

Vernacularisation of Acehese Literature and Religious Works in the 19th Century AD: A Philological Approach

Erawadi*

Abstract

This article discusses the development of local translation and the transformation of literature and religious works into the Acehese language. Even though this literature and religious works had appeared since the 17th century AD, significant progress only found momentum in the 19th century. Employing a philological approach, this study analyses written manuscripts using descriptive and analytic methods to explore the vernacularisation of Acehese literary and religious works. The research reveals that in the 19th century, there was a development of literary and religious writings in the Acehese language, along with the decline in the role of Malay as a regional language in Southeast Asia. This shift is evidenced by a number of local Acehese literary works written in the Jawi script (Arabic-Acehnese). On the one hand, this transition reflects the waning influence of the Malay language in Aceh. Still, on the other hand, they have become the momentum for translating and transforming religious values for the people of Aceh.

Keywords: Vernacularisation, Acehese literature, religious works, literary writing, Jawi script

Introduction

Before the 18th century, the use of the Acehese language was very limited, especially in intellectual and scientific contexts. While the general population spoke Acehese, Malay was more commonly used among the urban, international, and cosmopolitan populace, as it was the language of the state and scholarly discourse. Old manuscripts from the 16th and 17th centuries show little influence on the Acehese language; sometimes, it even deserves to be questioned in the context of scientific traditions, especially in the written language.¹

However, from the 18th century onwards, literary works in the Acehese language began to flourish and became more prominent² compared to the previous period, especially the literature written in the Jawi script (Arabic-Acehnese script). On the one hand, this change shows the decline in Aceh's cultural and intellectual role at the regional level in Southeast Asia. As a consequence, Aceh is no longer the cosmopolitan cultural and intellectual centre of Southeast Asia, but on the other hand becomes a momentum for the process of translating and transforming religious values for ordinary people in rural and inland areas, most of whom do not yet speak Malay, and also Arabic. Even the delivery of religious messages through the Friday sermons (*Khutbah Jum'at*), which previously used Arabic and Malay, was proposed to be conducted in the Acehese language,³ as not all Acehese understand Arabic and Malay.

Classical literary works are the Acehese people's ancestral heritage (*indatu*). They are renowned for their beauty and contain moral messages for readers. Such works are referred to as works of local wisdom inherited from the Acehese ancestors. While the ability of the Jawi people (Archipelago) to understand Arabic books in the 17th century was quite vibrant, this proficiency diminished in the following centuries. As stated by Muhammad Zayn al-Asy'i in his time (18th century), this phenomenon observed that the Jawi people lacked understanding and could not digest material written and taught in Arabic. Therefore, he tried translating it into Jawi to meet the intellectual needs of his time.⁴

* Erawadi (PhD), Associate Professor, Postgraduate Program, Universitas Islam Negeri Syeik Ali Hasan Ahmad Addary, Padangsidimpuan, Indonesia, Email: erawadi@uinsyahada.ac.id.

¹ Denys Lombard (1986), *Kerajaan Aceh : Zaman Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636)*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

² Anthony Reid (2000), *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, Washington: Silkworm Books, https://www.google.co.id/books/edition/Charting_the_Shape_of_Early_Modern_South/YNMGBAAAQBAJ?hl.

³ C. Snouck Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. I, Jakarta: Yayasan Soko Guru.

⁴ Muhammad Zain bin al-Faqih Jalaluddin al-Asy'i (1346 H), *Kasyf Al-Kiram Fi Bayan Niyyat Takbirat al-Ihram*, Mesir: Mushthafa al-Bab al-Halabi wa Auladuh, <https://archive.org/details/TUNKasyfulKiram/page/n1/mode/2up>.

Similarly, Faqih Jalaluddin (Teungku di Lam Gut) highlighted the Acehese people's low level of Arabic language ability at the time. He said in *Tanbih al-Ghafilin*: “.. maksud le yang han jeut, seubab Arab le soe lupa, jinou ku kisah ngen bahsa Aceh, bek na dalih nibak gata...”⁵ Meaning: “many people do not know the meaning of the book, because people have forgotten the Arabic language, now I am telling the story in the Acehese language, so that there is no reason why you can't.”

The words “*sebab Arab le soe lupa*” (because Arabic people have forgotten it) also imply that previously the Arabic language in Aceh had a significant role in the intellectual tradition of the Acehese people. This opinion is in line with the fact that Arabic had become an international language in Malay in previous centuries. The Hindi Ocean was once considered the “Arabic-speaking Mediterranean region.”⁶

As evidence of the efforts of local translators and the transformation of these values, Acehese poets and scholars have produced several works. Works of this kind have, almost no doubt, played an important role in transmitting knowledge. These works also reflect the intellectual development and scientific traditions of the past Acehese.

Research on vernacularisation, particularly in religious texts, has garnered significant attention. For instance, KH. Sholeh Darat al-Samarani⁷ vernacularised the *Tafsir Fa'id al-Rahman* into Javanese using Arabic Pegon script. Mursalim and Abbas⁸ also conducted research related to the vernacularisation of the Qur'an in the Bugis Land by Anregurutta Yunus Maratan with the title *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Karim bi al-Lugah al-Bugisiyah*, compiled systematically using the Bugis regional language (*lontarak*). This book is not a product of interpretation but only a product of translating the Qur'an into the local Bugis language. Besides that, there is also a Quranic interpretation of vernacularisation, according to AGH. Hamzah Manguluang and AGH. Abd. Muin Yusuf about Surah al-Ma'un. This interpretation discusses theology, morals, and social sciences using the Bugis regional language (*lontarak*) to obtain a cultural and contextual understanding of the holy messages of the Qur'an.⁹ Muh Fadhil Nur's research aligns with research conducted by Zubair and Hilma regarding the vernacularisation of understanding the contextuality of hadith within the framework of Islam in the Archipelago.¹⁰ In the study of the vernacularisation of literature and other religious works, notable works include the *Tafsir Turjuman Al-Mustafid*, which discusses the vernacularisation of the Qur'an into Malay,¹¹ and the study of Sirat al-Mustaqim and *Mir'at al-Thullab fi Tashil Ma'rifat Ahkam al-Shari'ah li Mulk al-Wahhab*.¹²

Saepudin's¹³ research on the vernacularisation of the Quranic interpretation in 20th century Indonesia, focusing on the Sundanese language *tafsir*, proves that the Sundanese community's interaction with the Al-Qur'an resulted in a vernacularisation process—the close relationship between the two results in *tafsir*-related works that are related to Sundanese values and nuances. The occurrence of vernacularisation can be viewed from two factors, namely internal and external factors. Internal factors are shown by the desire of the Sundanese Ulama to provide Sundanese Muslims with an understanding of the content of the Qur'an. The external factors relate to the enthusiasm of Sundanese Muslims to write religious studies from the Sundanese perspective. Furthermore, Yildiz¹⁴ examines how Devletoğlu

⁵ Jalaluddin, *Tanbih Al-Ghafilin* (122/LL/3/YPAH/2005; 14/LL/4/YPAH/2005 / 14/NKT/YPAH/1992; 188/LL/5/YPAH/2005; 214/LL/6/YPAH/2005, Banda Aceh: Yayasan Pendidikan Ali Hasjmy.

