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MĀTURĪDITE KALAM AMONG SOUTHEAST ASIAN ASH'ARITE

A Synthesis of Māturīdite Influences on *Dayah's* Theology

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Abstract

As the earliest Muslims and first known who introduced Islam in Southeast Asia, Dayah community has continuingly played a great role in retaining and spreading the Ash'arite school of theology in the region. Ash'arite theology is a major area of interest within the field of Islamic studies in Southeast Asia. The teachings of Māturīdite kalam have, however, received little attention, in particular its impact on local theology from many scholars. Furthering the legacy of Nasafi's construction of Southeast Asian theology, this paper is an attempt to unearth Māturīdī's significance among Southeast Asian Muslims by analyzing the content of dayah's curriculum, explaining the intellectual network of Māturīdite ulema, and explicating the role of Ahlu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah consensus along with interviewing several key informants on the issues of Islamic theology. I craft this paper by arguing that Māturīdite kalam has considerable impacts on local theology, e.g., upholding rationality on God's attributes, and relying on ilm mantiq method in justifying human freedom. This paper has great contributions in advancing the study of Southeast Asian Muslim theology and its relation to the concept of Islamisation of indigenous culture; like the concepts of cosmopolitanism and syncretism, and the finding of Māturīdī's kalam in Southeast Asia.

[Dayah di Aceh, institusi yang paling awal mengenalkan Islam di Asia

Tenggara, hingga saat ini masih merupakan aktor yang berperan penting dalam mempertahankan dan menyebarkan mazhab Ash'ariyah di kawasan ini. Mazhab ini juga dominan dalam kajian Islam di Asia Tenggara. Pengajaran ilmu kalam Māturīdīyah, meski mendapat porsi sedikit, pada khususnya berpengaruh pada teologi para ulama setempat. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menggali signifikansi Māturīdīyah dikalangan muslim Asia Tenggara melalui analisis materi kurikulum pengajaran di dayah, pemetaan jaringan ulama Māturīdīyah dan mengurai peran konsensus para Aswaja. Dengan wawancara beberapa tokoh kunci dayah di Aceh, tulisan ini menunjukkan bahwa ilmu kalam Māturīdīyah berpengaruh pada teologi lokal seperti; dukungan rasionalitas dalam mengenal Tuhan dan mempertimbangkan metode ilmu mantiq dalam pembenaran kebebasan manusia. Artikel ini mempunyai kontribusi penting dalam kajian teologi Islam di Asia Tenggara dan hubungan antar konsep dalam islamisasi budaya lokal seperti kosmopolitanisme, sinkretisme, dan teologi Māturīdī.]

Keywords: Māturīdīte kalam, Southeast Asian Theology, dayah, ¹³*Ablu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah*

A. Introduction

Māturīdīte kalam has played a great role and been considered as a great important theology of the Muslim world since its advantage in reconciling the urge to employ the faculty of rationality and upholding textual sources for establishing kalam thought. Although Ash'arite kalam is the foremost theology of the all, Ash'arite has, otherwise, been unsuccessful in promoting rationality (*aql*) upon revelation knowledge. Advocating by Seljuk, Ayyubiah, and Ottoman authorities, Māturīdīte kalam had been accepted as standard theology, like Ash'arite kalam in Muslim world. It was the legacy of Aceh-Ottoman Sultanate relation that Māturīdīte kalam has been widely accepted in Southeast Asia, which centered in Aceh.

⁶Aceh is a region located at the northern tip of Sumatra Island, Indonesia. Known as the centre of Islamic intellectual activities and *da'wa* control during earlier 13 to 17 CE in Southeast Asia,¹ Aceh was

¹⁷¹ Teuku Iskandar, "Aceh as a Muslim-Malay Cultural Centre (14th-19th Century)", presented at the First International Conference of Aceh and Indian Ocean

called as the catalyst of Islam in the region. Along with the coming of Islam, Aceh had become the epicentre and the locus of development of Islamic intellectuality in the region, in particular any sects of kalam teachings and disciplines of Islamic knowledge.² Indigenous, Shi`ite, Salafist, Ash`arist, Sufist, and Wahabist teachings have been accepted harmoniously in Aceh that is vividly demonstrated in every unit of Acehnese culture and customs.

Considered as the heart of Islam in Southeast Asia, *dayah* has been the pride of Acehnese people where every element of Islamic teachings and sects is taken for reflection; filtered, and developed to meet the nature of the people and the cosmopolitan of the place. There Islam is taught, developed, and spread. *Dayah* had worked as the centre for controlling *da`wa*, managing its shortcomings, and erecting the propaganda of Islam broader. *Dayah*, hence, not only played as an educational institution but also as a community and Islamic intellectual control. Played a great role in the Acehnese panicle history, *dayah* in present time has declined to turn a traditional Islamic education struggling for its survival against a secular system of education and society.

Regardless *dayah* retrograde circumstances in the current time, there are a great deal of cosmopolitan aspects of Islam still pertained and preserved among *dayah* community, including the tradition of Māturīdite's kalam. Much literature on *dayah* in particular,³ and pesantren tradition

Studies (Banda Aceh, 24 Feb 2007), p. 60; Mehmet Ozay, "A Preliminary Note on the Dayah Tanoh Abée", in *Ottoman Connections to the Malay World: Islam, Literature and Society*, ed. by Saim Kayadibi (Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2011b), pp. 56–84; Peter G. Riddell, "Aceh in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: 'Serambi Mekkah' and Identity", in *Verandah of Violence: The Background to the Aceh Problem*, ed. by Anthony Reid (Singapore: NUS Press and University of Washington Press, 2006).

² Aboebakar Atjeh, *Ahlusunah wal Jamaah (Kenayakinan dan I'tiqad)* (Jakarta: Yayasan Baitul Mall, 1969).

³ Saifuddin Duhri (ed.), "Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Aceh: Sejarah Perkembangan Dayah", in *Generasi Baru Peneliti Muslim Indonesia: Mencari Ilmu di Australia* (Kingston, A.C.T: Australia-Indonesia Institute, 2008); Saifuddin Duhri, "Dayah Dalam Tiga Phase Perkembangan: Menelaah Pendidikan Berbasis Perubahan Sosial Yang Telah Punah", *SARIWAH*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2011), pp. 151–67; Ozay, "A Preliminary Note on the Dayah Tanoh Abée".

in Indonesia in general,⁴ have, however, little attention to Māturīdī's significances in Southeast Asian Islam. Likewise, there is much literature on Māturīdī's kalam⁵ which neglects Māturīdīah role in formulating Southeast Asian Islam, particularly on kalam/theology issues. In response to this shortage, this paper concerns the influence of Māturīdī's kalam in *dayah* community, focusing on Māturīdīte kalam's significances, *dayah*'s community perception of Māturīdīah teachings, his narrative in *dayah* curricula, and his impacts on Acehese customs.

