

CHAPTER 2

MALAY FIQH MANUSCRIPTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE ON *ARKĀN AL-ṢALĀT*

2.1 Introduction

With regard to the research topic, it becomes necessary to carry out discussion regarding the Malay manuscripts and its history before digging into the *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript in terms of the codicological aspect of manuscript. Instead of that, the understanding of Malay manuscript from the historical traces and developments should be perceived and acknowledged at the first instance so that the significances and importance of this research become clear.

Research on manuscript usually consists of two fields; philology and codicology. As explained in the first chapter, the philology; literally, even its true understanding actually conveys a very critical meaning,⁴¹ emphasizes on the manuscript texts and codicology concerns about the physical condition of the manuscripts.⁴² In addition, discussion of authorship is also included in this chapter as it is a necessary step to acknowledge the history of the manuscript. In sum, the discussion on codicology of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* will be presented in this chapter best possible in order to give a comprehensive information regarding the manuscript. Hopefully, the discussion on codicology will help in extending the research for the next chapter which it is fundamentally related with this chapter.

⁴¹ Siti Baroroh Baried et al. 1985. *Pengantar Teori Filologi*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa. p. 1-3.

⁴² Oman Fathurrahman. 2015. *Filologi Indonesia: Teori dan Metode*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group. p. 109-110.

2.2 Malay-*Fiqh* Manuscript

The word ‘manuscript’ is derived from two separate Latin words that are ‘*manus*’ which means ‘hand’ and ‘*scriptus*’ which means ‘writing’. In Arabic language, it is called as *Makhtūṭāt*. In general, manuscript can be known as a book that is ‘manually inscribed’ or written by hand.⁴³ Wan Ali Wan Mamat defined it in more comprehensive way. He said a manuscript is a text that is fully written by hand on any material which is published in a form of handwritten books.⁴⁴ In the early days, Malay people used leaf and wood such as *daun lontar*, *daun nipah*, *deluwang* and others. During ancient Egypt time, they used papyrus leaves as paper and it was very well known in the philology research.⁴⁵ Besides that, inscription on the surface of stones is called *prasasti* rather than manuscript.⁴⁶ With regard to the Malay world in pre-Islam era, there were several *prasasti* belong to the Malay empires that were found such as *Prasasti Kedukan Bukit* which was regarded as the oldest *prasasti* that dated in 683 AC.⁴⁷

Malay manuscripts consist of variant genres of knowledge and they are not limited only to religious writings. Malay people also wrote about tales, history and medicine as there were a lot of manuscripts founded in those genres and obviously they involved Malay Rulers and nobilities in creating the manuscripts.⁴⁸ Interestingly, Liaw Yock Fang has classified the Malay classical literature that clearly presenting the variety

⁴³ Francois Deroche. 2005. *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscript in Arabic Script*. London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation. p. 11.

⁴⁴ Wan Ali Wan Mamat. 2014. *An Introduction to Malay Manuscripts*. Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press. p. 1.

⁴⁵ Makmur Harun, Firman & Muhammad Yafri Yahya. 2016. *Jawi dan Kajian Manuskrip Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Open University Malaysia (OUM). p. 4-7.

⁴⁶ Atikah Abd. Azam & Othman Yatim. 2012. *Manuskrip Lama: Asas Keupayaan dan Kearifan Melayu Tradisi*. *International Journal of The Malay World and Civilisation*. Vol. 30. No 1. p. 29-39.

⁴⁷ Shaharir Mohd Zain. 2003. *Penyebaran Orang Rumpun Melayu Pra-Islam dan Perkembangan Tulisan Bahasa Melayu*. *International Journal of Malay World Studies (SARI)*. Vol. 21. p. 129-149.

⁴⁸ Ding Choo Ming. 2003. *Kajian Manuskrip Melayu: Masalah, Kritikan dan Cadangan*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn Bhd. p. 10. Hereafter cited as Ding Choo Ming, *Kajian Manuskrip*.

of Malay literature. For example, there are literatures telling about the Indian epic tales, folk literatures, Javanese stories, literatures of the Islamic age, framed narratives, literatures of Islamic theology, historical literatures, classical Malay law codes and poetic forms.⁴⁹

Based on the above information, the term ‘Malay-*fiqh* manuscript’ refers to a manuscript that contains knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence that was handwritten using *Jawi* writing on old papers. In general, Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts are called as ‘*Kitab Kuning*’ and ‘*Kitab Jawi*’. These two terms are not used exclusively only for *fiqh* knowledge but also represent all types of Islamic religious sciences. Instead of that, according to Wan Mohd Shaghir, he argued that the term of *Kitab Kuning* is not quite appropriate because ‘*Kuning*’ or ‘yellow’ is usually indicating to bad culture.⁵⁰

However, people remain using this term as we can hear in our surrounding. One of the Dutch scholars who studies the Malay world, Martin Van Bruinessen wrote a book namely ‘*Islam Di Nusantara: Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*’ (Islam in the Malay Archipelago: The Traditional Religious Books, Religious Schools and Tarekat Movement).⁵¹ In other words, *Kitab Jawi* is a religious book that is written in classical Malay writing which uses Arabic characters.⁵² To sum, Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts can be referred to the *fiqh* books that are written in *Jawi* writing which is still remained in its original form of hand writing.

⁴⁹ Liaw Yock Fang. 2013. *A History of Classical Malay Literature*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing. p. v-vii.

⁵⁰ Wan Mohd Saghbir. 1997. *Tulisan Melayu Jawi dalam Manuskrip dan Kitab Bercetak: Suatu Analisis Perbandingan. Tradisi Penulisan Manuskrip Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia. p. 88.

⁵¹ Martin Van Bruinessen. 2018. *Islam Di Nusantara: Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat*. Selangor: IBDE Ilham Sdn Bhd.

⁵² Mohd Nor Bin Ngah. 1983. *Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. p. 2.

2.2.1 The History of Malay-*Fiqh* Manuscript

In order to discuss the history of Malay-*fiqh* manuscript, first of all, it is a must to discover and trace the history of Islam in this region, which is fundamental, concerning of the process of Islamisation and its impact on Malay people at that time. This is due to the *fiqh* itself that was only established after Malay people embraced Islam. The science of *fiqh* explains jurisprudence that conducts Muslims in their practical actions and it differentiates rituals from customs. Only after that period, Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts can be found and its development is still progressing until today. In this topic, the researcher will discuss the history of Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts with regard to the emergence of manuscripts in *fiqh*, its development and influences.

As recorded in the history, Malay people during pre-Islam had succeed building their empire for more than one thousand years ago. The history recorded that Malay people had almost seventy kingdoms in different regions before 19th century.⁵³ For example, the empire of Srivijaya that was located in Palembang in 6th century and the empire of Champa in Vietnam which was established in 2nd century until 15th century.⁵⁴ It is must be admitted that Malay people at that time practiced Hinduism and Buddhism which mixed with native believes.⁵⁵ Many Western historians like Van Leur, J. C., Winstedt, R. O., and Bosch, D. F. K, did a very great contribution in that area of interest

⁵³ Ding Choo Ming. 2016. *Manuskrip Melayu: Sumber Maklumat Peribumi Melayu*. Selangor: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. p. 17.

⁵⁴ Shahrir Mohammad Zain. 2016. *Sains Matematik dalam Acuan Bahasa Melayu dan Islam*. Selangor: PTS Akademia. p. 13-15.

⁵⁵ Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. 2016. *Islam Dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. p. 12. Hereafter cited as Al-Attas, *Islam Dalam Sejarah*.

in their studies. Most of them wrote precisely about the influence of Hinduism in the Malay world.⁵⁶

Unfortunately, with regard to their writing, it was unfair to describe Malay history in such way because they highlighted the influence of Hinduism in the Malay world and disregarded the influence of Islam in this region. It was as if Islam did not have significant impacts on Malay people's worldview and culture. Instead, they only highlighted Hinduism and its assimilation with Islam. Furthermore, some orientalists such as Winstedt claimed that the Malay culture, religious, arts and medicine were all originated from India.⁵⁷

There are other Western researchers such as Van Ronkel, Van Leeuwen and Zieseniss who conducted research on Malay literature books by comparing the works with foreign literatures. They claimed that Malay authors took the idea and contents of their books directly from other literatures such as Parsi and India.⁵⁸ Although they gave a big contribution in preserving Malay manuscripts, by which without them most likely many Malay manuscripts would be gone, we have to say that their treatises should not be accepted literally without filtering and thinking critically.⁵⁹

This situation occurred because of some factors that lead them to view Malay world as such. The factors are not only because of their misunderstanding or lack of sources but those factors are fundamentally rooted from the influence of colonization

⁵⁶ Mohd Taib Osman. 1989. *Malay Folk Beliefs: An Integration Of Disparate Elements*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka. p. 26-33.

⁵⁷ R.O. Winstedt. 1944. Indian Influence in the Malay World. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol 76. No 3-4. p. 186-196.