⁶ Anthony H. Johns (1975), “Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions,” *Indonesia*, Vol. 19, pp. 33–55.

⁷ Lilik Faiqoh (2018), “Vernakularisasi dalam Tafsir Nusantara: Kajian Atas Tafsir *Fa'id al-Rahman* Karya KH. Sholeh Darat al-Samarani,” *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 85–128; Ahmad Aly Kaysie and Indal Abror (2017), “Tafsir Esoterik Kiai Shaleh Darat tentang Salat,” *Nun : Jurnal Studi Alquran dan Tafsir di Nusantara*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 1–37.

⁸ Mursalim and Abbas (2020), “Vernakularisasi Al-Qur'an di Tanah Bugis: Tinjauan Metodologis Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Karya Anregurutta Muh. Yunus Maratan,” *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 129–142.

⁹ Moh Fadhil Nur (2018), “Vernakularisasi Alquran di Tatar Bugis: Analisis Penafsiran AGH. Hamzah Manguluang dan AGH. Abd. Muin Yusuf terhadap Surah al-Ma'un,” *Rausyan Fikr: Jurnal Ilmu Studi Ushuluddin dan Filsafat*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 359–394.

¹⁰ Muhammad Zubir and Mushallina Hilma (2018), “Vernakularisasi Pemahaman Hadis (Refleksi Wacana Islam Nusantara),” *Islam Transformatif: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 143–154.

¹¹ Ervan Nurtawab (2011), “The Problems of Translation in Turjuman Al-Mustafid: A Study of Theological and Eschatological Aspects,” *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 33–65.

¹² Mohd Puaad Abdul Malik and Faisal @ Ahmad Faisal Abdul Hamid (2022), “Penulisan Karya Melayu Islam Klasik Abad Ke-17: Perbincangan Karya-Karya Terpilih: 17th Century Classical Malay-Islamic Writing: A Discussion of Selected Books,” *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 181–92.

¹³ Dindin Moh. Saepudin (2023), “Vernakularisasi Tafsir Al-Qur'an di Indonesia Abad Ke-20: Studi Kasus Tafsir Berbahasa Sunda,” Disertasi, Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

¹⁴ Sara Nur Yildiz (2017), “A Hanafi Law Manual in the Vernacular: Devletoğlu Yūsuf Balıkesri's Turkish Verse Adaptation of the Hidāya-Wiqāya Textual Tradition for the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (824/1424),” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 80, No. 2, pp. 283–304.

Vernacularisation of Acehese Literature and Religious Works in the 19th Century AD: A Philological Approach Yūsuf Balīkesrī's verified Hanafi law manual, written in Anatolian Turkish and dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (d. 855/1451 AD), engages in a complex relationship between the nascent vernacular, Anatolian Turkish, and the Classical Arabic religious textual tradition. Furthermore, his study explores how the work expounds upon the benefits of transmitting religious knowledge in the vernacular and justifies religious texts by drawing on Hanafi-approved Persian language practices of religious devotion.

Based on some of the research above, many have discussed vernacularisation in general from a linguistic point of view. Based on this, this research will focus on vernacularisation of literature and religious works of Aceh in the 19th century from a philological analysis. This research will provide an academic contribution to the history of literary and religious vernacularisation that emerged in the Acehese society in the 19th century.

Methodology

This research uses a philological approach, focusing on written Acehese literary texts and religious works. The research method used is a descriptive-analytic method, which describes and analyses the vernacularisation of Acehese literary and religious works in general. This research is qualitative-analytic, which means it solely describes, depicts, writes down, reports and analyses the research object based on the data found. This research describes and analyses the vernacularisation of Acehese literary and religious works. Sangidu stated that a philological approach, among others, could be based on historiographic studies to obtain a process of critically examining and analysing the records and relics of the past.¹⁵

Historiographical studies do not require researchers to be directly involved with the events, developments and experiences being studied. Instead, the researcher determines the problem, determines data sources, collects evidence, critiques the evidence and makes conclusions about an event, development and experience. The collection of data sources uses primary data sources and secondary sources obtained from the Acehese literary and religious works in the 19th century. The data is documented and studied academically. The aim is to foster more specialised studies that delve deeper into particular literary and religious works in future research.

Literary Writing Traditions and Religious Works

Although Acehese literary works have appeared since the 17th century AD, their development only found momentum in the 18th century. This development accelerated in the 19th century along with the diminishing role of Aceh as the centre of Malay culture.¹⁶ However, writing prose in the Aceh language before the 20th century did not develop, nor did the Malay language's development.¹⁷ This is proven by the many literary works, generally in poetry and in Aceh Jawoe (Acehese written in Arabic), which appeared in this period, both orally and in writing.

Acehese literature is characterised by three types of poetry, namely *hikayat*, *nadham (nalam)*, and *pantun (panton)*. The definition of *hikayat*¹⁸ in Acehese literature is different from *hikayat* in Malay literature. In Malay literature, *hikayat* is interpreted as prose, whereas in Acehese literature, *hikayat* is always in the form of poetry (if it is in prose, it is called *haba*). *Hikayat*, for the Acehese, does not only contain fictional stories (fairy tales), mere religious legends or historical events but also works of moral education value and simple textbooks, as long as they are written in poetry (verses) forms.¹⁹ A story that stands alone or in a series can be called *hikayat* as long as it is possible to convey it orally in front of an audience of connoisseurs.²⁰

¹⁵ Sangidu (2019), *Tugas Filolog: Teori dan Aplikasinya Dalam Naskah-Naskah Melayu*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, p. 16; Louis Gottschalk (1964), *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method*, 2nd ed, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, p. 48.

¹⁶ Anthony Reid (2004), *Sejarah Modern Awal Asia Tenggara: Sebuah Pemetaan*, Jakarta: LP3ES, pp. 302–304; Henri Chambert-Loir and Oman Fathurahman (1999), *Khazanah Naskah: Panduan Koleksi Naskah-naskah Indonesia Sedunia*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, pp. 33.