The most striking result to emerge from the data of this work is that Māturīdīte has significant impacts on Acehese Ash`ariah of *dayah* community. The influences are likely to be categorised into three aspects, firstly it refers to political consensus, in which Māturīdīte kalam is seen outstandingly as superior as Ash`arite kalam under the banner of *Ablu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaab*. Secondly, Māturīdīte kalam has a strong impact on the theological thoughts of *dayah*'s community, which is mainly adopted from local Māturīdīte ulema, such as Baba Daud and Nuruddin Ar-Raniry, and from Ash`ariete ulema who are influenced by Māturīdīte like Laqqani.⁶ Finally, Māturīdīte has a great position in Aceh due to the teaching of kalam in *dayah* and the intellectual network in the early Aceh history and glorious time. It was the Ottoman Sultanate that brought the fame of Māturīdīte kalam among Acehese and built *dayah* networks, such as the development of Dayah Tanoh Abei as explained by Mehmet

⁴ ⁶Martin van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia", in *The Madrasa in Asia*, ed. by Martin van Bruinessen, Farish A. Noor, ¹⁸and Yoginder Sikand (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), pp. 217–46; Zamakhsyari Dhofer, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan, dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1982); Choizin Nasuha, *Diskursus Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Pengembangan Ablu as-Sunnah wa al-Jamaab* (Yogyakarta: Cirebon: Pustaka Sempu & ISIF, 2015).

⁵ Sahilun A. Nasir, "The Epistemology of Kalam of Abu Mansur al-Māturīdī", *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2005), pp. 349–65; Mehmet Özervarli, "The Authenticity of the Manuscript of Māturīdīah s Kitab al Tawhid A Re examination", ⁹*İlām Araştırmaları Dergisi/Turkish Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 1 (1997), pp. 19–29; Ulrich Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdīah and the Development of Sunni Theology in Samarqand* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

⁶ The teaching of *mantiq* of Laqqani is well-known in Aceh and has been translated into Indonesian and Acehese language for the response of great demands from local readers.

Ozay⁷ and Dayah Awe Geutah.⁸

² In order to assess Māturīdite kalam's influence on *dayah* community, comparative historical analysis, hermeneutical and linguistic analysis, induction, and deduction methods are used. Various historical research belonging to the Middle Ages and the Modern period in Arabic and Turkish, with large proportion, relation to Aceh and Southeast Asia have been made use of, with special attention reserved to those ones that concerned the Hanafi-Māturīdiah school of thought. By the semantic analyses of some book contents concerning Māturīdite kalam, the authors show that the position of Imam al-Māturīdī is much more in line with the fame of Ash`arite kalam. ² Analysis of the historical data allows the author to elucidate the role and place of Imam al-Māturīdī that has played in the Islamic thought of his time and, through the methods of deduction the conclusion is made. The graphical images were also made use of in order to make the data more understandable and to bring a vivid picture of Māturīdite kalam among Acehnese community, Indonesia. The paper starts with bringing the light on the Acehnese *dayah* community and their cosmopolitan era in history. Then the ² analysis of the opinions concerning the credo/action issue was made by several key informants of Acehnese Ulema. Finally, every individual aspect of Māturīdite kalam impacts on Acehnese community is discussed.

B. Southeast Asian Islamisation and Dayah

The study of Southeast Asian Islamisation has been done through

⁷ Ozay, "A Preliminary Note on the Dayah Tanoh Abee".

⁸ A. Hasjmy, *Bunga Rampai Revolusi dari Tanah Aceh* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978); A. Hasmy, *Kebudayaan Aceh Dalam Sejarah* (Jakarta: Beuna, 1983).

archaeological studies,⁹ historical studies,¹⁰ and philological investigations.¹¹ Although the three approaches are not so much different and are used as the methods to find historical facts, the findings of the three approaches are contrasted and have great different consequences.

Both archaeological studies and philological studies believe that Islam has been introduced to the archipelagos as early as the spreading of Islam among Arabian tribes. Compared to three approaches of studying the Islamisation of Southeast Asia, historical studies, which rely on historical documents and interviews of local informants, are dominant. Evenmore, historical approach is more acceptable than the others and pose it as grand narrative on islamisation of Southeast Asia.

The studies however establish that the material evidence of Islamisation of Southeast Asia to be found about 12 and 13 CE.

⁹ Hasan Muarif Ambary, *Menemukan Peradaban: Jejak Arkeologis dan Historis Islam Indonesia*, ed. by Jajat Burhanudin (Ciputat: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1998); C. Guillot, *Lobu Tua, Sejarah Awal Barus*, trans. by Daniel Perret (Jakarta: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2002); C. Guillot, Marie France Dupoizat, and Untung Sunaryo, *Barus Seribu Tahun Yang Lalu*, trans. by Daniel Perret and Atika Suri Fanani (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia: École Française d'Extrême-Orient: Association Archipel: Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional: Forum Jakarta-Paris, 2008); Uka Tjandrasmita, *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara*. (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia-École française d'Extrême-Orient-Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2009); Othman Mohd. Yatim, *Batu Aceh: Early Islamic Gravestones in Peninsular Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Museum Association of Malaysia, 1988).

¹⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *Islam in Southeast Asia: Tolerance and Radicalism* (Melbourne, Vic: University of Melbourne, 2005); Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); Iskandar, "Aceh as a Muslim-Malay Cultural Centre (14th-19th Century)"; Anthony Reid, "The Islamization of Southeast Asia", in *Historia: Essays in Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the Department of History, University of Malaya = Esei-Esei Memperingati Ulangtahun ke-25 Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Malaya*, ed. by Muhammad Abu Bakar, Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, and Amarjit Kaur (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Historical Society, 1984); H.M. Zainuddin, *Singa Atjeh!: Biographi Seri Sulthan Iskandar Muda* (Medan: Pustaka Iskandar Muda, 1957); H.M. Zainuddin, *Tarikh Atjeh dan Nusantara* (Medan: Pustaka Iskandar Muda, 1961).

¹¹ Teuku Ibrahim Alfian, *Kronika Pasai: Sebuah Tinjauan Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1976); Teuku Iskandar, *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad* (Jakarta: Libra, 1996); Muhammad Gade Ismail, *Pasai Dalam Perjalanan Sejarah: Abad ke-13 Sampai Awal Abad ke-16* (Jakarta: Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1993).

