USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
ABD AL-RA'UF AL-SINGKILI'S
TARJUMAN AL-MUSTAFID:
A CRITICAL STUDY OF HIS TREATMENT OF JUZ' 16

PETER GREGORY RIDDELL

A thesis submitted in November, 1984 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University.

Copyright (C) 1984 P. G. Riddell
Except where otherwise indicated this thesis
is the original work of the candidate.

(Peter Riddell)
# Table of Contents

Preface 1

1 Acknowledgements 1
2 Abstract 3
3 Abbreviations 5
4 Systems of Transliteration Used 7
5 Method of Numbering Verses 8

1. Historical Introduction to the Text 9

1.1 Aceh’s Early Rise to Power 1520-1607 10
1.2 Acehnese Political and Religious Life 1607-29 11
  1.2.1 External Expansion to 1624 12
  1.2.2 The Religious Doctrines Prevailing during ˹Abd al-Ra’uf’s Early Years 13
  1.2.3 Some Social Effects of the Policy of Expansion 17
1.3 The Defeat at Malacca (1629) and its Effects 17
1.4 Religious Turmoil in Aceh (1637-44) and ˹Abd al-Ra’uf’s Departure for Arabia 19
1.5 ˹Abd al-Ra’uf’s Sojourn in Arabia (1642-1661) 20
1.6 The Return to Aceh (1661-1693) 22
1.7 The Literary Output of ˹Abd al-Ra’uf 23
1.8 Description of MSS extent of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd 24
1.9 The Date of Jak. MS ML 116 29
1.10 The Choice of Juz’ 16 for Editing 35
1.11 Printed Editions of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd 36
  1.11.1 The differences between the editions 41
1.12 Commentaries and translations of Qur’anic passages into Malay predating Tarjumān al-Mustafīd 43

2. Sources of Juz’ 16 of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd 47

2.1 The Traditional View 47
2.2 The Compilation of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd 51
2.3 The various qissah 54
2.4 The various fa’idah 55
  2.4.1 Gīrā’āt presented in the fa’idah of Juz’ 16 of MS A 59
  2.4.2 Inconsistencies in this Recording of the Gīrā’āt 59
  2.4.3 Anecdotal fa’idah in Juz’ 16 of MS A 68
2.5 The Chapter Introductions 68
2.6 The Malay Rendering of the Qur’anic Verses 71
2.7 The Commentary on the Qur’anic Verses 75
2.8 The Stages of Development of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd 79

3. The language of the text 82

3.1 Materials for a Study of Malay as used in 17th Century Aceh 82
  3.1.1 The Sources 82
  3.1.2 The Role 84
3.2 The Role of ˹Abd al-Ra’uf’s Translationese 88
3.3 Grammatical Influences from Arabic on the Malay of MS A 92
| Table 2-1: | Qirā'at from Sūrat al-Kahf Presented in MS A | 60 |
| Table 2-2: | Qirā'at from Sūrah Maryam verses 1-45 Presented in TM | 61 |
| Table 2-3: | Qirā'at from Sūrah Maryam verses 46-98 Presented in TM | 62 |
| Table 2-4: | Qirā'at from Sūrah Tāhā verses 1-64 Presented in TM | 63 |
| Table 2-5: | Qirā'at from Sūrah Tāhā verses 65-135 Presented in TM | 64 |
| Table 3-1: | Syntactic Pattern/Focus Correspondence in 17thC Malay | 99 |
| Table 3-2: | Verbal Prefix/Syntactic Pattern Frequency in 17thC Malay | 100 |
| Table 3-3: | Verbal Prefix/Syntactic Pattern Frequency in TM | 103 |
| Table 3-4: | Arabic Grammatical Features Manifested in the Malay of TM | 124 |
| Table C-1: | Malay Grammatical Terms used in Juz' 16 of TM: a-l | 257 |
| Table C-2: | Malay Grammatical Terms used in Juz' 16 of TM: m-s | 258 |
| Table C-3: | Malay Grammatical Terms used in Juz' 16 of TM: t-z | 259 |
Preface

1 Acknowledgements

The production of this thesis would not have been possible without the support and guidance of various colleagues, friends and members of my family.

Chief among them is my principal supervisor, Professor A.H. Johns, who gave me continual encouragement and provided me with the academic direction needed to unearth the information contained in this thesis. Without his guiding hand my efforts could not have met with the same degree of success.

My assistant supervisor was Dr Bill Foley. His friendship and intellectual insights were a source of great encouragement to me during the period of my research.

In January-February 1981, I undertook a research trip to Jakarta to study manuscripts of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd at the Central Museum. I am indebted to Drs Kosim H. R. of the Manuscript Section for his assistance with the study of these MSS. Thanks are also due to Gavan and Julien Bromilow, who provided me with accommodation during my stay in Jakarta, and whose friendship made my trip infinitely more enjoyable.

In January-February 1982 and February-June 1983 I carried out library research in Leiden, Paris and London. During these periods, I was fortunate in benefiting from discussion of my work with Prof. G.W.J. Drewes, Dr T. Iskandar, Dr U. Kratz, Prof. D. Lombard, Dr R. Roolvink and Dr P. Voorhoeve. Special thanks are due to Dr R. Jones of SOAS for his assistance with the dating and description of my base manuscript. I am also indebted to Rev. Fr. G. Monnot O.P., whose classes in Qur'anic Exegesis at the Sorbonne in 1983 were a source of great inspiration to me. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Mme Lilli-Anne Selosse and family,
whose house I shared during my semester II studies in Paris, and who made me feel welcome and one of the family at all times.

I wish to express my thanks to Aboe Bakar, Director of the Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Aceh, and all the staff for having made available to me the resources of this Centre during my stay in Aceh in November-December 1982. Similarly Drs Nasruddin Sulaiman of the Museum Negeri Aceh is deserving of thanks for having helped me examine the uncatalogued collection of MSS belong to the museum. In addition I am indebted to Wamad Abdullah, Dr Achmad Daudy, Teungku Dachlan al-Fairusy, Prof. A. Hasjmy, Abdurrahman Ibrahim and Zaslina Zainuddin for their assistance with various aspects of the research which I undertook while in Aceh.

I also wish to thank the Faculty of Asian Studies, ANU, for having provided me with a grant to assist with my research trip to Asia and Europe in 1982-3.

Special thanks are due to Dr Henri Chambert-Loir of EFEO and Jutta Bluhm of ANU for their help in obtaining microfilms of MSS held in Jakarta, to Tony Street for his meticulous proof-reading of this thesis and valuable comments, to Mrs Muna Sabbagh for her assistance with the inevitable hurdles one faces in studying Arabic, and to Mrs Yohanni Johns for her advice on various aspects of my work.

This thesis was @Scribed on the ANU Faculties Vax Computer. My thanks go to the Computer Services Centre, ANU, for the use of its facilities and particularly to Peter Elford and Geoff Huston of CSC for their help with the preparation and printing of this thesis. I am also indebted to Jeremy Webber, whose adaption of Scribe to the Diablo1640 made this printout possible, and to Avery Andrews and Mark Durie, whose help with the interpretation of Scribe greatly lightened what could have otherwise been an onerous task.

Finally, I owe a great debt to my family, without whose encouragement this thesis may not have been completed. My wife Anna was understanding of my study-induced absences and fully supportive of all my efforts. My mother and father provided me with the educational background and motivation necessary to undertake such a study, and my
brother Mike provided a model of academic achievement in earlier years which served to whet my own appetite for study and research.

Any errors and shortcomings in this thesis are my own responsibility.

This thesis is dedicated to my late father, Gordon Riddell, and my mother, Nancy Riddell.

2 Abstract

This thesis focusses upon a presentation and analysis of part of the text of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, the earliest Malay commentary on the whole Qur'ān.

Chapter One presents background information about the Acehnese Sultanate during the 16th and 17th centuries, the author, ʿAbd al-Raʿūf b. ʿAlī al-Jāwī al-Fansūrī al-Singkīlī, and his literary output. It also provides details on the surviving MSS and printed editions of this work.

Chapter Two examines in detail the sources and structure of juz' 16 of this commentary, and in the process attempts to break down a long-standing misconception concerning its identity held by scholars of Islam in Southeast Asia and Europe.

Chapter Three contains an examination of the language of the commentary. Details are listed relating to the ways in which the Malay used by ʿAbd al-Raʿūf underwent morphological and syntactic influence from the Arabic of the texts being translated. In addition, there is a detailed discussion of the orthography of the base manuscript used for this thesis.

Chapter Four contains an edited romanized text of commentary on the 16th part of the Qur'ān, taken from the oldest extant manuscript of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd. Lacunae and imperfections in the text of this MS are rectified by reference to the oldest printed edition of the commentary, itself probably based upon an early MS.

Chapter Five contains a translation into English of the romanized Malay text presented in the previous chapter.

There are several appendices which provide further information on
the life of Abd al-Ra'uf and various aspects of the language of the commentary, in addition to presenting part of the text of the main work of Qur'anic exegesis in Arabic upon which Abd al-Ra'uf drew.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General</th>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Fleischer, H.O. Beidhawii: <em>Commentarius in Coranum</em>, Lipsiae 1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIM</td>
<td>Bahasa Indonesia/Malaysia (The national language of Indonesia and Malaysia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKI</td>
<td>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBP</td>
<td>Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI$_1$</td>
<td><em>Encyclopaedia of Islam</em>, 1st ed., E.J.Brill, Leiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI$_2$</td>
<td><em>Encyclopaedia of Islam</em>, new ed., E.J.Brill, Leiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the American Oriental Society</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JMBRAS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malay(s)i)an Branch</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSBRAS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh</td>
<td>al-Khāzin Lubāb al-Ta'wīl fī Maṣīḥal al-Tanzīl, 4 vols., Dār al-Maṭīgh, Beirut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Lane, E.W. <em>An Arabic-English Lexicon</em>, repr. 1955, N.Y., Frederick Unger Publ., 8v. 1863-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Marsden, W. <em>A Dictionary of the Malayan Language</em>, London 1812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Al-Quraan Dan Terjemahnya, Jakarta 1974, Ministry of Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn; al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, 2nd ed. (no date), Tehran, Dār al-Kutub al-İlmīyah, (offset of Cairo ed. 1933)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEW</td>
<td>Lombard, D. Le &quot;Spraeck Ende Woord-Boek&quot; de Frederick de Houtman Maisonneuve, Paris 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>Winstedt, R.O. <em>The Malay Annals</em>, JMBRAS, Vol. 16 1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBG</td>
<td><em>Tijdschrift voor indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</em>, uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM</td>
<td><em>Tarjuman al-Mustafīd</em>, Jak. MS ML 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Wall, H. Von de Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, H.N Van Der Tuuk ed., Batavia 1877</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verhandelingen van het Koninglijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde


Wurm, S. & Wilson, B. English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages, A.N.U. 1975


Linguistic Abbreviations

1 First person
2 Second person
3 Third person
ACC Accusative case (Arabic)
CAUS Causative
COMM Comment marker (Malay)
DEF Definite article
DUAL Dual number (Arabic)
EMPH Emphatic marker (Malay)
EN Energetic mood (Arabic)
FEM Feminine gender (Arabic)
FW Function words (Malay)
GEN Genitive case (Arabic)
INDEF Indefinite article
IMP Imperfective aspect (Arabic)
LOC Locative particle/affix
MASC Masculine gender (Arabic)
MKR Marker
N Nominals (Malay)
NEG Negative particle
NOM Nominative case (Arabic)
O Object of verb
PASS Passive voice (Arabic)
PERF Perfective aspect (Arabic)
pl Plural number
? Interrogative particle/affix
REL Relative particle
S Grammatical subject
sg Singular number
SUBJ Subjunctive mood (Arabic)
TOP Topic marker (Malay)
TRANS Transitivity Enhancing Suffix (Malay)
V Verb (Arabic)/Verbals (Malay)
# 4 Systems of Transliteration Used

**Arabic**

For the transliteration of Arabic passages in my base manuscript, I have largely followed the Library of Congress system detailed in Bulletin 91 if the Cataloging Service [September 1970]. This system is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letters of the Alphabet</th>
<th>transliterated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>أ</td>
<td>omic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels and Diphthongs</th>
<th>transliterated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ا</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ع</td>
<td>aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ا</td>
<td>ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Alif, waw and yā' when used to support hamzah are not represented in the romanized text. The hamzah itself is not represented in romanization when occurring at the beginning of a word, following a prefixed conjunction, or following the definite article. When medial or final, hamzah is represented by '.
Malay

In transliterating the text of the Malay commentary found in the manuscript, the primary goal has been to conform to the standard established by the Malay/Indonesian spelling reform of 1972 detailed in the "Pedoman Umum Ejaan Bahasa Indonesia Yang Disempurnakan". In cases where the Jawi orthography clearly indicates an archaic form, such forms have been faithfully reproduced in the transliterated text. For further details, the reader is referred to section 3.4, dealing with the orthography of the base manuscript, and Appendix E, containing a list of archaic and unusual forms found in the MS.

5 Method of Numbering Verses

The text of the Malay commentary of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd contained in the base manuscript used in this thesis does not number the Qur'ānic verses. Each Surah begins with a short account of the varying methods of numbering the verses of each Surah, as is the tradition of the classical Arabic commentaries.

To facilitate reconciliation of the edited text of juz' 16 of TM with other renderings of the Qur'ān into Indonesian/Malay, the numbering system adopted follows that adhered to by the official Indonesian Government rendering, Al-Quraan Dan Terjemahnya. This rendering is by far the most widely used and authoritative of all modern renderings into Indonesian/Malay, and follows the numbering system used by the official Cairo edition, as found in Qur'ān Karīm, Cairo 1976, Dār al-Kutub.
Chapter 1

Historical Introduction to the Text

Much has been written about the early history of the Sultanate of Aceh. The primary sources fall into two groups - Acehnese and European. The former are chiefly represented by the *Bustān al-Salātīn*, the *Adat Aceh* and the *Hikayat Aceh*, while the European sources comprise diaries, letters and a variety of records made by Portuguese, Dutch, English and French expeditions to the Eastern archipelago during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Among the major historical studies of the early Sultanate to have been undertaken this century are those by Djajadiningrat [1911], Lombard [1967], and Ito [1984]. They have been supplemented by a wealth of articles by other scholars focussing upon individual aspects or figures of the early Sultanate.

This current thesis is centred upon *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, arguably the most important single work of ǦAbd al-Raʿūf b. ǦAlī al-Jawī al-Fansūrī al-Singkili [†1615-1693], one of the most eminent religious scholars to live during the "Golden Age" of the Sultanate. In order to place the life and work of ǦAbd al-Raʿūf in perspective, it is necessary to examine the world as he knew it, for we will surely find therein clues for the identification of the major characters and events which shaped his life. The outline of the political and religious history contained in the following pages has been included to help us understand ǦAbd al-Raʿūf’s perception of contemporary events. It is with this purpose in mind that the historical outline has been written "through the eyes" of ǦAbd al-Raʿūf, as it were.
During the early years of the sixteenth century, Aceh was only one of many minor coastal settlements of North Sumatra. Its emergence to become the major power in the region was due to several factors, chief among them being the political and trade upheaval caused by the Portuguese capture of Malacca in 1511 [Lombard 1967:35-6]. Prior to this, Malacca had been the chief staging post for Muslim merchants from Arabia and India in search of pepper and other spices. Its loss to "infidels" was to cause these traders to look elsewhere. As the various North Sumatran Muslim ports were ideally located on the trading routes, they were bound to compete with each other for the new flow of commercial favours directed their way. Such competition made disputation inevitable, and the various ports engaged in a struggle for regional hegemony.

During the 1520's, the Acehnese Sultan CAlī Mughāyat Shāh (?-1530) undertook successful military expeditions against the neighbouring cities of Deli, Daya, Pidir and Pasai, as well as defeating a Portuguese fleet in a sea battle in 1521 [Lombard 1967:36]. The next sixty years were characterised by the gradual expansion of the Sultanate, with many Sumatran states being subjugated. Attacks were also made against the Portuguese at Malacca in 1537, 1547, 1568, 1573 and 1575. Turkish archives record that Sultan CAlā al-Dīn RiCāyat Shāh al-Qāhhr (1537-71) sent a delegation to Istanbul in 973/1563 to enlist the aid of the Ottoman Empire in the ongoing struggle against the Portuguese [Juynboll & Voorhoeve 1960:743].

There was a slowdown in the rate of expansion during the 1580's, and the rule of Sultan CAlā al-Dīn RiCāyat Shāh Sayyid al-Mukammil (1589-1604) was notable for his consolidation of his own position in the face of power-seeking Orang Kayas,¹ as well as his attempts to seek a rapprochment with the Portuguese [Ito 1984:14]. These attempts were set

¹Acehnese "nobles" who occupied "une position sociale favorisée" [Lombard 1967:56]
aside with the arrival of the Dutch and English, themselves sworn enemies of the Portuguese. The volume and nature of correspondence between the Acehnese and these two new foreign intruders indicates that a loose alliance in the face of the common foe, Portugal, developed during these years.\(^2\)

The impetus for Acehnese development during the sixteenth century was primarily external. By establishing a stranglehold on the pepper trade in the region, the port of Aceh flourished. Vassal states such as Pasai, Pidir etc. were forced to transport their produce to Aceh to sell it there [Lombard 1967:83]. Naturally a part of the proceeds was paid to the Sultanate. This monopoly ensured a constant supply of income for the Sultanate, but it also resulted in simmering resentment amongst these vassal states, and revolt was always a possibility. Constant Portuguese intrigues with these states meant that Acehnese rule had to be reasserted by military means from time to time.

Such was the situation at the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda's accession to power in 1607. The strength and supremacy of the Acehnese Sultanate was somewhat tenuous, and there was considerable room for consolidation of power and expansion throughout the region.

1.2 Acehnese Political and Religious Life 1607-29

Iskandar Muda's assumption of the throne marks the beginning of what is generally regarded as the "Golden Age" of the Acehnese Sultanate. It was the age into which \(^6\)Abd al-Ra'uf was born, and his earliest memories must have been filled with images of foreign conquest and greatness associated with the person of his ruler, Sultan Iskandar Muda. It was a period of great political and religious activity, with these two domains providing an impetus and raison d'être for each other. In order to understand how the politics and religious life of the Sultanate of this period were interwoven, let us extricate one from the other and initially deal with them in isolation.

\(^2\)Refer to the letters exchanged between Acehnese rulers and English sovereigns in the early 17th century [Shellabear 1898:Letters A-C].
1.2.1 External Expansion to 1624

The first five years after Iskandar Muda's succession were devoted to consolidation of his power base. External military adventures were postponed, as the new ruler had to establish his own position and strengthen royal authority [Ito 1984:15].

However, the year 1612 marks the beginning of a period of great external military activity with a view to expanding the boundaries of the Acehnese Empire. In that year, Deli and Aru to the east were subjugated once again, and the following year an Acehnese military expedition successfully attacked Batu Sawar, the capital of the Kingdom of Johore. The Sultan of Johore and his family were brought back to Aceh as prisoners, in addition to some two dozen Dutch captured in the fighting [Lombard 1967:92].

In 1614, the Acehnese inflicted a considerable defeat on the Portuguese at Baning, with the latter suffering heavy losses [Djajadiningrat 1911:179]. There was then a pause in external military operations for several years, which allowed the Acehnese time to regroup to prepare for a concerted series of attacks on the states of the Malay peninsula.

The pause ended with the successful attack on Pahang in 1617. In an apparent attempt to win "the hearts and minds" of the population of Pahang, Iskandar Muda brought back to Aceh Raja Sulung, the seven year old son of the Sultan of Pahang, and adopted him as his own son. He was eventually to succeed Iskandar Muda to the Acehnese throne in 1636. This policy of showing mercy to his enemies had also been evident in the earlier attack on Johore [Lombard 1967:93], and demonstrated that Iskandar Muda possessed diplomatic skills to supplement his undoubted abilities as a military leader.

Two years later, the Acehnese forces attacked and defeated Kedah, but this time no such mercy was shown. Beaulieu reports that the city was destroyed and 7000 of its inhabitants were transported back to Aceh as slaves. The reason for the harsher treatment appears to have been that unlike Johore and Pahang, which were commercial ports control of
which would be beneficial to Aceh, Kedah was an important producer of pepper, and the destruction of Kedah as a source of supply of pepper was the most advantageous policy for the Acehnese to follow [Lombard 1967:93]. The following year, a second expedition was sent to Kedah to deliver the coup de grâce.

A campaign mentioned in the Bustān al-Salāṭīn but neglected by European sources was that against the West Sumatran island of Nias in 1624 [Djajasdingrat 1911:180]. This marked the beginning of yet another period of consolidation designed to build up the Acehnese strength in preparation for the massive assault on Portuguese Malacca in 1629.

1.2.2 The Religious Doctrines Prevailing during ʻAbd al-Raʻūf’s Early Years

Rinkes [1909:25-6] postulates that ʻAbd al-Raʻūf must have been born around 1615. The method of calculating this birthdate is by working backwards from an event to which a date can be put with some degree of certainty - namely, ʻAbd al-Raʻūf’s return to Aceh from Arabia in 1661. Voorhoeve casts doubt on Rinkes’s calculations when he says:

Het laatste jaar waarin we weten dat Abdurrauf nog in leven was is dus 1693; zijn geboorte zal wel iets later gesteld moeten worden dan 1615. [Voorhoeve 1952:88]

However, if ʻAbd al-Raʻūf were born in 1615, he would have been seventy-eight years old in 1693, hardly an age which was beyond the realms of possibility in 17th century Aceh. If we accept Rinkes’s date of birth, it would mean that ʻAbd al-Raʻūf was twenty-six or twenty-seven when he departed for Arabia around 1642. Although there is evidence that the great Jâwī scholar of the 19th century, al-Nawâwî, left for Arabia around the age of 15 in 1828 [Chaidar 1978:5], we cannot assume that all the Jâwîs destined for Arabia left at such a tender age. Perhaps al-Nawâwî had family there or at least contacts who could act as guardians. It is far more likely that the Jâwî scholars would have been better equipped for such a journey once they had attained full adulthood,
and thus a departure by ʿAbd al-Raʿūf in his mid-twenties seems plausible. Hence, the date of birth calculated by Rinkes will be accepted for the purposes of this study.

ʿAbd al-Raʿūf's early years coincided with the years of great external expansion of the Sultanate, as has been outlined above. Virtually nothing is known about this period of his life, though legends concerning his ancestry and childhood abound. Reports of social and religious developments contemporaneous with this period of his life are plentiful, and it is to such reports that we may turn in our quest to identify his early influences.

These were years of profound social and religious change. Iskandar Muda placed great importance upon the strengthening of the Islamic faith both within and without the territory of Aceh proper. Many mosques were built, including the famous Bayt al-Rahman mosque in Aceh, later to be destroyed by fire. Turkish archives record the presence of Acehnese hajis in Arabia during this time [Djajadingrat 1911:178], and there is no doubt that it had become common for Acehnese scholars of Islam to spend a period of their lives studying at various centres of Islamic learning in the Arabian peninsula. Hamzah Fansūrī, the great Sumatran mystic of the late 16th century, had been initiated into the Qādirīyah Order in Arabia [al-Attas 1970:10-11], and in doing so established a tradition which ʿAbd al-Raʿūf himself was to follow some decades later.

Islamic theosophical doctrines relating to the nature of God and Man's relationship to the Creator were a major focal point of religious teaching and writing in Aceh during this period. Sufi schools of thought were flourishing throughout the Muslim world, and in India and Aceh various competing schools, some of which denounced the others as heretical, flourished during this period. The crux of Sufi belief was that the goal central to religion was Man's community with God [Snouck Hurgronje 1906:II, 10], and the early Sufis of Aceh based their teachings

---

3 For details of some of these legends, refer to the rather idealized view of ʿAbd al-Raʿūf in A. Hasjmy 1980A.
upon this goal. According to these teachings, the distinction between the Creator and Man was ultimately rendered non-existent when this quest was fully realised.

These notions had been taught by Hamzah Fansūrī, who gives a glimpse of his understanding of unity with God in the following verse taken from his poetry:

Hamzah miskīn orang Cūryānī,
Seperti Isma'Cil menjadi qurbānī;
Bukananya CĀjamī lagi CArabī -
Senantiasa wāsīl dengan Yang Bāqī.
[al-Attas 1970:10]

Hamzah the poor is disrobed,
Like Isma'Cil he too is a sacrifice,
He is neither Persian nor Arab,
He is in perpetual communion with the Everlasting.

His monistic notions were enlarged upon and formed the central core of the teaching and writing of Shams al-Dīn b. CĀbd Allāh al-Samatrānī (d. 1630), the Qādī Malik al-CĀdil4 during the rule of Iskandar Muda. Shams al-Dīn received the direct patronage of the Sultan and contemporary European reports testify to the central role which Shams al-Dīn had occupied in the power structure of the Sultanate even before Iskandar Muda’s reign [Lombard 1967:162]. His most important work, the Mīr'āt al-Mu'minīn, which contains the core of his monistic teachings and in which he expounds upon a system of seven grades of being, was composed in 1601 during the rule of Sultan CĀlā' al-Dīn Rī'āyat Shāh Sayyid al-Mukammil [Djajadingrat 1911:182], so when Iskandar Muda succeeded to the throne in 1607, the official standing of Islamic theosophy in the Sultanate was well established. Iskandar Muda’s patronage of Shams al-Dīn and official approval of the latter’s doctrines indicate that CĀbd al-Ra'ūf’s early study of Islam was probably oriented towards doctrines which were later to be condemned as heretical.

4 = Chief judge of the Sultan [Juynboll & Voorhoeve 1960:741].
Johns [1957:34] indicated that the development of Sufistic doctrines in Aceh was closely tied to the direction of contemporary developments in Muslim India. The exact manner of influence of the developments in India upon those in Aceh is difficult to determine. What is clear is that in both places there was a religious controversy in the period in which \(^\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\text{Abd al-Ra'\textsuperscript{\textdag}}\text{uf was growing up concerning what was considered authentic and non-authentic Islamic teaching.}

Why did Iskandar Muda patronize such a particular theosophy? The answer to this question may lie in part in the Sultan's own view of himself and his role. There are clear indications that Iskandar Muda was of the opinion that the stamp of destiny was upon him, in the form of greatness and renown. This is reflected in his choice of names once he ascended the throne. Lombard [1967:169-70] argues convincingly that the Sultan assumed the name Iskandar Muda during his lifetime, possibly even on the day of his assumption of power. Attempts to compare Iskandar Muda to Alexander the Great are contained in the Hikayat Aceh and Adat Aceh [Lombard 1967:170-171], no doubt included to earn the pleasure of the Sultan. His other names, Perkasa Alam Johan and Makuta Alam, also suggest a central figure on the world stage and give us a clear insight into the Acehnese idea of kingship and the role of the king. Iskandar Muda clearly saw himself as another all-conquering hero, and this no doubt partially accounts for his external policy of expansion.

Such a self image may well have been boosted by the Sufi doctrines he espoused. For if God were present in all creatures and things, and Man were merely a manifestation of God, is it not possible that a great sovereign be elevated to semi-divine heights in the eyes of his subjects? It is not difficult to imagine the degree of awe in which Iskandar Muda must have been held by his subjects after the first period of great victories. He indeed must have been likened to Alexander the Great, the all-conquering hero. This is how the young \(^\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\text{Abd al-Ra'\textsuperscript{\textdag}}\text{uf would have regarded his sovereign.} \(^\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\text{Abd al-Ra'\textsuperscript{\textdag}}\text{uf was, in all probability, a proud patriot of the Acehnese Sultanate. Being Acehnese undoubtedly commanded respect, and it could have given him a sense of self-esteem which encouraged him to travel all over Arabia.}
1.2.3 Some Social Effects of the Policy of Expansion

One need not doubt that the policy of external expansion pursued by Iskandar Muda had profound effects within the societies of Aceh and its vassal states. The numerous campaigns during the years 1612-1624 clearly caused a drain on Acehnese manpower resources, and losses during this time must have been considerable. Although no standing army was maintained, approximately 40,000 soldiers from Aceh proper could be raised at short notice for campaigns, without counting those from the vassal states [Ito 1984:52], of which Abd al-Ra'uf's home town, Singkel, was one. The troops had to clothe and feed themselves for the first three months of campaigning [Ito 1984:52], so the burden upon the affected families was great. As is usual with war, as long as the campaigns were successful, the Acehnese society appears to have been prepared to bear the burden.

Manpower shortages and social dislocation are reflected in the need to bring back to Aceh prisoners of war to act as forced labourers:

...in 1618 about 11000 people were brought from Pahang as prisoners of war and again in 1635 about 2700; in 1619, 4000 from Kedah; in 1620, 5000 from Perak. According to Beaulieu, Iskandar Muda had about 22000 people taken away from Johor, Deli, Pahang, Kedah and Perak...[Ito 1982:55, note 20]

1.3 The Defeat at Malacca (1629) and its Effects

The years 1624-29 appear to have been devoted to preparations for an all-out attack on Malacca. When it came in 1629, it was carried out by a massive Acehnese expeditionary force, which laid siege to Malacca for five months. The siege was lifted by a Portuguese fleet from Goa, and in the ensuing battle, the Acehnese were routed, suffering enormous losses in men and equipment.\(^5\)

Ito [1984:16] quite accurately describes this defeat as "...the

\(^5\) For detailed accounts contemporaneous with the event, refer Lombard 1967:247-8 and Boxer 1964:108ff.
watershed between the glorious days of the Sultanate and its gradual decline." It would surely have shaken the very foundations of Acehnese society, and Ābab al-Raʿūf, by this time approximately 14 years old, was no doubt acutely aware of the trauma resulting from this disaster. This event would have destroyed any belief in Acehnese invincibility which had developed as a result of a long period of expansion characterised by successful external military operations. This defeat heralded a subsequent shift in foreign policy, and it is not beyond the realms of possibility that it was also a decisive factor in unleashing the religious turmoil and witch-hunt of heretics which erupted during the latter part of the 1630s.

This disaster would have made the Acehnese populace aware of a sense of war-weariness. By 1629, Iskandar Muda had ruled for 22 years, a period characterised by war, expansion, manpower losses and a constant drain on individual resources to support the war effort. Many Acehnese must have regarded this defeat as a symbol representing the folly of previous policies. Older members of society would have remembered losses and constant campaigning going back to the reign of Alāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat Shāh al-Qahhār, the great campaigner of the mid-16th century. Is it any wonder that profound social, political and religious changes were to follow this national disaster? The subsequent changes reflect the discrediting of previous policies associated with an "old order". Within ten years, there was to be an about-face in political and religious attitudes.

Shams al-Dīn, the great Sufi protegé of Iskandar Muda, died on 24.2.1630. Barely six months later, another leading ḍālim, Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Ābū Allāh al-Shāmī, died on 21.8.1630 [Djajadiningrat 1911:182]. The departure of Shams al-Dīn removed from centre stage the major proponent of the type of Sufi teaching viewed by some as heretical. This allowed for a readjustment in the religious life of the Sultanate, though we have no evidence of a dramatic change in direction prior to the death of Iskandar Muda in 1636.

A frequent consequence of great disasters is a hunt for scapegoats. Iskandar Muda, the architect of the Acehnese policies of external
expansion in the 17th century, would not have wanted to shoulder the blame himself. We find a clue to the identity of scapegoats in the report in the Bustan al-Salatin relating that the defeat at Malacca was due to dissension between the two leaders of the expedition, Sri Maharaja and Laksamana [Lombard 1967:97, note 2]. Iskandar Muda appears to have shelved personal responsibility by blaming these two figures. It is also possible that other scapegoats were sought as well, and the Qadi Malik al-Adil, Shams al-Din, perhaps fell foul of a ruler seeking to shift public recrimination away from himself. It is tempting to speculate that the deaths of the two great Acehnese 'ulamā' so soon after the defeat at Malacca may have been orchestrated, but evidence to support such a theory is not, nor will it probably ever be, available. Beaulieu paints Iskandar Muda as a cruel and callous figure [Djajadininingrat 1911:18]. We also know that Iskandar Muda did not hesitate to send those close to him to their deaths - two weeks before his own death, the Sultan had his only son killed reportedly to avoid a bloodbath concerning the succession. [Djajadininingrat 1911:183]

Nevertheless, a momentous national disaster such as that at Malacca must have caused a sense of disillusionment with previous policies amongst certain sections of Acehnese society, and the Malacca adventure may well have been central to a later change in the character of accepted religious doctrine in Aceh.

1.4 Religious Turmoil in Aceh (1637-44) and 'Abd al-Ra'uf's Departure for Arabia

Iskandar Muda died in 1636. He was succeeded by Iskandar Thānī, who had been brought back from Pahang aged 7 in 1617 and adopted by Iskandar Muda, reportedly because the Sultan saw in the face of the child that the latter was a descendant of Dhu'l-Qarnayn, or Alexander the Great [Djajadininingrat 1911:183].

This change set the seal on an about-face in the religious doctrinal orientation of the Sultanate. Shortly after Iskandar Thānī's succession to power, Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasanji b. Muhammad Rānīrī, an Islamic
scholar originating from Gujerat in India, arrived in Aceh [Winstedt 1923:317]. He rose to prominence under the patronage of the new Sultan, and during the next seven years, he devoted his energies to writing works aimed at refuting what he considered to be the heretical teachings of Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn, in addition to encouraging a period of widescale persecution of the followers of these latter two scholars. During this period, many followers of the two Sufis were murdered and books written by both Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn were burned [Snouck Hurgronje 1906:II, 13].

al-Ṣaḥrūrī’s monumental work, Bustān al-Salātīn, was partially written during this period, and is an invaluable record of the history of Aceh up to that time. The importance of al-Ṣaḥrūrī in the history of the Sultanate should not be underestimated, although he appears to have spent barely seven years there. But he set the spark to a doctrinal dispute which was to cause turmoil in Acehnese religious circles for many decades.

Thus, when ʿAbd al-Raʿūf left for Arabia around 1642, he left behind a society scandalized by the viciousness of religious quarrels. al-Ṣaḥrūrī was to leave Aceh in disgrace in 1644, driven out by a grouping of the followers of Shams al-Dīn who were championing the cause of a new Minangkabau Ǧālim named Sayf al-Rijāl [Ito 1978:491], but the effects of this turmoil were still in evidence when ʿAbd al-Raʿūf returned some seventeen years later.

1.5 ʿAbd al-Raʿūf’s Sojourn in Arabia (1642-1661)

Our knowledge of ʿAbd al-Raʿūf’s life prior to his departure for Arabia is based on Rinkes’s reconstruction, but the situation changes with his Arabian sojourn. His work ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn contains a codicil, apparently composed by the author himself, which is generously provided with details of his years of study at various centres of Islamic learning in the Arabian Peninsula. In this codicil, ʿAbd al-Raʿūf makes

6 Refer to Appendix A for the romanized text of this codicil.
a list of some fifteen teachers with whom he studied, in addition to listing other scholars and students with whom he had varying degrees of contact in centres such as Mecca, Jeddah, Bayt al-Faqīh, Zabīd, Medina etc. during his nineteen year stay there. The most important of his contacts were clearly Ahmad al-Qushāshī of Medina, the spiritual father of many 17th century Indian mystics, and his successor Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who gave ʿAbd al-Raʿūf permission to establish a school of mysticism in Aceh. This school was to contribute greatly to the spread of the Shattāriyyah Order throughout the archipelago [Trimingham 1971:130], though this order was not to survive in the Arabian peninsula. [Snouck Hurgronje 1906:II 18]

The importance of this codicil in the ʿUmdat is that it provides us with a spiritual genealogical tree for the mystical order which ʿAbd al-Raʿūf did so much to establish in the Malay world. Johns [1975:46] points out that ʿAbd al-Raʿūf is the first of the great Malay Islamic scholars for whom a line of transmission is traceable. It is perhaps to this fact that much of his subsequent reputation can be attributed, as the importance of lines of transmission to Muslim thinking is well documented.

There seems little doubt that ʿAbd al-Raʿūf would have sought answers to the issues arising from the violent polemic which filled centre stage in Aceh prior to his departure in 1642. That news of this polemic had reached Arabia is recorded in the preface to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī’s Ithāf al-dhaki bi-sharh al-tuhfa al-mursala ilā al-nabī, where the author states:

We have had reliable information from a company of Jāwī, that there have spread among the inhabitants of the lands of 'Java' some books on Realities, and esoteric teachings by men attributed with knowledge because of their study and the teaching of others, but who lack any understanding of the Law of [Muhammad] the Chosen, the Elect [of God], and even less of an awareness of the knowledge of Realities bestowed upon those who follow God's path, may He be exalted; this has led many of them to deviate from the right path, and given rise to faulty belief, in fact they have been attracted to camp in the valleys of unbelief and heresy...[Johns 1975:51]
This work was ostensibly composed to resolve some of the contentious issues arising from the conflict in Aceh. It is probable that ġAbd al-Ra'ūf himself was one of those who brought news of this conflict to Arabia. It is equally probable that ġAbd al-Ra'ūf determined to be prepared to confront and resolve the religious conflict which had been so harmful to religious life in Aceh.

1.6 The Return to Aceh (1661-1693)

Biographical details relating to that part of ġAbd al-Ra'ūf's life between his return to Aceh and his death are scarce. The last thirty years of his life can only be glimpsed through fragmentary comments made in MSS of his works by certain of his students.

Rinkes [1909:25] reports that ġAbd al-Ra'ūf returned to Aceh after the death of his master 伤亡 al-Qushāshī in 1661. The Acehnese throne was at that time occupied by the Sultana Tāj al-ġĀlam Ṣafīyat al-Dīn Shāh (1641-1675), the daughter of Iskandar Muda and widow of Iskandar Thānī [Djajadiningrat 1911:188]. After initially continuing her husband's patronage of al-Rānīrī for some two and a half years, the Sultana was influenced by her advisers to move her support to the Minangkabau scholar Sayf al-Rijāl, the new champion of the followers of Shams al-Dīn [Ito 1978:49]. This swing back of the pendulum to the advantage of the followers of the early Acehnese Sufis was not to last, however, as we learn that soon after his return to Aceh, ġAbd al-Ra'ūf was commissioned by the Sultana to write Mir'āt al-Tullāb, a work on jurisprudence [Voorhoeve 1952:109]. This work was completed in 1663 [ġAbd al-Ra'ūf 1971:foreword]. Though his methods were by no means characterised by the same degree of fervour and violence as those of al-Rānīrī, like the latter's ġAbd al-Ra'ūf's teachings were clearly perceived as falling within the bounds of orthodoxy. The star of the early Sufis had set, and they were never to regain the same level of official support as had been the case during the rule of Iskandar Muda.

Under the rule of Sultana Ṣafīyat al-Dīn, the area under Acehnese control shrank to the point where it consisted only of the northern part
of Sumatra [Djajadiningrat 1911:188]. She died in 1675 and was succeeded by another female sovereign, whose ancestry is uncertain. The new ruler, Sri Sultan Nur al-Âlam Nakîyat al-Dîn Shâh, reigned for only three years. It was during this time that the Bayt al-Rahmân mosque and the Sultan's palace were destroyed by fire [Djajadiningrat 1911:189].

The next two rulers were also women. Sultan CÎnîyat Shâh Zakîyat al-Dîn Shâh reigned from 1678 to 1688, and commissioned CAbd al-Ra'ûf [Djajadiningrat 1911:190] to write at least two works, namely Risalat adab murid akan shaykh, which deals with the respective duties of teacher and student [Voorhoeve 1952:114-115], and a commentary upon al-Nawâwi's Arba'Cîna Hadîth [Voorhoeve 1952:111]. The fourth and last female sultan, Kamâlat Shâh, ruled from 1688 until she was stripped of office in 1699, following the issuing of a fatwâ by the Sherrif of Mecca to the effect that it was unislamic for a woman to rule [Djajadiningrat 1911:191]. It was during her rule that we find the last piece of evidence that CAbd al-Ra'ûf was still alive. In a colophon to a MS of Mir'at al-Tullâb copied by one of his students, mention is made that at the time of copying (1693), CAbd al-Ra'ûf was living in Peunayong [Voorhoeve 1952:88], now a section of Banda Aceh, and Voorhoeve argues convincingly that CAbd al-Ra'ûf must have died around this time.

1.7 The Literary Output of CAbd al-Ra'ûf

In an appendix to his edited text of CAbd al-Ra'ûf's Bayân Tajallî, Voorhoeve [1952] makes a meticulous listing of all the works which can be attributed to CAbd al-Ra'ûf and the locations of the various extant MSS of these works. Voorhoeve's excellent resume makes a detailed listing here unnecessary. However a perusal of the subjects of his writings helps us to understand the manner and degree of education of CAbd al-Ra'ûf. His written works include various of the traditional Islamic disciplines, with a special feature of both his and Ib râhîm al-Kûrânî's writings being that they taught both the zâhir and the bâtin sciences, which was unusual for Islamic writers. The subjects on which he wrote include:
The vast scope of his writings demonstrate several concerns:

- A concern with the personal virtue of individuals. He wanted to take them through the range from elementary principles to the highest level of mysticism.

- He aimed to clarify a range of issues which had previously been sources of contention,

- He wished to provide a broad framework for the expansion of his particular sufi tariqah, the Shattārīyah Order.

The scope of his writings is a mark of the overall dedication and determination of āb al-Ra'ūf. It should also be stated that he was painstakingly accurate in his renderings, and did not add information to nearly the same degree as did other Malay authors such as āb al-Ṣamād al-Palembānī.

1.8 Description of MSS extant of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd

During the course of my research, I located ten of the extant manuscripts of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd. None are complete. There is some overlapping among these fragments, and their distribution is widespread. They are in differing states of disrepair.

The text upon which this thesis is based is taken from one of the Jakarta MSS of this work. The reasons for this choice will be clarified
later. Due to the fragmentary nature of the MSS, the aim of establishing a text is very difficult, and it is not possible to establish the relationship between the various MSS, let alone establish a tree. The most reliable proposition is the editing of a single manuscript, with other legible versions of the same text being used as points of comparison where possible.

Each of these MSS of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is designated by a letter. Detailed descriptions follow.

**MS A** The manuscript transcribed in my thesis is catalogued in the collection of the National Museum in Jakarta as MS ML 116. It contains 504 pages which measure 22 x 16 cms. There are 17 lines per page varying from 9.5 - 9.8 cms in length. Chain-line shadows are present. Qur'anic passages in red ink with black vocalisation are followed by a rendering of each Arabic segment into Malay written in black ink. The Malay text is generally not vocalised. The text is mostly quite legible though some pages suffer from decay and there are ink holes which interfere with certain parts of the text. MS A contains the text of the commentary from Surah 18:75 to Surah 50:36 of the Qur'ān. This starting point corresponds to the beginning of the sixteenth *juz'* [part] of the Qur'ān. There is neither title page nor bismillāh. The text contains several lacunae. Apart from those sections missing from beginning and end, the main lacunae are:

- Between leaves 63 and 64 (Surahs 22:46 - 28:55)
- Between leaves 133 and 134 (Surahs 34:52 - 31:1)
- Between leaves 193 and 194 (Surahs 42:19 - 42:23)

Folios 1-123 consist of white paper which is rather thin and slightly fluorescent, whereas folios 124-252 contain paper of a much coarser texture. These latter folios bear no watermark, whereas folios 1-123 bear a variety of watermarks, which are discussed in more detail in section 1.9.

---

7 I wish to express my thanks to Dr Russell Jones of the London School of Oriental and African Studies for his invaluable help with the description and dating of this manuscript.
The first reference to this manuscript which can be authenticated occurred in the Notulen (minutes) of the meeting of the Batavia Society in February, 1880. These minutes indicated that this MS was one of a collection of Arabic, Malay and Javanese manuscripts which came into the possession of the Society at that time. An appendix containing a detailed description of these MSS as attached to the Notulen of 1880. For discussion of the origin of this MS, refer to section 2.2 of this thesis.

**MS B** This manuscript is listed in the collection of the National Museum in Jakarta as A 233. It contains 290 pages measuring 29.5 x 20 cms, with 33 lines of writing on each page. The Arabic text of the Qur'an is written in red ink phrase by phrase and is vocalised, with each phrase being followed by a rendering into Malay written in black ink. This fragment is the most complete of this work, and contains the commentary from the beginning of the sixteenth juz' of the Qur'an until the end, namely from Surah 18:75 to Surah 114:6. Unfortunately this MS is badly decayed with approximately 80% of the text being illegible. It also contains several lengthy lacunae.

Among the few sections carrying legible text are the last several pages which contain a colophon. This gives the title as Tarjumān al-Mustafīd with the author identified as Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raʿūf b. ʿAlī al-Jawī al-Fansūrī. Additions are attributed to his student Dāʾūd al-Jawī b. Ismāʿīl b. Aghā ʿAlī Mustafā b. Aghā ʿAlī al-Rūmī, with these additions having been drawn from the commentary by al-Khāzin and from Dāʾūd Rūmī's personal contacts with ʿAbd al-Raʿūf. The Malay text of this colophon is similar to that given in the description of MS I below, except that MS B specifies its date and place of composition as follows:

Tammat tafsīr qurʾān fī shahr dhū al-hijjah fī al-yawm al-rāb (sic) fī waqt al-duḥān fī balad al-f.n.t.y [pantai?] fī zaman Shaykhīnā wa mawlānā Teungku K.r.w.ng [di Kuala?]

The minutes of the meeting of the Batavia Society on 6 March 1899, indicate that this manuscript originated from Sigli in Aceh and was given to the society along with a sizeable collection of Arabic, Malay and
Acehnese MSS by Snouck Hurgronje. These works were obtained during the Dutch military operation to the north coast of Aceh in 1898.

**MS C** Listed in the National Museum's collection in Jakarta as MS ML 41, this fragment contains 330 pages measuring 26 x 20 cms, with 23 lines per page. It contains commentary on the Qur'ān in Malay alongside the Arabic text of the Qur'ān from the beginning (Surah 1:1) to Surah 28:26. The manuscript is in very poor condition and large sections of the text are illegible.

**MS D** This fragment is listed in the Jakarta collection as MS ML 322. It contains 321 pages grouped into 32 quires, with each page measuring 29.5 x 19.5 cms and containing 19 lines. It represents a fragment of the Ābd al-Ra'ūf commentary, beginning at Surah 6:124 and ending abruptly at Surah 17:111. It contains several lacunae.

This MS volume can be divided into two distinct parts. Pages 1-118 consist of white paper containing seven chain-lines and an indistinct watermark. As in all the MSS of this work, the vocalised Qur'ānic quotations in red ink are followed by the Malay rendering in black ink. The size of the writing in this part varies from small to page 64 to large between pages 65-118. The second part, beginning at page 119, consists of pale blue paper which has two indistinct watermarks. The ink and writing in this part appear to match those in the first part. This manuscript was collected in Aceh by a certain Major-General G.C.E. Van Daalen around 1901.[Notulen 24.3.02:30]

**MS E** This manuscript is listed in the collection of the National Museum in Jakarta as MS ML 290. It contains 539 pages measuring 23 x 18 cms, with 19 lines per page. The Arabic text is in red ink, is frequently illegible due to the ink having eaten through the paper. This fragment contains the commentary from Surah 29:45 to Surah 77:50, which corresponds to the section beginning with juz' 21 until the end of juz' 29. Notes in the margin of this MS point to the owner having been a

---

My thanks are due to Dr Henri Chambert-Loir of l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient and Dr Russel Jones of SOAS for their assistance with the description of this MS.
certain Seri Raja Fakih Lamataman in 1199 H/1784. This manuscript was part of a collection obtained by military police Captain K. Van Der Maaten in Pidir, Aceh around 1900. [Notulen 23.12.01:117-8]

MS F Listed in the Jakarta collection as MS ML 291, this manuscript contains 967 pages measuring 25 x 17.5 cms, with 19 lines per page. It carries the title Tarjumān al-Mustafīd and the date of copying is given as 1260 H/1843. It contains commentary from the beginning of the Qur'ān to Surah 17:111, and at that latter point the following is written:

Tammat nisf pertama daripada tafsir.

The text is very corrupt, with many holes, stains, water damage and faded ink. It was obtained along with MS E by Capt. Van Der Maaten.

MS G Listed in the Jakarta collection as MS ML 373, this manuscript contains 528 pages measuring 25 x 17 cms with each containing 21 lines. It contains commentary on the Qur'ān from the beginning of the first Surah to Surah 9:88. Both the Arabic in red ink and Malay rendering in black ink are clear and legible. It was one of a collection of MSS gathered by Capt. W.B.J.A. Scheepens in Aceh in September 1902.

MS H This manuscript is held in the collection of the Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek in Leiden and is listed as Cod.Or.F596/Mal.2563. It contains 216 pages grouped into 11 gatherings, with four pages missing from the 10th gathering. The pages measure 24 x 16.75 cms, and each contains 19 lines. The paper is of medium thickness, roughish and fairly rigid and is creamy in colour. There are no chain-line shadows, and the paper contains two watermarks. Quires 3, 4, 6, 8, 9 and 11 carry a crescent on a shield watermark, while that of the other quires is indistinct. This fragment contains commentary on the Qur'ān from Surah 30:5 to Surah 40:7, within which are several lacunae. There is very little ink corrosion of the paper, and the Arabic text in red ink and Malay rendering in black is very legible and neat. This manuscript, part of the Snouck Hurgronje bequest to the library, was probably copied in the latter part of the 19th century.

MS I This fragment is held in the private library of Teungku Dachlan al-Fairuzy at the pesantren of Tanoh Abee in Aceh. It contains 120 pages
measuring 21 x 15.5 cms, with 19 lines per page. The pages are grouped into five gatherings. This fragment contains commentary from Surah 70:19 until the end of the Qur’ān. The ink is, as usual, red for the Arabic and black for the Malay. The paper is of medium thickness and is fairly rough, and there are a few holes which do not touch the written sections. The paper carries a crescent watermark and is probably of Italian origin. The following excerpt is taken from the colophon:

Telah sempurnalah tafsir Qur’ān yang amat mulia yang dinamai dengan Tarjumān al-Mustafīd yang dijawikan akan dia oleh syekh kita...Amin al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raʿūf anak ʿAlī Jāwī lagi Fansūrī...Dan menambah atasnya sebagiannya murid dan sahayanya khadin yaitu Bābā Daʿūd Jāwī anak Ismaʿīl anak Aghā Mustafā anak Aghā ʿAlī Rūmī (diampuni Allah jua kiranya sekalian mereka itu) segala kisahnya yang diambil kebanyakan daripada Khāzin dan setengah riwayatnya pada jalan qirāʿa dengan suruhnya...

MS J This manuscript was collected from the Cape Malay community in Capetown, South Africa, by the late Professor Hans Kahler during his research there in 1958. I was unfortunately unable to view this MS and cannot provide a full description. Dr Voorhoeve informs me that it contains commentary on the Qur’ān from Surah 12 to Surah 29. This MS is currently in the possession of Professor Kahler’s widow.

1.9 The Date of Jak. MS ML 116

A basic principle in presenting a text is to choose the oldest manuscript. The determination of the age of Malay manuscripts is not always a simple matter. One must not only concern oneself with the age of the paper itself, but also with the time lapse between paper manufacture and date of copying of the work in question.

In the case of the ten extant MSS of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, the oldest in terms of paper date can be determined with a reasonable degree of certainty by making reference to the presence or otherwise of chain-line shadows and to watermarks. Paper in which shadows were visible was manufactured up until the beginning of the 19th century, after which
the shadows generally were no longer evident. We find chain-line shadows evident in the first 123 folios of MS A, which suggests that the paper of this part is quite old.

These same folios also contain several watermarks, including the Foolscap, Fleur-de-Lis and Coat of Arms of Amsterdam. The Foolscap is one of the very early watermarks, and occurs in Briquet's catalogue which lists watermarks used in paper manufactured up to 1600 [1968:1,121]. Its use did not cease then, as it can also be found in paper manufactured during the 17th and early 18th centuries. Heawood [1950:111] records the latest date of the manufacture of Dutch paper carrying this mark as 1718, while Churchill [1935:80-1] found that the most recent MS carrying this watermark which he examined was dated to 1702. As for the Fleur-de-Lis watermark, Heawood's investigations show that this mark was used throughout the 17th and 18th centuries on paper produced not only in France, but also in England, Italy and Germany. Its use in French paper appears to have stopped earlier than in paper manufactured in other parts of Europe. Of thirty-four MSS using French paper carrying this mark which he examined, thirty-two contain paper manufactured prior to 1700, whereas in paper made in other centres, this mark occurs as late as 1791 [Heawood 1950:99]. The Arms of Amsterdam watermark is likewise very old, and the MSS carrying this mark which were examined by Heawood [1950:71-83] showed that it was more characteristic of French paper manufactured in the 17th century than later.

This brings us to the question of the place of manufacture of the paper, a point which should be addressed in order to be able to date more accurately the MS in question. Again Heawood's meticulous research is an important aid. Speaking of the origin of paper used by the Dutch in the early period of expansion, he states:

In the 17th century, little of the best paper was made in Holland, much of the supply coming from France...[Heawood 1950:26]

and further:

...the West and South-West [of France]...formed an important
source of supply to the Dutch... The marks most used, on paper exported, were the Arms of Amsterdam (in a well-designed form), the Foolscap with seven points, and the Fleur-de-Lis on a crowned shield...[Heawood 1950:24]

It is striking that the three watermarks mentioned by Heawood are precisely those found among the folios of the first part of MS A. His subsequent research [1965:104-5] confirmed his earlier impression that a large part of the paper used by the Dutch during the 17th and 18th centuries was imported, principally from France.

The evidence thus strongly suggests that the paper of the first part of MS A dates from the 17th century, and that it was probably manufactured in France prior to purchase by Dutch agents and subsequent shipment to the East Indies.

A similar paper examination of the other MSS of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd reveals that none can be dated as far back as the paper of folios 1-123 of MS A. The problems do not end there, of course. The inevitable question arises: if the paper was manufactured in year X, how can the date of use be determined?

It is likely that the paper was shipped to the Indies in one of the Dutch vessels bringing goods for the use of the Dutch colonists there. Considering the rigours of the climate and the adverse effect that long-term storage would have had on such a delicate commodity as paper, it can safely be assumed that the paper was ordered with a view to impending sale or use. How such paper passed into the hands of a religious scholar, who copied religious writings, is unknown. However it seems likely that the paper was used within a few years of importation.

Both Briquet and Heawood investigated the possibility of long-term storage of paper before use and both dismissed it as most unusual. Heawood summarised Briquet's findings as follows:

...by comparing the watermarked dates of certain papers with the dates of actual use, he found that in half the cases the interval was at most four and a half years, and in 92 per cent of the cases twelve years or less. [1965:88]
Russel Jones reached similar conclusions after an investigation of certain MSS in Malay [1981:13]. This helps us to determine the likely time limits within which MS A must have been copied.

Abd al-Ra'uf returned to Aceh around 1661. The time of his composition of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is impossible to determine. He may have written it partly or wholly while still in Arabia, but as it was clearly aimed for a Malay audience, we can assume that it was written either soon before his departure for Sumatra or soon after his return. We could tentatively point to 1675 as the earliest date that MS A may have been copied from an early copy or perhaps even from the original.9

We are assisted in determining an end-date of copying by the watermark information referred to earlier. We saw that French paper generally ceased to carry the Fleur-de-Lis and Arms of Amsterdam watermarks after 1700. The same is true of the Foolscap watermark, but as this latter mark ceased to appear in paper of Dutch origin in 1718, let us make a conservative calculation on the basis of this date. If we allow a twelve-year lapse between manufacture and use of paper, we can specify 1730 as the latest possible date by which the first part of MS A must have been copied.

We are fortunate that MS A carries watermarks to which the ascribing of an end-date is relatively straightforward. The Hikayat Tanah Hitu was similarly dated to the 17th century on the basis of its carrying a Foolscap watermark [Manusama 1977:4-5]. However, the period 1675-1730 which has been identified as the likely time within which the first part of MS A was copied can perhaps be narrowed even further.

One of the earliest Europeans to make a collection of Malay manuscripts was Isaac de Saint Martin, commander of the Batavia Garrison, who died on 14th April, 1696. His name first appears in archives of the Dutch East India Company in 1662. During the remaining 34 years of his life, he rose to the prime military position in the Indies, and his fortunes ebbed and flowed as a result of varying degrees of success in

---

9 For other evidence suggesting that MS A was copied from the original, refer to section 2.4.2.
military adventures. This need not concern us unduly. What is significant is that at his death, an inventory of his estate was immediately drawn up, and it included a voluminous collection of eastern manuscripts. Among that list [De Haan 1900:298-303] we find included at item no. 5 "een alcoran in het arabis en maleijts". Further discussion of this manuscript occurs later in this section. De Haan mentions that after the death of De Saint Martin, his papers were taken to Holland but his manuscripts appear to have remained in the Indies. Mention is made of them again in a Company resolution of April 1715, and also in a resolution of 1725. De Haan speculates that some of the De Saint Martin Collection found its way into the collection of the Bataviaasch Genootschap, but acknowledged that he could not prove his hypothesis.

Van Ronkel acknowledged the possibility of there being some of the De Saint Martin MSS in the collections of the Bataviaasch Genootschap, but like De Haan suggested that proof would never be available:

Hoewel het dus alleszins mogelijk is dat in de verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap zich handschriften bevinden welke tot de collectie van De Saint Martin behoord hebben, een bewijs daarvoor schijnt niet aanwezig te zijn. [Van Ronkel 1900:321]

He suggests that this collection of MSS became the property of the Company after the death of Isaac de Saint Martin. It was the custom in those days that the Company take possession of any potentially useful writings from estates [Van Ronkel 1900:318], and these MSS would have been useful for linguistic purposes. They would also have been prized by clergymen pursuing missionary work which was encouraged fully by the Company. Reference to the De Saint Martin collection occurs in an appendix to Werndly's Maleische Spraakkunst of 1736, which states that this collection was located at that time in a chest in the possession of the "Sekretarye van Hunne Edelens" and that it was not in use. This would appear to confirm that the Company took possession of De Saint Martin's Collection of MSS. Winstedt made a list of Malay works included by Werndly in the above-mentioned appendix, and this list contains at item 6 "Tafsir al-Koran - The Koran in Arabic with an interlinear Malay translation" [Winstedt 1920:163]. This MS may well have been that listed at item 5 in the Isaac de Saint Martin collection referred to previously.
What of the subsequent fate of the De Saint Martin collection? Van Ronkel [1900:314ff] argues that certain resemblances between the De Saint Martin collection and that of the Royal Asiatic Society of London indicate that certain MSS from the former were obtained by Sir Stamford Raffles during the British interregnum in the early 19th century, and they subsequently found their way into the R.A.S. collection as part of the Raffles legacy. However Voorhoeve [1964:257] argues convincingly against this suggestion, so it appears that all the original collection remained in Java. After Werndly's reference, no certain mention is made of it. However, in 1864 we find reference to a collection of MSS lying idle in the possession of the "Algemeene Secretarie" [Van Ronkel 1900:320] which the Bataviaasch Genootschap requested be passed to it, and which it subsequently acquired in January 1880. The temptation to equate this collection with that mentioned by Werndly was too great for Van Ronkel to resist, and it is on the basis of this hypothesis that he traced the route of the De Saint Martin collection from the original owner to the Bataviaasch Genootschap.

The collection acquired by the Bataviaasch Genootschap in 1880 contained MS A. We can now refer back to item 5 of the original list of De Saint Martin's collection - "een alcoran in het arabis en maleitjs" and also item 6 of Winstedt's listing of works known to Werndly - "Tafsir al-Koran". On the basis of the information contained in the previous paragraphs, it may well be that the three MSS mentioned above are in fact identical. Moreover, the watermark information strongly supports the suggestion that MS A originated from the time that De Saint Martin made his collection. Certain internal structural evidence\(^\text{10}\) and orthographic data\(^\text{11}\) provide further indicators that this MS may date from the late 17th century.

Thus one may with a certain amount of confidence attribute a date of

\(^{10}\) Refer section 2.4.2

\(^{11}\) Refer section 3.4
late 17th/early 18th centuries to MS A, with the possibility that it
belonged to the Isaac de Saint Martin collection of pre-1696. This must
place this manuscript in the first generation of copies of 'Abd
al-Ra'uf's original Tarjumání al-Mustafíd and it would thus be among the
oldest extant Malay manuscripts.

1.10 The Choice of Juz' 16 for Editing

As stated above, the Foolscap watermark, so crucial to the dating
process of this manuscript, is only found in folios 1-123. The aim toedit the oldest text possible is best served by choosing material from
that part of the manuscript which can be dated with some degree of
certainty along the lines described in section 1.5. Hence I have
selected the section of the text for editing from these first 123 folios.
The first folio begins at Surah 18:75, which corresponds to the beginning
of juz' 16 of the Qur'án. All of this part falls within these Foolscap
folios, hence my decision to edit this juz'.

The folios under examination are also noted for their neatness and
legibility. They have not suffered greatly from the ravages of time,
which is indeed fortunate, considering the likely age of this MS. This
points to the accuracy of Van Ronkel's hypothesis that this MS lay with
others in a chest of the Secretary of the Indies for a long period of
time, dating back to Werndly's original sighting of the Isaac de Saint
Martin collection in this location.

The final reason for concentrating upon juz' 16 is that the juz' is
the basic liturgical division of the Qur'án, and this juz', in terms of
the internal history of the Qur'án, contains a range of representative
material and a range of rhetorical styles. Multi-volume exegetical works
usually follow the juz' divisions. Of the nine surviving MSS of Tarjumání
al-Mustafíd for which we can obtain precise information, we note that 9
of the 18 beginning or end pages correspond to juz' divisions. Hence the
choice of this particular juz' is appropriate as it appears to have been
one of the units in which Tarjumání al-Mustafíd was prepared.

Having settled on juz' 16 of MS A as the text to be edited, a search
among the extant MSS of this commentary reveals that only MSS B and C also contain this juz'. The poor condition and illegibility of the text of both MSS B and C precludes their use as possible sources for variae lectiones. Thus, the edition of the Malay text in Chapter 4 draws upon MS A as the base manuscript, with reference being made to the Istanbul printed edition (see below) at various points of the text for purposes of comparison and clarification.