⁵⁸ Ding Choo Ming, *Kajian Manuskrip*. p. 164-165.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 25-26 & 171.

and their worldview especially their understanding towards Islam and history.⁶⁰ As a consequent, Islam is not regarded as a religion that has changed the whole Malay people's worldview,⁶¹ culture and their lifestyles. In fact, Islam plays a very big role in the Malay world until Malay people were succeed in constructing their civilization through the great influence of Islam and not by the foreign influence like India or *Parsi* as they do not leave any significant affection to the Malay world.⁶² Professor Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas who is a Malay contemporary scholar once argued that:

*“The reputation spread abroad of the people of the Archipelago as being refiners of great cultures who excelled in syncretizing the great pre-Islamic religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism, in the sense of fusing or blending them, has no firm basis”.*⁶³

The role of Islam in construction of Malay people's worldview should be discussed clearly in order to put Islam in its proper place. The earliest proof that showed the existence of Islam in this region is the discovery of the Terengganu Inscription Stone (*Batu Bersurat Terengganu*) which dated possibly to 702 AH (corresponds to 1303 CE).⁶⁴ Islam becomes the main religion in the Malay world as it had succeeded in Islamising the Malay people as well as the Malay language in which it contains a lot of

⁶⁰ Aliza Elias. 2012. Kecenderungan “Paksi India”: Implikasinya Terhadap Pensejarahan Islam di Alam Melayu. *Adab dan Peradaban: Karya Pengiktirafan untuk Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas*. Selangor: MPH Publishing. p. 610-621.

⁶¹ On the process of Islamisation of Malays worldview, see Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam Dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu and Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of The Islamization of The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*.

⁶² Al-Attas, *Islam Dalam Sejarah*. p. 12-19.

⁶³ Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. 1969. *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of The Islamization of The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka. p.4. Hereafter cited as al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement*.

⁶⁴ Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. 2015. *Tarikh Sebenar Batu Bersurat Terengganu*. Kuala Lumpur: Center for Advanced Studies on Islam, Science and Civilisation (CASIS). p. 49.

technical terminologies representing the semantic meanings of important key words in Islam.⁶⁵ This point indicates that Islam has increased the intellectualism of Malay people in understanding their religion through the language which has served as a vehicle in spreading Islam. Malay language has not only been used as a daily spoken language or romantic literature but also in discussing philosophical discourse. It is notable to mention here that the Malay language also represents the Malay people's intellectualism and their philosophical understandings towards Islam, religion, language, politic and logic.⁶⁶

Only after the process of Islamisation, the Malay people started to produce their works on intellectual writings as they can be observed through the manuscripts that had been left. Pertaining to the process of Islamisation, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas has described precisely about the three phases of Islamisation in the Malay world.⁶⁷ The first phase was started in 13th until 15th century in which the science of *tawhid* and *fiqh* play their roles in converting the Malay people to embrace Islam as their new religion. He described this phase as a conversion of the 'body'. After that, the second phase was started in 15th until 18th century where the Malay world was being exposed with the philosophical mysticism, metaphysic (*taṣawwuf*) and rational theology. During this phase, the Malay scholars started to produce religious books especially *taṣawwuf*, *kalām* and *fiqh* studies. The last phase took place in 18th century onwards that was the remaining and a continuity of the early periods. He also firmly believed that the process

⁶⁵ Al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement*. p. 6-7.

⁶⁶ Awang Sariyan. 2016. *Asas Falsafah dan Pemikiran Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka. p. 91-114. Hereafter cited as Awang Sariyan, *Asas Falsafah*.

⁶⁷ Al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement*. p. 29-30.

of Islamisation in certain regions had started earlier than the first phase century which possibly took place in the 9th and 10th centuries.⁶⁸

17th century has witnessed the emergence of Malay manuscripts growly even though the oldest known Malay manuscript, namely as *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafī* was written in 16th century.⁶⁹ But only in 17th century Malay manuscripts have been produced in numerous for so many prominent Malay scholars lived in that time such as Syeikh Hamzah al-Fansuri (d.1607), Syeikh Syamsudin al-Sumaterani (d.1630), Syeikh Nuruddin al-Raniri (d.1658) and Syeikh Abdul Rauf al-Fansuri (d.1693). All of them wrote in various fields of knowledge and the most significant areas are *tawhīd*, *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf*. For the second phase of Islamisation, they still remained projecting the worldview of the Malay people rather than focusing on other sciences.

The very first Malay-*fiqh* manuscript was written by Syeikh Nuruddin al-Raniri in 1634 and was completed seven years later which was known as *Sirāṭul Mustaqīm*.⁷⁰ It is worth to mention here some of the earliest Malay religious manuscripts that were written other than science of *fiqh* such as *Durr al-Farā'id* by Syeikh Nuruddin al-Raniri in 1630⁷¹ discussing about theology (*Kalam*) and Syeikh Hamzah Fansuri's treatises on *taṣawwuf* as he lived earlier than al-Raniri.

Pertaining to the earliest *fiqh* manuscript, *Sirāṭul Mustaqīm* only concerned on devotional duties (*al-'ibādāt*). Only after that, Syeikh Abdul Rauf al-Fansuri wrote

⁶⁸ Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. 2011. *Historical Fact and Fiction*. Johor Bahru: Universiti Teknologi Malaysia Press. p. 25. Hereafter cited as Al-Attas, *Historical Fact*.

⁶⁹ Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud. 2005. Beberapa Aspek Pandangan Alam Orang Melayu Dalam Manuskrip Melayu Tertua Al-'Aqā'id Al-Nasafī. *Jurnal AFKAR*. Vol. 6. p. 1-14.

⁷⁰ Wan Mohd Shaghir. 2010. *Penutup Perdebatan Islam Alaf Kedua Di Dunia Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah. p. 131.

⁷¹ Wan Mohd Nor. 2019. *Budaya Ilmu: Makna dan Manifestasi dalam Sejarah dan Masa Kini*. Kuala Lumpur: Pusat Pengajian Tinggi Islam, Sains dan Peradaban (CASIS). p. 191.

Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb which consisted of the part that deals with practical duties (*al-mu'āmalāt*).⁷² These two books covered the whole *fiqh* discussions. In 19th century, the Malay world owed to one of prominent scholars, Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani who later continued writing *fiqh* books and convinced other scholars to do so. Wan Mohd Shaghir declared that he was the most profound writer on Malay religious books including other than science of *fiqh* as he successfully wrote 15 books about *fiqh*.⁷³ Some of his famous books are *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim Wa 'Umdah al-Mu'allim* that was completed in 1828 and 13 years later, he produced *Furu' al-Masā'il* that was also in *Fiqh*.⁷⁴

Besides him, other scholars such as Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (d.1812), Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani (d.1847), Syeikh Ahmad Bin Muhammad Zain al-Fatani (d.1908) and Syeikh Muhammad Nur al-Fatani (d.1944) have left abundance of religious books especially in *fiqh*. Those books were dedicated especially for the Malay world about two centuries ago. All of their books became references in *madrrasah* or *pondok* that Malay people could learn *fiqh* by reading those books rather than having to refer to Arabic written books. Moreover, some higher institutions such as universities also gain benefits by using their books as references and study matter in strengthening the contemporary higher education system.⁷⁵

⁷² Jelani Harun. 2013. *Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb* By Syeikh Abdul Rauf Singkel: A Preliminary Study Of Manuscripts Kept In The Special Collections, Leiden University Library. *Malay Literature*. Vol 26. No 2. p. 122. Hereafter cited as Jelani, *Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb*.

⁷³ Wan Mohd Shaghir. 2019. *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqih dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Asia Tenggara*. Selangor: Khazanah Fathaniyah. p. 86,157-158. Hereafter cited as Mohd Saghir, *Perkembangan Fiqih*.

⁷⁴ Abdul Karim B. Pardon & Mohd Anuar B. Mamat. 2019. *Perkembangan Penulisan Kitab Fiqh Jawi: Suatu Penganalan Terhadap Kitab Talkhīṣ al-Falāh fī Bayān Ahkām al-Ṭalāq wa al-Nikāh*. *Jurnal Sains Insani*. Vol. 5. No. 2. p. 1-8.

⁷⁵ Syed Salim. 2018. *Pemantapan Pelajar Aliran Syariah di Institusi Pengajian Tinggi Melalui Pengajian Kitab Turath Jawi: Tinjauan Terhadap Pelaksanaan Pengajian Talaqqi di Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia*. *Jurnal Sains Insani*. Vol. 3. No. 1. p. 27-37.

In order to acknowledge the history of Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts pertaining to the number of books that have been published, it is notable to list some books that can represent the development of writing in this field according to certain centuries. As stated before this, the 17th century was the first age that witnessed the first Malay-*fiqh* book, thus the list will start from that century until 19th century. The progressions of Malay-*fiqh* manuscript appears as a further elaboration that will indicate the producing of manuscripts in *fiqh* gradually.

According to Wan Mohd Shaghir, he managed to enumerate a number of Malay-*fiqh* books which exceeded more than 60 books that were written by 21 Malay scholars.⁷⁶ This list does not include all books because there are so many other manuscripts excluded from the list. However, perhaps this number may indicate an abundance of Malay-*fiqh* books that existed in this world even it is possible to believe that it may be more than that number. Here I try to clarify the number of books based on the list by Wan Mohd Shaghir in order to unveil the development of Malay books in *fiqh* started from 17th century onwards. It is an important remark that the list here only emphasises some selected books.