Accordingly, *dayah* has been seen as the centre for Islamisation of Southeast Asia. *Dayah* played as the centre for controlling and solving the activities of *da'wa* throughout Southeast Asia. In terms of archaeological studies, there are many stones, largely named them as Batu Aceh (Acehnese stones) which are scripted epitaphs of the date and year of the descents. A large amount of Batu Aceh is found in Southeast Asia and the oldest ones found in North Aceh, which were the footsteps of Samudra Pasee's Sultanate.

The stones of Sultan Malikussaleh dates 696 H/1297 CE, is known as the earliest stone found to be scripted by the name of Sultan in Southeast Asia. Based on the script, many researchers convince that Malik al-Shalih is the founder of the earliest Islamic sultanate in Southeast Asia, and he was the first Sultan of Samudra Pasee.¹² This archaeological finding is also confirmed by the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasee*, which is narrated about Sultan Malikussaleh as the first Sultan of Malikussaleh and he was in charge to Islamise the region.¹³ Unfortunately, there is no craft found as evidence of *dayah*. Historical documents, however, show the role of *dayah* played in Samudra Pasee, as the centre for *da'wa*.¹⁴

Aceh is a region located at the northern tip of Sumatra Island, Indonesia. As part of Aceh, Samudra Pasee was a sultanate that is now situated in north Aceh. Known as the centre of Islamic intellectual activities and da'wa control during earlier 13 to 17 CE in Southeast Asia,¹⁵ the sultanate was called as the catalyst of Islam in the region. Along

¹² Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *Historical Fact and Fiction* (Johor Bahru: UTM Press, 2011); Ismal R. al-Faruqi, *The Cultural Atlas of Islam* (New York: Macmillan, 1987); Alfian, *Kronika Pasai: Sebuah Tinjauan Sejarah*; Ismail, *Pasai Dalam Perjalanan Sejarah*; Taqiyuddin Muhammad, *Daulah Shalibiyah di Sumatera: Ke Arah Penyusunan Kerangka Baru Historiografi Samudra Pasai* (Banda Aceh: Center for Information of Samudra Pasai Heritag, 2011).

¹⁵ Alfian, *Kronika Pasai: Sebuah Tinjauan Sejarah*, A.H. Hill, 'Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 33, no. 2 (1960), pp. 1-215; Ismail, *Pasai Dalam Perjalanan Sejarah*.

¹⁶ Dhuhi (ed.), 'Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Aceh: Sejarah Perkembangan Dayah'; Saifuddin Dhuhi (ed.), *Dayah: Menapaki Pendidikan Warisan Endatu, Aceh* (Banda Aceh: Lhe Sagoe Press, 2014); Hasjmy, *Bunga Rampai Revolusi dari Tanah Aceh*.

¹⁵ Andar, 'Aceh as a Muslim-Malay Cultural Centre (14th-19th Century)', p. 60; Ozay, 'A Preliminary Note on the Dayah Tanoh Abee'; Riddell, 'Aceh in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: "Serambi Mekkah" and identity'.

with the coming of Islam, Samudra Pasee and later Aceh had become the epicentre and the locus of development of Islamic intellectuality in the region, in particular any sect of kalam teachings and disciplines of Islamic knowledge.¹⁶ Indigenous, Shi'ite, Salafist, Asha'irist, Sufist, and Wahabist teachings have been the traditions developed and accepted in Aceh, which is vividly shown in every element of Acehnese culture and customs. Samudra Pasee embraced cosmopolis culture, in which every culture of Muslim worlds are intermingled and was the place where the melting pot of every Muslim ethnic group. There are many decedents of Muslim origins found in many sites of Samudra Pasee gravestones.

Based on the philologist studies and archaeological scripts, it is found that Samudra Pase upheld orthodox Islam, which is closed to Salafist position of *ilm kalām*.¹⁷ In the later time, many other streams of kalam developed and become the host in Aceh, such as Shiah, Ash'ariete, Māturīdite, and Khawarij. The difference of many kalam schools and Islamic jurisprudence had been cojoined and encapsulated into *Qanun meukota alam* as the consensus of Acehnese society during the time of Iskandar Muda.

C. *Dayah* and Māturīdite Kalam

This section will discuss the historical account of *dayah* development for understanding the significance of Māturīdite kalam in Southeast Asia. *Dayah* (the Acehnese Islamic traditional education) is central to Acehnese identity and the Islamisation of Southeast Asia. During the coming of Islam and the establishment of *dayah* system of education, many kalam teachings and Islamic jurisprudences are introduced and developed. There were Māturīdite kalam, Ash'arite kalam, and other kalam taught and flourished in *dayah*. Aside from Ash'arite kalam, Māturīdite kalam had in particular greater acceptance since the strong connection of Acehnese sultanate with the Ottoman Sultanate and many Māturīdite ulema accomplished to become a great figure in Acehnese sultanate. During the time, *dayah* had an important role in building Acehnese's

¹⁶ Atjeh, *Ablusmah wal Jamaah (Kenayakan dan I'tiqad)*.

¹⁷ Herwandi, *Bungoh Kalimah: Kalibrafī Islam Dalam Balutan Tasawwuf Aceh (Abad 16-18): Telaah Sejarah Seni berdasarkan Data Tekstual pada Makam* (Padang: Penerbit Universitas Andalas, 2003); Othman Mohd. Yatim, *Batu Aceh*.

civilization and disseminating various sects of kalam the time, including Māturīdite kalam.

The word *dayah* is derived from an Arabic word “zawiyah”, زاوية (Acehnese dialect says *zanyah* or *dayah*), which literally means a corner. The prophet Muhammad used to use the corner of the mosque in Madinah to preach his teachings to his followers. The later generations would also perform the same way, in which a teacher sit in a corner or one of the mosque pole and students would sit semi-circularly around him. In early Islamic history, teaching was usually performed in that simple way. Later, the system developed and became more complex such as the development exemplified by the form of the oldest university in the world, like Al-Azhar University in Egypt, Qourawiyien University in Morocco, Zaitunah University in Tunisia. In line with the system of the development of traditional education in Arabic countries of the Islamic world, the Acehnese system of traditional education had developed and resembled the universities.