1.11 Printed Editions of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd

The first printed edition of the Ābd al-Ra‘uf commentary appeared in Istanbul towards the end of the last century, and in many ways it could be considered as the definitive version. It has served as the basis for all subsequent editions and even lacunae in this original version have been transported into the later editions appearing in Cairo, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. Below are listed the various editions located and consulted for this particular study:


2. Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, 4th ed. (Cairo) reprinted Sulaymān Marāghi, Singapore 1370/1951

3. Tafsīr al-Bayḍawī, 4th ed. (Cairo) reprinted Pustaka Nasional, Singapore 1370/1951


The text of editions 2, 3 and 4 listed above are identical. The Dār al-Fikr text appears to be merely an offset print of one of the earlier texts from Singapore, with the only difference being a slightly altered format for the title page. All three works claim to present the original
text of Abd al-Ra'uf with additions and supplementary notes by Muhammad Idris Abd al-Ra'uf al-Marbawi. They each contain two parts bound in a single volume, with part 1 ending at the last verse of Surah 17. This division corresponds to that of the two volumes of the first printed edition from Istanbul. It should be noted that it is also the point of division of the Halabî edition of Baydawi's commentary into two parts.

The Istanbul edition was based on a manuscript/manuscripts which are either no longer extant or are well-hidden in a private vault or uncatalogued collection of MSS in a library store somewhere, perhaps in Istanbul itself. All efforts to locate the MS(S) in question proved fruitless. Whatever the case, the editor of the Istanbul text evidently had access to a complete MS containing all 30 juz' of the Qur'ân, or drew on several MSS which together included the complete commentary. If the latter were the case, the various MSS used were either homogeneous in terms of the language used, or were regularized by the editor as regards orthography, spelling and certain verb forms which differ in the various MSS at my disposal. There is some internal evidence which suggests that the MS(S) used for the compiling of this edition had a MS ancestor which was also common to MS A. A number of text lacunae and printing peculiarities are common to both works, and are sufficiently large in number to support such a suggestion. These common features will be identified in the notes to Chapter 4 as they occur. If they did in fact have a common ancestor, it could indicate that the Istanbul edition is based on very old MS(S), as the ancestor of MS A must have been one of the earliest MSS of this work. We must leave this point here in the hope that it will be taken up in subsequent research.

This edition clearly spread throughout the Islamic world after its publication. The later editions from Cairo were based on it, as were the more recent printings made in South East Asia. The copy of the Istanbul

12 Born in 1895 in Mecca of Malay parents, he returned to the Malay peninsula around 1910, and some time later studied with To' Kenali in Kelantan for four years. A prolific litterateur, he is particularly famous for his Arabic-Malay dictionaries, of which the best known is the Qamus al-Marbawi (publ. Cairo 1927) [Roff 1974:96].
edition held in the collection of the University of Leiden Library was part of the Snouck Hurgronje bequest to the library, and he obtained it in the Indies along with quite a number of MSS of the same work now held by the Museum Nasional in Jakarta and one now in the collection of the University Library in Leiden. A copy of the same Istanbul edition was found among the Cape Malay community by Kahler, and he speculates that such Islamic books held by this community in South Africa originated from Mecca [1959:9]. This edition may well have been found in Mecca, as it was there that the three Malay scholars who supposedly adjudged the Tarjumān al-Mustafīd to be a translation of Baydāwi’s commentary made their examination of the text (refer section 2.1).

In terms of popular usage in recent times, the Istanbul edition has been replaced by the later editions printed in South East Asia. The Singapore, Jakarta and Penang editions mentioned above can currently be found in bookstores specialising in Islamic works throughout Malaysia, Sumatra and Java. This commentary is used widely in village religious schools in these areas, particularly on the East Coast of West Malaysia. The fact that the Penang edition was printed in paperback to keep prices down is a measure of its popularity. This particular edition is in widespread use in the village "pondok" of the Malaysian state of Kelantan.

The Penang text represents the most recent edition of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, and in fact departs further from the text of the original Istanbul edition than is the case with any of the other editions. An attempt has been made by the editor to modernize the language to some degree, in order to make it more comprehensible for the ordinary Malay Muslim not educated in Arabic, for whom this edition is obviously designed. Explanatory phrases defining certain Arabic loans and archaic forms in the original text are interpolated throughout this edition, and an attempt is made to match verb and prepositional forms with modern usage.

\[13\text{Refer section 1.8 for description of these MSS.}\]
As mentioned above, lacunae in the original Istanbul edition have been carried forward into later editions without any attempt being made to identify them as lacunae or to insert relevant information to make the text complete. One example of this will suffice. In the faʿidah after verse 25 of Surah Maryam, a sizable lacuna occurs as follows:

...dan adapun mittu itu, maka Nafi dan Ḥafs membaca dia ...(lacuna)... nisyan, dengan kasrah nun-nya,...

None of the printed editions fill this gap, and one wonders how carefully the various editors and proof-readers have carried out their tasks.

An excerpt from three of the printed editions will serve to demonstrate some of the differences between the various texts. Verses 1-6 of Surah Maryam should serve our purposes well. The excerpts are taken from the Istanbul, Sulaymān Marāghī (Singapore) and Penang editions.

Istanbul Edition, 1884: Surah Maryam
1. Allah Taʿala jua yang terlebih tahu Ia akan yang dikehendakinya dengan yang demikian itu.
2. Inilah sebut rahmat Tuhanmu akan hambaNya Zakariyya.
3. Tatkala menyeru ia akan Tuhanannya dengan menyeru yang mengandung atas doa yang diseru pada tengah malam.
4. Telah dikatanya: "Hai Tuhanku! Bahwasanya aku telah aku¹⁴ daʿiflah tulangku dan telah cemerlanglah huban kepalaku dan tiada meminta doa kepada Kamu, ya Tuhanku, dengan doa yang jahat pada yang telah lalu.
5. Dan bahwasanya takut aku akan segala mengwalikan daku kemudian daripada matiku di belakangku atas agama bahwa disia-siakan mereka itu akan dia seperti yang telah kulihat Bani Isra'īl menukar inkar agama. Dan adalah isteriku malai tiada beranak, maka ngerahai olehMu bagiku daripada anak,
6. yang mengwarithi ali Yakub pada ilmu dan nubuwwat dan jadikan olehmu akan dia, hai Tuhanku, akan keridaan daripadamu."

Sulaymān Marāghī edition, Singapore 1951 - Surah Maryam

¹⁴Text t.g.h.k.n.
1. [As for Istanbul edition above]
2. [As for Istanbul edition above]

3. Tatkala menyeru ia akan Tuhannya dengan menyeru yang mengandung atas doa yang diseru pada tengah malam.

4. Telah dikatanya: "Hai Tuhanku! Bahwasanya aku telah aku\textsuperscript{15} da\textsuperscript{c}iflah tulangku dan telah cemerlanglah uban kepalaku dan tiada meminta doa kepadaMu, ya Tuhanku, dengan doa yang jahat pada yang telah lalu.

5. Dan bahwasanya takut aku akan segala mengwalikan daku kemudian daripada matiku di belakangku atas agama bahwa disia-siakan mereka itu akan dia seperti yang telah kuli\textsuperscript{16} hat Bani Isra'il menukar inkar agama. Dan adalah isteriku malai tiada beranak, maka nugerahai olehMu bagiku daripada anak,

6. [As for Istanbul edition above]"

\textbf{Sulaym\textsuperscript{17}an Press edition, Penang 1961 - Surah Maryam}

1. Allah Ta\textsuperscript{c}ala jua yang terlebih mengetahui Ia kepada yang dikehendakiNya dengan yang demikian itu.

2. Inilah sebutan rahmat Tuhanmu kepada hambaNya Zakariyya.

3. [As for Istanbul edition above]

4. Maka telah dikatanya: "Hai Tuhanku! Bahwasanya aku telah aku\textsuperscript{16} da\textsuperscript{c}iflah tulangku dan telah cemerlanglah uban kepalaku dan tiada meminta doa kepada Kamu,\textsuperscript{17} ya Tuhanku, dengan doa yang jahat pada yang telah lalu.

5. Dan bahwasanya takut aku akan segala mewalikan akan daku kemudian daripada matiku di belakangku atas agama bahwa disia-siakan mereka itu akan dia seperti yang telah kuli\textsuperscript{16} hat Bani Isra'il menukarkan keinkaran Kamu. Dan adalah isteri aku malai, ya'ni mandul tiada beranak, maka anugerahai olehMu bagiku daripada anak,

6. yang mengwarithi keluarga Yakub pada ilmu dan nubuwwat, ya'ni kenabian, dan jadikan olehMu akan dia, hai Tuhanku, akan keridaan daripadaMu."

\textsuperscript{15}Text a.k.n.

\textsuperscript{16}Text t.g.h.k.n. - suggests editor was working from Istanbul edition.

\textsuperscript{17}Independent pronoun form "kamu" reflects Istanbul edition. Singapore editions employ the suffixed pronoun form "-mu". Further evidence that Penang editor was working from the Istanbul text.
1.11.1 The differences between the editions

The **Istanbul and Singapore editions** The editing undertaken by al-Marbawi was primarily concerned with orthographic changes to the Jawī text. Such changes do not manifest themselves in the transliterated texts given above. The orthographic adjustments by al-Marbawi in these six verses are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Istanbul Text</th>
<th>Singapore Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verse 1</td>
<td>j.w.</td>
<td>j.w.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 1</td>
<td>t.a.h.</td>
<td>t.a.h.w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>d.a.k.</td>
<td>d.a.k.w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>a.k.m.</td>
<td>a.g.m.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 6</td>
<td>a.l.</td>
<td>a.a.l.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphological and lexical differences are extremely rare throughout these two texts. Those occurring in the excerpts cited are presented in the notes.

The **Penang edition** This edition represents the first major effort to update and popularise this commentary. The differences between it and the Istanbul edition as regards orthography, morphology and lexis are far greater than those between the Istanbul and Singapore editions. The orthographic variations are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Istanbul Text</th>
<th>Penang Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verse 1</td>
<td>j.w.</td>
<td>j.w.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 1</td>
<td>d.k.h.n.d.a.q.y.ny.</td>
<td>d.k.h.n.d.q.y.ny.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 2</td>
<td>t.w.h.n.m.</td>
<td>t.w.h.n.m.w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 3</td>
<td>t.t.k.a.l.</td>
<td>t.t.k.l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 3</td>
<td>m.n.d.n.g.</td>
<td>m.n.d.n.w.g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 4</td>
<td>b.h.w.s.n.y.</td>
<td>b.h.w.s.n.y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 4</td>
<td>h.w.b.n.</td>
<td>a.w.b.n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 4</td>
<td>k.m.</td>
<td>k.m.w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>t.a.k.t.</td>
<td>t.a.k.w.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>d.a.k.</td>
<td>d.a.k.w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>m.t.y.k.w.</td>
<td>m.t.y.k.w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>a.k.m.</td>
<td>a.k.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>k.l.y.h.t.</td>
<td>k.l.y.h.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>s.w.l.h.m.</td>
<td>s.w.l.y.h.m.w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>b.a.g.y.k.w.</td>
<td>b.a.g.y.k.w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 6</td>
<td>c.l.m.</td>
<td>c.l.m.w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 6</td>
<td>j.d.y.k.n.</td>
<td>j.d.y.k.n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 6</td>
<td>k.r.d.a.'n.</td>
<td>k.r.y.d.a.'n.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that the Penang edition represents a considerable departure in terms of orthography from both Istanbul and Singapore editions. Lexical and morphological adjustments in the Penang text are
considerable, and the following changes occur in the six verses under examination:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Istanbul Text</th>
<th>Penang Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verse 1</td>
<td>tahu...akan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 2</td>
<td>sebut...akan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 4</td>
<td>telah dikatanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>mengwalikan daku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>menukar inkar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>isteriku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>malai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 5</td>
<td>nugerahai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 6</td>
<td>ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse 6</td>
<td>nubuwat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these changes are clearly designed to modernize the language of the text. Into this category could be placed haban > uban, ali > keluarga, the addition of final vowels in Jawi orthography in such words as jua, bahwa, kamu, daku and ilmu, and the assimilation of the nasal in mengwalikan > mewalikan. In the case of ilmu, the addition of the final waw was so that the orthographic form would more accurately reflect the Malay pronunciation of this word, whereas the absence of the waw merely indicates its origins as an Arabic loan without giving a true representation of its Malay phonetic value.

Many of the changes are due to a desire on the part of the editor to popularise the text, in order to make it more accessible to ordinary readers. The change akan > kepada in verses 1 and 2 falls into this category, as does the insertion of the explanatory phrases ya ni mandul and ya ni kenabian after the words malai and nubuwat respectively. The latter would evidently not always be understood by everyday Malay muslims. The preference of keluarga over ali mentioned above similarly shows that the editor aimed to use vocabulary which was widely understood.

Another category of changes is that where affixation has been added, e.g. tahu > mengetahui, sebut > sebutan, menukar > menukarkan and inkar > keinkaran. These serve both to modernize and to standardise the language of the text. Words without affixation are more a feature of spoken Malay/Indonesian whereas in more formal Malay/Indonesian affixation is more widely used. The editor’s preference for affixed forms in this edition shows his reverence for the text.
1.12 Commentaries and translations of Qur'anic passages into Malay predating Tarjumān al-Mustafīd

Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is clearly the earliest extant Malay commentary on the Qur'ān as a whole. It was, in fact, the only such commentary for almost 300 years. Up until now, scholars have largely ignored the question of whether or not it had any forebears. Our study of this commentary would be well served by making a brief mention at this point of earlier attempts at rendering phrases or longer sections of the Qur'ān into Malay.

When one considers the eminent position and prolific literary activity of the earlier 'ulama', i.e. Hamzah Fansūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Samatrānī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, it seems unlikely that not one of them attempted even a partial rendering of the Qur'ān into Malay. In fact, the evidence available indicates that Tarjumān al-Mustafīd may well have had some Malay exegetical predecessors.

Those writings by Hamzah which survive contain many Qur'anic quotations rendered into Malay, and these renderings fall into two general categories:

1. Renderings or paraphrases presented in sya'īr-like form found within his poetry.\(^{18}\)

2. Renderings not bound by such poetic metrical limitations contained within his prose works. The following rendering of Q20:76, taken from Asrār al-'Arifīn provides an interesting point of comparison when held against Ābd al-Ra'ūf's far more literal rendering of the same verse contained in Chapter 4 of this present study. Notice Hamzah's reversal of the Qur'anic word order in this verse:

Dibalaskan mereka itu (yang Islam) daripada Tuhan mereka itu: tempatnya syurga, lalu di bawahnya

\(^{18}\)Refer to Doorenbos [1933] and Brakel [1980] for examples.
sungai, masuk mereka itu dalamnya kekal. [al-Attas 1970:270]¹⁹

Such Qur'anic quotations and renderings suggest that Hamzah saw nothing wrong with translating Qur'anic passages into Malay.

Those few works by Shams al-Dīn which survive indicate that this early Malay mystic was also favourably disposed towards translating Qur'anic passages into Malay for the benefit of his readers. Van Nieuwenhuijsze [1945:36] records this somewhat free rendering of part of Q3:19 by Shams al-Dīn:

Kebaktian berkenan kepada Allah itu Islam.²⁰

Other than isolated Qur'anic verse renderings such as those cited above, no more substantial rendering of or commentary upon the Qur'ān bears the name of Hamzah of Shams al-Dīn. This somewhat puzzling fact may be accounted for when we consider the volumes of their writings destroyed by the followers of al-Rānīrī after 1637. If indeed either Hamzah or Shams undertook the writing of an exegetical work upon the Qur'ān, such a work dealing with so sensitive an issue as interpretation of the meaning of the Qur'ān may well have been among the first writings cast into the fire.

The most important key to solving this puzzle is provided by a little known manuscript in the Cambridge University Library collection catalogued as MS I.i.6.45. This MS contains commentary upon Surah 18 (al-Kahf) of the Qur'ān, and originally belonged to the private collection of the Dutch Arabist Erpenius (d. 1624). It was brought back to Europe from the Indies, probably from Aceh, at the beginning of the 17th century, [Van Ronkel 1896:2ff] hence it must have been composed

¹⁹ The Qur'anic text is as follows:

Jannātu ādīnī tājīrī mīn tātīhā āl-ānhāru, khalidīnā fīhā wā dhālikā jazā'ū mān tazakkā.

²⁰ The Qur'anic text is inna al-ladhīnā ānā Allāh al-īslām.
around 1600. This MS, described briefly by Van Ronkel, has as yet not been edited.21

The importance of MS I.i.6.45 lies in the fact that its date of composition can be conclusively fixed to the period in which Shams al-Dīn, and probably Hamzah Fansūrī, lived. A first glance at the work suggests that there are striking differences between its style of exegesis and that of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd. The language appears to be far less bound by strict adherence to an original than is the case in TM. It is a style reminiscent of Hamzah's prose writings, though any suggestion as to the identity of the author at this stage would be premature.

Nevertheless, the fact that no other copies of this work are extant suggests that its own survival must be due to its being transported away from Aceh prior to the fires of al-Rānīrī some four decades later which probably destroyed other copies of the same work and other similar exegetical works. This also suggests that works of Qur'ānic exegesis were on the top of al-Rānīrī's "hit-list", and so thorough was the implementation of their destruction that no survivors can be found in Aceh. It of course also means that MS I.i.6.45 is an extremely valuable MS in its own right, as it is the sole remaining key to an understanding of Acehnese Qur'ānic exegetical activity prior to Ĥābīd al-Raūfī's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd.

No substantial works of Qur'ānic exegesis can be attributed to al-Rānīrī. As there was no post-Rānīrī purge of his works, we may deduce that he did not undertake such a work. What remains is merely the usual run of Qur'ānic citations and Malay renderings within the larger body of his works. The following example is taken from al-Rānīrī's Hujjat al-siddīq li-daf' al-zindīq and is a rendering of Q19:90-91:

Hampirlah tujuh petala langit belah-belah, cerak-ceraklah tujuh petala bumi, dan runtuhlah segala bukit berhamburan tatkala mendengar kata Yahudi dan Nasara ada bagi Tuhan yang bernama

21 I am currently undertaking an edition of this work.
Rahman itu anak. [al-Attas 1966:89] 22

The Qur'anic text is as follows:

Takādu al-samawātu yatafaṭṭarna minhu wa tanshaqqu al-ardū wa takhirru al-jibālu haddan an da‘āl lil-raḥmān waladān.

22 The Qur'anic text is as follows:
Chapter 2
Sources of Juz' 16 of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd

2.1 The Traditional View

This work has been traditionally regarded as a translation of the authoritative Arabic commentary Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl of al-Baydāwī (died 685/1286). For some 100 years various printed editions of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd have circulated throughout the Malay-speaking and Islamic worlds. Each of the printed editions either associates Tarjumān al-Mustafīd with al-Baydāwī's work or claims it to be a translation of this commentary. This claim has long been generally accepted by scholars of Islam in Southeast Asia, Mecca and Europe. A brief outline showing how these printed editions sought to be associated with al-Baydāwī's commentary would be useful.

The oldest surviving text to associate these two commentaries is the first printed edition, which appeared in Istanbul in 1302/1884. On the title page, the editor included the following statement:

This is the Jawī work entitled Tarjumān al-Mustafīd which was translated into Jawī and which drew part of its meaning from the commentary of al-Baydāwī...

1Refer section 1.11.

2The original Malay text is as follows:

Inilah kitab yang bernama Tarjumān al-Mustafīd bi'l-Jawī yang diterjemahkan dengan bahasa Jawi yang diambil setengah ma'nanya dari Tafsīr al-Baydāwī...
Although al-Baydawi is only cited as a partial source, the title page of the second and last volume of this edition identifies itself as "the second part of the celebrated commentary of al-Baydawi". This merely serves to mark the point at which the Baydawi commentary was often divided into two volumes. The intention of the Istanbul editor was not to claim that Tarjumān al-Mustafīd was a translation of al-Baydawi's work, as is clearly indicated by the statement on the title page cited above.

These passing references to al-Baydawi's monumental work led to a misinterpretation of the character of the Malay commentary. Moreover, it seems that the chief populariser of this misinterpretation was no less than Snouck Hurgronje. He held in his personal library a copy of the Istanbul edition, this copy later being bequeathed to Leiden University Library. The most plausible explanation of the error is that he skimmed the pages of his copy, noticed the references to al-Baydawi, and, without undertaking a sufficiently detailed examination of the text, wrote:

Another famous work of...Abdurrā'uf is his Malay translation of Baidhawi's commentary on the Qurān, published in A.H. 1302 at Constantinople in two handsomely printed volumes...From his work we perceive among other things, that the learning of [C]Abd al-Ra'ūf] was not infallible; his translation for instance of chap. 33 verse 20 of the Qurān is far from correct. [Snouck Hurgronje 1906 II:17, note 6]

Snouck Hurgronje's error in calling the Malay commentary a translation of al-Baydawi's work was to cause a continuing misconception in European and Malay circles regarding the character of this commentary.

Rinkes acknowledged that he was drawing on Snouck Hurgronje's earlier observations when, speaking of [C]Abd al-Ra'ūf's literary output, he wrote:

Apart from the...GUmdat [al-Muhtājīn] and the Kifāyat

3As in the Halabī edition referred to in section 1.11.
al-Muhtājīn, we find a translation of Baydāwī's Qur'anic commentary mentioned [by Snouck Hurgronje], as well as a section of the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn, namely Surah 1 to Surah 9:88 [mentioned in Van Ronkel 1909:368]. A third commentary written by him is named a "Malay rendering of the Tarjumān al-Mustafīd", [Van Ronkel 1909:513] which was supplied with additions by one of his students. [Rinkes 1909:31-2]4

A too literal reading of other scholarly writings and failure to examine MSS resulted in Rinkes mistakenly assuming that ʻAbd al-Ra'ūf had written three commentaries whereas in fact they were merely different MSS of the same work.

Another prominent Dutch scholar to be influenced by Snouck Hurgronje in associating ʻAbd al-Ra'ūf's commentary with that of al-Baydāwī was Voorhoeve, who called it a "Koranvertaling en commentaar, (hoofdsakelijk) bewerkt naar die van al-Baidawi" [Voorhoeve 1952:110]. Some years later Voorhoeve was somewhat more circumspect when he wrote:

ʻAbd al-Ra'ūf moreover translated the Kur'an into Malay with a concise commentary taken from various Arabic exegetical works (al-Tarjumān al-Mustafīd)... [Voorhoeve 1960:88]

Later printed editions of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd which appeared in Southeast Asia likewise asserted that the commentary was a translation of al-Baydāwī's work. The Sulaymān Marāghi edition of 1951 claimed on the title page to be "al-tarjama transjewa lil-tafsīr al-musammā Anwār al-tanzīl wa aerār al-ta'wīl lil-imām al-qādī...al-Baydāwī". The Pustaka

4The original text in Dutch is as follows:

Behalve de...Oemdat, en de Kifajat al moehtadjin vinden wij eene vertaling van Baidhawi's Korancommentaar vermeld [The Acehnese II, p.17 noot 6], en evenzoo van een gedeelte van de Tafsir al-Djalalain, t.w. Soerat I tot IX a.88. Een derde commentaar van zijn hand wordt genoemd als de "Maleische bewerking van den Tarjamoeman almoestafid", welke door een zijner leerlingen nog van toevoegingen werd voorzien.
Nasional edition of 1951 bears the title "Tafsîr al-Baydawi" and both Singapore editions and the Dûr al-Fikr edition of 1981 conclude the body of the text of the commentary with a page testifying that the work was examined by three expert Malay scholars who agreed that it was a translation of al-Baydawi’s commentary. Their statement is as follows:

...I testify that I have examined and inspected this celebrated and excellent tafsîr by the distinguished Imam al-Baydawi ...we have found it [to be] translated into Jawî as a reliable translation of the original manuscript which is in Arabic, without addition or omission, and without change or substitution, as the translator was al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'uf b. al-Shaykh 'Alî al-Fansuri, one of the greatest scholars of his time. Signatory of Jawî books in the official press in Mecca:

1. Shaykh Ahmad Patani
2. Shaykh Idrîs Kelantâni
3. Shaykh Dâ'ûd Patani

This last-mentioned figure was a distinguished Malay scholar who wrote in Mecca in the first half of the 19th century [Winstedt 1958:126]. This suggests that this declaration was initially formulated some time before Snouck Hurgronje made the statement referred to previously. However, we must regard the authenticity of this declaration with considerable doubt. It seems unlikely that Dâ'ûd Patani would sign such a declaration without having examined the text, and had he examined the

5 The original text is as follows:

...fa-innî qad utlîctu wa tâlaçtu hâdhâ al-tafsîr al-sharîf al-munîf lil-imâm al-calamah al-Baydawi...fa-wajâdnâhu mutarjaman bi-al-lughah al-jawiyah tarjamah muwâfiqah li-âsîl al-nuskah al-latî bi-al-carabîyah bi-dûn ziyâdah wa lâ nuqsan wa lâ taghyîr wa lâ tabdîl li-anna al-mutarjim huwa al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'îf ibn al-Shaykh 'Alî al-Fansuri min ajall 'ulamâ' zamânîhi...
text, he would have quickly realized the error of associating Tarjumān al-Mustafīd with the Anwār. This declaration appears rather to be a later addition designed to increase the prestige of the work.

The most recent printed edition to appear, namely the paperback edition in three volumes printed in Penang, merely repeats the incorrect assumption by taking the title Tafsīr Anwār al-Baydāwī.

What of the manuscripts extant? How do they identify themselves? The information contained therein is somewhat skimpy, due to the fact that they are all fragments and few carry colophons. Those which actually bear the title of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd are MSS B, F and I. None of the others carry a title except for MS G which carries the name Tafsīr al-Jalālānī in a colophon. This title seems to have been overlooked by Eastern and European scholars except for a passing reference by Van Ronkel [1909:369], the brief mention by Rinkes (cited above) and an equally brief mention by Voorhoeve [1952:110]. The crucial point is, of course, that no manuscript claims to be a translation of al-Baydāwī’s Anwār.

2.2 The Compilation of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd

Before turning our attention to the identification of the exact sources of this commentary, it is necessary to understand the structure of the text. Is it to be regarded as a uniform work, compiled from beginning to end by ʿAbd al-Raʿuf himself?

Important information relating to this issue is contained in the colophons to two of the extant manuscripts, namely MSS B and I described in section 1.4. These colophons may be rendered into English as follows:

This is the end of the exalted commentary on the Qur’ān called Tarjumān al-Mustafīd which was rendered into Jawi by our shaykh... Ağın al-Din ʿAbd al-Raʿuf son of Ağī Jawī Fansūrī... His student and servant Baba Daʿūd Jawī son of Ismaʿīl son of Aghā Mustafā son of Aghā Ağī Rūmī (may God’s mercy be upon them all) added to some parts of it stories the greater part of which were taken from Khāzin, and some of the narratives relating to the qiraʾāt on his orders...
These colophons clearly show that the form of the Malay commentary as contained in MSS B and I is composite in respect of its authorship, containing a central core compiled by Ābd al-Ra‘ūf and various additions attributable to his student, Dā‘ūd Rūmī. An exhaustive search through other sources has failed to reveal further biographical details pertaining to the above-mentioned Dā‘ūd Rūmī, other than a brief reference by Hasjmy [1980B:110] which unfortunately contains none of the biographical details which would clarify our understanding of this important contributor to Tarjumān al-Mustafīd. Some information can be gleaned from his name. The title Bābū is a Turkish term for a missionary or popular preacher [Trimingham 1971:301], and its use by shaykhs of various mystical orders in both Turkey and India was widespread. Thus Dā‘ūd Rūmī may have had Turkish or Indian ancestry. The nisbah Rūmī further suggests Turkish forebears. Tome Pires records that among the cosmopolitan population of the port city of Pasai at the beginning of the sixteenth century were quite a number of "Rumis" [Cortesao 1944:142], so it is reasonable to assume that Dā‘ūd Rūmī was a descendant of this group, and was probably born in Sumatra. The inclusion of Jāwī in his own name further points to his having originated from the land of the Jāwis, i.e. Sumatra.

The colophon clearly indicates that Dā‘ūd Rūmī made these additions on the master’s orders, which suggests that he was a leading student of Ābd al-Ra‘ūf before the latter’s death around 1693, and may well have made these additions under the master’s supervision. In other words, the text of the commentary had in all likelihood attained its final form by the time of the master’s death, which further strengthens the possibility of MS A having been available during the lifetime of Isaac de Saint Martin. More about the life of Dā‘ūd Rūmī cannot be said at this stage. However, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that, taking into account that he was clearly one of Ābd al-Ra‘ūf’s favoured and most eminent students, he was lain to rest in the graveyard which was reserved

---

6 Refer section 1.9.
for ʿAbd al-Raʿūf's wives and students and which lies adjacent to the building enclosing the grave of the master himself.⁷

A brief comparison of MSS B and I with other MSS and the printed editions of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is sufficient to show that the external and internal forms of the work do not vary significantly from copy to copy. The structure presented in Chapter 4 of this current study is representative of that contained in other MSS and the printed editions.

Hence we can divide the work into those parts compiled by ʿAbd al-Raʿūf himself and those added by Daʿūd Rūmī. The identification of the latter is relatively straightforward, as we know from the colophons above that these additions were of two types:

1. Anecdotes drawn from al-Khāzin's Lubāb al-Taʿwil fī Maʿānī al-Tansīl, and

2. Information on the qirāʿāt.

For the identification of these two categories in Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, one need look no further than those paragraphs clearly marked with the headings qissah and fāʿidah which appear regularly at various points in the commentary to introduce information often related to or deriving from Asbāb al-nuzūl, and details on the qirāʿāt respectively. These, then, are the additions referred to in the colophons.

Apart from these qissah and fāʿidah, Tarjumān al-Mustafīd can be seen to consist of three additional components. These are the chapter introductions, the Malay rendering of the Qur'anic verses, and the progressive commentary on these verses contained within them. Together these five components make up the body of the work as it appears in the extant MSS and the printed editions.

⁷In a visit to the tomb of ʿAbd al-Raʿūf in late 1982, it was made obvious to me the degree of reverence with which his grave and those of his wives and students is held by the local Acehnese. These graves still represent a significant goal for pilgrims, a practice which was common during the Dutch period [Snouck Hurgronje 1906:II,20].
A correct identification of the sources of this work is essential in attempting to understand the motivating factors behind its composition and its originally perceived role as an instrument of religious education. The task of identifying all the sources is facilitated by a systematic examination of the information contained within these five components. Only when this is done will we be able to understand the stages through which Tarjuman al-Mustafīd passed until it reached the printed form we have today.

2.3 The various qissah

Only five paragraphs headed qissah occur in the text of juz' 16 of MS A. They occur after the following Qur'anic verses: 19:57, 19:63, 20:82, 20:85 and 20:93. As mentioned above in the colophons, the anecdotal interpolations for which Da'ūd Rūmī was responsible were drawn from the commentary by al-Khāzin. Although only two of the qissah occurring in this juz' are taken from al-Khāzin, examination of other juz' in this MSS and of other MSS of this text reveal that the vast majority of paragraphs entitled qissah were in fact drawn from this source. Like the fā'īdah described below, the various qissah represent additions made by Da'ūd Rūmī for the purpose of further exegetical clarification of points arising within the Qur'anic verses.

These five anecdotes are as follows:

1. The first occurs after Q19:57. It concerns the varying opinions relating to the location of the prophet Idrīs after his death. The source is not identified. This passage appears to have been taken from Tafsīr al-Jalālayn.

2. The second, occurring after Q19:63, deals with Muhammad's questioning of Gabriel as to the reason for the long interval since the previous revelation. The sources are not identified.

For the content of the particular Qur'anic verses mentioned in this list, refer to Chapters 4 & 5.
by Dāʾūd Rūmī. He appears to have taken his information from both the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn and the Asbāb al-nuzūl.

3. That occurring after Q20:82 deals with the return of Moses to Mt Sinai after the exodus from Egypt. In this instance the source is identified as al-Khāzīn’s Lubāb al-Ta’wīl fi Ma’ānī al-Tanzīl.

4. That inserted after Q20:85 provides numerical details relating to those Hebrews who remained behind while Moses went to Mt. Sinai, and the proportion who indulged in idolatry. The source is not identified. This qissah is taken from al-Khāzīn.

5. The fifth anecdote occurs after Q20:93, and provides details of the altercation between Moses and Aaron after the former’s return from Mt Sinai when he finds that the Hebrews have been engaging in idolatry. The source is not identified. It occurs in the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn’s treatment of Q20:94.

In addition to the qissah, another explanatory anecdote occurs after Q20:71. Although it is introduced by the word Tanbīh, its form and content suggest that it belongs to the qissah group. It deals with the correct interpretation of the meaning of the word used for punishment by impaling referred to in Q20:71. It states that the traditional understanding of this punishment by the “Jāwī” people, i.e. that the victims are pierced by a branch, is incorrect. We thus learn of a misunderstanding that Dāʾūd Rūmī possibly became aware of during the course of his own teaching, and he has attempted to eliminate this misunderstanding by the inclusion of this explanatory paragraph. No source is identified.

2.4 The various fāʿidah

Throughout the body of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, Dāʾūd Rūmī inserted explanatory paragraphs, which he called fāʿidah, in which he presented recitation variants taken from the canonical qirā’āt. For these variants he undoubtedly drew on the knowledge acquired by his master, ʿAbd
al-Ra'ūf, during nineteen years of study in Arabia. CAbd al-Ra'ūf had made a broad study of various exegetical writings, including those containing information on the canonical readings, and would have consulted Ibn Mujāhid's al-Qira'āt al-Sabā, arguably the major classical work on the canonical readings [Welch 1981:409]. Moreover, it is recorded that CAbd al-Ra'ūf's teacher, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, had studied al-Qurṭūbī's Taysīr fī al-Qira'āt al-Sabā and the Tayyibat al-Nashr fī al-Qira'āt al-6Ashr during a three month period at al-Azhar in Cairo in 1061/1650 [Johns 1980:5]. Ibrāhīm would undoubtedly have instructed CAbd al-Ra'ūf in the science of the Qira'āt, and our Malay scholar would have in turn passed on the fruits of Ibrāhīm's study at Cairo to his own student, Dā'ūd Rūmī.

Each of the fa'idah containing discussion of the variant readings begins with the following words:

Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga...
"Concerning the differences among the three readers..."

His selection of "three readers" may well show which of the seven canonical readers were regarded as most significant in the Muslim world in the 17th century A.D. After the identification of canonical readings by Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936), the popularity of some grew at the expense of others. Nasīf, al-Najjār and Shalabī, drawing on Ahsan al-Taqāṣīm by al-Muqaddasī (4th/10th century),9 indicate the respective areas of popularity of the seven readings at the time that Abu CAlī al-Fārisī (238/900-377/987) wrote his commentary on the al-Qira'āt al-Sabā, entitled al-Hujjah:

In the time of Abu CAlī, the systems of Nūfī and Ibn Kathīr were popular in the Hijāz, that of Ibn CĀmir was followed in Syria, while in Iraq they followed the systems of CĀsim, Hamzah,

---


With time, the reading of Abū Āmīr became widely accepted not only in Iraq but also in Egypt, Syria, the Hijāz and Yemen and eventually supplanted the system of Ibn Āmīr in Basra. That of Nāfī’ grew in a similar manner in Medina, spread into Egypt and eventually gained acceptance in Kairouan in Tunisia, as well as in Spain and the Maghreb in the Middle Ages. It was itself later displaced in popularity in Egypt by the system of Āṣim/Hafs [Blachère 1977:131].

Thus the primary readers and their recorders referred to in Tarjumān al-Kustafīd are the following:

1. Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān b. al-Mughīrah (c. 90/709-180/796). He was the son-in-law and transmitter of the reading of Āṣim. He lived initially in Baghdad, then moved to Mecca where he popularised Āṣim’s reading. The readings of Āṣim and Ḥafṣ are identical except for one word in Q30:53, which the former reads as dawṣ and the latter as dawṣ [EI² 1971:III,63].

2. Abū Āmīr b. al-Ṣāliḥ (70/689-154/770). Of uncertain origins, either Arab or Iranian, he spent time in Medina, Mecca, Kufa and Basra, studying various readings from these centres, then established himself in Basra for the remainder of his life. He is as well known as a grammarian as he is a reader. His system of reading was greatly influenced by that of Nāfī’ of Medina and Ibn Kathīr of Mecca, and it became established as the standard reading in Basra.

3. Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar al-Dūrī (c.150/767-246/860). He was an indirect disciple of Abū Āmīr, in addition to being a direct disciple

¹⁰The original Arabic text is as follows:

of al-Kisā‘ī. al-Durā transmitted both systems. He was born in Sāmarrā’ and died in Baghdad.

4. Nāfī C b. Ābd al-Rahmān b. Abī Nu‘aym al-Madani (d. 169/785). His family originated from Isfahān though he himself was born and died in Medina. His chain of transmission going back to the Companions is well attested. His system established itself in Medina, supplanting those of his teachers.

5. Abū Mūsā Qālūn b. Mīnā b. Wirdān (120/738-220/835). Better known by his pseudonym of Qālūn, he was born and died in Medina. He was one of the main transmitters of Nāfī C of Medina.

The system of Āṣim transmitted by Hafs was adopted in Cairo in 1923 under the auspices of King Fu‘ād as the basis of the Egyptian standard edition of the Qurʾān. The fact that this system was referred to in Tarjumān al-Mustafīd and was associated with the name of Hafs and not Āṣim indicates the degree to which it had already established itself in the Arab world by the time of Ābd al-Ra‘īf’s sojourn there in the 17th century. Moreover, in the Malay commentary the Hafs reading is implicitly regarded as the norm in relation to which the readings of Abū Āmr/al-Durā and Nāfī C/Qālūn are given as variants. This is no doubt due to the fact that the differences between the canonical schools only attain a degree of significance when those of the Hijāz and Basra are held up against those of Kufa [Blachère 1977:132]. In this particular instance, it is worthwhile remembering the influence of the reading of Nāfī C upon that of Abū Āmr. An investigation of the following tables will reveal a high degree of resemblance between readings of these two, and fewer instances of agreement between either of them and the reading of Hafs.
2.4.1 Qirāʿāt presented in the faʿiḍah of Juzʿ 16 of MS A

Tables 2-1 to 2-5 include all the qirāʿāt included in the 23 paragraphs called faʿiḍah devoted to the readings contained in Juzʿ 16 of the MS under analysis. In the case of Abū ʿAmr's readings, Daʿūd Rūmī makes occasional reference to the system of his recorder al-Dūrī when Abū ʿAmr is silent. When Nāfiʿ does not offer an alternative reading, reference is made to his recorder Qālūn. The system of ʿĀsim is only consulted by way of his recorder Hafs.

2.4.2 Inconsistencies in this Recording of the Qirāʿāt

A reconciliation of the data in tables 2-1 to 2-5 with information on the readings contained in al-Zamakhshārī, al-Rāzī, al-Bayḍāwī and Jeffery [1937] raises several issues which require attention.

Daʿūd Rūmī reports Abū ʿAmr as reading al-ṣad.f.y.n. (18:96) with a dammah on the ẓād, which would be read al-sudafayn. Jeffery, on the authority of Ibn Abī Daʿūd, states that Ubayy's reading conforms to that of the Syrians, Meccans and Basrans, which was al-sudufayn [1937:144]. Bayḍāwī has the following to say:

...Ibn Kathīr, Ibn ʿĀmir and the two Basrans read it with two dammahs.1

Thus al-sudufayn, as recorded by Jeffery. Abū ʿAmr was a Basran, so it may well be that Daʿūd Rūmī or his copyist has inadvertently omitted to mention the dammah over the dāl in Abū ʿAmr's reading.

Another instance of what appears to be an accidental omission on the part of Daʿūd Rūmī occurs in his report of variant readings for 19:6. He presents Abū ʿAmr's reading in the following manner:

---

11 The original Arabic text is as follows:

...wa qaraʿa Ibn Kathīr wa Ibn ʿĀmir wa al-Bāṣrīyān bi-dammatayn. [Fleischer 1846:574]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERSES</th>
<th>HĀFS</th>
<th>ṮABŪ ḪAMR/DURĪ</th>
<th>NĀFIʿ/QALŪN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18:74</td>
<td>nukran</td>
<td>nukran</td>
<td>nukuran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:76</td>
<td>ladunni</td>
<td>ladunni</td>
<td>ladunī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:77</td>
<td>la-ttakhadhta</td>
<td>la-takhidhta</td>
<td>la-ttakhadhta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:81</td>
<td>yabdilahumā</td>
<td>yabaddilahumā</td>
<td>yabaddilahumā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:85</td>
<td>fa-atba</td>
<td>fa-latba</td>
<td>fa-latba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:88</td>
<td>jazaʾan al-ḥusnā</td>
<td>jazaʾu al-ḥusnā</td>
<td>jazaʾu al-ḥusnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:89</td>
<td>thumma-atba</td>
<td>thumma-latba</td>
<td>thumma-latba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:93</td>
<td>al-saddayn</td>
<td>al-saddayn</td>
<td>al-suddayn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:94</td>
<td>saddan</td>
<td>saddan</td>
<td>soddan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:94</td>
<td>Yaʾjūj wa Maʾjūj</td>
<td>Yaʾjūj wa Maʾjūj</td>
<td>Yaʾjūj wa Maʾjūj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:96</td>
<td>al-sadaʿayn</td>
<td>al-sudufayn</td>
<td>al-saḍafayn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:98</td>
<td>dakkan</td>
<td>dakkan</td>
<td>dakkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:102</td>
<td>min duni</td>
<td>min duniya</td>
<td>min duniya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:102</td>
<td>awliyāʾa inna</td>
<td>awliyāʾa-ʾa-ʾna (Dūrī)</td>
<td>awliyāʾa-ʾa-ʾna (Qalūn) (juncture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERSES</td>
<td>HAFṢ</td>
<td>ABU CAMR/Dūrī</td>
<td>NAFIᶜ/Qālūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:2</td>
<td>rahmat</td>
<td>rahmah (Dūrī) (pause)</td>
<td>rahmat (Qalūn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:2-3</td>
<td>zakariyā'-dh nadā</td>
<td>zakariyā' idh nadā (pause) (Dūrī)</td>
<td>zakariyā' idh nadā (pause) (Qalūn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:6</td>
<td>yarithunī</td>
<td>yarithnī</td>
<td>yarithunī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:7</td>
<td>zakariyā inna</td>
<td>zakariyā' winnā (Dūrī) (juncture)</td>
<td>zakariyā' winnā (Qalūn) (juncture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:8</td>
<td>itiyan</td>
<td>utiyan</td>
<td>utiyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:10</td>
<td>lī</td>
<td>liya</td>
<td>liya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:18</td>
<td>innī</td>
<td>inniya</td>
<td>inniya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:23</td>
<td>mittu</td>
<td>muttu</td>
<td>mittu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:26</td>
<td>nasyan</td>
<td>nisyan</td>
<td>nisyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:24</td>
<td>min taḥtiḥā</td>
<td>man taḥtahā</td>
<td>min taḥtiḥā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:25</td>
<td>tusāqīt</td>
<td>tassāqāt</td>
<td>tassāqāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:34</td>
<td>gawla</td>
<td>gawlu</td>
<td>gawlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:36</td>
<td>inna Allah</td>
<td>anna Allah</td>
<td>anna Allah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERSES</td>
<td>HAFṢ</td>
<td>ARŪʿ CAMR/Dūrī</td>
<td>NĀFIʿ/Qālūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:47</td>
<td>rabbi</td>
<td>rabbiya</td>
<td>rabbiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:51</td>
<td>mukhlisan</td>
<td>mukhlisan</td>
<td>mukhlisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:60</td>
<td>yadkhulūna</td>
<td>yudkhalūna</td>
<td>yadkhulūna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:66</td>
<td>a-idhā</td>
<td>a idhā (Dūrī)</td>
<td>a idhā (Qālūn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(pause)</td>
<td>(pause)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:67</td>
<td>yadhkuru</td>
<td>yadhakkaru</td>
<td>yadhkuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:68</td>
<td>jithiyan</td>
<td>juthiyan</td>
<td>juthiyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:70</td>
<td>siliyan</td>
<td>sulīyan</td>
<td>sulīyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:74</td>
<td>warīʿyan</td>
<td>warīʿyan</td>
<td>warīyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:77</td>
<td>a fa-raʿayta</td>
<td>a fa-raʿayta</td>
<td>a fa-rayta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:90</td>
<td>takadu</td>
<td>takadu</td>
<td>yakadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:90</td>
<td>yatafattarna</td>
<td>yanfatirna</td>
<td>yatafattarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERSES</td>
<td>HAFS</td>
<td>ABU C'AMR/DU'RÎ</td>
<td>NÂFIC C/QALûN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:10</td>
<td>innî</td>
<td>inniya</td>
<td>inniya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:10</td>
<td>la'ALLî</td>
<td>la'ALLiya</td>
<td>la'ALLiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:12</td>
<td>Tuwâ</td>
<td>Tuwâ</td>
<td>Te'â</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:14</td>
<td>innani anâ</td>
<td>innaniya anâ</td>
<td>innaniya anâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:14</td>
<td>li-dhikri</td>
<td>li-dhikriya</td>
<td>li-dhikriya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:18</td>
<td>wa liya fiha</td>
<td>wa li fiha</td>
<td>wa li fiha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:26</td>
<td>wa yassir li</td>
<td>wa yassir liya</td>
<td>wa yassir liya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:30</td>
<td>akhi</td>
<td>akhiya</td>
<td>akhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:41-2</td>
<td>li-nafsî idhhab (juncture &amp; pause)</td>
<td>li-nafsiya idhhab (juncture only)</td>
<td>li-nafsîya idhhab (juncture only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:42-3</td>
<td>fi dhikri idhhaba (juncture &amp; pause)</td>
<td>fi dhikriya idhhaba (juncture only)</td>
<td>fi dhikriya idhhaba (juncture only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:53</td>
<td>mahdan</td>
<td>mahâdan</td>
<td>mahâdan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:58</td>
<td>suwâ</td>
<td>siwâ</td>
<td>siwâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:61</td>
<td>fa-yushitakum</td>
<td>fa-yashatakum</td>
<td>fa-yashatakum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:63</td>
<td>in hadhani</td>
<td>inna hadhayni</td>
<td>inna hadhayni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:64</td>
<td>fa-ajmî'u</td>
<td>fa-ajma'û</td>
<td>fa-ajma'û</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERSES</td>
<td>HAFS</td>
<td>ABU AMR/DURI</td>
<td>NAFI/QALUN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:69</td>
<td>talqaf</td>
<td>talaqqaf</td>
<td>talaqqaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:71</td>
<td>amantum</td>
<td>a amantum (Duri)</td>
<td>a amantum (Qalun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:74</td>
<td>man ya'tihi</td>
<td>man ya'tihi</td>
<td>man ya'tihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:77</td>
<td>an asri</td>
<td>an asri</td>
<td>anisri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:80</td>
<td>wa wa° adnākum</td>
<td>wa wa° adtukum</td>
<td>wa wa° adnākum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:87</td>
<td>bi-malkīna</td>
<td>bi-milkīna</td>
<td>bi-malkīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:87</td>
<td>hummilnā</td>
<td>hamalnā</td>
<td>hummilnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:88</td>
<td>fa-nasi</td>
<td>fa-nasiya</td>
<td>fa-nasiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:93</td>
<td>an lā tattabi° ani</td>
<td>an lā tattabī° aniya (Duri)</td>
<td>an lā tattabī° aniya (Qalūn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(juncture &amp; pause)</td>
<td>(juncture only)</td>
<td>(juncture only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:94</td>
<td>bi-ra'sī</td>
<td>bi-ra'siya</td>
<td>bi-ra'siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:97</td>
<td>lan tukhlafahu</td>
<td>lan tukhlifahu</td>
<td>lan tukhlafahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:102</td>
<td>yunfakhu</td>
<td>yunfakhu</td>
<td>yunfakhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:119</td>
<td>wa annaka</td>
<td>wa annaka</td>
<td>wa innaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:125</td>
<td>lima hashartani</td>
<td>lima ḥashartani</td>
<td>lima ḥashartaniya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abū ʼAmr membaca dia dengan mati thā' pada keduanya.

This gives a reading of yarithnī ṭa yarith. Jeffery gives Ubayy's reading as yarithnī ṭa arith [1937:144]. al-Baydāwī presents several variants without identifying the particular readers to whom they belong [Fleischer 1846:577]. Among these variants, there occurs the same reading attributed to Ubayy by Jeffery. But there is no record in either Jeffery or al-Baydāwī of a reading matching that attributed to Abū ʼAmr by Dāʾūd Rūmī. Two explanations are possible: firstly, Dāʾūd Rūmī was not sufficiently precise in his report of Abū ʼAmr's reading and neglected to mention the deletion of the ya' in arith, or secondly that the omission of this instruction is due to a lacuna in the MS. Whichever of the two is accurate, the effect is the same. Each correction gives a reading identical to that of Ubayy. It is worth remembering in this instance the influence exerted by Ubayy's codex upon the reading of Abū ʼAmr [Welch 1981:409].

In his discussion of variant readings for Q19:19, Dāʾūd Rūmī indicates that Nāfiʿ and Hafs agree in reading li-ahaba, whereas Jeffery indicates that Nāfiʿ and Abū ʼAmr agree in reading li-yahaba. al-Baydāwī records Nāfiʿ as reading it with a ya' [Fleischer 1846:576], so in this instance it appears that the recording in Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is in error.

In the discussion of Abū ʼAmr's reading of yadhakkaru in Q19:67, there appears to be an error which is probably attributable to a MS copyist. The text of TM states that Abū ʼAmr read it with a doubling of both dhāl and kāf. This would give a reading of yaddhakkaru, which appears grammatically inconceivable, and is at any rate at variance with the records of al-Zamakhshārī, which are as follows:

All the readers record the form as lā yadhakkaru with doubling
[of the kāf], except for Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿAmir and ʿAsim.\(^{12}\)

al-Rāzī's records [XXI,241] corroborate this information\(^{13}\), so it would appear that the statement in TM that the dhāl is also doubled in Abū ʿAmr's reading is incorrect.

The records of the readings pertaining to Q20:61 found in TM vary with those contained in the classical exegetical sources in Arabic. Dāʿūd Rūmī indicates that Nāfiʿ and Abū ʿAmr read y.ṣ.ḥ.t.k.m with a fatha on the yāʾ and hāʾ, while Hāfs places a dammah on the yāʾ and a kasrah on the hāʾ. al-Rāzī has the following to say:

\[\text{wa qara'a Ḥamzah wa ʿAsim wa al-Kīsaʾ bi-rafʿ al-yāʾ min al-ṣaḥāt, wa al-baqūn bi-fathihā min al-suḥt, wa al-ṣaḥāt lughat ahl Najd wa bani Tamīm, wa al-suḥt lughat ahl al-Hijāz...[al-Rāzī:XXII,74]}\]

This indicates that the only vocalic difference between the various readers concerned the vowel placed on the yāʾ. The information in al-Baydāwī supports this suggestion. We must therefore ask ourselves where Dāʿūd Rūmī obtains his information relating to the vocalic variants on the hāʾ. Neither al-Zamakhsharī nor al-Ṭabarī is helpful in this particular regard. The details concerning the vocalic variants on the hāʾ may well be traceable to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's studies of the qiraʿāt in Cairo in 1650, being transmitted to ʿAbd al-Raʿūf and then to Dāʿūd Rūmī. It is hoped that subsequent research may clarify this question.

A comparison of the records of qiraʿāt for Q20:80 in TM with those

\(^{12}\text{The Arabic text is:}\)

\[\text{al-qurraʿ kulluhum ʿalā lā yadhakkaru bi-al-tashdīd illā Nāfiʿan wa Ibn ʿAmir wa ʿAsimān. [al-Zamakhsharī:III,32-3]}\]

\(^{13}\text{In fact, the information in al-Rāzī pertaining to this variant is presented in an identical manner to that of al-Zamakhsharī. It should be noted that the records of the qiraʿāt presented by these two exegetes are often word-for-word, indicating that if al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) had nothing to add to the records of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), he quoted directly from Z without identifying him as the source.}\]
in the classical exegetical sources suggests that Dā'ūd Rūmī has not been sufficiently precise in detailing the variants for this particular verse. He states that in reading wācādnakum, Nāfi' and Ḥafs placed an alif after the second wāw, whereas Ābū Āmīr did not. However, al-Rāzī indicates that the nun also changed to tā' in the variant reading, when he states:

qara'a Ḥamzah wa al-Kisa'i wa waCadtukum...

Although al-Rāzī does not specifically refer to Ābū Āmīr's reading, it is unlikely that he would have omitted making mention of it had it been different to those readings which he did record. It is thus likely that Ābū Āmīr's reading was identical to that of Ḥamzah and al-Kisa'i, and that Dā'ūd Rūmī inadvertently omitted to mention the nun/tā' interchange.

A different type of inconsistency should also be noted at this point. The uncertainties in placement of certain fa'īdahs [19:9-10, 19:10-11 & 19:58] and what appears to be at times a random placement of other fa'īdahs in the middle of a verse further suggests that they represent later interpolations, post-dating the original composition of the commentary. Moreover, if the copyist of this MS were copying verbatim from another complete MS, such errors would be less likely. It may be that this is the first MS made of the adapted text with pericopes. The watermark evidence would support such a suggestion. If this were the case, it would make this MS a very valuable member of the Malay MSS collections.

Despite these irregularities in Dā'ūd Rūmī's treatment of the qira'āt, his work nevertheless represents a valuable contribution to the limited body of literature in Malay devoted to the subject of the canonical readings. Moreover, his choice of readers suggests that in his time, the various systems still maintained a certain regional popularity. This data from Tarjumān al-Mustafīd constitutes a valuable Sumatran contribution to the history of the qira'āt.
2.4.3 Anecdotal fa'idah in Juz' 16 of MS A

In addition to the 23 fa'idah paragraphs dealing with the qirā'āt, there are a few anecdotal fa'idah which should probably have been designated as qissah.

- The first occurs after Q18:77, and deals with Moses' reproach to Khidr for not asking for payment for having re-erected the crumbling wall. The source is identified as al-Khāzin.

- The second can be found after Q18:84, shortly after the mention of Dhu‘l-Qarnayn, a title associated with Alexander the Great, and it presents the various explanations for this association. No source is identified, but this information is to be found in al-Baydāwī in this instance.

It is highly likely that these two fa'idah were, like the other paragraphs bearing this title, added by Da‘ūd Rūmī. This inconsistency in title is probably due to a slip on the part of the copyist. The use of the term fa'idah is continued in the Istanbul edition, so it is likely that this error was committed in one of the early versions and was carried through to all the later copies of this work.

2.5 The Chapter Introductions

Each of the complete surahs within this juz' has a brief introduction stating the merit or blessing to be derived from the study of each surah. The information included in these introductions is drawn from various sources. They are:

1. al-Baydāwī's Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wil. This is clearly identified as a source by use of the expression "...tersebut dalam Baydāwī hadith...", and in fact the Anwār constitutes the major source of information for these two brief introductions. In the introduction to Surah Maryam, Baydāwī cites the tradition exhorting the faithful to study this surah and in return, numerous rewards will be given to one who does so. The introduction to Surah Tāhā repeats
al-Baydawi's recording of the tradition that whoever reads this surah will receive rewards on the Day of Resurrection. It is worth noting that while al-Baydawi liked concluding his surahs with a tradition, Abd al-Ra'uf preferred to begin with these traditions.

2. Both introductions refer to a source entitled Manâfi' al-Qur'an. The Malay text does not provide enough information on which to base a precise identification. An examination of Brockelmann, Sezgin and other catalogues of Arabic MSS held in different collections throughout the world identified only two MSS bearing exactly this title. These MSS are currently held in the Garrett Collection of Princeton University Library [Hitti 1938:63]. Manâfi' al-Qur'an, as identified by these MSS, was written by Abd al-Latif b. Abd al-'Aziz b. Firishtah b. al-Malak, who studied during the rule of the Ottoman Caliph Bayazid I (792/1389-805/1402) in Tyre, and died around 797/1395 [Brockelmann 1938:SII 315]. It is a fiqh work of the Hanafite school, which accounts for the author's name also sometimes including the nisba' al-Hanâfi [Hitti 1938:630]. These particular MSS belonged to a Medinese scholar Amîn b. Hasan al-Hulwâni al-Madani al-Hanâfi, who sold them as part of his large personal collection of MSS to E.J. Brill of Leyden in 1883. This collection was in turn sold to Mr Robert Garrett, a trustee of Princeton University, in 1900.

There is a strong likelihood that the Manâfi' al-Qur'an referred to in Tarjumân al-Mustafîd is that which bears this exact title contained in the Garrett Collection. Any examination must be based on the assumption that the title referred to in the MS is accurately recorded, and no other work bearing this exact title survives.

Also the information included in the introductions which is drawn from Manâfi' al-Qur'an is the kind of information which may be addressed to a faqîh. This suggestion of a connexion with fiqh is further evidence of the Garrett MS, itself a fiqh work, being identical with the Manâfi' al-Qur'an mentioned in TM.
Moreover, it is likely that a specialised work such as this would have had a greater chance of survival in places where it was in great numbers. We can trace the last surviving MSS of Manāfić al-Qur'ān of the Garrett Collection to 19th century Medina, where ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf spent a significant proportion of his Arabic sojourn. It is likely that he came into contact with this work there while studying fiqh with Ahmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.

The references to Manāfić al-Qur'ān in our Malay commentary are brief. In the introduction to Surah Maryam, we are told simply that according to this work, whoever copies this Surah while in his home will receive many rewards. In the introduction to Surah ʿAṣhā, we learn that the Manāfić al-Qur'ān indicates that this surah is an effective instrument to bring peace to two warring factions.\(^\text{14}\)

3. In the attribution of a place of revelation of Surah Maryam, it is stated that it is Meccan, and the discussion of the verse(s) composed in Medina appears to be translated directly from the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn. This point is discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

\(^{14}\) In addition to the MSS contained in the Garrett collection, we find reference to the following works bearing similar titles:

- Manāfić suwar al-Qur'ān by Imām Abū ʿAlī Jaʿfar al-Sādiq b. M. al-Bāqir (died 148/763 in Medina). This is a Shi'ite work on fiqh [Brockelmann 1938:SI 104, Sezgin 1967:1 528-30]

- Manāfić Khawāss al-Qur'ān by al-Hakīm Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Saʿīd al-Tamīmī, who lived in the second part of the 4th century H [Brockelmann 1938:SI 422, 985]. It is also a fiqh work.

- Manāfić al-Qur'ān wa mā fī kull āyāh min al-Burḥān by Taqī al-Dīn b. ʿAQ... al-Tamīmī al-Dārī al-Ghazzī (died 1010/1601). This is a Hanafite work on fiqh [Brockelmann 1938:SI 429].
4. The expression queryString after the title of Surah Maryam also occurs in al-Khāzin’s Lubāb al-Ta‘wīl fī Ma‘ānī al-Tanzīl, and may have been taken from this source.

Are we to attribute these introductions to queryString or to Da‘ūd Rūmī, or indeed are they perhaps the result of composite work? At first glance, the eclectic nature of these introductions would encourage us to choose the latter as the likely compiler. However, it is unlikely that queryString would have compiled his commentary on the whole Qur‘ān without having provided the reader with some sort of introductory information relevant to the study of each surah.

Moreover in the core commentary of TM, queryString periodically draws on the Anwār to supplement the exegetical information taken from the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn, and perhaps these introductions provided him with a further avenue for reference to al-Baydāwī’s commentary. Nevertheless, despite these tentative indicators of authorship, it is impossible to be certain just who is responsible for compiling these introductions, and regarding them as the fruit of composite work may well be the best explanation.

2.6 The Malay Rendering of the Qur’anic Verses

The presentation of the text in chapter 4 largely reflects the form it is given in the MS itself, though I have attempted to make clear what I see as the various parts of the commentary. The surface textual form of the MS is as follows:

1. The Arabic text of the Qur’anic passages is written in red ink. These passage are sometimes of verse length, though at times they cut across verse boundaries. The Qur’anic verses are not numbered.

2. Each Qur’anic verse or part thereof is followed by a passage in Malay, rendering or explaining the Arabic. No attempt is made to distinguish the Malay rendering of the Arabic words and phrases from the commentary on these words and phrases.
3. The qissah and fa'idah referred to are set within the body of the Malay text.

To make the architecture of the work clear for the reader, the verses are numbered, and category (2) above is divided into two components, i.e. the Malay rendering of the Qur'anic verses (which is put in parentheses), and the progressive commentary on these verses which remains outside the parentheses.

The identification of sources of the Malay text contained within parentheses is on the whole straightforward, as this component of the work is, after all, a rendering of the Qur'anic text. The greater part of this component is just that - a literal, word-for-word rendering of the Arabic text of the Qur'anic verses. The translator, ĤAbd al-Ha'ūf himself, has generally attempted to render each linguistic component of the Arabic original, to give a faithful picture of the content of the Qur'ān. This at times results in the Malay rendering of the Arabic verse being somewhat cluttered, as can be seen below:

(1) in-nā aṭad-nā jahannam li
Simply-1 pl PERF prepare-1 pl Hell for
al-kāfīrin... (Q18:102)
DEF unbelievers pl

Truly We have prepared Hell for the unbelievers...

(2) Bahwasanya Kami telah Kami senggersahakan api
Simply 1 pl already 1 pl prepare fire
neraka jahanam itu bagi segala kafir... (Q18:102)
Hell Hell DEF for all unbelievers

Truly We have prepared Hell for the unbelievers...

It can be seen that the Malay rendering is faithful to the content of the Qur'anic original. At times, such fidelity borders on the incomprehensible, with the result that the reader must at times refer to
the Arabic in order to understand the Malay. Virtually all the Malay rendering of Qur'anic passages is similar in style to the example above. For a more detailed analysis of the Malay structure of the text, refer to section 3.3.

At certain points the separation of the commentary from the Qur'anic text is not always straightforward. *'Abd al-Ra'uf often preferred to render an individual word or phrase in a Qur'anic verse by the explanation provided for it in Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn. Hence part of the Qur'anic meaning is often lost in the Malay rendering. A clear case can be found in the rendering of Q20:117:

(3) (fa-lā  yu-khrij-anna-kumā  min al-jannah
so-NEG 3-expelPASS-EN-2DUAL from DEF-Paradise

fa-ta-shqā  ta-ṭab bi-al-harth...(Q)+J
so-2-grieve-DUAL 2-weary  in-DEF-ploughing

(So do not be expelled from Paradise, for you will be wretched), you will weary of ploughing...

Clearly Qur'anic tashqā ("you will be wretched") was considered by the Jalâlayn authors to require exegetical clarification, hence their explanation that "wretched" might best be explained by the phrase taṭab, i.e. "weary of ploughing" etc. However, *'Abd al-Ra'uf did not render tashqā, but instead merely rendered taṭab. The Malay version does not give an equivalent for the Arabic word for "wretched", as can be seen below:
(4) (Maka jangan kiranya di-keluarkan-nya akan kamu kedua)
So do not 3-exit TRANS 0 MKR 2 both
dari dalam syurga, maka jadilah kamu lelah)
from in Paradise so become 2 weary
dengan menenggala... (TM20:117)
with ploughing
(So do not be expelled from Paradise,
for you will weary) of ploughing...