In 17th century, Syeikh Nuruddin al-Raniri had an excellent contribution in producing religious books especially in *fiqh* as his book; *Sirāṭul Mustaqīm* became the first book he wrote. Then, he wrote another book of the same topic such as *Tanbīhul ‘Awwām fī Tahqīq al-Kalām fī al-Nawāfil* and *Kaifīyat al-Solāt*. Syeikh Abdul Rauf al-Fanshuri who lived after al-Raniri also wrote a profound book as he was asked from the Ruler of Aceh, Sultanah Safiyuddin to write a *fiqh* book in known as *Mir’āt al-*

⁷⁶ Mohd Saghir, *Perkembangan Fiqih*. p. 157-160.

Tullāb.⁷⁷ In fact, this book was regarded as the first Malay book in Islamic Jurisprudence discussing court's affairs. Other Malay-*fiqh* books that are belonged to him are *Bayān al-Arkān*, *Bidāyat al-Bālighah*, *Majmū' al-Masāil*, *Fātihah Syeikh Abd al-Ra'uf*, *Tanbīh al-Āmil Fī Tahqīq an-Nawāfil*, *Sebuah Huraian Mengenai Niat Sembahyang* and *Waṣiyyah*.⁷⁸

His student who lived in Terengganu, known as "Tokku Pulau Manis" or his actual name is Syeikh Abdul Malik bin Abdullah who became the first Malay scholar made a commentary on *Hikam Ibn 'Aṭhoillah al-Sakandarī* in *Taṣawwuf*, also produced three *fiqh* books namely *Risālah al-Naql*, *Kitāb al-Kifāyah* and *Risālah Kaiḥiyat al-Niyyat*. While in Aceh, Syeikh Faqih Jalaluddin bin Syeikh Kamaluddin gave a contribution in this field by writing a book namely *Hujjat al-Bālighah* and later, his inherent scholarship was continued by his son, Syeikh Muhammad Zain bin Syeikh Faqih Jalaluddin who lived in the next century.⁷⁹

In 18th century, it can be regarded as a second period which Malay scholars continued to produce Malay-*fiqh* books. This century became a remarkable era for Malay world when some prominent scholars who lived during this time, they ultimately succeeded to place their books in the highest position in this region. One of the influential scholars in Aceh, whom his father we had mentioned before, Syeikh Muhammad Zain bin Syeikh Faqih Jalaluddin led in writing *fiqh* books before others. His book entitled *fiqh* is *Talkhīs al-Falāh* discussed specifically about Islamic marriage matters. Rest of his students, namely Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Syeikh

⁷⁷ Jelani, *Mir'at al-Tullab*. p. 119-138.

⁷⁸ Muazin. 2006. *Konsep Wahdatul Wujud Menurut Abdurrauf Singkel Dan Implikasinya Dalam Pendidikan Tauhid*. (Master Thesis). Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri (STAIN) Salatiga. p. 17.

⁷⁹ Ahmad Misbah Bin Muhamad Hilmi. 2016. Analisis Teks Manuskrip *Hujjatul Bālighah*: Tumpuan Dalam Kesaksian. *International Conference on Akidah, Dakwah dan Syariah (IRSYAD)*. p. 693-721.

Daud bin Abdullah al-Faṭāni and Syeikh Muhammad Nafis gave great contributions in the Malay world.

One of the students was Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad who came from Banjar, wrote a book namely *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*. He stated clearly in his book that he tried to write a new *fiqh* book because the Malay people at that time were facing difficulty in gaining the authentic book of *Sirāṭul Mustaqīm* and also difficulty in understanding the book.⁸⁰ Thus, his new book was aimed to solve the problem. Meanwhile, this indirectly gives an indication on the development of Malay-*fiqh* books in the 18th century as it was a continuity of the *Sirāṭul Mustaqīm*. Besides that, he also wrote *al-Qowl al-Mukhtaṣ*, *Kitāb al-Nikāh*, *Kitāb al-Farāiḍ* and *Hāsyiah Fath al-Jawād* in *fiqh*.

Another great scholar who influenced the Malay world so much in this period is Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Faṭāni whom I had already discussed about him before. He wrote more than 15 books namely *as-Ṣayd wa al-Dhabāih*, *Risālah al-Sā'il*, *Bughyah al-Ṭullāb li Murīd Ma'rīfat al-Aḥkām bi as-Ṣawāb*, *Īdāḥ al-Bāb li Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi as-Ṣawāb*, *Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Subul al-Muttaqīn*, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-Irth wa al-Ta'sīb*, *Bulūgh al-Marām*, *Manāsik al-Haj wa al-'Umrah*, *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim*, *Fath al-Mannān*, *Jawāhir as-Saniyyah*, *Sullam al-Muhtadī fī Ma'rīfat Tariqat al-Muhtadī* and *Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Wasā'il*. These books are more than enough to indicate the arisen of Malay-*fiqh* books in the 18th century.

In the 19th century, the development of Malay-*fiqh* books continued until the emergence of Malay scholars who endeavoured themselves to contribute for the sake of

⁸⁰ Al-Banjari, Muhammad Arsyad. n.d. *Sabil al-Muhtadin lil Tafaqquh fi Amr al-Din*. Fatani: Matba'ah Bin Halabi. p. 3. Hereafter cited as Arsyad al-Banjari, *Sabil al-Muhtadin*.

religion. Raja Ali Haji who was born in year 1809 was regarded more as a prolific Malay literature and history writer rather than *fiqh*. Nevertheless, it is worth to mention him here because he had also authored some *fiqh* books which he wrote them in a poetry form and they are very interesting to read. The books were named as *Syair Hukum Faraid*, *Syair Kitab Nikah* and *Syair Siti Sianah* that mostly explained about *'ibadah*. He discussed *fiqh* matters using the tale style that made this book unique compared to other books.⁸¹

In Mecca, there was a famous Malay scholar who contributed so much in this arena especially in writing and reprinting old books that were written by past scholars. He was Syekh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain al-Faṭāni who poured all of his life to teach and educate new Malay scholars. One of his significant and well known students was Tok Kenali. Awang Sariyan enumerated some fields of knowledge that proved Syekh Ahmad al-Faṭāni's brilliance for mastering disciplines such as religion, history, philosophy, poetry and medicine.⁸² With regard to *fiqh*, he left some works in this field such as *Bahjah al-Mubtadīn*, *'Unwān al-Falāh* and *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniah*. It is important to indicate here that his book *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniah* was the first Malay book written about *Fatwā* which there was none before.

With regard to *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*, although the title does not appear no where in any research, writing and published book, it is inappropriate to claim such book has no place in history at all. To be fair, in this chapter, this manuscript, *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*, was found with other religious manuscripts. There were ten collections were found in a bundle and two manuscripts which were compiled with *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* were belong to

⁸¹ Abu Hassan Sham. 1995. *Syair-Syair Melayu Riau*. Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia. p. 75-76,95. Hereafter cited as Abu Hassan, *Syair Melayu*.

⁸² Awang Sariyan, *Asas Falsafah*. p. 95.

the great prolific Malay scholar in Aceh who was known as Sheikh Nuruddin al-Raniri. The books were *Durr al-Farāid bi Syarh al-'Aqā'id* and *Bidāyatul Hidāyah Bi Fadl al-Manan*. Besides that, there were ten different names of the manuscripts found with *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* and it was possible that they were similar copies.

Based on the above explanations, it is an effort to highlight the existence of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* in the history of Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts. This can be perceived by knowing that such book did not appear alone and it did not exist in vacuum. It should be recorded to be found with other manuscripts and this fact obviously indicates the concern of people at that time with regard the *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript. Not only that, the number of manuscripts that were found which was more than fifteen collections also showed the significance of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*. If the manuscripts were invaluable, the people would not concern about them thus there was no points for them to copy it repeatedly. Therefore, based on the brief argument, it is just to acknowledge the significant existence of this manuscript respectively in the history of Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts.

In conclusion, the development of Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts can be observed carefully through the writing of Malay scholars and at the same time the chain of their knowledge to ancestors were very clearly unveiled. There is no century but Malay scholars lived in it and poured their lives to spread Islam either through writing or teaching. There is no room for us to underestimate our early scholars especially their works because they know Islam better than us due to their authority, knowledge and purity of hearts. Only by reading and concerning on former's treatises then we can appreciate them better. It is incumbent for us to trace the true understanding of religious knowledge through the traditionalists' scholarly works which the chain of their

knowledge is met to the early generations of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him).