There is a long tradition in Acehnese historical account about their development of Islamic traditional education in Aceh. ³ Although there is little hard evidence, many scholars believe that Islamic traditional education was firstly introduced in Aceh and later on become a schooling tradition of Southeast Asia.¹⁸ The simple Islamic teaching, sitting semi-circular to a teacher in a corner, began firstly in Aceh at *Dayah* Cot Kala about 10 CE century located in Peureulak, east Aceh now. Then the *dayah* and other *dayah* emerged and developed to become more sophisticated, like *Dayah* Baiturrahman in 16-17 century. Ali Hasjmy argues that *dayah* was established in ⁶ 10 century and reached the peak of its development in ¹⁸ 16-17 CE during the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda. ¹¹ *Dayah* Baiturrahman was believed to be the golden age of the Islamic education in Aceh and Southeast Asia.¹⁹

In the earlier time, *dayah* had played its role to be the centre for controlling *da`wa*, managing its shortcomings, and erecting the propaganda of Islam broader. Later on, *dayah* became the centre for developing Muslim intellectuality, where much different kalam and Islamic

¹⁸ Dhuhri (ed.), “Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Aceh: Sejarah Perkembangan Dayah”; Dhuhri (ed.), *Dayah: Menapaki Pendidikan Warisan Endatu, Aceh*.

¹⁹ Hasjmy, *Bunga Rampai Revolusi dari Tanah Aceh*.

jurisprudence schools were taught, developed, and disseminated. *Dayah* curricula content those teachings and the local ulema encourages their disciples to master different kalam schools and Islamic jurisprudence schools (see detailed explanation in the next section). Played great role during the earlier and Acehnese pinnacle history of Aceh, *dayah* has declined in modern time. During colonial times, *dayah* system of education was restricted and oppressed by the Dutch authorities. Now, the traditional Islamic education struggles for its survival against a secular system of education and society. All in all, *dayah* has not only played as an educational institution, but also as community and Islamic intellectual development and control in Southeast Asia.

At present time, *dayah* is the only resource for Ulema to learn Māturīdite kalam. There is no discrimination against Māturīdite kalam. Acehnese Ash`arist Scholars view that Ash`arism and Māturīdism are similar and both are *Ahlu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah*. Even more, they do not concern about the difference between both kalam. They misconceive Māturīdite kalam and many times, they perceived Māturīdite kalam as Ash`arite teaching. Based on my August and September interviews of Acehnese leading ulema and scholars, according to Tgk Syamaun Risyad²⁰, Ismail Falaki²¹, and Ustaz Amirullah M. Diah²², current Ulema *dayah* had little knowledge on Māturīdiah kalam. Majority Ulema Aceh's knowledge on Māturīdiah merely relies on Dayah Curricula. Few Ulema has advantages by furthering the knowledge from acquiring it conversation within their network of *dayah*. Ustaz Amirullah adds that *dayah* community views Māturīdiah figure inextricably linked to Ash`ari's.

²⁰ He is the founder of Dayah Ulumuddin Uteunkeut, Lhokseumawe-Aceh. He commenced his study of Islam in Dayah Tanoeh Merah-Bireun for about seven years, which completed all subjects of *dayah* curricula. He is known as a leading ulema *dayah* in Aceh.

²¹ Ismail al-Falaki is a director of Al-Falaki ¹⁸studies at the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN) Lhokseumawe. He learnt from Abu Tumin and studied at Dayah Blang Blat Deh 7 years. Dayah Blang Blat Deh is a leading *dayah* in Aceh in present time. Abu Tumin the founder of Dayah Blang Blat Deh is the most charismatic figure *dayah* in present time and considered as the top Ulema of *dayah*.

²² Ustaz Amirullah M. Diah Lc, MA is an Ulema who studied in *dayah* several years and continued his study in Saudi Arabia for university level. He had several times leading local Ulema board; Majlis Ulema Aceh Utara.

They barely know him except Asha`ri. They know little the differences between the both kalam; whenever refer to Ash`arite thoughts, they also mean Māturīdiah kalam.

D. Māturīdī's Influence on Southeast Asian Islam

This section examines what are the influences of Māturīdite kalam on Southeast Asia. I look first at the main teachings of Māturīdiah according to the works of literature, and I detail the difference between Māturīdī's and Ash`ari's kalam that will be used to understand the influences of Māturīdite kalam among Acehnese Ash`arits. Finally, I am presenting detailed influences of Māturīdite kalam on Southeast Asia Muslims. There is much work on the development of Islamic theology.²³ Ash`ari and Māturīdite kalam are known as mainstream theology, which is much Acehnese traditional literature called both kalam as *ablu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah*. Ash`arite and Māturīdite kalam are, therefore, the most accepted teachings in the Islamic world for the reason that traditionalists are the greatest majority of Muslims in the world.

Māturīdite had a great response to intellectual development in his time. He was familiar with Aristotle's logic and initiated the work on *Ilm mantiq*. He was aware of the significance of the *mantiq* and therefore brought him into using it as the basis of kalam argumentation. He was known for his great fame of his theory of knowledge, called also as the epistemology of kalam,²⁴ which makes him as the first *mutakallim* who concerns the theory of knowledge.²⁵ In contrast to Ash`ari, Māturīdī founded his kalam argumentation on his theory of knowledge. Many scholars are, however, of the opinion that Ash`arite kalam is dominant, whereas Māturīdite kalam is unimportant, since Māturīdite kalam is

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²³ Saifuddin Dhuhri, "The Text of Conservatism: The Role of Abbas' Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah in Underpinning Acehnese Current Religious Violence", *Studia Islamika*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2016), pp. 29–59; Henri Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam; introduction à une étude de la religion musulmane*. (Paris: Payot, 1965); Wilferd M. De Vries, *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985); Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdiah and the Development of Sunni Theology in Samarqand*; A.J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development* (London & New York: Routledge, 2013).

²⁴ Nasir, "The Epistemology of Kalam of Abu Mansur al-Māturīdī".

