Reassessing the Originality of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd: Dāūd al-Rūmī's Contributions and the Scholarly Significance of the First Tafsīr in The Archipelago

Meninjau Ulang Keaslian Tarjumān al-Mustafīd: Kontribusi Dāūd al-Rūmī dan Signifikansi Keilmuan Kitab Tafsīr Pertama di Nusantara

Muhammad Amin*([a,b]), Yusuf Rahman([a]), Zulkifli Zulkifli([a]).
(*) Corresponding Author, email: muhammadamin23@mhs.uinjkt.ac.id
(a) Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Jl. Ir H. Juanda No.95, Ciputat, Kec. Ciputat Tim., Kota Tangerang Selatan, Banten 15412
(b) IAIN Syaikh Abdurrahman Siddik Bangka Jl. Petaling No.Km.13, Petaling, Kec. Mendo Bar., Belitung, Kepulauan Bangka Belitung 33173

Abstract

Peter Riddell and Salman Harun have conducted studies on the originality of Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd. However, their study was based on a limited sample (the 16th and 30th juz), which resulted in the omission of several significant aspects. This study seeks to broaden the scope of research by employing a more comprehensive methodological approach, specifically textual criticism and comparative analysis. Textual criticism is used to assess the authenticity of the text, identify its primary reference sources, and evaluate the interpolations found within the work. Additionally, this study employs comparative analysis by juxtaposing Tarjumān al-Mustafīd with notable classical commentaries, including al-Jalālain, al-Baiḍāwī, and al-Khāzin. Furthermore, an analysis of colophons and variations in writing style is conducted to elucidate the role of each contributor. This study presents three key findings. First, both Riddell and Harun concur that this work is not a translation of al-Baiḍāwī but instead of al-Jalālain. This study aligns with Harun's assertion that Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is an orally transmitted translation of al-Jalālain, supplemented with quotations from al-Khāzin and additional interpolations, particularly in the 29th and 30th juz, which were primarily influenced by Dāūd al-Rūmī. Secondly, this study reveals that Dāūd al-Rūmī played a crucial role in the preservation and textual modifications of the work, despite its attribution to ʿAbd al-Raʾūf. Third, the scholarly significance of Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is demonstrated through its role as the first tafsīr in the archipelago to document diverse qirāʾāt traditions, reflect the vernacularization of Malay culture, and serve as a vital Qur'ānic guide for the general Muslim populace in 17th-century Aceh. Keywords: Qur'anic Exegesis, Misbah Mustafa, Tafsir Al-Iklil, Javanese Islam, Cultural Integration.

Keywords: *Originality; Tarjumān al-Mustafīd; ʿAbd al-Raʾūf; Dāūd al-Rūmī; Peter G. Riddell; Salman Harun*

Abstrak

Peter Riddell dan Salman Harun telah melakukan penelitian mengenai keaslian Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd. Namun, kajian mereka hanya berfokus pada sampel terbatas

(juz ke-16 dan ke-30), yang mengakibatkan terlewatnya beberapa aspek penting. Studi ini bertujuan untuk memperluas cakupan penelitian dengan menerapkan pendekatan metodologis yang lebih komprehensif, khususnya kritik tekstual dan analisis komparatif. Kritik tekstual digunakan untuk menilai keaslian teks, mengidentifikasi sumber referensi utama, serta mengevaluasi interpolasi yang terdapat dalam karya ini. Selain itu, analisis komparatif dilakukan dengan membandingkan Tarjumān al-Mustafīd dengan kitab tafsir klasik, seperti al-Jalālain, al-Baiḍāwī, dan al-Khāzin. Lebih lanjut, penelitian ini juga menganalisis kolofon dan variasi gaya penulisan guna memahami peran masing-masing kontributor. Studi ini menghasilkan tiga temuan utama. Pertama, baik Riddell maupun Harun sepakat bahwa Tarjumān al-Mustafīdbukan merupakan terjemahan dari al-Baiḍāwī, melainkan dari al-Jalālain. Studi ini mendukung pandangan Harun bahwa Tarjumān al-Mustafīd adalah terjemahan lisan dari al-Jalālain yang diperkaya dengan kutipan dari al-Khāzin serta interpolasi tambahan, khususnya pada juz ke-29 dan ke-30, yang dipengaruhi secara signifikan oleh Dāūd al-Rūmī. Kedua, penelitian ini mengungkap bahwa Dāūd al-Rūmī memainkan peran krusial dalam pelestarian dan modifikasi teks, meskipun karya ini tetap dikaitkan dengan ʿAbd al-Raʾūf. Ketiga, nilai keilmuan Tarjumān al-Mustafīd terletak pada perannya sebagai tafsīr pertama di Nusantara yang mendokumentasikan berbagai tradisi qirāʾāt, mencerminkan proses vernakularisasi budaya Melayu, serta menjadi panduan Al-Qur'an yang relevan bagi masyarakat Muslim awam di Aceh pada abad ke-17.

Kata Kunci: *Orisinalitas; Tarjumān al-Mustafīd,; ʿAbd al-Raʾūf; Dāūd al-Rūmi; Peter G. Riddell; Salman Harun.*

Introduction

The study of *tafsīr* in Indonesia has gained significant scholarly attention over the past few decades. Notable scholars in this field include A.H. Johns, Howard M. Federspiel, Peter G. Riddell, Nashruddin Baidan, Islah Gusmian, and M. Nurdin Zuhdi, who have contributed to establishing periodization of *tafsīr* in Indonesia. Additionally, scholars such as Jajang A. Rohmana and Ervan Nurtawab have explored local-language interpretations, including Javanese, Sundanese, and Bugis *tafsīr*. This growing body of research reflects significant scholarly development and seems to address Salman Harun's concern about the limited studies on *Nusantara tafsīr*, which he highlighted in his 1988 doctoral dissertation.[1]

Studies indicate that the development of *Nusantara tafsīr* can be traced back to the 17th century AD through two key works. The first is a manuscript fragment of *Tafsīr Q.S. al-Kahfi* (18), preserved at Cambridge University under the catalog code MS. Li.6.45. The second is *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*,[2] considered the earliest complete *tafsīr* in the archipelago. This work has been widely printed by various publishers across different regions and remains available today.

---

1   Salman Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel" (Dissertation, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1988), 1–3.

2   Ervan Nurtawab, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'an Nusantara Tempo Doeloe* (Jakarta: Ushul Press, 2009), 57.

One of the most recent printed versions was published by Raja Publishing in 2021.[3] This edition includes the *muṣḥaf* of the Qurʾān with marginal notes containing *Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*. The cover of the book reads:

"Al-Qurʾān al-Karīm wa bi Hāmisyihī Tarjumān al-Mustafīd wa Huwa al-Tarjamatu al-Jāwiyatu li al-Tafsīr al-Musammā Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Taʾwīl li al-Imām ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar al-Syairāzī al-Baiḍāwī bi Qalami al-Ustāż ʿAbd al-Raʾūf ibn ʿAlī al-Fanṣūrī al-Jāwī.[4]

Notably, despite the conclusions of Peter Riddell (1984) and Salman Harun (1988), which disputed the attribution of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* to *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī*, their findings did not significantly alter scholarly perceptions regarding its source. The study of the originality of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* remains relevant, as both researchers focused only on limited sections of the text. Riddell examined *juzʾ* 16, while Harun analyzed the first three *sūrahs* of *juzʾ* 30. Both scholars also acknowledged the role of Dāūd al-Rūmī in the work, particularly in terms of interpolation. However, the extent of his influence on the text, and his relationship with ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, remains unclear.

This study aims to reopen the discussion on the originality of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* by addressing three key questions. First, what do Riddell and Harun's studies reveal about the authenticity of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*? Second, to what extent did Dāūd al-Rūmī contribute to the composition of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*? Third, what is the intellectual value of this work, particularly in relation to translation discourse?

This study is a literature review focusing on the *tafsīr* genre and its approach to Qurʾānic interpretation.[5] To assess the originality of *Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, this study employs textual criticism[6] to identify its primary sources and evaluate its composition. Additionally, this study examines the extent of Dāūd al-Rūmī's involvement in the composition of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, a pivotal *tafsīr* in the Nusantara Islamic tradition. Textual criticism is crucial for understanding the relationship between Sinkili's *tafsīr* and classical sources, as well as assessing whether Rūmī exerted any significant influence or modifications in the text's composition.

This study employs explanatory and comparative analysis.[7] Excerpts

---

3   ʿAbd al-Raʾūf ibn ʿAlī al-Fanṣūrī al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Marbāwī., vol. I, II vols. (Raja Publishing, 2021).

4   al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:cover.

5   Sahiron Samsudin, "Pendekatan dan Analisis dalam Penelitian Teks Tafsir: Sebuah Overview," *Suḥuf* 12, no. 1 (June 28, 2019): 134.

6   Samsudin, "Pendekatan dan Analisis dalam Penelitian Teks Tafsir," 137.

7   Samsudin, "Pendekatan dan Analisis dalam Penelitian Teks Tafsir," 140.

from *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* are compared with those from primary references, such as *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* and *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī*, along with other relevant sources. This comparative analysis aims to identify similarities and differences in interpretation, as well as to examine the extent to which *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* aligns with or diverges from classical *tafsīr* traditions. By employing this methodology, this study seeks to draw conclusions regarding the originality of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkili's *tafsīr* and the role of Dāūd al-Rūmī in its composition.

The Development of Tafsīr Studies in the Nusantara

Studies related to the *tafsīr* of the **Qurʾān** have attracted the interest of scholars from both the West and Indonesia. The initial survey on *Nusantara tafsīr* was conducted by Anthony H. Johns. According to him, early *tafsīr* studies can at least be traced to the prose of Hamzah Fansūrī, who lived between 1550 and 1599. His poetry, closely related to the use of phrases from *Q.S. al-Ikhlāṣ* (112), along with a fragment of the interpretation of *Q.S. al-Kahf*, which is believed to have existed before 1620, indicates that the tradition of Qurʾānic interpretation in the archipelago had begun to develop during this period.[8] The first complete *tafsīr* work, according to Johns, is ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkili's *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, which for some time was considered a translation of *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Taʾwīl*. However, later findings show that this work is closer to *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*.[9] The issue of the source text translated by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf has been critically examined by two scholars, Peter Riddell[10] and Salman Harun.[11]

Beyond the question of originality, other scholars have approached *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* from different perspectives. Among them is Ervan Nurtawab,

---

8   Anthony H. Johns, "Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile," in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qurʾān* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013), 260–261.