2.2.2 The Significant of Malay-*fiqh* Manuscripts in Malay society

As recorded in history, Malay people had accepted *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*⁸³ since the first emergence of Islam in this region which their main school of theology (*'Aqīdah*) is Ash'arite, jurisprudence (*Fiqh*) is Shafi'e and metaphysic (*Tasawwuf*) is al-Ghazali.⁸⁴ This can be proven by looking at Malay manuscripts on each field that represents the school of thought which becomes their way of life. In theology, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas discovered the oldest Malay manuscript that was known as Malay translation of the *'Aqā'id of al-Nasafi* dealing with *Ahl Sunnah wal Jamaah's* thought. The descriptions in the manuscript showed that it were written in 1590AC (16th century).⁸⁵

On the other hand, Shafi'e school of law was accepted as a ground in jurisprudence both for devotional and practical duties. Some Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts such as *Sirāṭul Mustaqīm* and *Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb* were both proofs of acceptance of Shafi'e school in this region. This is because some of these books were written under the request of the Malay Ruler at that time and not far than that, other Malay scholars

⁸³ *Ahl al-Sunnah wa Jamā'ah* was consisted of Ash'arites and Maturidi schools in theology, Hanafi, Maliki, Shafie and Hanbali schools in jurisprudence, and Junaid al-Baghdadi and al-Ghazali schools in metaphysic. For more explanations, refer Ali Jumu'ah, 2019. *Al-Bayān al-Mukhtaṣar*. Kaherah: al-Wabil al-Soib and Ishak B. Aqil. 1995. *al-Firaq al-Islamiyyah*. Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm.

⁸⁴ Nurlaelah Haji Abbas. 2016. *Ahli Sunnah Waljama'ah Adalah Kefahaman Agama Yang Tulen. Sumbangan Dan Cabaran Ahli Sunnah Waljama'ah di Alam Melayu*. p. 107-144; Sirajuddin Abbas. 2017. *I'tiqad Ahlusunnah Wal-Jamaah*. Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press Sdn. Bhd. p. 2-3,21.

⁸⁵ Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. 1988. *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th Century Malay Translation of The 'Aqā'id Of Al-Nasafi*. Kuala Lumpur: Department of Publication University of Malaya.

continued writing *fiqh* books relying on that books which in line with Shafi'e school as we have described completely in the previous part.⁸⁶ This circumstance is due to the main factor of emergence of Islam in this region which was prompted by the pioneers from the Arabs of noble origin from Yemen in which Shafi'e school firmly grew.⁸⁷

Similarly to *taṣawwuf*, in the beginning of Islam in Malay world, it has been coached by Sufi as they spread Islam through *taṣawwuf* and guide them in practising Islam truly by following some of the Sufi order.⁸⁸ In Riau for example, during old time, it once became a centre of Sufism order namely as *Naqshabandiah* after the royal family tend to become adherent of that group in which Raja Ali Haji whom his name is very well known in Malay world lived.⁸⁹ In writing, Malay scholars like Hamzah Fansuri, Nurudin al-Raniri, Abdul Samad al-Falimbani and other scholars have wrote many books in *taṣawwuf* so that Malay people can take it as their guidance in that field. To deduce, there is no doubt to believe that Malay people already accepted *Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* as their based ground to practise Islam rather than Shi'a and *Mu'tazila*.

Based on that introduction, generally, it revealed the significant existence of Malay religious manuscripts towards Malay society by pointing out the correlation between both. It is notable to mention here some certain points that perhaps indicate the significant of Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts.⁹⁰ First of all, Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts became main materials in the process of learning by Malay people in the past and current time for a number of Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts were too many spread as I described it briefly

⁸⁶ Jelani, *Mir'at al-Tullab*. p. 119-138.

⁸⁷ Al-Attas, *Historical Fact*. p. 75-153.

⁸⁸ Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. 1963. *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised Among the Malays*. Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute LTD.

⁸⁹ Abu Hassan, *Syair Melayu*. p. 38.

⁹⁰ Farid Wajdi, Mohd Anuar, & Syed Salim. 2021. Pengaruh Kitab Fiqh Jawi di Alam Melayu: Pengenalan Terhadap Manuskrip Arkān al-Ṣolāt. *Jurnal Sains Insani*. Vol. 6. Vol. 1. p. 1-10.

before. So, this shows the importance of *fiqh* manuscripts as a medium in old traditional education and precisely indicates the acceptance of people to the Malay-*fiqh* books. Consequently, those manuscripts succeed in shaping Malays' thought and their intellectual framework which is very rooted to the Islamic tradition knowledge.⁹¹

Secondly, Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts became as transmitter of the science of *fiqh* from Arabic sources into Malay world. Most Malay scholars stated in the introduction of their books that they actually extracted the content from the very authoritative Arabic *fiqh* books such as *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn*, *Manhaj al-Ṭullāb*, *Tuḥfat al-Muhtāj*, *Nihāyat al-Muhtāj* and *al-Majmū'*.⁹² This can assist Malay people to learn *fiqh* easily as they can understand the text directly rather than referring to the Arabic books. More than that, the scholars cleverly put in their books some the local issues related with Malay affairs by using the analogical reasoning (*qiyās*). For example, Syeikh Nuruddin al-Raniri in his book *Sirāṭul Mustaqīm* discussed on local problems related with *tuak*, *kilang*, praying on the *rengga* which all of these matters are only existed in Malay society.⁹³

To deduce the discussion, it must be said that later Malay generations were indebted to the early Malay scholars for their sacrifice in inheriting religious knowledge through the books and manuscripts by which without them maybe the religion of Islam might not stand until now. Through the study on religious manuscripts, people can acknowledge what is the fundamental principles rooted in Islam that had changed one's

⁹¹ Mohd Puaad, Rahimin Affandi, Ahmad Farid & Huzaimah. 2018. Kitab Jawi dan Pengilmuan Masyarakat Melayu. *Jurnal Ulwan*. Vol. 1. p. 34-57.

⁹² Al-Fathani, Daud bin Abdullah. t.tt. *Bughyah al-Tullab li Muridi al-Ahkam al-Sowwab*. Pulau Penang: Matba'ah Dar al-Ma'arif. p. 5. Hereafter cited as Daud al-Fathani, *Bughyah*; Arsyad al-Banjari, *Sabil al-Muhtadin*. p. 4; Zainul Abidin. T.tt. *Kasyf al-Litham 'An As'ilah al-Anam*. T.t: Maktabah wa Matba'ah Muhammad al-Nahdi. p. 2.

⁹³ Jamalludin Hashim, Abdul Karim Ali & Hasanulddin Mohd. 2014. Analisis Pengaruh Unsur Fiqh Tempatan dalam Kitab al-Sirat al-Mustaqim Karya Syaykh Nur al-Din al-Raniri. *Jurnal Antarabangsa Dunia Melayu*. Vol. 1. No. 1. p. 1-24.

worldview and become permanent value which they should preserve it in this modern world so that they can elude from the secularisation trap like the Western people are now facing.

Fiqh as a religious science possessed a main role in guiding Muslims in their every single action, either in worldly or hereafter affairs, and it is fundamentally grounded to *tawhid* that functions as a worldview for Muslims. Hence, Malay-*fiqh* manuscripts become a medium in transferring knowledge simultaneously influencing the Malays directly through education and practice. This obviously can be seen before the existence of modern education which completely changed the tradition and become a mainstream system. There is no wrong with the current education system but it is a blameworthy when the tradition and its disciplines was set aside by us. So this needs us to reconstruct the purpose of education in our current system to make sure it corresponds to our authentic tradition and suitable to be practise in mainstream system.

Hopefully, all of the above explanations in this chapter can help readers to understand the purpose of the study and convince them to be more appreciative on our intellectual works and put away their underestimation on this type of research. It should be noted that the relevance of the academic study is not to merely study something new and gain new findings but also to revive some good values that had been decayed.

2.3 Introduction to *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*

Arkān al-Ṣalāt is one of the Malay-*fiqh* manuscript that specifically discusses about prayers and certain related discussions. This book can be placed on a par with other well-known *fiqh* books such as *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, *Hidāyat al-Ṣibyān* and *Minhāj al-*

Salām. However, it was ‘unlucky’ for it because *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* is still a manuscript and as far as I know, it has never been published, not until recently. In searching of this manuscript, there are manuscripts located in bundle and single collection. Pertaining to the bundle collection, *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* was placed with various types of manuscripts in the sense of sciences such as theological and ethical treatises. Even this manuscript can be considered as a *fiqh* book, however, in certain part it transcends thoroughly beyond *taṣawwuf* field, therefore it is possible to be regarded as both *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf* book. Thus, this manuscript possesses its own unique place among other books in its field.

Compared to other books, *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* is identical to an immortal Malay-*fiqh* book written by Sheikh Daud al-Fatani entitled *Munyat al-Muṣallī*. This can be identified by referring to the major discussions and writing styles. There are two points that indicate the similarities existed in these two books; firstly, the main topic of book which focuses mainly on the law of prayers (*fiqh al-ṣalāt*) without concerning other part of *fiqh* such as fasting (*al-ṣawm*), almsgiving (*zakāt*), pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and other matters. Secondly, the methodology of writing that was implemented in both books presented the similarity which the authors combined the two core knowledge in Islam; *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf*.

Based on the above explanations, it can be assumed that perhaps *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* is on the same degree with *Munyat al-Muṣallī* although the latter was far well-known among Malay people rather than the former. As *Munyat al-Muṣallī* was written by a reputable Malay scholar, therefore it got more attention paid by Malay people for more than two hundred years until today. Wan Mohd Saghir claimed that *Munyat al-Muṣallī* became the only one necessary book to learn by students in the Malay world.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Mohd Saghir, *Perkembangan Fiqih*. p. 102.

