main texts found in the 43 volumes of manuscripts, excluding the printed Arabic *kitab* (religious books) found alongside the manuscripts. Each of the 18 *bungkos* in the collectiion contains different numbers of manuscripts and a few printed books. Some manuscripts also contain more than one text. The details of the number of volumes of each *bungkos* are not listed here, but we have enumerated the manuscripts into categories of science after scrutinising all texts.[8]

As Figure 1 shows, the greater number of texts deal with prayers and amulets. This can be regarded as one of the main characteristics of manuscripts in this collection, which cannot be separated from the local context in the region as a conflict area. Some of these amulets serve to protect the carrier from harm or inflict harm on the enemy in wartime. Bungkos 2 MS 1 for instance, consists of a prayer and an amulet to destroy an opponent, that should be used only against tyrants or offenders; otherwise the consequences would rebound on the user. There is also a fragment that emphasises the eminence of those who are killed in performing jihad. Such texts were probably written in the context of the war against infidel colonisers. As will be argued in the following sections, the transmission of this kind of 'science' was particularly developed among the Maranao ulama of Mindanao in contact with those in, most probably, Banten.

This does not mean that the popularity of manuscripts containing prayers and *azimat* (talismans) in Mindanao was merely influenced by the Banten tradition. This type of text was also well known in other Malay-speaking regions of Southeast Asia, including Aceh whose connections with Mindanao were particularly strong (see for instance Fathurahman and Holil 2007: 244). In addition, this tradition is also quite common in almost all manuscript collections in the Malay areas of Southeast Asia; it even became part of knowledge adopted and learnt by the court elite in the Sultanate of Bima, West Nusa Tenggara (Fathurahman 2010).[9]

Another interesting discovery is a folio containing the story of Tuan Muhammad Said's pilgrimage from the city of Hudayda in Yemen to Mecca. This folio in Malay is found twice in Bungkos 4 MS 2 and Bungkos 5 MS 3 of the collection, and called *Alkisah tatkala Tuan Muhammad Said berlayar dari negeri Hudayda* (The story of Tuan Muhammad Said's voyage from the country of Hudayda). As Tuan Muhammad Said was the original owner the manuscript collection, he therefore can be considered the central figure who preserved and handed down the collection to his family members.

The text relates how the ship with Tuan Muhammad Said on board was wrecked by a severe storm (*maka datanglah ribut yang amat keras maka lalu peca*[*h*] *perahu dawuh tempatnya menumpang*). In this desperate situation he made the following vow (*naẓr*):

> *Setelah itu maka lalu bernazar hamba pada ketika itu jikalau selamat serta sampai < akan maksudnya > haji maka ia kembali ke negrinya jikalau ada lagi hidup saudara bapaknya < yang telah duduk di negeri Tampasok > maka diciumnya kakinya dan lagi satu perkara jikalau ada mudah-mudahan kembali ke negeri Malimdanaw maka ia duduk ke dalam masjid kepada negeri yang bernama Wato barang tiga hari, tamat. Tatkala sampai ke Jeddah pada empat hari bulan Shaban pada hari Sabtu maka naik pula ke Mekah pada hari Jumat pada sepuluh hari bulan Shaban sampai ke Mekah pada hari Ahad pada hijrah al-Nabi sallallah 'alayhi wasallam seribu dua ratus dualapan belas kepada tahun Dal akhir.*
>
> After that, [this] humble servant made a spiritual vow at that moment, that if he would fulfil his intention to perform the hajj, he would return to his country, and if his uncle < who had settled in the land of Tampasok > were still alive, he would kiss his feet. In addition, if he would return to Malimdanao, he would stay in the mosque of Wato for about three days. He arrived at Jeddah on the fourth day of the month of Sha'ban, Saturday. Then, he went up to Mecca on Friday, the tenth day of the month of Sha'ban. He reached Mecca on

[8]All detail description of these manuscripts and printed *kitab* are provided in the catalogue (see Fathurahman and Kawashima, forthcoming).

[9]However, I have not found any explicit clues indicating a clear connection with Banten's culture and tradition.