9   Johns, "Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile," 263–264. In another of his works, Johns explicitly states that this book is a translation of *al-Jalālain* which is still used in various educational institutions both in Indonesia and Malaysia. See Anthony H. Johns, "'Penerjemahan' Bahasa Arab Ke Dalam Bahasa Melayu: Sebuah Renungan," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan Di Indonesia Dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir, trans. Winarsih Arifin (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009), 54.

10   The study of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf has been published by Riddell in several writings, one of which is a paper that specifically examines the sources of the interpretation of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf. See Peter Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Raʾūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 57, no. 2 (1984): 113–118. Riddell wrote a dissertation with the title *ʿAbd al-Raʾuf al-Singkili's Tarjuman al-Mustafid: A Critical Study of His Treatment of Juz 16* which was later published under the title *Transferring a Tradition: ʿAbd al-Rauf Rendering into Malay of the Jalalyn Commentary* but the authors of this article had difficulty finding this dissertation.

11   Salman Harun, *Mutiara al-Qurʾan: Aktualisasi Pesan al-Qurʾan dalam Kehidupan* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999), 195–204.

who examined the translation aspects of theological and eschatological verses in *Tarjumān al–Mustafīd*.[12] Abdul Rouf analyzed the biography and systematic writing of *Tarjumān al–Mustafīd*, while also revisiting and refuting some of Riddell and Harun's conclusions.[13] Additionally, Saifuddin and Wardani compared ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's interpretations with those of Quraish Shihab regarding gender-related verses.[14] However, since these studies do not examine the originality of *Tarjumān al–Mustafīd* in-depth, they are not included in the next section.

In addition to discussing *tafsīr* works from the 17th century, Johns also highlighted the emergence of *Marāḥ Labīd* by Syaikh Nawāwī al-Bantānī in the 19th century,[15] along with the arrival of Muhammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā's *al–Manār* magazine in Indonesia following its first publication in 1898.[16] Johns further noted the rise of *tafsīr* works in Indonesia in the 1920s, beginning with the publication of Mahmud Yunus's *Tafsīr Al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*, which commenced in 1922 but was only published in 1938.[17] Concluding his survey of *Nusantara tafsīr*, Johns emphasized the diversity of interpretive traditions that developed since the advent of Islam in

---

12 Ervan Nutawab has also conducted a study related to *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, especially by tracing the choice of diction used by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf in translating theological and eschatological verses. In addition, he also compared the studies of Anthony Johns, Peter Riddell, and Salman Harun, but with an emphasis on the aspects of translation and interpretation and not focused on the aspects of originality. See Nurtawab, *Tafsīr Al-Qurʾan Nusantara Tempo Doeloe*, 106.

13 The conclusion is based on the systematic presentation of the book, which according to him is different from *al-Jalālain*, but does not examine the methodological aspects that led the two researchers to reach this conclusion. Quotes related to Riddell and Harun's research also do not come from primary sources but from Azyumardi Azra so the authors assess Abdul Rouf's argumentation in this work lacks good scientific weight. See Abdul Rouf, *Mozaik Tafsīr Indonesia: Kajian Ensiklopedis Karya Tafsīr Nusantara Dari Abdur Rauf As-Singkili Hingga Muhammad Quraish Shihab* (Depok: Sahifa, 2020), 75–100. The rebuttal to the research results is presented in only one paragraph on page 99.

14 Syaifuddin and Wardani attempt to compare the interpretation of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf with Quraish Shihab, especially on gender verses. The authors do not make this work as material for analysis related to the originality of interpretation because of the position of researchers who do not study the issue. In addition, as a brief note, the authors also found an academic weakness when Syaifuddin and Wardani discussed ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's thoughts regarding female leadership where it was stated that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf left the translation of the male requirement for *qāḍī* as found in *Mirʾāt al-Ṭullāb*. Unfortunately, this quote is only from Azra and does not refer to the original text. See Saifuddin and Wardani, *Tafsīr Nusantara: Analisis Isu-Isu Gender Dalam al-Mishbah Karya M. Quraish Shihab Dan Tarjuman al-Mustafid Karya ʾAbd al-Raʾuf Singkel* (Bantul: LKiS, 2017), 126. The reference referred to by the two authors is found on page 6 of the book of *Mirʾāt al-Ṭullāb*. See 'Abd al-Raʾūf ibn 'Alī al-Fanṣūrī al-Jāwī, *Mirʾāt al-Ṭullāb* (Makkah: Al-Maṭbaʾah al-Amiriyyah, 1883), 6. This is more extensively explained by Syahrizal, who unfortunately is not quoted by Syaifuddin and Wardani. See Syahrizal, *Syekh Abdurrauf Dan Corak Pemikiran Hukum Islam: Kajian Terhadap Kitab Mirʾat al-Tullab Tentang Hakim Wanita* (Banda Aceh: Yayasan Pena, 2003), 101.

15 Johns, "Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile," 267–273.

16 Johns, "Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile," 273.

17 Johns, "Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile," 279.

Indonesia and the dedication of Indonesian Muslim scholars to Qurʾānic studies. He also highlighted the limited research on the influence of Egyptian Islamic thought in shaping the religious educational patterns of Southeast Asia.[18]

The *tafsīr* works from the post-1920 period discussed in Johns' survey were further examined by M. Yunan Yusuf. Yusuf surveyed nine Indonesian *tafsīr* works from the 20th century, authored by scholars such as Mahmud Yunus, A. Hassan, Zainuddin Hamidy, Fachruddin HS, the Ministry of Religious Affairs Team, H. Oemar Bakry, T.M. Hasbi ash-Shiddieqy, H.A. Halim Hassan, H. Zainal Arifin, Abdurrahman Haitami, and Buya Hamka. His research focused on the characteristics of *tafsīr* within these works,[19] revealing that the majority of 20th-century Indonesian *tafsīr* employed the *taḥlīlī* (analytical) method of interpretation.[20]

In addition to Yusuf, Howard M. Federspiel also explored several *tafsīr* works in his study of popular Qurʾānic-related publications in Indonesia.[21] Federspiel categorized 20th-century Indonesian *tafsīr* into three distinct generations. The first generation, from the early 20th century until the 1960s, was marked by the emergence of fragmentary translations of the Qurʾān. The second generation, spanning the 1960s to 1970s, saw the production of complete translations accompanied by explanatory notes, footnotes, word-for-word translations, and simple indexes. The third generation, which began in the 1970s, was characterized by comprehensive *tafsīr* works that included extensive commentaries and in-depth thematic discussions.[22]

The periodization of *tafsīr* studies is closely linked to the periodization of Qurʾānic translation. Riddell categorized Indonesian Qurʾānic translation efforts into three periods: 1500–1920, the 1920s to the mid-1960s, and from the mid-1960s to the present.[23] The first period was characterized by fragments of Qurʾānic translations found in the poetry and prose of Hamzah Fansūrī, Syamsuddīn al-Sumatrānī, and Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī. Additionally, early *tafsīr* manuscripts, such as the *Tafsīr* of *Q.S. al-Kahf* (MS Or.Li.6.45) and *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*,[24] emerged

---

18 Johns, "Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile," 286.

19 M. Yunan Yusuf, "Karakteristik Tafsīr Al-Qur'an Di Indonesia Abad Ke-20," *Ulumul Qur'an: Jurnal Ilmu dan Kebudayaan* III, no. 4 (1992); M. Yunan Yusuf, "Perkembangan Metode Tafsīr Di Indonesia," *Pesantren* VIII, no. I (1991). As quoted by Islah Gusmian, *Khazanah Tafsīr Indonesia* (Bantul: LKiS, 2013), 8.

20 Didin Syafruddin, "Karakter Literatur Indonesia Tentang Al-Qur'ān," *Studia Islamika* 2, no. 2 (1995): 193.

21 Howard M. Federspiel, *Kajian Al-Qur'an Di Indonesia*, trans. Tajul Arifin (Bandung: Mizan, 1994).

22 Federspiel, *Kajian Al-Qur'an Di Indonesia*, 129.

23 Peter G. Riddell, "Menerjemahkan Al-Qur'an Ke Dalam Bahasa-Bahasa Indonesia," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan Di Indonesia Dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir, trans. Winarsih Arifin (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009), 400.

24 Tafsīr and translation works from this era are presented literally. This is because Qurʾanic translation in that

during this time. The second period saw increased interest in Qurʾānic translation, beginning with the controversy surrounding Tjokroaminoto's translation based on the English version by Muhammad Ali, a leader of the Ahmadiyya movement, in the early 1920s. This period also witnessed the emergence of prominent Indonesian translators, including Ahmad Hasan, Mahmud Yunus, Hamidy and Fachruddin, K.H. Munawar Chalil, K.H. Iskandar Idris, K. Bisyri Musthafa, H.M. Kasim Bakri, and the official government translation project led by Prof. R.H.A Soenarjo.[25] The third period is characterized by fragmentary Qurʾānic translations, broader interpretative discourses, and comprehensive *tafsīr* in Indonesian, often seeking to retain the poetic essence of the original Arabic text.[26]

Nashruddin Baidan also contributed to the discussion on *tafsīr* periodization. He classified *tafsīr* works into four major categories: classical (8th–15th century AD), medieval (16th–18th century AD), pre-modern (19th century AD), and modern (20th century AD). The modern period is further divided into three phases: 1900–1950, 1951–1980, and 1981–2000.[27] Indonesian *tafsīr* after 2000 has been specifically studied by M. Nurdin Zuhdi. His research on Qurʾānic interpretation methodology between 2000 and 2010 categorized works from this period into 16 traditionalist objectivist interpretations and one revivalist objectivist interpretation.[28]

Beyond studies focusing on Indonesian *tafsīr*, research on local interpretations has also gained prominence. Jajang A. Rohmana, for instance, has extensively documented *tafsīr* studies in the Sundanese tradition. According to him, the significance of local *tafsīr* studies lies not only in their continuity within the broader Islamic scholarly network but also in their unique adaptation of Islamic thought within local linguistic and cultural contexts.[29]

While previous research has contributed significantly to the study of *tafsīr* in

---

era was still a very sensitive issue, so these works prioritized preserving the original form of the translated text. See Riddell, "Menerjemahkan Al-Qur'an Ke Dalam Bahasa-Bahasa Indonesia," 400–402.