Pertaining to this, it is possible to assert that maybe *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* was once upon old time had its own influence to a certain groups of Malay people even it did not ascend to become famous like *Munyat al-Muṣallī*.

2.3.1 Author and Authorship

Based on the manuscripts that have been found in this study, there are only two manuscripts entitled as MSS4314 and MSS4341 that describe some information of authorship. In general, other than these both manuscripts did not mention about the author's name except in these selected manuscripts. Furthermore, there is also no date recorded in this finding thus the manuscript of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* became unknown for its author and date of writing. One of the collections (MSS4314) mentioned the origin place of the manuscript as it will be described later.

Before going further, it is necessary to mention here the transliteration of colophon of those two manuscripts related to authorship so that the readers can see and perceive it precisely. Next, I will highlight justifications for this manuscript in order to prove the authenticity of the manuscript by providing answers to some doubts that may arise in this study.

Table 1.1: Colophon of MSS4314 and MSS4341

No	Manuscripts	Text of Colophon
1.	MSS 4314	<i>Tamat kitab yang bernama Arkān al-Ṣalāt karangan guru kita dan guru segala orang dalam daerah Pidir iaitu Teungku Chiek Di Blang yang duduk di negeri Tiro dan empunya kitab</i>

		<i>ini Lebai kampung Blang yang di (f-d-w-q) jangan kamu perbeli jangan kamu beri tetapi kamu wakaf pada orang tuntut ilmu.</i>
2.	MSS 4341	<i>Tamat al-Kitāb Hādhihi al-Risālah Arkān al-Ṣalāt pada malam jumaat pada waktu Isyak ṣāhibuhu Lebai (space) wa kātibuhu Lebai (f-n-y) (p-a-d-ng) (t-j-i) amīn yā Rab al-‘ālamīn qabūluhu mukmin (l-k-w-d-‘a-a) amīn.</i>

Based on that colophon, it is only possible to identify some information of the author through the title of his name which is “*Teungku Chiek Di Blang*” and the places mentioned in there. It is remarkable to elucidate that in Aceh region, such title was only given to one who possessed a great position in religious authority and was well-known as a knowledgeable individual in the society.⁹⁵ As far as it is concerned, there was a foreign scholar from Persia who immigrated to Aceh and served to Sultan Alaidin, ruler of Aceh under the Sultanate of Pasai/Samudera. His name is Teungku Chik Blang Pria but unfortunately his detail information could not be found other than in this book of *Ulama Aceh Dalam Melahirkan Human Resouce Di Aceh* in which only mentioned his name without any further elaboration.⁹⁶ Therefore, it is impossible to claim him as an author of this manuscript without any firm evidence.

⁹⁵ Rusdi Sufi., Muhammad Nasir & Zulfan. 1997. *Peranan Tokoh Agama Dalam Perjuangan Kemerdekaan, 1945-1950: Di Aceh*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI. p. 21; R. Michael Feener., Patrick Daly & Anthony Reid (ed.). 2011. *Mapping The Acehnese Past*. Leiden: Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies. p. 13

⁹⁶ Muhammad Thalal & Ors. 2009. *Ulama Aceh Dalam Melahirkan Human Resource Di Aceh*. Aceh: Perpustakaan Nasional. p. 33.

With regard to the places mentioned in manuscript, it is clearly affirmed that this manuscript was belong to a scholar from Tiro in the region of Pidir in Aceh. According to the history of Aceh, there was a Sultanate of Pidir which once ruled that region and his ruler was known as Raja Pidir whom his ancestors had a trial to attack Melaka.⁹⁷

Pertaining to the unknown author and also undated of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*, Ding Choo Ming mentioned that most of Malay manuscripts had no sufficient information especially authors' names and dates. He said that when a manuscript had no authors' name, it would be regarded as "collective right/whole society (*hak milik bersama/seluruh masyarakat*)".⁹⁸ It can also be assumed that, the reason why there were so many anonymous writers in Malay religious writing, is because they did not wish to be named because they wrote for the sake of Allah, not for worldly purposes.⁹⁹ Therefore, it is common in this type of study to find a manuscript that is lack of authorship information including *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*. In conclusion, even the real name of author and his detail information could not be clearly identified, but the previous finding precisely indicated the authority of the author and his position whereby he had obtained the title of "*Teungku Chiek*".

Based on this ground, it is clearly shown that the study on manuscripts should not be only focusing on recognising the date and the author's name; although it was a part of the study, because the absence of that kind of information should not be a reason to deny the authority and relevance of the manuscript. Even it has lacking in that

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 33.

⁹⁸ Ding Choo Ming, *Kajian Manuskrip*. p. 77-78.

⁹⁹ Mohd Nor bin Ngah. 1983. *Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. p. 1.

particular area, it is a must to focus more on the content of manuscript in which the intellectual discussions and great Islamic tradition existed. Through content analysis, it provides us an acknowledgement of the intellectual traditions in the past of the Malay world by which it did not grow alone but it is rooted strongly from a long tradition of knowledge.

In most of manuscripts' contents, the original sources of that can be seen through the analysis that show the authenticity of manuscripts. This is the purpose of research which the content will be analysed. In the meantime, the very influence of *taṣawwuf* and *fiqh* which are originally rooted to the knowledge of prominent Muslim scholars namely al-Ghazālī, al-Junayd, Ibnu 'Arabī, and al-Nawawī would be obviously appeared. It is undeniable that most Malay manuscripts in the past were mostly influenced by high discourse of *taṣawwuf* including *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript.¹⁰⁰

That is why in the previous discussion I wrote about the history of Malay manuscripts and its influence towards Malay people in the past until current together with explanations on the process of Islamisation within Malay people which it was the prompter of intellectual rise in this region. It will be a guidance to show the general sketch of Malay religious manuscript history in a proper way. This type of religious manuscript should not be compared to literature works like manuscripts about tales or history for they are solely poured out from the writers' minds as a creativity and art works. It is not akin with religious manuscripts because our religion is strongly bound with intellectual chain prompted from Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) then continued by his companions and true Muslim scholars.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Attas, *Islam Dalam Sejarah*. p. 19.

2.3.2 General Contents of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*

Regarding the contents of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*, it can be classified as, at least, three main aspects. The first classification was made based on topics of the contents. This can be divided into three points:

- 1- Introduction
- 2- Conditions (*Shurūṭ*) of prayers
- 3- Pillars (*Arkān*) of prayers

Specifically, the author started his writing with *basmalah* and praise upon Allah for His Mercy by giving *hidāyah* to adhere the path of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him). Then, he continued his introduction by describing the importance of five times daily prayers in Muslims life by quoting some verses of Holy Quran and Prophetic quotes. In the meantime, he listed benefits that will be given upon man when he fulfils prayers obligation. This part serves as an introduction of the book by explaining the importance of prayers which one can achieve success in his life. Pertaining to the introduction which the writer mentioned about prayers; in Islamic tradition of writing, it is known as *barā'ah al-istihlāl*.

In Islamic tradition of writing, it becomes prevalent norm among the Islamic scholars despite whatever topics they write, they put some of important things in the introduction of their books. This is what *al-Ahdal* listed eight things that must be mentioned in the introduction of writing, those are *basmalah*, *ḥamdalah*, pray for blessings for Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him), *shahādatain*, author's name, book's title, *barā'ah al-istihlāl* and the word of *ammā ba'd*.¹⁰¹ Some of these are

¹⁰¹ Al-Ahdal, Muhammad. n.d. *al-Kawākib al-Durriyyah*. Fatani: Matbaah Bin Halabi. p. 3.

required to be mentioned in every beginning of speech and writing because of certain narrated *hadith* of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) which encouraged people to do so.¹⁰² For the *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript, it seems that it had no *shahādātayn*, author and book's name.

In another hand, he also mentioned some of threats for anyone who ignores this obligation. This is so in order to acknowledge the compensation that one will get if he fails to perform prayers in such manner. It seemed that the writer wrote in Arabic in his introduction; mostly were quoted from the Prophetic traditions then he translated the contents in classical Malay language very profoundly. Due to this great treatise of introduction, the manuscript that did not have this part was being regarded as incomplete version thus only eight of among manuscripts was found to be completes.

Only after the part of introduction; mostly written in three and four pages, the writer delves into the requirement (*shurūt*) of prayer by which one's performance will only be accounted if he fulfils it in the right manner. The total of that matter is six including the intention (*niyyah*) whereas this area was being issued among jurists as it will be specifically discussed in analysis part. Within this topic, the writer brings together a critical discussion on intention, *takbīrat al-ihrām* and prayer time. This part takes almost eight pages of the whole manuscript.

The third part of the manuscript is the discussion on pillars (*arkān*) of prayers where the title of manuscripts itself is *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*. This part can be regarded as a main discussion in this manuscript which the author explains particularly the pillars of prayer based on *Shāfi'e* school of thought. This part takes many pages and it ends the

¹⁰² Al-Sayyid al-Bakri. n.d. *I'ānah al-Tōlibīn*. Fatani: Matbaah Bin Halabi. p. 3-7.

manuscript with the discussion about *qunūt*. As it is seen in the manuscript, each pillars was discussed in very specific way which every elaboration comes with its several conditions known as *shurūṭ* or pillars. This part possesses the most pages in this manuscript which exceeded almost to 29 pages.