> Sunday in the year 1218 of the Hijrah of the Prophet, peace be upon Him [ca. 27 November 1803], end of the year Dal akhir.

In this fragment the story clearly depicts the difficulties Tuan Muhammad Said experienced in reaching Mecca to perform his pilgrimage. But, as the existence of the manuscript in this collection indicates, he persevered and succeeded in returning to Mindanao safely. The theme of hardship and difficulties on sea journeys appears frequently in travelogues kept by pilgrims to the Holy Land, and are part of local historiographical traditions in the Malay world. Perhaps the best known is the travelogue kept by Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsyi on his way to Mecca, where he died in 1854 (Chambert-Loir 2013). We can surely consider this a topos about the many challenges and obstructions entailed in becoming a guest of God. The more challenges one would be able to withstand, the higher the religious value of the pilgrimage would be, it seems.

The last example discussed here addresses the tragedy in Karbala. Bungkos 2 MS 1 contains a text that specifically urges the reader to commemorate Imam Ḥusayn and his followers who died on the Karbala battlefield. The text reads:

> *Hai segala Islam dan segala mukmin, jangan kamu lupakan akan arwah mereka itu yang syahid pada padang Karbala, dan yaitu Amirul mukminin Husayn dan segala mukmin yang sertanya.*

> Oh, all Muslims and believers, do not forget those who died as martyrs in the way of God at the field of Karbala; that is, the Commander of the believers, Ḥusayn, and all the believers who accompanied him.

This summoning of the reader obtains full significance if placed in the context of the history of Muslims living in Karbala, where this collection of manuscripts is located. This context is discussed by Kawashima (2011a), but can be briefly outlined here. One of the popular literary traditions among the Maranao Muslims residing around Lake Lanao in central Mindanao was formed by Islamic stories called *kissa* (Ar. *qiṣṣa*). In this Maranao tradition the *kissa Baraperangan* ('to fight each other') is popular. The *kissa* contains the Maranao version of the famous Malay story of *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah*, dealing with the battle in Karbala, Iraq, where Husain, the son of the fourth caliph Ali and the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, bravely fought against Yazid's army and was martyred (Kawashima 2011a: 66). The *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah* was widespread in many parts of the Malay Islamic areas of Southeast Asia and shows a number of regional variants (Brakel 1975).

The popularity of *Baraperangan* among the Muslims around Lake Lanao was supposedly related to their fight against the American expeditionary forces, where as many as 300 to 400 Maranao people lost their lives in battle. Apparently, as a consequence of this tragic event the Maranao people designated the battle-ground as Padang Karbala, as a reference to the place of martyrdom of Ḥusayn and his followers (Kawashima 2011a: 66). Based on this historical background, the text included in Bungkos 2 MS 1 may be regarded as providing an important indication of how the Maranao Muslims people named certain distinctive places.

Whilst there are the obvious hints of an early Shia influence in the region, we should be cautious in referring to this as such. At the present stage of our research, it is not possible to conclude that there were Shia networks in the area, although we found a text indicating

the influence of an ulama whose genealogy has been traced back to the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*).

One of the texts in which we find such a genealogy of scholars is found in Bungkos 7 MS 1 which bears the title *al-Salsilah* [vocalised] *al-ashrāf al-ʿalawī* (The chain of the spiritual lineage of the Alawi family). This genealogy includes the name Amīr al-Qāḍī Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansāyanī Ilānūnī al-Marnowīyi, a local Maranao scholar from Bansayan, a town located on the eastern side of Lake Lanao (presently part of Poona Bayabao municipality). The *salsilah* traces his spiritual connection to Prophet Muḥammad, listing more than 30 scholars' names. The text states that Prophet Muḥammad learnt the truth of the Creator of the universe through an intermediary of the angel Jabraʾīl.

Networks connecting the Maranao Islamic tradition

The Islamic networks between the Lanao area of Mindanao and other Malay areas in Southeast Asia were developed particularly through the Shaṭṭārīyah brotherhoods. However, one should be aware that in Southeast Asia, there are four different genealogical links (*silsilah*) of Shaṭṭārīyah from the 17th century, and can be traced back through four main figures, namely ʿAbd al-Raʾūf ibn ʿAlī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Ḥasan al-ʿAjamī, and Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb (Fathurahman 2016: 110). My research currently indicates that the Shaṭṭārīyah network of Maranao Muslims was connected with members in Indonesia not via the most popular one of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's *silsilah*, but through the second line of Ibrahim al-Kurani, as will be discussed below.