25 Although many works were compiled under the title of *tafsīr*, the function of interpretation in this era was still very minimal. The majority of the works written are form translations, not translations that have equivalent functions. See Riddell, "Menerjemahkan Al-Qur'an Ke Dalam Bahasa-Bahasa Indonesia," 403–404.

26 Riddell, "Menerjemahkan Al-Qur'an Ke Dalam Bahasa-Bahasa Indonesia," 404.

27 Nashruddin Baidan, *Perkembangan Tafsīr Al-Qur'an Di Indonesia* (Solo: Tiga Serangkai Pustaka Mandiri, 2003), 31–111. See also Wardani, ed., *Dinamika Kajian Tafsīr Al-Qur'an Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Zahir Publishing, 2021), vi.

28 M. Nurdin Zuhdi, *Pasaraya Tafsīr Indonesia: Dari Kontestasi Metodologi Hingga Kontekstualisasi* (Yogyakarta: Kaukaba Dipantara, 2014), 233.

29 Jajang A. Rohmana, "Perkembangan Kontemporer Tafsīr Indonesia: Gambaran Umum Tafsir Al-Qur'an Di Tatar Sunda," in *Melihat Kembali Studi Al-Qur'an: Gagasan, Isu, Dan Tren Terkini* (Yogyakarta: Idea Press, 2015), 160.

Indonesia, most studies on *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* have primarily examined its relationship with classical *tafsīr* works. However, further exploration of Dāūd al-Rūmī's role in composing this *tafsīr* remains largely unexplored. Most studies merely mention his name without conducting a critical and in-depth analysis of his textual interpolations.

This study seeks to address this gap by analyzing Dāūd al-Rūmī's contributions, particularly his additions related to *qiṣṣah* (narratives) and *qirāʾāt* (variant readings). Employing textual criticism, this study examines the extent of his role and influence. As such, it offers a new perspective on the dynamics of *tafsīr* production in the archipelago and the crucial role played by disciples in preserving and modifying their teacher's work. Furthermore, this study highlights the vernacularization of Qurʾānic interpretation, demonstrating how *tafsīr* in the Malay archipelago adapted to the linguistic and cultural needs of Malay-speaking Muslims. Ultimately, this research contributes to a broader understanding of *tafsīr* traditions in Southeast Asia, bridging the gap between classical Islamic scholarship and the contextualization efforts of Malay-speaking Muslim communities.

The Sources and Originality of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*

Peter Riddell conducted an in-depth study of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* in his article titled "The Sources of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafid." In this work, Riddell seeks to refute the long-standing assumption that this *tafsīr* is a translation of *al-Baiḍāwī's Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Taʾwīl.*[30] According to him, this misconception originated from an editorial error in the 1884 Istanbul edition of the *tafsīr*, where the editor mistakenly mentioned on the cover page that the book was based on *al-Baiḍāwī's tafsīr.*[31] The error was further propagated by Snouck Hurgronje, who, without thoroughly reading the manuscript in his possession, incorrectly classified it as a translation of *al-Baiḍāwī's work.* Hurgronje's assertion was later widely cited by Western scholars. Additionally, the Cairo edition of the book includes remarks from three Malay scholars in Mecca, who also confirmed—

---

30 Riddell also noted this in his other work Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World. Two important points are that *al-Jalalaīn* is the main source of the book with some additions from *al-Baiḍāwī* and *al-Khāzin*, and that there are two authors of the book where ʿAbd al-Raʾūf wrote the translation of *al-Jalālain* while Dāūd Rūmī provided additional information about the different ways of reading (*qirāʾāt*) taken from *al-Baiḍāwī, al-Khāzin, al-Jalālain*, and other sources. See Peter G. Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses* (Singapura: Horizon Boks Pte Ltd, 2003), 161.

31 Salman Harun explained that on the front page of the first edition were the words '*al-juzʾ al-awwal min al-tafsīr al-baiḍāwī al-syarīf*' and followed by "diambil setengah maknanya dari *tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī.* This explanation is ascribed to Abu Bakr al-Tubānī. See Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 42.

without any modifications or omissions—that the book was a direct translation of *al-Baiḍāwī's tafsīr*.[32]

Riddell examined several pages of the *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* manuscript, particularly the version housed at the National Museum of Jakarta (catalog code ML 116), focusing on the interpretation of *Q.S. al-Kahf* (18): 83–88. He observed that ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf's translation in this section closely follows *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, except for slight modifications in the phrases *"Ya Muhammad"* (verse 83) and *"will Allah"* (verse 88), which do not appear in *Tafsīr al-Jalālain.* Furthermore, the elaboration on the name of King Zulqarnain, prefaced by the term *fā'idah*, serves as a reference to *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī.* However, in this section, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf does not explicitly cite either of these two sources.[33] This contrasts with his commentary on *Q.S. al-Kahf* (18): 77, where he directly references *al-Khāzin* (*Lubāb al-Ta'wīl fī Ma'āni al-Tanzīl*). References to *al-Khāzin* frequently appear in discussions related to narratives (*qiṣaṣ*) or explanatory notes (*fā'idah*).[34]

Regarding the citation of these sources, Riddell asserts that all three Arabic tafsīr works—al-Khāzin, al-Baiḍāwī, and al-Jalālain—were utilized by ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf. However, he notes a pattern: al-Khāzin is consistently cited, al-Baiḍāwī is mentioned sporadically and inconsistently, while al-Jalālain is never explicitly referenced in Tarjumān al-Mustafīd. To explain this, Riddell refers to the book's colophon, which details interpolations made by ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf's student, Dāūd al-Rūmī. According to Riddell, Dāūd al-Rūmī incorporated sections from al-Khāzin and al-Baiḍāwī, suggesting that if these additions were removed, what remains is a direct translation of Tafsīr al-Jalālain.[35]

Thus, Riddell concludes that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is essentially a translation of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*. His main argument rests on the absence of a definitive book title in the manuscript. It is possible that the original title appeared on the manuscript's cover, which is now lost. He further argues that Dāūd al-Rūmī's interpolations distinguish this *tafsīr* from *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, leading to misinterpretations that have

---

32   One of the motives for attributing this book to *tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī's* is allegedly an attempt to increase the prestige of the work. See Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," 114; Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 43. The three figures referred to by Riddel are Aḥmad Faṭani, Dāūd al-Kalantānī, and Dāʾūd Faṭani, all of whom were validators of Jāwi-language books at Al-Amīrah Publishing House in Makkah. See 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Fanṣūrī al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Idrīs 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Marbāwī., vol. II (Raja Publishing, 2021), 611.

33   Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," 115–116.

34   Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," 116. 'Abd al-Raʾūf's interpretation can be followed in several recent published versions. See for example al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:303–304.

35   Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," 116.

persisted among scholars.[36]

Riddell's study primarily compares ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's commentary with three *tafsīr* sources: *al-Khāzin, al-Baiḍāwī,* and *al-Jalālain.* His approach to resolving this historical debate relies on the colophon, which explicitly states the presence of Dāūd al-Rūmī's interpolations. Riddell asserts that if all references to *al-Khāzin* and *al-Baiḍāwī* were removed, the remaining content would be a faithful translation of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain.* However, his conclusion does not fully account for additional phrases found in the text, such as *"Ya Muhammad"* (verse 83) and *"akan Allah"* (verse 88), which suggest further complexities in the translation process.

Building on Riddell's findings, Salman Harun presents five key reasons why *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* remains a significant subject of study.[37] First, as a complete interpretation of the Qurʾānic, it represents ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's most ambitious work. Second, it remained unrivaled for nearly three centuries before the publication of Mahmud Yunus's *tafsīr* in 1922. Third, the book's first printed edition (1884, Istanbul) serves as historical evidence of the Ottoman Empire's connection with the Muslims of the archipelago. It was subsequently reprinted in various locations, including Mecca, Egypt, Bombay, Penang, Singapore, and Jakarta. Fourth, Snouck Hurgronje affirmed that this work was a translation of *al-Baiḍāwī's tafsīr,* further claiming that its translation quality was poor due to inaccuracies in *Q.S. Al-Aḥzāb* (33): 20. Fifth, Drewes hypothesized that classical Malay texts heavily relied on Arabic sources. Harun also introduced an additional reason for scholarly interest: Dāūd al-Rūmī's interpolations, particularly regarding narrative content and *qirāʾāt* (variant readings), which shaped the final version of the *tafsīr* into something beyond a simple translation.[38]

To investigate these claims, Harun conducted a textual analysis of juzʾ 30. His study yielded four main conclusions. First, Tarjumān al-Mustafīd is a translation of Tafsīr al-Jalālain, but with elements of creative adaptation by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf. Second, his creativity is evident in the exclusion of certain elements from Tafsīr al-Jalālain. Third, he also introduced additional content not found in Tafsīr al-Jalālain. Fourth, some of his references to Tafsīr al-Jalālain contain minor inaccuracies.[39]

The omitted elements primarily include grammatical explanations (*iʿrāb*), lengthy semantic discussions, complex exegeses, and certain explanations unique

---

36   Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," 117.