²⁵ Özervarli, "The Authenticity of the Manuscript of Māturīdī's Kitab al Tawhid A Re-examination", p. 22.

hidden and overshadowed by Ash`arist presence and domination as stated in Muslim philosophy as below:

⁸ It becomes difficult to distinguish clearly between followers of al-Ash`ari and of al-Māturīdī: although Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Dawānī, al-Laḡanī are Ash`aris under the influence of al-Māturīdī, Abū `al-Barakat al-Nasafī and al-Taftazānī may be regarded as belonging primarily to the Māturīdī-Hanafī line and only secondarily to Ash`arism (they accepted the theory of atoms).²⁶

Critically analysis of the disputes, there were several issues of kalam's thoughts that differ between Ash`arism and Māturīdism, regarding kalam's principles and methodology.²⁷ There are, as a result, few local studies concern the different aspects between both kalam's. In addition, based on the analysis of many works on Islamic theology, and the comparison between Māturīdite and Ash`arite kalams, there are three important differences between Ash`arism and Māturīdism; firstly, the geographical location of both schools of kalam; the schools are from different geographical origins of the Islamic world. Māturīdite kalam is generally dominant and adopted by people under the control of Sultanates; Seljuqiah, Ayyubiah, and Ustmaniah, e.g., Samarqanq, Turkey, Hindia, and so forth. Secondly, Ash`arite kalam is generally adopted by the followers of Syafi'i schools, while Māturīdite kalam is followed by the Hanafite and earlier Malikite schools. Finally, several aspects of both theological principles and methodology are in contrast, which some time in a period of Saljuk and earlier Ottoman era raised conflicts. Several significant differences have been found include terminology (*lafhdhiah*) and meaning (*ma`nawie*).²⁸ Although there is no consensus among scholars about the number of differences, several researchers view that seven terminologies and eight principles differ between Ash`arite and

²⁶ *Ilm al-Kalam*, <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ei2/kalam.htm>, accessed 24 Sep 2017.

²⁷ Majority scholars view, including local scholars and Southeast Asian Ulema view that both Ash`arite and Māturīdite kalam are essentially identical in principles and methods of kalam.

²⁸ Nasir, "The Epistemology of Kalam of Abu Mansur al-Māturīdī"; Özervarli, "The ⁹Authenticity of the Manuscript of Māturīdīah s Kitab al Tawhid A Re-examination"; Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdīah and the Development of Sunni Theology in Samarqand*.

Māturīdite kalam.²⁹

Islamic education played a great role to teach various teachings of Islam. Māturīdī's influence on Southeast Asia was centered in *dayah*, where cosmopolitan teaching of Islam occurred in 13-17 CE. The role of *dayah* in disseminating various aspects of theology was the nature of Islamic education at the time. In the context of Southeast Asia, there were several ways that Māturīdī's kalam influences local Muslims' theology, where *dayah* was the channel for the impacts. The influences can best be treated under three headings: firstly, through ideologizing *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah* as global and local consensus, secondly, through local Māturīdīah ulema of *dayah*. Finally, through *dayah* curriculum and pedagogy; the content of *dayah* kalam curriculum provides great concern about different schools of kalam, including Māturīdīah teachings.

1. Mass Consensus under the Banner of *Ablu Al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* Ideology¹³

The term *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah* is “initially interpreted as the practices and characters that belonged to *abl al-hadīth* in the earlier era of Islam until the time of Ash`arism”.³⁰ After the era of *Sahaba* the term was used massively to justify every sect of kalam ideology, such as Salafism, Māturīdism, Ash`arism, and particularly Shi`ism³¹ in modern time. The

²⁹ The number of scholars studying the comparison between Ash`arite and Māturīdite are many, such as Imam Asakir 571 H, Abu Yusr Muhammad bin al-Bazdawie 493 H, and Tajuddin al-Subkie 771 H. There are three aspects of differences between Māturīdīah and Ash`arite kalam. Firstly, Ash`arite kalam is mainly embraced in west and north Islam, whereas Māturīdite kalam is mainly spread and followed by Hanafite school adherents. Secondly, there is coincident that the follower Ash`arite kalam are mainly from the followers of Syafi`ite and Malikite schools (particularly the late Malikite followers, when was after the reign of Ibn Tumart in Magrib Islam), while the followers of Māturīdite kalam are mainly from Hanafite school. The last areas are several issues of kalam's thought, which refer to seven *ma`nawi* and six *lafzdbi* differences as mentioned above.

³⁰ Dhuhri, “The Text of Conservatism”, p. 36.

³¹ Compared to the other sects/*Firq* of Islam, Shi`ah was the first *firq* who objected the term, which was commonly declared that objection during the era of Mu`awiah (the first consensus). They believed that the term was used misleadingly by the Mu`awiyah regime to favour of sunni group against Shi`ah sects. Until the second consensus of the term during Ottoman Sultanate, Shi`ah was consistently against

term is generally assumed to play a great role in accepting and rejecting a Muslim group. Although the interpretation of the term's principles is fallen under mass consensus, the interpretation of the term has been always subjected to vehement and heated debate. As argued by Duhri,³² during the caliphate Muawiyah, almost all *firq* had sought the consensus except for Shi'ite sect upon the signification of the term *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. This agreement is considered as the first consensus.

The first consensus had not, however, been maintained forever. In the fifth century, the dispute between Māturīdite kalam and Ash'arite group were again emerged, particularly within the sultanate of Ayyubiah, Saljukiah, and Utsmaniah territories. During the caliphates, the debate between Māturīdiah and Ash'ariah has again emerged. The resurgence was inevitable due to the disagreement concerning several principles of kalam and *fiqh* jurisprudence between Ash'arite and Māturīdite groups, Shafi'ite and Hanafite followers.

Ayyubids (1169–1280), Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517), Ottoman Empire (1517–1923) took significance efforts to unity the kalam of Ash'arism and Māturīdism under the banner of *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. Through the role played by Alp Arslan (465/1072) and Atabegs - Zangi (521 – 648), the second global consensus has been agreed, which has conjoined every difference of Māturīdite and Ash'arite kalam and encapsulated them under the banner of *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. In the meantime, the global consensus was also supported by intellectual agency, which is exemplified by the author of *ihyā ulumu al-dīn* of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali and Tajuddin Al-Subki, in his *Nunīyyah* (771/1370). This consensus mandates Māturīdite kalam a position as superior as Ash'arite kalam in the global scale of the Muslim world, including in Aceh where was the centre of Islamic intellectualities and Da'wa of Southeast Asia.

The global consensus had positively affected the local context which emerged a local consensus. The consensus made a formulation

the term and claimed it was only a political term used for a political instrument. In modern time, there is a new tendency among Shi'ah to accept the term as an attempt to consolidate Muslim differences and become awareness of Muslim retrograded to western civilisation, for detailed explanation of modern position of the term, for detailed study of Shi'ah interpretation of the term, please refer to Muḥammad al-Tijānī Samāwī, *al-Shi'ah hum abl al-Sunnah* (London: Mu'assasat al-Fajr, 1993).