The first indication of the network connecting the Maranao 'Malay' ulama of Mindanao with Banten lies in the fact that several names of the Bantenese ulama are mentioned in some of the manuscripts in this collection, where they are referred to as *murshid* of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order. A Bantenese scholar of the 18th century, Shaykh Ḥaji ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī (1750s and 1760s), for instance, is mentioned as one of 'our teacher' (*shaykh kita*) of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order in a Malay treatise called *Silsilah Jalan Shaṭṭārī* (Genealogy of the path of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order; see Bungkos 1 MS 2a and MS 3c). A double-lined circle drawn in black and red ink at the top of the first page of the text contains the following words in red ink: *taʾlīf shaykhinā al-Shaykh Ḥaji ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī Banten* (composed by our teacher, Shaykh Ḥaji ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī from Banten). This manuscript was presumably written by a Maranao Shaṭṭārī member who studied with ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī, a mixed Arab and Bantenese scholar who adhered to the Shāfiʿī school of Islamic jurisprudence, and was still alive during the reign of the Bantenese ruler, Mawlānā al-Sulṭān Abū al-Naṣr Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn (r.1753–1773). He is the author or copyist of a number of Arabic and Javanese works on Sufism, including *Mashāhid al-nāsik fī maqāmat al-sālik* and *Fatḥ al-mulūk* (Bruinessen 1995: 182–185; Kurniawan 2011).

The Shaṭṭārīyah network linking ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhār with those ulama in the Lanao area of Mindanao, as indicated in the manuscripts, might also be a clue as to the existence of religious connections between Mindanao and Cirebon in West Java. The Malay *silsilah* text of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhār found in the the Sheikh Muhammad Said collection is very similar to a Javanese version found in Ms 211_EPJ005 of the Elang Panji collection in Cirebon. One of the main differences though is that MS B1-Ms2 names a local student of al-Bantani, namely Khatib Dawud b. Shamsuddin, who initiated

Encik Sirin Awal b. Sirin Abdul Ghani, while Ms 211_EPJ005[10] mentions a female Sufi, the mother of the Sultan of Cirebon (*Kangjeng Ratu Ibu kang Ibu Kangjeng Sultan Cirebon*), whose Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshabandīyah *silsilah* can be traced to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhār. Although there is only scant information about her life, Kangjeng Ratu Ibu is considered to have lived around the late 18th and early 19th century since she was a student of the Bantenese scholar ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, who was alive during the Sultanate of Mawlānā al-Sulṭān Abū al-Naṣr Muḥammad ʿĀrif al-Dīn al-Fatḥ Muḥammad Shifā' Zayn al-ʿĀrifīn (r.1753–1773). Part of the Elang Panji's Javanese manuscript reads (f.2v):

> *Anapon sawuse iku maka wus angaturi jangji sarta talkin zikir atas dadalan tariq al-Shaṭṭārī kalawan Naqshabandī. Fakir ʿAbdullāh pecile kyai ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Shāfiʿī al-Shaṭṭārī Naqshabandī dateng kangjeng Ratu Ibu kang Ibu kangjeng Sultan Carbon.*
>
> After that, Fakir ʿAbdullāh son of Kyai ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Shāfiʿī al-Shaṭṭārī Naqshabandī initiated Kanjeng Ratu Ibu of Kanjeng Sultan Cirebon in the Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshabandīyah Sufi Order.