This shows how closely 'Abd al-Ra'uf was working from the Tafsir al-Jalālsyn, and indeed this may at times have happened unconsciously. Such influence from this commentary upon the Malay rendering of the Qur'anic text is common, and made a decision as to where to place parentheses at times difficult. In attempting to be consistent, such glosses on Qur'anic words or phrases have been included within the parentheses, although they are not strictly a rendering of the Qur'anic text.

Another point to be noted in discussing the Malay rendering of the Qur'anic verses is that where the Arabic verb is inflected to show subject, 'Abd al-Ra'uf has often chosen to render the subject by name. In such cases, the name is left outside the parentheses, which results in the Malay verb being only a partial rendering of the Arabic verb. The following example shows this clearly:

(5) (qāl- a : a-lam a-qul la-ka...) (Q18:75)
said-3sg ?-NEG 1sg-say to-2sg
(He said: "Didn't I tell you...")

(6) (Kata) Khidir: ("Tiada-kah sudah ku-kata...") (TM18:75)
said Khidr NEG - ? already 1sg-say
Khidr (said: "Didn't I tell you...")
When God is the subject of a Qur'anic clause, the Arabic verb is sometimes inflected for a first person singular subject and at other times for a first person plural subject, i.e. the divine "We". It should be noted that Ḥabd al-Ra'ūf faithfully renders this alternating subject technique by use of "Aku" and "Kami" respectively.

It is thus established that by far the greater part of the Malay within parentheses is an accurate rendering of the Qur'anic text. There are, however, a number of cases where the renderings are of the glosses of certain Qur'anic words or phrases given within the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn and not a rendering of the Qur'anic word or phrase itself.

2.7 The Commentary on the Qur'anic Verses

A systematic examination of the progressive Malay commentary on the Qur'anic verses quickly shows that the suggestion that Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is a rendering of al-Baydāwī's Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wil cannot be sustained. In fact, even references to or citations from the Anwār are rare. It was thus necessary to undertake a thorough search among classical works in an attempt to identify sources.

The Tafsīr al-Jalālayn was taken as a starting point for comparison with other classical tafsīrs. This produced a striking result, namely that the progressive verse commentary of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is almost totally based upon it, so much so that we are led to conclude that Ḥabd al-Ra'ūf's intention was to make a rendering of it in full, apart from certain omissions.

Nevertheless, other sources are drawn on in varying degrees. The sources of this progressive commentary are as follows:

1. The Tafsīr al-Jalālayn is a concise exegetical work which uses a technique of progressive phrase by phrase comment, and is an ideal pedagogical tool for introductory studies into

15Compiled jointly by Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Mahallī (died 864/1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥabd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Sūyūtī (died 911/1505). Refer to Appendix F for the text of juz' 16 of this work.
Qur'anic exegesis. For a scholar such as CAbd al-Ra'uf who was dedicated to teaching, it was much more appropriate to his purposes than the more condensed and elliptical Anwar.

Although it appears that CAbd al-Ra'uf decided upon a rendering of the Tafsir al-Jalālayn, there are certain elements which he saw fit not to include. These omissions, seen clearly in Appendix F, could be broadly classed as follows:

- All grammatical discussion. A clear example of this is to be found in the treatment by both works of Q20:12.

- The listing of the qira'āt. It may be that after the work was completed, CAbd al-Ra'uf felt that this was missing and asked his pupil Dā'ūd Rūmī to add them.

- CAbd al-Ra'uf omits certain genealogical details contained within J. Examples of this are the reference to the relationship of Idris and Noah in J19:56, and the two commentaries' treatments of the genealogy presented in Q19:56.

- Also omitted from CAbd al-Ra'uf's rendering of the Tafsir al-Jalālayn were brief exegetical passages which the translator evidently considered to be of secondary importance. An example of this can be seen in TM19:62, where there is no rendering of J's wa laysa fī al-jannah nahār wa lā layl bal daw' wa nūr abadan.

- Certain longer exegetical passages have also been omitted, the reason appearing to be that CAbd al-Ra'uf did not wish to make his work overly complex. He seems to have strived to pitch the content of TM to a level attainable by the maximum number of Malay-speaking readers. Examples of the omission of these longer exegetical passages have been highlighted in Appendix F.

In addition to these omissions, it should also be noted that
at times the rendering of the Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn text is not literal, but is more in the form of a gloss causing slight sense alteration, as can be seen from the two commentaries' respective treatments of Q19:29:

(7) (fa-ashâr-at) la-hum (ilay-hi)
then-point-3sgFEMS to-3pl to-3sgMASC

an kalam-û-hu
REL speak-3pl-3sgMASC

(Then she pointed) them (to him)
that they should speak with him.

(8) (Maka diisyaratkan) Maryam bagi mereka itu (kepada
Then point Mary to they to

kanak-kanak itu) berkata:"Katakanlah kamu child child that say speak you
dengan dia." (TM19:29)
with him

Mary (then pointed) them (to the child)
saying:"Speak with him."

2. There are only twelve clear instances where recourse was had to phrases from al-Baydawi's Anwâr al-Tanzîl wa Aarâr al-Ta'wîl. These cases are of two kinds:

- Brief phrases added to the text of the Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn to make the sense more precise and to provide a more fluid link with the Malay rendering of the Qur'anic verses. Examples of this type are to be found in 18:76, 18:92, 19:10, 19:21, 19:61, 20:59, 20:60, 20:74, 20:131 and 20:133, all clearly identified in the notes to chapter 4.

- Longer passages containing important exegetical material supplementary to that provided by Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn,
which likewise contribute to a fuller understanding of the Qur'anic text. Examples can be found in 18:97 and 20:124 (refer chapter 4).

3. Another work which is used as a source for the progressive commentary on the Qur'anic verses in Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is al-Khāzin's Lubāb al-Ta‘wīl fī Ma‘ānī al-Tanzīl. In verses 19:8, 19:69 and 19:75, there are brief exegetical phrases which CʿAbd al-Raʿūf drew from this work. Although only juz’ 16 is under examination in this current study, nevertheless the contribution of this work to the progressive commentary on the verses is sufficiently small and this juz’ is sufficiently representative to enable us to say confidently that the major passages from al-Khāzin’s work were not part of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd until they were added by Daʿūd Rūmī.

4. The final source of information of the progressive commentary on the Qur'anic verses is none other than CʿAbd al-Raʿūf himself. In more than 70 of the verses of juz’ 16 we can identify words, phrases or passages which appear to have been added by the author to his rendering of the Tafsīr al-Jalālāyn. These are signalled in the notes to the text as interpolations. These additions can be classed along the following lines:

- Where the Qurʿān leaves the subject of a verb to be understood, CʿAbd al-Raʿūf inserts it. These subjects are placed outside the parentheses. It is possible that CʿAbd al-Raʿūf adopted this procedure from al-Khāzin, though the latter uses it more sparingly.

- He has frequently added short phrases of clarification to indicate subject of address, such as "ya Muḥammad", or to identify object of a verb, such as "akan Allah" after "percaya" to stipulate what kind of belief is intended.

- Words or short phrases are frequently added to aid the fluency of the Malay of the text.
Supplementary exegetical phrases are occasionally added. For these, CAbd al-Ra'uf has obviously drawn on the knowledge which he acquired from his studies of exegesis while in Arabia.

Each of these additions to the text of the Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn, whether from al-Bayda'i, al-Khâzin or composed by CAbd al-Ra'uf himself, is identified in the notes to the text of juz' 16 as presented in chapter 4.

2.8 The Stages of Development of Tarjumân al-Mustafîd

We have now established that Tarjumân al-Mustafîd is based on al-Jalâlayn, and that the compiler has also drawn on al-Bayda'i and al-Khâzin. We have also seen that the interpolations of Dâ'ûd Rûmî are supplementary to the original form of the work.

It might appear paradoxical that although al-Khâzin and to a lesser extent al-Bayda'i are referred to in the text, nowhere is mention made of Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn. This is quite consistent with its being a rendering of this work, however, as if a single work is being translated, the identity of the original need only be stated on the title page and not be repeated constantly throughout the text. Unfortunately, all of the known MSS extant are fragmentary, and no title pages survive. Those with colophons suggesting a title all post-date Dâ'ûd Rûmî's recension of the work. The evidence then points to CAbd al-Ra'uf's original intention having been to render the Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn. Added support for this theory is to be found in the colophon to MS G, which refers to the work as Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn.

No recension of the work before Dâ'ûd Rûmî made his additions is extant. It is clear, however, that Dâ'ûd Rûmî's preparation represents a second stage. On the basis of the colophon, it appears likely that Dâ'ûd Rûmî was guided by CAbd al-Ra'uf in selecting sources for his additions to favour al-Bayda'i's Anwâr al-Tansîl wa Asrâr al-Ta'wil and al-Khâzin's Lubâb al-Ta'wil fî Ma'Câni al-Tansîl, which the master had himself used in a small way in the compilation of the core of the commentary. Dâ'ûd
Rūmī's additions changed the character of the work somewhat, but no copyist thought of adapting the system of credits by directly identifying the core of the work as a Malay rendering of Tafsīr al-Jalālayn.

All the surviving MSS are based on Da'ūd Rūmī's recension. Of these, MS A is by far the oldest and may be one of the earliest copies made from Da'ūd Rūmī's autograph.

The third and final stage of the development of this commentary was its appearance in printed form during the last 100 years. The Malay-speaking scholars who prepared the text for printing either failed to recognise the central role of the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn or intentionally ignored it and gave the work a much more prestigious identity by associating it with al-Baydāwī's Anwār, which has a reputation far higher than that of al-Jalālayn (which in some circles is looked down on) and al-Khāzin. It may be noted that the use of a well-known name to add to the stature of a work in this way is quite common. It should also be observed that in Malay religious works, what are set out as translations are often far more than translations, rarely limiting themselves exclusively to the particular text being rendered into Malay. So Ĥābd al-Samād al-Palembānī's Siyār al-Sālikīnl for example, which purports to be a summary of al-Ghazālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, includes citations from the period almost contemporaneous with the author himself. It should be stressed that by Malay standards, Ĥābd al-Ra'ūf appears to have exercised great restraint in preparing the original form so that his own additions were very minor and related directly to a thorough understanding of the work. His faithful rendering shows that he had been thoroughly grounded in Arabic methods of translation, where there was little room for the type of embellishment which is so much a part of renderings undertaken by many other Malay scholars.

Tarjumān al-Mustafīd has played an important role in the history of Malay Islamic education. For almost 300 years it was the only commentary in Malay on the Qur'ān as a whole. Although other commentaries in Malay and Indonesian have appeared during the last thirty years, nevertheless Tarjumān al-Mustafīd continues to be printed and widely used throughout Malaysia, Sumatra and Java. Not only has it greatly influenced the
nature of Qur'anic studies in the region, but it has also undoubtedly greatly contributed to the study of exegetical works in Arabic. A perusal of Van Ronkel's catalogue of Arabic MSS held by the Batavia Society Museum (now the National Museum in Jakarta) shows to what extent the Tafsir al-Jalālayn had come to occupy centre stage in Islamic schools in the archipelago [Van Ronkel 1913:12-31], a position it holds to this very day in Indonesia as well as Malaysia [Nor Bin Ngah 1983:2]. It is possible that °Abd al-Ra'uf's rendering of this work reflects the extent of its popularity in the region prior to the compiling of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd.
Chapter 3

The language of the text

3.1 Materials for a Study of Malay as used in 17th Century Aceh

3.1.1 The Sources

One of the aims of this thesis is to examine some of the ways in which 'Abd al-Ra'uf's Malay reflected syntactic influence from Arabic. In order to assess the degree to which his Malay was Arabicized in relation to other forms of Malay current in the 17th century, a body of works originating from 17th century Aceh has been selected to provide a model of the syntactic structures of types of Acehnese Malay which, despite the absorption of Arabic loan words, had not undergone wholesale syntactic interference as was the case with the Malay "translationese" of texts such as Tarjumān al-Mustafīd.¹ The works selected for this purpose provide forms of Malay as used in various Acehnese social and administrative contexts.

The sources used to establish this model are the following:

1. The Hikayat Aceh (HA) [Iskandar 1958]

2. A section of the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah (H.M.H) [MS A of Brakel 1975]

¹ The language of Malay religious texts which are based on original works in Arabic has been traditionally referred to as "Kitab Malay". Much more comparative research to determine common syntactic patterns occurring in these texts needs to be done before we can reliably use the term "Kitab Malay" in a generic sense. Van Ronkel [1899] made a start and it is hoped that the findings of this current study will contribute to a clarification of the appropriateness or otherwise of the use of this term. For our purposes, the term "translationese" should prove to be adequate.
3. Three early 17th century letters originating from the Acehnese court (Letters A, B and C) [Shellabear 1898]

The major literary work to provide a model of Acehnese Court Malay is the HA. The author of this work is unknown, but was apparently commissioned by Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-36) to write his biography. Thus it dates from the early part of the 17th century. It begins with a detailed genealogy of Iskandar Muda and the greater part is devoted to singing the praises of this monarch under whose rule Aceh reached the peak of its power and influence.

The text of one of the surviving MSS of the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah has also been selected to provide a model of Malay originating from Aceh. It is MS A used in Brakel's text edition of the work, and appears to have been composed in pre-1632 Aceh, "though in all likelihood it dates from a somewhat earlier period, most probably the end of the sixteenth century" [Brakel 1975:56]. It is an ideal supplementary source of literary Malay to the HA.

The third group of sources listed above was collected by early English sea expeditions. This group comprises three letters in Malay held in the collection of the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The first letter is an authority to trade given by the Sultan of Aceh to an English sea-captain, possibly Sir James Lancaster, the commander of the first English sea voyage to the East Indies. Shellabear dates this letter to 1602. The manuscript consists of four quarto pages of writing, with the first page being the latter part of a letter from the Acehnese Sultan to Queen Elizabeth of England written in Arabic. The second letter bears the stamp of Sultan Ğalā al-Dīn Shāh of Aceh (1589-1604) and is a letter of authority to Sir Henry Middleton who accompanied Lancaster to the Indies. It also dates from 1602 and is undoubtedly an original document, whereas the letter to Lancaster mentioned above appears to be a copy. The third letter originating from Aceh dates from 1612 and is addressed to King James I of England from Sultan Iskandar Muda. It is evidently a reply to a request from King James for permission to trade in Tiku and Perisaman.

These letters represent samples of Acehnese Chancelry Malay.
Together they contain about 1500 words, and are useful as a supplement in giving us an extra perspective in an analysis of Malay as used in 17th century Aceh.

3.1.2 The Role

What was the role of Malay in 17th century Aceh? Our search for an answer to this question is greatly assisted by examining the conclusions of scholars who have addressed this issue previously. Such an examination shows that a marked difference of opinion exists. The varying views may be enumerated as follows:

1. Dutch scholars have traditionally devoted most attention to its function as a written language in Aceh, and have tended to downgrade its importance as a spoken vernacular in this part of the Malay world. Juynboll and Voorhoeve made the following observation:

   In the 19th century Malay was almost unknown in Atjeh except among a portion of the inhabitants of the sea-ports, but formerly it was the language of the court and from earliest times in Atjeh letters, official documents and many works on theology were written in Malay. [1960:740]

Drewes [1972] defined the functions of Malay in 17th century Aceh as being:

a. A language of the Court

b. A language for religious purposes

c. A lingua franca

Speaking more specifically of the role of Malay as a spoken language in the early Acehnese Sultanate, Drewes commented:

   ...Malay was a foreign language [for the Acehnese], which they not only pronounced in their own way, but which they also involuntarily transformed to some
extent to fit the model of their own language. [Drewes 1972:449]

2. The most scathing condemnation of Acehnese Malay was expressed by Winstedt, who, when discussing the *Tāj al-Salātīn*, wrote:

...its date (1603) makes it probable that the translation was done at Aceh, then the first Muslim power among the Malays. Translation there would also condone the atrocious Malay idiom. [Winstedt 1958:114]

He personalises his accusations by laying the blame for what he saw as poor Malay at the feet of Muslim writers who produced their works in Aceh:

...these Muslim teachers...murdered Malay idiom and introduced for Arabic theological terms Malay synonyms as unintelligible as those employed by some British translators of Hegel and Kant. [Winstedt 1958:113]

These comments by Winstedt specifically referred to Malay as a written language. He made no attempt to identify its role as a spoken medium.

3. A later generation of scholars began to demonstrate a different and more refreshing approach to the Malay used in texts written in Aceh. Johns encapsulated this view when writing:

...the coming of Islam brought a kind of literary emancipation. For with the religious literature that

---

2The original Dutch text is as follows:

...het Maleis een vreemde taal was, die zij niet alleen op hunne wijze uitspraken, maar die zij onwillekeurig ook enigermate vervormden naar het model van hun eigen taal.

3Refer to Appendix B for discussion of another comment which he made which relates to the role of Malay in 17th century Aceh.
developed as a consequence of the coming of Islam, a conscious attempt was made, for the first time, to make the language express something new, and there was a systematic effort to fashion Malay into a genuine intellectual currency in its own right, instead of leaving its literary development to the chanting of story tellers. The effect on the polish and balance of traditional Malay prose was unfortunate, but this was no unrelieved tragedy. A great deal of dead wood was cut away. Whatever the stylistic faults in this new Malay, particularly in its painful imitation of Arabic idiom, the interminable repetition of balance and punctuation words that had so characterised Classical Malay disappeared. [1954:72]

4. Perhaps the most liberal view in terms of the role of Malay as a medium of all forms of communication in 17th century Aceh is that held by Lombard, who described Malay as as "la langue parlée à Atjeh au début du XVIIe siècle" [1967:55]. He formed this opinion on the basis of the records collected by Frederick de Houtman. This latter figure was the younger brother of Cornelius de Houtman, the commander of the first expedition of the Dutch East India Company to the Indonesian archipelago in 1595. Frederick accompanied this expedition, and both brothers were again sent to the Indies in 1598 and arrived at Aceh in June of the following year, being the first Dutch to visit there. Initially the reception by the Acehnese was friendly, but relations soured, possibly because of Portuguese intrigues [Lombard 1970:4] and an armed clash ensued, in which Cornelius was killed and Frederick was captured and imprisoned. He was not released until August 1601, when he returned to Holland. During this 26-month period of imprisonment, he devoted himself to various writings, among which was the Spraeck Ende Woord-boek (SEW), which includes a 2000-word Dutch-Malay lexicon and twelve quite lengthy conversations in spoken Malay which were composed by De Houtman on the basis of his contacts with Malay-speaking fellow prisoners as well as with Malay speakers in the outside community.
What is one to make of these varying views? It can be seen from the above that there were two points in dispute - the relative merits of the Malay spoken in Aceh, and likewise of the written Malay produced there. The varying approaches to the former point were clearly highlighted when Drewes reviewed Lombard's edition of De Houtman's SEW. Lombard had made reference to Dutch syntactic interference in the form of loan translations in certain Malay sentences in the work, but had played down their importance. He had explained this by saying that we are in no position to question De Houtman's command of Malay, as De Houtman's own account of how, facing probable execution, he justified his refusal to adopt Islam in a lengthy debate in Malay with an Acehnese qadi before a large crowd of Acehnese [Unger 1948:95-101 and Lombard 1967:235-239] indicates that he had an excellent mastery of the language. Drewes accused Lombard of timidity ("schroomvalligheid") [Drewes 1972:448] in the latter's treatment of the De Houtman text, and pointed to several clear examples of loan translations from Dutch in the Malay text. He also highlighted instances of influence from Acehnese in the syntax and vocabulary of De Houtman's Malay, whereas Lombard had only made passing reference to "Acehisms", describing them as rare.

Drewes's evidence of Dutch influences on De Houtman's Malay is convincing and accordingly the SEW has not been used here as a source for providing examples of Acehnese Malay. However it remains an important source in that it provides a vital clue to any assessment of the role of Malay in Aceh.

It clearly shows that Malay was widely spoken in all spheres of communication, even in the prisons. The above-mentioned debate in which De Houtman took part is further evidence that Malay had a role to play as a spoken language in the judicial domain in addition to being a means of communication in day-to-day social encounters.

Drewes's comprehensive list of Acehnese loan words in the Malay conversations provides clear support for his assertion cited in 1 above. However, such Acehnese influences do not in themselves devalue the Malay used, as seems to be implied. It may be expected that Javanese, Madurese, Sundanese, Makasseresee etc. who spoke Malay would also have
"involuntarily transformed [it] to some extent to fit the model of their own languages".

On the question of the merits of the Malay written in Aceh, it is useful to consult the view of one of the most eminent Acehnese scholars of the modern era, Teuku Iskandar. He examined the Hikayat Aceh and concluded that some of the deviations exhibited by the Malay of this work when compared to other Court Malay texts pointed to the existence of a more specifically Acehnese form of Malay [Iskandar 1958:9]. For a more detailed appraisal of the role of the Malay "translationese" of religious texts, refer to section 3.2 which follows.

So a basic premise of our study of the language of Tarjunān al-Mustafīd is that Malay as used in 17th century Aceh was as valid a variant of the language as those forms found elsewhere in the Malay-speaking world. Surely the textual evidence of its widespread use in all spheres of communication and the historical records of the cosmopolitan nature of Acehnese society point to Malay having been sufficiently well-established in Aceh for it to be considered as much more than "a foreign language" for the Acehnese.

3.2 The Role of C'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Translationese

The length of time C'Abd al-Ra'ūf spent in the Arab world undoubtedly had an effect on the way in which he used Malay. He spent the crucial years in terms of his intellectual formation studying and writing in Arabic and situated in an Arabic milieu. Voorhoeve suggests that C'Abd al-Ra'ūf felt some degree of linguistic dislocation on his return to Aceh in 1661, and makes several revealing comments on the Malay of his works:

- His translations from the Arabic are so literal that they are unintelligible without a knowledge of that language... [1960:88]

- When Abdurrauf shortly afterwards received a commission from the Sultana to write a fiqh work in Malay, and refused the task because he did not have a proper command of Pasai
However several factors must be remembered if we are to make an accurate assessment of his facility with Malay:

1. He spent the first twenty years of his life as a subject of a Sultanate with extensive dependencies (some of which were Malay-speaking), where Malay was the established language of administration.

2. It is possible that he had continuing contact with some of the many other Jawi students present in Arabia while he was there, and this group may well have communicated amongst itself in Malay.

3. He was in Aceh from 1661 until his death in 1693 and as such would have had ample opportunity to recover whatever Malay he had lost.

The fact remains that his translations from Arabic, as exemplified by Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, are very literal. He frequently used a technique of one for one word correspondence and gave little regard to adhering to standard Court Malay syntactic patterns with the result that the product was in many ways Arabic in syntax and Malay in vocabulary. This raises several crucial questions: can these stylistic features be held up as proof that ʿAbd al-Raʿūf merely had a poor grasp of Malay or did he have some other purpose in translating with such a style? Were there particular reasons why Court Malay would not have met his needs?

To contribute to an answer to this question, we must examine the attitudes to translation and the techniques used in the Arab world at the time that ʿAbd al-Raʿūf studied there.

---

4 The original text in Dutch is as follows:

Toen kort daarna Abdurrauf van de Sultane de opdracht kreeg een Maleis fikh-boek te schrijven en tegen deze taak opzag, omdat hij na zijn langdurige verblijf in Arabie het Pasai-Maleis niet goed beheerste,...
There had been a long tradition of literal word-for-word translations in the Arab world by the time ʿAbd al-Raʿūf arrived there in the early 1640's. The fourteenth-century Muslim biographer, al-Safadī, identified two distinct methods being used in the Arab world in his time for the translation of Classical Greek philosophical works [Peters 1968:63-64]:

1. A word-for-word correspondence technique, which imported Greek syntactic features into the Arabic of the translation on a massive scale.

2. The meaning content of each Greek sentence was translated without adhering to Greek syntactic patterns. The Arabic of such translations adhered to the syntactic norms of literary Arabic.

The literal method of translation was the first technique developed by Arab translators working on the Greek texts, and had been the established technique up to the reign of the ʿAbbasid Caliph al-Maʿmūn (198/813-218/833) in the ninth century. The Arabs had themselves borrowed this technique from earlier Syrian translators who had used it in translating Greek Christian literature which was, for the translators, sacred scripture [Peters 1968:64-65]. When ʿAbd al-Raʿūf was studying in Arabia in the 1640's-50's, he evidently encountered a variety of methods of translation and would also have been aware of the polemic

---

5 Nor were the Syrians the pioneers. In referring to Aquila's translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek in the early 2nd Century, Pattie comments:

His was an extremely literal version of the official Hebrew text, which reproduced in Greek not only the sense, but also the idiom, grammar and even the etymology of the Hebrew, sometimes at the expense of clarity ... Its great merit was that it could be used to translate back into Hebrew with absolute reliability, and readers could therefore be sure that God's words had suffered no corruption. To those who knew no Hebrew, however, this translation made awkward reading. [Pattie 1979:7]
relating to the appropriateness of rendering Qur'anic passages into other languages. At the time, the only acceptable technique to Muslim orthodoxy of rendering the Qurʾān into other languages was an interlinear technique, where inclusion of the Arabic text was obligatory [Pearson 1981:431ff]. This undoubtedly led ʿAbd al-Raʿūf to settle upon the literal technique as being the only suitable manner of rendering the Qurʾān into Malay.

The use of interlinear or literal techniques for the translation of sacred literature is widespread. OKell made a linguistic study of Nissaya Burmese, which is the style of Burmese used in translations of sacred texts from Pali, in which each word or phrase of a Pali text is followed immediately by its Burmese translation. He says that the Nissaya texts:

...were intended not only to give the reader the meaning of the Pali text but also to enable him to construe its grammar... the Nissaya writers were able to represent, with remarkable accuracy, the inflections and syntax of Pali, an Indo-European language, in unrelated Burmese, which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan family and is largely mono-syllabic.[1965:187]

ʿAbd al-Raʿūf was probably similarly inspired to impart to his readers not only the doctrinal content of the Qurʾanic passages he was translating, but also the syntactic format of the holy language of revelation, namely Arabic.

To sum up, we could suggest four major considerations behind ʿAbd al-Raʿūf’s use of a literal technique of translation:

1. It was incumbent upon him to make accessible the message of the Qurʾān to his Malay readers using a form which was in harmony with the form of the original revelation. In the eyes of contemporary Muslim theologians, only an interlinear technique would preserve this harmony.

2. A secondary consideration may have been that he wished to instruct his readers in the salient linguistic features of the holy language of revelation.
3. *Abd al-Ra'uf may well have viewed the Malay "translationese" as a tool to enable a student to translate back to Arabic in the same way as the Greek "translationese" was viewed by Aquila.

4. Moreover, it is possible that the use of Arabicized Malay was a status symbol in the 17th century Malay world.

3.3 Grammatical Influences from Arabic on the Malay of MS A

We have seen in chapter 2 of this study that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is largely, though not entirely, a rendering of

1. the text of the Qur'ān, and

2. the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*

We discussed above the reasons for *Abd al-Ra'uf's* employing a literal, interlinear-like technique in rendering these texts into Malay.

A good example of this technique in action is provided in TM20:2. The texts of Q and J follow. To facilitate a comparison of the Arabic text with the Malay rendering and to clarify *Abd al-Ra'uf's* method of translation, a technique of detailed glossing of the Arabic and Malay is used, thus highlighting the syntactic function and semantic value of the individual components. Where necessary, morpheme boundaries are signalled in the Arabic and Malay examples by a hyphen. This technique is used throughout the remainder of this chapter.
(1) (mā anzal-nā ʾalay-ka al-Qurʿān),
NEG reveal-1pl upon-2sg DEF-Qurʿān

ya Muhammad, (li -ta -shqā)
oh Muhammad sothat-2sg-wretched

li -ta -tʿab bi-mā faʾal-ṭa
sothat-2sg-tire in-REL do-2sg

baʿda nuzūlī-hī min tūl qiyāmī-ka
after revelation-3sg from lengthy upright-2sg

bi-ṣalāt al-layl ay khaffif ʿan nafṣī-ka.
in-prayer DEF-night i.e. lighten from self-2sg

(We have not revealed the Qurʿān to you),
oh Muhammad, (in order that you be wretched),
to weary you by what you do after its revelation,
by way of your long standing in prayer at night,
so do not overtax yourself.

ʿAbd al-Raʿūf’s rendering into Malay is as follows:
(2) (Tiada Kami turunkan atas-mu Qur'ān itu
NEG 1pl reveal upon-2 Qur'ān that

supaya engkau lelah), ya Muhammad, dengan yang
sothat 2sg tired oh Muhammad, with REL

kau-perbuat kemudian daripada turun-nya
2sg-do after from revelation-3

daripada lanjut berdiri-mu pada sembahyang malam,
from lengthy upright-2 in prayer night,

artinya ringkankan daripada diri-mu.
i.e. lighten from self-2

(We have not revealed the Qur'ān to you to weary you),
oh Muhammad, by what you do after its revelation
by way of long standing in prayer at night,
so do not overtax yourself.

Such a literal technique is bound to cause large-scale syntactic
interference in the language of translation, in this case Malay. In the
following sections, we will examine some of the effects on Malay and the
types of influence exerted by the Arabic of the texts being translated.

Before embarking upon our examination of these influences, a brief
word on methodology is necessary. In undertaking this analysis, two
considerations have been uppermost in my mind:

- Unlike Nissaya Burmese, the "translationese" of ġAbd al-Ra'ūf's
  commentary is not now a widely recognised and accepted variant
  of the Malay language as a whole, in spite of the current
  popularity of this commentary. Because of the limitations of
  its current usage, there seemed little purpose in producing, as
  it were, a "reference grammar" of ġAbd al-Ra'ūf's Malay. Add
  to this the irregular frequency in the manifestations of these
  influences, and it will be seen why it was decided to
concentrate the following analysis upon a selective list of some of the types of influence of Arabic syntax visible in the Malay of this commentary.

- Although this part of the thesis is relevant to non-Malay speaking readers, it has been necessary to assume in preparing it that the majority of readers will have some knowledge of Malay. Hence there is no comprehensive discussion of basic Court Malay grammatical forms. For such a discussion, the reader is referred to Winstedt's "Malay Grammar" [1927]. Some examples of Court Malay structures drawn from the 17th century Acehnese sources discussed in section 3.1.1 are provided for purposes of clarification. It is, however, beyond the scope of this study to provide more than an outline of relevant Malay structures. The greater part of the analysis is focussed upon aberrant structures in CAbd al-Ra'uf's Malay.

3.3.1 Word Order and Verbal Usage

3.3.1.1 Word Classes in Malay

Most early analyses of Malay grammar have identified word classes in Malay according to the model of traditional English grammar. The validity of this assumption has been questioned in more recent times, and for our purposes, we will adhere to the method of word classification of Asmah Haji Omar [1975:172ff]. This method identifies the following word classes in modern Malay:

1) Nominals (N)
   a) nouns
   b) pronouns
   c) numerals
2) Verbals (V)
   a) verbs
   b) adjectives
   c) aspect verbs
   d) modal verbs
3) Function Words (FW)

This system is equally relevant to the Malay contained in our early texts mentioned in section 3.1.1.
3.3.1.2 Word Order of 17th Century Acehnese Malay Texts

An investigation of our 17th century texts reveals that the two most frequent and basic clause patterns were N1 V (N2) and V N1 (N2). The first pattern may be seen in the following examples:

(3) ...rasul Allah memeri upacara... (HMH 118)
    messenger God give ceremony

...the Messenger of God held a ceremony...

(4) ...mereka itu bertahan... (HA 173)
    3pl stay

...they stayed...

(5) Barangkali ia datang kepada rasul Allah. (HMH 118)
    Perhaps 3sg come to messenger God

Perhaps he will come before the Messenger of God.

(6) Jika ia memeli lada atau barang sesuatu... (Letter B)
    If 3sg buy pepper or goods something

If he buys pepper or something else...

A consideration of the syntactic structure of these sentences would identify N1 as the Subject and N2, if present, as the Object, thus giving an SV(O) clause structure in which the focus of interest falls upon the independent participant which is the Subject. Such examples may be conveniently referred to as Subject focus sentences.

In another type of Subject-initial clause found in our Acehnese Malay texts, the focus is shifted from the Subject to the action represented by the verb by omitting the active verbal prefix meN-. This pattern can occur with 1st or 2nd person subjects. Examples of this action-focus type are:
And you will listen to the words it contains.

So I am treating them well...

We witnessed Samutera being invaded by the people of Aru...

Verb-initial clauses \([V \ N1 \ (N2)]\) also occur frequently in our literary texts, as may be seen in the following examples:

The Acehnese wanted to attack that town.

After Abu Bakar read Marwan Hakim's letter, he replied to it forthwith...

And if anyone of the English people shall die...
If the people of Tiku mistreat them

and I will watch over them...

In these action-focus sentences, the shift in the focus from Subject (actor) to the action is achieved by promoting the verb to initial position in the clause and moving the Subject. In the case of 10 and 11, the Subject was mentioned in the preceding clause, so to avoid stylistic imbalance, the second mention of the Subject is distanced from the first by placing the focus on the verb. In the case of 12, 13 and 14, once again the interest is in the action rather than the actor, hence movement of the verb to initial position. Example 14 shows that in 17th century Acehnese Malay, verbal focus could be realised for verbs with 1st and 2nd person subjects by retaining the prefix meN- and shifting the verb to initial position. This is an alternative to the subject-initial, meN- omission method of verb-focus discussed with respect to the previous set of examples. Example 61 on page 121 shows that this technique could also be used with meN- verbs which had 3rd person subjects. It should also be noted that the prefix di- specifically signals a verb with a 3rd person Subject.

The third basic syntactic pattern which requires mention is that in which the Object occurs first in the clause. Examples are:

If such is the case, I think it best that I bring you inside...
(16) Hai Setia Rimba, kerbau ini kamu duduk-i. (HA 156)
Oh Setia Rimba, w' buffalo this 2 sit-LOC

Oh Setia Rimba, you [may] ride on this water buffalo.

(17) Maka Raja Indera Syah pun di-bawa orang-lah
then King Indera Syah TOP 3-take person-COMM

kepada Raja Cina. (HA 66)
to King China

So King Indera Syah was taken to the King of China

There are two syntactic patterns here - OSV for 1st and 2nd person subjects and OVS for 3rd person subjects. In both patterns the object is brought into focus by being shifted to the initial position in the clause. It is also to be noted that this structure fits the pattern N1 V N2 referred to at the beginning of this section. The distinguishing feature relates to which element is in focus - initially we considered Subject-focus N1 V N2 clauses, and this latter group is Object-focus.

The syntactic structure/focus correspondence as seen in the Acehnese Malay data may be tabulated as follows:

Table 3-1: Syntactic Pattern/Focus Correspondence in 17thC Malay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD CLASS PATTERN</th>
<th>SYNTACTIC PATTERN</th>
<th>FOCUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N1 V (N2)</td>
<td>1) SV(0)</td>
<td>a) Subject Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) OVS</td>
<td>b) Action Focus (1 &amp; 2 S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V N1 (N2)</td>
<td>VSO/VOS</td>
<td>Action Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1 N2 V</td>
<td>OSV</td>
<td>Object Focus (1 &amp; 2 S)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A representative selection of 206 examples from the Malay texts discussed in section 3.1.1 was analysed to determine frequency of occurrence of the various syntactic patterns and the main verbal prefixes. The results are presented in table 3-2 on page 100.
### Table 3-2: Verbal Prefix/Syntactic Pattern Frequency in 17thC Malay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREFIX</th>
<th>PATTERN</th>
<th>% FREQUENCY PER PATTERN</th>
<th>% FREQUENCY PER PREFIX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meN-</td>
<td>SV(o)</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meN-</td>
<td>VS(o)</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-</td>
<td>SV(o)</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-</td>
<td>OSV</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber-</td>
<td>SV(o)</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber-</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>VS(o)</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>VOS</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>OV(S)</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>96.5%</td>
<td>96.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6Usage of the verbal prefixes ter- and ke—...—an constitutes the remaining 3.5%
The word order/percentage split\(^7\) in the Malay of our 17th century Acehnese texts may be summarised as follows:

- SV(0) - 68.8\%
- VS(0)/VOS - 21.4\%
- OVS/OSV - 9.8\%

These figures suggest that in Acehnese Malay of the 17th century, SV(0) was the most frequent syntactic pattern. It should be reiterated at this point that word order and verbal affixational changes were the principal means of bringing about alterations in focus. Generally the first element occurring in the clause was in focus.

3.3.1.3 Arabic Word Order

In Arabic, a simple verbal sentence places the verb in initial position [Wright 1955:II,255]. The following example shows the basic VS(0) word order in Arabic:

\[
(18) \text{wa adall- a fir}^3\text{awn-u qawm-a-hu...}(Q20:79)
\]

and lead astray-3sgS Pharoah-NOM nation-ACC-3sg

And Pharoah led his people astray...

Word order is not always critical in Qur'anic Arabic, as case markers on nouns specify syntactic roles such as subject and object. An independent subject may be placed before the verb for added emphasis:

\[
(19) \text{in-nā nahnu na- rithu al-arḍ } (Q19:40)
\]

Truly-1pl 1pl 1plIMP-inherit DEF-earth

Truly it is We, We who will inherit the earth.

Such sentences have been traditionally regarded as compound [Wright 1955:II,255]. The device of shifting a subject to initial position for emphasis bears some resemblance to the previously discussed technique in Malay of placing focus on the initial element in the clause, with resulting word-order changes when requiring an alteration in the focus.

\(^7\)Including ter- and ke-...-an verbs
The previous sections indicate clearly that there were fundamental differences between the syntax of the simple clause in Malay and Arabic. It is in this area that we may expect to find manifestations of syntactic influence from Arabic upon the Malay in the "translationese" of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd. How was 17th century Acehnese Malay, in which the most common syntactic pattern was SV(0), to adapt to Arabic syntactic patterns, which were based on a VS(0) structure?

A representative selection of 183 clauses from Tarjumān al-Mustafīd was analysed to determine common syntactic patterns in the Malay of the text and the frequency of use of the main verbal prefixes. The results are presented in table 3-3 on page 103. This data should be compared with that contained in table 3-2.

The word order/percentage split in TM is as follows:

- SV(0) - 52.9%
- VS(0)/VOS - 39.3%
- 0SV/0V(S) - 7.3%

A comparison of this data with that compiled from the Acehnese Court Malay texts reveals the following major areas of change:

- Decreased frequency of SV(0) pattern in TM
- Increased frequency of verb-initial clauses in TM
- Decreased frequency of all verbal prefixes save O-, root and di- verbs in TM

The increased incidence of verb-initial clauses at the expense of SV(0) clauses in TM suggests an accommodation of the basic VS(0) pattern of the Qur'anic text being translated. Similarly, the less frequent use of the meN- and ber- prefixes, which had occurred more frequently in SV(0) clauses in the Acehnese texts in Court Malay, was to be expected. In their place, we find a greater use of O-, root and di- verbs in TM. All allowed for a verb-initial pattern in Court Malay so their increased use is not surprising. Moreover, the clear tendency to employ fewer verbal prefixes in TM than in the court Malay texts naturally resulted in
Table 3-3: Verbal Prefix/Syntactic Pattern Frequency in TM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREFIX</th>
<th>PATTERN</th>
<th>% FREQUENCY FOR PATTERN</th>
<th>% FREQUENCY FOR PREFIX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meN-</td>
<td>SV(o)</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meN-</td>
<td>VSO</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-</td>
<td>SV(o)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-</td>
<td>OSV</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber-</td>
<td>SV(o)</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber-</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>VS(o)</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>VOS</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>OV(s)</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>99.1%</td>
<td>99.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8Usage of the verbal prefixes ter- and ke...-an constitutes the remaining 0.9%
the most substantial increase being in the incidence of 0- verbs, i.e. those where the prefix has been dropped.

It would be profitable to examine closely some examples which show the usage of the various verbal prefixes and their relationship to word order in TM. Each example should only be viewed in relation to the particular issue under discussion. Also evident will be certain manifestations of influence which will be taken up in due course.

Firstly, when a clause had a 3rd person subject, °Abd al-Ra'uf's Malay depended more heavily on the use of di- verbs than was the case in the Court Malay texts. The reason is clearly that di- is the verbal prefix which most commonly allows a VS(o) pattern. If the Qur'anic text placed verb before subject, °Abd al-Ra'uf followed faithfully:

(20) ya- 'khudhu-hu cdūw-un lī...(Q20:39)
3sgS-seize-3sgO enemy-NOM to 1sg

An enemy...of mine will seize him

(21) diambil akan dia oleh seteru bagiku (TM20:39)
take O MKR 3sg S MKR enemy to me

An enemy...of mine will seize him

In cases where subject is placed before verb in °Abd al-Ra'uf's Malay, we usually find that there are determining factors in the syntax of the Arabic original. When the Arabic verb is in the imperfective aspect, the translator takes care to have an equivalent in Malay of the prefixed subject marker by putting subject before verb, hence:

(22) Thumma nu- najji al- ladhīna...(Q19:72)
Then 1plS-deliver DEF-REL3pl

Then We will deliver those who...

(23) Kemudian maka Kami luputkan segala mereka yang...(TM19:72)
Then so 1pl deliver all 3pl REL

Then We will deliver all those who...
Thus the Arabic perfective will often give VS word order in the Malay of TM, while the imperfective will be rendered by SV word order. It must be stressed, however, that this is not a regular correspondence.

A subject may also occur before a verb in TM when it is governed by a particle in the Arabic:

(24) inn- یānās-tu nār-an (Q20:10)
    truly-1sgS see-1sgS fire-ACC

Truly I have seen a fire.

(25) Bahwasanya aku melihat api (TM20:10)
    Truly 1sg see fire

Truly I have seen a fire.

It is interesting to note that although the verb in the Arabic example above is perfective and carries a suffixed subject inflection, the Malay translator has chosen to provide an equivalent for the first subject marker, which occurs as a suffix on the particle. This results in an SVO structure, hence a meN- verb is used in the Malay.

As seen in the preceding tables, the verbal prefix meN- occurs far less frequently in TM than is the case in the Court Malay texts examined. We saw an example above where Arabic SVO resulted in the use of meN-. Another instance is given below. In this case the subject is marked by the suffix on the particle, but also by the prefixed inflection of the imperfective verb. These features combined to inevitably produce an SVO pattern in the Malay rendering:

(26) fa-inna-hu یā clamu al- sīrr...(Q20:7)
    so-truly-3sgS 3sgS-knowIMP DEF-secret

Truly He knows all that is secret...

---

9A clear case can be seen in example 65 on page 122.
(27) Maka bahwasanya Ia mengetahui yang sir... (TM20:7)
So truly 3sg know REL secret

Truly He knows all that is secret...

On other occasions, meN- is used in TM to translate an Arabic active participle, such as the rendering of Q’s mufsidūn by "membinasakan" in TM18:94, J’s mushtamil by "mengandung" in TM19:3, J’s mutakabbir by "membesarkan diri" in TM19:14 and J’s al-mudāwamat ǧālī by "mengekali" in TM20:122. Active participles have a residual verbal character in Arabic and can take a direct object in accusative case. The word order in such Arabic sentences is SVO. Thus meN- verbs, which are active and often transitive, represented the obvious way of rendering the Arabic active participle.

3.3.2 The Rendering of Particles

Malay particles fall into the group classified as Function Words [Asmah 1975:182]. For a detailed analysis of the various usages in Court Malay of the prepositions listed below, the reader is referred to Roolvink’s comprehensive treatment [1948:1-82]. Most Arabic particles may have two or more Malay equivalents. ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf’s method of rendering Arabic particles into Malay could be tabulated in the following manner. In the left-hand column, we have the most common Arabic particles occurring in the MS, and in the right the various Malay renderings. Several verse references are given to provide examples of each rendering. The Arabic particles have been arranged into subgroups, distinguished on semantic grounds:

**Adverbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARABIC</th>
<th>MALAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba'da</td>
<td>kemudian daripada (19:17, 19:59, 20:2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idh'/</td>
<td>tatkala (18:93, 20:10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idhā</td>
<td>apabila (18:98, 19:73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēkali</td>
<td>(18:77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinda</td>
<td>tatkala (18:94, 20:18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lammā</td>
<td>tatkala (18:76, 20:11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conjunctions

ARABIC MALAY
am atau (20:86, 20:135)
an bahwa (18:94, 19:10, 19:78, 20:45)
aw atau (20:7, 20:10, 20:45);
dan (20:15)
jikalau (18:76)
la'allā mudah-mudahan (20:10, 20:44, 20:113)
law jikalau (18:77, 18:109, 20:129)
li supaya (19:21, 20:2, 20:15)
wa padahal (18:104, 19:8, 19:9, 20:127)
serta (18:96, 19:68, 20:16)

Exceptive

ARABIC MALAY
illā melainkan (19:62, 19:64, 19:71)
tetapi (19:60)

Intensifying

ARABIC MALAY
la demi (19:46)
niscaya (18:77, 18:109, 19:46)
sanya (19:27, 19:89, 19:94)

Interrogatives

ARABIC MALAY
hal ngapa (20:133, 20:134)
ma apa (20:17, 20:83)

Negatives

ARABIC MALAY
la tiada (19:23, 20:8, 20:14)
jangan (19:84, 20:16, 20:21)
lam tiada (18:75, 18:85, 19:83, 20:7)
mā tiada (18:82, 20:2, 20:103)

Prepositions

ARABIC MALAY
calā atas (19:3, 19:11, 19:73, 20:2, 20:45)
can daripada (19:18, 20:2, 20:7, 20:15)
bi akan (19:21, 19:70, 20:1, 20:15, 20:16);
dengan (19:19, 20:1, 20:68)
dengan sebab (18:106, 19:18, 19:72)
pada (20:2, 20:12, 20:17)
faqqa di atas (19:79)
fi dalam (19:75, 20:6, 20:15, 20:103)
ma'a serta (18:75, 18:77, 19:58)
Regarding ḅAbd al-Raʿūf’s rendering of these particles, it can be seen from the table above that the commentator allowed for different meanings of particular Arabic particles by using a variety of Malay renderings when necessary. This is quite natural, of course, but serves to demonstrate that ḅAbd al-Raʿūf was not merely attempting to be literal in his translation but was making some effort at stylistic fluency. Thus the various significations of bi in Arabic are accounted for by rendering it into Malay in a variety of ways - "akan", "dengan", "dengan sebab", "pada". It is unlikely that ḅAbd al-Raʿūf devised a system for rendering particles - rather he appears to have dealt with each case as it occurred, so little purpose would be served here by attempting to define a system. It does seem, however, that the rendering of the Arabic particle is arguably the area where ḅAbd al-Raʿūf adhered most closely to the norms of Court Malay of his period.

Evidence of this claim can be found not only in the care with which he chose a variety of Malay equivalents for a single Arabic particle according to the requirements of context, but also in the fact that ḅAbd al-Raʿūf was prepared to cross word-class boundaries in rendering the particle. A clear example of this is seen below:

(28) wa in ta- jhar- u bi-1- qawl... (Q20:7)
and if 2sg-proclaim-IMP in-DEF-speech

And if you declare publicly...
Dan jika kau-nyaring-kan suara-mu...

And if you declare publicly...

In this example, the translator has avoided "translationese" by rendering the preposition _bi_ with the transitive verb "kaunyaringkan", where the causative verbal suffix assumes the role of identifying the object, a role played by _bi_ in the Arabic clause. This more relaxed approach to translation is typical of CAbd al-Ra'ūf's rendering of particles, and it naturally produces a more natural form of language.

Such freedom is not only found in cases where CAbd al-Ra'ūf declines to render a particle present in the Arabic text. On other occasions he chooses to include a Malay particle when none is present in the Arabic original. This is one of the areas in which he chooses not to follow the Arabic with such precise care, and suggests that he was conscious of the limits of extreme "translationese". Consider the following example:

(30) wa rafa‘- nā- hu makan-an ḍailīy-an (Q19:57)

And We raised him to a high place.

(31) Dan telah Kami angkat-kan ia pada tempat

And We raised him to a high place.

No particle is present in the Arabic sentence above, but CAbd al-Ra'ūf has included the Malay preposition "pada" to render the adverbial sense of the accusative suffix of makanan. Here is another instance of the translator crossing word-class boundaries with a certain degree of freedom designed to aid comprehension. A similar example concerns the use of "kepada" in TM19:47.
There are, nevertheless, occasions where 'Abd al-Ra‘uf’s choice of a Malay particle is tied to a literal understanding of the Arabic word. It will suffice here to present several instances of aberrant usage of these particles.

A clear case may be seen in the use of "melainkan" in TM20:103:

(32) mā (...labith-tum)...(illa cashr-an)...(J20:103)
NEG stay-2pl except ten-ACCINDEF

You only stayed for ten...

(33) Tiada (kamu berhenti)...(melainkan sepuluh)...(TM20:103)
NEG 2 stay except ten

You only stayed for ten...

The form mā...illa is quite common in Arabic, but "tiada...melainkan" has never become established in Malay on the basis of 'Abd al-Ra‘uf’s model. In literally rendering illa with "melainkan", the translator has in fact produced a loan translation, further examples of which may be found in section 3.3.3.1. 'Abd al-Ra‘uf has been clearly influenced in his choice of "melainkan" by the fact that it was his usual rendering for illa elsewhere in the text.

A usage of "daripada" tied to a partitive sense of min occurs in TM19:43:

(34) inn- ī qad ji'- nī min al- qilm. (Q19:43)
truly-1sg already came-1sg daripada DEF-knowledge

Truly the knowledge (of God) has come to me.
Bahwasanya aku telah datang kepada-ku
truly 1sg already come to- 1sg
daripada ilmu. (TM19:43)
from knowledge

Truly the knowledge (of God) has come to me.

In this example, "daripada" is unnecessary and disrupts the Malay rendering. Its inclusion is clearly the result of analogy with the structure of the original Arabic clause. Similar usages of "daripada" occur in TM18:76 and TM20:15.

In TM19:3 we see a clear instance of Malay "atas" being used ungrammatically due to influence from J's للاما:

(36) ...mushtamil- an للاما du للاما- in...(J19:3)
contain-ACCINDEF on prayer-GENINDEF

...containing a prayer...

(37) ...yang mengandung atas do للاما...(TM19:3)
REL contain on prayer

...containing a prayer...

In Arabic, the participle mushtamil takes للاما before a following noun in order to have a transitive function [Lane 1863:1602]. However, Court Malay "mengandung" does not require a preposition before a following object. When used transitively, it may either be immediately followed by its object [Klinkert 1947:817], or it may take the transitive suffix -kan, as the following example shows:
(38) ...tatkala tuan puteri Raja Indera Bangsa
when princess King Indera Bangsa

mengandung-kan Johan...(HA117)
contain-TRANS Johan

...when the wife of King Indera Bangsa
was pregnant with Johan...

Thus the use of "atas" after "mengandung" in the previous example from TM is clearly the result of analogy with Arabic َال. Another instance of the use of "mengandung atas" can be seen in TM20:133.

Another case of the use of "atas" which shows influence from J's قَالَ can be seen below:

(39) ...illā...salāman) min al- malā'ikah قَالَ-him(J19:62)
except salām from DEF-angels on- 3pl

...only...[the greeting] "salām") from the angels to them...

(40) ...melainkan "salām") daripada segala malaikat
except salām from all angel atas mereka itu...(TM19:62)
on 3pl

...only [the greeting] "salām") from the angels to them...

In this case, however, we would expect a preposition to be used in the Malay. To be consistent with usage elsewhere in TM, we would expect "kepada" or "bagi" instead of "atas".

Such cases where the Malay prepositions have been chosen in order to correspond with the literal understanding of their Arabic equivalents occur frequently, and are the natural result of an interlinear-like technique of translation. The reader needs to be aware of this feature of the Malay of this commentary when examining the text.
3.3.3 Miscellaneous Influences

In addition to widespread influences in Malay word order, verbal and prepositional usage caused by the Arabic from which the translation has been made, we encounter influences relating to other grammatical features of the languages. Some of these are outlined below.

3.3.3.1 Loan Translations

Loan translations are common. The following examples may suffice. The Arabic form bayna...wa bayna is rendered by "antara...dan antara":

(41) ...an ta -j°al -a bayna-nā wa bayna-hum (Q18:94)
that 2sgS-make-SUBJ between-1pl & between-3pl

...that you make between us and them...

(42) ...bahwa kau-jadikan antara kami
that 2sg-make between 1pl

dan antara mereka itu...(TM18:94)
& between 3pl

...that you make between us and them...

The form "antara...dan antara" does not occur in Court Malay, and this usage clearly represents a loan translation. Other instances of this form may be seen in TM18:78 and TM19:17.

Certain other loan translations derive from a meticulous rendering of every component of an Arabic word. This may be illustrated by the following excerpt:

(43) inn-Î qad jā'â-nî min al-Îilm..(Q19:43)
Truly-1sg already come-1sg from DEF-knowledge

Truly knowledge has come to me...
Bahwasanya aku telah datang kepada-ku
Truly 1sg already come to 1sg
daripada ilmu (TM19:43)
from knowledge

Truly knowledge has come to me...

The first "aku" is an equivalent for the suffix -ī, the object of the particle inna. This example shows how, on many occasions, Ābd al-Ra'ūf took care even at the expense of grammaticality to faithfully render every linguistic component of the original Arabic clause. A similar case can be seen in example 51 on page 116, and in example 46 below:

(45) ...min baḍi-him cālā baḍi-n (J19:62)
from certain-3pl on certain-INDEF

...among themselves

(46) ...daripada setengah mereka itu
from certain 3pl

atas setengah mereka itu (TM19:62)
on certain 3pl

...among themselves

3.3.3.2 Number

Ābd al-Ra'ūf takes care wherever possible to find counterparts in his Malay for the Arabic system for signalling number in nouns and verbs. In Arabic, singular, dual and plural numbers are found, whereas in Court Malay, number is usually evident from context and nouns and verbs do not change their form to indicate this notion.
and his arrows had gold inlay...

In this example, the context indicates that the arrows ("anak panah") are plural. The form of the word would be the same if a single arrow were being referred to. A word specifying number could be introduced to the clause if the context alone were insufficient in this regard. There are a range of such words - among those occurring in our Court Malay texts are "sebush"/"seekor" (singular) and "segala"/"sekalian" (plural).

However, in Cabd al-Ra'uf's Malay, these words are used much more regularly, the determining factor again being the translator's goal of faithfully rendering each component of the Arabic original. Singular nouns in his "translationese" are usually unmarked, though sometimes "suatu" is placed before the noun in question. Those Malay nouns or verbs used to translate an Arabic dual are generally marked by "kedua", while Malay nouns which render an Arabic plural original are usually marked by "segala". This type of influence has a cluttering effect on the Malay, as can be seen below:

(48) fa -iňalaq-ā hattā idhā
then-depart-DUAL until when
atay-ā ahla qaryat-in...(Q18:77)
come-DUAL inhabitants town-GEN.INDEF

Then the two of them went until they came
to people of a town...
(49) Maka pergi keduanya hingga sekali sampai
Then go both until once arrive
keduanya kepada orang dusun...(TM18:77)
both to people town

Then the two of them went until they came
to people of a town...

In the Arabic sentence above, grammaticality dictates that both verbs must be inflected for the dual. In the Malay, however, the inclusion of the first "keduanya" could be considered optional, depending on whether previous context had specified that two people were being referred to. The inclusion of the second "keduanya" is clearly unnecessary, however, as the first has already stipulated the number in question. Here again, clumsiness has resulted from fidelity in translation.

In the following example, we see how the Arabic singular and plural numbers have exerted their influence and resulted in the inclusion of corresponding number markers in the Malay. The Malay rendering is clearly a loan translation.

(50) ...ummah min al- umam al-mādīyah...(J19:74)
nation from DEF-nations DEF-past

...among the nations of the past...

(51) ...suatu ummat daripada segala ummat
one nation from all nations

yang telah lalu...(TM19:74)
REL already pass

...among the nations of the past...

"Suatu" and "segala" here reflect the Arabic singular in ummat and plural in umam respectively. Other clear examples of reflection of the Arabic number system may be seen in TM19:70, 19:72 and 19:73.
3.3.3.3 Case

There are three case markings in Arabic - nominative (for grammatical subject), accusative (for object of a verb) and genitive (for a possessor or object of a preposition). 'Abd al-Ra'ūf tries to find equivalents to indicate case, a concept which doesn't exist in Malay. Of the three Arabic cases, he appears to be concerned only to indicate the accusative. This in Arabic has two functions:

1. Object of a verb,

2. An adverbial function, which has several subdivisions, of which the most common are the the accusative of specification and the cognate accusative.

'Abd al-Ra'ūf' renders the accusative by a variety of prepositions, due to a need to reflect the multiplicity of functions of this case in Arabic. However, we find that the renderings of all the major functions of the Arabic accusative often produce results which appear to be foreign to Court Malay usage.

When the accusative marks a verbal object, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf often uses "akan" in a way which does not regularly occur in Court Malay texts of that period.

A clear example is provided below:

(52) wa adall- a fi'rCaun u qawm-a-hu...(Q20:79)
and lead astray-3sgS Pharoah-NOM people-ACC-3sg

And Pharoah led his people astray...

(53) Dan telah disesatkan oleh FirCaun akan kaum-nya...(TM20:79)
and already lead astray S MKR Pharoah O MKR people-3

And Pharoah led his people astray...

In this case, "akan" is inserted to render the accusative case of qawmahu.

A similar example of usage of "akan" as an object marker occurs
below. In this case, as the object in the Arabic is a verbal suffix, no case marking occurs.

(54) ...ahlak -nā -hum...(J19:74)
destroy-S1pl-03pl

...We (will) destroy them...

(55) ...Kami binasakan akan mereka itu.(TM19:74)
1P1 destroy 0 MKR 3pl

...We will destroy them.

Although the Arabic pronominal suffix does not vary for case, it appears that "akan" has been used as an object marker in the Malay by analogy with other examples where it renders an Arabic accusative case marking, such as in the preceding example. The redundancy of "akan" in both TM19:74 and 20:79 is made even more obvious by the presence of the transitivizing verbal suffix -kan. Other examples of this form can be seen in the clauses "jadikan...akan keridaan" in 19:6, "Kami jadikan ia akan tanda" in 19:21, "...dikeluarkannya akan kamu..." in example 4 on page 74, and "Kami fitnahkan akan mereka itu" in TM20:131.

Such examples are quite frequent, and contrast with Court Malay usage, where transitivity was generally obtained by using either a meN-verb without a suffix or, where necessary, attaching the transitivizing suffix -kan to a verb before a direct object. In the latter case, the preposition "akan" never occurred. This can be seen in the example provided below:

Note that Arabic VSO > Malay SVO. The reason is that the subject in this case is God, and there is a distinct tendency to place the divine "Kami" in focus in initial clause position in TM. This suggests that "Abd al-Ra'uf was well aware of the technique for signalling focus in Court Malay.
Maka ia menyuruhkan antusan-nya kepada raja...(HA73)
Then 3sg despatch envoy-3 to king

He then ordered his envoy (to go) to King...

The second area where we find influence from Arabic accusative case markings in TM concerns °Abd al-Ra'ūf's method of rendering the accusative of specification (tamyiz) by the conjunction "padahal". Consider the following example:

(57) ...(illa at-ā al-Rahmān
except approach-3sg DEF-Merciful

°abd-an) dhalīl-an...(J19:93)
servitude-ACC servile-ACC

...(except that he approach the Merciful humbly) and in submission...

(58) ...(melainkan datang kepada Tuhan yang bernama Rahman)
except come to God REL named Merciful

padahalnya hina...(TM19:93)
although servile

...(except that he approach the Merciful) in submission...

In example 57, the suffix of °abd-an and dhalīl-an marks the accusative of specification, an Arabic syntactic device whose function is evident from its name. Such a device does not exist in Court Malay, so °Abd al-Ra'ūf has done his best to render it by the use of "padahal". This allows him to preserve the word order of the Qur'anic text, but the Malay rendering is clumsy as a result. Similar cases showing how "padahal" is used to render the accusative of specification may be seen...

The final function of the Arabic accusative to be manifested in the Malay of TM which need concern us is the cognate accusative and the method chosen to render it. Consider the following example:

(59) inna mā na-Cuddu la-hum ṣadd-an. (Q19:84)
    Truly 1pl-count for-3pl counting-ACC

We have surely numbered them exactly.

(60) Hanyasanya Kami bilang-bilang bagi mereka itu...
    Truly 1pl count for 3pl

dengan bilang...(TM19:84)
    with count

We have surely numbered them exactly.

The Arabic cognate accusative is obtained by placing after a verb its corresponding noun form in the accusative case. This technique, designed for added emphasis, can be clearly seen in example 59 above. However, there is no counterpart in Malay for this form. CAbd al-Ra'uf has attempted to render it by use of the preposition "dengan". This has resulted in a clumsy Malay rendering, which could have been avoided by omitting "dengan bilang" altogether. However, the translator evidently deemed it more important to adhere to the form of the Arabic as closely as possibly. The same form occurs again in TM19:94.  

It should be noted that there are cases where CAbd al-Ra'uf's renders the tamyiz by other means than using "akan". This generally produces quite an acceptable result in Malay. Examples can be seen in 18:103 ("amalnya") and 19:4 ("telah cemerlanglah huban kepalaku").

It should also be mentioned that the rendering of the cognate accusative by "dengan" at times produces an acceptable result. This can be seen in 19:3 ("Tatkala menyeru ia...dengan seru...")
3.3.3.4 Aspectual Influences

As indicated in section 3.3.1.4, Arabic verbs are marked for either perfective or imperfective aspect. This has no counterpart in Court Malay, where the context is generally a sufficient indicator of time and aspect. The following example shows this:

(61) ...maka menyahut Merah Miru...(HA171)
then reply merah Miru

...then Merah Miru replied...

In cases where such notions requires further clarification, independent aspect words such as "sedang", "telah" and "sudah" may be inserted into the Malay clause.

In TM there are many instances of a hyper-correct indication of the Arabic perfective aspect being expressed in the Malay. ḤAbd al-Ra'ūf often rendered perfective aspect by using "telah" or "sudah". However, in many cases, these aspect words are used unnecessarily where context would have been sufficient. This may be seen in the following example:

(62) qad balagh-ta min ladun-nī āudhr-an...(Q18:76)
already getPERF-2sg from from-1sg excuse-ACC.INDEF

I have provided you with an excuse...

(63) Telah sudah-lah kau-peroleh udhur...(TM18:76)
Already already-EMPH 2sg-get excuse

daripada pihak-ku...
from side-1sg

I have provided you with an excuse...