³² Duhri, "The Text of Conservatism".

of a local consensus under the same banner; ¹³ *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. The consensus was a set of principles which is famously known as *Qanun el-Asyie* or *Qanun Meukuta Alam*. The qanun had been formulated during their golden time of Aceh, initiated by Sulthan Alaiddin Ali Mughaiyat Syah, *Qanun Meukuta Alam* had been completed by Sultan Iskandar Muda during 17 CE. As documented in *Al-Qanun Tazkiratul Thabaqat Bustan al-Salathien fi Khazinatul al-Qanun Meukuta Alam al-Asyie Darussalam Aceh*,³³ the qanun was formulated by consolidating Māturīdite Kalam and Ash`ariate into unity and called it as *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. Based on the principles of *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*, the accommodation between Ash`ariate and Māturīdite kalam, and the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence had pertained.

By comparison between any element of Ash`ariate and Māturīdite kalam, the classification of laws that mandates great authority on rationality is vividly indicated from Māturīdite and Hanafite teachings. In accordance with the teaching of Māturīdite kalam, and hanafite schools, rationality has a great position as the source of knowledge and law.³⁴ Accordingly, Acehnese legal system is classified into four categories, namely; *Hukm Syar`i*, *Hukm Aqli: Adab*, *Urf*, and *Reusam*. Those laws are respectively authorized to the King concerning *Adab*, to Ulema concerning religious matters, to the Queen concerning women matters, and the chief of army concerning *urf*. This division of power is illustrated in Acehnese popular poem/oral tradition;

Adat Bak Poe teumeureuhom

Hukum bak syiah Kuala

Qanun Bak Putroe Phang

Reusam bak Laksamana

The Adah is belong to the king

³³ Tengku Di Mulek, *Qanun Meukuta Alam Dalam Syarah Tadbkirah Tabaqat Tgk. Di Mulek dan Komentarnya*, ed. by Darni M. Daud, trans. by Mohd Kalam Daud and T.A. Sakti (Banda Aceh: Syiah Kuala University Press, 2010), pp. 1, 5, 103, 106.

³⁴ Nasir, "The Epistemology of Kalam of Abu Mansur al-Māturīdī"; Özervarli, "The Authenticity of the Manuscript of Māturīdī's Kitab al Tawhid A Re examination"; Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdīyah and the Development of Sunni Theology in Samarqand*.

Law is belong to Ulema

Qanun is belong to the Queen

Urf is belong a feudatory

As shown by the maxim, the location of rationality in the Acehese legal system is clearly shown the role of rationality as significant as the role of shari`a as it is advocated by Hanafite schools and Māturīdite kalam.³⁵

In the present time, the consensus pertained. Under the authority Consultative Council of Ulema (Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama; MPU) of Aceh, the legitimation of Māturīdite kalam as part of *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*'s principles remains and maintains. The recognition is known as MPU's Decree, no 09 the year 2014 pertaining to standard interpretation of Islamic theology, and the *da`wa* of Islam (*Tentang Pemahaman, Pemikiran, Pengamalan dan Penyiaran Agama Islam di Aceh*), and no. 04 the year 2007, concerning the principles of identifying heresies (*Tentang Pedoman Identifikasi Aliran Sesat*). Similar to global consensus, the local consensus is also supported by local intellectual figures. The work of Syeikh Zainal al-Abidien Muhammad al-Fatani and Sirajuddin Abbas are a few examples of the advocacies of the consensus. Sirajuddin Abbas' writing has received great acceptance by Southeast Asian modern time, while al-Fatani's writing was the predominant influence during 17-18 CE. Duhri³⁶ comments on the support of Abbas' interpretation of *Ablu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah*;

³ Abbas' *I'tiqad Ablussunnah wal-Jamaah* developed a new interpretation of the concept, which totally contrasts with earlier Salafi and Ash'arist interpretations. The book is one of the most popular books among traditionalist Muslims in Aceh. Abbas has, interestingly, essentialized the meaning of *Abl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* in presenting Ash'arist identity.

In accordance with the consensus, the majority of ulema believe that Māturīdī is *Ablu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* and Māturīdite kalam has similar acceptance to Ash'arists among *dayah* and Southeast Asian ulema as it was informed from the interview of several ulemas. They establish that Māturīdīah and Abu Hasan Ash'ari are the only right theology and

³⁵ 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar Abū Zayd al-Dabūsī, *Kitāb Ta'sīs al-Naẓar* (Miṣr: al-Maṭba'ah al-Adabīyah, 1902).

³⁶ Duhri, "The Text of Conservatism", p. 51.

the founder of *Ablu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah*.

2. Local Māturīdite Ulema

As explained earlier, the existence of *dayah* community and their intellectual resources are inextricably linked to the past era of Acehnese epoch time, where Acehnese Sultanate and Ottoman Sultanate had a strong connection.³⁷ One of the important links were an intellectual connection. Ottoman Sultanate adopted Māturīdite kalam as the sultanate theology. The Sultanate was therefore the channel of Māturīdite kalam to Aceh and Southeast Asia. Māturīdite kalam has a strong impact on the theological thoughts of *dayah*'s community, which is mainly adopted from local Māturīdite ulema work, such as Baba Daud and Nuruddin Ar-Raniry. The influence is also taken from Ash`ariete ulema who are influenced by Māturīdite kalam like Laqqani. Māturīdite kalam has a strong impact on the theological thoughts of Dayah's community, which is mainly adopted from local Māturīdite ulema, such as Baba Daud and Nuruddin Ar-Raniry, and from Ash`ariete ulema who are influenced by Māturīdite kalam like Laqqani.

Commencing with the explication of the method to identify Māturīdite Ulema in the local place, here I am elaborating their works, roles, and influences in Southeast Asia. I am also explaining briefly the elements of Māturīdite kalam that are taught and brought about to the local teaching of kalam. There was a tradition of ulema in the Islamic world to identify their selves by followers of the principles of a founder of kalam and Islamic jurisprudences, such as Ash`arite, Māturīdite, Syafi`ite, Hanafite, Malikite or Hambalite by their names. Some notable examples of this identification are Muhammad Ramli a-Shafi`i, Syaibani al-Hanafī, and al-Ghazali al-Ash`arite. Instead of using the identifications mentioned, many ulema in Aceh were identified themselves as *ablu al-*

³⁷ Baiquni Hasbi, *Relasi Kerajaan Aceh Darussalam dan Kerajaan Utsmaniyah* (Banda Aceh: LSAMA, 2014); Ozay, "A Preliminary Note on the Dayah Tanoh Abee"; Mehmet Ozay, "Baba Daud; A Turkish Scholar in Aceh", in *Ottoman Connections to the Malay World: Islam, Identity and Society*, ed. by Saim Kayadibi (Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2011b), pp. 32–55; A.C.S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop (eds.), *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks, and Southeast Asia*, Illustrated edition (Oxford: British Academy, 2015); Ermy Azziaty Rozali, "Aceh-Ottoman Relation in Bustan al-Salatin", *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 5, no. 29 (2015), p. 93.

sunnah wa al-jamaah followers. As a result, the identification of kalam's affiliations and *mazahib* of any ulema in the local place are unknown.³⁸

Dealing with the problem, I use another way to identify whether an Islamic scholar is Māturīdite or Ash'arite. Firstly, I learn from their writings, with special reference to their *ilm kalām* publications. Then I also refer to their writings of *fiqh* to confirm their *mazahib*. If they write their kalam on Māturīdite kalam and their *fiqh* on Hanafite, I conclude that the ulema is the Māturīdite followers. To further investigate the identification, I also tracked their homeland or the origin of their descendants.