¹⁷ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. I, p. 203.

¹⁸ The word of *hikayat* derived from Arabic, it means story.

¹⁹ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. I, p. 81; Imran Teuku Abdullah (1991), *Hikayat Meukuta Alam: Suntingan Teks dan Terjemahan Beserta Telaah Struktur dan Resepsi*, Jakarta: Intermasa, p. 17; Karel A. Steenbrink (1984), *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad Ke-19*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, p. 69.

²⁰ Abdullah (1991), *Hikayat Meukuta Alam*, p. 26.

The second form of Acehese literary works is *nazam*; in Acehese, it is called *nalam*. The word *nalam* comes from the word *nazham* (Arabic), which means "poetry." Works written in the *nalam* form contain religious subjects, many of which are in the style of textbooks and are in the form of edification (educational). Another form, *pantun* (*panton*), is used in compassion, traditional dialogue at sacred ceremonies, *seudati* games and lullabies. In dialogue between lovers and hosts and guests (*such* as at a wedding), *panton meukarang* is used.²¹ Several verses of the *pantun* sometimes appear in *hikayat*, usually at the opening of the *hikayat* (*khutbah*), or in the opening of new episodes or dialogues. The insertion of several verses of the rhyme adds piquancy to the enjoyment of telling the story.²²

Most Aceh rhymes, such as those recited in *rateb* (*ratib*) and similar events, are only spread orally. Compared to other types, this oral rhyme is more meaningful in relation to the intellectual aspects of Acehese life.²³

Vernacularisation of the Acehese Literature and Religious Works

Actually, the vernacularisation process of Acehese literature and religious works started in the 17th century. Still, at that time, the use and development of the Malay language dominated the archipelago, including Aceh. Almost all Acehese literature, before Dutch colonialism (1873–1942 AD), was in the form of poetry in the form of *hikayat* or *nazam*.

Prose works were rare, with only a few notable examples, including *Sipheuet Dua Ploh* (Twenty Characters), which contains a discussion of the twenty attributes of God written by a woman, Teungku Lam Bhu' and *Beukeumeunan* (Then), which is a translation of the *Qawa'id al-Islam Sipheuet Dua Ploh*.²⁴

After the arrival of the Dutch, Acehese written works in prose appeared in the 1930s AD, such as *Lhee Saboh Nang* written by Aboe Bakar and De Vries. After that, various written works in the form of prose appeared. However, they were still dominated by written works in the form of *hikayat*.

The oldest Acehese *hikayat* that can be traced are: *Hikayat Seuma'un*,²⁵ the author is *anonymous* and set out in 1069 H/1658 AD. This story tells about the heroism of Seuma'un, son of Khalid ibn Walid (Islamic fighter), who was born and grew up in Mecca. Then appeared *Hikayat Tujoh Kisah* (tale of the seven tales) in 1074 H/1663 AD. The work refers to a work by Nuruddin al-Raniri, *Akhbar al-Akhirah*,²⁶ which contains information about Nur Muhammad, written in 1052 H/1642 AD.

There are three types of Acehese literary works, namely poetry (*hikayat*), *nadham* (*nalam*), and *pantun* (*panton*).

The *Hikayat*, including:

1. *Hikayat Putroe Gumbak Meuh*²⁷ (The story of the princess of the Golden Hair), the author is *anonymous* and was written at the request of Tengku Bandasah, a friend of the writer from Pidie in 1220 H/1805 AD. The content tells about *Gumbak Meuh* (The Golden Hair), the daughter of King Hamsoikasa from the state of Gulita Sagup, who was born to his third wife, Syah Kubandi. Because of the jealousy of the first and second wives of Shah Kubandi, he was slandered as a black shaman, then imprisoned, while *Gumbak Meuh* and his 99 brothers were exiled somewhere. In exile, *Gumbak Meuh*, along with 99 of his brothers, were found by a pair of giants who then cared for and raised him. *Gumbak Meuh* was told by the magic bird about his origins, and he finally returned to his father's lap. The story ends with the marriage of *Gumbak Meuh* with Lila Bangguna from space and their dispute with those who are envious of him, which ends in victory on the part of *Gumbak Meuh* and his brothers.

²¹ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. I, pp. 80–82.

²² Abdullah (1991), *Hikayat Meukuta Alam*, p. 17.

²³ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. I, p. 69.

²⁴ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. I, p. 203.

²⁵ Naskah koleksi Museum Negeri NAD No. Inv. 110; Lihat juga Mark Durie (1996), "Portry and Worship: Manuscripts From Aceh," in Ann Kumar and John H. McGlynn (1996), *Illuminations: The Writing Traditions of Indonesia: Featuring Manuscripts from the National Library of Indonesia*, New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill.

²⁶ Manuscript collection of the Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam State Museum No. Inv. 2829, copied year 1239 H by Teungku Malem Puteh.

²⁷ Mawardi (1997), *Identifikasi Naskah Koleksi Museum Negeri Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh*, Banda Aceh: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan D.I. Aceh, p. 19.