The insertion of "sudah" to render the perfective aspect of balaghta is clearly unnecessary, as the inclusion of "telah" has already established the required aspeccual context.

Similarly, "telah" is often used in a redundant manner to render the perfective aspect of a particular Arabic verb. A clear example is provided below:
The non-temporal notion expressed by the Arabic perfective verb تَبَأ (taba) would be obtained by omission of "telah" in Malay. It has again been included for reasons of linguistic fidelity to the Arabic. Another example of such redundant usage of "telah" may be found in TM18:84.

This Arabic perfective-"sudah"/"telah" correspondence is by no means universal in TM, but it occurs with sufficient frequency to warrant mention.

3.3.4 Resume of Grammatical Influences

It should be stressed that the Malay contained in TM represents 'Abd al-Ra'uf's conscious attempt to use the language in the particular way detailed in section 3.2. Phrases and usages which seem to adhere more closely to our Court Malay texts, such as the rendering of particles, suggest that 'Abd al-Ra'uf may have had concentration lapses in his efforts to produce a strict "translationese". The main features of Arabic which he chooses to indicate in the Malay of TM are summarised in table 3-4 on page 124. Certain other features of Arabic syntax which are also evident in the Malay will be dealt with individually as they occur in the edited text in Chapter 4. It would be appropriate to round off this section by presenting an example from TM which manifests several of the features of Arabic syntax referred to in the preceding pages. In example 67 below, we see overall clumsiness caused by strict fidelity to Arabic word order, evidence of interference from the Arabic systems for signalling number and aspect, and unusual usage of the Malay preposition "atas" under the influence of Arabic "الا".
(66) uwla'ika al-ladhīnā an'ām-a Allāh ālāy-him... (Q19:58)
these DEF-RELpl favour God on-3pl

These are they on whom God bestowed favours...

(67) Mereka itulah segala mereka itu yang telah di-beri Allah
3pl all 3pl REL already 3-give God

ni'mat atas mereka itu...(TM19:58)
favour on 3pl

These are they on whom God bestowed favours...

3.4 Malay Spelling in MS A

3.4.1 The Orthography of the Earliest Surviving Malay MSS

Shellabear [1901] gives a lucid account of the Malay spelling in early 17th century Malay manuscripts. He draws his data from twelve MSS described in detail by Van Ronkel [1896] and himself [1898]. Of these MSS, nine can be dated with certainty to the period prior to 1612, and six of these are clearly of Acehnese origin¹³, two are probably Acehnese and one appears to originate from Java. The remaining three consist of two from Southeast Sumatra and one from the Celebes, all dated to the late 17th century.

Shellabear puts forward two main ideas concerning early Malay orthography:

- The observable uniformity in the Malay spelling of the early 17th century MSS was due to the existence of a fixed standard at that time. That standard was the Arabic system of orthography, the rules of which provided a structure followed by Jawi copyists all over the Malay world.

¹³ Included are letters A-C and the MS of Hikayat Muhammad Hansfiyyah mentioned in section 3.1.1.
Table 3-4: Arabic Grammatical Features Manifested in the Malay of TM

1. Preference for VSO word order in Malay to reflect Arabic syntactic patterns.

2. Reduced frequency of SV(O) word order.

3. Preference for O-, root and di- verbs (with 3rd person subject). Decrease in the incidence of all other verbal prefixes.

4. Some analogizing of function of Malay prepositions with that of Arabic equivalents.

5. Frequent loan translations caused by the interlinear-like technique of translation.

6. Higher preponderance of number markers in ČAbd al-Raʿūf's Malay than in Court Malay texts as a reflection of the Arabic number system.

7. Clumsy rendering into Malay of Arabic cognate accusative by "dengan" and of accusative of specification by use of phrases with "padahal".

8. Arabic accusative case influenced function of "akan" in ČAbd al-Raʿūf's Malay.

9. Arabic aspects often unnecessarily rendered by aspect words in ČAbd al-Raʿūf's Malay, causing cluttering.
There was a gradual process of change, manifested by an omission of vowel points and a gradual increase in the usage of wāw and yā' in final position, to bring the orthographic representation more in line with the way the language was spoken.

Shellabear's observations concerning early 17th century Malay orthographic rules will provide us with a point of reference in our own study of the orthography of MS A, which we have dated to late 17th-early 18th century Aceh. The manner of Shellabear's analysis does not make it easy to identify what features are representative of which MSS, but the general features which he elaborates are as follows:

1. In the MSS originating from early 17th century Aceh, the vowels wāw and yā' only occur in final position when representing the diphthongs /au/ and /ai/ respectively. In the MSS from other areas, this rule generally applies though a number of exceptions are encountered. These latter MSS do, however, postdate the Acehnese MSS by 60-70 years.

2. Alif rarely occurs in final position in any of the MSS.

3. Alif, wāw and yā' do not occur medially in closed syllables except in Arabic loan words which preserve their original form.

4. Tashdid frequently, though not invariably, occurs in the following environments:

   - Over wāw and yā' whenever the preceding consonant bears the corresponding vowel signs (dammah and kasrah respectively).

   - Over a consonant which followed the pepet.

5. Alif, wāw and yā' occurred in open syllables in the following environments:

   - In root words on a syllable which is accented.
- In derivatives formed by the juxtaposition of two roots, these vowels were only placed in the penultimate syllable;

hulubalang (h.l.b.ā.l.ng.)
apabila (a.p.b.y.l.)

- In derivatives formed by the addition of suffixes, the appropriate vowel is placed in the penultimate syllable.

jadi (j.ā.d.) > jadikan (j.d.y.k.n.)

3.4.2 The Orthographic Data in MS A

It is useful to look at the orthography of MS A to see if it corroborates Shellabear's concept of development in Jawi orthography.

The use of wāw and ya' in final position in MS A to indicate the diphthongs /au/ and /ai/ respectively is identical with the usage observed by Shellabear in the pre-1612 MSS. Thus we encounter the following forms in our MS:

guru = g.w.r  jikalau = j.k.l.w.
bagi = b.k. hai = h.y.
kami = k.m.

There are occasional instances of the use of these letters in final position to indicate a vowel. In other words, consistency seems to be breaking down. Examples are

hari = h.ā.r.y. tuhanku = t.h.n.k.w.

The case of "tuhanku" is all the more remarkable in that the verse in which it occurs, Q20:125, also contains the form ā.k. for "aku", without final wāw. Moreover, we encounter the form m.n.g.ā.y. (menigai Q19:37) in which the diphthong is represented by two long vowels. These are in all likelihood signs of the increasing inconsistency about which Shellabear wrote at length.

The use of alif in final position in our MS corresponds to that in Shellabear, occurring only in Arabic loans such as "dunia" (d.n.y.ā.), and a small number of words of Sanskrit derivation such as "maha" (m.h.ā).

MS A generally provides supporting evidence for the fact observed by
Shellabear in the MSS he examined concerning the scarcity of alif in closed syllables. Hence we find "betul" (b.t.l.) and "minta" (m.n.t.) contrasting with the Arabic loan "Islam" (‘.s.l.ā.m.).

On the issue of the use alif, waw and ya' in open syllables, we find that the evidence in our MS generally corroborates that found in Shellabear's MSS. However we do encounter exceptions. These features could be summarised as follows:

- In root words, any accented syllable takes the vowel, so we find the forms:
  
  segala = s.kā.l.
  dalam = dā.l.m.
  buni = b.w.n.
  diri = d.y.r.

  An exception to this is "maka" (m.k.). Another example which may be an example of a movement towards new norms is the representation of "syafa'at" in 20:109, where it occurs twice, the first time with the form sy.pā'.t. and the second with the form sy.p.‘.t. However, this case may also be due to a copyist's slip.

- In derivatives which are formed by the juxtaposition of two roots, the placement of the long vowel is the same as that described by Shellabear. Thus we find "mudah—mudahan" (m.d.h.m.d.ā.h.n.) (19:48) and "ulang—ulangi" (‘.w.l.gh.’.w.l.ā.gh.) (20:113).

  Another of Shellabear's observations is that use of the vowel signs dammah, fatha and kasrah progressively decreases, and the use of the letters alif, waw and ya' increases in Jawi orthographic developments. His oldest MSS were generously provided with the vowel points fatha, sukūn, dammah, kasrah etc. However these signs are virtually absent in MS A, only occurring infrequently when the sense of a word would be unclear without it. Hence the mim of "kami" only carries a kasrah when confusion with "kamu" would be possible without it.

  On the question of the use of the tashdīd, we note that in the Malay text of MS A, it is not used at all. It seems that its disappearance from Acehnese Malay MSS was a relatively early phenomenon.
In addition to those features dealt with by Shellabear, there are others which he does not refer to which are represented in MS A.

- The representation of 'c' with the letter $\text{jîm}$, 'ng' with ghayn and 'g' with kāf without any distinguishing use of diacritics has also been mentioned by Brakel [1975:30]. It should be noted that there is not total consistency. In "menigai" in 19:37, the kāf is signalled as a 'g' by a dot below the line.

- Similarly, 'p' is represented by the letter $\text{fā}$ without additional marking in our MS. This too is not totally consistent, as there are occasional instances where $\text{fā}$ is signalled by three dots on the $\text{fā}$.

- The prefix 'di-' when placed before roots beginning with a vowel often assimilate this vowel, as in "diambilnya" (d.y.m.b.l.ny.) [cf. Brakel 1975:31].

- We find forms containing an archaic hā which is usually not pronounced in the modern language. Examples are "hatur", "hantar", "huban", "habu" and "tuha" [cf Brakel 1975:33-4].

- The MS contains frequent examples of assimilation of initial voiced stops in homo-organic nasals. This feature has been widely documented by other scholars examining 17th century Malay MSS [Van Ronkel 1896:23-4, Johns 1957:7, Brakel 1975:35]. Thus:

  baca  > memaca/membaca
  beri  > memeri
  binasa > meminasakan
  bunuh > memunuh
  dengar > menengar

- We also encounter numerous miscellaneous archaic words including the following: "ngapa", "terbuni", "syiksa", "dosya", "belumpai", "dulapan", "anugeraha" and "senggeraha".14

---

14 Refer to Appendix E for a more detailed presentation of archaic forms found in MS A.
3.4.3 An Intermediate Orthographic Stage?

The significance of our MS in providing a record of the direction in which Malay orthography was moving is considerable. Shellabear [1901:89] reports Van De Wall's assertion that original Malay spelling was known as "Heja Acheh" (Acehnese Spelling). It may well be that the early 17th century Acehnese texts examined by Shellabear provide a reliable guide to contemporary orthographic norms used throughout the Malay world and that our MS is representative of the spelling of 100 years later, and thus illustrates a general trend.

A comparison of the data contained in the three non-Acehnese MSS which Shellabear dated to the late 17th century with that contained in MS A provides some interesting parallels:

- an increasing use of vowels in final position to render /u/, /i/ and /a/,

- disappearance of the tashdīd,

- non-use of vocalisation,

- alternate orthographic forms occurring within the same text.

It is possible that these MSS manifest the beginnings of a new stage in Malay orthography, a stage where there was a progressive movement towards new norms which allowed for orthographic diversity.

The correspondences with the character of the orthography described by Shellabear suggests that it would be possible on the basis of internal orthographic information alone to date MS A to the seventeenth century. Supplemented by watermark information, this makes it possible to conclude that Jak. MS ML 116 is an authentic indicator of the use of Malay as a written language in the late seventeenth century.
4.1 Surat al-Kahf

75. [1] (Kata) Khidir:
"Tiadakah sudah kukata bagimu bahwasanya engkau tiada kuasa sertaku sabar?) Telah lebihlah bagimu daripada yang dahulu itu, karena tiadalah udhur di sini."

76. (Kata) Musa: '"Jikalau kutanyai engkau daripada sesuatu kemudian) daripada sekali ini, (maka janganlah engkau bersama-sama dengan daku. Telah sudahlah kauperoleh udhur daripada pihakku) pada ceraikan daku tatkala kusalahi akan dikau tiga kali ini." 4

77. (Maka pergi keduanya hingga sekali sampai keduanya kepada orang dusun) yang dinamai akan dia Antakiah, (minta makanan keduanya daripada isi dusun itu) dengan berjamu keduanya, (maka enggan mereka itu daripada berjamu keduanya. Maka didapat keduanya di dalam dusun itu suatu jidār) tingginya seratus hasta (cenderung hendak runtuh, maka didirikan) oleh

---

1 The parentheses contain ʿAbd al-Raʿūr's translation into Malay of the text of the Qurʾān. Unless otherwise indicated, the commentary outside the parentheses within the body of the Qurʾānic verses is a rendering of the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn (henceforth signalled as J). MS folio breaks have been signalled by ii, and MS pages have been numbered thus [25].

2 Interpolation.

3 ibid.

4 "tatkala...kali ini" translated from al-Baydāwī [Fleischer 1846:570] (henceforth signalled as B:570). The original Arabic text is ...lammā khālaftuka thalāth marrāt..."
Khidir (akan dia) dengan tangannya. (Kata) Musa bagi Khidir⁵: ("[Jikalau]⁶ kaukehendaki, niscaya kauambil atasnya upah) pada pihak tiada mau mereka itu berjamu kita serta hajat kita sangat akan makanan."

Fa’idah: Hasil ma⁹na tersebut dalam tafsir Khāzin⁷: "Bahwa tahulah || engkau akan kita lapar, dan isi dusun tiada mau berjamu kita, maka jika ambil kiranya atas amalimu itu upah.⁸"

78. (Kata) Khidir bagi Musa⁹: ("Inilah) waktu (bercerai antaraku dan antaramu. Lagi akan kuceriterakan akan dikau) dahulu daripada bercerai kita (akan yang tiada engkau kuasa atas sabar itu.)

79. ("Adapun kapal itu, maka adalah ia bagi) sepuluh (orang miskin bekerja mereka itu dalam laut) mengambil sewanya. (Maka kukehendaki mengghaibkan dia, dan adalah di hadapan mereka itu raja) kafir (mengambil tiap-tiap kapal) yang baik-baik (dengan merampas).

80. (Dan adapun kanak-kanak) yang kubunuh itu,¹⁰ (adalah ibu-bapanya mu’min keduanya, maka takut aku¹¹ akan bahwa dimasukkannya keduanya itu kepada durhaka dan kufr) sebab kasih keduanya akan dia.

81. ("Maka kami kehendaki bahwa diganti oleh Tuhan keduanya akan

⁵"Khidir" interpolated.

⁶Omitted from MS. Taken from Istanbul printed edition (henceforth signalled as "Istanbul. MS om.").


⁸The last clause appears to be incomplete. This is also the form in Istanbul [Istanbul edition]. This possibly points to a common ancestor of the MS(S) on which the Istanbul printed edition was based and of Jak. MS ML 116.

⁹"Musa" interpolated.

¹⁰Interpolation.

¹¹Arabic is khashīna - we would have expected "takut kami". Note return to use of "kami" in v.81.
keduanya dengan yang lebih baik daripadanya, pada pihak salihnya) dan
takwanya (dan terlebih hampir) daripadanya (pada pihak berbuat bakti)
akan ibu-bapanya.

ladunni [v. 76] dan la-`ttakhadhta [v. 77] dan an yabdilahumâ [v. 81].

Adapun nukran itu, maka Hâfs dan Abû CAmr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia nukran dengan mati kâf-nya, dan Nâfi C membaca
dia dengan dammah kâf-nya.

Dan adapun ma`iyâ itu, maka telah lalu sebutnya.

Dan adapun ladunni itu, maka Hâfs dan Abû CAmr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia ladunni dengan tasydid nun-nya, dan
Nâfi C membaca dia laduni dengan takhfif nun-nya.

Dan adapun la-`ttakhadhta itu, maka Nâfi C dan Hâfs ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia la-`ttakhadhta dengan tasydid tâ' -nya serta fatha khâ' -nya, dan Abû CAmr membaca dia la-takhidhta
dengan takhfif tâ' -nya serta kasrah khâ' -nya.13

Dan adapun an yabdilahumâ itu, maka Nâfi C dan Abû CAmr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia an yabdilahumâ dengan fatha bâ' -nya serta tasydid dâl-nya, dan Hâfs membaca dia dengan mati bâ' -nya serta
takhfif dâl-nya. Wa Allâh â`lam.

82. (Dan adapun jidar itu, maka adalah ia bagi dua orang kanak-kanak yatim14 keduanya dalam madinah dan adalah di bawahnya arta) ditanam
daripada emas dan perak (bagi keduanya. Dan adalah bapa keduanya orang
salih) maka dipeliharakan Allah keduanya || dan arta keduanya dengan
berkat salih bapa keduanya itu. (Maka dikehendaki oleh Tuhanmu sampai

---

12 Syntactic influence from Arabic elative on ter-. Compare with rendering of "lebih baik" earlier in this verse, where ter- is not used. Such inconsistency is not uncommon.

13 MS places "serta kasrah khâ' -nya" between "Nâfi C dan ... Abû CAmr".

14 Abd al-Ra'uf does not specify that they are male orphans.
keduanya itu kepada akil-balig) dengan rashid,\(^1\) (maka dikeluarkan keduanya dengan rahmat daripada Tuhammu. Dan tiada kuperbuat) membesukkan kapal dan memunuh kanak-kanak dan mendirikan jidār itu (dengan ikhtiar diriku) tetapi pekerjaan itu ilham daripada Allah. Bahwa (itulah ta’wil kataku yang tiada engkau kuasa atasnya sabar itu)."

83. (Dan ditanyai) segala Yahudi itu (akan dikau) ya Muhammad\(^1\)\(^6\) (daripada ceritera Zulkarnain) yang bernama raja Iskandar dan tiada ia nabi. (Kata olehmu: "Lagi akan kuceriterakan atas kamu) daripada halnya (dengan satu khabar)."\(^1\)\(^7\)

84. (Bahwasanya telah Kami tetapkan baginya dalam bumi) yaitu kemudahan berjalan dalamnya (dan telah Kami anugerahinya akan dia daripada tiap-tiap) yang berkehendak ia kepadanya (akan jalan) menyampaikan kepada maksudnya.

Fa’idah: Pada menyatakan sebab dinamai raja Iskandar itu "Zulkarnain", adalah Iskandar itu bangsa Rum, raja Farsi dan Rum, dan kata setengah raja masyrik dan maghrib maka sebab itulah dinamai ia Zulkarnain, atau karena ia berkeliling kepada dua kurun dunia, \(^1\)\(^3\) masyriknya dan maghribnya. Dan kata setengah ulama karena habis mati pada segala harinya dua kurun daripada segala manusia. Dan kata setengah lain daripada yang tersebut itu, hasilnya adalah Zulkarnain lakabnya dan namanya raja Iskandar. Wa Allah a’lam.\(^1\)\(^8\)

85. (Maka dijalaninya jalan) kepada pihak maghrib,

86. (hingga apabila sampailah ia kepada tempat masuk matahari, maka didapatinya ia masuk kepada air lumpur) yang hitam lagi hangat. (Dan didapatinya di sisinya kaum) kafir. (Telah Kami kata) dengan ilham:

\(^{15}\)"ya’ni salah" is written in the margin of the MS by a later hand. It does not appear in Istanbul.

\(^{16}\)Interpolation.

\(^{17}\)MS misprint. "Satu khabar" repeated.

\(^{18}\)Taken from B:572.
("Hai Zulkarnain! Adakalanya kausyiksa) kaum itu dengan memunuh mereka itu (atau kauambil pada pihak mereka itu kebajikan) dengan menawan mereka itu.

87. (Kata) Zulkarnain: ("Adapun orang yang aniayai) dengan menyekutukan Allah, (maka lagi akan kami bunuh akan dia, kemudian maka kami tolakkan ia kepada Tuhannya, maka disyiksanya akan dia dengan syiksa yang sangat) dalamnya neraka.

88. ("Dan adapun barangsiapa percaya) akan Allah^ (dan mengerjakan amal salih, maka adalah baginya pahala) dengan beroleh syurga, (dan lagi akan kami suruhkan akan dia dengan barang yang mudah) atasnya."

89. || (Maka berjalan ia) kepada jalan pihak masyrik,

90. (hingga [tatkala] sampai ia kepada tempat terbit matahari, telah didapatinya matahari terbit atas kaum) jenis Zanj (yang tiada Kami jadikan bagi mereka itu daripada hangat matahari sesuatu yang menindingi) daripada pakaian dan atap, karena bumi mereka itu tiada dapat menanggung rumah-rumah dan adalah bagi mereka itu curah-curah tanah jua. Ghaib mereka itu dalamnya tatkala terbit matahari, dan keluar mereka itu daripadanya tatkala tinggi matahari.

91. Bermula pekerjaan itu (seperti) yang telah Kami kata itulah. (Dan sanya telah Kami liputi akan barang) yang pada Zulkarnain daripada segala pegawai dan segala tentara (dengan pengetahuan) Kami.

92. (Kemudian dari itu maka dijalaninya jalan) yang ketiga melintang antara masyrik dan maghrib.
93. (hingga tatkala sampai ia) kepada (antar dua bukit) kesudah-sudahan negeri Turki, (telah didapatinya suatu kaum hampir-hampir tiada paham akan kata) melainkan dengan lambat.

94. (Kata mereka itu: || [4] "Hai Zulkarnain! Bahwasanya Ya'juj dan Ma'juj itu membinasakan mereka itu dalam bumi) tatkala keluar kepada kami. (Maukah engkau kami beri upah) dengan arta (bahwa kaujadikan antara kami dan antara mereka itu suatu dinding) jangan sampai mereka itu kepada kami?"

95. (Kata) Zulkarnain25: ("Barang yang ditamkinkan akan daku dalamnya oleh Tuhanku) daripada arta dan lainnya (terlebih baik) daripada upah kamu yang kamu berikan kepadaku itu, maka tiada hajat bagiku kepandan.26 Dan lagi akan kujadikan bagi kamu dinding dengan karena Allah jua. (Maka tolong oleh kamu akan daku dengan kuat) bagi barang yang kutuntut daripada kamu, (niscaya kujadikan antara kamu dan antara mereka itu dinding) yang teguh.

96. ("Bawa oleh kamu akan daku keping-keping besi") sekira-kira batu dituraikan, maka dihaturkannya besi itu serta dihaturkannya antara sekalian itu kayu api dan arang (hingga tatkala ratalah antara dua bukit itu) dihantarkannya segala hembusnya dan api kelilingnya....


Adapun fa-atba'a itu, maka Nafi c dan Abu c Amr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia dengan tasydid tā'-nya dan || wasl hamzah-nya,

24 A curious interpolation which is not taken from J, B or Kh. Possibly an error by the Malay copyist.

25 Interpolation.

26 Literal rendering of J fa-lā hājah bī ilayhi causing clumsiness.

27 "dihantarkannya" is cAbd al-Ra'uf's interpretation of J wada'a.
dan Hafs membaca dia fa-atba\textsuperscript{C}a dengan mati tā'-nya serta qat\textsuperscript{C} hamzah-nya.

Dan adapun nukran itu, maka telah lalu sebutnya.

Dan adapun jaza'\textsuperscript{C}an al-husnā itu, maka Nāfi\textsuperscript{C} dan Abū \textsuperscript{C}Amr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia jaza'\textsuperscript{U} u al-husnā dengan dammah hamzah-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia jaza'\textsuperscript{C}an al-husnā dengan fatha hamzah-nya serta dengan nun di bawah hamzah.

Dan adapun thumma atba\textsuperscript{C}a sababan pada dua tempat itu, maka telah lalu sebutnya.

Dan adapun al-saddayn itu, maka Abū \textsuperscript{C}Amr dan Hafs ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia al-saddayn dengan fatha sīn-nya, dan Nāfi\textsuperscript{C} membaca dia al-suddayn dengan dammah sīn-nya, dan demikian lagi pada saddan itu.

Dan adapun Ya'\textsuperscript{C}jūj wa Ma'\textsuperscript{C}jūj itu, maka Nāfi\textsuperscript{C} dan Abū \textsuperscript{C}Amr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia dengan alif pada kedua madd, dan Hafs membaca dia Ya'\textsuperscript{C}jūj wa Ma'\textsuperscript{C}jūj dengan hamzah-nya yang mati.

Dan adapun al-sadafayn itu, maka Nāfi\textsuperscript{C} dan Hafs ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia dengan fatha sad-nya, dan Abū \textsuperscript{C}Amr membaca dia dengan dammah sad-nya.\textsuperscript{28} Wa Allāh ʿlam.

...Kata: "Hembus oleh kamu") maka dihembus mereka itu akan dia (hingga tatkala jadilah) besi itu (seperti api, kata) Zulkarnain:\textsuperscript{29} ("Bawa oleh kamu akan daku tembaga yang hancur supaya kutuangkan ia atas besi itu ") Maka dituangkannya atas besi yang hangat itu tembaga yang tersebut itu, maka jadilah ia bersuatu jadi teguh.

97. \( [5] \) (Maka tiadalah kuasa) Ya'\textsuperscript{jūj} dan Ma'\textsuperscript{jūj} itu (menaiki dia) karena tingginya dan licinnya (dan tiada kuasa mereka itu memesukkan baginya) karena kerasnya dan [tebalnya].\textsuperscript{30} Kata setengah: "Tiadalah mereka itu kuasa menguruk kakinya hingga terus kepada air karena

\textsuperscript{28}Refer section 2.4.2.

\textsuperscript{29}Interpolation.

\textsuperscript{30}MS has "tingginya". "Tebalnya" clearly intended to render J sumkihi = thickness. Istanbul also has "tingginya" - further evidence for common ancestor.
98. (Kata) Zulkarnain: ("Bermula kuasa tempat ini suatu ni c mat
daripada Tuhanku) karena ia menegahkan daripada keluar mereka itu, (maka
apabila datang janji Tuhanku) akan keluar mereka itu hampir kiamat,
(niscaya dijadikanNya tempat ini hancur) lagi rata terhampar. (Dan adalah
janji Tuhanku) akan keluar mereka itu dan lainnya (sebenarnya)." Lagi
akan ada ia firman Allah Ta’ala:

99. (Dan telah Kami tinggalkan setengah mereka itu) pada hari keluar
mereka itu (bercampur-campur dengan setengah mereka itu) keluar banyak
mereka itu. (Dan dihembus sangkakala) karena hendak membangkitkan, (maka
Kami himpulkan) segala makhluk pada suatu tempat pada hari kiamat (dengan
suatu perhimpunan).

100. (Dan telah Kami hampirkan neraka jahanam pada hari itu bagi
segala kafir dengan hampir adalah) segala kafir yang tersebut itu.

101. Segala mereka (yang telah ada segala mata mereka itu dalam
tertutup daripada Qur’ân), maka adalah mereka itu hukum buta sebab |
tiada beroleh pertunjuk dengan Qur’ân itu. (Dan adalah mereka itu tiada
kuasa menengar) daripada Nabi salla Allah alayhi wa sallam barang yang
dibicarakannya atas mereka itu, karena benci akan dia, maka tiadalah
mereka itu percaya akan dia.

102. (Maka disangka oleh segala mereka yang kafir itukah mengambil)
segala malaikatKu dan Isa dan ÒUzayr akan tuhan yang lain (daripada Aku
itu) tiada memarahkan Daku dan tiada Kusyiksa mereka itu atas yang
demikian itu? Maka jangan kiranya disangka mereka itu demikian itu.
Hanya Kumukai mereka itu dan Kusyiksa mereka itu dengan sebab yang

---

31 The section "Kata setengahnya...dalamnya" is a condensation of B:574.

32 Interpolation.

33 Istanbul also uses the archaic form "menengar". This shows that the
MS(S) used for this edition were quite old and it also points to
restraint in modernizing the language by the editor.
demikian itu." (Bahwasanya Kami telah Kami senggerahkan api neraka jahanam itu bagi segala kafir) seperti hidangan yang disenggerahkan bagi jamu.

103. (Kata olehmu) ya Muhammad: ("Maukah kamu kuceriterakan akan kamu segala orang yang rugi amalnya?")

104. "Baik segala orang (yang sia-sia amal mereka itu ... padahal disangka mereka itu diberi mereka itu berbaiki) amal yang diberi pahala atasnya."

105. (Mereka itulah segala mereka yang kafir akan segala tanda tauhid (Tuhan mereka itu dan) kafir akan (bertemu dengan Dia, maka batallah segala amal mereka itu, maka tiada Kami jadikan bagi mereka itu) amal mereka itu (bertimbangan pada hari kiamat)."

106. Bermula pekerjaan telah Kusebutkan daripada binasa segala amal mereka itu (balas mereka itu neraka jahanam dengan sebab kafir mereka itu dan) dengan sebab (diambil mereka itu segala ayatKu dan segala pesuruhKu akan senda-senda keduanya mereka itu).

Fu'idad: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga

34"Maka jangan...yang demikian itu" interpolated.

35Clear Arabic syntactic influence from inna a'tadnā.

36Interpolation.

37Clumsiness of this rendering of Q hal nunabbi'ukum.

38Interpolation.

39MS lacuna - no Malay rendering of Q fi al-hayat al-dunya. Istanbul also omits. Further evidence of common ancestor.

40Interpolation.

41ibid.

42Interpolation for fluency of style.

Adapun dakkā' wa kāna itu, maka Nāfi ʿ dan Abū ʿAmr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia dakkā' dengan tanwin kāf serta singkat, dan Ḥafs membaca dia dakkā' dengan hamzah serta lanjut kāf-nya.

Dan adapun min duniya itu, maka Nāfi ʿ dan Abū ʿAmr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia dengan fatha yā'-nya, dan Ḥafs membaca dia dengan mati yā'-nya.

Dan adapun awliyā' a inna itu, maka Qālūn dan Dūrī ittifak keduanya atas mentahkikkan hamzah yang pertama dan mentas-hilkan yang kedua pada ketika wasl, dan Ḥafs mentahkikkan keduanya.

Dan adapun yahsabūna dan huzuwan itu, maka telah lalulah kenyataannya yang seperti keduanya beberapa tempat. Wa Allāh aʿlam.

107. (Bahwasanya segala mereka yang percaya) akan Allah (dan berbuat segala amal yang salih, adalah [bagi] mereka itu) thabit dalam ilmu Allah (syurga) yang bernama (firdaus akan manzilah) mereka itu.

108. (Padahal kekal mereka itu dalamnya. Tiada dituntut mereka itu berpindah daripadanya) kepada syurga yang lain sebab baik.

109. (Kata olehmu) ya Muhammad: ("Jikalau ada) air (laut itu akan air dawat) menyuratkan (segala kalimat) ilmu dan hikmat (Tuhanku, niscaya

43 Interpolation.

44 Istanbul. MS om.

45 Interpolation.

46 ibid.

47 "sebab baik" interpolated.

48 Interpolation.
kering laut itu dahulu daripada habis kalimat) ilmu dan hikmat⁴⁹ (Tuanku. Dan jikalau dibawa⁵⁰ seperti laut (akan tambahnya sekalipun) tiada jua habis yang tersebut itu."

110. (Kata olehmu: "Hanyasanya aku manusia seperti kamu, padahal diwahyukanNya kepada di, hanya Tuhan kamu Tuhan yang Esa. Maka barang siapa harap ia bertemu dengan Tuhannya, maka suruh ia berbuat⁵¹ amal salih dan jangan disekutukan ibadat kepada Tuhannya dengan seorang) yang lainnya."

4.2 Surah Maryam

Calayhā al-salām Ini Surah Maryam atasnya rahmat Allah. Turunnya di Mekkah melainkan ayat sajadahnya, maka yaitu turun di Medina itu melainkan fa khalafa min ba'dihim khalif...dua ayat maka kedua itu turun di Medina.⁵² Dan jumlah ayatnya sembilan puluh dulapan atau sembilan ayat. Maka tersebut dalam Baydāwī

---

⁴⁹ibid.

⁵⁰Note di- form used to translate ji'nah.

⁵¹"Suruh ia berbuat" is a Malay imitation of the optative = "Let him do".

⁵²This rather garbled sentence is a rendering of the introductory comment in J [al-Mahallī & al-Suyūṭī 1965:402] which is as follows:

"Makkīyah aw illā āyah 58 fa Madānīyah, aw illā āyāt 59 wa 60 fa Madānīyatān."

which could be translated into English in the following manner:

"Meccan [in origin] except for verse 58 which is Medinan, or except for verses 59 and 60 which are Medinan."

This passage illustrates the effect of the different numbering systems referred to in the next sentence of the introduction. The reference to this verse as "ayat sajadah" is taken from B:576. There appears to be a lacuna in the Malay text between "khalif" and "dua", as there is no Malay rendering of J aw illā ayāt 59 wa 60.

Bismillāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm
1. (k.h.y.⁵⁴) Allah jua yang terlebih tahu akan yang dikehendakiNya dengan yang demikian itu.
2. Inilah (sebut rahmat Tuhanmu akan hambaNya Zakariyya),
3. (tatkala menyeru ia akan Tuhannya dengan seru) yang mengandung atas do'a yang diseru pada tengah malam.
4. (Telah dikatanya: "Hai Tuanku! Bahwasanya aku, telah da'iflah) sekalian (tulangku dan telah cemeringlah huban kepala)ku, (dan tiada aku minta do'a kepadaMu, ya Tuanku), dengan do'a yang jahat⁵⁴ pada yang telah lalu.
5. "(Dan bahwasanya takut aku akan segala yang mengwalikan daku) kemudian daripada matiku (di belakangku) atas agama, bahwa disia-siakan mereka itu akan dia, seperti yang telah kulihat Bani Isa'il menukar inkar agama. || (Dan adalah isteriku malai) tiada beranak, (maka anugerahai olehMu bagiku daripadaMu anak),
6. ("yang mengwarithi aku dan mengwarithi ali Ya'kub) pada ilmu dan nubuwat. (Dan jadikan olehMu akan dia, hai Tuanku, akan keridaan) daripadamu."
7. Firman Allah Ta'āla pada berkenankan pintanya itu: (Hai Zakariyya! Bahwasanya Kami ceriterakan dikau anak) yang mengwarithi

⁵³Fleischer 1846:590.

⁵⁴Interesting translation of J:269 khā'īban, which states "...I have never been disappointed in prayer to You...". ⁵⁴Abd al-Ra'ūf has translated khā'īban with "jahat" to mean "praying to you in such a way that the response has not been good for me"."
seperti pintamu itu (namanya Yahya, yang belumpai Kami namakan bagainya
dahulu-dahulu kala) yang dinamai Yahya.

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga
pada membaca rahmat [v.2] dan zakariyā'-dh nādā [vs. 2-3] dan
waliyan yarithuni wa yarithu [vs. 5-6] dan zakariyā' inna [v.7].

Adapun rahmat itu, maka Qālūn dan Ḥafṣ ittifak keduanya atas
mengwakafkan dia dengan tā' yang panjang, dan Dūrī dengan tā'
yang bentar.

Dan adapun zakariyā'-dh nādā itu, maka Qālūn dan Dūrī ittifak
keduanya atas mentahkikkan hamzah yang pertama dan mentas-hilkan
yang kedua pada ketika wasl, dan Ḥafṣ menghadhafkan hamzah yang
kedua pada ketika wasl dan wakaf.

Dan adapun yarithuni dan55 yarithu itu, maka Nāfī6 dan Ḥafṣ
ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia dengan dammah thā'-nya pada
deduanya, dan Abū ʿAmr membaca dia dengan mati thā' pada
deduanya.56

Dan adapun zakariyā' inna itu, maka Qālūn dan Dūrī ittifak
keduanya atas mentahkikkan hamzah yang pertama serta menukarkan
yang kedua dengan wāw yang kasrah pada ketika | | [8] wasl, dan
Ḥafṣ menghadhafkan hamzah yang pertama serta mentahkikkan yang
kedua. Wa Allāh aʿlam.

8. (Kata) Zakariyya: ("Hai Tuhanku! Betapa ada bagiku anak,
padahal adalah isteriku malai), tiada beranak;57 (dan) sanya58 (telah

55Evident copyist error. Wa intended.
56Refer section 2.4.2.
57Interpolation.
58ibid.
sampilah tuhanya kepada kesudah-sudahan tuha), yang putus harap daripada beranaknya?  

9. (Firman Allah): Bermula pekerjaan itu (demikianlah), menjadikan kanak-kanak daripada kamu kedua, lagi (kata Tuhammu: yaitu atasku mudah dan sanya telah Kujadikan engkau dahulunya padahal belumpai engkau ada), dahulu daripada jadimu (suatu syay').

**Fa'idah:** r.ā.d.r.' 62 Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca  


Adapun itiyan itu, maka Nāfi′ dan Abū CAmr membaca dia dengan dammah na'n-yā, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan kasrah na'n-yā.

Dan [adapun]63 rabbi iqal lā itu, maka Nāfi′ dan Abū CAmr membaca dia liya dengan fatha ya′-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan mati ya′-nya serta lanjut. Wa'llahu Ta'ālā aClam.

10. (Kata) Zakariyya65: ("Hai Tuhanku! Jadikan olehMu bagiku suatu tanda) yang menunjukkan atas bunting isteriku. (Firman Allah: Tandamu)

---

59Qur'anic verb is balaghtu="I have attained", i.e. Zakariyya is talking about himself. Abd al-Ra'uf translates b.l.g.h.t. as balaghat="She has attained". Also occurs in Istanbul. Perhaps a relic of an early variant reading from the Companion Codices or later qirā'ah which was still known at the time that Abd al-Ra'uf studied in Arabia but which has since lost importance or disappeared.

60Kh:III,216 ay ya'sā yurūd bi-dhālik.

61Istanbul "belum sampai".

62This illegible word does not occur in the repetition of this fa'idah after verse 10 below.

63Taken from repetition of this fa'idah below.

64MS ā.1.y.

65Interpolation.
atasnya (bahwa enggan engkau berkata-kata dengan manusia) lain daripada dhikir Allah || (tiga hari padahal engkau sahih) lagi sejahtera dengan tiada sakit dan tiada kelu.68

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca citeyan [v. 8] dan rabbi ij al lî [v. 10] yang telah lalu itu, adapun citeyan itu, maka Nâfi và Abû Āmr membaca dia dengan dammah cayn-nya dan Hafs membaca dia dengan kasrah cayn-nya. Adapun rabbi ij al lî itu, maka Nâfi và Abû Āmr membaca dia liya dengan fatha ya'-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan mati ya'-nya serta lanjut Wa Allah a'lam.69

11.(Maka keluar) Zakariyya (atas kaumnya daripada masjid) padahal adalah mereka itu menuntut dibukanya pintu masjid hendak sembahyang dalamnya dengan suruhnya atas adatnya, (maka diisyaratkannya kepada mereka itu: "Bahwa sembahyanglah kamu pagi dan petang) atas seperti adat." Maka diketahuinyalah dengan enggannya daripada berkata-kata dengan mereka itu akan bunting isterinya.

Maka kemudian daripada jadi Yahya kira-kira dua tahun, firman Allah Ta'âla:

66Rendered from J tamtaniC (form VIII) = 1. refuse; 2. be prevented. The Arabic sense as intended by J in this context is "be prevented", but Abd al-Ra'ûf appears to have misunderstood it as meaning "refuse", hence his rendering of "enggan".

67Abd al-Ra'ûf follows J "three days".

68"Dan tiada kelu" possibly taken from B:577 mā bi-ka min kharas wa lā bakam.

69The reoccurrence of this fa'idah at this point of the MS despite its having already been included after verse 9 above possibly indicates a change of decision on the part of the copyist, who may have initially decided to insert this fa'idah after verse 9. Having done so, he realised that the discussion of one of the variant readings, namely rabbi ij al lî, applied to verse 10 which had not yet appeared, so he rectified the error by repeating the fa'idah after this verse.

70Interpolation.
12. (Hai Yahya! Ambil olehmu Taurat dengan bersungguh-sungguh! Dan telah Kami anugerahai akan dia nubuwwat) padahal ia \(^{71}\) tiga tahun umur.\(^{72}\)

13. (Dan) lagi ia (rahmat) bagi segala manusia. Adalah yang demikian itu \(^{73}\) (daripada Kami dan) lagi (sedekah) atas mereka itu. (Dan adalah ia takut) akan Allah.

14. (Dan lagi berbuat bakti akan ibu bapanya, dan tiada ada membesarkan diri, lagi tiada ma\(^{0}\)siat) akan Tuhan mereka.

15. (Dan sejahtera) daripada Kami (atasnya pada hari ia diperanakkkan dan pada hari matinya dan pada hari dibangkitkan padahalnya hidup).

16. (Dan sebut olehmu dalam Qur'ân khabar Maryam, tatkala bakti akan ibu bapanya, dan tiada ada membesarkan diri, lagi tiada ma\(^{0}\)siat) akan Tuhan mereka.

17. (Maka dibubuhkannya suatu tirai antaranya dan antara mereka

\(^{71}\)Illegible word at this point of MS. Istanbul ed. has "baru".

\(^{72}\)Istanbul "umurnya".

\(^{73}\)"Adalah yang demikian itu" interpolated.

\(^{74}\)Istanbul "katakan".

\(^{75}\)Regular opposition of MS "dalam"/Istanbul "di dalam".

\(^{76}\)Probable copyist's error. Istanbul "mengasingkan" here. Cf. verse 22 which has "mengasingkan diri".

\(^{77}\)MS repeats "arah" at this point. Copyist's error.

\(^{78}\)"Karena...haid" taken from J verse 17.

\(^{79}\)Istanbul. MS illegible.
146


tu. 80  Maka Kami suruhkan kepadanya) Jibril 81; (maka menyerupakan) dirinya Jibril itu (bagi Maryam) kemudian daripada ia memakai segala kainnya (seperti manusia yang sempurna kejadiannya).

18. (Kata) Maryam 83: ("Bahwasanya aku berlindung kepada Tuhan yang bernama Rahman daripadamu; jika engkau takut) maka nyahlah engkau daripadaku dengan sebab berlindungku itu."

19. (Kata) Jibril 84: ("Hanyasanya aku pesuruh Tuhanmu supaya kuberi akan dikau anak yang suci) dengan beroleh nubuwat."

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari tiga pada membaca inni a'udhu bi'1-rahmān [v. 18] dan li-yahaba 85 [v. 19].

Maka adapun inni itu, maka Nāfi' 86 dan Abū 87 Amr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia inniyya dengan fatihah ya'-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan mati ya'-nya serta lanjut.

Dan adapun li-yahaba itu, maka Nāfi', dan Hafs ittifak atas membaca dia li-ahaba dengan hamzah, dan Abū Amr membaca dia li-yahaba dengan ya', maka adalah ma'nya tatkala itu "supaya diberi bagimu". 86 Wa Allāh a'llam.

20. (Kata) Maryam 87: ("Betapa ada bagiku anak, padahal tiada ada menyentuh daku manusia) dengan kahwin (dan tiada aku berbuat zina).

80 Note occurrence of this loan translation although Arabic structure on which it is based, bayna...wa bayna, is not used in J in this instance.  

81 Istanbul ed. writes this prophet's name as Jibra'Il.  

82 MS has j.b.r. "Jibril" clearly intended.  

83 Interpolation.  

84 ibid  

85 Istanbul li-ahaba.  

86 Refer section 2.4.2.  

87 Interpolation.
21. (Kata) Jibril\textsuperscript{88}: "Pekerjaan itu (demikianlah) menjadikan kanak-kanak daripadamu dengan tiada bapa (firman Tuhanmu yaitu atassku mudah.). (Dan) Kami perbuat yang demikian itu\textsuperscript{89} (supaya Kami jadikan ia akan tanda bagi segala manusia) atas kudrat Kami (dan rahmat daripada Kami) bagi barang siapa percaya akan dia, (dan adalah) mengadakan dia itu (pekerjaan yang disempurnakan) akan dia.

22. (Maka dibuntingkan) Maryam itulah\textsuperscript{90} (kanak-kanak itu, maka mengasingkan diri dengan dia pada suatu tempat yang jauh) daripada ahlinya.

23. (Maka didatangkan akan dia oleh sakit beranak kepada batang khurma) supaya bertelekan\textsuperscript{91} ia atasnya. Maka diperanakannya anak itu, dan adalah bunting dan merupakan dan beranak itu pada [satu]\textsuperscript{92} saat jua.\textsuperscript{93} (Kata) Maryam\textsuperscript{94}: ("Hai barang mati kiranya aku dahuli daripada pekerjaan (ini, dan adalah aku suatu syay' yang ditinggalkan, lagi tiada dikenal) dan tiada disebut."

24. Maka (menyeru dia) Jibril, adalah ia (terkebawah\textsuperscript{95} daripadanya:

\textsuperscript{88}ibid

\textsuperscript{89}Taken from B:578 wa naf\textsuperscript{c}alnu dh\textsuperscript{b}lik li-naj\textsuperscript{c}alahu.

\textsuperscript{90}Interpolation.

\textsuperscript{91}Istanbul ed. has t.r.b.t.k.n. B:579 has wa ta\textsuperscript{c}tamidu \textsuperscript{c}alayhi \textsuperscript{c}ind\textsuperscript{c} al-wil\textsuperscript{d}ah which resembles this comment taken from J. These passages suggest that leaning against something such as a tree was the normal position for childbearing in those days.

\textsuperscript{92}Istanbul. MS om.

\textsuperscript{93}By simply translating J, \textsuperscript{c}Abd al-Ra'\textsuperscript{u}f neglects to mention the controversy surrounding the period of Mary's pregnancy. Refer to the various accounts in Kh and B.

\textsuperscript{94}Interpolation.

\textsuperscript{95}"Ter-" is the device regularly used by \textsuperscript{c}Abd al-Ra'\textsuperscript{u}f to render the relative, in this case asfal occurring in J and B.
"Bahwa jangan engkau berduka. Sanya telah dijadikan oleh Tuhanmu di bawahmu air sungai.

25. ("Dan gerak pihak olehmu kepada [pada] batang pohon khurma itu, niscaya berguguran atasamu rutab yang sudah terputus.)


Adapun mittu itu, maka Naфи dan Hafṣ membaca dia mitti dengan kasrah mim-nya, dan Abû ʿAmr membaca dia dengan dammah mim-nya.

Dan adapun nasyan itu, maka Naфи dan Abû ʿAmr membaca dia nisyan dengan kasrah nun-nya, dan Hafṣ membaca dia nasyan dengan fatah nun-nya.

Dan adapun min tahtihâ itu, maka Naфи dan Hafṣ membaca dia min tahtihâ dengan kasrah min harf jarr lagi kasrah tâ' yang kedua, || dan Abû ʿAmr membaca dia man tahtahâ dengan fatah mim-nya ism mawsul, maka sebab itulah fatah tâ'-nya. Maka adalah ma'nanya tatkala kasrah min itu "deripada pihak bawahnya".

Dan adapun tusaqit itu, maka Naфи dan Abû ʿAmr membaca dia tusaqat dengan tasdid sin-nya serta fatah tâ'-nya dan qāf-nya, dan Hafṣ membaca dia tusaqit dengan dammah tâ'-nya serta takhfif sin-nya dan kasrah qāf-nya. 99 Wа Allâh ʿâlam. 99

26. ("Maka makan olehmu) daripada rutab [itu] (dan minum olehmu) daripada air sungai itu (dan jernihkan matamu) dengan beroleh anak itu,

96 Istanbul has "gerak-gerak". Reduplication often occurs in this edition where the MS has only the single form.

97 Istanbul. MS om. Needed to render Quranic bi-judhî.

98 The MS text originally omitted "dan kasrah qāf-nya", but the copyist subsequently added it in the margin upon realising his error. The addition is in the same hand as the main text.

99 Stylistic change in this fa'idah. "Ittifak keduanya" is not used, as in most others.

100 Istanbul. MS om.
ya
\ni sukakan hatimu. (Maka jika kaulihat seorang daripada manusia) bertanya kepada daripada khabar anakmu itu, (maka kata olehmu: 'Bahwasanya aku telah bernadhar\(^{101}\) dengan menahani diri daripada berkata\(^{102}\) pada pekerjaan anak ini dan lainnya, (maka tiada aku berkata dengan manusia) kemudian daripada nadhar itu.'\(^{103}\)

27. (Maka dibawa) Maryam\(^{104}\) (akan anaknya itu kepada kaumnya padahal ditanggungnya. Kata mereka itu: "Hai Maryam! Sanya telah kautanggunglah suatu pekerjaan yang besar\(^{105}\) daripada pihak kaudatangkan\(^{106}\) anak dengan tiada bapanya.

28. ("Hai saudara Harun! \|^{11}\) Tiada bapamu daripada manusia yang zina, dan tiada ada ibumu pun yang berbuat zina!) Maka dari mana kauperoleh anak ini?"

29. (Maka diisyaratkan) Maryam\(^{107}\) bagi mereka itu (kepada kanak-kanak itu) berkata: "Katakanlah kamu dengan dia."\(^{108}\) (Kata mereka itu: "Betapa kami berkata dengan yang didapat dalam ayunan padahalnya kanak-kanak?)

30. (Kata) kanak-kanak itu:\(^{109}\) ("Bahwasanya aku hamba Allah. Telah dianugerahiNya akan daku Kitab) Injil (dan telah dijadikanNya aku nabi.)

31. ("Dan dijadikanNya aku manfaqat) bagi segala manusia (barang di

---

\(^{101}\)Lacuna. No rendering for Q lil-Rahmān.

\(^{102}\)Istanbul "berkata-kata".

\(^{103}\)Interpolation.

\(^{104}\)Arabic text is shay'an fariyyā = an unheard of event.

\(^{105}\)Istanbul "kaudapatkan ditanggungnya".

\(^{106}\)"Maryam" interpolated.

\(^{107}\)This is a gloss, not a direct translation of J comment.

\(^{108}\)Interpolation.
mana ada aku, dan telah dipesaninya akan daku dengan sembahyang dan) mengeluarkan (zakat selama hidupku,)  
32. ("dan lagi berbuat bakti akan [indungku].\textsuperscript{109} Dan tiada dijadikanNya akan daku membesarkan diri lagi ma°siat) akan Tuhanku.\textsuperscript{110}
33. ("Dan sejahtera) daripada Allah (atasku pada hari diperanakkan akan daku dan hari dimatikan akan daku dan hari dibangkitkan aku padahal\textsuperscript{111} hidupku.")
34. Firman Allah\textsuperscript{112}: || (Bermula) kata [yang]\textsuperscript{113} mengatakan (Isa anak Maryam; (Itulah kata yang sebenarnya, yang syak dalamnya) segala Nasara.
35. (Tiada ada bagi Allah mengambil anak. Maha Suci Ia) daripada yang demikian itu. (Apabila dikehendakiNya mengadakan sesuatu, maka hanyasanya dikata bagiNya: "Ada engkau", maka ada sesuatu itu.) [Maka setengah]\textsuperscript{114} daripada yang demikian itu menjadikan Isa dengan tiada bapa.

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca \textit{wa ja}c{\textsuperscript{3}}\textit{a}lani nab\textsuperscript{3}yan [v. 30] dan qawla al-haqqi [v. 34] yang telah lalu itu.
Maka adapun nab\textsuperscript{3}yan itu, maka telah lalulah kenyataannya.

\textsuperscript{109}Istanbul. MS 'n.d.n.m.k.w. The sense of "indung" has narrowed, as in modern Malay/Indonesian it primarily refers to animals. Its use in early Acehnese Malay has been documented by Lombard [1970:98 \& 99]. It may have been interchangeable with "mak" [Lombard 1970:97 \& 100].

\textsuperscript{110}\textsuperscript{110}Abd al-Ra'\textsuperscript{a}uf may have corrected an error in the text of J. In the two printed editions of J used in this current study, the text reads \textit{asiyan li-rabbihi}. The pronoun suffix should be first person singular, thus reading \textit{li-rabbi}. It is this latter sense which is reflected in Abd al-Ra'\textsuperscript{a}uf's "akan Tuhanku". Alternatively, the text of J which he was using may have used a first person singular pronominal suffix.

\textsuperscript{111}"Aku padahal" may be a copyist's error. Istanbul has "akan daku pada", which is more likely.

\textsuperscript{112}Interpolation.

\textsuperscript{113}Istanbul. MS om.

\textsuperscript{114}Istanbul. MS illegible.
Dan adapun qawla al-haqqi itu, maka Nāfiʿ dan Abū ʿAmr membaca dia qawlu dengan dammah lām-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia qawla dengan fatha lām-nya. Wa Allāh aʿlam.

36. (Dan) sebut olehmu: (Bahwasanya Allah itu Tuhanku dan Tuhan kamu, maka sembah oleh kamu akan Dia.) Yang tersebut (inilah jalan yang betul) membawa kepada syurga.

37. (Maka bersalah-salahakan segala kaum) daripada antara segala Nasara pada mengatakan Isa ialah anak Allah, atau Tuhan serta Nya, atau menigai yang tiga. (Maka syiksa yang amat sangat bagi segala mereka yang kafir itu pada hari hadir mereka itu dalam hari kiamat dan huru-haranya.)

38. Ajaib akan (terlebih menengar mereka itu) dan akan (lebih melihat) mereka itu [12] (pada hari datang mereka itu kepada Kami) di akhirat. (Tetapi adalah segala yang zalim pada hari) dunia ini (dalam sesat yang nyata.)

39. (Dan pertakuti olehmu) segala kafir Mekkah itu, ya Muhammad, (akan hari yang menyesal) dalamnya orang yang berbuat jahat atas meninggalkan berbuat baik dalam dunia (tatkala disempurnakan pekerjaan) bagi mereka itu dalamnya dengan syiksa, (padahal mereka itu) [dalam dunia] (lalai) daripadanya (dan adalah mereka itu tiada percaya) akan dia.

115Interpolation.

116Note that this exegetical insertion changes the construction of the Malay sentence.

117Note me- form used to render Arabic verbal noun.

118Istanbul "terlebih".

119An illegible word appears at this point of the MS. The form is possibly b.n.y.a.w.y.

120Istanbul. MS illegible.
40. Dan (bahwasanya Kami warithi akan bumi dan barang yang atasnya) daripada segala yang berakal dan lainnya dengan meminasakan mereka itu, (dan kepada Kami jua kembali mereka itu) dalamnya karena balas.

41. (Dan sebut olehmu) bagi mereka itu akan khabar (Ibrahim dalam Kitab. Bahwasanya ia adalah sangat benar lagi nabi.)

42. (Tatkala dikatanya bagi bapanya) Azar\(^{122}\): ("Hai bapaku! Karena apa kausembah akan yang tiada menengar dan tiada melihat dan tiada memadakan akan dikau sesuatu) daripada manfaat dan mudarat?

43. ("Hai bapaku! Bahwasanya aku telah datang kepada\(^{123}\) daripada ilmu yang belumpai datang kepadaamu, maka ikut olehmu akan daku), niscaya (kutunjuki akan dikau jalan yang betul).

44. ("Hai bapaku! Jangan kausembah akan syaitan. Bahwasanya syaitan itu adalah ia bagi Tuhan yang bernama Rahman itu banyak durhakanya).

45. (Hai bapaku! Bahwasanya aku takut akan bahwa engkau kena syiksa Tuhan yang bernama Rahman) jika tiada engkau taubat, (maka adalah engkau bagi Syaitan menolong) lagi taulan dalam neraka."


Adapun wa inna Allāh itu, maka Nāfī\(^{124}\) dan Abū ʿAmr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia [dengan fatha hamzah-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia\(^{124}\) dengan kasrah hamzah-nya.

Dan adapun nabīyan itu, maka telah lalulah kenyatanya.

Dan adapun innī itu, maka Nāfī\(^{124}\) dan Abū ʿAmr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia inniyya dengan fatha yā'-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan mati yā'-nya serta dengan lanjut. Wa Allāh aʿlam.

\(^{121}\)Interpolation.

\(^{122}\)Istanbul omits "bapanya".

\(^{123}\)Clear syntactic influence from Q innī qad jaʿanī.

\(^{124}\)Istanbul. MS om.

47. (Kata) Ibrahim: 127 ("Sejahtera atasmu) daripada aku, (lagi akan minta ampun aku bagimu kepada Tuhanku. Bahwasanya Ia adalah berbaik akan daku).

48. ("Dan kuasingkan diriku daripada kamu dan daripada yang kamu sembah yang lain daripada Allah, dan kusembah akan Tuhanku. Mudah-mudahan tiada aku celaka) 128 seperti celakamu dengan sebab menyembah lain Tuhanku itu.") 129

49. (Maka tatkala 130 mengasingkan diri) Ibrahim 131 (daripada mereka itu dan daripada yang disemih oleh mereka itu yang lain daripada Allah, telah Kami anugerahi baginya) dua orang anak yang berjinak-jinakan ia dengan keduanya, yaitu (Ishak dan Ya’kub. Dan tiap-tiap) daripada keduanya (Kami jadikan akan nabi).

50. (Dan telah Kami anugerahkan bagi) yang tiga itu arta dan anak (daripada pihak rahmat Kami, dan Kami jadikan bagi mereka itu kata yang benar padahal mereka itu tinggi martabat.)

125Interpolation.

126=Arabic jussive.

127Interpolation.

128Lacuna. No Malay rendering of Q bi-du’āʾi rabbi.

129"Lain" is added above the line of writing and appears to be a later addition by another hand. It is needed to accurately render J al-asnām (idols).

130Word at this point of MS illegible due to ink smudging.

131Interpolation.
51. (Dan sebut olehmu dalam Kitab akan Musa. Bahwasanya ia | orang ikhlas) pada ibadatnya, (dan adalah ia rasul lagi nabi).

52. (Dan telah Kami seru Musa) dengan kata Kami: "Hai Musa! Bahwa[nya] 132 Akulah Allah." Adalah seru itu 133 (daripada limbung Bukit Tur yang kanan, dan telah Kami hampirkan akan dia dengan munajat.)

53. (Dan telah Kami anugerahai baginya daripada ni3mat Kami saudaranya Harun akan nabi).

54. (Dan sebut olehmu dalam Kitab akan) nabi 134 (Ismail. Bahwasanya adalah ia benar pada janjinya dan adalah ia rasul lagi nabi).

55. (Dan adalah ia menyeruh kaumnya dengan sembahyang dan) mengeluarkan 135 (zakat, dan adalah ia pada Tuhannya dikeridai).

56. (Dan sebut olehmu dalam Kitab) nabi 136 (Idris. 137 Bahwasanya ia adalah sangat benarnya lagi nabi).

57. (Telah Kami angkatkan ia pada tempat yang tinggi) padahalnya hidup.

Kisah: Adalah ia pada langit yang keempat atau yang keenam atau yang ketujuh atau dalam syurga. Dimasukkan akan dia kemudian daripada merasai mati dan dihidupkan padahal tiadalah ia keluar daripadanya. 138

58. 14 (Mereka itulah segala mereka yang telah diberi Allah

132Istanbul. MS om.

133"Adalah seru itu" interpolated.

134Interpolation.

135ibid.

136ibid.

137J identifies Idris as the great-grandfather of Noah. Abd al-Ra'uf does not see fit to include this.

138Literal translation from J:408.
mat atas mereka itu; daripada segala nabi daripada anak cucu Adam) yacni Idris, (dan daripada yang telah Kami tanggungkan serta Nuh, dan daripada segala anak cucu Ibrahim dan Isra'il) yaitu Yacub, (dan daripada segala yang telah Kami tunjuki dan Kami pilih akan dia.)


Adapun rabbi innahu itu, maka Nafi dan Abu CAmr ittifak membaca dia dengan fatha ya'-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan mati ya'-nya serta lanjut.

Dan adapun mukhlasan itu, maka Nafi dan Abu CAmr ittifak membaca dia mukhlisan dengan kasrah lam-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan fatha lam-nya. Adalah ma'nanya tatkala fatha "orang yang dijadikan ikhlas".

Abd al-Ra'uf condenses the genealogy given in J:408, which is as follows:

(uwlā'ika)...(al-ladhīna an'amā Allah alayhim)...(min al-nabīyīn)...(min dhurriyat Adam) ay Idrīs (wa mimman hamalnā ma'a Nūh) fī safīnah, ay Ibrāhīm b. ibnihi Sām (wa min dhurriyat Ibrāhīm) ay Isma'īl wa Ishaq wa Ya'Cūb (wa) min dhurriyat (Isrā'īl) wa huwa Ya'Cūb ay Mūsā wa Harūn wa Zakariyā wa Yahyā wa cİsā...

There appears to have been some uncertainty on the part of the copyist as to where to place the fa'idah. The MS goes on to include "Apabila dibacakan atas mereka itu segala ayat Tuhan yang bernama Rahman, telah pingsan mereka itu dengan sujud", at which latter point the copyist realised that this section was misplaced. He then included the fa'idah in full, and then picked up again from "Apabila...". The Istanbul confirms that the section beginning "Apabila..." must come after the fa'idah.

The MS copyist evidently jumped a line. At this point he goes onto the next reading and includes "Dan adapun nabīyan dan nabīyīn pada segala yang telah lalu itu" before he realises his error. He then breaks off and picks up from "Adalah ma'nanya..."
Dan adapun nabiyan dan al-nabiyn pada\textsuperscript{141} segala tempat yang telah lalu itu, maka telah lalulah kenyataannya. Wa Allah a\textsuperscript{clam}.

(Apabila dibacakan atas mereka itu segala ayat Tuhan yang bernama Rahman, telah pingsan mereka itu dengan sujud dan dengan tangis), maka kamu jadikan diri kamu seperti mereka itu.

59. (Maka menggantikan kemudian daripada mereka itu beberapa ganti, telah disia-siakan mereka itu sembahyang) dengan meninggalkan dia seperti Yahudi dan Nasara, (dan diperikut mereka itu segala keinginan nafsu) daripada segala m\textsuperscript{2}siat, (maka lagi akan dibuangkan akan mereka itu ke dalam serokan\textsuperscript{142}) daripada api neraka,

60. (tetapi barangsiapa telah bertaubat ia dan percaya [ia]\textsuperscript{143} dan berbuat amal salih ia, maka mereka itulah yang dimasukkan ke dalam syurga, [dan]\textsuperscript{144} Tiada dikurangkan akan mereka itu\textsuperscript{145} dengan sesuatu jua pun) daripada pahala mereka itu,

61. syurga yang tersebut itu, (segala syurga tempat tetap yang telah dijanjikan oleh Tuhan yang bernama Rahman akan segala hambaNya) padahal mereka itu (gha'ib) daripadanya. (Bahwasanya) Tuhan yang bernama Rahman itu\textsuperscript{146} (adalah yang dijanjakannya itu lagi [15] akan datang).