Secondly, the aspect of science of the contents, it can be divided into three types:

- 1- General knowledge conveying advice, motivation and threat words related to the prayers.
- 2- Science of *Fiqh*.
- 3- Science of *Taşawwuf*.

Regarding the first point, the researcher has described precisely in the first classification which mostly contained in the introduction part. The author brilliantly integrated both sciences of *fiqh* and *taşawwuf* in explaining prayer's matter thus it made this manuscript very unique because every single of *fiqh* point, it will be pursued together with *taşawwuf* discussion and made these both very identical similarly with al-Ghazālī's treatise of *Ihyā' 'Ulūmiddīn*. This will be analysed in the fourth chapter in this thesis in order to trace the influence of past scholar works in this manuscript.

The researcher would like to mention here one of the examples with regard to the previous points. In the explanation about the cleanliness of clothes and place to perform prayers as one of necessary requirements to perform prayers, the author brought together this discussion with the explanation on cleanliness of the heart as a necessary action in order to make the prayers perfect. Pertaining to the aspect of *taşawwuf* specifically, the author included the discussions of *ihsān*, *fanā'*, *khudū'* and the reality of servants in certain area of *fiqh*. Therefore, this manuscript can be regarded as the book of both disciplines; *fiqh* and *taşawwuf*. Compared to other *fiqh* books, with regard

to prayer matters, this manuscript does not mention about prohibited actions during performing prayers thus making this manuscript simple yet suffice to be learnt.

Third classification relies on the types of sources; it can be divided into three types:

- 1- Verses of Holy Quran.
- 2- Prophetic Traditions.
- 3- Opinions of Muslim scholars.

In general, most of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* writings include those three sources. Pertaining to classic religious books, there are certain words used by the writer to indicate certain important points or to present a detailed problem related to the previous discussions which will be elucidated later by using *shahdān*, *tanbīh*, *mas'alah* and *fā'idah*.¹⁰³ In *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*, it seems that the writer only used one word from the listed words and it was the word of *shahdān*. This word appeared in the last topic of the manuscript where he ended it by inscribing *qunūt* prayer.

2.4 Codicological Aspect of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*

In manuscript study, one can initiate his research either on the physical aspect of manuscripts or the contents of knowledge of the manuscripts. The study on the physical make-up and writing materials of manuscripts that are used in the traditional bookmaking is named as Codicology.¹⁰⁴ François Déroche held that codicology is primarily referred to the study of material aspects of codices; that is, manuscript books

¹⁰³ Al-Hafnawi, Muhammad Ibrahim. 2013. *Fathul Mubīn fī Ta'rīf Muṣṭalahāt al-Fuqahā' wa al-Uṣūliyyīn*. Kaherah: Dar al-Salām. p. 268.

¹⁰⁴ Wan Ali Wan Mamat. 2014. *An Introduction to Malay Manuscripts*. Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press. p. 23. Hereafter cited as Wan Ali, *An Introduction*.

comprising a series of gathering or quires of sheets.¹⁰⁵ It goes beyond the archaeology of the books and embraces various aspects of the history of a manuscript, the history of textual transmission, collections, collectors, libraries and the like.¹⁰⁶

2.4.1 Total of Manuscripts

Relying on the findings, *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript can only be found in Pusat Kebangsaan Manuskrip Melayu at National Library of Malaysia. The researcher did the search in online website libraries such as Leiden Libraries, British Libraries and National University of Singapore. Unfortunately, there have no record about this manuscript except in Pusat Kebangsaan Manuskrip Melayu. In there, 15 manuscripts of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* were founded which eight of them are incomplete thus it makes the number of complete manuscripts to seven. All those manuscripts are recorded in the library's catalogue and data based namely as *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*. The collection of these manuscripts in Pusat Kebangsaan Manuskrip Melayu can be looked in this diagram:

Table 1.2: Collection of manuscripts

Collection	Code of Manuscripts		
Pusat Kebangsaan Manuskrip Melayu, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia	MSS4029	MSS4121	MSS4314
	MSS4466	MSS4341	MSS4601(A)
	MSS3864(A)	MSS4351(B)	MSS4393(B)
	MSS4425(A)	MSS2936(A)	MSS4307(A)
	MSS3644(A)	MSS3826(B)	MSS3631(B)

¹⁰⁵ Francois Deroche. 2005. *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscript in Arabic Script*. London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation. p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Adam Gacek. 2009. *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers*. Leiden: Brill. p. 64. Hereafter cited as Adam, *Arabic Manuscript*.

The total of manuscripts was calculated by the researcher himself. This is based on the data recorded by Pusat Kebangsaan Manukrip Melayu and it was accessed through the online website and catalogues. All of the manuscripts are in complete condition except MSS4466, MSS4341, MSS4307(A), MSS2936(A), MSS3644(A), MSS3826(B), MSS4425(A) and MSS3631(B). On the other hand, the complete manuscripts are namely MSS3864(A), MSS4029, MSS4121, MSS4351(B), MSS4393(B), MSS4601(A) and MSS4314. Thus, the total number of complete manuscript is seven while the incomplete is eight. This classification will be sketched in a diagram later.

It is necessary to elucidate the justification of classifying the manuscripts into complete and incomplete categories. There are two approaches that are used in order to acknowledge either the manuscript is in complete condition or not. The former is by literally refer to the library catalogues as they already provided the descriptions of each manuscript. Thus, the reader can know the status of the manuscripts without having to look at the manuscripts directly. The second approach is by observing the manuscripts physically and checking the manuscript on page by page. The indicator of classifying the complete manuscripts in this second approach is by checking either that manuscript has a full text, especially the introduction, or not. There are many manuscripts of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* that have no introduction like other manuscripts. The first page of that incomplete collection was only started with a topic on pillars of prayer. Consequently, this type of manuscript cannot be regarded as a complete version because the introduction of the manuscript was not available yet it was very important.

There are some of complete manuscripts that consist missing pages. However, it is not as much fundamental as the introduction. Every single manuscript that lose any

page will be described in the next sub chapter explaining the description of folios and quires. In this research, these two types of approaches were used by the researcher in order to determine the status of the manuscripts. It is possible for the researcher to make a claim that all manuscripts of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* were checked and the general information were recorded as it will be clarified in the next passage. Until now, the researcher can be sure that there is no manuscript were left out from observation.

Table 1.3: List of complete and incomplete manuscripts

No	Complete Manuscript	No	Incomplete Manuscript
1.	MSS4601(A)	1.	MSS4425(A)
2.	MSS3864(A)	2.	MSS2936(A)
3.	MSS4351(B)	3.	MSS4307(A)
4.	MSS4393(B)	4.	MSS3644(A)
5.	MSS4029	5.	MSS3826(B)
6.	MSS4121	6.	MSS3631(B)
7.	MSS4314	7.	MSS4466
		8.	MSS4341

In order to make this research becomes more comprehensive, the researcher will describe the general descriptions of all manuscripts based on the researcher's own observation. The manuscripts (*Arkān al-Ṣalāt*) were found to be left in the single and bundle collections. The complete manuscripts and bundle collections will be followed by the incomplete.

- 1- MSS4601 (completed):

It is a compilation of three different manuscripts. The first manuscript is *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* MSS4601(A) while the other two are *Qawā'id al-Islām* MSS4601(B), and *Kitab Tauhīd* MSS4601(C). The following is the information of those manuscripts:

- I. (A): *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*: [ff.1v.-21r.]; 17 lines, the researcher's study.
- II. (B): *Qawā'id al-Islām*: [ff.21v.-24r.]; 17 lines. This manuscript specifically written on *Tauhid* which discussed on the Attributes of God and His Essence.
- III. (C): *Kitab Tauhīd*: [ff.24v.-31r.]; 17 lines. Similar with the MSS4601(B), it also discussed on *Tauhid* in its early pages then continued in elaborating the rules of prayer.

2- MSS3864 (completed):

This collection also has been compiled together with the other two manuscripts. *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* was located at the first in that bundle collection followed by *Kifāyatul Mukminīn wa Itmāmul Fard 'Ain* and *Kitab Tauhīd*.

Further information as below:

- I. (A): *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*: [ff.1v.-21r.]; 19 lines.
- II. (B): *Kifāyatul Mukminīn wa Itmāmul Fard 'Ain*: [ff.50v.-64v]; 19 lines. This manuscript specifically discussed on Islamic finance law. It was in a complete form and recorded to be finished on Friday, 12 Rabiul Awal 1237H (6 December 1821).
- III. MSS3864(C): *Kitab Tauhīd*: [ff.50v.-64v]; 14-18 line. This manuscript discussed on Islamic theology and it was in complete form.