2. *Hikayat Perang Sabi*, by Muhammad Pantekulu (famous Teungku Chik Pantekulu). The story of the *Perang Sabi* is aimed at arousing a sense of solidarity and identity among citizens as an Islamic society against enemies who are classed as infidels.²⁸ This *hikayat*, which is usually read to members of the army to inspire the fighting spirit, consists of four themes, namely Ainul Mardhiyah, the story of the elephant troops, the story of Said Salmi and the story of a slave who died and then came back to life. The work was written by Teungku Chik Pantee Kulu while returning to Aceh from Mecca. After finishing writing, he dedicated the work to Teungku Chik di Tiro, the Aceh warlord at that time (late 19th century), to awaken the spirit of jihad for the people of Aceh against the Dutch.
3. *Hikayat Diu Plinggam*. It is a romance story about a wandering aristocrat, the youngest of two brothers, the son of the Viceroy, Sakti. His mother's name was Putroe Hina; the name was given because she was hated by the other 6 (six) wives of the Viceroy. They even killed Putroe Hina when she was pregnant for the first time, but was revived by the Angel Siton Glima. Putroe Nilawati from the sky exchanged her ring with Diu Plinggam's ring when she slept. Diu Plinggam saw Putroe Nilawati floating in the air when he woke up. This became the first reason for Diu Plinggam's journey.²⁹
4. *Hikayat Meudeuhak*³⁰ tells of Meudeuhak, son of Buka Sakti, who is smart, just and wise. Since childhood, he has been known to be smart and meditate in every dispute. When the King learned about this, he was immediately appointed as a palace official and married to the wise Putroe Cindu Kaseumi, who always helped him face all the wiles and cunning of his rivals. Finally, he became a Supreme Court judge, and although he faced various challenges, he overcame them. Although crafted like a romance story, the text of *Hikayat Meudeuhak* can also be called a collection of anecdotes that contain lessons, especially for leaders. Because of that, the text is more suitable to be called a smart book about puzzles, policies, and strategies for dealing with life's problems in society.
5. *Hikayat Soydina Husen*,³¹ also known as *Hikayat Asan Usen* or *Tuanteu Usen*. This story, related to the commemoration of the day of 'Ashura', depicts the story of Saidina Husain, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, facing Yazid ibn Mu'awiyah by deploying 70,000 troops to Kuffah. A great battle, then, took place on the field of Karbala, in which Husain was killed along with a number of his family members. Yazid finally succeeded in seizing Syahribanun, Husain's wife, and made her his wife.
6. *Hikayat Nun Farisi* portrays life in the palace of the Samudra Pasai Kingdom with the main character, Ain Sibayan. He is a central figure who can solve complicated problems in the kingdom by relying on Bustan's knowledge. Apart from being used as a source for historiographical studies on Samudra Pasai, this text can also be used as a reference in making legal policies in society.
7. *Hikayat Keumala Alam*³² contains romantic stories and adventures of Keumala Alam.
8. *Hikayat Malem Diwa*³³ illustrates the story of Malem Diwa, son of Raja Tampok and Putri Sihbawa from the village of Piadah, Pasai, who wanders the north and east coasts of Aceh. Although he failed to marry Dalikha, his teacher's daughter—because she was older than him—he later married Putroe Bungsu from heaven, Putroe Aloih from Natal, and Putroe Meureundam Dewi from Lhok Seunibong. Then, the story continues with stories of the adventures and romance of Malem Diwa's life.
9. *Hikayat Bustaman*³⁴ depicts stories about past war events and the dexterity of the War Commander in leading his troops by using elephants as vehicles.

²⁸ Abdullah (1991), *Hikayat Meukuta Alam*, p. 27.

²⁹ Ali Hasjmy call it *Hikayat Yu Palinggam*. Among the manuscript copies contained in YPAH (Catalog Number: 213/HK/13/YPAH/2005) and Dayah Tanoh Abee, both of which copied the year 1310 H/1892 M. The script too located in the Leiden University Library (see Oman Fathurahman & Munawar Holil (ed.) (2007), *Katalog Naskah Ali Hasjmy Aceh*, Tokyo: C-DATS – PPIM UIN Jakarta.Oman, pp. 262-263; and Ali Hasjmy (1997), *Ulama Aceh, Mujahid Pejuang Kemerdekaan dan Pembangun Tamadun Bangsa*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, p. 15.

³⁰ Manuscripts are found at Yayasan Pendidikan and Museum Ali Hasjmy (Nomor catalog: 33/HK/1/YPAH/2005 atau 15/NKT/YPAH/1995), copied year 1351 H/1932 M di Lam Ara, Ketapang Dua, Aceh Besar; and Museum Negeri NAD (No. Inv./Katalog: 898a/78a, dan 898b/78b).

³¹ A copy of the manuscript contained in YPAH (Nomor Katalog: 125/HK/7/YPAH/2005 (see Oman (2007), *Katalog Naskah*, pp. 258-259).

³² A copy of the manuscript contained in YPAH (Nomor catalog: 150/HK/9/YPAH/2005 (see Oman (2007), *Katalog Naskah*, p. 260).

³³ A copy of the manuscript contained in YPAH (Nomor catalog: 208/HK/11/YPAH/2005 and 187/HK/12/YPAH/2005) (see Oman (2007), *Katalog Naskah*, pp. 261-262).

³⁴ A copy of the manuscript contained in YPAH (No catalog: 50/HK/15/YPAH/2005 and 25/NKT/YPAH/1995) (see Oman (2007), *Katalog Naskah*, pp. 264-265).

10. *Hikayat Tanbih al-'Ashi*, whose author is anonymous, was written on 27 Jumadil Akhir 1234 H/1818 AD in Aceh Jawoe (Aceh-Jawi).³⁵ This *hikayat* talks about monotheism and morals that a person must have for the cleanliness of his soul.
11. *Hikayat Maleem Dagang*, written by Ismail ibn Ya'kub (famously known as Teungku Chik Pantee Geulima). He lived during Sultan Alaidin Mahmud Syah (1286-1290 H/1870-1874 AD), and according to one source, he was the author of *Hikayat Maleem Dagang*. He also founded an Islamic boarding school in the Meureudu area, Pidie, namely the Pantee Geulima Islamic boarding school which was one of the largest Islamic boarding schools of its time.³⁶
12. *Hikayat Meunajat* is written by Syeh Marhaban. This work of literature centres around the concept of *meunajat* or in Malay, *munajat*, or simply understood as prayer but in poetry. The author recommends that it be recited in the last four hours of the night.³⁷
13. *Hikayat Akeubar Karim* (Akhbar al-Karim)³⁸ is written by Teungku Seumatang (original name unknown). This text is one of the popular texts in Aceh. It used to be a compulsory subject in basic Islamic education.³⁹ This text contains the meaning of *usuluddin*, *shahadat*, *makrifat*, Islam, ablution, and prayer. *Akhbar al-Karim* (Stories for the Generous), which consists of 10 chapters, is written not in the form of *nalam* but in Acehnese *sanja*. Hence, it is considered a work of literature.⁴⁰
14. *Hikayat Nubuet Nabi*⁴¹ (*Hikayat Nubuah Nabi*), contains the history of the apostleship of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, starting from Nur Muhammad until he was born and raised to be a Prophet.
15. *Hikayat Akeubar Naim* (*Akhbar al-Na'im*),⁴² written by Teungku Muhammad Yusuf Reubee, contains advice for parents in educating their children and other matters related to moral education.
16. *Hikayat Balukia ngon Affan* (Balukia and Affan Hikayat) was completed on 24 Safar 1262 H (\pm 1845 AD),⁴³ however, the author is unknown (anonymous). In the text of this *hikayat*, the number three still uses the word *teulu* (three).⁴⁴ This word is rarely used anymore. The Acehnese prefer to use the word "lhee" to mention the number three.
17. *Hikayat Pocut Muhammad* is written by Teungku Lam Rukam (his real name is unknown). This work has a fairly clear historical background, although the facts are reflected through an imaginative medium that is in accordance with the unique characteristics of Aceh. In this work, human feelings always have a place, but history never disappears behind the fog of legend. Nothing can doubt the truth of the main facts, so the poem, apart from its high literary value, is also a valuable contribution to the history of Aceh.⁴⁵ The poetry of *Hikayat Pocut Muhammad* at the end of the epic presents himself as Teungku Lam Rukan. This title shows that he is respected because of his knowledge and devotion to religion, and he once lived in Kampung Lam Rukam in XXV Mukim. Although he was not present at the events narrated in *Hikayat Pocut Muhammad*, he obtained information from eyewitnesses. Thus, it is most likely that Teungku Lam Rukan composed the *hikayat* around the middle of the 18th century.