37   Harun, *Mutiara al-Qurʾan: Aktualisasi Pesan al-Qurʾan dalam Kehidupan*, 198.

38   See Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 6–8.

39   Harun, *Mutiara al-Qurʾan: Aktualisasi Pesan al-Qurʾan dalam Kehidupan*, 199–204.

to *al-Jalālain* but absent in *al-Khāzin.* Explanations of verse revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*) and differences in *qirā'āt* were also omitted, likely to simplify comprehension for the Acehnese lay audience, who had been accustomed to Sufi teachings influenced by Syamsuddīn al-Sumatrānī.[40]

Harun's study of the interpretation of verses related to Sufism, theology, and *fiqh* led him to conclude that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf primarily intended to translate *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* for a lay audience. Consequently, his own Sufi inclinations, theological perspectives, and *fiqh* school of thought did not significantly influence the interpretation.[41] The modifications made by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf f include the clarification of pronouns and demonstratives, the reinforcement of previously stated ideas, the restoration of explanations omitted by *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*—often sourced from *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*—as well as explanations of *qirā'āt* variations, historical narratives, and the reasons behind the revelation of certain verses.[42]

An important aspect of Harun's analysis is his focus on interpolations, particularly regarding pronouns. He argues that these modifications strongly suggest that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf f's translation was delivered orally to his students, making the additional phrases necessary for clarity and comprehension. This also explains why grammatical explanations (*iʿrāb*), in-depth word meanings, and differences in *qirā'āt* were often omitted from his translation.[43]

Over time, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf recognized the importance of *qirā'āt* variations in interpretation and instructed his student, Dāūd al-Rūmī, to incorporate these readings along with relevant historical narratives. Most of these additions were sourced from *Tafsīr al-Khāzin.* When adding explanations regarding *qirā'āt* variations, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf consistently cited five prominent narrators: Imām Nāfiʿ, Imām Abū ʿAmr, Ḥafṣ (the transmitter of Imām ʿĀṣim), Qālūn (the transmitter of Imām Nāfiʿ), and Dūrī (the transmitter of Imām Abū ʿAmr). Harun hypothesizes that these three Qurʾānic recitation traditions (*Nāfiʿ, Abū ʿAmr*, and *ʿĀṣim*) were prevalent in Medina during ʿAbd al-Raʾūf s period of study. Furthermore, he notes that whenever *qirā'āt* variations were discussed, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf introduced them with the term *bayān*, indicating their supplementary nature.[44]

---

40   Harun, *Mutiara al-Qurʾan: Aktualisasi Pesan al-Qurʾan dalam Kehidupan*, 200–201.

41   Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 207–208.

42   Harun, *Mutiara al-Qurʾan: Aktualisasi Pesan al-Qurʾan dalam Kehidupan*, 201–203. Examples of such additions and subtractions are found in tafsīr Q.S. al-Naba' (78) and Q.S. al-Nāzi'āt (79). See al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:585–587.

43   Harun discusses this in several places, see for example Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 65–66.

44   Harun, *Mutiara al-Qurʾan: Aktualisasi Pesan al-Qurʾan dalam Kehidupan*, 202.

Harun's explanation regarding additions and omissions, particularly the insertion of pronouns and demonstratives to reinforce meaning, provides insights not addressed in Riddell's research. For instance, Riddell identified the insertion of the phrases *"Ya Muhammad"* and *"akan Allah"* in *Q.S. al-Kahf* (18): 83 and 88, respectively. Harun extends this analysis by highlighting a similar pattern in *Q.S. al-Nāziʿāt* (79): 14, where ʿAbd al-Raʾūf rendered the pronoun *hum* as *"all creatures,"* an addition not found in *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*.

Despite their contributions, Riddell and Harun's conclusions have faced criticism from various scholars. Abdul Rouf challenges their claim that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is a translation of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, arguing instead that it is an independent work that draws from multiple sources, particularly *Tafsīr al-Jalālain, Tafsīr al-Khāzin,* and *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī*.[45] However, his argument is considered weak for two reasons. First, his citation of Riddell and Harun is indirect, relying on Azra's secondary account rather than directly engaging with their original works. Second, Rouf's analysis focuses merely on the presence of multiple *tafsīr* sources in *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* without addressing the issue of Dāūd al-Rūmī's interpolations, which is central to Riddell and Harun's findings.

Zulkifli Mohd. Yusoff and Wan Nasyiruddin Wan Abdullah present seven arguments to assert that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is not a direct translation of any classical Arabic *tafsīr*.[46] However, their arguments primarily focus on disproving its connection to *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī* without engaging in a systematic comparison of the modifications made to *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, as Harun had done. Their position is further echoed by Chafid Wahyudi and Ika Khusnia Anggraini, who claim that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is an original work compiled from multiple sources.[47] Nonetheless, their conclusions fail to fully address Riddell and Harun's findings, as their methodologies differ from the textual analysis employed by Riddell and Harun.

Another critique comes from Isma'il Lubis, who questions Harun's classification of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* as a translation. Based on his study of translation principles, Lubis argues that a true translation must not include significant additions or omissions from the source text (Lubis calls it the Source Language or BSU).[48]

---

45   Rouf, *Mozaik Tafsīr Indonesia: Kajian Ensiklopedis Karya Tafsīr Nusantara Dari Abdur Rauf As-Singkīli Hingga Muhammad Quraish Shihab*, 99.

46   Zulkifli Mohd Yusoff and Wan Nasyrudin Wan Abdullah, "Tarjuman Al-Mustafid: Satu Analisa terhadap Karya Terjemahan," *Jurnal Pengajian Melayu* 16 (2005): 159–161.

47   Chafid Wahyudi and Ika Khusnia Anggraini, "Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd: Answering the Need for Accessible Qur'anic Interpretation for The Masses," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Hadis* 24, no. 1 (March 14, 2023): 46.

48   Ismail Lubis, *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Depag Edisi 1990* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2001), 62–81.

Since Harun acknowledges that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf both added and omitted content from *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, Lubis concludes that the work should not be considered a translation. Instead, he suggests classifying it as a *tafsīr* in Malay that utilizes *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī* and *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* as its primary references.[49]

While Lubis' conclusion presents an interesting perspective, it requires further scrutiny. Firstly, his argument primarily relies on Harun's research, Mukti Ali's statements as Minister of Religious Affairs in 1977, and textual notes found in *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, rather than a direct examination of the *tafsīr* itself.[50] Secondly, the assumption that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* was derived solely from *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī* and *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* is problematic, as other sources—including *Tafsīr al-Khāzin, Tafsīr al-Bagāwī*, and *Manāfiʿ al-Qurʾān*—were also referenced. Thirdly, Riddell and Harun's inquiry was not focused on assessing whether *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* meets formal translation criteria, but rather on identifying its primary textual source (*tarjamah maʿnawiyyah*).[51] Finally, certain constraints required ʿAbd al-Raʾūf to retain some Arabic phrases without translating them, an issue that will be further explored in the following section. This suggests an effort to preserve the authenticity of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* or, to borrow Lubis' terminology, an attempt to uphold the original author's intent.[52]

While Lubis' conclusions cannot be fully accepted, his critique highlights the need for further research. Future studies should investigate the fidelity of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's translation, assess the extent to which it meets translation standards, and examine the balance between translation and adaptation. This requires a comprehensive study of the entire *tafsīr*, rather than relying on limited sections as in the works of Harun and Riddell. The scholarly debate surrounding the originality of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* remains ongoing. While Riddell and Harun provide compelling evidence that it is fundamentally a translation of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, enriched with additions by Dāūd al-Rūmī, alternative perspectives challenge this view. Future research should further examine the manuscript tradition, contextual influences, and methodological approaches used in *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, offering a more comprehensive understanding of its place within the *tafsīr* tradition of the Malay world.

---

49 Lubis, *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Depag Edisi 1990*, 108.

50 See Lubis, *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Depag Edisi 1990*, 106–109.

51 This is reflected, for example, in the title chosen by both scholars, the Sources of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd,* as well as the nature of *tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, which reflects the scholars' attempt to find the primary source of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*. See Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Raʾūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd"; Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel."

52 Lubis quotes this concept of authorial mandate from Ya'kub Saruf. See Lubis, *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Depag Edisi 1990*, 83.

Dāūd Rūmī's Role: Enhancer or Author?

Riddell and Harun both discuss the role of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's student, Dāūd al-Rūmī, in interpolating *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*.[53] Understanding Dāūd al-Rūmī's contributions is essential in determining the extent of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd's* originality, identifying the sources translated by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, and assessing his reliance on Arabic *tafsīr* works. The interpolations made by Dāūd al-Rūmī play a key role in shaping scholarly conclusions about whether *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is a translation of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* or *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī*, or if it should be regarded as an independent work based on multiple Arabic sources.

Dāūd ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Muṣṭafā al-Rūmī, better known as Bāba Dāūd, was a scholar of Turkish descent who played a significant role in the Islamic intellectual network of the Aceh Sultanate from the 17th to early 18th century. As the primary student of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkili, he was actively involved in compiling *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* and managing Dayah Leupue, the Islamic educational center established as his teacher's legacy.[54] His connections with prominent Hijaz scholars, such as Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī, reinforced Aceh's scholarly ties to the Middle East. Additionally, his work *Masāʾil al-Muhtadī wa ʿUmdat al-Mubtadiʾ* became a significant *fiqh* reference in the Malay world.[55] His presence in Aceh underscores the crucial role of foreign scholars in the dissemination of Islam across the archipelago and the strengthening of Aceh's connections to the wider Islamic world.

Beyond his contributions to *tafsīr* and *fiqh*, Dāūd al-Rūmī also played an instrumental role in the spread of the Syattāriyah Sufi order, continuing the legacy of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkili's Sufi tradition.[56] His influence extended to Patani and Kelantan, establishing a network of Islamic intellectuals in Southeast Asia that endured through subsequent generations.[57] His manuscripts continue to be studied in the Malay region, reflecting a lasting scholarly heritage within the Nusantara Islamic tradition. Thus, Dāūd al-Rūmī was not only a student of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-

---

53 Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," 116–117. Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 210, 254.