If they are from the lands of the origins of Māturīdite kalam; like Surat-India, Samarqandi, Turkish Sultanate, or elsewhere where Māturīdite kalam was learned, embraced, and developed, I consider the scholars might have a category of being as a Māturīdite follower. Based on the investigation, I found many local scholars of Aceh had connections with Māturīdite kalam, either based on their works, or their origins and of both categories. Nuruddin Ar-Raniry and Baba Daud were both ulemas that fulfilled both categories of being Māturīdite followers.

- **Nuruddin ibn Ali ar-Raniry** (died 1658)

Nuruddin Ar-Raniry was from Surat-Gujarat India. Shaikh Randeri (Ar-Raniry), (Shaikh Nur ad-Deen Muhammad b. Ali b.Hasanji al-Hamid as-Shafi'i al-Ashari al-'Aydarusi ar-Randeri) was born into a Gujarati Muslim family of Hadhrami lineage, that was descended from Quraysh Arabian nobility. He arrived in Aceh in 1637 and enjoyed the patronage of Iskandar Thani (reigned 1636-1641). He denounced his predecessors at the Acehnese court, Hamzah Pansuri and Syamsuddin of Pasai, for what he saw as their heresy in violation of the Islamic belief that God was unchanged by his creation. He ordered their books to be burned, while he wrote numerous works setting what he insisted were orthodox religious standards. He was an Islamic mystic and scholar who worked for several years in the court of the Sultan Aceh, Indonesia. He was the most prolific of the authors of the Acehnese court and helped contribute to its international reputation as a center of scholarship. His work was considered the oldest Muslim scholarship of Southeast Asia. His most notable work was the *Bustan as-Salatin* (The Garden of Kings), begun in

³⁸ The tendency to identify themselves by *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah* was due to consequence and the obidience of the global concensus.

1638 and written in Malay based on Arabic sources. It is a seven-volume encyclopedic work, covering the history of the world from the creation through the period of prophets of Islam and the Muslim kings of the Middle East and the Malay area, as well as several sciences.

As he wrote much on kalam and tassawuf, apparently al-Raniry considers one of the basic questions among Malay-Indonesia Muslims to be their *Aqa'id* (Fundamentals of belief). Therefore, he attempts to make clear, among other things, the relation between the Reality of God and the universe and man.³⁹ Although al-Raniry's sojourn in the archipelago was relatively short (for seven years only, 1047-1054/1637-1644), he had a significant role in the development of Islam in the Malay-Indonesian world. He played a key role in bringing the great tradition of Islam to the region, reducing substantially the tendency to uncontrolled intrusion of local tradition of Islam. Without underestimating the role of earlier carriers of Islam from the Middle East to elsewhere, one can say that al-Raniry had a much stronger network of '*ulamā'*', connecting the Islamic tradition in the Middle East with that of the archipelagos. He was indeed one of the most important transmitters of Islamic reformism and renewals to this part of the Muslim world.⁴⁰

Azra and several other scholars are of the opinion that Nuruddin Ar-Raniry was Ash`arist loyal follower. Al-Attas on the other hand views him as Māturīdite follower. I am convinced that Ar-Raniry was an eminent follower of Māturīdite kalam. He was, however, pretending to be known as an Ash`arist for diplomacy/strategy so he could attract Acehese Sultans. The pretend act was common during Ar-Raniry time. For instance, An Shafi`ite follower, Molla Gurani (1480-88), pretended to be a Hanafite follower to get close to an Ottoman Sultan.⁴¹

Why was Ar-Raniry the follower of Māturīdite kalam? First, he was the author of *Durrat al-Fara'id bi-Syarh al-'Aqa'id*. The book was the *syarh* of *Aqa'id Nasa'iyah* of Sa`ad al-Din al-Taftazani (m.790/1388). Secondly, he came from an area that was under Māturīdite *kalam* influence (India) and had a great tradition of Māturīdite kalam intellectuality. Finally, Like

³⁹ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, p. 62.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 65.

⁴¹ van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia".

Abu Hanifah, Māturīdite refutes strongly mysticisms of pantheism.⁴² In line with Māturīdiah path, Ar-Raniry was against Hamzah al-Fansuri teaching, due to Fansuri's teaching of Ibn Arabi Sufism.

• **Baba Daud 17-18 CE**

He is Baba Daud Bin Ismail bin Agha Mustafa bin Agha Ali ar-Rum 17-18 CE. Syeikh Ismail ar-Rumi, was khalifah of Qadiriyyah Thariqah and was the descendent of Turks. He was the disciple of Syeikh Abdurrauf as-Singkili. Like Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry, It is believed that he was a follower of Māturīdite kalam. Baba Daud has great work that is used as a core curriculum for Acehnese to learn Islam until the present time.⁴³ His work is named *Masailal Muhtadi* and *Majmu Mushannafats*. The content of the book is the elucidation of Syeikh Nasafi's teaching of kalam, who was a great follower of Imam Māturīdi.

His idea of utmost importance in teaching Islam should be started by *ma`rifatullah*, by clearly stating in *Masailal Muhtadi*,⁴⁴ "*Awaluddiin ma`rifatullah*". He means by *ma`rifatullah* is having adequate knowledge about Allah through shari`a, that is by holy textual guidance and logical reasoning. Comprehensive elaboration of *ma`rifatullah* has been explained by Ar-Raniry;⁴⁵ knowing Allah can happen either by *aql* and by *mujabadah*. The scope of *ma`rifah* is six aspects, those are *Ma`rifatu ma`rifatu al-wahdaniyyati*, *wa ma`rifatu al-ta`zim*, *wa ma`rifatu al-mminnati*, *wa ma`rifatu al-qudrati*, *wama`rifatu al-minnati*, *wa ma`rifatu al-qudrati wama`rifatu al-azali*, and *wama`rifatu al-asrar*.⁴⁶

Baba Daud views that knowing by *aqli* is a preliminary and is a necessity for every muslim, while doing by *mujabadah* is specified for *abl*

⁴² Duncan Black MacDonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*. (Clark, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 2008), p. 309.