Besides that, there are also literary works such as *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, which contains events between 1250 – 1350 AD. These works include *Hikayat Usman Basyah*, the story of a childless king and seven daughters who came down from heaven; *Hikayat Peureudan Ali*, the story of the lives of ancient kings with various supernatural powers and wars to get the princess's consort; and *Hikayat Putro Baren*, The story of a Baghdad king named Baren Nasi and his queen named Meureudum Rakna.⁴⁶ Other literary works, such as *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*, contain natural events and their contents, such as *Hikayat Cut*

³⁵ Manuscript *Hikayat Tanbih al-'Ashi*, Bony Taufik's Private Collection, Banda Aceh (Photocopy is with the author).

³⁶ Ali Hasjmy call it Teungku Ya'kub, no Ismail ibn Ya'kub. see Ali Hasjmy (1978), *Bunga Rampai Revolusi dari Tanah Aceh*, Bulan Bintang: Jakarta, p. 61.

³⁷ Hurgronje (1985), pp. 202.

³⁸ The manuscript is in the NAD State Museum (No. Inv. 07.697, 07.799, 07.860, 07.976 dan 2275), dan YPAH (No. Katalog: 123/FK/72/YPAH/2005).

³⁹ Oman Fathurahman (2007), *Katalog Naskah*, p. 139.

⁴⁰ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. II, p. 204.

⁴¹ A copy of the manuscript, among others, is in the NAD State Museum (No. Inv. 07.684); and Yayasan Pendidikan and Museum Ali Hasjmy (Nomor katalog: 165/HK/10/YPAH/2005).

⁴² Copies of the manuscripts, among others, are found at YPAH (Nomor Katalog: 152/LL/7/YPAH/2005), rewritten in year 1373 H/1953 AD.

⁴³ Manuscript *Hikayat Balukia ngon Affan*, NAD State Museum Collection, No. Inv. 07.800 (Photocopy is with the author), and No. Inv. 2870.

⁴⁴ Batak people call it *tolu*, while the Javanese call it *telu* for number 3 (three).

⁴⁵ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. II, p. 94.

⁴⁶ <https://bbaceh.kemdikbud.go.id/daftar-sastra-tulisan-daerah-aceh>

Vernacularisation of Acehnese Literature and Religious Works in the 19th Century AD: A Philological Approach Fadhlan (anonymous), Hikayat Siti Khizanah (anonymous), and others. All of these literary works need further elaboration to obtain in-depth information related to the text and the context in which the literary work was born.

Nadham (Nalam), including:

1. *Nazham Perang Sabi* is written by Teungku Abdul Wahab ibn Muhammad Saleh (Teungku Chik Tanoh Abee, d. 1314 H/1893 AD). This *Nadham*, which contains the names of the martyrs of Badr, stories of their heroism, and prayers, is usually read to warlords.⁴⁷
2. *Abda'u*, also known as *Nalam Syeh Marduki* is an Acehnese version in the form of poetry from '*Aqidah al-'Awwam* (*Aqidah* for Laypeople), written by Abu al-Fauz al-Marzuqi. The title of the Acehnese version is taken from the opening words, *Abda'u*, from the original essay. The Acehnese, like the Malays, have a habit of adding their translations in the form of *nalam* after their Arabic poetry is read.⁴⁸ According to Ali Hasjmy, *Nalam Abda'u* was composed by Tuanku Musa ibn Tuanku Hasyim Bangta Muda (1297-1349 H/1877-1930 AD). He is known as Tuanku Raja Keumala and a descendant of Sultan Iskandar Muda. His father, Tuanku Hasyim Banta Muda, was appointed Mangkubumi of the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam. Because at that time, Sultan Aladdin Mahmud Syah (1286-1290 H/1870-1874 AD) was still a minor, hence, Tuanku Hasyim Banta Muda was appointed as Mangkubumi to lead the country, which was in a state of war.⁴⁹
3. *Nalam Jawoe* is written by Syeh Marhaban. This work specifically discusses the components of prayer. Although the title is *Nalam Jawoe*, which means "Malay didactic rhyme," most of the work was written in the Acehnese language, as well as Arabic and Malay

Pantun (Panton):

Acehnese people are known as one of the ethnic groups who favours rhyming or rhythmic language, one type of which is *pantun*. *Pantun (Panton)* is one of the richest forms of poetry and is often used in various aspects of their lives. Because of this, *pantun* has become a decoration in various forms of formal and informal communication.⁵⁰ Hurgronje stated that *Panton* are used in making love, in traditional dialogue at sacred ceremonies, in *seudati* games, and in lullabies. *Panton* are also used at dance events such as those held in Pidie by women and children while music is played. For example, the Acehnese people's enjoyment over *pantun* can be seen in various formal events or traditional ceremonies.⁵¹

Apart from the three types of Acehnese literary works (*hikayat*), *nalam*, and *panton*), there are also Acehnese religious works, among them:

1. *Beukeumeunan* discusses the nature of twenty, followed by purification and prayer.⁵²
2. *Tadzkirot al-Rakidin*, was written by Sheikh Abbas ibn Muhammad (Teungku Kuta Karang) in 1307 H/1889 AD. This book contains a prose story that contains recommendations to carry out the *sabil* war, the function or duty of a king and *hulubalang*. *Tadzkirot al-Rakidin's* writing refers to the story of Malem Dagang as an event of the war against the infidels in the past. He advised all Acehnese to learn from stories of such struggles.⁵³
3. *Nasihah Ureueng Muprang* ("Advice For From Cot Paleue Pidie"), was written in August 1894 AD and refers to the treatise of *Nasihah al-Muslimin* (Advice for Muslims) by Abdussamad al-Palimbani (1116-1203 H/1704-1789 AD). Its contents contain a fanatical appeal to all people, especially the Acehnese, to fight against infidels, especially the Dutch. The author strongly criticises the work of Nya' Ahmad (full name Uri ibn Mahmud ibn Jalaluddin ibn Abdussalam) entitled "People Involved in War," on the population groups and the commander-in-chief who are not actively fighting. Their inactivity, according to Nya' Ahmad, could cause the religion of Islam to be in danger of disappearing from the land of Aceh, as happened in Batavia, Padang, Singapore, Penang and so on.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Alyasa' Abubakar and Wamad Abdullah (1992), "Manuskrip Dayah Tanoh Abee: Kajian Keislaman di Aceh Pada Masa Kesultanan," *Kajian Islam* 2, p. 10.