62. (Tiada didengar mereka itu dalam syurga itu) kata (sia-sia, melainkan "Salam") daripada segala malaikat atas mereka itu atau daripada

\textsuperscript{141}The copyist has deleted "pada" here. I have extracted it from the misplaced entry referred to in the previous note.

\textsuperscript{142}Rendered from J wadin f\textsuperscript{I} jahannam.

\textsuperscript{143}Istanbul. MS om.

\textsuperscript{144}Arabic text of Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n has wa at this point. It is not translated into Malay in MS or Istanbul but is needed for sense. Further evidence of common ancestor.

\textsuperscript{145}Taken from J yunqas\textsuperscript{u}na.

\textsuperscript{146}Taken from inna All\textsuperscript{a}h in B:584.
setengah mereka itu atas setengah mereka itu. \(^{147}\) (Dan adalah bagi mereka itu rezeki mereka itu pada pagi dan petang) ya\(^{\text{c}}\)ni atas sekira-kira \([\text{keduanya}]^{148}\) di dalam dunia.

63. (Syurga itulah yang Kami anugerahkan) dan Kami pusyakakan \(^{149}\) (akan segala hamba Kami, barangsiapa ada ia takut akan Tuhannya) dengan berbuat ta\(^{\text{c}}\)at kepadaNya.

Kisah: Tatkala lambat datang wahyu beberapa hari, maka sabda Nabi bagi Jibra'îl: "Apa menegah dikau mengunjungi kami terbanyak daripada engkau mengunjungi kami dahulu itu." Maka turun firman Allah, menghikayatkan kata Jibrîl:\(^{150}\)

64. (Dan tiada Kami turun melainkan dengan suruh Tuhanmu. BagiNya jua yang di hadapan kami) daripada segala pekerjaan akhirat (dan yang di belakang Kami) daripada segala pekerjaan dunia, (dan barang yang ada ia daripada waktu ini) datang kepada hari kiamat, ya\(^{\text{c}}\)ni bagiNya jua pengetahuan yang demikian itu. (Dan tiada ada Tuhanmu itu lupa) akan dikau,

65. || yaitu (Tuhan) mempunyai (tujuh petala langit dan bumi dan barang yang antara keduanya. Maka sembah olehmu akan Dia dan sabarlah engkau atas berbuat ibadat akan Dia. Adakah kauketahui yang dinamai baginya dengan nama yang demikian itu)? Tiada ada!

\(^{147}\)This explanatory section is taken straight from J, which in turn drew on B\(^{584}\), which has \(...\text{aw taslima al-mala'ikh} \text{ alayhim aw taslima ba'dihim} \text{ ala ba'd}...\)

\(^{148}\)Istanbul. MS "dan".

\(^{149}\)\text{nanzilu}.

\(^{150}\)"Tatkala .... mengunjungi kami?" may be drawn from J:409. The remainder of the comment appears to be taken from Asbâb al-nuzûl [al-Wâhîdî:226-7]. The Arabic text of the latter is as follows:

\begin{quote}
qâla rasûl Allâh sallâ Allâh o_alayhi wa sallam: "yâ Jibrîl. Mâ yanna\(^{\text{c}}\)uka an tazûrâna akthara mimmâ tazûrânâ...qawluhu Ta'\text{a}lîa..."
\end{quote}

Note the occurrence of both forms "Jibra'îl" and "Jibrîl" in this anecdote. MS A demonstrates a clear preference for "Jibrîl".
66. (Dan dikata oleh manusia) yang ingkar akan ba′ath itu: ("Adakah apabila mati aku, lagi akan dikeluarkan aku hidup) dari dalam kubur seperti yang telah dikata Muhammad itu? Tiada ada demikian itu."

Ditolakkan Allah katanya dengan firmanNya:

67. (Atau tiadakah ingat manusia itu bahwasanya telah Kami jadikan ia dahulunya padahal tiada ia suatu syay')? Maka hendaklah kiranya ia mengambil ibarat dengan permulaannya atas mengembalikan.

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca yadkhulūna'l-jannata [v. 60] dan aidhā mā mittu [v. 66] [dan]151 a wa lā yadhkuru [v. 67] yang telah lalu itu.

Adapun yadkhulūna itu, maka Nāfī' dan Ḥafs ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia yadkhulūna dengan fatha yā'-nya serta dammah khā'-nya, dan Abū ḌAmr membaca dia dengan dammah yā'-nya serta fatha khā'-nya.

Dan adapun a idhā itu, maka Qālūn dan Dūrī ittifak keduanya atas menafakkan hamzah yang pertama dan menas-hilkan yang kedua menafakkan ketika wasl, dan Ḥafs membaca dia || [16] dengan pendek dan takhfif.

Dan adapun mā mittu itu, maka Nāfī' dan Ḥafs membaca dia dengan kasrah mīm-nya, dan Abū ḌAmr membaca dia dengan dammah mīm-nya.

Dan adapun a wa lā yadhkuru itu, maka Nāfī' dan Ḥafs membaca dia yadhkuru dengan takhfif, dan Abū ḌAmr membaca dia yadhakkaru dengan tasydid dāl dan kāf.152 Wa Allāh a`lam.

68. (Maka demi Tuhanmu), ya Muhammad,153 (lagi akan Kami himpulkan segala) yang mungkar akan berbangkit itu (serta segala syaitan) mereka itu pada suatu rantai (kemudian maka Kami hadirkan mereka itu kelilingnya neraka jahanam dengan berlutut) atas lutut mereka itu.

151 Istanbul. MS om.

152 Refer section 2.4.2.

153 Interpolation.
69. (Kemudian maka Kami tinggali) ya\textsuperscript{c}ni Kami bedakan\textsuperscript{154} (daripada tiap firkah) daripada mereka yang mati\textsuperscript{155} (mereka itu terlebih sangat atas Tuhan yang bernama Rahman berat) lagi durhaka.

70. (Kemudian maka Kami terlebih tahu akan segala mereka yang terlebih patut akan masuk) neraka jahanam dan tunu.\textsuperscript{156}

71. (Dan tiada seorang juapun (daripada kamu melainkan) masuk neraka jahanam ya\textsuperscript{c}ni (melalui dia. Dan adalah) melalui dia itu\textsuperscript{157} ta'dapat tiada, telah disempurnakan [(hukum oleh Tuhanmu)].\textsuperscript{158}

72. (Kemudian maka Kami luputkan segala mereka yang takut) akan syirk dan kufr daripada neraka\textsuperscript{159} (maka Kami tinggalkan segala yang zalim) dengan sebab syirk dan kufr (dalam neraka padahal mereka itu [berlutut]\textsuperscript{160})\textsuperscript{161} segala lutut mereka itu.

73. (Dan apabila dibacakan atas mereka) yang mu'min dan kafir

\textsuperscript{154}Kh:III,227 ay la-nakhrujanna.

\textsuperscript{155}Interpolation.

\textsuperscript{156}Istanbul reads:

(Kemudian sungguh Kami terlebih mengetahui dengan mereka itu yang terlebih patut mereka itu masuk) dengan neraka jahanam.

\textsuperscript{157}Interpolation.

\textsuperscript{158}Istanbul. MS lacuna.

\textsuperscript{159}Originally the MS copyist had written "akan syirk daripada neraka dan kufr". This has been corrected by a later hand above the line to produce the word order presented in this edited text. The later writing of d.r.p.d. contrasts with the MS d.r.f.d.

\textsuperscript{160}Istanbul. MS illegible.

\textsuperscript{161}We could expect "atas" here in order to represent accurately J\textsuperscript{c} al-\textsuperscript{ala} al-rukab, and to repeat the form occurring previously in 19:68. It occurs neither in this MS or in Istanbul. This lacuna provides more evidence for the suggestion that this MS and Istanbul MS(S) have a common ancestor.
(segala ayat Kami) daripada Qur'ān (padahalnya amat nyata, telah berkata segala mereka yang kafir itu bagi segala mereka yang percaya) akan Allah: ("Yang mana dua kaum kamu atau kami (yang terlebih baik tempat kediaman dan terlebih baik tempat berhimpun-himpun berkata-kata?)")

74. Firman Allah Ta'ala: (Dan amat banyak yang telah Kami binasakan dahulu daripada mereka itu) suatu ummat daripada segala ummat yang telah lalu, (mereka itu terlebih baik arta dan mata benda, dan pada penglihat). Maka seperti telah Kami binasakan mereka yang dahulu daripada mereka itu, dengan sebab kafir mereka itu Kami binasakan akan mereka itu.


Maka adapun jithiyan pada dua tempat itu, maka Nafi dan Abū Āmir ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia dengan dammah jim-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan kasrah jim-nya.

Dan adapun citiyan itu, maka Nafi dan Abū Āmir membaca dia dengan dammah ayn-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan kasrah ayn-nya.

Dan adapun silyan itu, maka Nafi dan Abū Āmir membaca dia dengan dammah sad-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan kasrah sad-nya.

---

162 Used to render perfective aspect, though sense of Arabic is not past time. Inappropriate to the Malay context.

163 Interpolation.

164 "Dua" used to render dual number here, "kedua" used elsewhere. Possible inconsistency by translator, though copyist's error more likely.

165 Istanbul does not reduplicate.

166 Istanbul. MS om.

167 Ibid.
Dan adapun wari'yan itu, maka Abu 'Amr dan Hafs membaca dia wari'yan dengan hamzah yang mati,\(^{168}\) dan Nafi membaca dia wari'yan dengan tasydid yā'-nya serta tiada ber-hamzah. Wa Allah a'lam.

75. (Kata olehmu) ya Muhammad\(^ {169}\): ("Barangsiapa ada ia dalam dalālah maka dibiarkan akan dia oleh Tuhan yang bernama Rahman) dalam durhakanya dan diberi tangguh ia pada kufrnya\(^ {170}\) (hingga apabila dilihat mereka itu barang yang dijanjikan akan mereka itu, ada kalanya syiksa) seperti dibunuh dan [dit]awan\(^ {171}\) (dan ada kalanya kiamat) yang mengandung neraka jahanam, (maka lagi akan diketahui oleh mereka itu akan barangsiapa yang terlebih jahat tempatnya dan yang terlebih da'if tenteranya.")

76. (Dan lagi akan ditambahi Allah segala mereka yang beroleh penunjuk) dengan iman (akan penunjuknya. Bermula segala dhikir\(^ {172}\) dan segala amal yang salih) yang kekal bagi yang mempunyai dia itu (terlebih baik pada Tuhanmu pahalanya ||| dan akibatnya).

77. (Maka\(^ {173}\) kaulihatkah orang yang telah kafir akan segala ayat kami) yaitu As\(^ {174}\) anak Wā'il (dan dikatanya) bagi Khabbāb anak A.r.t.\(^ {175}\)

---

\(^ {168}\)MS originally had "dan tanwin yān (?)", but the original copyist or a later hand has drawn a line through this phrase.

\(^ {169}\)Interpolation.


\(^ {171}\)Verbal prefix taken from Istanbul ed. Evident MS copyist's error.

\(^ {172}\)A personal interpretation of Q al-baqiyat, showing 'Abd al-Ra'uf's great interest in dhikr.

\(^ {173}\)"Tiadakah" is added between the lines at this point by another hand.

\(^ {174}\)MS Cāfī which reflects form in J:410.

\(^ {175}\)J = al-Ā.r.th.
yang mengata baginya : "Lagi akan dibangkitkan engkau kemudian daripada matimu" serta ia minta piutangnya daripadanya, demikian katanya akan Khabbāb: 176 ("Lagi akan dianugerahai kami arta dan anak), maka tatkala itu kubayar akan dikau."

78. Firman Allah: (Telah diketahuinyakah yang ghaib? Atau sudah diambilnya janji setia dengan Tuhan yang bernama Rahman) bahwa dianugerahaiNya akan dia barang yang telah dikatanya itu.

79. (Tiada) dianugerahai akan dia demikian itu. (Lagi akan Kami) suruh (menyuratkan yang dikatanya itu dan Kami tambahi baginya dengan yang demikian itu syiksa) di atas syiksa kufnya itu.

80. (Dan lagi akan Kami warithi akan dia barang yang ada padanya 177) daripada arta dan anak, (dan datang ia kepada Kami) pada hari kiamat, tiada arta baginya dan tiada anak.

81. (Dan telah diambil) oleh segala kafir Mekkah itu (segala yang lain daripada Allah) ya'ni segala berhala (akan tuhan) yang disembah mereka itu (supaya ada mereka) minta syafa'at kepada Allah (bagi mereka itu).

82. (Tiada) siapa menegaskan daripada syiksa mereka itu. (Maka lagi akan dinafikan) segala berhala itu (ibadat mereka itu) akan dia, seperti bahwa dikata mereka itu: "Tiada ada mereka itu menyembah kami", (dan adalah mereka itu atas mereka itu segala seteru).

83. (Tiadakah kaulihat segala syaitan itu) telah Kami kuasakan (atas mereka itu segala kafir, telah menyuruh kan mereka itu) dan menggerakkan mereka itu atas berbuat ma'ṣirat (dengan gerak yang sangat)?

84. (Maka jangan kausegerakan),ya Muhammad, 178 dengan menuntut ma'ṣir (atas mereka itu. Hanyasanya Kami bilang-bilang bagi

---

176 "demikian katanya akan Khabbāb" interpolated to aid comprehension.

177 Free rendering of Q. yaqūl.

178 Interpolation.
mereka itu) segala hari atau segala malam atau segala nafas¹⁷⁹ (dengan bilang) hingga datang waktu syiksa mereka itu.

85. Sebut olehmu (hari Kami himpunken segala yang takut akan Allah) dengan iman mereka itu (kepada Tuhan yang bernama Rahman padahal mereka itu berkendaraan.)

86. (Dan Kami alau segala yang kafir) dengan sebab kufr mereka itu (kepada neraka jahanam padahal mereka itu berjalan) lagi dahaga.

87. (Tiada memilikkan) segala manusia itu (akan syafa°at melainkan yang telah mengambil setia pada Tuhan yang bernama Rahman) naik syakai akan bahwa tiada Tuhan hanya Allah dan tiada upaya || dan tiada kuat melainkan dengan Allah.

88. (Dan dikata) oleh Yahudi dan Nasari dan segala yang menyangka bahwa segala malaikat itu anak Allah perempuan (telah diambil Tuhan yang bernama Rahman akan anak). Firman Allah Tala bagi mereka itu:

89. (Sanya telah kamu datangkanlah suatu mungkar) yang amat besar,
90. (hampirlah tujuh petala langit itu belah daripada sebab mungkar itu, dan c.r.h. [pecah?] belahlah bumi dan runtuhlah segala bukit dengan menindih¹⁸⁰) atas mereka itu.

91. Adalah sebab yang demikian itu dari¹³¹ (karena diseru mereka itu bagi Tuhan yang bernama Rahman itu beranak.)

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca a fa-ra'ayta al-ladhi [v.77] dan takadu [v.90] dan yatafattarna [v.90].

Adapun a fa-ra'ayta itu, maka Abū cAmr dan Hafs ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia a fa-ra'ayta dengan mentahkikkan hamzah-nya, dan Nafi c mentas-hilkan dia.

Dan adapun takadu itu, maka Abū cAmr dan Hafs membaca dia dengan tā', dan Nafi c membaca dia dengan ya'.

¹⁷⁹"Nafas" is vocalised in the Malay text. This is to avoid ambiguity with "nafs".

¹⁸⁰"Menindih" is vocalised in the Malay text.

¹³¹Interpolation.
Dan adapun yatafattarna itu, maka Nafi dan Hafs ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia yatafattarna dengan tā' dahulu daripada fā' lagi dengan tasydid tā'-nya serta fatḥa182, dan Abu ʿAmr membaca dia yanfatirna dengan nun yang mati183 dahulu || [19] daripada fā' lagi takhfif tā'-nya serta kasrah. Wa Allah al-ʿalam.

92. (Dan tiada patut bagi Tuhan yang bernama Rahman itu mengambil anak).

93. (Tiada ada tiap-tiap yang dalam tujuh petala langit dan bumi melainkan datang kepada Tuhan yang bernama Rahman padahalnya hina) dan merendahkan diri pada hari kiamat, setengah daripada mereka itu Uzayr dan Isa.

94. (Sanya telah dihinggakan akan mereka itu dan dibilang-bilang akan mereka itu dengan bilang), maka tiada terbuni atasNya kesudah-sudahan sekalian mereka itu dan tiada terbuni seseorang juapun daripada mereka itu.

95. (Dan adalah sekalian mereka itu datang kepadaNya pada hari kiamat) dengan tiada arta dan tiada yang menolong menegahkan mereka itu daripada syiksa.

96. (Bahwasanya segala mereka yang percaya) akan Allah184 (dan berbuat segala amal salih, lagi akan dijadikan Tuhan yang bernama Rahman bagi mereka itu berkasih-kasihan) pada antara segala mereka itu, dan dikaṣihi Allah akan mereka itu.

97. (Maka hanyasanya telah Kami mudahkan) Qur'ān itu (dengan bahasamu) Carabi (supaya kauceriterai || dengan dia185...kaum yang membantahi) dengan batil, yaitu kafir Mekkah.

182 "Serta fatha" added between the lines by the same hand as has written the rest of the text.

183 "Yang mati" ibid.

184 Interpolation.

185 Lacuna. No rendering for Q al-muttaqīn wa yundhira bi-hi. Also absent from Istanbul. Further evidence for common ancestor.
98. (Dan beberapa yang telah Kami binasakan dahulu daripada mereka itu) daripada segala ummat yang telah lalu dengan sebab mendustakan segala rasul. (Adakah kauperoleh seseorang daripada mereka itu atau kaudengar bagi mereka itu suara yang khafi)? Maka seperti yang telah Kami binasakan akan orang dahulu daripada mereka itu Kami binasakan akan mereka itu.

4.3 Surah Taha

Makkīyah [wa hiya]¹⁸⁶ mi'a wa [khams]¹⁸⁷ wa thalāthūn ayāt [aw]¹⁸⁸ wa arba'ūn ayāt aw wa thinthān

Ini Surah Taha. Turunnya di Mekkah, yaitu seratus tiga puluh lima ayat atau seratus empat puluh lima ayat¹⁸⁹ atau seratus empat puluh dua ayat. Maka tersebut dalam Baydāwī hadith barangsiapa memaca¹⁹⁰ dia Surah Taha niscaya dianugerahai ia pada hari kiamat pahala segala kaum Muhajir dan Ansar.¹⁹¹ Dan tersebut dalam ManāfiC al-Qur'ān hasilnya apabila dibawa ia pada berbaik dua kaum yang berkelahi, niscaya tiada jadi perang.

Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm

¹⁸⁶ Istanbul. MS om.

¹⁸⁷ Istanbul. MS khamsūn - clear error.

¹⁸⁸ Istanbul. MS om.

¹⁸⁹ Alternative numberings for this surah are 135, 140 or 142 according to J. "Seratus empat puluh lima" should evidently read "seratus empat puluh". Istanbul also contains this irregularity. This is further evidence of a common MS ancestor.

¹⁹⁰ Note the form "memaca" here, alternating with "membaca" elsewhere in the text.

¹⁹¹ Fleischer 1846:610 Arabic text:

wa ānhu qamam man qara'ā tāhā uṭā yawm al-qiyāmah thawāb al-muhājirīn wa al-ansār.
1. (T.H.) Bermula Allah jua yang terlebih tahu akan yang dikehendakiNya dengan yang demikian itu.

2. (Tiada Kami turunkan atasmu Qur'ān itu supaya engkau lelah), ya Muhammad, dengan yang kauperbuat kemudian daripada turunnya daripada lanjut berdirimu pada sembahyang malam, artinya ringkankan daripada dirimu,


4. Adalah Qur'ān itu193 (turun daripada) Tuhan194 (yang menjadikan bumi dan tujuh petala langit yang tinggi).

5. Yang menjadikan bumi dan tujuh petala langit yang tinggi itu yaitu195 (Tuhan yang bernama Rahman atas arasy tetap Ia) dan nyata dengan tetap yang berpatutan dengan Dia.

6. (BagiNya jua barang yang dalam tujuh petala langit dan barang yang dalam bumi dan barang yang antara keduanya) daripada segala makhluk (dan barang yang di bawah196 tujuh petala bumi).197

7. (Dan jika kaunyaringkan suaramu) pada dhikir atau do'a, bahwasanya Ia kaya daripada menyaringkan dia, (maka bahwasanya Ia mengetahui yang sirr dan yang terbuni) daripadaNya, ya'ni yang berkata-kata dengan Dia dalam diri, dan barang yang bergerak dalam cita

---

192 Istanbul + "Ia".

193 Interpolation.

194 ibid

195 This is Abd al-Ra'uf's elaboration of the significance of huwa contained in J.

196 The formation of compound prepositions with di- as the first member is rare.

197 J wa al-murād al-ardūn al-sabū li-annahā tahtahu. Istanbul copyist misread original MS and gave rendering "tujuh petala langit dan bumi".
8. (Allah Ta'ala jua Tuhan, tiada Tuhan hanya Ia. Bagi-Nya jua segala nama yang baik-baik).

9. (Dan sanya telah datang kepadamu ceritera Musa).

10. (Tatkala dilihatnya api) tatkala ia berjalan dari negeri Madyan hendak ke Mesir, (maka dikatanya bagi isi rumahnya: "Berhenti kamu) di sini. (Bahwasanya aku melihat api. Mudah-mudahan kubawa akan kamu sedikit daripadanya pada hujung sumbu, atau kuperoleh atas api) itu orang yang menunjukki daku atas jalan."

11. (Maka tatkala datang ia kepada api itu telah diseru ia: Hai Musa!)

12. (Bahwasanya Aku, Akulah Tuhanmu. Maka tinggal olehmu dua c.p.w.m. Bahwasanya engkau pada serokan-serokan yang disucikan)

198"Ya ni dalam syay" is added between the lines of this verse, though it is not clear where it was intended to be placed. Nor is it clear from the writing whether it is an addition by the original author or by a later hand.

199Abd al-Ra'uf distinguishes between two senses of Ar. hadith, rendering one as "hadith" and the other as "ceritera". This shows he was attempting to translate ideas, not merely words.

200Istanbul "isterinya" reflects gloss in J, whereas MS A "isi rumahnya" renders Q. Suggests different MSS traditions.

201Istanbul "lampu".

202Unusual use of "atas" under influence of J. Refer section 3.3.2.

203Note omission of J.

204Clear syntactic influence from Q inni ana rabbuka. Refer section 3.3.3.1.

205Istanbul "kaus".

206Istanbul does not reduplicate.
Allah bernama²⁰⁷ (Tuwa).

13. (Dan Akulah yang telah memilih dikau) daripada kaumu. (Maka
dengarkan olehmu bagi barang yang diwahyukan) kepadamu daripada Aku.

14. (Bahwasanya Akulah Allah. Tiada Tuhan hanya Aku. Maka sembah
olehmu akan Daku dan dirikan olehmu sembahyang karena dhikir akan Daku)
dalamnya.

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga
pada membaca inni änastu [v.10] dan la'callī ĕtiykum [v.10] dan
li-dhikri [v.14].

Adapun inni änastu itu, maka Abū ġAmr dan Nāfi ġ ittifak
membaca dia inniya dengan fatha yā'-nya, dan Ḥafṣ membaca dia
dengan mati yā'-nya serta lanjut.

Dan adapun la'callī itu, maka Abū ġAmr dan Nāfi ġ ittifak ||
[21] keduanya atas membaca dia dengan fatha yā'-nya, dan Ḥafṣ
membaca dia dengan mati yā'-nya serta lanjut.

Dan adapun inni anā itu, maka Nāfi ġ dan Abū ġAmr membaca dia
dengan fatha yā'-nya, dan Ḥafṣ membaca dia dengan mati yā' serta
lanjut.

Dan adapun Tuwan itu, maka Ḥafṣ dan Abū ġAmr membaca dia Tuwan
dengan tanwin, dan Nāfi ġ membaca dia Tuwa dengan tiada tanwin.

Dan adapun innani anā Allāh itu, maka Nāfi ġ dan Abū ġAmr
membaca dia dengan fatha yā'-nya, dan Ḥafṣ membaca dia dengan²⁰⁸
mati yā'-nya serta lanjut.

Dan adapun li-dhikri itu, maka Nāfi ġ dan Abū ġAmr membaca dia
dengan fatha yā'-nya, dan Ḥafṣ membaca dia dengan mati yā'-nya
serta lanjut. Wa Allāh a ਽lam.

15. (Bahwasanya kiamat itu lagi akan datang. Hampir-hampirlah
Kubunikan ia) daripada segala manusia, dan nyata bagi mereka itu hampir
kiamat itu dengan segala alamatnya, (supaya dibalas) dalamnya (tiap-tiap
diri seorang dengan barang yang diusahakannya) akan dia daripada baik dan
jahat.

²⁰⁷ Interpolation.

²⁰⁸ There is a copyist's error here. He initially writes "fatha
yā'-nya", then realises his error, and takes up again from "dan Ḥafṣ..."
16. (Maka jangan kiranya [memalingkan] dikau daripada) percaya akan kiamat itu (orang yang tiada percaya akan dia, serta mengikuti hawa nafsunya) pada ingkar akan kiamat itu, (maka jadi binasa engkau) jika engkau tiada percaya akan dia.

17. Firman [Allah Ta'ala]: (Dan apa yang ada pada tangan kanammu itu, hai Musa?)

18. (Kata) Musa: ("Yaitu tongkatku. Bertelekan aku atasnya) tatkala melompat dan tatkala berjalan (dan kupukul dengan dia) daun kayu supaya gugur (atas kambingku) maka dimakannya akan dia. (Dan ada bagiku dalamnya segala hajat yang lain.")

19. (Firman Allah: Lotarkan olehmu tongkatmu itu, hai Musa),

20. (maka dilotarkannya akan dia, maka tiba-tiba ia jadi ular) yang besar (berjalan) atas perutnya dengan segeranya seperti pants ular kecil.

21. (Firman Allah: Ambil olehmu ia dan jangan engkau takut) daripadanya. (Lagi akan Kami kembalikan ia kepada halnya yang pertama.)

22. (Dan masukkan olehmu tanganmu) kanan (kepada lambungmu) kiri di bawah ketiakmu. Niscaya (keluar ia dengan tiada jahat padahalnya terang) seperti cahaya matahari menutup mata. Adalah ia (tanda yang lain,)

23. (supaya Kami perlihatkan akan dikau daripada segala tanda Kami yang besar) menunjukkan akan dikau pesuruh Kami.

24. (Pergi engkau) pesuruh Kami (kepada Fir'aun) dan kepada yang sertanya. || [22] (Bahwasanya ia melalui hadd) pada kufrianya datang kepada ia mendoai dirinya tuhan.

209 İstanbul. MS m.m.b.l.ng.k.n.

210 İstanbul. MS om. "Firman Allah Ta'ala" interpolation.

211 Interpolation.

212 MS has reduplication sign.

213 İstanbul. MS "kepada". "Akan" renders the tamyiz of rasûlân in J. Refer section 3.3.3.3.
25. (Kata) Musa: "Hai Tuhanku! Luaskan olehMu bagiku dadaku), ya'ni hatiku, supaya dapat menanggung pesuruh.
26. (Dan mudahkan olehMu bagiku pekerjaanku).
27. "Dan uraikan olehMu simpulan daripada lidaku),
28. "nisaya (faham mereka itu akan kataku) tatkala menyampaikan suruh.
29. "Dan jadikan olehMu bagiku yang menolong atas menyampaikan pesuruh itu (daripada isi rumahku),
31. "Kuatkan olehMu dengan dia belakangku),
32. "dan sekutukan olehMu akan dia pada pekerjaanku) pesuruh itu,
33. "supaya mengucap tasbih kami akan Dikau) dengan tasbih (yang amat banyak),
34. (dan supaya dhikir kami akan Dikau) dengan dhikir (yang amat banyak).
35. "Bahwasanya Engkau, adalah Engkau akan kami amat tahu) maka Kauberi ni'mat dengan pesuruh."

214 Interpolation.

215 Ibid.

216 Note deletion of J comment here. This type of comment is normally included. Abd al-Ra'uf may well have been working from a MS of J the text of which differed in some respects from the printed text of J used for this current study.

217 Interpolation. The Arabic preposition bi is understood in Q. We would have expected "supaya" in the Malay.

218 Note method of rendering Arabic cognate accusative. Refer section 3.3.3.3.

219 Illuminative instance of loan translation.

220 Note the care of the translator here with the rendering of the preposition bi.
Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca wa liya fihā [v.18] dan wa yassir li [v.26] dan akhī ushduḍ [vs. 30-31] yang telah lalu itu.

Adapun wa liya fihā itu, maka Nāfī ᵒ dan Abū ᵒ Amr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia wa lī dengan mati yā'-nya serta lanjut, dan Hāfs ᵒ membaca dia dengan fatha yā'-nya.

Dan adapun wa yassir li itu, maka Nāfī ᵒ dan Abū ᵒ Amr membaca dia dengan fatha yā'-nya, dan Hāfs membaca dia dengan mati yā'-nya serta lanjut.

Dan adapun akhī ushduḍ itu, maka Nāfī ᵒ dan Hāfs ittifak membaca dia dengan mati yā'-nya serta lanjut, dan Abū ᵒ Amr membaca dia dengan fatha yā'-nya. Wa Allāh aḏūlam.

36. (Firman Allah: Hai Musa! Sanya telah dianugerahkan akan dikau pintamu) pada Kami memeri ni mat atasmu itu.  
37. (Dan sanya telah Kami beri ni mat atasmu sekali yang lain),  
38. (tatkala Kami wahyukan kepada ibumu barang yang diwahyukan)  
39. yaitu: (Buangkan olehmu ia dalam peti, kemudian maka dibuangkan ia) serta petinya (ke dalam laut) Nil. (Maka dibuangkan akan dia oleh laut ke tepi laut, niscaya diambil akan dia oleh seterus bagiku dan seterus baginya) yaitu Fir'c sayun. (Dan telah Kami jatuhkan atasmu kemudian daripada diambilnya itu (kasih daripadaKu) supaya kaukasihi daripada segala manusia, maka dikasih akan dikau oleh

221 Note the translator's use of honorific Malay words to render ordinary Arabic words when referring to God, i.e. qāla > firman (not "kata"), ata > anugerahakan (not "berikan").

222 Rendering of hāl of mannan.

223 Interpolation.

224 Istanbul "buangkan" more likely.

225 Divine plural "Kami" used to render 1st singular pronominal suffix of Arabic verb. It contrasts with 1st sg. suffix of "daripadaKu" used to render minni. Istanbul "Kujatuhkan" more likely.

226 Unusual form - should be passive to render J li-tuhibba fī al-nās.
172

Fir'aun dan tiap-tiap yang melihat dikau, (dan supaya disusah akan dikau atas kebelaanku) dan peliharaanku.

40. \[\text{[23]}\] Karena\(227\) (tatkala berjalan saudaramu) Maryam mengambil\(228\) khambarmu, telah dihadirkan mereka itu beberapa perempuan yang menyusui, padahal tiada engkau menerima susu seorang daripada mereka itu, (maka dikata oleh saudaramu itu: "Maukah kamu kutunjuki atas orang yang mengasuhi dia?")

Maka diperkenalkan mereka itu katanya, maka dibawanya\(229\) ibu Musa, maka diterimanya susunya.

(Maka Kami kembaliakan engkau kepada ibumu supaya suka hatinya) bertemu dengan dikau (dan tiadalah ia berdukacita\(230\)) akan dikau\(231\).

(Dan telah kaubunuh seorang) yaitu Qubti\(232\) dalam Negeri Mesir. Maka lalu berdukacita engkau karena memunuh ia, takut\(233\) akan Fir'aun, (maka Kami luputkan akan dikau daripada percintaan itu dan Kami cobai akan dikau dengan beberapa coba) dengan menjatuhkan pada yang lain dari itu, maka Kami lepaskan akan dikau daripadanya. (Maka berhenti engkau) kira-kira\(234\) sepuluh (tahun pada orang negeri Madyan\(235\) kemudian maka

\[\text{227 J lil-ta\(\text{c}\)lil.}\]

\[\text{228 MS has reduplication sign.}\]

\[\text{229 Note no rendering of Q\(\text{bi. Shows translator's care with the rendering of prepositions. Cf. section 3.3.2.}\]}

\[\text{230 Istanbul "bercinta-cinta".}\]

\[\text{231 Interpolation.}\]

\[\text{232 Later hand has added in the margin "ya\(\text{c}\)ni sekaum".}\]

\[\text{233 Istanbul "ia".}\]

\[\text{234 Interpolation.}\]

\[\text{235 Istanbul "...pada negeri orang Madyan..."}\]
datang engkau atas kadar) yang thabit dalam ilmuKu akan pesuruh, yaitu empat puluh tahun umur[mu]236, (hai Musa).

41. (Dan telah Kupilih akan dikau || bagi diriKu) akan pesuruh.

42. Pergilah engkau serta saudaramu kepada segala manusia (membawa segala syatku) yang sembilan, (dan jangan kamu kedua berteuh daripada dhikir akan Daku) dengan tasbih dan lainnya.

43. (Pergilah engkau kedua kepada Fir'auln. Bahwasanya ia telah durhaka) dengan mendo'ai dirinya tuhan,

44. (maka kata oleh kamu kedua237 dengan kata yang lemah-lembut. Mudah-mudahan ia beroleh pengajar atau takut) akan Allah, maka ruju238 ia.

45. (Kata keduanya: "Hai Tuhan kami! Bahwasanya kami takut akan bahwa disegerakannya atas kami syikaa atau [akan]240 sangat takabburnya) atas kami."

46. (Firman Allah: Jangan kamu kedua takut. Bahwasanya Aku serta kamu kedua) dengan tolongKu. (Kudengar) barang yang dikatanya (dan Kulihat) barang yang diperbuatnya.

47. (Maka datang oleh kamu kedua akan dia maka kata oleh kamu kedua: "Bahwasanya kami kedua pesuruh Tuhanmu, maka suruhkan olehmu serta kamı Bani Isra'il) ke negeri Syam (dan jangan kausakiti mereka itu) pada mengerjakan segala pekerjaanmu. || (Sanya telah datang kami kepadamu dengan membawa hujjat241 (daripada Tuhanmu) bagi kebenaran kami akan pesuruh. (Dan sejahtera) daripada syiksa (atas yang telah mengikuti

236 Istanbul. MS om.

237 Istanbul includes "baginya".

238 Istanbul raju.

239 Istanbul "bahwasanya".

240 Taken Istanbul MS "makan".

241 MS margin "ya ni membawa tanda". Not in Istanbul.
penunjuk.

48. ("Sanya telah diwahyukan kepada kami bahwasanya syiksa itu atas yang mendustakan) barang yang kami datangkan akan dia (dan berpaling ia) daripadanya."

Maka datanglah keduanya kepada Fir'aun dan dikata oleh keduanya sekalian yang tersebut itu.

49. (Kata) Fir'aun: ("Maka siapa Tuhan kamu kedua, hai Musa?")

50. (Kata) Musa: ("Tuhan kami yang menganugerahi tiap-tiap sesuatu akan kejadiannya) yang Ia atas[nya] kemudian maka ditunjuki) akan dia."

51. (Kata) Fir'aun: ("Maka apa) hal (segala ummat yang dahulu-dahulu) seperti kaum Nuh dan Hud dan Lut dan Salih pada ibadat mereka itu akan segala berhala?"

52. (Kata) Musa: ("Pengetahuan) akan hal mereka itu (pada Tuhanku) tersebut (dalam loh mahfuz); dibalas mereka itu atasnya pada hari kiamat. (Tiada ghaib Tuhanku) daripada sesuatu (dan tiada lupa) akan dia."

53. "Ia jua || Tuhan (yang menjadikan bagi kamu bumi akan hamparan, dan yang memudahkan bagi kamu dalamnya segala jalan, dan diturunkanNya dari langit air hujan, maka kami keluarkan dengan berkat air itu beberapa bagi segala tumbuh-tumbuhan yang bersalai-salahai) segala warnanya dan rasanya.

54. ("Makan oleh kamu) daripadanya (dan gembala oleh kamu segala d.r.b.y. [biri-biri?] kamu) dalamnya. (Bawasanya adalah pada yang tersebut (itu niscaya akan segala tanda bagi segala orang yang mempunyai akal.")

242 Istanbul "pertunjuk".

243 MS "kami".

244 Istanbul. MS om. This appears to be the first part of a philosophical definition of khalq contained in J. which is not completely rendered into Malay.

245 Interpolation.

Maka adapun li-nafsi idhhab itu, maka Nafi dan Abū Āmir ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia li-nafsiya idhhab dengan fatha yā'-nya tatkala wasl, dan Ḥafs membaca dia dengan mati yā'-nya tatkala wasl dan wakaf.

Dan adapun fi dhikri idhhabā itu, maka Nafi dan Abū Āmir ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia fi dhikriya idhhabā dengan fatha yā'-nya tatkala wasl, dan Ḥafs membaca dia dengan mati yā'-nya tatkala wasl dan wakaf.

Dan adapun mahdan itu, maka Nafi dan Abū Āmir membaca dia mahādan dengan alif kemudian daripada hā', dan Ḥafs membaca dia mahādan dengan mati hā' serta tiada ber-alif. Wa Allāh a'lam.

55. 55 [25] (Daripada) bumi itu jua (Kami jadikan akan kamu) dengan menjadikan bapa kamu Adam daripadanya. (Dan dalamnya jua Kami kembalikan akan kamu) padahal kamu dikuburkan kemudian daripada mati kamu. (Dan daripadanya jua Kami keluarkan akan kamu) tatkala bangkit dari dalam kubur (sekali yang lain) seperti yang telah Kami keluarkan kamu tatkala memulai kejadian kamu.

56. (Dan sanya telah Kami perlhatikan) akan Fir'aun itu (segala tanda Kami) yang sembilan sekalian ([maka]246 didustakannya) akan dia serta dido'aiya ia sihir (dan enggan ia) mentauhidkan Allah Ta'āla.

57. (Kata) Fir'aun: ("Telah datanglah engkau kepada kami supaya mengeluarkan kami daripada tanah kami) Mesir supaya engkau kerajaan dalamnya (dengan sihirmu, hai Musa?)

58. ("Maka lagi akan kami datangkan akan dikau sihir sepertinya) melawan dia. (Maka jadikan olehmu antara kami dan antaramu suatu tempat perjanjian pertengahan, tiada kami menyalahi dia dan tiada engkau.

246 Istanbul. MS "Kami".

247 Interpolation.

248 Qur'anic text uses interrogative form a ji'taka. We would have expected "datangkah" in the Malay rendering.
59. (Kata) Musa: "Hari²⁴⁹ (perjanjian kamu hari berhias) ya⁶⁰ ni hari raya, dan hari (dihimpun segala orang) Mesir (waktu duha) menilik kepada barang yang datang."

60. (Maka berpaling Fir°aun) memeri belakang (maka dihimpunkan orang yang mempunyai daya) daripada segala yang tahu akan ilmu sihir, dan segala alat mereka itu²⁵⁰, (maka dibawanya) mereka itu kepada tempat perjanjian itu.

61. (Telah berkata Musa bagi mereka itu) padahal adalah mereka itu tujuh puluh dua orang serta tiap-tiap seorang tali dan tongkat: ("Telah didatangkan Allah akan kamu karam! Jangan kamu tuduh atas Allah dusta) dengan menyekutukan Dia dengan seseorang,²⁵¹ (maka dibinasakan Nya akan kamu dengan syiksa) yang daripada Nya. (Dan telah rugilah orang yang menuduh) atas Allah (dusta.")

62. (Maka berbantah mereka itu akan pekerjaan mereka itu antara mereka itu) pada pihak Musa dan saudaranya, (dan dibunikan mereka itu bisik mereka itu) antara mereka itu pada pihak keduanya.

63. (Kata mereka itu) bagi diri mereka: ("Bahwasanya orang dua ini ubatan keduanya bahwa dikehendaki oleh keduanya mengeluarkan kamu daripada bumi kamu dengan ubatan keduanya, dan dikehendaki oleh keduanya menghilangkan jalan kamu yang mulia.)

64. || [26] ("Maka himpunkan oleh kamu segala yang mempunyai daya kamu) daripada segala orang ubatan, (kemudian maka datang, kamu bersaf-saf. Dan sanya telah beroleh kemenangan pada hari ini orang yang kuasa.")

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf²⁵² segala qari yang tiga

²⁴⁹"Hari" interpolated.

²⁵⁰"Dan segala alat mereka itu" rendering of wa alatuhum in B:599.

²⁵¹Later hand has added "ya ḍi Bahāʾī" at this point of MS. Probably a late 19th century addition.

²⁵²Normally "antara" occurs here. Probable copyist's error.
pada membaca makānān suwā [v.58] dan fa-yushitakum [v.61] dan
inna ḥadhānī [v.63] dan fa-ajmi'ū kaydakum [v.64].

Adapun suwā itu, maka Nāfī' dan Abū ʿAmr membaca dia suwā
dengan kasrah sin-nya, dan Ḥafṣ membaca dia dengan dammah
sin-nya.

Dan adapun fa-yushitakum itu, maka Nāfī' dan Abū ʿAmr ittifak
dua keduanya atas membaca dia fa-yashatakum dengan fatha ya'-nya dan
ha'-nya, dan Ḥafṣ membaca dia dengan dammah ya'-nya serta kasrah
ha'-nya.

Dan adapun inna hadhayni, maka Abū ʿAmr membaca dia inna
hadhayni dan Nāfī' membaca dia inna hadhānī dengan tasydid
nūn-nya yang pertama, dan Ḥafṣ membaca dia in hadhānī dengan
takhfīf nūn-nya.

Dan adapun fa-ajmi'ū itu, maka Nāfī' dan Ḥafṣ ittifak keduanya
atas membaca dia fa-ajmi'ū dengan hamzah qatā' serta kasrah
mīm-nya, dan Abū ʿAmr membaca dia fa-ajmi'ū dengan hamzah wasl
serta fatha mīm-nya. Wa Allāh a`lam.

65. (Kata mereka itu): "Pilih olehmu, (hai Musa. Adakalanya bahwa
engkau) pertama (menumbangkan) tongkatmu (dan adakalanya kami pertama
yang menumbangkan) tongkat kami, maka pilih olehmu."255

66. (Kata) Musa: ('Tetapi tumbangkan oleh kamu."") Maka
ditumbangkan mereka itu (maka tiba-tiba segala tali mereka itu dan
segala tongkat mereka itu dirupakan kepadanya dengan sebab sihir mereka
itu bahwa ia) segala ular (berjalan) atas segala perutnya,

67. (maka didapat oleh Musa dalam dirinya takut) daripada pihak

253 "Adakalanya bahwa...adakalanya" is a loan translation reflecting the
Arabic form amma an...amma. Refer section 3.3.3.1.

254 Abd al-Ra'ūf has avoided being literal by changing the person of
the pronominal suffix from 3rd singular in ʿasāhu to 1st plural in
"tongkat kami".

255 "Maka pilih olehmu" interpolated.

256 "Maka ditumbangkan oleh mereka itu" ibid.
sihir mereka itu [seolah-olah] jenis muş jizatnya bahwa samar pekerjaan itu atas segala manusia, maka tiadalah mereka itu percaya akan dia.

68. (Kata Kami) bagi Musa: (Jangan kautakut. Bahwasanya engkau terlebih tinggi) atas mereka itu dengan kuasamu.

69. (Dan tumbangkan olehmu yang pada tanganmu kanan), ya'ni tongkatmu. (Niscaya diperlannya barang yang diperbuat mereka itu. Hanyasanya yang telah diperbuat mereka itu) jenis (daya orang ubatan, dan tiada beroleh kemenangan orang yang ubatan itu barang di mana dibuatnya) ubatannya itu. Maka ditumbangkan Musa tongkatnya maka diperlannya segala barang yang diperbuat mereka itu.

70. (Maka dianugerahkan Allah segala orang ubatan itu pingsan padahal mereka itu sujud) bagi Allah Ta'ala. (Kata mereka itu: "Percayalah kami akan Tuhan Harun dan Musa.")

71. 27 (Kata) Fir'aun: ("Percayakah kamu bagiNya dahulu daripada kuberi idhin) bagi kamu? (Bahwasanya Ia niscaya adalah Ia guru kamu yang mengajari kamu ilmu sihir. Maka lagi akan kuperat-kerat segala tangan dan segala kaki kamu padahalnya bersalah-salahan) ya'ni segala tangan kanan serta segala kaki kiri. (Dan lagi akan kusulakan kamu atas segala cawang khurma.")

Tanbih: Mudah-mudahan ma'sna "disulakan" di sini digantungkan bangkainya atas satu kayu atas segala cawang khurma, seperti hukum pada qāti' al-tariq. Tiada memasukkan kayu pada dubur seperti faham Jawi. Wa Allah o la'm. ("Dan niscaya lagi akan kamu ketahui yang mana kami), akukah atau Tuhan Musa, (yang terlebih sangat syiksanya dan terlebih netisass.")

257 Istanbul. MS om.

258 Later hand has added between lines "ya'ni '.ng.ā.t.". Intended placement is unclear. It does not occur in Istanbul. The "ng" is written with three dots, which suggests that this phrase postdates the original MS.

259 The reference to "faham Jawi" indicates that this "tanbih" was an explanatory addition by a Malay, possibly Dā'ud Rūmī.
72. (Kata) segala sihir itu: 260 ("Tiada kami pilih akan dikau atas yang telah datang akan kami daripada segala tanda) yang menunjukkan atas benar Musa demi Tuhan 261 (yang menjadikan kami. Maka perbuat olehmu yang telah kaukata itu. Hanyasanya kauperbuat yang kaukata itu || dalam dunia ini jua), dan lagi akan dibalas engkau dalam akhirat itu.

73. ("Bahwasanya kami percaya 262 akan Tuhan kami supaya diampun bagi kami segala kesalahan kami) daripada menyekutukan Dia [dengan] lainnya dan supaya diampun bagi kami 264 (barang yang kaugagahi kami atas) berajar dan mengamalkan (sihir) supaya melawan Musa itu. (Bermula Allah Ta'ala terlebih baik) daripadaNya apabila berbuat ta'at akan Dia (dan terlebih kekal) syiksaNya daripada syiksamu apabila durhaka akan Dia."

74. Firman Allah Ta'ala: (Sungguhnya) pekerjaan itu 265 (barangsiapa datang kepada Tuhannya padahalnya kafir) seperti FirCaun (maka bahwasanya baginya neraka jahanam. Tiada mati dalamnya) maka mustarih 266 (dan tiada hidup) yang memeri manfa'at akan dia.

75. (Dan barangsiapa datang kepadaNya padahal ia mu'min, sanya telah dikerjakannya segala fard dan sunnat, maka mereka itulah yang beroleh pangkat yang tinggi),

\[\text{260 Interpolation.}\]

\[\text{261 "Demi Tuhan" ibid.}\]

\[\text{262 In this verse the Istanbul edition begins "Bahwasanya kami telah percaya kami..." which shows clear Arabic syntactic influence from Qur'anic innana amanna. This further suggests different MSS traditions.}\]

\[\text{263 Istanbul. MS "dan".}\]

\[\text{264 "Dan supaya diampun bagi kami" interpolated for stylistic fluency.}\]

\[\text{265 Taken from inna al-amr in B:601.}\]

\[\text{266 Marginal note "ya'ni istirahat". Not in Istanbul.}\]
76. yaitu (segala syurga yang tempat tetap yang berlalu dari bawahnya;
segala sungai padahal mereka itu kekal dalamnya. Dan adalah yang demikian itu balas orang yang menyucikan dirinya) daripada segala dosya.


78. (Maka diikuti akan mereka itu oleh Fir°aun serta segala tenteranya, maka telah menutupi mereka itu barang yang menutupi mereka itu) daripada laut, maka dikeringkannya mereka itu.

79. (Dan telah disesatkan oleh Fir°aun akan kaumnya) dengan sebab menyeru mereka itu kepada berbuat ibadat kepadanya (dan tiada ia menunjuki) mereka itu, tetapi dijatuhkan akan mereka itu dalam kebinasaan bersalah dengan katanya: "Tiada kutunjuki akan kamu melainkan jalan yang betul itu."


Adapun talaqqaf itu, maka Näfi° dan Abü cAmr ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia talaqqaf itu dengan fatha lām-nya serta tasydid qāf-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia talqaf dengan mati lām serta takhṣīf qāf-nya.

Dan adapun amantum itu, maka Qalān dan Dūrī ittifak keduanya atas mentahkikkan hamzah yang pertama serta mentas-hilikkan yang kedua lagi menukar kan dia akan alif, dan Hafs membaca dia dengan satu hamzah serta lanjut.

Dan adapun man ya’tihi itu, maka Abū cAmr dan Hafs membaca dia dengan lanjut hā’-nya, dan Näfi° membaca dia dengan singkat hā’-nya.

267Interpolation.
Dan adapun an asri itu, maka Abū ĖAmr dan Ḥafṣ ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia an asri dengan mati nūn-nya dan fatha hamzah asri, dan Nāfiʿ membaca dia anisri dengan kasrah nūn-nya lagi mengwaslkan hamzah kepada sin-nya. Wa'llāhu a'lam.

80. (Hai Bani Isra'il! Sanya telah Kami luputkan akan kamu daripada seteru kamu) Firʿaun dengan mengaramkan dia, (dan Kami janjikan akan kamu) mendatangi (limbung bukit Tuwa yang mubarak), maka Kami anugerahi akan Musa Taurat supaya di'amalkannya akan dia. \[ [29] \] (Dan telah Kami turunkan atas kamu) makanan yang bernama (manna dan salawa).\[ 270 \]

81. (Makan oleh kamu daripada segala yang baik-baik yang telah Kami untukkan akan kamu. Dan jangan kamu durhaka dalamnya, maka turun atas kamu amarahKu. Dan barang siapa turun atasnya amarahKu maka sanya telah Kubakarlah) ia ke dalam neraka.

82. (Dan bahwasanya Aku amat mengampuni bagi orang yang taubat) daripada syirk (dan bagi orang yang mentauhidkan Allah dan) bagi orang yang (berbuat amal salih, kemudian maka berkelaluan la atas yang tersebut itu datang kepada matinya).

Kisah: Bahwa tersebut dalam tafsir Khāzin bahwa dipilih oleh Musa tujuh puluh daripada segala kaumnya pergi bersama-sama dengan dia ke bukit Tuwa supaya mengambil Taurat. Maka pergi ia dengan mereka itu, maka disegerakannya dirinya dahulu daripada mereka itu karena rindunya akan Tuhannya, dan ditinggalkannya

\[ 268 \] ibid.

\[ 269 \] ibid.

\[ 270 \] "Manna" and "salawa" vocalised in Malay, indicating unfamiliar words.

\[ 271 \] Interpolation.

\[ 272 \] Istanbul "beroleh pertunjuk ia" renders Q ihtādā, whereas MS A "berkelaluan ia" renders J bi-istimrārihi. Further suggests different MSS traditions.
orang yang tujuh puluh itu serta disuruhkannya mereka itu mengikuti dia ke bukit Tuwa itu. Maka Firman Allah:

83. (Dan apa yang menyegerakan dikau datang dahulu daripada kaum[mu], 274 || hai Musa?)

84. (Sambut) Musa: 275 ("Mereka itu itulah276 di belakangku) datang. (Dan kusegerakan datang kepada) dahulu daripada kaumku, 277 (hai tuhanku, supaya bertambah-tambah ridamu) akan daku.

85. (Firman) Allah: (Maka bahwasanya telah sudah Kami fitnahkan kaummu) kemudian daripada kauceraikan mereka itu. (Dan telah disesatkan akan mereka itu oleh Samiri) maka disembah mereka itu lembu.

Kisah: Adalah mereka itu yang tinggal serta Harun enam ratus ribu, maka sekalian mereka itu kena fitnah menyembah lembu melainkan dua belas ribu tiada [ia kena fitnah]. 278

86. (Maka kembali Musa kepada kaumnya dengan marah279) daripada pihak mereka itu (lagi sangat bercinta. Kata) Musa: 280 ("Hai kaumku! Tiadakah dijanjikan akan kamu oleh Tuhan kamu dengan janji yang benar) bahwa Ia lagi akan menganugerahi kamu Taurat? (Telah panjanglah atas

---

273Kh III:244. This anecdote is important as a bridge to the following verses.

274Istanbul. MS illegible.

275Interpolation.

276"Mereka itu itulah" also in Istanbul, hence inclusion here. It would otherwise have been treated as a copyist's error.

277Interpolation.

278Taken from Kh III:244. "Isa kena fitnah" Istanbul. MS om.

279Note "marah" co-occurs with "amarah" later in this verse.

280Interpolation.
kamu) masa berceraiiku dengan kamu (atau kamu kehendaki wajib atas kamu amarah daripada Tuhan kamu) sebab kamu menyembah lembu, (maka kamu salah janjiku) dan kamu tinggalkan datang kemudian daripadaku?"

87. [30] (Kata mereka itu: "Tiada kami salah janjimu dengan kudrat kami tetapi kami bawa beberapa [yang?] berat daripada pakaian kami) Fir'aul (maka kami masukkan sekalian itu) dalam api dengan suruh Samiri. (Maka seperti) yang telah kami masukkan itu, (dimasukkan oleh Samiri) barang yang bertanya daripada segala pakaian itu serta tanah yang diambilnya daripada bekas tapak kaki kuda Jibril."

88. (Maka dikeluarkannya bagi mereka itu seekor lembu yang telah dibuatnya daripada pakaian itu padahalnya berdaging lagi berdarah, lagi ada baginya suara) seperti suara lembu. (Maka dikata) oleh Samiri dan segala yang mengikuti dia: ("Inilah Tuhan kamu dan Tuhan Musa, maka lupa Musa akan Tuhannya di sini dan pergi ia menuntuti dia."

89. Firman Allah: (Tiadakah dilihat mereka itu bahwasanya) lembu itu (tiada menolakkan kepada mereka itu suatu jawab dan tiada memilikkan bagi mereka itu mudarat dan tiada manfa'at). Betapa diambil ia akan tuhan? Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca wa wā'adnākum [v.80] dan bi-malkina [v.87] dan hummilnā awsārān [v.87] || dan fa-nasiya [v.88] yang telah lalu itu. Maka adapun wa wā'adnākum itu, maka Nāfi' dan Ḥāfa ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia wa wā'adnākum dengan alif kemudian daripada wāw yang keduanya, dan Abū ʿAmr membaca dia dengan tiada alif.

Dan adapun bi-malkina itu, maka Nāfi' dan Ḥāfa ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia dengan fatha mīm-nya, dan Abū ʿAmr membaca dia dengan kasrah mīm-nya.

Dan adapun hummilnā itu, maka Nāfi' dan Ḥāfa membaca dia hummilnā dengan dammah ṣin' serta tanwīd mīm-nya, maka adalah

281ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf follows Abū ʿAmr's reading of hamalnā. Note the variant readings in the different printed editions of J. The Dār al-Shāb edition has hamalnā, the Damascus edition hummilnā. This suggests different MSS traditions for J, and also that ḤAbd al-Ra'ūf was translating from a MS which was from the same family as that used for the compilation of the Dār al-Shāb printed edition.
ma^nanya tatkala itu "ditanggungkan akan kami", dan Abū ṬAmr membaca dia hamalnā dengan fatha ḥā' serta takhfīf mīm-nya.

Dan adapun fa-nasiya itu, maka Naifi dan Abū ṬAmr membaca dia fa-nasiya dengan fatha ya'-nya, dan Ḥafs membaca dia dengan mati ya' serta lanjut. Wa Allāh a'lam.

90. (Dan sanya telah berkata bagi mereka itu Harun dahulu) daripada kembali Musa kepada mereka itu:262 ("Hai kaumku! Hanyasanya telah jadi fitnah akan kamu dengan menyembah lembu.263 Dan bahwasanya Tuhan kamu Tuhan yang bernama Rahman, maka ikut oleh kamu akan daku) pada berbuat ibadat akan Dia (dan ta'at kamu akan264 suruhku) pada berbuat ibadat akan Dia."

91. 43 (Kata mereka itu: "Netiasa kami tetap) atas menyembah lembu itu (hingga kembali kepada kami Musa.")

92. (Kata) Musa kemudian daripada kembalinya: ("Hai Harun! Apa menegahkan dikau) daripada mengikuti daku (tatkala kaulihat mereka itu sesat) dengan menyembah lembu?

93. ("Durhakalah engkau akan pekerjaanku) dengan sebab tetap engkau antara segala yang menyembah lain daripada Allāh."

Kisah: Pada suatu riwayat, telah dijabat Musa jengkut Harun dengan kirinya dan rambut kepalanya dengan kanannya.267

262"Kepada mereka itu" interpolated.

263Abd al-Ra'ūf elaborates on Q bi-hi by using "menyembah lembu".

264Later hand has added "akan tiap-tiap" at this point of the text. Not in Istanbul.

265"Daripada mengikuti daku" actually belongs to verse 93 in the Qur'ānic text. For reasons of syntactic and semantic fluency, Abd al-Ra'ūf includes it in verse 92 of the Malay text.

266Usually the translator distinguishes between the two meanings of amr in the Malay equivalents he provides. Here he appears to have slipped up. "Suruhku" would have been more appropriate.

267Extrapolated from J verse 94.
94. (Kata) Harun: ("Hai anak ibuku! Jangan kau jabat jengkutku dan jangan kepalaku! Bahwasanya aku [takut] 288 jika kuikut akan dikau, niscaya takut 289 (bahwa kau kata:'Telah kauceraikan Bani Isra'il pada hal tiada kaunanti katalu.")")

95. (Kata) Musa 290: "Apa pekerjaanmu) yang membawa kepada yang telah kauperbuat itu, (hai Samiri?)"

96. (Kata) Samiri: 291 ("Telah kuketahui yang tiada diketahui oleh mereka itu. Maka kugenggam segenggam daripada tanah (bekas) tapak kaki kuda (Jibril, maka kumasukkan ia) ke dalam [rongkong] 292 rupa lembu yang dituangi daripada segala 293 pakaian emas itu. || (Dan demikian itulah dihiasi bagiku oleh nafsuku), ya'ni demikian itulah dimasukkan dalam hatiku bahwa kuambil segenggam daripada tanah bekas tapak kaki kuda Jibril dan kumasukkan ia ke dalam yang tiada bernyawa maka jadi ia bernyawa. Dan kulihat kaummu menuntut daripadamu, bahwa kaujadikan bagi mereka itu tuhan.")

97. (Kata) Musa bagi Samiri: ("Nyahlah engkau) daripada antara kami. (Maka bahwasanya bagimu selama hidupmu bahwa kau katala) bagi tiap-tiap orang yang kau lihat ia: ("Jangan kauhampir akan daku.' Dan bahwasanya ada bagimu perjanjian) ayiksamu (tiada engkau dapat ghaib daripadanya.")")

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca an lā tattabi"ani [v.93] dan wa lā bi-ra'asī [v.94] dan lan tukhlafahu [v.97] yang telah tersebut itu.

288 Istanbul. MS om.

289 "Niscaya takut" interpolated.

290 Interpolation.

291 ibid.

292 Istanbul. MS r.ng.k.

293 "Segala" added in margin, apparently by same hand. Also in Istanbul.
Adapun an lā tattabi‘ani itu, maka Qālūn dan Dūrī ittifak keduanya atas menyebutkan yā’-nya pada ketika wasl, tiada pada ketika wakaf, dan Hafs menghadhafkan dia pada dua hal itu.

Dan adapun bi-ra’sī itu, maka Abū ʿAmr dan Nāfiʾ ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia bi-raʾsiya dengan fatha yāʾ-nya, dan Hafs membaca dia bi-raʾsiī dengan mati yāʾ-nya serta lanjut.

Dan adapun lan tukhlafahu itu, maka Nāfiʾ dan Hafs ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia lan tukhlafahu dengan fatha lām-nya, dan Abū ʿAmr membaca dia lan tukhlafahu dengan kasrah lām-nya. Wa Allāh aʿlam.

("Dan tilik olehmu kepada tuhanmu yang netiasa engkau atas tetap menyembah dia itu. Niscaya kami tunukan [ia])294 ke dalam api, (kemudian maka kami hamburkan habunya ke laut dengan sekali hambur.)

98. ("Hanyasanya Tuhan kamu itu Allah, yang tiada Tuhan hanya Ia. Telah diluas oleh ilmuNya akan tiap-tiap sesuatu.")

99. Seperti yang telah Kami ceriterakan atasamu, ya Muhammad, ceritera ini (Kami ceriterakan atasamu daripada segala khabar yang telah dahulu-dahulu) daripada segala ummat. (Dan telah Kami anugerahakan akan dikau daripada Kami Qurʾān.)

100. (Barangsiapa telah berpaling ia daripada Qurʾān itu) maka tiada ia percaya akan dia, (maka bahwasanya adalah ia menanggung tanggungan) yang berat daripada segala dosya (pada hari kiamat),

101. (padahal kekal mereka itu dalam) syiksa dosya itu. (Dan sejahat-jahat tanggunganlah bagi mereka itu pada hari kiamat.)

102. Hari kiamat itu295 (hari ditiup sangkakala dan Kami himpunkan segala kafir pada hari itu || dengan kelabu) segala mata mereka itu serta hitam segala muka mereka itu,

103. (Berbisik-bisik antara mereka itu): "Tiada (kamu berhenti) dalam dunia (melainkan sepuluh) malam serta segala harinya."

104. (Kami terlebih tahu akan yang dikata mereka itu tatkala dikata

---

294 Istanbul. MS om.

295 Interpolation.
oleh yang terlebih adil jalan mereka itu) dalamnya: ("Tiada kamu berhenti melainkan sehari.")

105. (Dan ditanyai orang mereka itu akan dikau), ya Muhammad,
(daripada segala bukit) betapa jalan pada hari kiamat. (Maka kata olehmu) bagi mereka itu: ("Lagi akan diceraiceraikan akan dia oleh Tuhanku) seperti kersik maka diterbangkan akan dia oleh angin,
106. ("maka ditinggalkan akan dia terhampar) lagi rata.
107. ("Tiada kaulihat dalamnya rendah dan tiada tinggi.")

108. (Pada hari itu diikuti) oleh segala manusia kemudian daripada bangkit mereka itu dari dalam kubur (akan yang menyeru) kepada mahsyar. (Tiadalah dapat mereka itu tiada mengikut baginya. Dan telah diamlah segala suara bagi Tuhan yang bernama Rahman, maka tiadalah kaudengar) segala suara tapak-kaki (melainkan) seperti suara tapak kaki unta berjalan.