3- MSS4351 (completed):

This collection has been compiled with four manuscripts together. They are *Sifat al-Ma'āni*, *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*, *Durr al-Farāid bi Syarh al-'Aqāid* and *Anīs al-Muttaqīn*. All of these manuscripts were in different fields as below:

- I. (A): *Sifat al-Ma'āni*: 2+[ff.11v.-12v.]. The discussion on this manuscript was about theology which specifically emphasized on intellect law and the necessary Attributes to God. This manuscript was written in Arabic language with a Malay translation below it.
 - II. (B): *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*: [ff.13v.-30v.].
 - III. (C): *Durr al-Farāid bi Syarh al-'Aqāid*: [ff.31v.-86v.]. This manuscript was copied by Lebai Fakeh from Kampung Lada and the original writer was a prominent Malay scholar, Syeikh Nuruddin al-Raniri who lived in 17th century. The content is about Islamic theology which originally a translated from Arabic book with some additional interpretation from the writer.
 - IV. (D): *Anīs al-Muttaqīn*: [ff.95v.-121r.]. This manuscript was written in Arabic with Malay translation concerning on intellect, contemplation, knowledge, ignorance, world life and God-reliance.
- 4- MSS4393 (completed):

This collection is derived from three different books with some pages contained various information. These books are *Bidāyah al-Mubtadī bi Faḍlillāh al-Muhdī*, *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* and *Asas Solat*. Further description as the following:

- I. (A): *Bidāyah al-Mubtadī Faḍlillāh al-Muhdī*: [ff.1v.-25v.]. This manuscript was written in the era of Sultan Alauddin Muhammad

Shah. It emphasis on theology and *Fiqh* similarly with emergent manuscripts. Unfortunately, this manuscript was not complete.

II. (B): *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*: [ff.26r-41v.]

III. (C): *Asas Solat*: [ff.45r.-48r.]. This manuscript discussed on obligation of prayer from the *Taṣawwuf* perspective respectively but it was written in a several pages only.

5- MSS4029 (completed):

This collection is a single collection. Further information regarding on this manuscript will be specifically discussed in the next part.

6- MSS4121 (completed):

This collection is also a single collection. Further information regarding on this manuscript will be specifically discussed in the next part.

7- MSS4314 (completed):

This collection is also a single collection. Further information regarding on this manuscript will be specifically discussed in the next part.

8- MSS4425 (incomplete):

This is the incomplete manuscript that was being compiled together with another manuscript namely as *Risalah Niat Sembahyang*. This collection was beautifully covered by a red *songket*.

9- MSS2936 (incomplete):

This collection consists of two manuscripts, *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* and *Bidāyatul Hidāyah Bi Faḍl al-Manan*. *Bidāyatul Hidāyah Bi Faḍl al-Manan* is written by a prominent Malay scholar, Syeikh Nuruddin al-Rānirī.

10- MSS4307 (incomplete):

It has two manuscripts, *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* and *Anīs al-Muttaqīn*. It is in a very good condition without any tear and the words can be read clearly. The *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript in this collection does not have the introduction.

11- MSS3644 (incomplete):

It was consisted together with three manuscripts namely *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*, *Bidāyah al-Mubtadī* and *Kitab Fikah*. The *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript in this collection does not have the introduction and the last part.

12- MSS4466 (incomplete):

This single collection does not have the introduction part but it is in a very good condition.

13- MSS4341 (incomplete):

This is a single collection and it does not have the introduction part. But fortunately this manuscript contained name of copier and a part of writer's name written in colophon.

14- MSS3826 (incomplete):

This is a bundle collection consisted of two manuscripts, *Qawā'id al-Islām* and *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*. The introduction part of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* was lost.

15- MSS3631 (incomplete):

This collection has two manuscripts within it, *Wasiat Nabi* and *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* which the latter is incomplete as the introduction part was not there.

Based on the above descriptions, it is obvious that all the incomplete collections consists no introduction part. This such of pattern can possibly be assumed that these collections were copied from the same manuscript in which it has no introduction.

Therefore, the rest of the manuscripts were written in the same manner with the original

one so that they came from the same source. On the other hand, there are ten collections that were found in bundles.

2.4.2 Writing Surface, Folio and Quire

Writing surface refers to the materials that are used by the writer or copier to write the contents. Focusing on the Malay world, papers can be considered as a common and well spread material to be used for writing activity. There were also animal skins (normally goat skin), leaves (normally lontar leaves), bamboos and tree barks that were also used to produce manuscripts.¹⁰⁷

Regarding the *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript collections, most of them were written on the yellowish European laid paper that had watermarks. It is notable to mention here one of the most important criterion of the European paper -before the author continues further the discussions on this topic- it has a watermark sealed on the middle of the paper which it became a symbol that represents the company that made the paper. So, it can be easily recognised either the paper is made from Europe or other countries.

In this chapter, I will describe every single information regarding on the writing surface, folio, quire and some related matters regarding the complete manuscripts that became subject matters in this research.

1) MSS 3864(A)

This *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript was compiled together with another two manuscripts as mentioned earlier. It started from f.1v until f.21r and the rest were

¹⁰⁷ Wan Ali, *An Introduction*. p. 23.

other two manuscripts. The type of paper of this manuscript was made from Europe and it has a watermark showing three crescent moons in a yellowish laid paper. There are tears in the middle pages that were most possibly consumed by termites. All of the papers were gathered and added with new papers so that it is in a better condition. The texts were written in beautiful and consistent form with black ink. There is a catchword in the bottom of verso side from the beginning of the manuscript until the last page of verso. The rubrication was made for every Arabic word of Holy Quran, *Hadith*, scholars' quotes and some Malay words. There were two pages that had notes on the side of the texts which it can be assumed to serve as an additional script for the original texts.

Regarding to the folios and quires, it was made with 40 pages which is known as 20 bifolios. Unfortunately, all the folios were stick together with the new papers thus it is impossible to recognise the number of quires. It means that this manuscript was not bound in its original. Instead, the researcher can assert an assumption that it was Quinion which means it has four quires, each consists of 5 bifolio. This assertion relies on the numbers of bifolio that can be made of Quinion. Each page consists of 19 lines consistently. The size of manuscript is 22.5 x 15.3 cm.

2) MSS 4029

This is a single collection written on yellowish laid European paper with a watermark of three crescent moons on the middle of paper. The text was written using very clear, beautiful, black characters. However, there were tears on every single page which made some words unseen clear enough. This collection has a catchword for each vector page and also rubrication on certain Arabic texts. In the

last pages of this collection, it comes with a ritual text of Sufi order, namely as *Shaṭāriyyah*.

It has 40 pages in total, two of them were from another book. In other words, it is 10 bifolios and 20 folios. This can be seen by looking at the binding of the manuscript. These two additional pages were stuck together while the rest were bindless. Thus, this manuscript was originally consisted of 10 bifolios and bound with Quinion without any cover. Each paragraph of the pages consisted of 17 lines consistently and the size of the paper is 23 x 17 cm.

3) MSS 4121

This single collection was originally written in a very old, oriental paper without any watermark like other manuscripts. The ink used was brownish black yet it was very clear to read and it had beautiful writing. There was some tears breaking some words in certain pages. Similar with other collections, this manuscript has rubrication on Arabic words and also catchword on the verso side. Together with it, four folios were written on prayer scripts. In the middle of the manuscript, there were four pages discussing about fasting (*puasa*).

Unfortunately, the quire of this manuscript was impossible to be recognised due to the poor condition of its paper. Based on the researcher's observation, it had 56 pages without any page cover. In other words, there were 28 folios and 14 bifolios. Starting with a prayer text on the rector side followed by a colophon on the vector as the ending. The main text of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* started on f.4v after three pages of other texts. It was written 17 lines on 23 x 17 cm paper.

4) MSS 4351 (B)

This is a bundle collection consisting of four types of books of different fields: theology, *fiqh* and sufism. All of those manuscripts were bound together and *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* was located in the second part thus it was remarked as (B). The type of paper used in this collection is the European laid white brown paper and sealed with three crescent moons as its watermark. The texts were written in black-brown and there were tears on the below side of the page yet no texts were affected. Same goes with the previous collections, they also had rubrications on certain Arabic and Malay words and also catchword on the verso side. There were a lot of additional notes on the side of the main texts, 21 pages in total, most probably, the researcher assumed they were a student's notes who studied this book.

This bundle collection has ten quires for all those four books. Specifically, MSS 4351 (B) was located in f.35v until f.69r thus it has 34 total pages only for *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*. While this collection was bound perfectly and covered by black fabric. The size of the manuscript was 22 cm x 16 cm and the texts were written 19 lines consistently.

5) MSS 4394 (B)

Arkān al-Ṣalāt was located in the second book in this bundle collection. The paper used for this manuscript was the European paper that has watermark of three circles with an illustration. There were many words that could not be seen due to the tears in the middle and the side of its pages. The texts were written using black ink with some rubrications on Arabic and Malay words and catchwords on the verso page.

Unfortunately, the texts were not written neatly and the researcher assumed that it was written by different writers.

The size of the manuscript is 20 cm x 15 cm while each page consisted of 21 lines. This collection was bound and covered by green *songket* fabric. The *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* was located in f.26r until f.41v and the total page included other two manuscripts was 48 pages.