54 Mehmet Özay, "'Rumi' Networks of al-Sinkīlī: A Biography of Bāba Dāwud," *Studia Islamika* 24, no. 2 (2017): 247–269.

55 Siti Sara, Hasan Asari, and Nabila Yasmin, "Asas Ajaran Agama Islam: Catatan dari Naskah Masail Al-Muhtadi," *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 8, no. 3 (2024): 44909–44923; Ahmad Ginanjar, *Al-Mukhtaṣar al-Ḥāwī Fī Tarājimi Ba'ḍa "Ulamā'i Bilādi Jāwī Aw Ṭabaqāt al-'Ulamā al-Syāfi'iyyati Bi al-Diyāri al-Jāwiyati: Min al-Qarni al-'Āsyiri Ḥattā al-Qarn al-Rābi" 'Asyara al-Hijrī* (Jakarta: Maktabah al-Turmusy Litturots, 2022), 36–37.

56 Sara, Asari, and Yasmin, "Asas Ajaran Agama Islam: Catatan dari Naskah Masail Al-Muhtadi."

57 Özay, "'Rumi' Networks of al-Sinkīlī: A Biography of Bāba Dāwud."

Sinkili but also a central figure in the transmission of Islamic knowledge from the Arab and Turkish worlds to the Malay Archipelago.

The information regarding Dāūd al-Rūmī's interpolations is found in the colophon of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*. For this analysis, the present study relies on the 2021 edition of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* published by Raja Publishing. This edition is selected because it provides comprehensive access to the entire text, allowing for a broader comparison beyond the specific sections studied by Riddell (*juzʾ* 16) and Harun (*juzʾ* 30). The colophon excerpt in question is as follows: [58]

<div dir="rtl">

(وقد كمل تفسير القرآن المجيد المسمى بترجمان المستفيد ترجمة شيخنا وقدوتنا إلى الله تعالى العالم العلامة الولى الفانى في الله تعالى أمين الدين عبد الرؤوف ابن على الجاوى الفنصورى رحمه الله تعالى وشكر سعيه ونفعنا بعلومه في الدنيا والآخرة آمين) دان تله سمفرنله تفسير قرآن يغ امة مليا لاڬى يغ دنمائى دڬن ترجمان المستفيد يغ دجاويكن أكندى أوله شيخ كيت دان ايكوتن كيت كفد الله تعالى يغ عالم لاڬى علامة لاڬى ولى الله يغ فانى في الله تعالى أمين الدين عبد الرؤوف انق على جاوى لاڬى فنصورى يغ دكسهان الله تعالى جو كيراث اكندى دان دتريماث دان دبرى الله تعالى منفعة جو كيراث اكن كيت دڬن بركة علموث ددالم دنيا دان ددالم آخرة فركننكن اولهم توهنكو (ويزيد عليه أصغر تلاميذه و أحقر خدامه باب داود الجاوي ابن اسماعيل ابن اغا مصطفى ابن أغا على الرومى غفر الله لهم قصصه المأخوذ أكثرها من الخازن و بعض روايته في القرآن بأمره) دان منمباهى اتسث اوله سكڭيل٢ مريدث دان سهين٢ خادمث ايت يائيت داود جاوى انق اسماعيل انق أغا مصطفى أنق أغا على الرومى دامفون الله تعالى جو كيراث سكلين مريكئيت اكن قصهن يغ دامبل كبياكنث درفد خازن دان ستڠة روايتث فد خلاف قرأة دڬن سوره هنث

</div>

Malay transliteration and English translation

"Dan telah sempurnalah tafsir Qur'an yang amat mulia lagi yang dinamai dengan Tarjumān al-Mustafīd yang dijawikan akan dia oleh syaikh kita dan ikutan kita kepada Allah Taʿālā yang ʿālim lagi ʿallāmah yang fanā fillāh Taʿālā Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf anak ʿAlī Jāwī lagi Fanṣūrī yang dikasihani Allah Taʿālā jua kiranya akan dia dan diterimanya dan diberi Allah Taʿālā manfaʿat jua kiranya akan kita dengan berkat ilmunnya di dalam dunia dan di dalam akhirat perkenankan olehmu Tuhanku. … Dan menambahi atasnya oleh sekecil2 muridnya dan sehina2 khadimnya itu yaitu Dāūd Jāwī anak Ismāʾīl anak Agā Muṣṭafā anak Agā ʿAli al-Rūmi diampun Allah Taʿālā jua kiranya sekalian mereka itu akan kisahnya yang diambil kebanyakannya daripada Khāzin dan setengah riwayatnya pada khilāf qirāʾāt dengan suruhannya".

("And a very noble commentary on the Qurʾān, called *Tarjumān al-*

<hr>

58   al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:610.

Mustafīd, has been completed, which was offered by our shaikh and our companion to Allah *Taʾālā*, the *ʿālim*, the *ʿallāmah*, the *fanā fillāh Taʾālā*, Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf son of ʿAlī Jāwī and Fanṣūrī, whom Allah *Taʾālā* has mercy on, may he be accepted and may Allah *Taʾālā* benefit us with the blessings of his knowledge in this world and the Hereafter, may it be granted by you, my Lord. ... And the addition to it by one of his disciples and one of his attendants, Dāūd Jāwī son of Ismāʾīl son of Agā Muṣṭafā son of Agā ʿAli al-Rūmi, may Allah *Taʾālā* forgive all of them for his story taken mostly from *Khāzin* and half of his narration in the *khilāf qirāʾāt* by his order.")

There are several key insights to be drawn from this colophon. First, it explicitly acknowledges the dual authorship of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, crediting both ʿAbd al-Raʾūf and Dāūd al-Rūmī. Second, it identifies ʿAbd al-Raʾūf as the translator, as indicated by the term *dijawikan*, with no direct claim to authorship. Third, it highlights Dāūd al-Rūmī's role in adding narratives and *qirāʾāt* variations within the *tafsīr*. Fourth, the highly reverential tone used to describe ʿAbd al-Raʾūf —referring to him as *"our shaikh and our companion to Allah Taʿālā, the ʿālim, the ʿallāmah, the fanāʾ fillāh Taʿālā"*—contrasts sharply with the humility expressed by Dāūd al-Rūmī in describing himself as *"his little disciple and as lowly as his chamberlain."* This distinction suggests that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf himself may not have written or reviewed this colophon. Instead, it appears likely that the text was authored by Dāūd al-Rūmī under ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's guidance, with the latter serving as the translator or dictating the material.

This conclusion aligns with Harun's research, which suggests that *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* was orally translated by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf to his students, as indicated by the frequent insertion of additional pronouns in the text.[59] Such interpolations are common in oral traditions and have minimal impact on interpretation, particularly in written works. Harun's findings are further supported by Riddell's assertion that oral transmission of Qurʾānic interpretation was prevalent in Islamic educational institutions across various regions during the 17th century. Scholars who had studied at Islamic centers subsequently taught their students, translating and interpreting the Qurʾān within an oral tradition.[60] Riddell's observations reinforce the notion that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* was likely presented orally by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf and later transcribed by his students.

This perspective also challenges claims made by scholars such as Yusoff[61]

---

59   Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 65–66.

60   See Riddell, "Menerjemahkan Al-Qurʾan Ke Dalam Bahasa-Bahasa Indonesia," 401–402.

61   Yusoff and Abdullah, "Tarjuman Al-Mustafid: Satu Analisa terhadap Karya Terjemahan."

and Wahyudi[62], who argue that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is an original work rather than a translation. By framing *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* as an oral translation of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, these scholars' objections lose credibility, thereby strengthening the conclusions reached by Riddell and Harun.

While Riddell and other scholars acknowledge Dāūd al-Rūmī's role in adding stories and *qirāʾāt* variants, they do not address the potential for oral interpretation.[63] The next critical issue to explore is the extent of Dāūd al-Rūmī's interpolations. Riddell argues that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf was responsible for translating *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, and if all interpolations are attributed to Dāūd al-Rūmī and subsequently removed, what remains is a direct translation of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, albeit with some linguistic refinements and the insertion of pronouns.[64] Harun, while largely agreeing with Riddell, contends that *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* served as the primary translation source, supplemented by *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*—which was frequently referenced in cases where ʿAbd al-Raʾūf diverged from *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*.[65]

To further clarify this issue, this study examines the systematic structure of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* and key textual markers that may provide insights into its authorship. The structure of the book, as seen in the 1951 and 2021 editions, begins with a brief introduction to each *sūrah*, covering its name, chronological classification (*Makkiyyah* or *Madaniyyah*), number of verses, and virtues (*faḍīlah*). Based on the authors' survey, references to *sūrah* virtues can be categorized as follows: from *Q.S. al-Fātiḥah* to *Q.S. al-Nūr* (24), citations are drawn from *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī* and *Manāfiʿ al-Qurʾān*, except in *Q.S. al-Raʿd* (13), where only *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī* is cited. From *Q.S. al-Furqān* (25) to *Q.S. al-Nās* (114), citations primarily come from *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī*, except in *Q.S. Yāsīn* (36), where both *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī* and *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* are referenced.[66]

Following this introduction, the interpretation is presented, beginning with the Arabic text of the verse in brackets, followed by its explanation in Malay written in Arabic script. Throughout the commentary, additional information appears under distinct entries, such as *fā'idah, qiṣṣah, bayān*, or expressions like *kata mufassir* (the exegete says). The keyword *fā'idah* is predominantly used for explaining *qirāʾāt* variations, and in some cases, it clarifies verse meanings absent

---

62 Wahyudi and Anggraini, "Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd."

63 Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," 116; Saifuddin and Wardani, *Tafsīr Nusantara: Analisis Isu-Isu Gender Dalam al-Mishbah Karya M. Quraish Shihab Dan Tarjuman al-Mustafid Karya 'Abd al-Ra'uf Singkel*, 67.

64 Riddell, "The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," 117.

65 Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 254.