109. [33] (Pada hari itu tiadalah memerii manfaat syafa'at akan seseorang (melainkan barangsiapa telah memerii idhin baginya Tuhan yang bernama Rahman) bahwa memerii syafa'at Ba baginya, (dan telah rida Ba baginya akan kata), ya ni dikatanya lā ilāha illā Allāh.

110. (DiketahuiNya) ya ni Allah (yang di hadapan mereka itu) daripada segala pekerjaan akhirat (dan yang di belakang mereka itu) daripada pekerjaan dunia, (dan tiada diketahui mereka itu akan yang demikian itu.)

111. (Dan telah merendahkan dirilah segala makhluk pada hari itu) bagi Allah. (Dan telah rugilah orang yang menanggung pekerjaan syirk.)

112. (Dan barangsiapa mengerjakan segala ta'at padahal ia mu'min, maka tiadalah ia takut akan bertambah segala kejahatannya, dan tiada ia takut) akan berkurang segala kebajikannya.

296 ibid.

297 Later hand has added in margin "ya ni karena takut akan Allah".

298 "ya ni Allah" does not appear in either J or Istanbul. There appears to be a change of copyist from here on. The handwriting is more spaced out and a finer pointed implement has been used. This phrase "ya ni Allah" does not seem to fit the style of the earlier pages.
113. (Dan seperti) menurunkan barang yang telah disebutkan itu, (Kami turunkan) Qur'ān itu (Qur'ān dengan bahasa Arab,299 dan Kami ulang-ulangi dalamnya janji syiksa. Mudah-mudahan mereka itu takut) akan syirk, (atau dibaharui) oleh Qur'ān itu (bagi mereka itu memeri ingat) akan kebinasaan orang yang dahulu-dahulu daripada mereka itu daripada segala ummat, || maka jadi mengambil ibrat mereka itu.

114. (Maka Maha Tinggi Allah Raja yang Sebenarnya), daripada yang dikata oleh segala musyrik itu. Dan jangan kausegerakan) mengaji (Qur'ān itu dahulu daripada selesai Jibril menyampaikan dia, dan kata olehmu: "Hai Tuhanku! Tambahi olehMu akan daku pengetahuan) dengan Qur'ān."

115. (Dan sanya telah Kami pesan Adam) bahwa jangan dimakannya daripada kayu khulidi; adalah pesan itu300 (dahulu daripada ia memakan dia. Maka lupa ia) akan pesan Kami itu (padahal tiadalah Kami peroleh baginya putus janji) dan sabar daripada yang Kami tegahkan itu.

116. (Dan) sebut olehmu, ya Muhammad301 (tatkala Kami kata bagi segala malaikat: Sujudlah kamu bagi Adam. Maka sujud mereka itu melainkan Iblis, enggan ia) daripada sujud bagi Adam padahal dikatanya: "Aku terlebih baik daripadanya."

117. (Maka firman Kami: Hai Adam! Inilah seteru bagimu dan bagi isterimu.303 Maka jangan kiranya dikeluarkannya akan kamu kedua dari dalam syurga, maka jadilah kamu lelah) dengan menenggala dan berhuma304

299 Clearly shows Abd al-Ra'uf's technique of rendering the Arabic definite article by "itu". The text of Q and J is al-Qur'ān (Qur'ānan arabiyān...).

300 "Maka adalah pesanan itu" interpolated.

301 "Ya Muhammad" ibid.

302 "Allah" appears at this point of MS. Copyist's error - not in Istanbul.

303 Later hand has added in margin "ya...ni memikir barang suatu".

304 ibid "ya...ni mencacar huma".
dan mengerat perhuma\textsuperscript{305} dan [menepung]\textsuperscript{306} dan bermasak roti dan lain daripada yang demikian itu.

118. \(\%\) [34] (Bahwasanya bagimu tiada lapar dalam syurga itu dan tiada telanjang),

119. (dan bahwasanya engkau tiada dahaga dalamnya dan tiada kena hangat matahari.)

Fa'\'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca yunfakhu \textit{if}\ al-sūr [v.102] dan \textit{wa huwa} dan \textit{wa annaka} \textit{la tazma}\textsuperscript{307}u [v.119] yang telah lalu itu.

Maka adapun yunfakhu itu, maka Nāfī\textsuperscript{307} dan Ḥafs ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia yunfakhu dengan \textit{ya} yang dammah serta fatha fā'-nya,\textsuperscript{307} dan Abū OTTOM membaca dia nanfkuh dengan nūn yang fatha serta dammah fā'-nya.\textsuperscript{308} Maka adalah ma\'\'nanya tatkala dibaca dengan nūn "hari Kami tiup sangkakala."

Dan adapun \textit{wa huwa} itu, maka telah lalulah kenyataannya berapa tempat.

Dan adapun \textit{wa annaka} itu, maka Abū OTTOM dan Ḥafs ittifak keduanya atas membaca dia \textit{wa annaka} dengan fatha hamzah-nya, dan Nāfī\textsuperscript{307} membaca dia \textit{wa annaka} dengan kasrah hamzah-nya. \(\textit{Wa Allah} a\textsuperscript{307}lām.\)

120. (Maka diberi waswas oleh Syaitan akan dia, telah dikatanya: "Hai Adam! Maukah kutunjuki akan dikau atas pohon kayu khuldi) yang kekal dalam syurga barangsiapa memakan dia, (dan kerajaan yang tiada fana'?")

121. (Maka dimakan oleh keduanya daripada pohon kayu khuldi itu, maka nyatalah) bagi tiap-tiap seorang daripada keduanya kibul dan dubur

\textsuperscript{305} ibid "ya\textsuperscript{c}ni memotong ladang".

\textsuperscript{306} Istanbul. MS corrupt.

\textsuperscript{307}"Serta fatha fā'-nya" is added in the margin, probably by a later hand. It also occurs in Istanbul.

\textsuperscript{308}"Serta dammah fā'-nya" ibid.
taulannya, (maka ditutupi oleh keduanya atas keduanya dengan daun kayu syurga. Dan telah durhakalah Adam akan Tuhannya, maka sesat ia) daripada matlúbnya, dan jadi jahat ia daripada pihak menuntut kekal dengan memakan daripada pohon kayu itu.

122. (Maka dihampirkan akan dia oleh Tuhannya maka diterima taubatnya, dan ditunjuki) akan dia kepada mengekali taubat.

123. (Firman) Tuhannya: (Turunlah kamu kedua dari dalam syurga. Sekalian) setengah dhuriyya (kamu seteru bagi setengahnya) dengan aniaya setengahnya akan setengahnya. (Maka jika datang akan kamu penunjuk daripadaKu, maka barangsiapa mengikuti Qur'án maka tiadalah ia sesat) dalam dunia ini, (dan tiada ia cedera) dalam akhirat itu.

124. (Dan barangsiapa berpaling ia daripada Qur'ánKu) maka tiada ia percaya akan dia, (maka bahwasanya adalah baginya kehidupan yang picik) ya karena segala citanya dan tiliknya kepada dunia jua binasa atas bertambah an perut atas kurangnya bersalahan dengan segala mu'min yang menuntut [akhirat]. (Dan lagi akan Kami himpulkan akan dia pada hari kiamat padahalnya buta.)

125. (Telah berkata ia: "Hai Tuhanku! Karena apakah kauhimpunan

309 "Daripada matlúbnya...kekal" interpolated.

310 Interpolation.

311 "Akhirat" Istanbul. MS om. "Yaºni...akhirat" is taken from B:608. The Arabic text is as follows:

wa dhalika li-anna majāmiº himmatihi wa mata'miº nazrihi takūn ila i càd al-dunya mutahālika c°alā izdiyādiha khā'ifan c°alā intiqāsiha bi-khilāf al-mu'min al-tālib lil-akhirah

312 Note faithful rendering of Arabic perfective qāla, though sense is future.
aku padahalku buta padahal adalah aku) dalam dunia\textsuperscript{313} dan \textsuperscript{[35]} tatkala bangkit dari dalam kubur (amat melihat?)\textsuperscript{314}

Fa'idah: Pada menyatakan ikhtilaf antara segala qari yang tiga pada membaca \textit{lima hashartani} [v.125], maka Abū ĀAmr dan Hafs ittifak kedua nya atas membaca dia \textit{lima hashartani} dengan mati ya'\textsuperscript{-}nya serta lanjut, dan Nāfi\textsuperscript{c} membaca dia dengan fatha ya'\textsuperscript{-}nya serta singkat. \textit{Wa Allāh a\textsuperscript{c}lam.}

126. (Firman) Allah\textsuperscript{315}: Bermula pekerjaan (seperti datang akan dikau segala ayat Kami maka kautinggalkan akan dia) dan tiada engkau percaya akan dia, (dan seperti) [yang]\textsuperscript{316} demikian itulah (ditinggalkan engkau pada hari ini) dalam neraka.

127. (Dan seperti) balas Kami akan orang yang berpaling daripada Qur\textsuperscript{c}ān itu (Kami balas akan orang yang menyekutukan Allah padahal tiada ia percaya akan segala ayat Tuhannya. Dan niscaya adalah syiksa akhirat itu terlebih sangat) daripada syiksa [dunia dan siksa]\textsuperscript{317} kubur (dan lagi terlebih netiasa ia.)

128. (Tiadakah nyata bagi segala) kafir Mekkah itu (beberapa yang telah Kami binasakan dahulu daripada mereka itu daripada segala yang telah lalu) dengan sebab mendustakan segala pesuruh Allah (padahal berjalan\textsuperscript{318} mereka itu dalam pelayaran mereka itu) ke negeri Syam dan

\textsuperscript{313}Dual function of "padahal" in Ābd al-Ġa'ūr's Malay clear in this passage. The first renders the tamyiz of a man and the second renders the hal of wa qad kuntu.... The first is somewhat clumsy, the second more acceptable.

\textsuperscript{314}Note the reorganization of the Malay word order departing from Q and J, to aid the sense of the Malay.

\textsuperscript{315}Interpolation.

\textsuperscript{316}Istanbul. MS om.

\textsuperscript{317}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{318}Somewhat clumsy rendering of hāl of yamshūna.
lainnya; maka mengambil iberat kiranya mereka itu? (Bahwasanya adalah pada yang demikian itu akan iberat bagi segala orang yang || mempunyai akal).

129. (Dan jikalau tiada kalimat yang telah dahulu daripada Tuhanmu) ments'khirkan syiksa daripada mereka itu di akhirat, dan jikalau tiada ajal yang ditetapkan baginya, (niscaya adalah) kebinasaan mereka itu (lazim) dalam dunia ini.320

130. (Maka sabarlah engkau atas yang dikata mereka itu! Dan sembahyang engkau padahal memuji Tuhanmu dahulu daripada terbit matahari) ya'ni sembahyang Subuh (dan dahulu daripada masuknya) ya'ni sembahyang Asr, (dan setengah daripada segala sa'at malam maka sembahyangkan olehmu) Maghrib dan 'Isha' (dan sembahyangkan olehmu Zuhur. Mudah-mudahan engkau rida) akan anugerahNya daripada pahalaNya itu.

131. (Dan jangan kaulanjutkan tilik dua belah matamu kepada yang telah Kami sukacitakan dengan dia segala bagai) daripada segala kafir itu,321 telah Kami jadikan322 (bagi mereka itu perhiasan hidup dalam dunia supaya Kami fitnahkan akan mereka itu dalamnya. Dan rezeki Tuhanmu) dalam syurga (terlebih baik) daripada yang dianugerahkan akan mereka itu dalam dunia ini (dan terlebih netiasa ia.)

132. || [36] (Dan suruhkan olehmu isi rumahmu dengan sembahyang dan sabarkan olehmu atasnya. Tiada Kami berat akan dikau rezeki) bagi dirimu dan tiada bagi lainnya. (Kami jua memeri rezeki akan dikau. Bermula syurga itu adalah ia bagi orang yang takut) akan Allah jua.323

319"Akan" renders accusative of J li-3ibaran. Refer section 3.3.3.3.

320Note the complete reordering of the Arabic word order in this verse.

321"Daripada segala kafir itu" taken from B:609. The Arabic text is asnafan min al-kafarah.

322"Telah Kami jadikan" interpolated.

323Interpolation.
133. (Dan kata) oleh segala musyrik itu: ("Ngapa tiada didatangkan akan kami) oleh Muhammad (suatu tanda) yang menunjukkan atas kebenarannya akan bahwa ia nabi?" (Atau tiada didatang akan mereka itu kenyataan yang dalam segala kitab yang dahulu-dahulu) yang mengandung atas Qur'an daripada segala khabar ummat yang telah lalu dan kebinasaan mereka itu dengan sebab mendustakannya segala rasul.

134. (Dan jikalau Kami binasakan mereka itu [dengan adhab dahulu) daripada Muhammad akan rasul itu, (niscaya kata mereka itu: "Hai Tuhan kami! Ngapa tiada Kausuruhkan kepada kami pesuruh maka kami ikut segala ayatMu dahulu daripada kami dikuturung pada hari kiamat (dan dihinakan) dalam neraka jahanam?")

135. (Kata olehmu) bagi mereka itu, || ya Muhammad: ("Tiap seseorang) daripada kami dan kamu (menuntut sesuatu) yang cenderung kepadanya pekerjaan. (Maka lagi akan kamu ketahui) pada hari kiamat (akan orang yang mempunyai jalan yang betul dan akan orang yang beroleh penunjuk) daripada dalalah, kamikah atau kamu."

---

324 Copyist's error in MS. He at first wrote "mereka itu", then crossed it through and wrote "musyrik itu".

325 "Yang menunjukkan...nabi" taken from B:610. The Arabic text is bi-ayah tadullu al-sidqih fî idâqâ al-nubûwa.

326 MS "dikata mereka itu" appears at this point. Misplaced, as it is clearly God who is speaking, not the idolators. However it also occurs in Istanbul, which points to the error having predated both MS A and the MS on which the Istanbul edition was based. Further evidence of a common ancestor.

327 Istanbul. MS om.

328 Free translation of Q nadhilla=we are humiliated.

329 "Ya Muhammad" interpolated.
Chapter 5

English Translation of Vol. 16 of Jak. MS ML 116

5.1 The Cave

75. Khidr (said: "Did I not tell you that you could not be patient with me?) You have now gone further than before, because from now on there will be no excuses."

76. Moses (said: "If I ask you about anything else, do not accompany me [any further]. I have now provided you with an excuse) to leave me if I disobey you a third time."

77. (Then the two of them went until they came to people of a town) which was called Antioch. (The pair asked for food from these townspeople) by way of treating them as guests, (but they were unwilling to give them hospitality. They then found in the town a wall) of a height of 100 cubits (which was leaning over on the point of collapse, so Khidr stood it up) with his hands. Moses (said) to Khidr: ("If you had wished, you could have obtained a wage) as they did not want to take us as guests and we badly need food."

Anecdote: The upshot of the meaning is mentioned in the commentary of Khāzin: "You know that we are hungry, and the townspeople do not want to take us as guests, so why not claim a wage for your work?"

1 The text of this translation should be read in conjunction with the footnotes to chapter 4, where a more detailed breakdown of sources is provided.

78. Khidr (said) to Moses: ("This is the) time of (parting between you and me. Now I will tell you) before we part (what you could not bear with patience.)

79. ("As for the boat, it was in the charge of) ten (poor people working at sea) in order to cover costs (I wished to damage it because there was an) infidel (king facing them taking every) good (ship by force.)

80. ("As for the boy) whom I killed, (both his parents were believers and I was afraid that he would lead the pair of them into impiety and disbelief) as they both cherished him.

81. ("So it was our wish that their Lord should provide them with a child in his place who was more righteous from the standpoint of piety) and devotion (and more obedient) to his parents.

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting nukran [v.74] and maqīya [v.75] and ladūnī [v.76] and la-ṭtakhadḥta [v.77] and an yabdihumā [v.81].

As for nukran, Ḥafṣ and Abū ʿAmr both agree in reading it nukran with an unvowelled kāf, and Nāfī reads it with a dammah on the kāf. 3

As for maqīya, mention [of the variant readings] has already been made.

And as for ladūnī, Ḥafṣ and Abū ʿAmr both agree in reading it ladūnī with doubling of the nūn, while Nāfī reads it ladūnī with a single nūn. 4

As for la-ṭtakhadḥta, Nāfī and Ḥafṣ both agree in reading it la-ṭtakhadḥta with doubling of the ṭāʾ and a fathah on the khaʾ, while Abū ʿAmr reads it la-takhidḥta with a single ṭāʾ and a kasrah on the khaʾ. 5


4 Cf. Z:II,736; R:XXI,156; B:570

5 Cf. Z:II,740; B:570
As for anyabdilahumā, Nāfiʿ and Abū Ṭāmir both agree in reading it an yabaddilahumā with a fathah on the bāʾ and doubling of the dāl, while Hafs reads it with an unwelleted bāʾ and a single dāl. Wa Allah al-lam.

82. ("As for the wall, it belonged to two orphans in the city, and beneath it was) buried (a treasure) of gold and silver (belonging to them. Their father was a virtuous man) so God looked after them and their treasure because of the righteousness of their father. (So your Lord decreed that when they both grew into) righteous (adults, they should recover their treasure by the mercy of your Lord. And I did not) hole the boat and kill the child and erect the wall (on my own initiative) but these actions were by inspiration from God. (Such is the explanation of what you could not bear with patience.")

83. (And) the Jews (will ask you,) O Muhammad (about the story of Dhu'1-Qarnayn) who was called King Alexander and was not a prophet.7 (Say:"I will tell you something about him.")

84. (We established him in the world) with freedom to move within it (and we gave him everything) which he wanted (as a means) to attain his goal.

Further comment: Concerning the reason why King Alexander was named "Dhu'1-Qarnayn". He was a Greek, King of Persia and Greece. And some say he was king of the East and the West, and that is why he was named Dhu'1-Qarnayn. Or because he travelled to the two horns of the world, the East and the West. And some scholars say it was because during his lifetime, two generations of men passed away. And others offer different versions from those given above, among them that Dhu'1-Qarnayn was his title and his

6 Cf. Z:II,741; R:XXI,161

7 Abd al-Ra'ūf, like J, avoids entering into the controversy regarding the status of Dhu'1-Qarnayn. For details of the arguments for and against considering Dhu'1-Qarnayn a prophet, refer R:XXI,165.
name was Alexander.\(^8\) \(\text{Wa Allāh aClam}\).

85. (So he travelled) towards the West,

86. (until he arrived at the place where the sun sets, and found it setting in mud) which was black and hot. (He found at the edge of it an) infidel (people. We said) with inspiration:\(^9\) (Dhu'1-Qarnayn! Either punish) these people with death (or show them kindness) by taking them captive.

87. Dhu'1-Qarnayn (said: "Anyone who does evil), who regards God as having associates, (we will slay him, and we will thus send him to his Lord, who will severely torment him) in Hell.

88. ("And whoever believes) in God (and does good deeds, there will be for him a beautiful reward) of entry to Paradise, (and what We demand of him will be light.")

89. (Then he journeyed) towards the East,

90. (until on arriving at the place where the sun rises, he found the sun rising on a certain people) the Zanj race (for whom we had created no shelter against the heat of the sun), neither clothes nor roofs, because their land could not support houses and all they had were holes in the ground. They hid in them at sunrise, and they would appear when the sun was well advanced.

91. It was just as We have said. (We equipped Dhu'1-Qarnayn with all that he had) regarding entourage and troops (as how We well knew.)

92. (He then embarked upon) the third (journey) running athwart the East and the West,

93. (until on arriving between two hills) in the territory of Turkey, (he found a people who could barely understand) except slowly.

94. (They said: "O Dhu'1-Qarnayn! Gog and Magog bring destruction upon the land when) they attack us. (Do you wish us to pay you) a wage

\(^8\)Taken from B:572

\(^9\)This is a comment on how the words entered his mind (for some say he was not a prophet). The words were his words, not God's.
(in return for your constructing a wall between us and them) so they cannot reach us?"

95. Dhu’l-Qarnayn (said: "The provisions of my Lord for me) in terms of wealth and other things (are better) than the wage which you would give me, so I have no need of it. Moreover I will construct a wall for you for the sake of God. (So help me wholeheartedly) in all that I request of you, (and I will build a) strong (wall between you and them).

96. ("Bring me slabs of iron) in chunks to be laid down, and arrange them, and place between them firewood and coal (until when the space between the sides of the two mountains is filled up,) bring bellows and fire..."

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting fa-atbaq sababan [v.85] and nukran [v.87] and jaza‘an al-husna [v.88] and thumma atbaq sababan [v.89] in two places and al-saddayn [v.93] and Ya’juj wa Ma’juj [v.94] and baynahum sadan [v.94] and bayna’l-sadafayn [v.96].

As for fa-atbaq, Nafi and Abu Amr both agree in reading it with doubling of the tā‘ and a conjunctive hamzah, and Hafs reads it as fa-atbaq with a single tā‘ and disjunctive hamzah. 10

As for nukran, it has already been discussed.

Concerning jaza‘an al-husna, Nafi and Abu Amr agree in reading it jaza‘u al-husna with a dammah on the hamzah, and Hafs reads it as jaza‘an al-husna with a fathah on the hamzah as well as a nun under the hamzah. 11

As for thumma atbaq sababan in two places, mention has already been made.

As for al-saddayn, Abu Amr and Hafs agree in reading it as al-saddayn with a fathah on the sin, and Nafi reads it as al-suddayn with a dammah on the sin, and similarly for saddan. 12

Concerning Ya’juj wa Ma’juj, Nafi and Abu Amr are in...

10 Cf. R:XXI,165

11 Cf. R:XXI,168

12 Cf. R:XXI,169
agreement in reading it with lengthened alifas in both cases, and
Hafs reads it Ya'jūj wa Ma'jūj with an unvowelled hamzah.\textsuperscript{13}

As for al-sadafayn, Nafi\textsuperscript{c} and Hafs both agree in reading it
with a fathah on the sad, and Abu\textsuperscript{c}Amr reads it with a dammah on
the sad.\textsuperscript{14} Wa Allah a\textsuperscript{c}lam.

...[he] (said: "Blow.") So they blew upon it (until when the iron
was like fire), Dhu'il-Qarnayn (said: "Bring me some molten brass so that
I can pour it over the iron.") He then poured this brass over the hot
iron and it united to become strong.

97. (So) Gog and Magog (were not able to scale it) because of its
height and slipperyness, (nor could they penetrate it) because of its
hardness and [thickness?]. Some say that they were unable to dig down to
its foundations to water level because of its height, that is to say its
depth.\textsuperscript{15}

98. Dhu'il-Qarnayn (said: "The strength of this place is a mercy from
my Lord) because it prevents them from getting out, (but when the promise
of my Lord comes to pass) that they will face the Resurrection, (truly He
will destroy this place) and He will make it dust. (The promise of my
Lord) as to their coming out and others (are true)." God declares:

99. (And We will allow them to intermingle on the day of the exit)
of the many who emerge. (And the trumpet will be blown) for the
Resurrection, (and We will gather all creatures) in one place on the Day
of Resurrection (in an assembly).

100. (And We will expose Hell on that day to the unbelievers by
drawing) all of them (close),

101. all those (whose eyes were closed to the Qur'an) and they were
thus struck blind because they did not receive guidance through the
Qur'an. (And they could not hear) from the Prophet salla Allāh \textsuperscript{c}alayhi

\textsuperscript{13}Cf. R:XXI,175

\textsuperscript{14}Refer section 2.4.2.

\textsuperscript{15}"because of its hardness...depth" from B:574.
wa sallam all which he said to them out of hatred for him, thus they did not believe in him.

102. (Do all those who disbelieve think that they can take My servants) and Jesus and ʿUzayr as other Gods (beside Me) without arousing My anger and without My punishing them for it? They should not have such thoughts. My anger will fall upon them and I will punish them because of that. (We have prepared the fires of Hell for the unbelievers) as a dish is prepared for guests.

103. (Say) O Muhammad: ("Do you want me to tell you of those whose works are in vain?)

104. "They are the people (whose works are futile ... although they consider that they have done) works for which they will be rewarded."

105. (These are they who disbelieve the signs) of the Unity (of their Lord and) disbelieve in (meeting with Him, so their works are in vain, and We will not take into account) their works (on the Day of Resurrection.)

106. Regarding My mention of the destruction of their works, (their reward will be Hell because of their disbelief and) because of (their mockery of My signs and My messengers.)

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting dakkā' wa kāna [v.98] and min duniya awliyāʾa [v.102] and awliyāʾa inna [v.102] and yahsabūna [v.104] and huzuwan [v.106].

As for dakkā' wa kāna , Nāfiʿ and Abū ʿAmr both agree in reading it dakkān with nunation on the kāf with a short vowel, and Hafs reads it dakkāʾ with a hamzah and a long vowel on the kāf. 

And as for min duniya , Nāfiʿ and Abū ʿAmr both agree in reading it with a fathah on the yāʾ, and Hafs reads it with an unwvowelled yāʾ.

As for awliyāʾa inna , Qālūn and Dūrī agree in pronouncing the

16The Malay MS has a lacuna at this point.

17Cf. B:574
first hamzah and eliding the second at the juncture, and Hafs pronounces both.

As for yahsabūna and huzuwan, similar discussion has occurred previously in several places. Wa Allah a'lam.

107. (All those who believe) in God (and do good works will be) fixed in the knowledge of God (in Heaven) called (Paradise) [which will be] their (abode).

108. (Where they will remain forever. They will not wish to move from it) to another better heaven.

109. (Say) O Muhammad: ("If) the water of (the sea were ink) to write (the words) of knowledge and wisdom (of my Lord, the sea would be dry before the words) of knowledge and wisdom (of my Lord were exhausted. And if a similar) sea (were added), these would still not be exhausted."

110. (Say: "I am only a human being like you, and He has revealed to me that your God is One God, thus whoever hopes to meet his Lord, let him do good works and not share worship of his Lord with any other.")

5.2 The Chapter of Mary

"alayhā al-salām This is the Chapter of Mary, may God's mercy be upon her. It was revealed in Mecca except for the verse of prostration revealed in Medina, [i.e.] fa-khalafa min ba'dihim khalf... two verses, with both verses being revealed in Medina. The number of verses totals ninety-eight or nine. It is stated in Baydawi that whoever recites the Chapter of Mary, there will be ten favours from God for everyone who disbelieves [the story of] Zacharias, and for everyone who believes in him and John and Mary and Jesus and in all the prophets mentioned in the Chapter of Mary, and for those who call on God in [this] world, and those who do not call on God. It is mentioned in Manāfiṣ al-Qur'ān.

---

18 There appears to be a lacuna in the text of the MS.

19 Fleischer 1846:590.

20 Refer to section 2.5 for the identity of this work.
that whoever copies [the Chapter of Mary] and does this in his own home, there will be many rewards. Wa Allāh aṣ-ṣalam.

Bismillāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm

1. (k.h.y. C.s.) Only God knows what He means.

2. This is (a mention of God's mercy towards his servant Zacharias),

3. (when he called upon his Lord secretly) in prayer during the night.

4. (He said: "My Lord! My bones have become weak and the hair of) my (head is bright, and I have never prayed to you) in an evil way (O Lord,) in the past.

5. (I am troubled about those who will succeed me after) my death concerning the faith, lest they depart from it just as I saw the Children of Israel alter Your Covenant. (My wife is barren [weak]), does not conceive, (so bestow upon us a child)

6. (who will be an heir to me and an heir to the family of Jacob) in knowledge and prophecy. (Bestow upon him, Lord,) Your (benevolence.")

7. God declared, granting this request: (O Zacharias! We give you tidings of a child) to be an heir to you as you request (and his name will be John. We have never before given the name) John to any other.

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting rahmat [v.2] and zakariyā'-dh nādā [vs. 2-3] and waliya yarithuni wa yarithu [vs. 5-6] and zakariyā inna [v.7].

As for rahmat, Qālūn and Hafs both agree in observing the pause with a lengthened tā', and Dūrī with a momentary tā'.

As for zakariyā'-dh nādā, Qālūn and Dūrī both agree in pronouncing the first hamzah and dropping the second at the juncture, and Hafs elides the second hamzah at both juncture and pause.

As for yarithuni and yarithu, Nāfi' C and Hafs agree in reading them both with a dāmmah on the thā', and Abū C Amr reads

---

21 Evident copyist error. Wa intended.
them both with no vowel after the tha’.\(^{22}\)

As for zakariyyā innā, Qālūn and Dūrī both agree in pronouncing the first hamzah and in replacing the second with a waw taking a kasrah at the juncture, and Hafṣ elides the first hamzah and pronounces the second. Wa Allāh a‘lam.

8. Zacharias (said: “My Lord! How can I have a child when my wife is barren [weak]) does not conceive (and has already attained a very great age) at which one despairs of childbearing?”

9. God declared: Concerning (a matter of this kind), creating a child from the pair of you, (your Lord says: That is easy for Me, indeed I created you previously when you were nothing.)

Pericope: rā.d.r.\(^{23}\) Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting citiyan [v.8] and rabbi ijū al imson [v.10] in the preceding section.

As for citiyan, Nāfīṣ and Abū ʿAmr read it with a dammah on the iyn, and Hafṣ reads it with a kasrah on the iyn.\(^{24}\)

As for rabbi ijū al imson, Nāfīṣ and Abū ʿAmr read it as liya with a fathāh on the yā', and Hafṣ reads it with an unvowelled long yā'. Wa Allāh Ta‘ālā a‘lam.

10. Zacharias (said: “My Lord! Give me a sign) which will show my wife is to become pregnant.” (God declared: The sign) of this (will be that you will not speak with anyone) other than to recite God’s name (for three days although you will be healthy) and sound, neither sick nor dumb.

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting citiyan [v.8] and rabbi ijū al imson [v.10] in the preceding section.

As for citiyan, Nāfīṣ and Abū ʿAmr read it with a dammah on the iyn, and Hafṣ reads it with a kasrah on the iyn.

---

\(^{22}\)See section 2.4.2.

\(^{23}\)Corruption in Malay text.

\(^{24}\)Cf. R:XXI,187; B:577
As for ُنادي, Nafi' and Abu Amr read it as liya with a fathah on the ya', and Haš reads it with an unvowelled long ya'. Wa Allāh a'lam.

11. (Then) Zacharias (went out to his people from the sanctuary) as they were demanding that the door of the sanctuary be opened so that they could pray inside as was prescribed by the Law, (and he signalled to them: "Pray morning and afternoon) according to the Law." He thus realised through his inability to speak with them that his wife would be pregnant. When John was two years old, God declared:

12. (John! Take the Torah with resolve. And We bestowed upon him the gift of prophecy) when he was three years of age.

13. (And) he was (a mercy) for all mankind. All this was (from Us, and a gift) to them. (He feared) God.

14. ([He was] devoted to his parents; he was not arrogant, nor was he disobedient) to his Lord.

15. (And may peace) from Us (was upon him on the day he was born and on the day of his death and will be on the day of his Resurrection.)

16. (And tell in the Qur'an of Mary, when she distanced herself from her family towards the east) of her village, either because she wished to dress her hair or [arrange] her clothes, or perform menstrual ablutions.25

17. (She thereupon placed a curtain between herself and them. We then sent) Gabriel (to her.) Gabriel (appeared to Mary) when she had fully clothed herself (in the form of a perfect man.)

18. Mary (said: "I take refuge from you in The Merciful; if you are God-fearing), then begone from me because of Him with whom I take shelter."

19. Gabriel (said: "I am the messenger of your Lord, sent to give you a holy child) possessing the gift of prophecy.

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting َلا أَعْتُبُرَّ بِالرَّحْمَٰنُ [v.18] and َلا يَحَابَ [v.19].

25 Refer to the Jewish purification rituals relevant to menstruation in Leviticus XV:19-33.
As for inni, Nafi\textsuperscript{c} and Abu\textsuperscript{c} Amr both agree in reading it as inniya with a fathah on the ya', and Hafs reads it with a long ya' without following vowel.

As for li-yahaba, Nafi\textsuperscript{c} and Hafs agree in reading it as li-ahaba with a hamzah, and Abu\textsuperscript{c} Amr reads it as li-yahaba with a ya', in which case it means "so that he may give you".\textsuperscript{26} Wa Allāh a\textsuperscript{c}lam.

20. Mary (said: "How can I have a child when no man has touched me) in marriage (and I have not fornicated.")

21. Gabriel (replied: "So be it) that you bear a child without a father. (Your Lord declared: Such is easy for Me." And) We did this (in order that We make him a sign for all mankind) of our Power (and a mercy from Us) for all who believe in him. His creation (is decreed).

22. (So) Mary (conceived the child, and retired with him to a place which was far) from her family,

23. (and the pains of childbirth brought her to the trunk of a date-palm) so that she might lean against it. She then gave birth to the child, the conception and taking shape and birth [happening] in an hour. Mary (exclaimed: "O woe, rather I had died than have this befall me, and that I were rejected, neither recognised) nor spoken of."

24. Whereupon Gabriel (called out from below her: "Do not grieve. Truly your Lord has created a river below you.

25. ("Shake the trunk of the date-palm, and the ripe fruit will drop down for you.)

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting mittu qabla [v.23] and nasyan and min tahtihā [v.24] and tusāqit [v.25].

As for mittu, Nafi\textsuperscript{c} and Hafs read it as mitti with a kasrah on the mim, while Abu\textsuperscript{c} Amr reads it with a dammah on the mim.\textsuperscript{27}

As for nasyan, Nafi\textsuperscript{c} and Abu\textsuperscript{c} Amr read it as nisyan with a

\textsuperscript{26} Cf. R:XXI,198; B:578. Refer to section 2.4.2.

\textsuperscript{27} Cf. B:579
kasrah on the nun, and Hafs reads it as nasyan with a fathah on the nun.28

As for min tahtihā, NāfīC and Hafs read it as min tahtihā with a kasrah on the min [functioning as a] preposition as well as a kasrah on the second tā', and Abū Āmr reads it as man tahtahā with a fathah on the min [making it a] relative pronoun with a resulting fathah on the tā'. The meaning with a kasrah in min is "from below".29

As for tusāqīt, NāfīC and Abū Āmr read it as tassāqāt with doubling of the sīn and [placing] a fathah on the tā' and qaf, and Hafs reads it as tusāqīt with a dammah on the tā', a single sīn and a kasrah on the qaf.30

Wa Allāh al-‘lam.

26. ("So eat) these ripe dates (and drink) from the river (and soothe your eyes) by taking this child, i.e. be fulfilled. (Then if you meet anyone) who asks you about the child, (say: 'Truly I have vowed) not to speak about this child or anything else, (so I will speak with no-one) because of this vow.'"

27. (Then) Mary (carried her child to her family. They said: "0 Mary! You are responsible for a monstrous act) in that you have borne an illegitimate child.

28. "(O sister of Aaron! Your father was not a fornicator, nor was your mother!) So where did you get this child?"

29. Mary (then pointed to the child) and said: "Speak with him." (They said: "How can we speak with one who is in the cradle, an infant?")

30. The child (said: "Truly I am a servant of God. He has given me the Book of the Gospel (and has made me a Prophet.)

31. ("And He has made me of service) to all mankind (wherever I am, and has enjoined on me prayer and) the giving of (alms as long as I live,)

28ibid

29Cf. Z:III,12; R:XXI,204; B:579

30Cf. R:XXI,206; B:579
32. ("and also to be devoted to my mother. He has not made me arrogant or disobedient) to my Lord.

33. ("And peace) from God (was on me the day I was born and will be on me the day I die and the day I am to be resurrected.")

34. God declared: (Such) is the word telling that (Jesus is the son of Mary. This is a true statement concerning which there is confusion) among the Christians.

35. (God has not taken a son. He far transcends) such things. (When He wishes to create something, then He says: "Be", and it is.) Among these things is the creation of Jesus without a father.

36. (And) declare: (Truly God is my Lord and your Lord, so serve Him.) What is stated here is (the right path) which leads to Heaven.

37. (The sects) of Christians (quarrel among themselves in saying that either Jesus is the son of God, or a God beside Him, or a third member of a Trinity. (Great will be the punishment for these unbelievers when they are present on the Day of Resurrection with all its uproar.)

38. It is astonishing (how much they will see and hear on the Day when they come to Us) in the Hereafter. (But all those unbelievers today) [in this] world (are in manifest error.)

39. (Warn) all the unbelievers of Mecca, O Muhammad, (of the day of repining) for all those who did evil in addition to not doing good works in the world (when the matter) of their punishment (is settled) with torment, (whereas they had no thought of it) in this world (and did not believe) in it.

31 Cf. Z:III,16; R:XXI,217; B:580. Note that the text of Z and R are identical.
40. (Truly We will inherit the earth and all upon it) both rational creatures and others by destroying them, (and to Us they will return) for recompense.

41. (Mention) to them the account of (Abraham in the Book. Truly he was a man of truth and a prophet.)

42. (When he said to his father) Azar: ("O my father! Why do you worship something which neither hears nor sees nor is of use to you in any way) for benefit or harm?

43. ("O my father! Truly there has come to me, indeed to me, knowledge which has not yet come to you, so follow me and I will show you the right path.)

44. ("O my father! Do not worship Satan. Truly Satan has been most rebellious against The Merciful.)

45. ("O my Father! I fear you will suffer a punishment from The Merciful) if you do not repent, (so that you will be a servant of Satan) and will be [his] assistant in Hell."

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting wa inna Allah [v.36] and nabiyan [v.41] and inni akhafu [v.45] in the preceding section.

As for wa inna Allah, Nafi' and Abu ° Amr both agree in reading it [with a fathah on the hamzah, whereas Hafs reads it] with a kasrah on the hamzah.

As for nabiyan, mention of it has already been made.

As for inni, Nafi' and Abu ° Amr both agree in reading it inniya with a fathah on the ya', whereas Hafs reads it with a long unvowelled ya'. Wa Allah a'lam.

46. Azar, the father of Abraham, (said: "Do you hate my gods, Abraham? If you do not cease) opposing my gods, (I will stone you.) So fear me (and depart for several years.")

47. Abraham (replied:) "(Peace be upon you from me. I will beg my Lord's forgiveness for you. He is gracious to me.)

48. ("And I will set myself apart from you and from all which you

32Cf. Z:III,17; R:XXI,219; B:581. Note Z = R.
worship other than God, and I will pray to my Lord. May I not fall into disaster) as have you through worship of others than my Lord."

49. (So when) Abraham (had set himself apart from them and from all they worshipped other than God, We gave him) two children to whom he was extremely close, namely (Isaac and Jacob. We made each) of them (a prophet.)

50. (We gave) the three of them wealth and children (through Our mercy, and We made for them a word of truth, and great was their renown.)

51. (And mention in the Book Moses. Truly he was total) in his devotion, (and he was a messenger and a prophet.)

52. (We called Moses) with Our words: "Moses! Truly I am God!" This call was (from the right slope of Mt. Sinai, and We brought him close to Us by whispering to him.)

53. (We gave him, out of Our Mercy, his brother Aaron, a prophet.)

54. (And mention in the Book) the prophet (Ismail. He was true to his word and was a messenger and a prophet.)

55. (He directed his family to pray and give alms, and his Lord was well pleased with him.)

56. (And mention in the Scripture) the prophet (Idris. He was truthful and was a prophet.)

57. (We raised him to a position of great esteem) during his life.

Anecdote: He is [now] in the fourth, sixth or seventh heaven or in Paradise. He entered therein immediately after experiencing death and was restored to life. He has not come out from it.

58. (It is these on whom God has bestowed His favour; some descended from Adam's posterity) i.e. Idris, (some from those We carried with Noah, some from the descendants of Abraham and Israel), i.e. Jacob, (and some from the descendants of those others We guided and chose.)

33 Baydāwī and Jalālayn identify Idris as Enoch, the great-grandfather of Noah:

34 Taken from J:408.
Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting rabbi innahu [v.47] and mukhlasan [v.51] and nabīyan [v.51] and nabīyin [v.58] in the preceding sections.

As for rabbi innahu, Nāfic and Abū ʿAmr both agree in reading it with a fathah on the ya’, and Hafṣ reads it with a long unvowelled ya’.

As for mukhlasan, Nāfic and Abū ʿAmr agree in reading it mukhlisan with a kasrah on the lam, whereas Hafṣ reads it with a fathah on the lam. The meaning with a fathah is “one who is made sincere”.

As for nabīyan and al-nabīyīn, these have been explained in the previous places where they occurred. Wa Allāh ʿalām.

(When the signs of The Merciful were recited to them, they fell down in worship and wept) so you be as they.

59. (But some of the successors who followed them treated prayer lightly) by abandoning it, such as the Jews and Christians, (and they followed their passions) and wickedness, (and they will be thrown into a valley of) the fires of Hell,

60. (but whoever repents and believes and does good works, they will enter Paradise. They will not be deprived of anything) of their reward.

61. Heaven signifying (the Gardens of perpetual abode which were promised by The Merciful to his servants) though they are (absent) from it. (Truly) concerning The Merciful, (whatever has been promised by Him will come to pass.)

62. (They will not hear within Paradise any vain) speech, (only [the greeting] “Salām”) from the angels to them or among themselves. (And the provision that is made for them will be given morning and evening), in accordance with what they received of both of them in the world.

63. (This is the Heaven which We will bestow) and give as an inheritance (among those of Our servants who fear their Lord) by being obedient to Him.

Anecdote: When there was no revelation for a period of several

---

days, the Prophet said to Gabriel: "What has prevented you from visiting us more frequently than you did before?" Thus God related the words of Gabriel:

64. ("We do not descend except by command of your Lord. To Him belongs all that is before us) regarding matters of the Hereafter (and behind us) regarding worldly matters (and matters of the present) until the Day of Resurrection; namely He alone possesses this knowledge. (Your Lord is not forgetful) of you."

65. i.e. (God) the possessor (of the seven Heavens and the earth and all that is between them. Worship Him and be constant in devotion to Him. Is there anyone other who has such a name)? There is no-one!

66. (Those) who do not believe in the Resurrection (say: "When I die, will I be raised to life) from the grave as Muhammad says? There is no such thing."

God rejects their words with His Decree:

67. (Does mankind not remember that We created him when he was nothing?) Let him understand his restoration from his beginning.

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting yadkhulūna'1-jannata [v.60] and aidhā mā mittu [v.66] and a wa lā yadhkuru [v.67] in the preceding section.

As for yadkhulūna, Nāfī  and Ḥafṣ both agree in reading it as yadkhulūna with a fathah on the ya' and a dammah on the kha', and Ābu  Āmr reads it with a dammah on the ya' and a fathah on the kha'.

As for aidhā, Qālūn and Dūrī both agree in pronouncing the first hamzah and eliding the second at the juncture, and Ḥafṣ reads it with brevity and reduction.

As for mā mittu, Nāfī  and Ḥafṣ read it with a kasrah on the mim, and Ābu  Āmr reads it with a dammah on the mim.

As for a wa lā yadhkuru, Nāfī  and Ḥafṣ read it as yadhkuru with a single consonant, and Ābu  Āmr reads it as yadhakkaru with

---

36 Taken from J:409 and Asbāb al-nuzūl [al-Wāhidī:226-7].

37 Cf. Z:III,26; B:584
doubling of both dāl and kāf.\textsuperscript{38} \(\text{Wa Allāh aš-šam.}\)

68. (By your Lord), O Muhammad, (We are to gather together all) who deny the Resurrection (with all) their (devils) in chains, (then will We set them kneeling in Hell) on their knees.

69. (Then will We set aside), in other words, will We separate, (those of each sect) among the dead (who were most forthright in their denial of The Merciful) and most rebellious.

70. (And so We best know those who most deserve to enter) Hell and the burning.

71. (There will not be) any one (among you who does not) enter Hell, i.e. (pass through it). This inevitable passage through it (is) an established (Decree of your Lord.)

72. (Then We will deliver all those who dread) idolatry and disbelief from Hell (but We will leave in it all who do evil) on account of polytheism and disbelief (kneeling in Hell) - on their knees.

73. (When Our clear signs) from the Qur'ān (are read to) the believers and unbelievers, (those who disbelieve say to those who believe) in God: ("Which of the two), you or us, (has a better abode and converses in better company?")

74. God declares: (Very many are they whom We have destroyed before them) of communities in the past, (which had finer prosperity and possessions.) So just as We destroyed those who preceded them because of their disbelief, We will destroy them.

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting jīthīyan [vs. 68+72] on two preceding occasions and gīthīyan [v.69] and sīlīyan [v.70] and wāri'īyan [v.74] which occur previously.

As for jīthīyan in two instances, Nāfi\textsuperscript{C} and Abū Āmr both agree in reading it with a dammah on the jîm, and Ḥāfṣ reads it

\textsuperscript{38}Cf. Z:III,32-3; R:XXI,241; B:586. Note Z = R. Refer section 2.4.2.
with a kasrah on the ǧīm.\(^{39}\)

As for ḍitīyan, Nāfī\(^{c}\) and Abū ČAmr both agree in reading it with a dammah on the ṣāyn, and Hāfs reads it with a kasrah on the ṣāyn.

As for sillīyan, Nāfī\(^{c}\) and Abū ČAmr read it with a dammah on the sad, and Hāfs reads it with a kasrah on the sad.\(^{40}\)

As for wari'yan, Abū ČAmr and Hāfs read it as wari'yan with an unpowedd hamzah, and Nāfī\(^{c}\) reads it as wari'yan with doubling of the yā' and without a hamzah.\(^{41}\) Wa Allāh a-šam.

75. (Say) O Muhammad: ("Whosoever is in error, he will be left by The Merciful) in his infidelity and allowed a time in his disbelief, (until they see that with which they have been threatened, whether it be punishment) which sometimes may be death and sometimes may be confinement, (or judgment) leading to Hell, (then they will realise who is in the worse position and has weaker forces.")

76. (God will increase the guidance) through faith (of those who have His guidance). (All the spiritual exercises and good works) which belong forever to those who perform them (are better in the sight of your Lord in respect of merit and outcome.)

77. (Have you considered the one who disbelieved in Our signs), i.e. C Āṣ son of Wā'īl (who said) to Khabbāb son of A.r.t on the occasion of [Khabbāb’s] statement to him: i.e."You will be raised after death", in addition to requesting debt-repayment, [C Āṣ] said as follows to Khabbāb: ("We will be given property and children), so I will pay you then."\(^{43}\)

78. God declared: (Does he know what is concealed? Has he made a

\(^{39}\)Cf. B:586

\(^{40}\)Cf. B:586

\(^{41}\)Cf. Z:III,37; R:XXI,246; B:587

\(^{42}\)MS corrupt - c.ā.ṣ.

\(^{43}\)A fuller account of this incident can be found in al-Baydāwī.
reliable contract with The Merciful) that He will bestow on him what he has said?

79. He will (not) be given this. (We will) command to be (recorded what he has said, and because of that We will increase his punishment) over and above the punishment for his disbelief.

80. (And We will inherit whatever he possesses) of property and children, (and he will come to Us) on the Day of Resurrection, with neither property nor children.

81. (They), the unbelievers of Mecca, (have taken gods other than God), i.e. idols which they worship (so that they will ask) intercession of God (for them.)

82. (There is no-one) who can hold back their punishment. The idols (will deny their worship) of them, by saying: "They did not worship us", (and they will be enemies one to another.)

83. (Do you not see all the devils), We have given them power (over the unbelievers, ordering them) and inciting them to sin (with strong incitement).

84. (So do not be in haste), O Muhammad, by demanding punishment (for them. We have surely numbered exactly for them) their days and nights and the number of breaths they will take until the time of their punishment arrives.

85. Speak of (the day when We will assemble all those who fear Almighty God) in faith (before The Merciful, when they will be in carriages.)

86. (But We will drive all the unbelievers), because of their ungodliness, (into Hell, and they will be on foot) and thirsting.

87. Mankind (will have nothing to intercede for it, except those who have made a covenant with The Merciful) by witnessing that there is no God but God, and there is neither power nor authority except through God.

88. The Jews and Christians and those who believe that the angels are the daughters of Almighty God (say that The Merciful has had a child). God declares to them:

89. (Truly you have committed a) great (calumny),

90. (the Heavens might well split at this calumny, and the earth shatter and the mountains collapse) on top of them.
91. The reason for this is (that they said The Merciful has a child.)

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting a fa-ra'ayta al-ladhi [v.77] and takādu [v.90] and yatafattarna [v.90].

As for a fa-ra'ayta, Abu ṣAmr and Ḥafṣ both agree in reading it as a fa-ra'ayta with the hamzah pronounced, and Nāfiʿ elides it.

As for takādu, Abu ṣAmr and Ḥafṣ read it with a ta', and Nāfiʿ reads it with a ya'.

As for yatafattarna, Ṣa'id al-Muzahim reads it with a tuʿ preceding the faʾ and with doubling of the tuʿ which takes a fathah, and Abu ṣAmr reads it as yanfatirna with an unwovelled nun before the faʾ and a single taʾ which takes a kasrah. Wa Allah a lam.

92. (It is not fitting that The Merciful should take a child.)

93. (There are none in the Seven Heavens and the earth who will not approach The Merciful humbly) and in submission on the Day of Resurrection, among them Ṣaʿūd b. Ṣahl b. عزير and Jesus.

94. (Truly they have been listed and counted exactly), so neither the totality of them or any individual from them is hidden from Him.

95. (All will come before Him on the Day of Resurrection) without property and with no-one to help them or protect them from punishment.

96. (Truly all those who believe) in God (and do good deeds will be granted by The Merciful love) among themselves, and God will love them.

97. (We have made) the Qurʾān (easy in your language), Arabic, (so that you may use it to tell the truth to those who oppose you) with vain arguments, i.e. the unbelievers of Mecca.

98. (How many are they whom We have destroyed before them) of the

44Cf. Z:III,44; R:XXI,254; B:589

45Cf. Z:III,44; R:XXI,254; B:589

46Lacuna. No rendering for Q al-muttaqin wa yundhira bi-hi.
nations of the past because they said the prophets were liars. (Have you seen any of them or heard a whisper of them)? Just as We destroyed those before them so will We destroy them.

5.3 The Chapter of Tāhā

MakkIyah [wa hiya] mi'a wa [khamsa] wa thalāthūn ayāt [aw] wa arba'ūn ayāt aw wa thinthān

This is the Chapter of Tāhā. It was revealed in Mecca, and consists of one hundred and thirty-five verses, or one hundred and forty-five verses, or one hundred and forty-two verses. The tradition is mentioned in Baydawi 47 that whoever recites the Chapter of Tāhā will on the Day of Resurrection be given the same reward as the Emigrants 48 and the Helpers 49. It is mentioned in Manāfi' al-Qur'ān that if it is used in attempts to conciliate two parties which are quarrelling, war will not occur.

Bismillah al-Rahmān al-Rahīm

1. (T.H.) Only God understands what he means by this.

2. (We have not revealed the Qur'ān to you in order to weary you), O Muhammad, by what you do after its revelation by way of your long standing in prayer at night, so do not overtax yourself.

3. but We revealed the Qur'ān (in order to give by it a reminder to the God-fearing).

4. The Qur'ān (was revealed by) God (who created the earth and the Seven lofty Heavens).

5. The Creator of the earth and the Seven lofty Heavens is (The Merciful. He has His place on the Throne) and obviously has a place which is appropriate to Him.

47 Fleischer 1846:610.

48 Those Meccans who migrated to Medina with the Prophet Muhammad in the early period of Islam.

49 The Medinan followers of Muhammad who granted him refuge after his flight from Mecca.
6. (To Him belongs all that is in the Seven Heavens and the earth and all that is between them) of living creatures (and all that is below the seven earths).

7. (If you raise your voice) in mentioning Him or in calling Him, - He does not need you to raise your voice, (for He knows all that is secret and hidden) from Him, i.e. what one says to Him to one's self, and what moves in the mind without even being uttered to one's self.

8. (Almighty God is God indeed. There is no God but He. To Him belong the most beautiful names).

9. (Surely the story of Moses has reached you)?

10. (When he saw a fire) while travelling from Midian to Egypt, (he said to his family: "Remain) here. (I can see a fire. Perhaps I can bring you something from it on a lighted torch or by the fire find) someone who can show me the way."

11. (When he approached the fire he was called: Moses!)

12. (Truly I, indeed I am your Lord. Take off both your sandals. You are in the valley sanctified) by God called (Tuwa).

13. (I have chosen you) from among your people. (So listen to what is to be revealed) to you from Me.

14. (I am God. There is no God but I. So worship Me and undertake prayer because of the remembrance of Me there is) in it.

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reading inni ānastu [v.10] and la'callī ātiy Kum [v.10] and inni ānā [v.12] and Tuwan [v.12] and innani ānā Allāh [v.14] and li-dhikri [v.14].

As for inni ānastu, Abu Āmra and Nāfi agree in reading it as inniya with a fathāh on the ya’, and Hafs reads it with an unvowelled ya’ which is lengthened.

As for la’callī, Abu Āmra and Nāfi both agree in reading it with a fathāh on the ya’, and Hafs reads it with an unvowelled ya’ which is lengthened.

As for inni ānā, Nāfi and Abu Āmra read it with a fathāh on the ya’, and Hafs reads it with an unvowelled ya’ which is lengthened.50

50 Cf. Z:III,54; R:XXII,16. Note Z = R
218

As for Ṭuwan, Hafs and Abū ʿAmr read it as Ṭuwan with nunation, and Nafi reads it as Ṭuwa without nunation.

As for innānī ana Allāh, Nafi and Abū ʿAmr read it with a fathah on the ya', and Hafs reads it with an unvowelled ya' which is lengthened.

As for li-dhikrī, Nafi and Abū ʿAmr read it with a fathah on the ya', and Hafs reads it with an unvowelled ya' which is lengthened. Wa Allāh a c lam.

15. (Truly the Resurrection is coming. I have almost totally concealed it) from Mankind, and the approach of the Resurrection is clear to them by its signs, so that) on it (everyone will be requited for what he has done) for good and evil.

16. (Do not be turned aside) from believing in the Resurrection (by those who disbelieve in it and indulge in their fancies) by denying the Resurrection, (for you will perish) if you do not believe in it.

17. God declared: (What is that in your right hand, Moses?)

18. Moses (said: "It is my staff. I lean upon it) when rising up and walking (and I use it to strike down) leaves so they fall (for my flock) and they eat them. (And it is useful for my other needs.")

19. (God declared: Throw down your staff, Moses!)

20. (So he threw it down and it suddenly became a) great (snake moving) on its belly with the speed of a small snake.

21. (God declared: Take it and have no fear) of it. (We will return it to its original state.)

22. (Now place your) right (hand into your) left side (under your armpit. It will come out unharmed but gleaming) like the dazzling rays of the sun. This is (another sign,)

23. (so that We can show you a few of Our great signs) demonstrating that you are Our messenger.

24. (Go) as Our messenger (to Pharaoh) and to his entourage. (Truly he has exceeded proper bounds) in his ungodliness in claiming himself divine.

51 Cf. Z:III,55; R:XXII,18; B:593
25. Moses (said: "O Lord! Extend my breast), i.e. my heart, so that I may bear the message.

26. ("Lighten my task for me.)

27. ("And loosen the knot from my tongue,)

28. "so that (they may understand my words) when communicating the message.

29. ("Make for me one who assists) in transmitting the message (from my family),

30. ("Aaron, my brother.)

31. ("Reinforce through him my strength,)

32. ("and let him share in my task) as a messenger,

33. ("so that we may utter our praises of You) in glorifying You time and again,

34. ("and so that we may be mindful of You time and again.)

35. ("Truly You, indeed You are ever watchful over us) and You have blessed us by this message."

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting wa liya rīnā [v.18] and wa yassir lī [v.26] and akhī ushadud [vs. 30-31] in the previous section.

As for wa liya rīnā, Nāfī and Abū ʿAmr both agree in reading it as wa lī with a long unvowelled yā', and Hafs reads it with a fathāh on the yā'.

As for wa yassir lī, Nāfī and Abū ʿAmr read it as with a fathāh on the yā', and Hafs reads it with a long unvowelled yā'.

As for akhī ashadud, Nāfī and Hafs agree in reading it with a long unvowelled yā', and Abū ʿAmr reads it with a fathāh on the yā'. Wa Allāh a lām.

36. (God declared: Moses! Your request of Us is indeed granted) as an act of favour to you.

37. (We had already bestowed Our favour upon you on another occasion).

38. (when We revealed to your mother what We revealed),

39. i.e.: (Place him in this box and cast him) together with his box (into the water) of the Nile. He will be cast upon the bank by the
water, and he will be taken by an enemy of Mine and of his), i.e. Pharoah. (We bestowed upon you) after you had been taken (love from Myself) so that you be loved among mankind, and Pharoah love you and all who saw you love you, (and so that you be brought up under Our protection) and care.

40. (When your sister) Mary (went out) seeking to get news of you, they had gathered several women who were suckling, and you would not accept the breast of anyone of them, (so your sister said: "Do you wish me to lead you to one who can rear him?")

They agreed with what she said so Moses' mother was brought and he accepted her breast.52

(Then We returned you to your mother to give her happiness) by meeting you (and so that she no longer grieve) for you.

When you were in Egypt (you killed) an Egyptian. Then you grieved because of killing him, and were afraid of Pharoah, (then We released you from your grief, and We subjected you to several tests) apart from these, and We delivered you from them.

(You stayed for) about ten (years with the people of the land of Midian and then came here as fore-ordained) decreed in My knowledge as a messenger, at the age of forty years, (O Moses).

41. Now (I have chosen you for Myself) with a messenger.

42. (Go, together with your brother,) to the people (taking My) nine (signs, and do not slacken in remembering Me) by glorifying Me and other expressions of praise.

43. (Go the pair of you to Pharoah. Truly he is arrogant) in claiming himself to be God.

44. (And the pair of you speak to him gently. Perhaps he will obtain guidance or fear) God, and thus turn back.

45. (The pair of them said: "Lord! We fear that he may swiftly bring punishment upon us or behave arrogantly) towards us."

46. (God declared: Do not the pair of you be afraid. I will be with

52 Note the change to 3rd person narration here. This reflects the style in J.
you both) with My help. (I will hear) all that he says (and see) all that he does.

47. (So go the pair of you to him and say: "Truly we are the messengers of your Lord. So order the Children of Israel to accompany us) to Syria (and do not afflict them) in having them work at your tasks. (We have come to you with proof from your Lord) as to the truth that we have a message, and that there is (safety) from torment (for those who accept guidance.)

48. ("Truly it has been revealed to us that punishment awaits those who disbelieve) what we bring (and turn away) from it."

So the pair of them went before Pharaoh and said all that has been mentioned.

49. Pharaoh (said: "Who then, Moses, is the Lord of you both?")

50. Moses (said: "Our Lord is He who bestows upon everything its creation) whom He commands, (and who guides) the same."

51. Pharaoh (said: "What is the situation of the communities of former times) such as the communities of Noah and Hūd and Lot and Sālih in respect of their worship of idols?"

52. Moses (said:"Knowledge) of their situation (is with my Lord), written (on the Preserved Tablet); He will requite them for it on the Day of Resurrection. (My Lord is not unaware of anything and does not forget) anything.

53. "He alone is God (who created for you the earth as a resting place, and who made easy for you paths through it, and who sends down rain from the sky, and by virtue of this water we have brought forth all manner of plants) of all colours and flavours.

54. ("Eat) from it (and pasture your livestock) in it. (Truly in all that) has been mentioned (are signs for those of intelligence.")

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting li-nafsi idhhab [vs. 41-2] and fi dhikri idhhaba [vs. 42-3] and mahdan [v.53] in the preceding section.

As for li-nafsi idhhab, Nafi° and Abu °Amr both agree in reading it as li-nafsiya idhhab with a fathah on the ya' at the juncture, and Hafs reads it with an unvoiced ya' at both juncture and pause.
As for ُذ أذكّر أذبحا, Nafi' and Abu Amr both agree in reading it as ُذ أذكّر أذبحاٍ with a fathah on the ُء at the juncture and Hafs reads it with an unvowelled ُء at both juncture and pause.

As for ُذ مهدان, Nafi' and Abu Amr read it as ُذ مهدان with an alif after the ُء, and Hafs reads it as ُذ مهدان with an unvowelled ُء and without the alif. ُء اللَّهُ ُء اللَّهُ ُؤ

55. (From) the earth (We created you) by creating from it your forefather Adam. (We return you to it) when you are interred after death. (We will bring you forth from it) at the Resurrection from the grave (once again) just as We brought you forth when We first created you.

56. (We showed) Pharaoh (Our signs) nine in all, and he disbelieved them) and he claimed they were magic (and refused) to declare that God is One.

57. Pharaoh (said: "Have you come to us to expel us from our land) of Egypt so that you can rule in it (by your magic, Moses?)

58. ("Let us then bring you magic like it) to oppose it. (Specify a place of contest between us and yourself, on which neither we nor you will renegue").

59. Moses (said): "Let the day (of your promise be the Day of Adornment) i.e. the Festival Day, the day on which the Egyptians (are assembled in the morning) to watch what takes place."

60. (Pharaoh turned) his back (and gathered those who had power) from all who possessed knowledge of magic, together with their equipment, (and) had them (brought) to the agreed place.

61. (Moses said to them), and there were seventy-two in all with each carrying a rope and a staff: ("God has brought disaster upon you! Do not invent a lie about God) by saying there is another with Him, (for He will destroy you with a punishment) from Him. (All those are the losers who have made up falsehoods) about God."

53 Cf. Z:III,68; R:XXII,68; B:598
62. (They squabbled among themselves about what they should do) in respect of Moses and his brother, (and they concealed what they were whispering to each other) among themselves from the two of them.

63. (They said) severally to each other: ("These two magicians wish to expel you from your land by their magic, and they wish to divert you from your splendid path.)

64. ("So summon all) those (among you who possess powers) of magic, (and have them come in rows. It is the mighty who will gain the victory today.")

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting makanan suwa [v.58] and fa-yushitakum [v.61] and inna hadhani [v.63] and fa-ajmi' kaydakum [v.64].

As for suwa, Nafi' and Abu Amr read it siwa with a kasrah on the sin, and Hafs reads it with a dammah on the sin.54

As for fa-yushitakum, Nafi' and Abu Amr both agree in reading it fa-yashatakum with a fathah on the ya' and ha', and Hafs reads it with a dammah on the ya' and a kasrah on the ha'.55

As for inna hadhayni, Abu Amr reads it inna hadhayni and Nafi' reads it inna hadheeni with doubling of the first nun, and Hafs reads it in hadhani with a single nun.56

As for fa-ajmi'u, Nafi' and Hafs both agree in reading it fa ajmi' u with a disjunctive hamzah and a kasrah on the mim, and Abu Amr reads it fa-jma' u with a conjunctive hamzah and a fathah on the mim.57 We Allah a'lam.

65. (They said): "Choose, (Moses. Either you cast down) your staff (first or we will cast down ours first); the choice is yours."