⁴⁸ The original book, '*Aqidah al-'Awwam*, ever printed lithography by Hasan al-Tosyi year 1310 H (1892 AD) in Majmu' al-Latif Kairo, Eyp. There is also another edition with comments by Muhammad Nawawi al-Bantani. See Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. II, p. 127.

⁴⁹ Ali Hasjmy (1997), *Ulama Aceh, Mujahid Pejuang Kemerdekaan*, pp. 25, 40, and 49.

⁵⁰ Mohd. Harun (2015), "Karakteristik Pantun Aceh, *LINGUA: Journal of Language, Literature and Teaching*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 39-40.

⁵¹ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. II, p. 81.

⁵² Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. II, p. 204.

⁵³ Teuku Ibrahim Alfian (1999), *Wajah Aceh dalam Lintasan Sejarah*, Banda Aceh: PDIA, p. 173.

⁵⁴ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh Di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. II, p. 127.

4. *Khabar Insan Kamil*,⁵⁵ the author is *anonymous*. This work, written in Aceh Jawoe (Aceh language with Arabic script) in 1221 H/1806 AD, is about the perfect person and how to obtain it. Each stanza begins with the words *La ilaha illa Allah*.
5. *Tanbihoy Rapilin*⁵⁶ or *Tanbih al-Ghafilin*: Warning for the Negligent, was published by Faqih Jalaluddin (Tengku di Lam Gut) on Thursday, 13 Jumadil Akhir 1242 H/11 January 1827 AD. He was a student of Teungku Abdussamad Patani and once the Main Kadhi in Mukim XXVI, substituting his father. This book is a translation from Arabic by Abu al-Laits al-Samarqandi (d. 387 H/997 AD). Its contents cover educational and ethical issues of Muslims. The freer-form Acehese copy contains only minor differences from the original in terms of chapter division, consisting of 95 chapters, one more than the original.⁵⁷ The copy in Aceh language, which is in a freer form, only contains minor differences compared to the original concerning the division of chapters. The Aceh language consists of 95 chapters, one more chapter than the original. This text was printed at the Haji Tarmidi lithographic printing press in Singapore around the end of the 19th century. Perhaps this work is the only Aceh language book ever printed at the end of the 19th century.⁵⁸
6. *Menhajoy Abidin* is a translation of the Aceh language version of the book *Minhaj al-'Abidin* by Imam al-Ghazali (d. 1111 AD). This translation of the Acehese version, which is much shorter, was done by Syeh Marhaban. This book contains a collection of writings on religious law, doctrinal teachings, and mysticism. Syeh Marhaban was a productive teacher and writer. His father is from Tiro, Pidie. He studied in Pidie (among others at Simpang), then went to Mecca. He became the Sheikh-haji, the guide and protector of the pilgrims to Mecca and Medina from his country. After returning from Mecca, he settled in the royal capital, Banda Aceh, and once led Dayah Lam Bhui'.⁵⁹ On December 27, 1881 AD the Dutch colonial government assigned him to take care of the Baiturrahman Great Mosque, which had been rebuilt by the Dutch to win the hearts of the Acehese people. The laying of the first stone was carried out by Mr. Kadi Malik al-'Adil, witnessed by General van der Heijden on October 9, 1879 AD. Then, his son, Teungku Syekh Ibrahim Lam Bhuk, continued his duties, even becoming the *uleebalang* official of the Grand Mosque.⁶⁰
7. *Sipheuet Dua Ploh*, composed by Teungku Lam Bhui', a woman from Lam Bhui' Banda Aceh. She is the wife of Abdussamad Patani, a learned figure of Malay descent. This book contains a discussion of the monotheism of God's twenty attributes.⁶¹
8. *'Aqidat al-Jawahir al-Mubarakah*, written by Teungku Chik Seumatang. This text explains prayer, *khauf*, *khitbah*, *faraidh*, waqf and doomsday.⁶²
9. *Tanbeh Tujoh Blah*⁶³ (Seventeen Reminders), written by Teungku Muda Teureubue. This text was first written by the author in the early 13th century Hijriah (early 19th century). The writing of this text is based on the Arabic language text, *Munir al-Qulub Dawa' al-Dzunub*. This book, by its title, contains seventeen reminders for Muslims, which cover the problems of faith, piety, apostasy, the importance of religious obligations, the glory of the pious and piety, the obligation to do good to parents, the manners of students to teachers, the obligations of wives to husband, about obligatory bathing, obligations towards neighbours, the superiority of charity, about usury, ritual worship, the story of Raja Jomjamah, about the punishment of the grave, and the badness of people who leave Friday prayers.⁶⁴
10. *Bahaya of Sireubee* (Thousand Danger), contains moral ethics and grave torture.

⁵⁵ *Khabar Insan Kamil*, Syahrial's Private Manuscript Collection, Banda Aceh.

⁵⁶ The manuscripts, among others, are stored in the NAD State Museum (No. Inv. 2920, 801/33, 908/39); Ali Hasjmy Educational Foundation and Museum (YPAH) (No. Katalog: 122/LL/3/YPAH/2005; 14/LL/4/YPAH/ 2005 or 14/NKT/YPAH/1992; 188/LL/5/YPAH/2005; dan 214/LL/6/YPAH/2005).

⁵⁷ Copy of manuscript *Tanbihoy Rafilin*, among them at the NAD State Museum (No. Inv./Katalog: 802/33, copy of Muhammad Amin, and No. 908/39, copy Muhammad Abbas), and YPAH (No. 188/LL/5/YPAH/2005, 14/LL/4/ YPAH atau 14/NKT/YPAH/1995, 122/LL/3/ YPAH/2005, dan 214/LL/6/YPAH/2005).

⁵⁸ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. II, p. 200.

⁵⁹ Hurgronje (1985), p. 201.

⁶⁰ Alfian (1999), *Wajah Aceh dalam Lintasan Sejarah*, pp. 99 and 172.

⁶¹ Hurgronje (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. II, p. 203.

⁶² See the collections of the Ali Hasjmy Educational Foundation and Museum No. 63C/FK/71/YPAH/2005.

⁶³ View collections YPAH (No. 217/LL/2/YPAH/2005 (copy 1303 H/1885 M); and the NAD State Museum No. Inv./Katalog: 800/32).