66 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:1–294; al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:294–610.

in *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*.[67] The authors note a change in the writing style of this particular entry. The use of *fāʾidah* intended for differences in *qirāʾāt* ends in Q.S. al-Aḥzāb (33): 31 where there is the expression:

> *"(fāʾidah) ketahui olehmu hai saudaraku daripada juzuʾ wa man yaqnut ini lagi ke bawah tiadalah hamba nyatakan ikhtilāf antara segala qāriʾ yang tiga pada membaca al-nabiʾ dan al-nabiyyūn dan wahuwa dan wahiya dan buyūt dan yaḥsabu maka hedaklah diqiyaskan segala yang demikian dengan segala yang dahulunya melainkan pada tempat yang tak dapat tiada menyebut akan diam aka hamba sebutkan jua insyā Allāh Taʿālā wabillāhi al-taufīq".[68]*

> ("(*fāʾidah*) beknown by you, my brother, from this *juzʾ wa man yaqnut* downwards that I do not declare a conflict between all the three *qāriʾ* in reciting *al-nabiʾ* and *al-nabiyyūn* and *wa huwa* and *wa hiya* and *buyūt* and *yaḥsabu*, then there is no need to make an analogy between them and the previous ones, but in the place where there is no mention of silence, I will mention it, *In shāʾ Allāh Taʿālā wabillāhi al-taufīq".)*

After this verse, the use of *fāʾidah* is no longer applied to denote *qirāʾāt* variations. Instead, the term *bayān* is used consistently until the end of the commentary.[69] The authors of this article have not yet determined the reason behind this stylistic shift. If this assumption is valid, then the conclusion regarding Dāūd al-Rūmī's role in providing additional explanations on *qirāʾāt* differences can be examined in this section. Additionally, the changes in the linguistic style of the *qiṣṣah* entries will also be discussed.

The keyword *qiṣṣah* refers to narratives related to *sabab al-nuzūl* (occasions of revelation). The first volume contains 153 such narratives,[70] while the second volume includes 44.[71] Similar to the use of *fāʾidah*, the *qiṣṣah* entries are utilized only up until Q.S. *at-Taḥrīm* (66:2), marking the end of *juzʾ* 28.[72] At the beginning of *juzʾ* 29, a stylistic shift occurs in Q.S. *al-Mulk*(67:13), where the *sabab al-nuzūl* explanation

---

67   See for example the use of the word *fāʾidah* inserted in the interpretation of Q.S. al-Baqarah (2): 49 where there are two *fāʾidah* inserts. The first *fāʾidah* contains the phrase: *"maka hendaklah kita ketahui bahwa khiṭāb di sini dan pada yang kemudian daripadanya akan segala yang maujūd pada masa Nabi kita Muhammad saw. supaya ingat mereka itu akan nikmat Allah Taʿālā atas segala Nabi mereka itu dan supaya mereka itu membawa Imān"*. In the second *fāʾidah* there is the phrase: *"tersebut di dalam Baiḍāwī, wa Firʿauna itu laqab bagi raja ʿAmāliqah seperti Kisrā, dan Kaisar laqab bagi raja Fāris dan Rūm, dan adalah Firʾaun Mūsā itu bernama Muṣʿab anak Rayyān dan Firʾaun Yūsuf itu Rayyān dan adalah antara keduanya lebih daripada enam ratus tahun. Wallāhu Aʿlam"*. See al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:9.

68   al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:423.

69   On page 424, we find the use of *fāʾidah* in the context of *sabab al-nuzūl* and *bayān* in the context of different *qirāʾāt*. See al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:424.

70   al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:Fihris.

71   al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:Fihris.

72   al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:561.

is incorporated after the phrase "the mufassir's words," except in the interpretation of *Q.S. al-Kāfirūn*, which reverts to using *qiṣṣah*.[73] This or similar entries continue to be employed until the interpretation of *Q.S. al-Falaq* (113). Other terms used in place of *qiṣṣah* include *fā'idah*,[74] *kata Ibn ʿAbbās*,[75] *kata mufassir*,[76] *maka tersebut di dalam Khāzin*,[77] and *kata ahli tafsīr*.[78] This shift in writing style once again suggests a possible change in authorship. However, further in-depth research is required to resolve this issue definitively.

Harun has conducted a study on these *qiṣṣah* elements. However, his research focused only on 12 stories found in *juz'* 30,[79] meaning he did not account for the broader shift in writing style across the text. In his analysis, Harun concluded that the majority of the narratives were derived from *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* and transmitted by Dāūd al-Rūmī without a rigorous selection process to assess their authenticity or validity. Among the 12 stories examined, two—namely those in *Q.S. al-Aʿlā* (87:6–7) and *Q.S. al-Kawthar* (108:1–3)—were cited directly from *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, indicating that the responsibility for their inclusion lies with ʿAbd al-Raʾūf A more comprehensive investigation into the stylistic evolution of these entries may yield findings that challenge Harun's conclusions.

Intellectual Contribution of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*

At the beginning of this paper, it was noted that there has been a persistent but incorrect claim regarding the originality of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, specifically that it is a flawed translation of *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī*. This claim was refuted by Riddell through his study of *juz'* 16 and by Harun, who examined three *sūrahs* from *juz'* 30. Harun conducted a detailed study of *Q.S. al-Nabaʾ* (78), *Q.S. al-Nāziʿāt* (79), and *Q.S. ʿAbasa* (80) in the fourth chapter of his dissertation. His research methodology involved comparing ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's translation with *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* and other commentaries, such as *Tafsīr al-Khāzin, Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī, Tafsīr al-Kabīr,* and *Hāshiyah al-Ṣāwī*. The results of his study indicate that while ʿAbd al-Raʾūf aimed to translate *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, he occasionally referred to *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* when the explanations in *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* were found to be insufficient or

---

73 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:564.

74 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:590.

75 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:594.

76 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:595, 600–601, 607–609.

77 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:602.

78 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:610.

79 Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 209–254.

inaccurate. However, Harun also pointed out that *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*itself frequently referenced *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* and occasionally *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī*, while *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī* in turn made extensive use of *Tafsīr al-Zamakhsharī* while omitting its Muʿtazilah biases. This intertextual relationship makes it difficult to establish the originality of any given *tafsīr* independently of its sources.[80]

Harun emphasizes the intellectual significance of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf work, despite it being a translation. Additionally, he highlights the likelihood that, in the 17th-century Islamic world—both globally and within the Acehnese context—quoting *tafsīr* based on *āthār* (narrations from previous scholars) was a widely accepted and commendable practice. In contrast, *tafsīr* based solely on independent reasoning (*raʾyu*) was less favored at the time.

Although *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is primarily a translation, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf played a crucial role in selecting and verifying opinions, cross-referencing *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*, and presenting it in a manner accessible to the laity before they advanced to Sufi teachings. Harun further argues that ʿAbd al-Raʾūfconsidered *tafsīr* and *fiqh* as external sciences that needed to be mastered before delving into *taṣawwuf* (Sufism), which he regarded as a higher, inner discipline.[81] Thus, the presence of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*—amidst the growing discourse on Sufism, especially among common Muslims—holds significant intellectual value.

Harun also highlights that one of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd's* greatest contributions was its inclusion of *qirāʾāt* variations, a feature that was novel in the Malay Islamic world and remained unmatched for several centuries. The different recitations are presented through citations of two *imāms* and three transmitters: Imām Nāfiʿ, Imām Abū ʿAmr, Qālūn (the transmitter of Imām Nāfiʿ), al-Dūrī (the transmitter of Imām Abū ʿAmr), and Ḥafṣ (the transmitter of Imām ʿĀṣim). Although only three *imāms* are explicitly mentioned, Harun assumes that their recitations were representative of the other four *imāms*and suggests that these were the three *qirāʾāt* traditions ʿAbd al-Raʾūf encountered during his studies in the Arabian Peninsula.[82]

At the very least, Harun identifies two key aspects that define the intellectual value of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*: the need for a concise Qurʾānic interpretation accessible to the general public and the introduction of explanations regarding *qirāʾāt*variations. To further expand on this discussion, the authors of this article propose three additional aspects for future research, based on insights derived from the 2021 edition of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*. Firstly, the manuscript contains references beyond *Tafsīr*

---

80   Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 59–188.

81   Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 279.

82   Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 259–271.

al-Baiḍāwī and *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*. Secondly, certain words were neither translated nor omitted by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf; instead, they were retained in Arabic or adapted into Malay. Thirdly, the text exhibits localized and vernacularized interpretations, reflecting its adaptation to the cultural and linguistic context of the Malay world.

The first point is the discovery of several other references besides *al-Baiḍāwī* and *al-Khāzin*. As the authors have previously stated, *al-Baiḍāwī* is ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's main reference (or perhaps an interpolation from Dāūd Rūmi) for a brief explanation of the content of the surahs and the *fāḍīlah* of reciting them. The other two sources used to explain the *fāḍīlah* are *Manāfiʿ al-Qurʾān* and *tafsīr al-Khāzin*'s. In addition to being referred to explain *fāḍīlah*, *al-Khāzin* is the main reference in determining *sabab al-nuzūl* as the authors have already mentioned in the discussion on *qiṣṣah*.

The first point concerns the discovery of additional sources cited in *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*. As previously stated, *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī* appears to be the primary reference used by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf' (or possibly interpolated by Dāūd al-Rūmī) for brief descriptions of *sūrahs* and their virtues (*faḍīlah*). Other sources used for *faḍīlah* explanations include *Manāfiʿ al-Qurʾān* and *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*. Additionally, *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* serves as the principal reference for *sabab al-nuzūl* (occasions of revelation), as previously discussed in the section on *qiṣṣah*.