66. Moses (said: "Rather you cast yours down.") So they cast them

---


55 Cf. R:XXII,74 & B:599. Refer section 2.4.2.


down (and suddenly their ropes and staffs appeared to him because of their magic) as serpents (moving) on their stomachs."

67. (So Moses found himself afraid) that their magic was of a miraculous type which would confuse the issue in the eyes of the onlookers, who would not then believe in him.

68. (We said) to Moses: (Do not be afraid). By your power (you are indeed far superior) to them.

69. (Throw down that which is in your right hand), namely your staff. (It will surely swallow up what they have made. What they have done is simply the power of magic. Those who practise magic will never gain the victory, no matter how they practise) their magic. So Moses threw down his staff and it swallowed up all the things they had made.

70. (All the magicians were thrown down in a faint, prostrating themselves) to Almighty God. (They said: "We believe in the God of Aaron and Moses.")

71. Pharaoh (said: "Have you believed in Him before I gave you permission? He is surely your teacher in magical skills. I will cut off your hands and feet from alternate sides), that is to say the right hands and the left feet. (Then I will hang you from the trunks of date palms.")

Note: The sense of "hang" here is that their bodies would be suspended from the branches of date-palms, according to the punishment for a highway robber. The wood is not inserted through the anus, as is believed by the Jawi.\(^{58}\)

("Then you will discover which of us), myself or the God of Moses, (will inflict a more painful and lasting punishment.")

72. The magicians (replied): "By the Lord (who created us, we cannot choose you in the face of all the signs brought before us) showing the truth of Moses. (So do as you wish. Your carrying out of what you do and what you say applies to this world), and you will be brought to account in the Hereafter.

\(^{58}\)"Jawi" is used here to refer to the Malay-speaking people.
73. ("We have believed in our Lord so that He will forgive us our sins) in associating Him with others, and so that we may be forgiven (for what you forced us to do in respect of) studying and practising (magic) in order to oppose Moses. The reward of (God Almighty) for obedience to Him (is greater) than yours, (while His punishment is more lasting) than yours for disobedience to Him."

74. God Almighty declares: (Truly) in this matter (whoever comes before his Lord in disbelief) as did Pharoah, (Hell indeed is for him. There is neither death in it) to give him repose, (nor life) that can give him any benefit.

75. (But whoever comes before Him as a believer, having done everything that is obligatory and what is recommended, it is they who will be given high ranks),

76. i.e. (the Gardens of perpetual abode with running streams below, where they will remain forever. Such is the reward for those who cleanse themselves) from sin.

77. (Then We revealed to Moses: Set out) from Egypt (by night with My servants, then make for them a path) by striking your staff (through the sea to form a dry passage. Do not fear capture) by Pharoah, (and do not fear) drowning. So Moses obeyed this command, and God made the land dry, and they passed through it.

78. (Then Pharoah and his forces pursued them, and that) of the sea (which enveloped them, enveloped them) and they were drowned.

79. (Pharoah had led his people astray) by calling on them to worship him (and he did not guide) them, but rather brought about their destruction, in contrast to his stated promise: "I am simply guiding you on the right path."59

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting talaqqa [v.69] ; and amantum [v.71] and man ya'tihi [v.74] and an asri [v.77] in the preceding section.

As for talaqqa, Nafi C and Abū CAmr both agree in reading it

59Words put in Pharoah's mouth in Q40:29.
as talaqaf with a fathah on the lām as well as nunation on the qāf, and Hafs reads it as talaqaf with an unvowelled lām as well as a single qāf.⁶⁰

As for āmanum, Qālūn and Dūrī both agree in pronouncing the first hamzah and dropping the second and replacing it with an alif, and Hafs read it with one hamzah which is lengthened.⁶¹

As for man ya’tihī, Abū ʿAmr and Hafs read it with a lengthened hāʾ, and Nāfīʿ reads it with a shortened hāʾ.

As for an aṣrī, Abū ʿAmr and Hafs both agree in reading it as an aṣrī with an unvowelled nūn and a fathah on the hamzah of aṣrī, and Nāfīʿ reads it as anisrī with a kasrah on the nūn and the hamzah joined to the sīn.

We Allāh a’lam.

80. (Children of Israel! We delivered you from your enemy) Pharoah by drowning him, (and We made a promise to you on the slope of the holy Mount Sinai⁶²), then We granted Moses the Torah to be put into practice [among you]. (Then We sent down to you) food called (manna and quail).

81. (Eat of everything that is good that We have provided for you. Do not be disobedient in this, or My anger will descend upon you. Anyone on whom My anger descends I will burn) in Hell.

82. (Indeed I readily forgive those who repent) of polytheism (and who profess that God is One and) those who (do good deeds, then they have guidance) in this way until they die.

Anecdote: It is stated in the commentary of al-Khāzin that Moses chose seventy of his people to go with him to Mount Sinai in order to take the Torah. He set out together with them, then, impatiently, hastened ahead of them because of his longing for his God. He left the seventy of them behind, ordering them to

⁶⁰Cf. Z:III,74; R:XXII,74; B:600

⁶¹Cf. B:601

⁶²Refer Q19:52, Q28:30.
follow him to Mount Sinai. So God declared: 63

83. (What made you hasten ahead of your people, Moses)?

84. Moses (replied:"They are) following (behind me. I hurried to You) ahead of my people (Lord, so that You would be the more pleased with me.")

85. God (declared: We put your people to the test) after you parted from them. al-Samiri 64 led them astray) and they began to worship the calf. 65

Anecdote: Those who remained behind with Aaron numbered six hundred thousand, of whom all but twelve thousand fell to the temptation to worship the calf. 66

86. (Moses returned to his people in anger) in their regard (and deeply sorrowful). Moses (said: "0 my people! Did not my Lord make you a true pledge) that He would give you the Torah? (Was) the time that I was apart from you (too long or did you wish to bring the anger of your Lord upon yourselves) by worshipping the calf, (so you broke my pledge) and then you gave up following me?"

87. (They replied: "We did not break your pledge of our own accord, but we brought some ornaments of) Pharoah's (people, and we placed them) in a fire on the order of al-Sāmirī. (Just as we) had placed them, (so did al-Sāmirī put) the ornaments which he had with him together with the soil taken from the hoof-prints of the horse of Gabriel."

88. (He took for them a calf) which he had made from the ornaments

63 Kh:III,244

64 Some commentators identify this figure as one of the early Samaritans. Blachère [1977:342 note 87] supports this view, and cites Goldziher who contends that this Samaritan's leading of the Israelites astray in this instance was the cause of the subsequent schism between Samaria and Israel.

65 Cf. Exodus 32

66 Kh:III,244
(which had flesh, blood and had a voice) like the voice of a calf. al-Šāmirī and those who followed him (said: "This is your God and the God of Moses, though) Moses (has forgotten) his God here and has gone in search of Him."

89. God declared: (Did they not see that) the calf (could not give any reply to them, nor could it bring them either disadvantage or benefit)? So how could they take it as a god?

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reading wa wactnakum [v.80] and bi-malkina [v.87] and hummilnā awzāran [v.87] | and fa-nasiya [v.88] in the preceding section.

As for wa wactnakum, Nāfi' and Hafs both agree in reading it as wa wactnakum with an alif after the second waw, and Abū ʿAmr reads it without the alif.67

As for bi-malkina, Nāfi' and Hafs both agree in reading it with a fathah on the mim, and Abū ʿAmr reads it with a kasrah on the mim.68

As for hummilnā, Nāfi' and Hafs read it as hummilnā with a dammah on the ha', as well as nunation on the mim, in which case it means "we were brought", and Abū ʿAmr reads it as hamalnā with a fathah on the ha' as well as a single mim.69

As for fa-nasiya, Nāfi' and Abū ʿAmr read it as fa-nasiya with a fathah on the yā', and Hafs read it with a long unwovelled yā'.

Wa Allāh aʿlam.

90. (Aaron had said to them before) Moses returned to them: ("O my people! You are being put to the test by [the temptation to] worship the calf. Truly your Lord is The Merciful, so follow me) in worshipping Him (and obey my command) to worship Him."

91. (They said: "We will continue) to worship the calf (until Moses returns to us.")

67 Cf. R:XXII,95. See section 2.4.2.

68 Cf. Z:III,82; R:XXII,103; B:603

69 Cf. R:XXII,103
92. Upon returning, Moses (said: "Aaron! What prevented you) from following me (when you saw them going astray) by worshipping the calf?

93. ("You disobeyed me) by remaining among those who worshipped something other than God."

Anecdote: According to one account, Moses seized Aaron's beard with his left hand and the hair of his head with his right.

94. Aaron (said: "Son of my mother! Do not clutch my beard and head. I was afraid) if I followed you, I feared (that you would say:'You have divided the Children of Israel and did not await my orders.'

95. Moses (said: "What have you done) in causing this, (al-Sāmirī?"

96. al-Sāmirī (said: "I knew of that which they knew not. So I took a handful) of soil (from) the footprints of the horse of (Gabriel, and placed it in) to the mouth of the representation of the calf moulded from the gold ornaments. (This is what my passions led me to), i.e. the idea was put into my mind that I take a handful of earth from the footprints of Gabriel's horse and place it inside that which had no life and it came to life. And then I saw your people demanding of you that you make a god for them."

97. Moses (said) to al-Sāmirī: ("Depart) from among us. (For the rest of your life you will say) to all whom you see:('Do not approach me.' Truly a time is appointed) for a punishment (which you cannot escape."

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting an lā tattabi"ani [v.93] and wa lā bi-ra'sī [v.94] and lan tukhlafahu [v.97] in the preceding section.

As for an lā tattabi"ani, Qālūn and Dūrī both agree in pronouncing the yā' at the juncture, but not at the pause, whereas Hafs elides it in both cases.

As for bi-ra'sī, Abu Amr and Nāfī both agree in reading it as bi-ra'siyya with a fathah on the yā', and Hafs reads it as bi-ra'sī with a long unvowelled yā'.

70 Taken from J:421.
As for [lān tukhlafahu], Nāfiʿ and Hāfṣ both agree in reading it as [lān tukhlafahu] with a fathah on the lām, but [Abū CAmr] reads it as [lān tukhlifahu] with a kasrah on the lām.

Wa Allāh aʿlam.

("Look at your god whom you persist in worshipping. We will certainly burn it) in a fire (and cast the ashes in the sea with a single throw.")

98. ("Truly your God is God. There is no God but He. His knowledge is all encompassing.")

99. (Just as) We tell you this story, Muhammad, (We tell you reports from former times) of other peoples. (We have bestowed upon you from Us a Qur'ān).

100. (Whoever turns away from the Qur'ān) and does not believe in it, (will certainly bear a heavy burden) of sins (on the Day of Resurrection),

101. (and they will remain forever) in the punishment for their sins. (How evil will the burden be for them on the Day of Resurrection).

102. The Day of Resurrection is (the day the trumpet is blown, and We gather all the unbelievers on that day, and) their eyes will be (grey) and their faces black.

103. (They will whisper among themselves: "You were only) in the world (for ten) days and nights."

104. (We know better what they will say when the most impartial will comment: "You have only been here one day.")

105. (They will ask you), Muhammad, (what is to happen to the mountains) on the Day of Resurrection. (Say) to them: ("They will be scattered by my Lord) like sand and carried away by the wind,

106. ("so that they will be left levelled) and flat.

107. ("You will see neither low nor high points among them.")

108. (On that day) all mankind, after emerging from the grave, (will follow the one who summons them) to the place of assembly. (They will not be able to do other than follow him. All sounds will be silent

---

71 Cf. Z:III,85; R:XXII,112; B:604-5
before The Merciful, and you will not hear) the sound of footsteps (except) for a sound like the shuffling of walking camels.

109. (On that day, intercession will benefit) none (except the intercession of one to whom The Merciful) gives leave to intercede, (and whose speech is pleasing to Him), i.e. the words لا إله إلا الله.

110. God (knows what is before them) regarding matters of the Hereafter (and what is behind them) regarding matters of this world, (but they have no knowledge of it.)

111. (On that day all creatures will bow) before God. (Those who bear [the guilt] of works of idolatry will be lost).

112. (But whoever is obedient and believing, he need not fear that his evil be increased, nor need he fear) that his good works will diminish.

113. (In the same way) as We have revealed what has been stated, (We reveal) the Qur'ān (in Arabic, in which We have repeated threats of punishment. Let them be fearful) of idolatry, (or let) the Qur'ān renew their awareness) of the destruction of those who preceded them of communities, so that they can derive a lesson from it.

114. (Exalted be God, the King, the Truth) - so far above what the idolaters say of him. (Do not be in haste) to recite (the Qur'ān before Gabriel has finished delivering it, but say: "Lord. Increase in me knowledge) by the Qur'ān."

115. (We commanded Adam) that he should not eat from the eternal tree; this command was (before he ate from it. Then he forgot) Our command (and We did not expect him to break the Covenant) but rather to be patient in respect of Our prohibition.

116. Mention, Muhammad, (when We said to the angels: Bow down before Adam. And they all bowed down except for Iblis, who refused) to bow down before Adam, saying: "I am better than he."

117. (Then We declared: Adam! He is an enemy to you and your wife, so do not let him have you expelled from Paradise, so that you become weary) of ploughing, sowing, harvesting, milling, and baking the bread and of similar tasks.

118. (Truly, you will never hunger or go naked in Paradise),
119. (nor will you thirst in it nor suffer from the heat of the sun).

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting yunfakhu ṣ al-sūr [v.102] and wa huwa and wa annaka lā tazmā'ū [v.119] in the preceding section.

As for yunfakhu, Nāfī' and Ḥafs both agree in reading it as yunfakhu with a dammah on the ya' and a fathah on the fa', and Abu Amr reads it as nanfukhu with a fathah on the nun and a dammah on the fa'. The meaning when read with the nun is "the day when We blow the trumpet".72

As for wa huwa, previous mention has been made.

As for wa annaka, Abu Amr and Ḥafs both agree in reading it as wa annaka with a fathah on the hamzah, and Nāfī' reads it as wa innaka with a kasrah on the hamzah.73 Wa Allāh al-ṣalam.

120. (But Satan beguiled him, saying: "Adam! Do you wish me to show you the Tree of Immortality), anyone eating from which will remain forever in Paradise, (and a kingdom which will not fade")

121. (Thereupon the two of them ate from the Tree of Immortality and each became conscious) of the front and the back of the other, (and they placed leaves from Paradise on each other as a covering. Adam disobeyed his Lord, and lost) what he desired, and became evil as a result of trying to gain immortality by eating from the tree.

122. (Then his Lord brought him close to Him, and accepted his repentance, showing him) how to persevere in his repentance.

123. His Lord (declared: Go down the pair of you from Paradise. Some of your) descendants (will be enemies to others) by oppressing each other. (Then, when guidance comes to you from Me, whoever obeys the Qur'ān will not go astray) in this world, (nor will he come to harm) in the Hereafter.

124. (Whoever turns away from My Qur'ān) not believing in it (will

72 Cf. Z:III,87; R:XXII,114; B:605

73 Cf. R:XXII,165; B:607
have a wretched life) because all his ambitions and goals in this world will founder on an increasing fear deriving from their inadequacy, as opposed to the believers seeking the Hereafter.74

125. (He will say: "My Lord! Why have you brought me here, deprived of sight, although) in the world and when I arose from the grave (I was able to see?")

Pericope: Concerning the differences among the three readers in reciting lima hashartani [v.125], Abu ʿAmr and Hafs both agree in reading it as lima hashartani with a long unwovelled ya', and Nafi reads it with a fathah on the ya' and shortens it.

Wa Allah a'lam.

126. God (declared: Just as Our signs were shown to you and you disregarded them) and did not believe in them, in the same manner (you will be disregarded today) in Hell.

127. (In the same way) as We requite those who turn away from the Qur'ān, (We requite those who associate others with God and do not believe in all the signs of their Lord. Truly the torment of the Hereafter is greater) than the torment of the world and the torment of the tomb (and longer lasting).

128. (Was it not plain to) the unbelievers of Mecca (how many of their forebears We destroyed before them) because they disbelieved God's messengers (in their journey's) to Syria and elsewhere, so that they could learn a lesson from it? (Truly in it is to be found a lesson for all of intelligence).

129. (Had not a word come earlier to them from your Lord) postponing their punishment until the Hereafter, and had their allotted span not been fixed, (truly) their destruction in this world (would have been inevitable).

130. (So then endure what they say! Pray in praise of your Lord before the rising of the sun), namely the Subh prayer, (and before it sets), namely the ʿAsr prayer, (and pray some of the times of the night),

74"Because...Hereafter" taken from B:608.
Maghrib and Isha', (and perform the Zuhr prayer, so that you may earn) His (favour) and His reward.

131. (Do not let your eyes dwell on the various groups) of unbelievers, (for whom) We have created (worldly pleasures in order to test them. The provisions of your Lord) in Paradise (are better) than that which they are given in the world (and more enduring).

132. (Call on your household to pray and persevere in so doing. We do not ask you to provide sustenance) either for yourself or for others. (It is We who will give sustenance to you. Paradise is for those who fear) God.

133. The idolaters say: ("Why has not) Muhammad (brought us a sign) showing that truly he is a prophet?" (Have they not already had evidence in earlier revelations), contained within the Qur'an, about past nations and their destruction for their having disbelieved the prophets?

134. (Had We destroyed them as punishment before) Muhammad was sent as the Messenger, (they would have said: "Lord! Why did You not send us a messenger, so that we could have followed Your signs, before confining us) on the Day of Resurrection (and humiliating us) in Hell?"

135. (Say) to them, Muhammad: ("Everyone) among us and among you (is in quest of something) to his advantage. (You will discover) on the Day of Resurrection (who has found the True Path and who has been guided) [away] from error, us or you."
Appendix A

Romanized Text of Abd al-Ra'uf's Autobiographical Codicil to Umdat al-Muhtājin

The Malay text contained in the following pages has been transliterated from thirteen MS pages located near the end of Leiden MS Cod. Or. 1933. This MS contains a complete version of Abd al-Ra'uf's Umdat al-Muhtājin ila Suluk Maslak al-Mufridin, and the colophon records its date of copying as 15 Jumadi'1-akhir 1261/20 June 1845. The final section of this work is crucial to our knowledge of Abd al-Ra'uf, being the major source of biographical information pertaining to his life. Past references to the information in this codicil have been made by the following scholars:

1. Snouck Hurgronje [1906:17-18] gave a brief outline of the route of Abd al-Ra'uf's travels in Arabia and briefly mentioned the major ulama with whom Abd al-Ra'uf studied. The MSS of this work known to Snouck Hurgronje were Von de Wall 41 (Batavia), Leiden Cod. Or. 1930, Schumann V, 38 (Berlin Royal Library) and another MS in his own private collection.

2. Rinkes [1909:25ff] compiled a detailed resume of the information in this codicil by reference to the following MSS; KBG 103, KBG 107, KBG 301, KBG 302, KBG 375 and Von de Wall 41. He expanded the information from the Umdat by drawing further details on some of those figures mentioned as teachers or contacts by Abd al-Ra'uf from al-Murādi's Silk al-Durār and al-Muhībbi's Ta'rīkh khulāsāt al-athār fī aṣjān al-qarn al-hādī āshar.

3. Hasjmy [1980A:371] provided a concise listing of the centres of learning visited by Abd al-Ra'uf in Arabia and of his
teachers and other contacts. These details were taken from a manuscript of the Umdat in Hasjmy’s private collection. This MS is evidently in poor condition, as many of the place and personal names recorded by Hasjmy are incorrect.

None of the above-mentioned scholars, or indeed any other, has to date undertaken an edition of this codicil in romanized form. Such an edition is necessary, as this codicil is important for the following reasons:

- It provides us with the most solid body of data relating to the life of Abd al-Ra’uf and identifies the major influences on his work.

- It helps us to identify the likely route so many Jawi students in Arabia must have taken in the quest for education in the Islamic sciences.

- It provides us with a detailed line of transmission for both the Qadiriyah and Shattariyah mystical brotherhoods going back to the Prophet, and is thus important not only for the study of Malay Islam, but also to those parts of the wider Muslim world where these two brotherhoods also flourished.

Snouck Hurgronje, Rinkes and Hasjmy only used this codicil to address the first of the above-mentioned considerations. It is hoped that the edited text which follows will enable others to address the second and third of these considerations.

In the romanized text below, manuscript page numbers are placed between square brackets [ ] and folio breaks are signalled by | |. Where the MS identifies important changes of topic by use of the word "adapun" printed with a thick brush, a new paragraph has generally been started unless indicated to the contrary. Arabic phrases or terms which occur within the body of the Malay text are italicized.

LEIDEN MS COD. OR. 1933, MS PAGES 141-153

[141] khatamat al-risalah fi dhikr sanad al-siyadat al-shattariyah wa sanad al-mashah’ikh al-qadiriyah wa ittisasina bi-hima, wa dhikr Qadad
al-masha'ikh al-ladhina istafadnā min-hum fī al-yaman al-maymūn, wa al-makkah wa al-madinah (sharrafahumā Allāh Ta'ālā || [142] bi-sharaf sayyid al-mursalīn wa imām al-muttaqīn sayyidīnā wa mawlānā Muhammad sallā Allāh c'alayhi wa sallām). Artinya: bahwa inilah kesudahan risalat pada menyatakan sanda silsilah penghulu kita yang dibangsakan kepada jalan Shattāriyah, ya'ni kepada jalan Syekh c'Abd Allāh Shattār, dan sanda segala masha'ikh yang dibangsakan kepada jalan Qādirīyah, ya'ni kepada jalan Syekh c'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, dan menyatakan pertemuan silsilah kita dengan keduanya. Dan menyatakan bilangan segala syekh yang telah kami mengambil fa'idah dengan membaca segala kitab dan asma daripada mereka itu dalam negeri Yamman (yang telah dinugerahai Allah Ta'ālā akan dia berkat), dan dalam negeri Mekkah dan Madinah (yang telah dimuliakan Allah Ta'ālā keduanya itu dengan berkat kemuliaan penghulu segala nabi yang merasul dan imam segala orang yang takut akan Allah, ya'itu penghulu kita Nabi sallā Allāh c'alayhi wa sallām)

Adapun sanda silsilah segala penghulu kita yang dibangsakan kepada jalan Shattāriyah dan pertemuan kita dengan dia, maka ya'itu yang telah mengambil dhikir fakir yang hina c'Abd al-Ra'ūf ||[143] dan daripada syekh yang carip Allah, lagi yang kamīl mukamīl ya'itu Ahmad al-Qushāshī anak Syekh Muhammad Madanī. Dan lagi Syekh Ahmad al-Qushāshī itu mengambil daripada Syekh Ahmad al-Nashāwī. Dan lagi dia mengambil

1 MS al-m.m.y.ū.n.
2 MS sh.t.t.tā.r.y.at.
3 MS q.ā.d.r.
4 MS "keduanya".
5 MS "dipertemuan".
6 MS m.d.y.n.

---

7 Rinkes records this figure as Sibghat Allāh b. Ṣūh Allāh.

8 d. 1018/1609 [Trimingham 1971:98].

9 Unintentional omission by MS copyist.

10 d. 1562-3 [Trimingham 1971:197-8]. Rinkes adds b. Ḵaṭīr al-Dīn to his name.

11 India Office Library MS records it as Thuhūr [Rinkes 1909:48].

12 Rinkes lists this figure under the name Abū al-Faṭḥ Ḥiḍāyat Allāh Sarmast.


16 d. 425/1034 [Trimingham 1971:32].


Adapun sanda 24 segala penghulu kita yang dibangsakan kepada jalan Qādirī dan pertemuan silsilah kita dengan dia, maka ya'itu telah mengambil dhikir fakir yang tersebut itu daripada syekhnya yang kamil mukāmil, ya'itu Syekh Ahmad al-Qushāshī raddiyya Allāh ʿanhu. Dan lagi Syekh Ahmad al-Qushāshī 25 [145] [itu] 25 mengambil daripada Syekh Imām Ahmad al-Nāshāwī. 26 Dan lagi dia mengambil daripada Wālī Allāh Sayyid Sifat 27 Allāh. Dan lagi dia mengambil daripada Syekh Wajīh al-Dīn ʿAlwī.

19d. 146/763 [Trimingham 1971:262].
20d. 113/731 [Trimingham 1971:262].
21d. 93/712 [Trimingham 1971:263].
22d. 60/680 [Trimingham 1971:105,262].
23d. 41/661.
24MS s.d.h.
25MS "dia".
26MS al-th. t. r. y.

Maka\(^{39}\) beberapa lagi tinggal sanda segala tarikat yang tersebut dalam Simt al-Majid, tiada hamba sebut dalam kitab ini, ya'itu sanda tarikat Habashiyah, dan tarikat Firdawsiyah\(^{40}\), dan tarikat Tinuiriyah, dan tarikat Khalwatiyah\(^{41}\), dan tarikat Hamadaniyah\(^{42}\), dan tarikat Naqshabandiyah\(^{43}\). Maka segala tarikat ini muttasil dengan kita in sha'a

---

\(^{35}\) d. 200/815 [Trimingham 1971:261-2].

\(^{36}\) MS a.y.n. Intended to be "ibn". Incorrectly written, then corrected.

\(^{37}\) MS - k.r.a.m. a.l.l.h. w.j.h.

\(^{38}\) 'Bahwa inilah' has been printed with a thick brush to mark a new paragraph, but the sentence which it begins has been included here in the current paragraph, where it more appropriately belongs.

\(^{39}\) Own emphasis and paragraph division.

\(^{40}\) Ref. Trimingham 1971:56.

\(^{41}\) Ref. Trimingham 1971:passim.

\(^{42}\) Ref. Trimingham 1971:56-7.

\(^{43}\) Ref. Trimingham 1971:passim.
Allāh Ta'ālā. Maka adalah s.y.t. tiada hamba sebutkan di sini karena mengambil perkataan yang simpan serta berjabat kepada kata Syekh kita. al-kā'īn li-ayn lā yafūt wa al-fā'it lā yurjā; artinya, yang ada itu tiada hilang...itu tiada harap. Wa Allāh a'lam.


44 i.e. Ahmad al-Qūshāshī.

45 Obvious MS lacuna at this point.

46 MS - m.r.y.d.

47 MS ā.s.kh.q.

48 MS m.q.r.j.ā.j.y.

49 Rinkes records d.b.

Bahwa inilah jumlah segala mushâ’ik yâng telah mengambil fa'îdah fakir ini daripada mereka itu dalam negeri 'Arab yang telah dimuliakan Allâh Ta’âlâ akan dia daripada negeri yang lainnya.

Maka dalam antara sembilan belas tahun lamanya ia dalam negeri 'Arab, maka beroleh pula ia mengambil fa'îdah dalam antara segala manusia itu daripada dua orang 'ulama dalam negeri Hindî yang bernama Syekh Badr al-Dîn Lahûrî dan Syekh 'Abd Allâh Lahûrî râdiya Allâh anhûmâ'amîn.

Adapun segala 'ulama yang besar yang bertemu fakir ini dengan mereka itu yang tiada ia beroleh mengaji pada mereka itu yang lain daripada segala mereka itu yang tersebut itu, maka ya’itu beberapa 'ulama.

---

50 MS f.r.d.
51 MS kh.l.y.f.y.at.
52 MS k.r.n.y.
53 MS 140.
54 MS c.anhû.

55Rinkes and Hasjmy record Pursān.
56MS al-h.a.s.
57MS 141.
58Note the cooccurrence of this form with previously occurring "kedulapan".
59MS al- z.y.z.m.z.m.
60Rinkes has Qushayrī, Hasjmy has Qashīr.
61Note the use of this Sanskrit loan.
62MS 142.


Radiya Allāh ʿanhum ajmaʿīn, amīn thumma amīn. Bahwa inilah yang bernama ʿayāt al-kursī yang telah tersebut dahulu, demikianlah bunyinya.

**TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH OF LEIDEN MS COD. OR. 1933, MS PAGES 141-153**

*Khatamat al-risālah fi dhikr sanad al-siyādat al-shattāriyah wa sanad al-mashāʾik al-qādiriyah wa ittisālinā bi-himā, wa dhikr ʿadad*

63 MS t.ʿ d. ʿ.

64 Rinkes records it as Muḥajjab.

65 MS t.n.sh.b.n.d.y.
This work finishes with a listing of the chain of authorities of the Shattariyah Order, i.e. the Order of Shaykh Ābd Allāh Shattār, and the chain of authorities of the Qadiriyah Order, i.e. the Order of Shaykh Ābd al-Qādir Jīlānī, and it provides details of our contacts with both Orders. It also mentions those shaykhs from whom we benefited by studying works on the religious sciences and by giving them ear, in Yemen (which has been given favour by Almighty God), and in Mecca and Medina (both of which have been honoured by Almighty God by the favourable blessing of the Seal of the appointed Prophets and the leader of all who fear God, i.e. our Prophet salla Allāh ālayhi wa sallam).

Concerning the chain of authorities of the Shattāriyah Order and our contact with it, he under whom the humble fakir Ābd al-Ra‘ūf studied dhikr and who is one who has insight into God, and moreover who possesses complete wisdom, is Ahmad al-Qushashi, the son of Shaykh Muhammad Madani. Shaykh Ahmad al-Qushāshī drew on Shaykh Ahmad al-Nashawī. He in turn drew on Sultan al-Qarīfīn Sayyid Sīfāt Allāh. He in turn drew on Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn al-Alwī. He in turn drew on Sayyid Muhammad al-Ghawth. He in turn drew on Shaykh Ḥājj Hudūr. He in turn drew on Shaykh Ḥadiyat Allāh Sarmat. He in turn drew on Imām Qādī Shattārī. He in

---

66 Rinkes records this figure as Sibghat Allāh b. Rūḥ Allāh.
67 d. 1018/1609 [Trimingham 1971:98].
69 India Office Library MS records it as Thuhūr [Rinkes 1909:48].
70 Rinkes lists this figure under the name Abū al-Fath Ḥādīyat Allāh Sarmast.
He in turn drew on Shaykh Muhammad Ārif. He in turn drew on Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥishq. He in turn drew on Shaykh Ḥudāqī. He in turn drew on Qāṭib Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kharaqānī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū al-Muṣafar Tarkah al-Ṭūsī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Arābī Yazīd al-Īṣq. He in turn drew on Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghribī. He in turn drew on Rūḥānīyat Sulṭān al-Ārifīn, i.e. Shaykh Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī. He in turn drew on Rūḥānīyat Imām Jaʿfar Sādiq. He in turn drew on Imām Muḥammad Bāqir. He in turn drew on Amīr al-Muʿminīn Ḥusayn the martyr. He in turn drew on the "Reserve of Knowledge", i.e. Imām ʿAlī al-Murtadī b. Ṭalib raḍīya Allāh anhu. He in turn drew on our master and the Seal of the Prophets, i.e. Muḥammad sallā Allāh alaiha wa sallam. This is the chain of authorities of the Shattāriyyah Order.
Concerning the chain of authorities of the Qādirīyah Order and the details of our contact with it, this fakir studied dhikr under the Shaykh who possesses complete wisdom, i.e. Shaykh Ahmad al-Qushāshī rādiya Allāh čanhu. Shaykh Ahmad al-Qushāshī drew on Shaykh Imām Ahmad al-Nashāwī. He in turn drew on Wāli Allāh Sayyid Sīfāt Allāh. He in turn drew on Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn Čalwī. He in turn drew on Sayyid Muḥammad al-Qawth. He in turn drew on Shaykh Hājj Ḥudūr. He in turn drew on Shaykh Ḥadjy Allāh Sarmat. He in turn drew on Shaykh Čalā al-Dīn, known as ghāth. qād.т. [Gha’ith Qudha?] al-Qādirī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Čabd al-Wahhāb al-Qādirī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Čabd al-Ra’ūf al-Qādirī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Mahāwd al-Qādirī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Čabd al-Qārī Sīdīqi. He in turn drew on Shaykh Muḥammad al-Qādirīfād. He in turn drew on Shaykh Čalī al-Husaynī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Hājj Ja’far son of Ahmad al-Husaynī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Čabd Allāh al-Qādirī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Čabd al-Razzaq al-Qādirī.82

He in turn drew on his father Qutb al-Aqṭāb, i.e. Shaykh Čabd al-Qādirī Jīlānī.83 He in turn drew on Imām Abū Sa’īd al-Mubārak.84 He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū al-Husnī Čalī, the son of Ahmad. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad, the son of Čabd Allāh. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū al-Fadl Čabd al-Wāḥid, [the son of] Čabd al-Čāzīz. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Shalābī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd.85 He in turn drew on Shaykh Sarī al-Saqāṭī.86 He in turn drew on his father Qutb al-Aqṭāb, i.e. Shaykh Čabd al-Qādirī Jīlānī. He in turn drew on Imām Abū Sa’īd al-Mubārak. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū al-Husnī Čalī, the son of Ahmad. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad, the son of Čabd Allāh. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū al-Fadl Čabd al-Wāḥid, [the son of] Čabd al-Čāzīz. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Shalabī. He in turn drew on Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd. He in turn drew on Shaykh Sarī al-Saqāṭī.
turn drew on Shaykh Ma'rūf al-Karkhī. He in turn drew on Imām ʿAlī son of Mūsā al-Riḍā. He in turn drew on Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓīm. He in turn drew on Imām Ja'far Sādiq. He in turn drew on Imām Muhammad al-Bāqir. He in turn drew on Imām Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. He in turn drew on Amīr al-Muʾminīn Ḥusayn the martyr. He in turn drew on his father Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī al-Murtadhī b. Tālib karram Allāh wajhahu. He in turn drew on our master and the Seal of the Prophets, i.e. the Prophet Muhammad sallā Allāh alayhi wa sallam. This is the chain of authorities of the Qādiriyyah Order, i.e. the Order of Shaykh °Abd al-Qadiri Jilānī, and our contact with it.

There remain the chains of authority of several Orders mentioned in the Sīmt al-Majīd, which I have not detailed in this work, i.e. the Hābashīyah Order, and the Firdawsiyah Order, and the Ťinūrīyah Order, and the Khalwātīyah Order, and the Hāmadānīyah Order, and the Naqshabandīyah Order. [The influence of] these Orders remains with us in shāʾa Allāh Taʿālā. There are a yat groups [which I have not mentioned here due to limits of space as well as a need to present the teachings of our Shaykh. al-kaʾīn li-ayn lā yafut wa al-faʾīt lā yurja; i.e., "That which is, cannot be lost, and that which is not, cannot be hoped for." Wa Allāh aʿlam.

As for the Shaykhs from whom this fakir benefited by studying various works on the religious sciences under them during his sojourn in the noble Arab lands, first among them was Shaykh °Abd al-Qadiri Mawrīr in Duḥā. Second, Shaykh Imām ʿAlī al-Tabārī in Mecca (which has been honoured by God). Third, Shaykh °Abd al-Wāḥid al-Khushayrī in Bayt al-Faqīḥ, Yemen. Fifth, the saint Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh Jamʿān in Bayt al-Faqīḥ b. ʿUjayl. It was with this Shaykh that this fakir spent most

87d. 200/815 [Trimingham 1971:261-2].

88 By Ahmad al-Qushāshī, arguably his most important work.

89 i.e. Ahmad al-Qushāshī.
time studying the external sciences and with his blessing this fakir continued study under t.s.f.q. the enlightened saint who was the authority of his time, i.e. Shaykh Ahmad al-Qushashi in the City of the Prophet of God salla Allāh alayhi wa sallam. Sixth, Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Jamān. Seventh, Shaykh Ahmad Jannah. Both were also in Bayt al-Faqīh b. ʿUjayl. Eighth, Qādī Ishaq b. Muḥammad Jamān. Ninth, Shaykh Muḥammad Thābanī. Tenth, the saint who had special insight into God, i.e. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahīm Khāṣṣ. Eleventh, Shaykh ʿṢiddīq Mizjājī. Twelfth, Faqīh Alī b. Muḥammad R.b. 90, i.e. the reader and traditionist. Thirteenth, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh ʿAdīn, i.e. the Shaykh al-qurra 91 in Yemen. These last-mentioned scholars lived in Zabīd. Fourteenth, Qādī Muḥammad in l.h.y. Fifteenth, Qādī ʿUmar Muḥyī al-Dīn in Mawza. Sixteenth, the enlightened Shaykh, the authority on religious obligations without peer, i.e. Shaykh Ahmad al-Qushashi in the City of the Prophet of God. From him this fakir learned the path to Almighty God and under him he undertook study into the interior sciences until [al-Qushashi's] death, in shāʾa Allāh Taʿalā. Seventeenth, the successor of the afore-mentioned, i.e. the worthy and erudite Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Mullā Ibrāhīm son of Ḥasan al-Kūrānī. It was this Shaykh who completed the education of this fakir after the death of Shaykh Ahmad, as he was his successor. It was he who awarded the certificate after the death of the above-mentioned Shaykh. Radiya Allāh anhu wa ʿan mashhāʾikhīna ajmaʿin amin. These are the Shaykhs from whom this fakir benefited in the Arab lands which have been honoured by Almighty God over other lands.

During the nineteen year period of his stay in the Arab lands, he also benefited from studying under two scholars from India named Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Lahūrī and Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Lahūrī radiya Allāh anhumā amin.

Concerning the eminent scholars whom this fakir met but with whom he

---

90 Rinkes records d.b.c.

91 Ref. Blachère 1977:106 for details of this position.
did not undertake study other than that which he undertook with those mentioned previously, they were several in number. First among them was the Mufti of Mukhā, i.e. Shaykh ʿUmar Pursān. Second, the Mufti in Zabīd named Shaykh ʿAbd al-Fatāh al-Khāṣṣ. Third, the Mufti in Bayt al-Faqīh b. ʿUjayl named Faqīh Tayyib Jamān. Fourth, Faqīh Muḥammad Jamān in Bayt al-Faqīh also. Fifth, Faqīh ʿAlī ʿUqaybī in Taʾizz. Sixth, Faqīh Ṭāhir in Ḥudaydah. Seventh, Qādī Muḥammad b. Muṭayr. Eighth, Faqīh ʿAlī b. Muṭayr. Ninth, Faqīh Ahmad b. Muṭayr. These last three were in Yemen also. Tenth, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Zamzam. Eleventh, Qādī Tāj al-Dīn. Twelfth, Shaykh Muḥammad Bābilī. Thirteenth, Shaykh Zayn al-ʿAbīdīn al-Ṭabarī. Fourteenth, Shaykh ʿAlī Jamāl. Fifteenth, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Fashīr. Sixteenth, Shaykh Zanjābīl. Seventeenth, Shaykh ʿĪsā Maḥrībī. All this latter group were Meccan scholars. Eighteenth, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Dawī, also a Meccan scholar. Nineteenth, Shaykh Yāsīn. Twentieth, Shaykh ʿĪsā Basīr. Twenty-first, Shaykh ʿAlī Basīr. Twenty-second, Shaykh Ḥasan Bārī. Twenty-third, Imām Bārī. Twenty-fourth, Mullā Nāfī. Twenty-fifth, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān Ḥajāzī. Twenty-sixth, Sayyid Muḥammad Barzanji Kurdi. Twenty-seventh, Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf Kurdi. All these scholars met with this fakir in the City of the Prophet of God salla Allāh ʿalayhi wa sallam, although only some of them were from Medina. This is the number of the group of great scholars who met this fakir during his stay [in Arabia].

Concerning other well-known Sufis who met this fakir during this period, not included in the list of scholars mentioned above, first was Shaykh Ahmad ʿUjayl. Second, Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim Musharriḥ. Third, Shaykh Junayd. Fourth, Shaykh Muḥammad Farwī. Fifth, Shaykh ʿAlī ʿUbālī. Sixth, Sayyid Husayn. Seventh, Shaykh Maqbūl Ḥajāj. Eighth, Shaykh

92 Rinkes and Hasjmy record Pursān.

93 Rinkes has Qushayrī, Hasjmy has Qashir.

94 Rinkes records it as Muḥajjab.
Muḥammad Ḥudūr. Ninth, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bāqī. Tenth, Sayyid Ṭāhir. Sayyid Ṭāhir and Sayyid Ḥusayn mentioned here are descendants of Sayyid ʿAlī Aḥdal. Eleventh, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir Musharī. Twelfth, Shaykh Muḥammad. Thirteenth, Shaykh Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Naqašbandī. Fourteenth, Sayyid Sulaymān. These are the Sufis who met this fakir during this period.

Rādiya Allāh ʿanhum ajmaʿīn. amin thumma amin. This is the verse known as ayāt al-kursī mentioned previously.
Appendix B

Winstedt on Acehnese Malay

Further to the comments made by Winstedt relating to the role of Malay in 17th century Aceh which were discussed in section 3.1.2, he also said:

To Aceh Malay was what Latin was to Europe in the middle ages. [Winstedt 1958:74]

The use of Latin was limited to literary, religious, diplomatic and judicial communication in mediaeval Europe [Wickham 1974:202] and it did not figure significantly as a spoken language. The De Houtman conversations and other records indicate that Malay was spoken widely in 17th century Aceh, so such an analogy would appear to be groundless.

If a comparison is to be made to the role of Latin in mediaeval Europe, the position of Arabic in Aceh would be more fitting for the following reasons:

1. It clearly had a powerful function in the religion of the Sultanate, as did Latin in Catholic Europe.

2. Both languages had a role in the judicature and administration of justice in their respective environments.

3. Latin was the language of diplomatic correspondence in Europe, while in Aceh diplomatic correspondence was evidently undertaken in both Arabic and Malay. We recall the segment of the letter written to Queen Elizabeth from the Acehnese Sultan in Arabic (refer 3.1.1). Schrieke also records that correspondence between the Sultan of Aceh and foreign states was often undertaken in Arabic [1957 Part II:245,388n.96].

4. Neither Arabic nor Latin was in widespread use in Aceh or
Europe respectively as spoken languages. The populations of each more commonly spoke the vernaculars of their areas - Italian, French etc. in Europe and Acehnese and Malay in Aceh.
Appendix C
Grammatical Terminology

C.1 Dictionary References

The dictionaries consulted in drawing up the following lists are as follows:

1) Malay/Austronesian

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Wall, H. von de Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, H.N Van Der Tuuk ed., Batavia 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu</td>
<td>Wurm, S. &amp; Wilson, B.: English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages, A.N.U. 1975</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) Arabic

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Lane, E.W. An Arabic-English Lexicon, 1863-93, repr. N.Y., Frederick Unger Publ., 8v. 1955</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dictionaries by Klinkert, Marsden, Von De Wall and Wilkinson are the major dictionary sources for Court Malay available. The Wurm Finderlist is a useful reference as regards identifying that part of the vocabulary of Malay which developed from earlier Austronesian parent languages. The terms in the lists following which have cognates occurring in this latter reference can be assumed to have been derived from one of these earlier Austronesian languages. Lane’s dictionary is the most comprehensive
Arabic-English lexicon compiled to date and its reliability is well-established.

C.2 Grammatical Terms Used In Juz' 16 of Jak. MS ML 116

Tables C-1, C-2 and C-3 list the grammatical terms used in Tarjumān al-Mustafīd in discussion of the variant readings of certain Qur'anic words and phrases. Their English equivalents based on their usage in this MS are also given, in addition to their origins, frequency in this text, and the page number where they occur in the various dictionaries referred to.

C.3 The role of these grammatical terms

The degree to which these terms were known amongst the Malay-speaking community is difficult to determine. Some clues may be obtained by dividing them into two groups as follows:

1. This group contains those entries of Austronesian origins which came into Malay from a parent language or from another contemporary Austronesian language such as Minangkabau. They are:

   bentar      pendek
   lanjut      mensbutkan
   mati        singkat
   panjang     menukarkan

   All of these terms had a broad sense range in 17th century Malay but were used in a much narrower, more specifically grammatical way by Abd al-Ra'uf. There is no doubt that these words could easily have been understood in this context by literate Malays.

2. Into this group fall the Arabic loans. They are:

   dammah      qari
   fa'idah     qat
   fatha       mentahkikkan
   menghadhafkan takhfif
   harf jarr   tanwin
   iṣam mawsul mentas-hilkan
   kasrah      tasydid
   maq'd       wakaf
   ma na       wasl

As the Jawi script had been in use for a considerable amount of time prior to the composition of this text, it can safely
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form in MS ML 116</th>
<th>Meaning in Text</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Dictionary References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bentar</td>
<td>momentaneous</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>1x</td>
<td>K186; W121; M162 (se-); V: I, 266 (se-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dammah</td>
<td>vowel point for /u/</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>19x</td>
<td>K644; M201; W294; L1801; V: II, 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'idah</td>
<td>pericope</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>22x</td>
<td>K655; M207; W310; L2470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatha</td>
<td>vowel point for /a/</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>44x</td>
<td>K655; M207; W312; L2329; V: II, 375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menghadhafkan</td>
<td>elide, apocopate</td>
<td>Arabic root + Malay suffix</td>
<td>3x</td>
<td>L535; V: II, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harf jarr</td>
<td>preposition</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1x</td>
<td>L550; V: II, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ism mawsul</td>
<td>relative pronoun</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1x</td>
<td>L1435, 3055; V: III, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaasrah</td>
<td>vowel point for /i/</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>20x</td>
<td>K782; M259; W514-5; L2611; V: II, 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lanjut</td>
<td>lengthened, long vowel</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>16x</td>
<td>K955; M308; W654; V: III, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-...-kan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table C-2: Malay Grammatical Terms used in Juz' 16 of TM: m-s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form in MS ML 116</th>
<th>Meaning in Text</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Dictionary References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>madd</td>
<td>further lengthening of /a/</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1x</td>
<td>K973; W718; V:III,131; L2695;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'na</td>
<td>meaning</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>5x</td>
<td>K982; M324-5; W716; L2181; V:III,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mati</td>
<td>single, vowelless</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>29x</td>
<td>K959-60; M315; W749-50; Wu56; V:III,108-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panjang</td>
<td>clear, pronounced</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>1x</td>
<td>M231; K710-1; W843; Wu124; V:II,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pendek</td>
<td>brevity</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>1x</td>
<td>K716; M233; W875; Wu187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qari</td>
<td>reader of Qur'an</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>22x</td>
<td>K737; W512; V:II,459; L2504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa't</td>
<td>cutting off, suspension of voice</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>2x</td>
<td>L2990; V:II,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menyebutkan (sebut)</td>
<td>pronounce</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>1x</td>
<td>K542-3; M161; W1032; V:II,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singkat</td>
<td>curtailing, short vowel</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>3x</td>
<td>K564; M171; W1070; V:II,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form in MS ML 116</td>
<td>Meaning in Text</td>
<td>Etymology</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Dictionary References</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mentahkikkan</td>
<td>pronounce the hamzah</td>
<td>Arabic root + Malay suffix</td>
<td>8x</td>
<td>K256(root only); W1149(&quot; &quot;); L606; V:1,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takhffif</td>
<td>reduction, single consonant</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>10x</td>
<td>L770; V:1,346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanwin</td>
<td>nunation</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>3x</td>
<td>K311; W1169; V:1,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mentas-hilkan</td>
<td>to read without hamzah</td>
<td>Arabic root + Malay suffix</td>
<td>5x</td>
<td>L1453; V:1,359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasydid</td>
<td>doubling of consonant</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>11x</td>
<td>K264-5(tasyjed); W1175; L1518; V:1,359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menukarkan (tukar)</td>
<td>to replace text</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>2x</td>
<td>K319; M90; W1245-4; V:1,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakaf</td>
<td>pause in reading Qur'anic text</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>4x</td>
<td>K1018(root only); W1277(&quot; &quot;); V:III,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meng-...-kan</td>
<td>junction, linkeage</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>12x</td>
<td>K1017(-ah); M353; W1282(-ah);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasl</td>
<td>junction, linkeage</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1x</td>
<td>L3054-5; V:III,227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
be assumed that terms referring to vowel signs (fatha, kasrah, dammah, madd) would have already been well established in the common vocabulary of Malay. As regards the remainder of the terms in this group, their occurrence in the dictionaries of Court Malay suggests that they were used more widely than merely in specifically religious circles. The use of Malay affixes with Arabic roots indicates that the author intuitively felt that the word belonged to the vocabulary of religious Malay, though the lack of assimilation of initial root consonant to prefix shows that this process was far from complete.

It is to be noted that Von de Wall’s dictionary is much more complete regarding grammatical terminology than the other dictionaries of Court Malay consulted. Of the eighteen Arabic loans listed in this group, six are recorded by Von de Wall alone. They are:

- menghadhafkan
- qat\(^c\)
- harf jarr
- takhfif
- ism mawsul
- mentas-hilkankan

It is likely that the Arabic loans in the above list were established as an integral part of the vocabulary of 17th century religious Malay, though in other contexts they were at least severely restricted in usage, or more probably did not occur at all. The non-Arabic grammatical terms used were well-established in the vocabulary of “standard” Malay of the period in their original sense, and the sense extension in MS ML 116 points to the licence that authors generally have in using words which are widely understood.
Appendix D

Arabic Terms and Phrases in the Malay Text of Juz' 16 of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd

The majority of Arabic words occurring in the Malay text in chapter 4 are to be found within the discussion of the qirā'āt in the fa'īdahs. They have been listed in detail in Chapter 2 and need not be included here. Similarly some Arabic grammatical terms have been listed and discussed in Appendix C above, so will not be included here. Appendix D presents a glossary of Arabic words and phrases not previously listed which need to be understood to fully grasp the contexts in which they occur in chapters 4 and 5.

'Alayhā al-salām = Peace be upon her
(TM 19:introduction, in reference to Mary, mother of Jesus)

Bismillāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm = in the name of the Merciful, the Compassionate
(Every Surah except Surah 9 begins thus)

Fa khalafa min baḍīḥīm khalf = They were followed by successors...
(TM 19:introduction)

Fīrqāh = sect
(TM 19:69)

Jīdar = wall
(TM 18:77; 18:82)

La ilāha illā Allāh = there is no God but Allāh
(TM 20:109)

Makkīyah [wa hiya] mi'a wa [khams] wa thalāthūn āyāt [aw] wa arba'ūn āyāt aw wa thinthān = Meccan in origin, and it has one hundred and thirty-five or one hundred and forty or one hundred and forty-two verses
(TM 20:introduction, in detailing the varying numbering systems for Surah 20)

Maṭlūb = desires
(TM 20:121)
mustarīḥ = resting
(TM 20:74)
qātī’ al-ṭariq = highway robber
(TM 20:71 Tanbīḥ)
salla Allāh ʿalayhi wa sallam = God bless him and grant him salvation
(Placed after each mention of the name of the Prophet Muhammad)
Wa Allāh al-ʾlam = God knows best
(Placed after discussion of the qirāʾāt in this work, and in general whenever a contentious matter is being discussed)
Wa Allāh Taʾālā al-ʾlam = God Almighty knows best
(TM 19:9f)
Appendix E

Unusual Malay Words and Archaic Forms in Juz' 16 of Jak. MS ML 116.

The following list was drawn up in four stages:

1. During the examination of the Malay text contained in Chapter 4 of this present study, a progressive index was made of what appeared to be archaic or unusual words.

2. The entries in this index were checked against various modern dictionaries of Indonesian/Malay, principally Poerwadarminta [1976] and Iskandar [1970]. Any words found in these dictionaries were discarded.

3. The remaining words were then checked against the contents of the four most reliable dictionaries of Court Malay, i.e. Klinkert (K) [1947], Marsden (M) [1812], Von de Wall (V) [1877] and Wilkinson (W) [1959]. Words listed in any of these sources were retained for this appendix, and the volume number (where necessary) and page number of the particular dictionary were recorded after the relevant initial next to the word in question.

4. Words of Malay origin not listed in the dictionaries of Court Malay were retained for this appendix. Words of Arabic origin not listed in these dictionaries were included in Appendix D, which contains a glossary of Arabic terms and phrases found in chapter 4.

It should be noted that both Poerwadarminta and Iskandar list the forms "alau" and "arta". However, they appear to be regarded as archaic by both sources and are little used in modern Malay/Indonesian. Hence they have been retained in this list.

ali = family (19:6)

VI 128; not in K, M or W
alau = to drive out, expel (19:86)
   K50; M13; VI 83; W18

anugeraha = give, bestow
   (19 cases) VI 128; K80-1 (anugraha/nugraha); M20; W39

Carabi = Arabic (lg) (19:97)
   K648; not in M; VII 354; W43

arta = property (18:82)
   K16 (arta/harta); M5 (arta/harta); VI 27 (arta/harta);
   W47 (arta/harta)

(baca) memaca = to read (Surah 20: introduction)
   (1 case) [well over 100 cases of membaca, which suggests
   a copyist's error here]. Not in K; M31 (memaca/membaca);
   VI 183 (memaca/membaca); W61 (maka/membaca)

belumpai = not yet (19:7)
   (3 cases) VI 256; K 176; not in M; W113; [cf. Roolvink
   1975:18, note 21]

(beri) memeri = to give
   (9 cases) [memberi does not occur in M3]. Not in K, M, V
   or W. It occurs in early letters in Malay from Aceh
   [Shellabear 1898: letter B]

(binasa) meminasakan = to destroy (19:40)
   (1 case) Not in K; M47 (meminasakan/meminasakan); not in
   V or W

(buni) ter-, ku-...-kan, di-...-kan = to hide, conceal
   (5 cases) K216; M56 (states "bunyi" is an incorrect
   form); W167 (states "buni" is a "rare variant of bunyi or
   sembunyi"); [cf. HA: passim]

(bunuh) memunuh = to kill (20:40)
   (3 cases) K 215-6 (membunuh); M 56 (membunuh/memunuh); VI
   298 (membunuh/memunuh); not in W

dalālah = error (20:135)
   K644; not in M; VII 340; not in W

(dengar) menengar = to hear (18:101)
   (3 cases) VII 106 (mendengngar/menengngar); M133
   (mendengar/menengar); K 453-4 (mendengar/menengar); not
   in W

dosya = sin (20:756)
   K, M, V and W only list form "dosa"

dulapan = eight (Surah 19: Introduction)
huban = grey hairs (19:4)
(1 case) K 1036 (huban/uban); M364 (huban/uban); VIII 245 (huban/uban); W 411 (huban/uban)

(kekal) mengekali = persevere (20:122)
[-i form not in modern dictionaries] K789-90; M261; not in V nor W

netiasa = always (20:71)
[cf.HA72, Letter C] K1008; not in M; VIII 205; W803

ngapa = why (20:134)
K653; M206; not in V; W804

perlan = to swallow (20:69)
K686; not in M, V or W

pesuruh = message (20:25 = J risālah)
also used to mean "messenger" as in BIM (20:24 = rasūl),
K516 (messenger only); M191 (messenger only); not in V;
W1140 (messenger only)

pusyaka (19:63) K, M, V and W only record "pusaka"
rutab = ripe dates (19:25)
Notice the Malay author has borrowed from the Arabic, but
not respected rules of number. He borrowed the singular
form, though clearly the sense is plural in this context.
The Arabic plural form of rutab is ritāb K494. Not in M,
V or W.

senggeraha = to prepare (18:102)
(2 cases) M 171; not in K, V or W.

syay' = thing (19:9)
(3 cases) Not in K, M or V; W1098

syiksa = punishment (19:37)
(24 cases) M149; K, V & W only list "siksa".
ta'khir (men...kan) = to delay (20:129)
K237; VIII 324; not in M or W
tamkin (di...kan) = to strengthen (18:95)
(1 case) VI 404 (=anstellen); Not in K, M or W
(tunjuk) penunjuk = guidance (19:76)
not in K, M or V; W1252 (=guiding instrument)
(turai) dituraikan = cut, carved up (18:96)
(BIM = curai) M89; K, V & W only list "curai"
Appendix F

Text of Juz’ 16 of Tafsīr al-Jalālayn

The following pages contain the text of juz’ 16 of the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn photocopied from the Damascus printed edition. To aid reconciliation with Ābd al-Ra‘ūf’s Malay rendering contained in chapter 4, those sections of the Arabic text rendered into Malay have been highlighted by use of a see-through marker. The sections not rendered by Ābd al-Ra‘ūf have been left untouched. The numbering system of the Quranic verses followed by the Damascus edition of the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn is occasionally at variance with that used by the official Cairo edition of the Qur‘ān which has been used in the edited text of TM and its translation in chapters 4 and 5 respectively. A reconciliation of the two systems is provided in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cairo Numbering</th>
<th>Damascus Ed. of J Numbering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surah 18</td>
<td>Surah 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verses 75 - 83</td>
<td>Add 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84/85</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>86/87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verses 87 - 110</td>
<td>Add 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Surah 19        | Surah 19                    |
| Verses 1 - 25   | Subtract 1                  |
| 26              | 25/26                       |
| Verses 27 - 74  | identical                   |
| Verses 75 - 98  | Add 1                       |

| Surah 20        | Surah 20                    |
| Verses 1 - 135  | identical                   |
في صحتي إياك، أي عاملني فيها بالعفو والبر
(فقال) أن ذهب إلى السفن وانقطع ضربه:
177 (قال) إن كنت عن شيء بحجة إلى
ها (قال) إذن في هذا الجواب: (فقال) أدرأ
نهاية (قيمة) إذا كنت (فقال)
在他的(الرحلة) ما قد تلقت (لا القيم التراكية) وسكون
الكاف وضعاً مكّراً. (قال: إن كانت عن شيء
بعدها) أدرأ هذه (فقال) هكذا: (فقال)
الشبيب من الدنيا بالشبيب والشبيب
من جهل (فقال) في مشاركتك لي،
178 (قال) إن كانت (إذا كانت) أتلقت
هي أعطية (استعظام عالمية)، طالب
بهم العلم ( phủاً) قلبي أن يقدرها: (فقال)
بهم الطاعون (هل) مجدداً (إذا) لدنا
ملاء دراجين (ليلت أن يفسر) أي
بقرب أن يسقط بلائه (إذا) جارته
الخطر (لا) (قال له: موسى (لقد)
التقت لجهاز (إذا) جالا حاولت
عليه أمر (قال) بفيفونا
مع حاجتنا إلى العالم:
179 (قال) إن داء الخطر (هذا غرق)
أي داء فراق (بين) ويبك (إذا)
به إضافة إلى جين مبتعد سعدها تكرره
بالعطف بالباو (سالتيك) قبل فراقي
للك (بناويل مام تنفعه صبر).
180 (أما السفينة فكان لما) إشتر (عملون في البحر) بإمكاني
لها طبيبة للدكت (فأدرأ أن)
أعتيبي (أو) زراعته (فأدرأ أن)
للمعنى الأخ 181 (فأدرأ أن)
أعتيبي (أو) زراعته (فأدرأ أن)
للمعنى الأخ 182 (فأدرأ أن)
بالماء والشبيب والشبيب (إذا) خيرات وAKEE(أي صلوا وثنى (وأقرب) (فهمه) (حكمه) (مكاي) بكون
الباء ووضع الدهم وهو البر والإحسان، فأدرأ أن (فأدرأ أن)

(وأما الجدار فكان للعلمين يتيمين في المدينة وكان تحته كبراً) مال مدفون من ذهب وفضة (فما وكن أيهما صالحاً)

(ويسلكونك أي اليهود في غزوة) اسمه الأسقندري ولم يكن نبياً (قل سأتموا) ساقصة (عليكم منه) من حالة (ذكر الله خيراً)

(فإن كان له في الأرض) بسهولة السير فيها (وآتيناهما كل شيء) يتعلق إليه (سبباً) طريقه يوصله إلى ماردته (فأطيعه سبباً) سلط الطيرة نحو الغرب.

(حتى إذ بلغ غرب الشمس) موضع غروباً (وجدها تغرب في عين حمة) ذات حامة وهي الطين الأسود وغروباً في العين في رأي العين و إلا فهي أعظم من الدنيا (وجد عندنا) أي العين (قوماً) كانونين.

(قلنا يا الذين) باللهام (إذا أن تغلب) القوى بالثقل (وأما أن تتخذه حسباً) بالأسر

(قال أما من ظلم) بالشرك (فسوف نعده) نقضته (ثم يريد إلى رفعه إليه عداه نكراً) يسكن الكاف وضعها شديدًا في النار.

(وأما من آمن وعمل صاحباً فله جزاء الحسن) أي الجلة والإضافة اللبان وفي قراءة بنص جزاء وتبنيته قال الفراء ونصبه على التفسير أي لجئة النسبة (وستقول له)
(من أمرنا يا) أي تأمر بما يسهله عليه 90 (ثم اتبع سببا) نحو المشرق 91 (حتى إذا بلغ مطلع الشمس) وضع بلاء (وإذنا تطلع على قومهم) لم يرئهم لم يجعل لهم دونهما أي الشمس (مسرا) من لبس ولا سقف لأن أرضهم لا تحمل بناء وإيم سروب ينوبون فيها عند طلع الشمس ويظهرون عند ارتفاعها.

92 (كذلك) أي الأمر كنا قلنا (وقد أخطأنا بما لديه) أي عند الربع من الربع والثاني وغيرهما ( خيرا) علماء.

93 (ثم اتبع سببا) 94 (حتى إذا بلغ بين السدين) فشح السين ووضها ها وبدعها جبلا بقطع بلاد الترك سد الاستكرد ما بينهما كما سابق (وبدع من دونها) التي أمائها (نقوله لا يكادون يتفهون قولنا) أي لا يفهمون إلا بعد به في قراءة بضم اليم وكسر التاء.

95 (قالوا) يا هذا القرنين إن ياوج ومالك برلمز وتركه: هم أسس من أعجبان لفليس فلم يصرفون (نمسدروم في الأرض) بالله وبلغ عنه خروجهم إليها (فهل تجعل لك خروجة) جعل من المال وفي قراءة خراجا (على أن تجعل بيننا ويتمددها) حافزا فلا يصلوا إليها.

96 (قال ما كننا) وفي قراءة بدون من غير إتمام (في بيب) من المال وغيره (خير) من خريغم الذي يتجلوته في بلا حافة في يلي وأجعل لكم السد ثغرة (أنابوني بقوة) لما أطلبه منكم (أجعل بينا وبينهم ردة) حافزا حصننا.

97 (آتيوني زب الحديد) قطعنا على قدس الحجارة التي بينها بها بنى بها وجعل بينها الحطب والنجم (حتى إذا سأوا بين الصفين) فصب الذين وفخروا وضمن الأول وسكون الثاني أي جاني الجبلين بالبلا ووضع النافخ واليور حول ذلك (قال حمزا) فانفسوا (حتى إذا جعله) أي الحديد (نحرنا) أي كانن ( قلآواني أحفر عليه قفر) هو النجم المذب تازع فيه الفعلان وحذف من الأول للاعمال الثاني فانفر النحل المذاب على الحديد المحيي فجعل بين زبر فصار شيتا واحدا.