⁶⁴ Oman Fathurahman (2007), *Katalog Naskah*, pp. 267-268.

Classification of Acehnese Literature and Religious Works Based on Scientific Fields

As mentioned above, Acehnese literature and religious works can be classified according to scientific field into five classifications: worship and jurisprudence, sufism, faith, morals and education, and history and story.

Classification of Worship and Jurisprudence

Acehnese literature and religious works that can be classified in this classification are *Hikayat Meunajat*, *Hikayat Akeubaro Karim*, *Nalam Jawoe*, *Beukeumeunan*, and *'Aqidat al-Jawahir al-Mubarakah*.

Sufism Classification

Acehnese literature and religious works that can be classified in the scientific field of Sufism is *Menhajoy Abidin*.

Faith Classification

Acehnese literature and religious works that can be classified in *tafsir* classification are *Hikayat Tanbih al-'Ashi*, *Hikayat Akeubaro Naim (Akhbar al-Na'im)*, *Abda'u* (also known as *Nalam Syeh Marduki*), *Khabar Insan Kamil*, and *Sipheuet Dua Ploh*.

Classification of Morals and Education

Acehnese literature and religious works that can be classified in morals and education are *Nasihah Ureueng Muprang*, *Tanbihoy Rapolin*, *Tanbeh Tujoh Blah*, and *Bahaya of Sireubee*.

History and Story Classification

Acehnese literature and religious works that can be classified in the scientific field of history and story are *Hikayat Seuma'un*, *Hikayat Tujoh Kisah*, *Akhbar al-Akhirah*, *Hikayat Putroe Gumbak Meuh*, *Hikayat Perang Sabi*, *Hikayat Diu Plinggam*, *Hikayat Meudeuhak*, *Hikayat Soydina Husen*, *Hikayat Nun Farisi*, *Hikayat Keumala Alam*, *Hikayat Malem Diwa*, *Hikayat Bustaman*, *Hikayat Maleem Dagang*, *Hikayat Nubuet Nabi*, *Hikayat Balukia ngon Affan*, *Hikayat Pocut Muhammad*, *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, *Hikayat Usman Basyah*, *Hikayat Peureudan Ali*, *Hikayat Putro Baren*, *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*, *Hikayat Cut Fadhlun*, *Hikayat Siti Khizanah*, *Nazham Perang Sabi*, and *Tadzkirat al-Rakidin*.

Some of the vernacularisation of Acehnese literary works reflects an increased spirit of nationalism and a heightened understanding of equality in the social atmosphere, as shown by using the Acehnese dialect with Arabic script.⁶⁵ This is per Erin K. Wilson's⁶⁶ research, which discusses "The tour d'horizon of vernacularisation and the right to The Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB)." In conclusion, it states that in the vernacularisation process, the realisation and experience of rights in people's everyday lives take precedence. In this sense, the work of vernacularisation, particularly with regard to FoRB, is part of the gradual process of shifts in political and legal cultures, because it does the necessary work of making human rights familiar.

Several literary works in the religious and educational fields above demonstrate the vernacularisation of literature in the Acehnese dialect to make it easier for the Acehnese people to understand and study literary works. The use of the Acehnese dialect, written in Arabic script, facilitated a deeper understanding of educational and religious content. This is in accordance with Charu Singh's⁶⁷ research which examined vernacular translation, terminology and lexicography in the Hindi Scientific Glossary (1906 AD), which stated that regional languages had functioned as a medium of education in South Asia during the colonial and postcolonial periods, modern scientific knowledge was translated into other languages that it makes it easier for the reading public.

The findings above show that there has been a lot of development in local translators and the transformation of literary and religious works into Acehnese. This is marked by the emergence of

⁶⁵ See Muslim, Buhori, T. Wildan, Syarifuddin M. Saman, Nurchalis Sufyan, and Sitti Mawar (2022), "The Arabic Language Contribution to The Istinbāt in Islamic Law of Acehnese Scholars." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 224-243.

⁶⁶ Erin K. Wilson (2022), "Blurring Boundaries or Deepening Discourses on FoRB? From Global to Local and Back Again," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 69-80.

⁶⁷ Charu Singh (2022), "Science in the Vernacular? Translation, Terminology and Lexicography in the Hindi Scientific Glossary," *South Asian History and Culture*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 63-86.

vernacularisation of local Acehnese literature written in the Jawi letters (Arabic-Acehnese script), especially vernacularisation of Acehnese literature in the fields of Social Affairs and National Defence, Education, Religion, and the field of Literature. This aligns with Zuhri's research on Javanese literature,⁶⁸ which discusses post-syncretism in Islamic studies. The results of his research show that Javanese literature reflects the spread of Islamic theology through the Javanese language and discourse. This article shows Islamic theology in six Javanese texts with different historical emphases in the 19th century. Important theological terms such as Allah, angels, the Qur'an, prophets, and apocalypse have fixed meanings in the Javanese texts. The only differences that appear are in spelling, pronunciation, and writing when transferred from Arabic to Javanese and the Pegon script.

This research shows that in the 19th century, there was a development of Acehnese language literary and religious works along with the decline in the role of Malay as the regional language of Southeast Asia. This was marked by the emergence of a number of local Acehnese literature written in Jawi letters (Arabic-Acehnese script). The vernacularisation of literary and religious works provides insight into how these works function as normative texts in education and religion. Furthermore, this study explores how the work explains the benefits of transmitting religious knowledge in the vernacular and justifies using Acehnese language for education and religion.

Conclusion

Acehnese language literary and religious works, although they appeared in the 17th century, began to develop in the 18th century and found momentum in the 19th century. This was proven by the emergence of several local Acehnese literature and religious works written in Jawi script (Arabic-Acehnese script). Its development is in line with the decreasing role of Malay, as a regional language of Southeast Asia, in this region. On the one hand, these changes show Aceh's decreasing cultural and intellectual role at the regional level in Southeast Asia. As a consequence, Aceh ceased to be the cosmopolitan cultural and intellectual centre of Southeast Asia, but on the other hand, it has become a momentum for the translation and transformation of religious values for ordinary people in rural and interior areas. The majority of those who are underprivileged speak Malay and also Arabic.

In this case, the research aims that there is a need for dedicated allocation for research and comprehensive efforts on Aceh's *endatu* treasures, both in the form of preserving and collecting manuscripts, as well as in the form of text studies and transliteration. With these efforts, the results of the intellectual traditions of Acehnese poets and intellectuals can be continued and enjoyed by many people, including people who do not understand the Acehnese language. The author also hopes that there will be institutions/institutions that collect and store various Acehnese language manuscripts and books, which are equipped with supporting facilities, research results and edits to these manuscripts. This effort ensures that the manuscripts are easily accessible to the public and researchers.