Beyond these three major works, the authors found references to several other texts. *Tafsīr al-Baghawī* is cited in the explanation of Namrūḏ ibn Kanʿān's story in *Q.S. al-Naḥl* (16:26).[83] *Tafsīr al-Thaʿlabī* is referenced in discussions on magic during the time of Prophet Sulaymān.[84] Additionally, *al-Nihāyah* is quoted in the interpretation of *Q.S. al-Nisāʾ* (4:43) regarding the obligation of *ṣalāh li ḥurmati al-waqt* (prayer performed out of respect for prayer time), where ʿAbd al-Raʾūf states:

> *"bermula tersebut di dalam Nihāyah hasil barangsiapa tiada ia beroleh air dan tanah pada barang tempat sama ada pelayaran atau tiada lazimah menyembahyangkan fardu karena hormat waktu dan diulanginya2 sembahyang itu tatkala ia beroleh air atau tanah dengan syarat yang telah disebutkan ilmu itu".[85]*

> (The beginning is mentioned in the *Nihāyah,* whoever does not have water or land in the same place where a voyage is praying the obligatory prayers out of respect for time and repeating them when he has water or land under the conditions mentioned by this knowledge)

This reference to *al-Nihāyah* represents a case where ʿAbd al-Raʾūf' departs from *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, opting instead for an explanation from *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* while

---

83 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:270.

84 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:17.

85 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:86.

supplementing it with other sources to provide *fiqh* rulings not explicitly found in the Qurʾānic text. This may have been done because the ruling was deemed crucial for the local audience or his students at the time.

Beyond these specific cases, the presence of references to these additional sources provides valuable insights. First, it indicates that the intellectual environment of the 17th century was enriched by a broad array of Arabic *tafsīr* works beyond *Tafsīr al-Jalālain, Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī,* and *Tafsīr al-Khāzin,* suggesting that Acehnese scholars had access to a diverse range of Qurʾānic commentaries. It is also possible that these works circulated more widely throughout Southeast Asia. Second, the reliance on multiple sources reinforces Drewes' hypothesis that Malay Islamic scholarship was heavily dependent on Arabic texts.[86]

The second point the authors would like to highlight is that there are certain words that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf neither translated nor omitted. Instead, he retained them in Arabic or absorbed them into the Malay language. Some examples of Arabic words directly quoted in *Tarjumān al–Mustafīd* are presented in the following tabl

Table 1

Some Arabic words quoted from al-Jalālain

No	Verses	Al-Jalālain	Tarjumān
1	Q.S. 2: 17	بِإِظْهَارِ كَلِمَة الْإِيمَان	*Dengan me-ẓāhir-kan kalimat Iman*
2	Q.S. 2: 23	أَيْ هِيَ مِثْله فِي الْبَلَاغَة	*Yang seperti pada balāgah-nya: yakni sehabis2 faṣīhah*
3	Q.S. 2: 28	نُطَفًا فِي الْأَصْلَاب	*Di dalam segala ṣulbi nutfah*
4	Q.S. 2: 28	بَعْد خَلْق الْأَرْض أَيْ قَصَدَ	*Kemudian maka di-qaṣad-nya*
5	Q.S. 2: 35	بِالْأَكْلِ مِنْهَا وَهِيَ الْحِنْطَة	*Jangan kamu hampiri pohon kayu ini yakni al-ḥinṭah artinya gandum*
6	Q.S. 2: 65	تجاوزوا الحد	*Yang melalui ḥadd*
7	Q.S. 3: 103	فِي الدِّين وَالْوِلَايَة	*Pada ugama dan wilāyah*
8	Q.S. 4: 34	أَيْ بِتَفْضِيلِهِ لَهُمْ عَلَيْهِنَّ بِالْعِلْمِ وَالْعَقْلَ وَالْوِلَايَة وَغَيْر ذَلِكَ	*Dilebihkan Allah Taʾālā segala laki2 itu atas segala Perempuan dengan ilmu dan akal dan wilayah*
9	Q.S. 4: 43	الْمَكَان الْمُعَدّ لِقَضَاء الْحَاجَة	*Tempat qaḍā ḥājat*

The examples above represent only a small portion of the numerous Arabic

words that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf chose not to translate. This phenomenon can be interpreted from several perspectives. Firstly, it is possible that these words had already been absorbed into the Malay language, making translation unnecessary.[87] Secondly, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf may have struggled to find suitable Malay equivalents, as seen in example 2, where *balāgah* is first presented in Arabic before being paraphrased in Malay. Thirdly, there may have been specific motivations behind the decision not to translate certain terms, as in example 8, where the word *wilāyah* is left untranslated.

The third possibility aligns with historical evidence regarding ʿʿAbd al-Raʾūf's stance on women's leadership. Records of his biography indicate that he lived through the reigns of four female rulers in the Aceh Sultanate: Sulṭānah Nur al-ʿĀlam Naqiyyat al-Dīn (1675–1678), Sulṭānah Zakiyyat al-Dīn (1678–1688), and Sulṭānah Kamālat al-Dīn (1688–1699). However, Sulṭānah Kamālat al-Dīn was deposed after a delegation from Makkah advised the Acehnese court that women were not permitted to rule.[88]

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's view is reflected in the fact that he did not translate the word *żakaran* as one of the requirements to be a judge. This is found in the book *Mirʾāt al-Ṭullāb* when he translates the phrase of Syaikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī. The translation is as follows: "As for the conditions of the *qadi*, they are, as Syaikh Zakariyya (may Allah be pleased with him) said in *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb,* that he should be Muslim and of sound mind, and free and just…."[89] This quote is a translation of what Syaikh Zakariyya said in his book:[90]

وَشَرْطُ الْقَاضِي كَوْنُهُ أَهْلًا لِلشَّهَادَاتِ بِأَنْ يَكُونَ مُسْلِمًا مُكَلَّفًا حُرًّا ذَكَرًا عَدْلًا

The phrase ḥurran żakaran ʿadlan was rendered as "free and just", with the word żakaran (male) omitted entirely. Syahrizal offers two possible interpretations of this omission: either it was an attempt to align with the ruler's stance, or it reflects ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's belief in gender equality, allowing for the possibility of female judges. Syahrizal favors the latter interpretation. However, it is important to note that his argument is based on Azra's work, which, in turn, draws from Salman Harun's dissertation.[91]

These comparative examples suggest that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's decision to retain Arabic terms may have been influenced by the socio-political context in which he

---

91 Harun says that the act could be interpreted as wanting to satisfy the ruler, who was a woman, which meant that her intellectual credibility was not solid. But that he was at that time in a difficult position, as a confidant of the queen, is understandable. And it is possible that his actions were influenced by his tolerant attitude and deep knowledge. In the footnote, Harun cites the opinions of Abū Ḥanīfah and aṭ-Ṭabarī who allow this. See Harun, "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel," 27–28.

operated. On the one hand, he sought to remain faithful to the original Arabic texts he translated; on the other, he had to navigate the realities of Acehnese society. This balance between textual fidelity and local adaptation represents a significant intellectual contribution by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, particularly when understood within the broader framework of scholarly developments of his time.

The third noteworthy aspect is the vernacularization of Qurʾānic concepts into the linguistic and cultural landscape of the Malay world. One example of this process is the translation of terms related to travel, such as ʿalā safarin, al-fulk, and al-safīnah. The phrase ʿalā safarin is typically associated with travel (particularly land travel) in Arabic. However, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf consistently translates it as sailing[92] or voyage (pelayaran).[93] At least six instances of ʿalā safarin in Tarjumān al-Mustafīd are rendered in a maritime context. For the Arabs, the concept of musāfir (traveler) often referred to someone journeying overland, usually by camel for trade or other purposes. However, in Aceh—a region known for its large ports—travel was predominantly associated with sea voyages.[94]

The second concept, al-fulk, which generally means ship, appears 23 times in the Qurʾān. In Tafsīr al-Jalālain, it is interpreted as al-safīnah or al-sufun.[95] However, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf translates it into three distinct terms: boat (perahu),[96] ship(kapal),[97] and ark (bahtera).[98] Similarly, the word safīnah, which appears three times in the Qurʾān, is translated as either ship[99] or ark.[100]

This data highlights an active process of interpretation and contextualization in ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's translation of Qurʾānic concepts related to daily life. The variation in his translation of al-fulk—as boat, ship, or ark—suggests that he adapted these terms to match the linguistic distinctions familiar to the Malay maritime world. Notably, the word ark (bahtera) appears exclusively in the story of Prophet Nūḥ (Noah), whereas in other contexts, al-fulk is translated as ship, except in Q.S. al-

---

92 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:29, 86.

93 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:29, 50, 86, 109.

94 See https://prpm.dbp.gov.my/Cari1?keyword=pelayaran&d=41812&#LIHATSINI accessed June 16, 2024.

95 See Jalāluddīn al-Mahalli and Jalāluddīn as-Suyūṭi, *Tafsīr Al-Jalālain* (Kairo: Dār al-Ḥadīš, n.d.), 33, 202, 269, 278, 289–290, 334, 347, 373, 443, 447–448, 488, a530, 537, 544, 573, 583, 595, 629, 648, 661.

96 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:26, 218.

97 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:1159, 212, 260, 269, 290; al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:341, 344, 405, 410, 415, 437, 444, 452, 477, 491, 500.

98 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, I:226, 227; al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:344, 345, 373.

99 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:303.

100 al-Jāwī, *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*, II:399.

Baqarah (2:26) and Q.S. Yūnus (10:73), where it is rendered as boat. The rationale behind these exceptions remains unclear and warrants further study.

The distinction between boat, ship, and ark reflects an effort to contextualize and vernacularize Qurʾānic terminology for a Malay audience accustomed to a maritime environment. This vernacularization process represents another intellectual contribution of Tarjumān al-Mustafid, as it provided an accessible and culturally relevant understanding of Qurʾānic verses for the people of Aceh at the time.