Besides ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhār, another Bantenese scholar mentioned in the collection of manuscripts was Shaykh ʿAbd al-Shakūr Banten, who was regarded as one of teachers (*murshid*) in the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order. He is mentioned as *guru yang sempurna* (the perfect teacher) in a manuscript (Bungkos 1 MS 4), whose mystical teachings, called *aurad tarekat,*[11] was taught from generation to generation. The text on f.3r reads:

> *Ammā baʿd adapun kemudian dari itu inilah bab pada menyatakan aurad tarekat daripada sekalian guru yang sempurna yaitu Shaykh ʿAbd al-Shakūr Banten yang karamah auliya besar di dalam negeri Banten mengambil daripada Shaykh Maulānā Ibrāhīm.*
>
> After that, this is the chapter elucidating the formula of Sufi order practices from all the great and holy Bantenese teachers, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Shakūr Banten, who learned it from Shaykh Maulānā Ibrāhīm.

The text then names ʿAbd al-Mu'min ibn Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Banten as ʿAbd al-Shakūr's student, who was also initiated into the order. Further research would be needed to identity these names.

In another case, information relating to the Bantenese scholar was on a marginal note but without further explanation as to how the relationship developed. One of the pages in Bungkos 10 MS 1 for instance, has a marginal note in Malay indicating that the given quotation originated from Shaykh ʿAbd al-Jalāl, a kadi from Banten (*min shaykh ʿAbd al-Jalāl raḥmatullāh ʿalayh, qāḍī Banten*). This ʿAbd al-Jalāl was probably a very high-ranking person in the Banten sultanate, as the title of kadi refers to the position of supreme judge in Banten since the 16th century (Bruinessen 1995: 166–168; Yakin 2016: 366).

The manuscripts in the collection also confirm that the relationship between Muslims in the Maranao area of Mindanao and those in Banten was also developed through the transmission of *ilmu kebal* (knowledge of invulnerability), *ilmu tabaruk* (knowledge for

[10] I am indebted to the team of the Programme of Digitisation of Cirebon Manuscripts of Research Institute of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs (Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan, Balitbang dan Diklat), especially Alfan Firmanto, and the late Andi Baharuddin, who shared this manuscript with me for research purposes. A special thanks is also due to Elang Panji in Cirebon, West Java, as the owner of the collection.

[11] *Aurad tarekat* is a formulation of *dhikr* (utterance) taught for the followers of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order, including reciting certain verses of the Quran, prayers (*salawat*) upon the Prophet, and utterances of *lā ilāha illalāh* (there is no God but Allah).

seeking blessings), and other powerful esoteric knowledge, which are better known as part of *debus* in Banten, and suggest a close relationship with the teachings of the Rifāʿīyah Sufi order, founded by Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (d.1182). According to van Bruinessen, the close association of the Rifāʿīyah Sufi order with *debus* practices in Banten would explain how it spread from the court of the Banten sultanate to popular circles. The teaching and practice of these *debus* techniques are to make people invulnerable to iron, fire and poison (Bruinessen 1995: 185).

A manuscript of Bungkos 6 MS 3, for instance, consists of prayers, amulets, and talismans with an introduction in Malay:

> *Ini bab pada menyatakan akan ilmu tabaruk ilmu kepada besi dan kepada bedil dan kepada manusia turu*[*n*] *daripada negeri Karang maka turun kepada Tuan Surabaya maka turun kepada kyai masih orang Banten di Karang Tanjung nama kampungnya maka mengajar ia kepada Tuan Haji Basaruddin orang Malimdanaw.*
>
> This chapter communicates the *ilmu tabaruk*, the knowledge [of remaining unharmed] against iron, guns, and other human beings, which was transmitted from Karang, then transmitted to Tuan Surabaya, then transmitted to a *kyai*, who also came from Banten in Karang Tanjung, who in turn taught Tuan Haji Basaruddin from Mindanao.

Regrettably, the current available sources do not give more detail on the biography of several of the names mentioned in the manuscripts above. We do not have sufficient data either about the local Maranao ulamas of Mindanao who became members of the Shaṭṭārīyah order, made contact, and possibly had close spiritual relationships with other ulamas from the Malay world, including Aceh and Banten. The most detailed information is included in the manuscript of Bungkos 7 MS 1 which contains *al-Salsila* [sic] *sanad al-sādah al-shaṭṭārīyah* (Shaṭṭārīyah pedigree) and provides information on three local ulamas from the Lanao area of Mindanao. On the basis of this manuscript they can be confidently identified as members of the Shaṭṭārīyah, namely Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qārī al-Tarākaī, and ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Balābagānī. This manuscript also confirms that Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī received his Shaṭṭārīyah *ijāzah* (licence) from Haji Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who was initiated into the Sufi order by Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. To whom this Muḥammad Ṭāhir refers is elucidated by the Naqshbandiyah *silsilah* of al-Bansayānī himself, found in the same manuscript, which tells us that he received his Naqshbandiyah *ijāzah* from *al-ḥājj Muḥammad Ṭāhir fī balad al-Marantawī*, who was in turn inducted by *Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī*.[12]