References

Abdullah, Imran Teuku (1991), *Hikayat Meukuta Alam: Suntingan Teks dan Terjemahan Beserta Telaah Struktur dan Resepsi*, Jakarta: Intermedia.

Abubakar, Alyasa', and Wamad Abdullah (1992), "Manuskrip Dayah Tanoh Abee: Kajian Keislaman di Aceh Pada Masa Kesultanan," *Kajian Islam* 2.

Alfian, Teuku Ibrahim (1999), *Wajah Aceh dalam Lintasan Sejarah*, Banda Aceh: PDIA.

Chambert-Loir, Henri, and Oman Fathurahman (1999), *Khazanah Naskah: Panduan Koleksi Naskah-naskah Indonesia Sedunia*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

Faiqoh, Lilik (2018), "Vernakularisasi dalam Tafsir Nusantara: Kajian Atas Tafsir *Faid al-Rahman* Karya KH. Sholeh Darat al-Samarani," *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 85-128.

⁶⁸ Zuhri (2022), "Beyond Syncretism: Evidence of the Vernacularization of Islamic Theological Terms in Javanese Literature in the 19th Century," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 2, pp. 373-398.

Vernacularisation of Acehnese Literature and Religious Works in the 19th Century AD: A Philological Approach Fathurahman, Oman, and Munawar Holil (ed.) (2007), *Katalog Naskah Ali Hasjmy Aceh*, Tokyo: C-DATS – PPIM UIN Jakarta.

Gottschalk, Louis (1964), *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method*, 2nd ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Hasjmy, Ali (1997), *Ulama Aceh, Mujahid Pejuang Kemerdekaan dan Pembangun Tamadun Bangsa*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.

Hasjmy, Ali (1978), *Bunga Rampai Revolusi dari Tanah Aceh*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.

Hurgronje, C. Snouck (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. I, Trans. Ng. Singarimbun, S. Maimoen, Kustiyan Mochtar, Jakarta: Yayasan Soko Guru.

Hurgronje, C. Snouck (1985), *Aceh di Mata Kolonialis*, Vol. II, Cet-1, Trans. Ng. Singarimbun, Jakarta: Yayasan Soko Guru.

Jalaluddin al-Asy, Syeikh Muhammad Zain bin al-Faqih (1346 H), *Kasyf Al-Kiram Fi Bayan Niyat Takbirat al-Ihram*. Mesir: Mushthafa al-Bab al-Halabi wa Auladuh.

Jalaluddin. Tanbih Al-Ghafilin (122/LL/3/YPAH/2005; 14/LL/4/YPAH/2005 /; 14/NKT/YPAH/1992; 188/LL/5/YPAH/2005; 214/LL/6/YPAH/ 2005. Banda Aceh: Yayasan Pendidikan Ali Hasjmy.

Johns, Anthony H (1975), "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions." *Indonesia I*, Cornell University Press, No. 19, 33-55.

Kaysie, Ahmad Aly, and Indal Abror (2017), "Tafsir Esoterik Kiai Shaleh Darat tentang Salat." *Nun: Jurnal Studi Alquran dan Tafsir di Nusantara*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1-37.

Kumar, Ann, and John H. McGlynn (1996), *Illuminations: The Writing Traditions of Indonesia: Featuring Manuscripts from the National Library of Indonesia*, New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill.

Lombard, Denys (1986), *Kerajaan Aceh: Zaman Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636)*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

Malik, Mohd Puaad Abdul, and Faisal @ Ahmad Faisal Abdul Hamid (2022), "Penulisan Karya Melayu Islam Klasik Abad Ke-17: Perbincangan Karya-Karya Terpilih: 17th Century Classical Malay-Islamic Writing: A Discussion of Selected Books." *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 181-192.

Mawardi (1997), *Identifikasi Naskah Koleksi Museum Negeri Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh*, Banda Aceh: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan D.I. Aceh.

Mursalim and Abbas (2020), "Vernakularisasi Al-Qur'an di Tanah Bugis: Tinjauan Metodologis Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Karya Anregurutta Muh. Yunus Maratan." *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 129-142.

Muslim, Buhori, T. Wildan, Syarifuddin M. Saman, Nurchalis Sufyan, and Sitti Mawar (2022), "The Arabic Language Contribution to The Istimbāt in Islamic Law of Acehnese Scholars." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 224-243.

Nur, Moh Fadhil (2018), "Vernakularisasi Alquran di Tatar Bugis: Analisis Penafsiran AGH. Hamzah Manguluang dan AGH. Abd. Muin Yusuf terhadap Surah al-Ma'un." *Rausyan Fikr: Jurnal Ilmu Studi Ushuluddin Dan Filsafat*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 359-394.

Nurtawab, Ervan (2011), "The Problems of Translation in Turjumān Al-Mustafid: A Study of Theological and Eschatological Aspects." *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 33-65.

Reid, Anthony (2000), *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, Washington: Silkworm Books.

Reid, Anthony (2004), *Sejarah Modern Awal Asia Tenggara: Sebuah Pemetaan*, Jakarta: LP3ES.

Saepudin, Dindin Moh (2023), "Vernakularisasi Tafsir Al-Qur'an di Indonesia Abad Ke-20: Studi Kasus Tafsir Berbahasa Sunda." *Disertasi*, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

Sangidu (2019), *Tugas Filolog: Teori dan Aplikasinya dalam Naskah-Naskah Melayu*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.

Singh, Charu (2022), "Science in the Vernacular? Translation, Terminology and Lexicography in the Hindi Scientific Glossary (1906)." *South Asian History and Culture*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 63-86.

Steenbrink, Karel A (1984), *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad Ke-19*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.

Wilson, Erin K. (2022), "Blurring Boundaries or Deepening Discourses on FoRB? From Global to Local and Back Again." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 69-80.

Yıldız, Sara Nur (2017), "A Hanafi Law Manual in the Vernacular: Devletoğlu Yūsuf Balıkesrî's Turkish Verse Adaptation of the Hidāya-Wiqāya Textual Tradition for the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (824/1424)." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 80, No. 2, 283-304.

Zubir, Muhammad, and Mushallina Hilma (2018), "Vernakularisasi Pemahaman Hadis (Refleksi Wacana Islam Nusantara)," *Islam Transformatif: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 143-154.

Zuhri (2022), "Beyond Syncretism: Evidence of the Vernacularization of Islamic Theological Terms in Javanese Literature in the 19th Century," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 2, 373-98.