⁴³ Mehmet Özey, "Rumi" Networks of al-Sinkili: A Biography of Bāba Dāwud', *Studia Islamika*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2017), pp. 247–69; Özey, 'Baba Daud; A Turkish Scholar in Aceh'; Özey, 'A Preliminary Note on the Dayah Tanoh Abee'. the well-known Acehnese religious scholar; (b

⁴⁴ Muhammad Baba Daud Rumi, *Masa'ilal Muhtadi li Ikbwan al-Muhtadi*, Saiful Bahri Collection [17th - 20th century], Aceh Besar, p. 5, <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP329-4-5>, accessed 5 Apr 2019.

⁴⁵ Muhammad Zainiy Uthman, *Lata'if al-Asrar li-Ahl Allah al-Atyar of Nur al-Din al-Raniry* (Kuala Lumpur: UTM Press, 2011), pp. 475–594.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

Khawash, which is of tassawuf domain. In his *Majmu`mushannafats*, the kitab places Syeikh Nasafi in a great position and refers to him as Syeikh in teaching Islamic theology in Aceh.

3. *Content of Kalam Curriculum and Intellectual Network of Dayah*

In Aceh, there are two systems of education; state education and religious education. State education is a system of education introduced by the colonial government and adopted later to become a national educational system. The state education later is developed and adopted several Islamic subjects to respond to the demands of Pan-Islam/modern Muslim and named it as Madrasah. The second system of education is Islamic traditional education or *dayah* that is the indigenous education and came to exist because of the coming of Islam to Aceh and Southeast Asia. This education is grouped into two modes; formal and non-formal systems.

The formal system is intended for students specialised in studying Islam and planned for being the candidate for future ulema/Islamic scholars, whereas the non-formal system is planned for common people, who are obliged to study Islam as merely the fulfillment of *fardhu`ain*. There are several books (local people call them 'kitab'), which pertain to be used as intellectual resources for the study of Islamic theology both Māturīdite and Ash`arite kalam. Baba Daud's masterpiece; "*masailal muhtadi* is a non-formal subject to study theology". Other sources of Māturīdite kalam, which were taught and learned in *dayah* are Hudhudi and Dusuqi. Let's look at the content of the books closely.

4. *Formal and Non-Formal Curriculum*

- Formal Curriculum

The introduction to Māturīdite kalam for *dayah* students begins in the fifth year of *dayah* education, then the study of Māturīdite kalam continues until the seventh year. In three years, the students study the book *Hasyiah al-Dusuqi*. The book contains a detailed explanation of Māturīdite kalam, in particular concerning knowledge and logic, e.g.; definition of knowledge, the nature of knowledge, its category, and the methods to achieve the knowledge. In addition, the *Hasyiyah Dusuqi* contains the obligation to *ma`rifatullah* (knowing Allah) based on *manthiq*

presumption (Aristotle's logic), Human freedom; theory of *Kash* averse theory of *ikhtiyari*, human nature, and finally about *Taklif bima la yutabaq*. The book has an emphasis on Māturīdite teachings as the core curriculum for formal studies of traditional schools.

- Non-Formal Curriculum: *Masailul Muḥtadī* and *Matan Jawaharab*

Kitab Masailal Muḥtadī is a primary book for common Acehnese to study Islam and is required to be studied as the first kitab for non-formal education of *dayah*. The book is assigned for those who just completed the learning of reading the Qur'an and are elementary pupils in learning Islam. Mehmet Ozay views that the book has been the core curriculum for non-formal educating Islam since Iskandar Muda era until the present time. The book is contented with elementary knowledge on Islamic theology, fiqh, and tassawuf. The books were written by the Turks, which is believed to the followers of Māturīdite. Mehmet Ozay argues that Baba Daud was Turk's scholar. He was of Turkish descent. He came to Aceh and lived there in 17-18 CE and married an Acehnese.⁴⁷ Although the knowledge of *dayah* community on Māturīdī's kalam is limited to the content of *dayah* curricula. Many *dayah* Ulema pays great respect and gives a great position to Māturīdite kalam as explained earlier. _

E. Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, the influences of Māturīdīah kalam on the Acehnese *dayah* community can be grouped into three aspects, firstly, political agreement to accept Māturīdite kalam under the banner of *ablu al-sunnah wa al-jamaah* and located it as a privilege as Ash'arite kalam. The politic of Ayyubids (1169–1280), Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517), and particularly Ottoman Empire (1517–1923) had a great role in enhancing Māturīdite influence, which gradually penetrated *dayah* development and theological aspects of Southeast Asia. Secondly, many Māturīdīah ulema had great fame and influence on Acehnese theology through their roles as teachers and *qadhi Malikul Adil*, which makes Māturīdite kalam received high position and great values. The influence is mainly generated from local Māturīdite ulema, such as Baba Daud and Nuruddin Ar-Raniry, and from Ash'arite ulema who are influenced by Māturīdite kalam such as, Laqqani. Finally, Māturīdite kalam has a great position in Aceh due

⁴⁷ Ozay, "Baba Daud; A Turkish Scholar in Aceh".

to the intellectual network in the early Aceh history and glorious time. It is the Ottoman Sultanate that brought the fame of Māturīdite kalam among Acehnese and built *dayah* networks, such as the development of Dayah Tanoh Abei and Dayah Awee Geutah.

The legacy of Māturīdite influences on Southeast Asian Islam has been known along with the role of *dayah* in Islamising Southeast Asia. *Dayah* had played a great role in the area that made Aceh as the catalyst for Southeast Asian Islamic development and control. There were various Islamic sects' teaching taught and introduced including Salafite, Shi`ite, and Māturīdite kalam. Another influence of Māturīdite kalam is in the formation of the Acehnese constitution. Māturīdite kalam had celebrated a great role in formulating the Acehnese constitution; as Qanun el-Asyie. Further, a great contain of Māturīdite kalam can be also found in *dayah* formal; *Hasyiah al-Dusuqi*, and non-formal curriculum. *Masailal Mubtadi* and Ar-Raniry's version of *Nasafi's* are illustrated a few examples of Māturīdi's influences on the Acehnese *dayah* community.

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