Accordingly, we may say that the early intellectual connection between the Lanao area of Mindanao with the Haramayn was established in the first half of the 18th century through this Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Marantawī, a Maranao scholar from the Marantao area, who probably met, studied with, and received his *ijāzah* from both the Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshabandīyah orders from Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī or Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī (1670-1733), the son of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1690) in Medina. He in turn initiated Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī, whose name was mentioned in the *silsilah* as *Amīr al-Qāḍī ilā balad al-Bansayānī*.[13]

[12]B7 MS1, f.27v.
[13]B7 MS1, f.25v.

Abū Ṭāhir was apparently a key figure in the al-Kūrānī family, who became a major source of transmission of his father's teachings on Sufism and hadith. This transmission was not limited to Southeast Asia, for one of his students was Shāh Walī Allāh (1703–1762), a prominent Muslim scholar from India. According to Azra, Abū Ṭāhir was primarily known as a *muḥaddith* (a specialist in hadith), but he was also a *faqih* and Sufi, and wrote no fewer than a hundred treatises in these fields (Azra 2004: 29). The Mindanao manuscripts studied here confirm that he was also one of the central figures in the development of the Shaṭṭārīyah in the Lanao area of Mindanao.

The dissemination of the Shaṭṭārīyah brotherhood was not limited to Bansayan and Maranao but also other surrounding areas, such as Taraka and Balabagan, since al-Bansayānī also mentions that he received his Shaṭṭārīyah *ijāzah* from Haji ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qārī al-Tarakaī, and Haji ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Balabaganī.[14] The titles attached to their names refer to their respective place of origin Taraka and Balabagan, which currently are part of the autonomous regions in Muslim Mindanao, Bansayan and Maranao.

Besides Banten and Cirebon, the Lanao area of Mindanao also was closely connected through intellectual networks with Aceh in North Sumatra, which was marked as a learning reference of scholars from the Lanao. As can be seen in some manuscripts of this collection, names of works written by Acehnese scholars such as ʻAbd al-Ra'ūf b. ʻAlī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī, Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī, and Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-ʻĀshī, were frequently referred to. Bungkos 2 MS 1 for instance, mentions a Malay hadith work, *Hidāyat al-ḥabīb fī al-targhīb wa-al-tarhīb* by al-Rānīrī, and contains a Malay work, *Waṣīyat ʻAbd al-Ra'ūf,* by ʻAbd al-Ra'ūf, while Bungkos 2 MS 2 mentions *ʻUmdat al-muḥtājīn* by ʻAbd al-Ra'ūf, and *Durr al-farā'id* by al-Rānīrī on several pages. Furthermore, it contains two copies of a brief explanation on the understanding of the phrase *lā ilāha illallāh* by Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-ʻĀshī.

In this respect, the *Hidāyat al-ḥabīb* deserves special attention, for it is the first Malay treatise on hadith written by al-Rānīrī most probably in 1045 AH/1636. The author named it *Haluan akan Nabi SAW pada menyatakan menggemari segala kebajikan dan menjauh daripada segala amal kejahatan* ('The Prophetic guidance to instill the desire to do good and to avoid doing evil deeds'). It contains 831 hadith quoted from various validated sources including the works by Bukhārī, Muslim, and Tirmudhī. This work is also known as *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyah ʻan al-aḥādīth al-nabawīyah* ('the Beautiful benefits of the Prophetic traditions'). The lack of studies on the writing tradition of hadith treatises, including the *Hidāyāt al-ḥabīb* is evidently due to the still limited access to primary manuscript sources (for more details, see Fathurahman 2012).