6) MSS 4601 (A)

The first book in this collection is *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* which was written using European laid white-brown paper and black ink. There were some dark spots on it. Fortunately, only the first page has tears on the verso side that affected some words. Similar with other collections, it also had rubrications for Arabic and Malay words as well as the catchword on verso side. As for the watermark, this collection had different watermark compared to others; it was sealed by a moon face in shield. On certain pages, there were notes on the side of the folio and it can be acknowledged as an additional information related to the main text.

Pertaining to MSS4601 (A), it consisted of three inconsistent quires which the first quire is quinion, the second is septenion and the last is quarternion with an independent folio. To describe these terms, quinion consists of 10 folios, septenion consists of 14 folios and quarternion consists of eight folios. The thickness of this manuscript is 33 + 2 folios and the first folio in this manuscript was bound together with the page cover and it only showed the verso surface. It was written in 17 lines and the size of paper is 15.4 cm x 22 cm.

7) MSS 4314

This is a single collection of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* written on European laid papers that had a watermark of three crescent moons in the middle of the papers. Some words could not be seen due to the tears but the texts were written in good structure but

not too neat. The ink used was black and it had rubrications on Arabic and some Malay words as well as the catchword can be seen clearly on the verso side. It is unlucky because the quire of this manuscript could not be recognised due to the old papers but the total of folios is 25 while the twelfth folio was left blank. The page cover did not covered by any fabric like others. The texts were written in 21.6 cm x 16 cm paper in 19 lines consistently for every single folios.

2.4.3 Analysis of Jawi scripts

The scope of the following sub chapter is limited to the analysis of Jawi scripts of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* which there are some areas that can be analysed in order to have a general picture of the writing form of this manuscript. The first one is the thickness of words written by the author or copier. Six manuscripts were written using normal font thickness while there is one manuscript namely as MSS4029 was written using thin font but it was still clear to be read. It was because it was written in beautiful *khat* (Islamic calligraphy). With regard to the properness of words in those seven manuscripts, three manuscripts namely MSS4601, MSS4314 and MSS4393 were not written properly. Thus, the scripts of these three manuscripts did not look as proper as other manuscripts.

The second is *khat* which Hashim Musa explained that most of Malay manuscripts were written using *naskh khat* style with a little tendency to *ta'liq* style even though at the beginning they actually following *thuluth* style that prone to the style of *muḥaqqaq* and *raiḥāni*.¹⁰⁸ There can be other situations where the writing was affected by local influences. This is according to Ali Akbar who was a trained

¹⁰⁸ Hashim Musa. 2006. *Sejarah Perkembangan Tulisan Jawi*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 288. Hereafter cited as Hashim Musa, *Tulisan Jawi*.

calligrapher, concluded that local influences had a strong impact on the writing of Qur'an manuscripts in the Southeast Asia, based on his survey.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, the number of Islamic calligraphy styles could extent indefinite.

His view can be supported by some facts. Muhammad Syukri al-Jabiri who said that the total number of *khat* style could reach up to 300 and maybe it had more than 400 styles as uttered by Didin Sirojudin. However, Ibnu Muqlah only classified the *khat* style into six types namely, then known as, *al-Aqlām al-Sittah* consisting of *Thuluth*, *Naskh*, *Muhaqqaq*, *Rayhān*, *Riq'ah* and *Tawqī'* and was all of them were regarded as the main styles of Islamic calligraphy.¹¹⁰

It is notable to say that Wan Ali Wan Mamat explained that it would be wrong if one holds a certain Malay manuscript is in the definitive style of *khat* but it should be right only if it was classified into more than one style. This is because the Malay manuscripts were a mixture of several styles and they were not quite beautiful to be categorised in certain styles. He also added that the person who was responsible to copy the manuscripts did so only for the purpose of business thus he normally did not care too much on the beauty of calligraphy as long as the content can be read.¹¹¹ In the case of *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*, based on the researcher's observation, they were written using *Nasakh* and *Riq'ah* styles but mostly tending to *Nasakh*. The writing was not consistent

¹⁰⁹ Annabel The Gallop. 2015. A Jawi Sourcebook for The Study of Malay Palaeography and Orthography. *Indonesia and the Malay World*. Vol. 43. No 125. p. 13-171.

¹¹⁰ Makmur Haji Harun & Buchari Katutu. 2014. *Pengajaran Seni Khat dan Tulisan Jawi Dalam Pendidikan Islam: Peluang, Cabaran dan Harapan*. Perak: Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris. p. 5; Nik Yusri Musa, Ilham Che Daud, Nazri Muslim & Jamsari Alias. 2017. Sejarah Perkembangan Seni Khat dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Tulisan Jawi di Nusantara. *Jurnal Pengajian Umum Asia Tenggara*. Vol. 18. p. 30-42.

¹¹¹ Wan Ali, *An Introduction*. p. 69-73.

in term of *khat* whereas some words showed both influence of *Nasakh* and *Riq'ah*. Even it was in mixture form but it still beautifies the manuscript with the aesthetic touch.

For Malay classical word well known as *tulisan Jawi*, it has a long journey in its development from the very early of its development whereas it can be traced based on the construction of word.¹¹² The oldest form of Jawi writing looked similar to Arabic words. That type of writing possibly dated back to 1200 AC. If the word no longer appeared with line marks; it is still in former form. It was used around in year 1300 AC. In a couple of decades, Jawi evolved to a new face which it had a vowel letter in the middle of word to present a clearer pronunciation and it was probably wide used in year 1600.¹¹³ Based on this finding, tracing date of writings becomes possible even the manuscripts have no date.

Here is an attempt to prove that the Arkān al-Ṣalāt manuscript was completely written before 1900 A.C. based on the evolution process of the words' structures. In order to affirm the assertion, some words were selected from the manuscripts and a simple observation presented justifications for the stand.

Table 1.4: *Jawi* words and its spellings

No.	<i>Jawi</i> Words	Spellings
1	فعلم	Fiilmu
2	بردير	Berdiri
3	دم	Demi
4	فوج	Puji

¹¹² Hashim Musa, *Tulisan Jawi*. p. 36;

¹¹³ Kang Kyeong Suk. 1993. *Perkembangan Tulisan Jawi Dalam Masyarakat Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 19. Hereafter cited as Kang Kyeong, *Perkembangan Tulisan Jawi*.

5	كدو	Kedua
6	فد	Pada
7	جك	Jika
8	تاه	Tahu
9	دهول	Dahulu
10	داد	Dada

All of these words were written without any vowel letter at the ends but only in the middle. As mentioned by an expert of this field, Kang Kyeong Seok and Hashim Musa, this type of words was widely used by Malay writers in year 1600 to 1900.¹¹⁴ The new Jawi writing system requires a vowel letter at the end of the words to make it easier for readers to pronounce it. Therefore, it is assumed that *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* manuscript was completed within that range of centuries.

Pertaining to the vocalisation of Arabic words, the history recorded that in the earliest form of Arabic scripts, it did not have signs for vowels until one of the blessed man namely Abū Aswād ad-Du'ali appeared with his contribution to put signs for vocalisation of Arabic words.¹¹⁵ In *Arkān al-Ṣalāt*, the Arabic words were bold with red colour and the sign of vocalisation to make the words easier to be read for those people who have no knowledge of Arabic grammar. In spite of that, some signs differed to others for the same word in different manuscripts. This is probably due to the lack of copiers of manuscripts or maybe the word can be read in another manner based on different principles in grammar.

¹¹⁴ Kang Kyeong, *Perkembangan Tulisan Jawi*. p. 36; Hashim Musa, *Sejarah Perkembangan*. p. 20.

¹¹⁵ Adam, *Arabic Manuscript*. p. 288.

As *Arkān al-Ṣalāt* is a religious manuscript that discusses *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf*, thus it is inevitable from not using some Arabic words in Malay sentences. In this context, there are two types of Arabic words, the first type is the borrowed words that have been already widely used in Malay language. The second type is the original words in Arabic language which are not used among Malay people. For the former, this manuscript contained some words like *ṣolāt*, *ẓāhir*, *bāṭin*, *mukalaf*, *munkar* and others. Then the latter such as *ribāṭ*, *ta'yin*, *sum'ah*, *taqṣīr*, *sir* and *gharīb*. With regard to archaic words, in this manuscript it has four words that can be regarded as archaic. That words are *indong* (mother), *kopah* (clots), *ejit* (mocking) and *dayong* (oar). Other than these words, the author used the common Malay words that can be understand easily.

To conclude this entire discussion in chapter two, it is remarkable to elucidate a brief word related to the framework of study on manuscript with a wholeheartedly hope that this will become a connection bridge between this part of study with the next chapter of thesis. As creation has a dual dimension of essence; physical and non-physical existence, thus a study on anything in this world must to be implemented on both of its essence. This chapter is dealing with the physical aspect of manuscript with a brief discussion on the historical sketch of Malay-*fiqh* manuscript on the early part. This is none other than to draw a comprehensive overview on a study of manuscript. This such of study should not be restricted neither only on physical matters nor textual analysis but it must be in both of aspects. Thus, it will contribute a significant exploration upon the manuscript and only after then the position and value of manuscript will be precisely shed in the stage of history.