Conclusion

The study of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* reveals three key findings. Firstly, both Riddell and Harun agree that the work is not a translation of *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī* but rather *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*. Riddell asserts that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* is primarily a translation of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* with interpolations by Dāūd al-Rūmī, while Harun argues that it involves both subtractions and additions, particularly with references to *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*. This study supports Harun's conclusion that *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* represents an oral translation of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, later transcribed by Dāūd al-Rūmī, who introduced additional interpolations, especially in *juzʾ* 29 and *juzʾ* 30, as evidenced by shifts in writing style and explanatory entries. Additionally, the role of Dāūd al-Rūmī appears more significant than previously assumed, as he not only recorded the oral translation but also modified and expanded upon it, all while attributing the work to ʿAbd al-Raʾūf

The intellectual value of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* lies in its role as the first tafsīr in the Malay world to provide a concise Qurʾānic explanation suited for common Muslims in Aceh. It is also the first work to systematically introduce *qirāʾāt* variations in the region, reflecting the transmission of multiple Qurʾānic recitations in the Malay archipelago. Furthermore, *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* serves as an important historical document, highlighting the circulation of Arabic *tafsīr* texts in the 17th century and the engagement of Malay scholars with classical Islamic sources. Additionally, it showcases the process of vernacularization, where Qurʾānic interpretation was adapted to the Malay linguistic and cultural context, facilitating a localized understanding of the Qurʾān.

While this study has explored *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd's* translation methodology, sources, and intellectual contributions, several areas remain open for future research. A comparative manuscript analysis is needed to examine textual variations and trace the transmission history of the work in the Malay world. Further studies should investigate the influence of oral transmission on the tafsīr's structure, as well as its impact on later Malay tafsīr traditions. Given ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's prominence as a Sufi scholar, analyzing

the role of Sufism in shaping his interpretative approach could provide deeper insights into the spiritual dimensions of his work. Additionally, the sociopolitical conditions in 17th-century Aceh, particularly debates on female leadership and the reception of *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* within the Acehnese sultanate, warrant further scholarly attention. Addressing these gaps will enrich the historiography of Islamic thought in Southeast Asia and contribute to broader discussions on the adaptation of Qurʾānic exegesis across different cultural and linguistic contexts.

Authors' contributions

All listed authors contributed to this article. M.A. wrote the original draft, reviewed and edited it, and managed the project administration. Y.R. and Z were responsible for the methodology and validation and supervised the project.

Data availability statement

Data sharing does not apply to this article as no new data were created or analyzed in this study.

Conflicts of Interest

None of the authors of this study has a financial or personal relationship with other people that could inappropriately influence or bias the content of the study.

Funding

References

al-Anṣārī, Zakariyyā ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥmmad ibn Zakariyyā. *Fatḥ Al-Wahhāb Bi Syarḥ Minhaj al-Ṭullāb*. Vol. II. II vols. Beirūt: Dār al-Fikr li al-Ṭabāʾah wa al-Nasyr, 1994.

Azra, Azyumardi. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Di Indonesia*. Bandung: Ikappi, 1994.

Baidan, Nashruddin. *Perkembangan Tafsīr Al-Qurʾan Di Indonesia*. Solo: Tiga Serangkai Pustaka Mandiri, 2003.

Federspiel, Howard M. *Kajian Al-Qur'an Di Indonesia*. Translated by Tajul Arifin. Bandung: Mizan, 1994.

Ginanjar, Ahmad. *Al-Mukhtaṣar al-Ḥāwī Fī Tarājimi Ba'ḍa "Ulamā'i Bilādi Jāwī Aw Ṭabaqāt al-'Ulamā al-Syāfi'iyyati Bi al-Diyāri al-Jāwiyati: Min al-Qarni al-'Āsyiri Ḥattā al-Qarn al-Rābi" 'Asyara al-Hijrī*. Jakarta: Maktabah al-Turmusy Litturots, 2022.

Gusmian, Islah. *Khazanah Tafsīr Indonesia*. Bantul: LKiS, 2013.

Harun, Salman. "Hakekat Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd karya Syekh Abdurrauf Singkel." Dissertation, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1988.

———. *Mutiara al-Qur'an: Aktualisasi Pesan al-Qur'an dalam Kehidupan*. Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999.

Hurgronje, C. Snouck. *The Achehnese*. Translated by A. W. S. O'sullivan. Vol. II. II vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906.

al-Jāwī, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Fanṣūrī. *Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb*. Makkah: Al-Maṭba'ah al-Amiriyyah, 1883.

al-Jāwī, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī al-Fanṣūrī. *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*. Edited by Muḥammad ibn Idrīs 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Marbāwī. Vol. I. II vols. Raja Publishing, 2021.

———. *Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd*. Edited by Muḥammad ibn Idrīs 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Marbāwī. Vol. II. II vols. Raja Publishing, 2021.

Johns, Anthony H. "'Penerjemahan' Bahasa Arab Ke Dalam Bahasa Melayu: Sebuah Renungan." In *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan Di Indonesia Dan Malaysia*, edited by Henri Chambert-Loir, translated by Winarsih Arifin, 49–58. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009.

———. "Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile." In *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013.

Lubis, Ismail. *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Depag Edisi 1990*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2001.

al-Mahalli, Jalāluddīn, and Jalāluddīn as-Suyūṭi. *Tafsīr Al-Jalālain*. Kairo: Dār al-Ḥadīs̱, n.d.

Mursyid, Achmad Yafik, and Aeni Nahdiyati. "State-Sponsored Qur'anic Exegesis: A Comparative Analysis of Turkiye's and Indonesia's Official Tafsir." *Al-Bayan: Journal of Qur'an and Hadith Studies* 22, no. 3 (December 5, 2024). https://doi.org/10.1163/22321969-20240159.

Mustafid, Mustafid, Kemas Muhammad Gemilang, Firman Surya Putra, Azzuhri Al Bajuri, and Mawardi Mawardi. "Alternative Legal Strategies and Ninik Mamak Authority: Dual Administration of Malay Marriage in Koto Kampar Hulu, Riau." *Journal of Islamic Law* 5, no. 1 (January 29, 2024): 1–18. https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v5i1.1972.

Nurtawab, Ervan. *Tafsīr Al-Qur'an Nusantara Tempo Doeloe*. Jakarta: Ushul Press, 2009.

Özay, Mehmet. "'Rumi' Networks of al-Sinkīlī: A Biography of Bāba Dāwud." *Studia Islamika* 24, no. 2 (2017): 247–269.

Rafi, M., Suswanta Suswanta, and Baskoro Wicaksono. "The Importance of Maintaining the Neutrality of State Civil Apparatus Based on the Values of the Malay Culture." *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 9, no. 2 (May 30, 2021): 451–66. https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v9i2.540.

Riddell, Peter. "The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd." *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 57, no. 2 (1984): 113–118.

Riddell, Peter G. *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses*. Singapura: Horizon Boks Pte Ltd, 2003.

———. "Menerjemahkan Al-Qur'an Ke Dalam Bahasa-Bahasa Indonesia." In *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan Di Indonesia Dan Malaysia*, edited by Henri Chambert-Loir, translated by Winarsih Arifin, 397–415. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009.

Rohmana, Jajang A. "Perkembangan Kontemporer Tafsīr Indonesia: Gambaran Umum Tafsir Al-Qur'an Di Tatar Sunda." In *Melihat Kembali Studi Al-Qur'an: Gagasan, Isu, Dan Tren Terkini*, 129–161. Yogyakarta: Idea Press, 2015.

Rouf, Abdul. *Mozaik Tafsīr Indonesia: Kajian Ensiklopedis Karya Tafsīr Nusantara Dari Abdur Rauf As-Singkili Hingga Muhammad Quraish Shihab*. Depok: Sahifa, 2020.

Rozi, Syafwan, Nurlizam, and M. Zubir. "The Reception of Hamka's Tafsir Al-Azhar within Social Religious Issues in the Malay World." *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 25, no. 2 (August 30, 2024): 247–72. https://doi.org/10.14421/qh.v25i2.5406.

Saifuddin, and Wardani. *Tafsīr Nusantara: Analisis Isu-Isu Gender Dalam al-Mishbah Karya M. Quraish Shihab Dan Tarjuman al-Mustafid Karya 'Abd al-Ra'uf Singkel*. Bantul: LKiS, 2017.

Samsudin, Sahiron. "Pendekatan dan Analisis dalam Penelitian Teks Tafsir: Sebuah Overview." *Suhuf* 12, no. 1 (June 28, 2019): 131–149.

Sara, Siti, Hasan Asari, and Nabila Yasmin. "Asas Ajaran Agama Islam: Catatan dari Naskah Masail Al-Muhtadi." *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 8, no. 3 (2024): 44909–44923.

Syafruddin, Didin. "Karakter Literatur Indonesia Tentang Al-Qur'ān." *Studia Islamika* 2, no. 2 (1995): 165–195.

Syahrizal. *Syekh Abdurrauf Dan Corak Pemikiran Hukum Islam: Kajian Terhadap Kitab Mir'at al-Tullab Tentang Hakim Wanita*. Banda Aceh: Yayasan Pena, 2003.

Wahyudi, Chafid, and Ika Khusnia Anggraini. "Tarjumān Al-Mustafīd: Answering

the Need for Accessible Qur'anic Interpretation for The Masses." *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Hadis* 24, no. 1 (March 14, 2023): 39–58.

Wardani, ed. *Dinamika Kajian Tafsīr Al-Qur'an Di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Zahir Publishing, 2021.

Yusoff, Zulkifli Mohd, and Wan Nasyrudin Wan Abdullah. "Tarjuman Al-Mustafid: Satu Analisa terhadap Karya Terjemahan." *Jurnal Pengajian Melayu* 16 (2005): 156–173.

Yusuf, M. Yunan. "Karakteristik Tafsīr Al-Qur'an Di Indonesia Abad Ke-20." *Ulumul Qur'an: Jurnal Ilmu dan Kebudayaan* III, no. 4 (1992).

———. "Perkembangan Metode Tafsīr Di Indonesia." *Pesantren* VIII, no. I (1991).

Zuhdi, M. Nurdin. *Pasaraya Tafsīr Indonesia: Dari Kontestasi Metodologi Hingga Kontekstualisasi*. Yogyakarta: Kaukaba Dipantara, 2014.