Another clue to the intellectual connection between Mindanao and Aceh is indicated by a Malay manuscript in Ms 361 in the Jakarta National Library collection. This manuscript consists of a Malay treatise entitled *Kifāyat al-mubādī* [*sic.*] *ʻalā ʻaqīdat al-mubtadī* which is translated by the author as *Memadai permulaannya atas iktikad orang yang pada berlajar* ('the adequacy of principles on theology doctrines for beginners') written by a Mindanao scholar, ʻAbd al-Majīd al-Mindanawī.[15] The colophon of this manuscript reads (p. 97):

[14]B7 MS1, f.25v.
[15]See Kawashima and Fathurahman (2011: 251–267).

> *Qad faragat hādhihi al-risālah fī balad al-Āshī baʿda al-ṣalāh al-ṣubḥ yawm al-jumʿah sittah yawman min shahr rajab al-mubārakah fī al-taʾrīkh al-Sulṭān al-aʿẓam wa-al-ikrām Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Maḥmūd Shāh ibn al-Sulṭān Johan Shāh …*
>
> This work was completed in Aceh, after Subuh prayer on Friday, 6th of Rajab, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah ibn Sultan Johan Shah …

As Sultan Mahmud Shah reigned from 1760 to 1781, the manuscript may be regarded as having been written during this period.

Epilogue

The manuscripts in the Sheikh Muhammad Said collection in the Al-Imam As-Sadiq Library of Husayniyyah, Karbala in Biaba Damag, Marawi City, Mindanao, have shed new light on the significant role of the Mindanao area as an integral part of the intellectual Islamic tradition in the Malay world. This collection has indicated the existence of strong intellectual and religious connections between the Lanao area of Mindanao and other centres of Malay Islamic learning such as Aceh, Banten, and Cirebon. The manuscripts discussed here firmly indicate the importance of this collection for the mapping and reconstruction of Islamic intellectual networks that straddled the Malay world. They also give insights on the various connections between certain regions in Indonesia and the Malay community in Mindanao.

The content of the manuscripts also shows us that in the intellectual tradition of the Malays in Mindanao not only works from Middle Eastern scholars are quoted, but also texts from Southeast Asian scholars that were written in the 17th and 18th centuries. This not only underlines the importance of these scholars but also suggests that the development of an Islamic intellectual tradition and its integration into the Malay world came rather late in the 19th century.

The texts in this collection also reveals names of so far unknown Malay scholars, such as Sheikh Muhammad Said, the author of a manual to interpret dreams, *Takbir Mimpi*, whose travelogue of his pilgrimage to Mecca was included in the collection. Paratextual elements in the latter text indicate what intimate knowledge the copyist had of the works of Malay scholars in Aceh and Palembang. In the same Bungkos we found the texts *Zuhrat al-murīd fī bayān kalimat al-tawḥīd*, by ʾAbd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī (1704–1789), a copy of the *dhikr* of *lā ilāha illallāh* and of *Inilah suatu risalah yang simpan*, both of which are ascribed to the 18th-century Acehnese ulama, Muḥammad Zayn ibn Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn. Indications for this integration into the Islamic networks can be seen in the titles of works mentioned by other Malay ulamas in a number of other texts. Although seemingly rather insignificant and easily overlooked, references to other works such as we find to *Furūʿ al-masāʾil* and *Maṭālib al-sālikīn* in an addendum to a text, indicate a rather intimate knowledge of these works by the scribe. The former is a work on Islamic jurisprudence by the Pattani scholar Dawud b. ʿAbdullāh al-Faṭānī (d.1847), while the latter was written by the well known Yūsuf al-Makassārī (1627–1699), who was exiled to Sri Lanka and and then South Africa for his activities that obstructed Dutch commercial interests. The references to these works are Bungkos 2 MS 1 and Bungkos 2 MS 3, respectively. In this contribution the paratextual elements (addenda, asides and other marginalia) in the manuscripts have been important as the greater part of these references indicate the existence of the intellectual networks.

Further research is needed to address this new information, in order to unveil the history of the intellectual Islamic tradition in the southern Philippines, and to explore how Malay this area was during the past few centuries.

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