98 (فما استطاوا) أي ياوج ومالكو (نأ يظهم) يعلو الأطر لا ارتفاعهم ولا سلة (وما استطاعوا لالغاء) خروقا لصالحه.

99 (قال ذو القرنين) (هذى) أي السد أي الإقلاع عليه (رحة من ربي) نعمة لأنه المان من خروجهم (إذا جاء) وسكة.
(عدد ربي) بخروجهم القريب من البعث (جعله دكاء) مدعوًا مسبوعًا (وكان وعد ربي) بخروجهم وغيره (حقًا) كاتبًا.

قوله تعالى: 101 (وتراكم بعضهم بعضاً) يوم خروجهم (يوج في بعض) يغطى به لئن لوحهم (وتخف في الصورة) أي القرون لبثت (فجعلهم) أي الخلق في مكان واحد يوم القيامة (جمعًا) 100 100 100 101 (وعرسنا) قرناً (جهنم) بومذل الكافرين عرسًا 203 (الذين كانت أعينهم) بدل من الكافرين (في غطاء عن ذكري) أي القرآن فيهم عمي.

لا يهتدون به (وكانوا لا يستطيعون سمعًا) أي لا يقدرُن أن يسمعوا من النبي ما تلثٌلزمها على بعضه فالأوان بيه.

305 (النساءن الذين كفرن أن يذخروا عدي) أي ملكتكم وأنتى عزرا (من دوني أولاء) أرباباً مفعول تاولذوا والملوء الثاني لصحا مجهود المعنى أظتن أن الانتزاع المذكور لا يفعلي ولا ألقانهم عليه كلاً إلا أمكنهم جماعًا للكافرين (هؤلاء وغيرهم (نزلاء) أي هي معد لهم كالمؤذن العيد للضفأ.

404 (قل هل تنكتم بالأخرشين أعمالًا) تميز طابع المميز ووقيبه بقوله:

505 (الذين رأوا في الحياة الدنيا) بطل عملهم (وهم يحضرون) يظنون (أنهم يحضرون صنا) عمله يحزرون عليه.

606 (أولئك الذين كفرنا بآيات ربي) بدلاً توحده من القرآن وغيره (واقتف) أي وبالله الحساب والثواب والعقاب (فبحت أعمالهم) بطلت (فلا تقدم لهم يوم القيامة وزنأ) أي لا يجعل لهم قدراً.

707 (ذلك) أي الأمر الذي ذكرت عنه جماع أعمالهم وغبره ميتًا خبره (جراهم جهنم بما كفروا واتخذوا آياته ورساليه) أي مزعومه.

808 (إن الذين أمنوا وعملوا الصالحات)
سورة الكهف

كان لهم قلوباً كالزئبق
ولا يعقلون فيها
لأنهم أبداً كانوا يفجرون
رماهم فيها عندهم
فقد يقال له ما يقال
وقد صلى الله عليه وسلم
الله وحده لا شريك له
ومعه جمعاء أهل الكتاب
ولا يعبدون إلا الله

سورة مريم

مكية أو خليفة 68 فندية أو خليفة 59 و 60
فندقة في 89 أو 99 خليفة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(كفيص) اللهم إني أ [][]]]]]]
وحمت ربك عهدك، مفصول رحمة(رحب) ببيانه
2 (إذ) متعلقة برقة (نادي بره نداء) مشتملا
على دعا (خنيا) خيرا جوف الليل لأن أسرع للإجابة
3 (ف) فالرب إياي (ه) شفعاء (العم) جميعا(مني)
(ينفي قطاع جزء من الخرَّاج) 8
(ينفي قطاع جزء من الخرَّاج) 9
(ينفي قطاع جزء من الخرَّاج) 10
(ينفي قطاع جزء من الخرَّاج) 11
(ينفي قطاع جزء من الخرَّاج) 12
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة.

يرجى تقديم النص باللغة العربية المكتوبة بشكل واضح العام.
274

224 (قدانًا من تحتها) أَيْ جَيْرِكِ وَكَانَ أَسْفُلَ مِنْهَا (أَلَا تَحْزَنِي) فَيَجْعَلُ رَبُّكَ تَحَتَّكَ سُرًى! نُعُورَ مَا كَانَ قدّ اقْطَعَ.

وفي قراءة تركية (عليك رضيت) تنبي (جنيًا) سبحانه:

255 (فلكي) مِنَ الْرِّبَاطِ (وَاهْرِيَ) مَنَ السَّرِيٌّ (وَقَرِ عَنْهَا) بِالْوَلَدِ تميَّزَ مَحْمَوَدُ مِنَ الفَاعِلِ أَيْ لَتَقُرُّ عَنْكَ بِأَيْ تَسْقَكُ على الرَّأَى وَكَسْرَتْ بَيْعَ الْضَّيْمَرَ لِإِلَتَّاءِ السَّاكِينِ

(من البشر أحدًا) فيسألك عن ولدك.

26 (فقولي إني ذرت للريحن صوأ) أي إمساكك عن الكلام في شأني وغيره من الأنبياء.

بديل (قلن آكلن اليوم إنسيا) أي بعد ذلك.

27 (فأتى به قومه تجهمه) خال فروعه (قالو) يا مريم لقد جئت نسأمت فرياً) عنيماً حيث أنبت بولد من غير أبي.

28 (يا اخت هرون) هو رجل صالح أي يشتهيه في الجنة (ما كان أبوك أرسلوه) أي زانية (وما كانت أمك بغيها) أي زانية فإني آین ذلك هذا الوالد.

29 (ذَّاْرًا) لهم (إلهي) أن كرموزه (قالوا) كيف تكلم من كان) أي وجد (في الجسد صبيًا.

30 (قال إياه عبد الله آتي الكتاب) أي الأنجيل (وجملني نبيًا).

31 (وجعلنى ماركة إنيما كنت) أي فاعل للناس إخبار ما كتب له (وأوصاني بالصلاة والزكاة) أمري بهما (ما دمت حيا).

32 (ویرى بالدنيا) متصوب بجعلتي مندراً (وَلَمْ يِعْلَمُ جَبَارًا) مَناَظِيرًا (شَفِيّاً) غاصاريًا به.

33 (والسلام) من الله (علي يوم ولدت يوم) أموت ويوم ابعث حا) يقول في ما تقدم في السيد يحيى.
34 (ذلك عيسى ابن مريم قول الحق) بالرفع خبر مبتدأ مقدر أي قول ابن مريم وبالنصب بتدقير قلت والمعنى القول

35 (النح (ذى فيه يرثون) من المرية أي يكعون وهم النصارى قائلة إن عيسى ابن الله كتبوا:

36 (ما كان إذ أن يتخذ من ولد سجاء) تنزية له عن ذلك (إذا قضى أمرا) أي أراد أن يعطى (فإنا قول له كن فيكون) بالرفع بتدقير هو وبالنصب بتدقير أن ومن ذلك خلق عيسى من غير أب (إن الله رب وربكم فاعبدون)

37 (فإن تقدر إكرارها) بتدقير كل بدائل ما قلت لهم إلا ما أمرتني به وأن أعبدوا الله رب وربكم (هذا) المذكور

38 (صراط متقين) مذكور

39 إلى الجنة.

37 (فاختلف الأحزاب بينهم) أي النصارى في عيسى أهو ابن الله أم إله معه أو ثالث ثلاثة (فقول)

38 (فقد ركض عذاب) للذين كروا (بذاكر)

39 (وغيره) من مشهد يوم عظيم) أي

37 (ا سمهم وأصر) بهم صيغة

40 (تعجب بعيني ما سمعهم وما أصبرهم)

41 (يوم يأوتنا) في الآخرة (لكن)

42 (التلظون من إقامة الظاهر) مقدار الضمير

43 (اليوم) أي في الدنيا (في خلال)

44 (بين) أي بينه يصو ع الصعاع

45 (الحاج) وع السراير الأعاصي

46 (منهم با محاب حاء) ممهم وإضرهم

47 (في الآخرة بعد أن كانوا في الدنيا)

48 (منهما عريا)

49 (وأذن creampie) خوف يا محمد

50 (كفار مكة (يوم الحجة)) هو يوم

51 (القابفة تحتفة) في المسئ على ترك

51 (الإحسان في الدنيا (إذ قضى الأمر)) لهم فيه العبادات (وهعم) في الدنيا

52 (في غلالة عنة) وهم لا تؤمنون (به)

53 (إذن أحبب) نحن

54 (وأذن creampie) لهم في الكتاب إبراهيم (أي خبره (إذ كان صديقا) مطالب في الصديق (نبا) ويدل من خبره

55 (يسع ولا يصر ولا يبغي عنك) لا يكفيك (شيا) من نفع أو ضر

56 (يا أبتي أي قد جاءني من العلم)
44 (قال سلام عليك) مني أيلاصبيتكروه
(استغفر لك ربي إنه كان بي حفية) من حني
أي باراأ فيجب دعائي وقد وقى يدها المذكور
في الشعراء. واعف لي واعف لهذا قبل أن يبين له
أنه عدوه كما ذكره في براءة.

48 (وعتزلك وما تدعون) يعبدون (من
 دون الله وادي) أباد (ريبي علي) (لا
أكلون بدعه ربي) بعبادته (فقد) كما شقيتم
عبادة الأسنان.

49 (لم تعتزكم وما تيدعون من دون الله)
(فأن ذهب إلى الأرض المقدسة وجيما له) اتثن
بيهما (إيقهم ويعقوب وكلا) منهما
(جعلنا نبيًا).

50 (ووهبناهم إهم) للثلاثة (من رحمتانا) المال
والولهد (جعلنا لهم لناس صدق عليًا) وفيما
هو الثناء الحسن في جميع أهل الأديان.

51 (وذكر في الكتاب موسى إنه كان مخلصًا)
(بكر الرازا ونتجها من أخيل في عبادته وخلصه
الله من الناس (كان رسول الله نبيًا).

52 (ونادينا) يقول يا موسى إنه أنا الله (من جانب الطور) اسم الجبل.
(الله تعالى). آية الذين ينامين وهم من بين مدين (وقررنا نجية) مناياً بأن أسعم الله تعالى كلامه.

37 (وهم له من رحمته) إمتان (أخته هرون) بدل أو علف بيان (ذنبا) حال هي المصودة بالتهبة إجابة لسأله أن يرسل أخاه معه وكان أسمنا منه 64 (واذكر في الكتاب إسماعيل إنه كان صادق الوعيد) لم يعد شيئاً ولا فيه إلزاماً. من وعده ثلاثة أيام أو حوالاً حتى رجع إليه في مكانه (وكان رسولًا) إلى جرحهم (ذنبا) 55 (وكان يأقر أهل) أي قومه (بالصلوة والزكاة وكان عند ربه مرضيًا) أصله مرضوواقلاب الوالدين والضمة كسرة 56 (واذكر في الكتاب إدريس).

(الله تعالى) صفتهم (من النبوءة) بان له وهو في مبناي الصفة وابتداء الجملة الشرط صفة للنبي قوله (من ذرية إدريس) أي إدريس (ومن حملاً مع نوح) في السفينة أي إبراهيم ابن ابن سام (ومن ذريه إبراهيم) أي إسحاق وسجوق (ومن ذريه إسرائيل) وهو يعقوب أي موسى وهرود وزكريا وجنين وعيسى (ومن هدينا واحتنا) أي من جَلَّاهم خبير أولى (إذا تأتي عليهم آيات الرحمن حراً سجدة وركبت) جمع سأجد ولا أي فكروا ملائمة وأصل بكيفي قلبت الوالدين والضمة كسرة 59 (فالقف من بعدهم خلائقاً فاضعاً) الصادق (وتركنا كلاهوم والنسائر) والذين الشهوات من العاصي (و توفقوه غباً) وهو واد في جَنُّهم أي يتعون فيه 60 (إلا) يكن (من تاب وايمن وعل صاحب فانل تلك يدخلون الجنة ولايظلون) بضائع شيطان من أتباعهم.
٢٧٨

(٢٦١) جهان عدن) اقامة بدل من الجنة (التي وعد الرحمن عبادة بالنبي) حال أي غالبين عنها (إنه كان وعده) أي
موعودة (مننا) بمعنى آني أو أصله ماتوي أو موعودة هذا الجنة بأني أعله.
(٢٦٢) (لا يسمعون فيها نعوا) من الكلام (إلا) لكن يسمعون (الجلاء) من الملائكة عليهم أو من بعضهم على بعض (وهم
رظيعون فيها بكرة وعشيا) أي على قدرها في الدنيا وليس في الجنة نهار ولا ليل بل ضوء ونور أبدا.
(٢٦٣) (تلك الجنة التي نورث) تعني ونزل (من عبادنا من كان فيها) ببطاعة) ونزل لما تأخر الوجي آباؤه وقال النبي
عليه وسلم لجيل من لم يتعه أن تزوروا.
(٢٦٤) (وما تتخلل إلا أمر ربك) له ما بين أيدينا) أي آمنا من أمور الآخرة (وما خلفنا) من أمور
الدنيا (وما بين ذلك) أي ما يكون في هذا الوقت إلى قام الساعة أي لعلم ذلك جميع (وماكان
ربك نسيب) يعني ناسياً أي تاركاً ذلك بتأخير
الوجي عنا.
(٢٦٥) (هو) ربك (والسموات والأرض وما
بينهما تاغيد واصتر عبادته) أي اصر عليها
هل تعلم له سمباً) أي مسى بذلك لا.
(٢٦٦) (و يقول الإنسان) المكر للبعث أو
بلف أو الوائد بين المعيرة النازل فيه الآن (إذا)
بتوفيق الموت الثانية وتسهيلها وإدخال الأفكار
بينهما بوجهها وبين الأخرى (ما مت لسوف
الخرج ها) من القبر كما يقول محمد فلاستهاب
بيني النبي) أي لا أحيان بعد الموت وما زائدة
للتأكيد وكذا اللام ورد عليه قوله تعالى:
(٢٦٧) (ولا يذكرون الإنسان) اسأل يذكر أباد
الناء ذالا وغضت في الذال وفي قراءة تركها
وسكون الذال وضم الكاف (أنا خلقنا من قبل
ولم نك شيئا) فيستدل بالإبادة على الدراسة
(٢٦٨) (وربكم لتهيئهم أي المكررين للبعث
والشبان) أي نجمع كلهم وشيتانه في
سلسلة (ثم لتعضرهم حول جهنم) من خارجها
(جناة) على الرب جمع جاه و أصله جنوة أو
جثى من جناي يئو أو جئي لغناء.
(٢٦٩) (ثم لنحن أعلم بالذين هم أولي بها) أحق بهلين الأشد وغيرهم منهم.
(٢٧٠) (ثم لنحن على الرحمين عتقا) جرارة
(صلى) تدخلوا واحترامًا فتنبأ بهم وأصله صلوي من صلى بكسر اللام وفتحها ۸۱ ( وإن ) أي ما ( متكلم ) أحد
( إل وإردها ) أي داخل جهنم ( كان على ربك حنا مقضيًا ) حتمه ووقتية به لا يتركه.
۷۷ ( في النادي ) وهو مجتمع القوم يتحدثون فيه.
( يعبرون ) بنحو فتكون خيراً ممكن قال تعالى:
۷۴ ( وكم ) أي كثيراً ( أهل كنا قبلكم من قرن) أي أمة من الأمم الماضية ( هم أحسن أئمة ) مالاً ومثناً ( وربما ) منتظراً للروية كما أهل كنام
لكنهم تلك هؤلاء.
۷۵ ( قل من كان في الفضلاء ) شرط جوابه
( في النادي ) فليبدأ ( يعني الخبر أي بيد الله الرحمن مداً) في الدنيا يستدرجه.
۷۶ ( حتى إذا رأوا ما يوعدون إما العذاب ) كالقائل والأسر ( وإما السجاء ) المستندة على جهنم
فدخلونها ( فسيمنعون من هؤلاء مكانة وأضعف
جندها ) أعواناً أم المؤمنون وجندهم الشياطين
وجنده المؤمنين عليهم الملائكة.
۷۷ ( ويزيد الله الذين اهتدوا ) بالإيمان ( هدى )
بما ينزل عليهم من الآيات ( والآيات الصالحات) هي الطاعة تبيّن لصاحبها ( خبر عند برك ثواباً
وخر مرد) أي ما يرده ويرجع بخلاف أعمال
التكفير والغيرة هنا في مقابلة فقولهم أي الفريقين
خير مثقالاً.
۷۸ ( أفرات الذي كفر بآيتنا ) العاصي بن
وائل ( وقال ) لغاب بن الأوثان القائل له تبعث
بعد الموت والطوال بمال ( الدُّون ) على تقدير
البعث ( مال وولاء ) فافضل ذلك. قال تعالى:
۷۹ ( البئب الغيب ) أي أعلمه وأي يؤمن ما قاله واستلمي بهمة الاستماع عن عينه العين.
( الرحمن عهدًا ) بأن يؤمن ما قاله. ۸۰ ( كلا ) أي لا يؤمن ذلك ( سكت ) الأمر بكت.
(ما يقول ونود له من العذاب مدا) نزيد به بذلك عذابًا فوق عذاب كفره. 81 (وتركه ما يقول) من المال والولد.

80 (وأتنايم) يوم القيامة (فربا) لا مال له ولا ولد.

82 (واتخذوا) أي كفار مكة (من دون الله) الأولان (آية) يعبدوهم (ليكوبونا أمها عزا) شفعاء عند الله بأن لا يعدلوا.

83 (كل) أي لا مانع من عذابهم (سيكونون) أي الآلهة (بعبادتهم) أي ينفونها كما في آية أخرى ما كانوا إباناً يعبدون (وليمون عليهم ضدا) أعوانًا وآداءً.

84 (أم تأنا أرسلنا السياطين) سلطانهم (على الكافرين) أعدهم (آزاء).

85 (فلا تجعل عليهم) بطائل العذاب (إنما تعدد لهم) الأواق والليالي أو الأفثاة. (عبدا) إلى وقت عذابهم.

86 (ذكر يوم منの人ين) بياضهم (إلى الرحمن وفدا) جوم وفاد بمعنى راكب.

87 (ونويع المجرمين) بكرهم (إلى جهنم وردا) جوم وارد بمعنى عض قلاب.

88 (لا يمكرون) أي الناس (الشجاعة إلا من اتخذ عند الرحمن عهدا) أي شهادة أن لا نبه إلا الله ونحوه ولا قوة إلا بالله.

89 (وقالوا) أي اليهود والنصارى ومن زعم أن الملائكة بات الله (اتخذ الرحمن وادا) قال تعالى لهم:

90 (اتخذ جهنم شهدا) أي منكرًا عظيمًا.

91 (شكاد) بإمالة والثوان (السواء يقترون) بالثوان وفي قراءة بإمالة والتشديد القطر بالشرايط (مهما ونشق الأرض وتخج الجبال) أي تطبق عليهم من أجل:

92 (آت دعاوا للرحمن والدا) قال تعالى:

93 (وما يبني للرحمن أن يتخذ ولدا) أي ما يلبين به ذلك.

94 (إن) أي ما (كل من في السماوات والأرض).
سورة طه

(مكة وآياتها 135 آية أو 380 آية)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(طه) الله أعلم بما يحدث بذلك.
1. ما أزلنا عليك القرآن بمحبة (تشكي) لنتبع منبتعلها بعد تزوول من طول قيامك بصلة الله أي ختف عن نفسك.
2. لا توكل إلا على الله (تذكى) به.
3. (أتيزلا) لبدر من الفض والشتاء وستبتينك من خلق الأرض والسموت العالي (جده إمام أكبر).
4. هو (الرحمن على العرش) وهو في اللغة سري الملل (استوى) استواد باليق (ب) في الله السماوات وما في الأرض.

(إلا آتي الرحمن عدا؟) ذيلاء خاصه يوم القيامة منهم عزيز وعسي 90. (أقد أنصموا وعدهم عدا؟ فلا يخفى عليه بليل جميع ولا واحد منهم 91. وكليم آتيه يوم القيامة فربى) بالمال ولا نصير ينبع.

97. (إن الذين آمنوا وعملوا الصالحات سبجل لهم الرحمن وما) فيما بينهم ينودون ويجعلون ويجعلهم الله تعالى.

98. (فإنما يسرهم) أي القرآن (بلساناك) العربي (أنشر به المنفون) الفائزين بالإسماع (وتندر) يخوف (به قوم ندا).

جمع الفن أين جدل بالباطل وكم كفار مكة 99. (وكم) أي كثيرا (أهلكنا قلبه من سن) أي أمة من الأمم الماضية ينكذبهم الرسول (عل تحسن) تجد (من أحد أو سمعهم) لله ركوا صوتا خينا! لا - فكما أهلكنا أولئك نهلك هؤلاء.

سورة مكيّة 19

إنا في رحمة عنده 0. لذبحوا نسيمة عبد الرحمن 0. وكذا أتيها أبي فوقهم وعلوا عذابهم 0. الفانين 0. بل أتيها بست بالنار 0. والأحياء 0. وكاهلكنweak他們 0. من عدوه بسجدته 0. وبهبنشأ سماعهم 0. وعدهم عدا 0. فلا يخفى عليه بليل جميع ولا واحد منهم 0. وكليم آتيه يوم القيامة فربى 0. بالمال ولا نصير ينبع.
(وما بينهما) من المخلوقات (وما تحت الثرى) هو التراب النيدي والمراد الأرضون السبع لأنها تحته.

7 وأدرك النبأ (وبالنها) في ذكر أو دعاء، قالت يبكي عنها من الغضب (إنها يعلم النص والختان) من أي ما جفت به النفس وما خطر ولم تحدث به فلاأ تجد نسك بالجر (الله إنه إله إل له الإسماء الحسنى) النسحة والتسعون الورد بها.

الحديث والحسن ممؤت الأحسن 9 (وهل) قد (أناك حديث موسى).

10 (إذن أما فألا قول لأهلها) لأمرئي (أبكتوا) ها وذاك في سبعة من مدين طالبة مصر (إني آنست) أبنتٍ (ناراً لعلي آتيك منها قبيس) بعثة في رأس نفيلة أو عود (أو أحد على الناف خدي) أي (هادباً يدل على الطريق وكان أختها لظلمة الليل وصل هل لندم الجرم بوافو الود.

11 (فلا أثناها) وهي شجرة عوسيج (نودي) يا موسى.

12 (أبي) بكر المعجاً بتأويل نودي بقلبل وتبث الباس (أنا) تأكد إياك التكلم (زيك فاصل نقلك إنك بالعداد المقسم) المقترب أو المبارك (طوي) بدل أو عطف بيان بالتنوير وترك مرور بعض البقع وعمر مرور للثابت باعتبار النافع مع القليب.

13 (وأنا اختبرك) من قومك (فاستمع لما يوحى) إليك مي.

14 (إني أنا الله لا إله إلا أنا قاصد وآتي الصلاة الختامي) فيها.

15 (إن الساعة آية إلا اكتيها) عن الناس ويتورهم تورها بعلاماتها (لنجوز) فيها (كل نفس بما تسعي) فيه من نظر أو شرب.

16 (فلا صدقك) يصبرك (عنها) أي عن الإيمان بها (إن لا يؤمن بها واتبع عهده) في إنكارها (فندري) أي فنكل إن صدقت عنها.

17 (وما تلك) كائنة (بينك يا موسى) الاستعمال للتقرير اهتز عليه المجرة فيها.

18 (قال هي عصاي أنوكو) أعتضد (عليها) عند الوثوب والمشي (واهش) أخطئ ورق الشجر (بها) ليسقط.
(ان تخفيفه ان عنيه في التأمل فاقذيفية) بانكوتي (في اليم) بحر الين (فليس فيه الباحث) أي شئه:

والأمر بمعنى الخبر (بأخذه تعديل ووضعه) وهو فرعته (والقيت) بعد أن أخذك (على مغة مني) لتجب في

لناس فنجان فروع وكل من راك (ولتسعم على يمين) تربى على رعاية وحفظك...

40 (إذا) التعليل (مشترى أختاك) مريم لنترفع من خبرك وقد أحضروا ومشاعر وانت لا تقلب تدي واحدة منهم

(تنقل سل آدمكم على من يكفله) فأبيت نجات بسققبل تديها (فرعون) إلى أمك كما تقريرتها (فلافلا) (ولاحظ)

حيند (وانت نفسي) هو القبطي بصرفاغتيت

انفجارت قبل فروعه (فجنباك) من الغم وفنكشال

شام (فلشت سنين) عشرا (في أهل مدين) بعد

مهجوك إليها من مصر عند شعيب النبي وتزوجك

بابتك (تم جئت على قدر) في أمري بالرسالة

وهو أربعون سنة من عمرك (يا موسى).

41 (واصطخر) اخترتك (النفسية) بالسالة

42 (اذبه أن وأخوك) إلى الناس (يا باتي)

السع (ولا نينا) تفاض (في ذكري) لتبسيج

وغيره...

43 (اذبه إلى فروع إنه طغي) باعدائه

الربوية...

44 (فقوله له قنلا لينا) في رجوعه عن ذلك

(له إلزك) فتعم (أو يهذ) ويرفع

والترجي بالنية إلها لعله تعالى بأنه لا يرجع.

45 (قالا ركنا نخاف أن بتربك علينا) أي

يمر بعالوية (أو أن يضفى) علينا أي يبتكر

46 (قال لا تخافنا حتى معنا) بعوني (اسم)

ما يقول (وأرى) ما يفعل...

47 (قائبل قولدا إنه رسول ربك)...
(أرسل معايتي إلى إسرائيل،) إلى الشام (ولا تعذبهم.) أي خذ منهم من استعملوا الشام في أشغال الشاقة كالحفر والبناء.
وحمل القبل (قد جازنا بآية.) بيعة (من ربك) على صدقنا بالسلام (والإسلام على من منعهم.) أي السلام عن المعذبين.
(والذين النافذ.) أعرض عنه فإليهما وأقلم ما جبهم. وفلا جمع ما ذكر.
(وإذا قد أوحي إلي أن الذائب.) على من ذهب ما جنثه (وأولى.) أو أرض عليه فإليهما وأقلم ما جمع.
(وقال بين ربي لا موسي.) اقتصر عليه لأنه الأصل وإلاده عليه بالvertera.
(فلما.) فرعون (فما بال.) هال (القررون) الأول (وهو نوح.) كوم نوح ودود وولو وصالح.
(وه في عبادتهم الأوثان.)
(وقال موسي.) علمه) أي علم حاليهم.
(والذي.) نوح الحفنة (وزاده.) هو النهوض.
(فازهم.) يجازهم عليها يوم القيامة (البض.) يغيب (رب.) عن شيء (ولا يني.) وتب尼亚.
(الذي.) جمل كم) في جملة الخلقت.
(الأرض.) بيدا) فرثا (والسل.) سبيل (أكم.) فيها سبيل.) طما (وانزل من السماء ماء.) مئتي قلال قبلي تنبأ بما وصفه حمي وخطايا لا عزل.
(فأجازها.) فأجازها به أزواجا) أصافا (من نبات.
(فمن.) صفته أي مختلفه الألوان ولفلوم.
(أخير) وتمت جمع شيت كرير ومرضي من.
(وتنى) الأشياء.
(والله.) منا (وأعزنا أعناكم.) فيما جمع.
(نعم وهي الغبر والقرن) يقال رта الأداء.
(وعيدهما والأمر.) الآلاة وذكر النعمة والنجيلة.
(حلف من ضمير.) آخرينا أي مبينهم لكم الأكلا.
(ورعي الإذاعة.) إن في ذلك الحكمة (الآيات.)
(لغيرا.) لا تلبي النهي.) لأصحاب الغفلة جميع.
(لعتبره.) وغفلة ضييقه بالعقل لأنه ينوى حاضبه.
(عن ارتكاب.) أفعال.
(منها.) أي من الأفراد (أمثلنها.) بخلق آيكم آدم منها (وفيها نعدهم.) متبورين بعد الموت (ومنها نذركم.)
(عند البث.) ثمة (أخرى.) كما أجازناكم عند انداء خلقكم.
(وقد أرثنا.) أي أحسننا فرعون (أبانا كليم.) السمع (فكذب) بما وريهم أنها سحر (وأبي.) أن يوجد الله تعالى.
(قال أختنا.) نحن أن نذروا من أرضنا.) مصر ويكون ذلك الملك فيها.
(قال.)
(37) (قال لهم موسى) وهما اثنان وسيمون مع كل واحد جبل وعصا ويلكم أي أleground الله الويل (لا تقرروا على الله كذبة) بإشراف أحدكم (فسأحكم) قلما الياء وكر الحاء وينتجهما أي يبلكم (بعداع) من عده (وقد خاب) خسر (من افترى) كذب على الله.

(38) (فتنازعوا أمرهم بينهم) في موسى وأخيه

(39) (قالوا) لأنفسهم (إن هذان) لأبي عم وليغير هذان وهو موافق للعبة من يأتي في المستوى الأفلاس في أحوال الثلاث (لما كان أن يقرر أحدكم من أرضهم أن يкер أن يقرر أحدكم من أرضهم أن يكر) من أرضهم بسرهم وبددها بظرينكم المثلى) نؤمن أن نحن أشرف أي باشرا كفاكم ببناهم إلهام لمثليهم.

(40) (فاجمعوا كيدكم) من السحر بعمرة وصل وفتح اليم من جمعي لي وبيمزق عكم ومتسين من أجل أحكم (ثم إنما صفا) حال أي مضنين (وقد أفح) قال (اليوم من أستغل) غلب.

(41) (قالوا يا موسى) اختبر (إنا أن تلقين) عصاك أولا (وإنا أن تكون أول من ألقى) عصاك.

(42) (قال بين القوا) فقولوا (إذا جعلتم بكر من بكر) (أصله عصوو لباثاب) بكرت العين والصاد (يحل إليه من سعرهم أنهما) حيا (تشيء) على بقونها.
287
(فأوجس) إحس (في نفسه خفية موسى) أي خاف من جهة أن سحرهم من جنس معجزته أن يثبت أمره على الناس فلا يؤمنوا به
68 (قال) إنه لا تخف إنك أنت الأعلى عليهم بالغبة
69 (وإذ ما في بيتك) وهي عصاء (لاقف) تحتل (ما صنعوا إذا صنعوا كيد ساحر) أي جنسه (ولا يلتقي الساحر)
WHEREAS (إنما يلي الساحر) بسحره فانفقت موسى عصاء فانفقت كل ما صنعوه
70 (فالفب السحر سجدة) خروا ساجدنة
71 (فال) فرعون (آمانم) بذكريه المزمن
72 (وإذما في منبجل لك تلقى ما صنعوا مما صنعوا مما صنعوا
73 (فلم تنكر) فاختار (على ما جاءنا
74 (فلم تتعلق) لم تتعلق (على صدق موسى) (والذي
75 (فلم تطمع) لم تطمع (على ما فاقت ما
76 (فلم تبت) لم تبت (على ما تقبله (إذا تقصي هذه
77 (فلم تفبرك) لم تفبرك (على العادات أي فيهما
78 (فلم ترا) لم ترا (في الآخرة)
79 (فلا أكن بابرًا لبغي للاختناص) من الإشرار
80 (فإن لا برأية إلا عصية) (إنك خبر) نجدة (إذا اضيع
81 (فإن لا عذبة إلا عصية). (فإن له جهنم لا يموت)
35 (وما أعجلك عن قولك) (أجلك) مباعد أخذ التوراة (ياموسى) (قال هم أولاء) (أي بالقرب مني) فأتون
(على أثري وجعلت ليك ريب لترضى) (على أي زيادة على رضاك وقبل الجواب أنني بالاعتراف بحسابه، وتخفيف المظالم)
36 (قال تعالى (فإنا قد فتناك من بعدك) (أي بعد غرائب لقيم (وأصحاب السامي) فعندنا العمل)
37 (فرج موسى إلى قومه غضبان) (من جهتهم (حسنا) شديد الحزن (قال يا قوم يا محمد ربك وعدنا حسبنا) (أي
صدأنا أن نطيعك التوراة (أفلال عليك المعهد) مرة مفاوتية إياكم (أم أردتم أن بحل) يجب (علىكم غضب من ربك)
وبعدكم العمل (فأتختم بالموعدي)
وتراكم المجيء بعدي
38 (قالا فاعلموا موعداً مبلكنا)
مثل ماليم يشددت أو أمرنا
(لكما حملنا) (فتح الحاء مخفأة
وبسما وكسر الماء مشداً (وزراعة) أتقالا (من زينة التوام) أي حلي قول فروع استعزاهم منهم بيو
إسرائيل بفعله عن فقدها) (فقدناها) (طقها في النار بأمر
السامي (فكناكنا) (كما أقنتا (ألقين السامي) ماعم من حليهم ومن التراب
الذي أخذه من أمره غز فرس جبريل
على وجه الأيام)
39 (فأخرج آدم عجلة) (ضاقت
من الحلي (جذوًا) (لحمة ودما (له خوار) أي صوت يسمع أي اتقلب
كذلك كيف التراب الذي أزدهأ
الحياة فيما بوضعه وبوضعه بعد
صوته في مثاني (أقناو) (أتي السامي
واذاع (هذا الكسر) (أي موسي
فسي) موسي رغ هنا وذهب يخيله
قال تعالى:
40 (إن رأونا) (أن مخفية من
القلعة واسها محدود أو أنه
(لا يرجع) (الملج (الهيم تولا) (لا يرجع لهم جوابا) (ولا يملك
لهم ضا (ولا فتا) (أي
جلب أي كفوك بتحلي
41 (وقد قال لهم هرون من قبل) (أي قبل أن يرجع موسى (يا قوم إنا فتنتهم به وان ربك الرحمن فاتبعوني) في
عبادته.)
(أتيت) أعطيناك (من الدنيا) من عندنا (ذكروا) قرآنتا
1000 (من أعرض عنه) فلما يؤمن به (فأنه يجعل يوم
القياس فرا) حملت أقليم من الأولم 1011 (خالدين فيه) أي في عداب الأزور (وإلى كلمه يوم القياس جمالاً) تميز
مفرض للفلس في ساء والمخلصاً بالذي معذوف تقدرته وزرهم وإسلام البيان وبدل من يوم القياس.

200 (يوم ينفع في الصور) القرآن النفحه الناصية (ووجيه الجبرين) الكافرين (يومئذ زرفا) عيونهم مع سوء ووجوههم

300 (يتخافون بينهم) يتسارون (إذا ما (لبسه) في الدنيا (إلا عشر) من الليلي بئاماً.

400 (نحن أعلم بما يقولون) في ذلك أي ليس كما قالوا (إذا يقول أمهم (بكرجة).
فإن لم ي Kısa إلا ملأهم) يتنقلون ليتهم في الدنيا.

500 (وسلوتك عن الجبال) كيف تكون يوم القياس فقل (أهمل) إن نسفاً (فإن) يفتقر كارمل السائل ثم يطيرها كارية.

600 (فيذ راقع) مبسطة (صفصافة) مستوية

700 (الثرى فيها عوجة) انفخاضة (ولا أنت)

800 (يؤمن) أي يوم إذ نسفت الجبال
(يتعن) أي الناس بعد القيامين (السرا) إلى الآخر صيوة وهو إسرائيل يقول لهما إلى
عشر الرحمن (لا عوج له) أي لا يدعهم أي
لا يقدر أن لا يبتعدوا (وجعلت) سكت
الأصول للحنين (لا تسمع إلا همسا) تصوت
وطاء الأقدام في نفقا إلى الآخر كسرت أخفاف
الإبل في مسيها.

900 (يؤمن) لا تلعف الشفاعة (أحداً) إلا من أذن له الرحمن أذعن له (ورضي لهقولاً)
بأن يقول لا إله إلا الله.

100 (علم ما بين أبدمهم) من أمور الآخرة
(وما خلفهم) من أمور الدنيا (ولا ينفعون به
علماً) لا يعلمون ذلك.

111 (وعند الوجود) خضعت (للحي القيوم) أي الله (وقد خاب) خسر (من حمل دينه) أي شركاء.
292

(ومن اعمال الصالحين) الطائعات (وهو موضوع فلا يخفظ عليها) زيادة في ساقك (ولا هضمها) تنقص من جسانته.

293

(وكذلك) معلّف على كذلك نقى أي مثل إنزال ما ذكر (أنزله) أي القرآن (للغة روعة وصرفنا) كرنا.

(فهدا من الوداع لعلمك اللطيف) الشريك (أو يحدث) القرآن (فهم ذكر jakie ابلاط من فهمه وفهمه).

(فقال الله الملك الحق مما يقول الملوك) (ولا تعمل بالقرآن) أي بقرائه (في نزل أن يقين إلى إله وحي).

294

أي يفرغ جبريل من إبلاغه (وقل رب زدني علما) أي بالقرآن فكما أزل عليه شيء منه رأده على علمه.

5

(وقد عهدنا إلى آدم) ووصينا أن لا يأكل من الشجرة (من قبل) أي قبل أن يكون続け (فسنة) تركت عهدنا (ولم نجد له عزما) حزنا.

(وقد عهدنا عليه) معناه عليه.

295

(و) اذكر (إن قلنا للملائكة) استجدوا لآدم فسجدوا إلا إبراهيم وهو أبو الجبن كان يصحب الملائكة ويعبد الله معهم (أبى) عن السجود لآدم فقال آنا خير منه.

(قلنا يا آدم إن هذا عدو لك ولزوجك) حواء بمالد (على خبركم من الجنة الفضلى).

تتعم بالحروف والزروع والحصين والفضزين.

وغير ذلك واقتنص على شفته لأن الرجل يسمع على زوجته.

(إن لك أเอง (لا تتجوع فيها ولا تغرى) 118

119

(وأولك) يفتح البصرة وكرها عقب على اسم إن وجبلتها (لا تطغى فيها) تستفي (ولا تضحي) لا يحصل لكل جود محسوم من حقي نافذ في الحياة.

120

(فوسوس فإنه الشيطان قال يا آدم على أذلك على شجرة النخل) أي التي يطلب من بكر

مما (وملك لا يبقى إلا ذات وهو لازم الخلد).

121

(فكلا) أي آدم وحواء (منها فيدت لهما سواءهما) أي ظهر لكل منها قبله وقبل الآخر ودبره وسي كل منها سواء لأنها اكتشافة بوس صاحبه (فوقنا)
أي القرآن (فلا يضل) في الدنيا (ولا يشقي) في الآخرة.

(ومن أعرج عن ذكرى) أي القرآن قلب يوم من به (فإن لم تكن ضنك) بالتنوين مصدر بعض ضنفة وفسرت في حديث بذب الكافر في قبره (وأنكره) أي المرح عن القرآن

(يوم القيامة أعنى) أعنى البصر.

(قال رب لم يحرثني أعنى وقد كنت بصيرا) في الدنيا وعند البلع.

(قال الأمر) (كذلك أنتو أنتان فقنتنها) تركتها ولم تؤمن بها (وذلك) مثل نسبان أباتنا (اليوم تنى) ترك في النار.

(وذلك) ومثل جزائنا من أعرج عن القرآن (نجزي من أمرك) (والمؤمن بأيات ربه ولهدى الآخرة أشد) من عذاب الدنيا وعذاب الآخرة (وأيتها) أئمة.

(أكل له نب) (أيهما) (أتكافر مكة) (كم) خيرية منقول (أهلكتنا) أي كتيرة إنها إهل الكتا (فيهم من القرآن) أي الأم الماضية لتذذهب المسر (يقصون) حال من ضعيفهم (في المساهمن) في سنهم إلى الشام وعدها فيquir وعدها وما ذكر من أحد إهل الكتا من قبل للبياني عن حرف المصدرius إعداد المعنى لا معنى منه إلا في ذلك لدى (نبرى) (لا يؤدي النهي) الذي العقول.

(وأجل مسأ) مضروب لهم معروف على الشمث المستر في كان وقام القبل بخبرها مقات التأكيد.

927 (في) (إلهان) (لازم) لهم في الدنيا (وإلهان) (لازم) لهم في الدنيا.

928 (إلهان) (لازم) لهم في الدنيا (وإلهان) (لازم) لهم في الدنيا.

929 (وأجل مسأ) مضروب لهم معروف على الشمث المستر في كان وقام القبل بخبرها مقات التأكيد.
131 (ولا تندم عينيك إلى ما ستعش به أزوجاً) أصنفاً (منهم زهرة الحياة الدنيا) زينتها و Yönet (لتقتله في) بأن يفظوا (ووزر ربك) في الجنة (خيراً) مما أتوه في الدنيا (وأبقى) أذو.

132 (وأم أهلك بالصلاة واصطبر) أصبر (عليها لا تستك) تلكلك (رقة) لنفسك ولا لبيرك (نحن ن 있지ك والقبيبة) الجنة (اللقوى) للإله.

133 (وقالوا) أي المشركين (ولا) هلا (يا دنيا) محمد (بأي من ربك) مما يقترحونه (أو لم تفهم) بالله والإلهاء (بيمة) بيا (ما في الصحف الأولى) المشتمل عليه القرآن من أبناء الامام الماضية وإهلهم بكذب الرسل.

134 (ولو أنا أهلكناهم بهذاب من قبله) قبل محمد الرسول (قالوا) يوم القيامة (ربن) لا (هلا) لأرسل إلا عينا وسولا فتتج آبائك) الرسول بها (من قبل أن نذل) في القيامة (ونزى) في جهنم.

135 (قل) لهم (كل) ما ومنكم (مربص) مبتنين) ما يؤولو إلها الأمر (فتمزحوا مستسلمون) في القيامة (من أصحاب الزراعة الطويلة) الرسول (منهم) المستقيم (ومن اعتدى) من الضالة (نعم أتمنى.)
BIBLIOGRAPHY

DICTIONARY REFERENCES

The dictionaries consulted in researching and writing this thesis are the following:

Djajadiningrat, R.A.H. 1934
Atjehsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Batavia

Favre, P. 1875
Dictionnaire Malais-Francais, Vienna

Iskandar, T. 1970
Kamus Dewan, K.L.

Kazimirski, A. de Biberstein 1860
Dictionnaire Arabe-Francais, Paris, Maisonneuve

Klinkert, H.C. 1947
Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, 5th ed., Leiden

Lane, E.W. 1863-93

Marsden, W. 1812
A Dictionary of the Malayan Language, London

Poerwadarminta, W.J.S. 1976
Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia, Jakarta

Wall, H. von de 1877
Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, H.N Van Der Tuuk ed., Batavia

Wehr, H.A. 1976
A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, 3rd ed., N.Y.

Wilkinson, R.J. 1959
A Malay-English Dictionary, London

Wurm, S. & Wilson, B. 1975
English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages, A.N.U.

MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

CAbd al-Ra'ūf

Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, Museum Nasional Jakarta MS ML 116

CAbd al-Ra'ūf

Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, Museum Nasional Jakarta MS A 233

CAbd al-Ra'ūf

Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, Museum Nasional Jakarta MS ML 322

CAbd al-Ra'ūf

Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, Museum Nasional Jakarta MS ML 373

CAbd al-Ra'ūf

Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, Museum Nasional Jakarta MS ML 41

CAbd al-Ra'ūf

Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, Pesantren Tanoh Abee MS

CAbd al-Ra'ūf

Umdat al-Muhtājīn, Leiden Cod. Or. 1933
al-Baydawi, CAbd Allah b. cUmar

Anwar al-Tanzil wa Asrar al-Ta’wil, Paris, MS 628 Fonds Arabe, Bibliothèque Nationale

Cambridge University Library MS I.i.6.45

al-Khazin

Lubab al-Ta'wil fi Ma'ani al-Tanzil, Paris, MS 642 Fonds Arabe, Bibliothèque Nationale (dated 1167/1753-4)

GENERAL REFERENCES

CAbd al-Ra’uf, 1971

Mir’at al-Tullab, MS facsimile, Banda Aceh, Univ. Syiah Kuala

CAbd al-Ra’uf, 1302/1884

Tarjuman al-Mustafid, 2 vols., Matba‘ah cUthmaniyyah, Istanbul

CAbd al-Ra’uf, 1370/1951


CAbd al-Ra’uf, 1370/1951


CAbd al-Ra’uf, 1401/1981


CAbd al-Ra’uf, 1380/1961


Archer, R. 1937 "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra", JMBRAS 15

Asmah, H.O. 1975

Essays on Malaysian Linguistics, K.L.

al-Attas, S.M.N. 1966

Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th Century Acheh, MBRAS monograph, Sing.

al-Attas, S.M.N. 1970

The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansūrī, Uni. of Malaya, K.L.
al-Baydawi, 'Abd Allāh b. Umar, 1375/1955
Anwar al-Tanzil wa Asrār al-Ta'wil, Cairo 2nd ed., Mustafā al-Bābī al-Halabī

Becker, A.L. 1979

Beg, M.A.J. 1979
Arabic Loan Words in Malay - A comparative study, Uni. Of Malaya, K.L.

Blachère, R. 1977
Introduction Au Coran, Maisonneuve, 2nd ed., Paris

Boxer, C.R. 1964
"The Acehnese Attack on Malacca in 1629, as described in contemporary Portuguese Sources", in Bastin, J. & Roolvink, R.: Malayan and Indonesian Studies: Essays presented to Sir Richard Winstedt on his eighty-fifth birthday, Oxford

Brakel, L.F. 1969
The Birthplace of Hamzah Pansuri, JMBRAS, XLII/2

Brakel, L.F. 1975
The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah, The Hague

Brakel, L.F. 1979
"Hamzah Pansuri", JMBRAS LII/1

Brakel, L.F. 1980
Quranic Quotations in the Poetry of Hamza Pansuri, Paper delivered to the "International Congress for the Study of the Qur'ān", ANU

Briquet, C.M. 1968
Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, 4 vols., 2nd ed. Leipzig

Broekelmann, C. 1938
Geschichte Der Arabischen Litteratur, Leiden, Brill

Brown, C.C. 1952
Sejarah Melayu, JMBRAS XXV

Burton, J. 1977
The Collection of the Qur'ān, Camb.Uni.Press,
Cantarino, V. 1974

Chaidar 1978
Syech Nawawi AlBanteni, Jakarta, CV Sarana Utama

Chiang Kee Yech 1977
"Restrictive Relative Clauses in Bahasa Malaysia" in Studies in the Linguistic Sciences, 7/2, Fall

Churchill, W.A. 1935
Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection, Amsterdam, Menno Hertzberger & Co.

Cortesao, A. 1944

Daqiqah, M.A. 1351/1932
"Kalimah fī tarjamah al-Qur’ān al-Karīm", in Nūr al-Islām III

Daudy, A. 1978
Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta
al-Dāwūdī, Shams al-Dīn 1392/1972
Tabaqāt al-Mufassirīn, Publ. Wahba Bookshop, Cairo
al-Dhahabī, M.H. 1392/1976
al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn, 2nd ed. Cairo

Djajadiningrat, H. 1911

Dodge, B. 1970
The Fihrist of al-Wadīm, Columbia Uni. Press, N.Y.

Doorenbos, J. 1933
De Geschriften Van Hamzah Pansoeri, Leiden

Drewes, G.W.J. 1951
"Syamsuddins Onvindbare Sjarh Ruba'i Hamza al-Fansuri", BKI 107

Drewes, G.W.J. 1955
"De Herkomst Van Nuruddin ar-Raniri", BKI 111

Drewes, G.W.J. 1955
Een 16de eeuwse maleise vertaling van de Burda van al-Būṣīrī, VKI XVIII, The Hague

Drewes, G.W.J. 1968
"New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia?", BKI 124
Drewes, G.W.J. 1969
The Admonitions of Seh Bari, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff

Drewes, G.W.J. 1972
"De Invloed van de Atjehse Omgeving op het Maleise Spraeck Ende Woord-Boek van Frederick de Houtman", BKI CXXVIII

Drewes, G.W.J. 1974
"Nür al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-Dafṣ al-Zindīq re-examined", JMBRAS XLVII/2


Emeis, M.G. 1945
Vorm en Functie in Klassiek en Modern Maleisch, Utrecht

Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed., E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1913-1938
Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., E.J. Brill, Leiden 1960-

al-Hujjah fi Ilāl al-Qirāʿāt al-Sab, ed. by Naṣif, al-Najjār & Shalabi, Cairo, Dar al-Kutub

Fleischer, H.O. 1846
Beiadhawii: Commentarius in Coranum, Lipsiae

Fluegel, G. 1965
Corani Textus Arabicus, Lipsiae 1883, Reprinted by Gregg Press Incorp., New Jersey

Fokker, A.A. 1909
"Arabic and Malay", Le Monde Oriental III, Uppsala


Haan, F. de 1900
"Uit Oude Notariaspapieren I", TBC XLII

Hasjmy, A. 1976 Rubaʿi Hamzah Fansuri, KL, DBP

Hasjmy, A. 1980A

Hasjmy, A. 1980B
"Bahasa dan Kesusastraan Melayu di Aceh", Sinar Darussalam 106/107, Banda Aceh
Heawood, E. 1950

Watermarks Mainly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia, 1, Hilversum, The Paper Publications Society

Heawood, E. 1965

"The Use of Watermarks in Dating Old Maps and Globes", in Lister, R. How to Identify Old Maps and Globes, Lond.

Hitti, P.K., Faris, N.A. & Abd al-Malik, B. 1938


Huffman, F.E. 1973

"Thai and Cambodian" - A Case of Syntactic Borrowing?" in JAOS, 95.4

Hunter, D. 1957 Papermaking, 2nd ed., N.Y.

Iskandar, T. 1958

De Hikayat Atjeh, VKI XXVI, The Hague

Iskandar, T. 1966

Bustanu's-Salatin, babII fasal 13, oleh Nuru'd-din ar-Raniri, KL DBP

Iskandar, T. 1967

"The Malay Historical Writings in the First Half of the 17th Century", JMBRAS XL/2

Ito, T. 1978

"Why did Nuruddin Ar-Raniri leave Aceh in 1054 A.H.?", BKI CXXXIV

Ito, T. 1982

"A Note on some Aspects of the Trade of Aceh in the 17th Century", Nampo-Bunka, No. 9, Tenri, Japan

Ito, T. 1984


Jeffery, A. 1937

Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān, E.J. Brill, Leiden

al-Jibālī, I 1351/1932

"al-Kalām fī Tarjamah al-Qur'ān" in Nūr al-Islām III

Johns, A.H. 1953

"Nūr al-Daqāʾiq by the Sumatran mystic Shamsu'1-Dīn ibn ʿAbdullāh", JRAS
Johns, A.H. 1955
"Aspects of Sufi Thought in India and Indonesia in the first half of the 17th century", JMBRAS XXVII

Johns, A.H. 1955
"Daqiq al-Huruf by `Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel", JMBRAS XXVIII

Johns, A.H. 1957
"Malay Sufism as illustrated in an Anonymous Collection of 17th Century Tracts", JMBRAS, XXX/2

Johns, A.H. 1965
The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet, A.N.U.

Johns, A.H. 1975
"Islam in S.E. Asia: Reflections and New Directions", Indonesia (Cornell) 19

Johns, A.H. 1979
"The Turning Image - Myth and Reality in Malay Perceptions of the Past" in Reid, A. & Marr, D. (eds.): Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia, ASAA, Heinemann, Singapore

Johns, A.H. 1980
Ibrahim al-Kurani: Seventeenth Century Defender of Sufism, unpubl. paper delivered at Ghalib Academy, Delhi

Johns, A.H. 1984

Jomier, J. 1954 Le Commentaire Coranique du Manar, Paris

Jones, R. 1974 "More Light on Malay Manuscripts, Archipel 8, Paris

Jones, R. 1974 Nuru'd-din ar-Raniri - Bustanu's-Salatin Bab IV Fasal 1, K.L. DBP

Jones, R. 1978 Arabic Loan Words in Indonesian, SOAS, London

Jones, R. 1981 From Papermill to Scribe: The Lapse of Time, paper delivered to the Third European Colloquium of Malay and Indonesian Studies, Naples

Jones, R. 1983 "An Essay at Dating and Description of a Malay Manuscript", Kajian Malaysia I/2

Junus, M. 1977 Tarjaman al-Qur'An al-Karim, 3rd printing, Bandung
Marsden, W. 1812
A Grammar of the Malayan Language, London

Massignon, L. 1929
Art. "Tarīka" in EI¹, IV 667-672

Massignon, L. 1929
Art. "Tasawwuf" in EI¹, IV 681-5

Massignon, L. 1954
Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane, Paris

Maxwell, W.E. 1911

Nicholson, R.A. 1914

Nicholson, R.A. 1921
Studies in Islamic Mysticism, Cambridge

Nieuwenhuijsze, C.A.O. van 1945
Samsu'1-Dīn Van Pasai, E.J. Brill, Leiden

Notulen Van De Algemeene en Bestuurs Vergaderingen van het Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia vols 18 (1880), 37 (1899), 39 (1901), 40 (1902), 42 (1904)

Nor Bin Ngah, 1983
Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars, Singapore

OKell, J. 1965 "Nissaya Burmese" Lingua 15

Paret, E. 1979 Art. "Kirā'a" in EI², V 127-9

Pattie, T.S. 1979
Manuscripta of the Bible, Lond., British Library

Pearson, J.D. 1981
Art. "The Translation of the Kur'ān" in EI², V 429-32

Pedoman Umum Ejaan Bahasa Indonesia Yang Disempurnakan, Dept. Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jak. 1975

Penrice, J. 1978
A Dictionary and Glossary of the Koran, repr. New Delhi, Cosmo Publ.

Peters, F.E. 1968
Aristotle and the Arabs, N.Y.

Al-Quraan Dan Terjemahnya, Jakarta 1974, Kementerian Agama

Qur'ān Karim, Cairo 1976, Dār al-Kutub

al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn

al-Tafṣīr al-Kabīr, 2nd ed. (no date), Tehran, Dār al-Kutub al-Ǧīlmiyyah, (offset of Cairo ed. 1933)

Riddell, P. 1984

"The Sources of ǦAbd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd, JMBRAS LVII

Rinkes, D.A. 1909

Abōderraoef Van Singkel : Bijdrage tot de kennis van de mystiek op Sumatra en Java, Heerenveen

Robson, J. 1971 Art. "Ibn Mujāhid" in EI², III 880


Ronkel, S. van 1896

"An Account of Six Malay Manuscripts of the Cambridge Univ. Library", EKI XLVI

Ronkel, S. van 1899

"Over de Invloed der Arabische Syntaxis op de Maleische", TBG XLI

Ronkel, S. van 1900

"Over Eene Oude Lijst Van Maleische Handschriften", TBG XLII

Ronkel, S. van 1909

"Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen", VKI LVII

Ronkel, S. van 1913

Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts preserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Science, Batavia

Ronkel, S. van 1943

"Raniri's Maleische geschrift: expose der Religies", EKI 99

Roolvink, R. 1948

De Voorzetsels in Klassek en Modern Maleis, Dokkum

Roolvink, R. 1965

"The passive-active per-/ber-//per-/memper-/ correspondence in Malay" Lingua 15
Roelvink, R. 1967
The Variant Versions of the Malay Annals, EKI CXXIII

Roelvink, R. 1975
Bahasa Jawi - de Taal Van Sumatra, Leiden

Sale, G. 1821
The Koran, London

Schrieke, B. 1957
Indonesian Sociological Studies, The Hague

Sezgin, F. 1967
Geschichte Des Arabischen Schrifttums, Leiden, Brill

Shellabear, W.G. 1898
"An Account of some of the Oldest Malay MSS now extant", JSBRAS XXXI

Shellabear, W.G. 1901
"The Evolution of Malay Spelling", JSBRAS XXXVI/2

Silvestre De Sacy, M. Le Baron 1829
Anthologie Grammaticale Arabe, Paris

Slane, Le Baron De 1883-95
Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Snouck Hurgronje, C. 1906
The Acehnese, 2 vols., Leiden

Sutaarga, M.A. (et al.) 1972
Katalogus Koleksi Naskah Melayu Museum Nasional, Jakarta, Dept. Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn 1839
Tabaqāt al-Mufassirīn, ed. A. Meursinge, Leyden, copied Tehran 1960

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn 1385/1965
Lubāb al-nuqūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl, Damascus, al-Mathba'ah al-Hashimiyah

al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muh. 1954
Jāmī', ed. A. Meursinge, Leyden, copied Cairo 12v., Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi

Teeuw, A. 1959
"The History of the Malay Language - A Preliminary Survey", EKI CXV

Teeuw, A. 1961
A Critical Survey of Studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia, The Hague

Tibawi, A.L. 1976
Arabic and Islamic Themes: Historical, Educational and Literary Studies, Luzac & Co., London

Trimingham, J.S. 1971
The Sufi Orders in Islam, Oxford Clarendon

Unger, W.S. 1948
De Oudste Reizen van de Zeeuwen naar Oost-Indië, 1598-1604, The Hague, Nijhoff

Voorhoeve, P. 1951
"Van en over Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī", BKI 107

Voorhoeve, P. 1952
Bayan Tajalli, TBG LXXXV

Voorhoeve, P. 1955
"Lijst der Geschriften van Rānīrī", BKI 111

Voorhoeve, P. 1959
"Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī", BKI 115

Voorhoeve, P. 1960
Art. "cAbd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī" in EI², I 88

Voorhoeve, P. 1964

al-Wāhīdī, Abū al-Hasan cAlī b. Ahmad
Asbāb al-Nuzūl, Beirut, cĀlam al-Kutub

Wansbrough, J. 1977
Quranic Studies, London O.U.P.

Welch, A.T. 1981
Art. "The Kur'ān" in EI², V 400-29

Wickham, G. 1974
The Medieval Theatre, Lond.

Winstedt, R.O. 1920
"Malay Works Known by Werndly in 1736AD", JSBRAS LXXII

Winstedt, R.O. 1923
"Some Malay Mystics, Heretical and Orthodox", JMBRAS I/2

Winstedt, R.O. 1927

Winstedt, R.O. 1938
The Malay Annals, JMBRAS XVI

Winstedt, R.O. 1958
A History of Classical Malay Literature, JMBRAS, XXXI/3

al-Zamakhsharî, Muh. b. ʿUmar

INDEX


Adat Aceh 9, 16

Ala al-Dīn Riḍāyat Shah al-Qahhar, Sultan of Aceh 10, 18
Ala al-Dīn Riḍāyat Shah Sayyid al-Mukammil, Sultan of Aceh 10, 15, 83

Alexander the Great 16, 19, 68, 196, 197

Alī Mughāyat Shāh, Sultan of Aceh 10

Anwār al-Tanzil wa Asrar al-Ta'wil, by al-Baydāwī 47, 49, 51, 68, 71, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 130, 195

Arabia 10, 13, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 32, 56, 89, 90

Arbaʿīna Hadith by al-Nawawī 23

Aspect 95, 104, 121, 124

Baning 12

Basra 57, 58

Bayān Taṣāllī, by ʿAbd al-Raʿūf 23

Baydāwī, al- 37, 38, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 59, 65, 68, 69, 75, 77, 79, 80, 133, 134, 137, 140, 157, 165, 179, 201, 209, 216

Bayt al-Faqīḥ 21

Bayt al-Raḥmān mosque 14, 23

Beaulieu *12, 17, 19

Bustān al-Salāṭīn, by al-Raḥīmī 9, 13, 19, 20

Cape Malays 29, 38

Court Malay 83, 89, 95, 104, 105, 106, 108, 113, 114, 115, 121, 124

Daya 10

Deli 10, 12, 17

Duri, al-, reader of Qur'ān 57, 58, 59, 139, 142, 158, 180, 186, 200, 202, 203, 211, 226, 229

Dutch 9, 11, 12, 26, 31, 32, 49, 53, 85, 86, 87, 89

Dutch East India Company 32, 33

English 9, 11, 51, 83, 95, 97

Fārisī, Abū ʿAlī 56

Fiqh 24, 69, 70, 88

Firdawsīyah Order 241, 249

Foolscap watermark 30, 32, 35

French 9

Ḥabashīyah Order 241, 249

Hamadāniyyah Order 241, 249
Hamzah Fānsūrī 14, 15, 20, 43, 45
Hikayat Acāh 9, 16, 82, 85, 86, 115
Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah 82, 83, 123
Hikayat Tanah Hitu 32
Houtman, Cornelius de 86
Houtman, Frederick de 86, 87
Huğjah fi Cītal al-Qirā‘āt al-Sabᶜ, al-, by Abū Cālī al-Fārisī 56
Huğjat al-siddīq li-dafᶜ al-zindīq, by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī 45
Ibn Cāmīr 59
Ibn Cārābī 24
Ibn Kāthīr 57, 59
Ibn Mūjāhid 56
Ibrāhīm b. Cābīl Allāh al-Shāmī 18
Iḫwān l-ulum al-dīn, by al-Ghazālī 80
Interlinear translation 91, 92, 112, 124
Iṣkandar Muda, Sultan of Aceh 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 83
Iṣkandar Thānī, Sultan of Aceh 19
Iṭḥaf al-dhakī bi-sharḥ al-tuhfah al-mursala ilā al-nabī 21
Jalālān, Tafsīr al- 49, 51, 54, 55, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 130, 140, 209, 266
Jeddah 21
Johore 12
Kamālāt Shāh, Sultan of Aceh 23
Kedah 12, 13, 17
Khāzīn, al- 26, 29, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 68, 71, 78, 79, 80, 81, 131, 181, 182, 194, 226
Khulwatiyyah Order 241, 249
Kifayat al-Muḥtārān, by Cābīl al-Rāfuʿ 48
Kitāb Malay 82
Kūfa 57, 58
Kūrānī, Ibrāhīm al- 21, 23, 56, 70, 243, 250
Lancaster, Sir James 83
Loan translations 87, 113, 124
Lubāb al-Taʿwil fi Maʾani al-Tanzīl, by al-Khāzīn 53, 55, 71, 78, 79
Mahallī, Jalāl al-Dīn al- 75
Malacca 10, 13, 17, 19
Māmūn, Caliph al- 90
Manāfīl al-Qurʾān 69, 70, 141, 165, 201, 216
Mekka 21, 23, 38, 47, 50, 57, 59
Medina 21, 57, 58, 70
Middleton, Sir Henry 83
Mirʾāt al-Muʾminīn, by Shams al-Dīn 15
Mirʾāt al-Tullāb, by Cābīl al-Rāfuʿ 22, 23
"Ulama' 18, 19, 20, 43
"Umdat al-Muhtajarin, by 'Abd al-Ra'uf 20, 21, 48, 235
Watermarks 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35
Word classes 95
Word order 95, 96, 101, 106, 113, 124
Zabid 21
Zakiyat al-Din Shah, Inayat Shah, Sultan of Aceh 23
Zamakhshari, Muḥ. b. ʿUmar al- 59, 65, 66