

NEW LIGHT ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF TEUNGKU DI PULO

An Acehese Intellectual in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

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Abstract: Pandangan Baru Tentang Riwayat Hidup dan Karya Teungku Di Pulo: Sejarah Intelektual Aceh pada Akhir Abad ke 19 dan Awal Abad ke 20. Dalam rentang sejarah Aceh, ulama merupakan bagian integral dari kehidupan masyarakat. Abad ke 17 sebagai era keemasan intelektual Aceh dikenal melahirkan figur-figur ulama penting seperti Hamzah Fansuri, Syams al-Din al-Sumatrani, Nur al-Din Al-Raniry dan 'Abd al-Rauf al-Fansuri. Akan tetapi kesentralan masa kejayaan ini hampir menutupi fakta keberadaan ulama lokal yang layak diperhitungkan yang muncul pada era abad ke 19 dan awal abad ke 20 seperti Teungku Di Pulo. Dengan menggunakan data yang dikumpulkan melalui interview dan manuskrip yang ada, makalah ini mengkaji sejarah sosial intelektual Teungku Di Pulo. Hasil penelitian ini berimplikasi bahwa terdapat *'ulamâ* yang muncul setelah abad ke 17 yang telah berperan memberikan pencerahan kepada masyarakat kawasan di Aceh khususnya dan Asia Tenggara pada umumnya terutama yang menyangkut tentang Agama, pendidikan dan *tarekat*.

Kata Kunci: *syattariyah*, sufi doctrine, education

Introduction

Aceh is a region that had many prominent religious intellectuals, called as *ulamas*. In the 17th century, it was known as an intellectual golden age, in which four prominent figures emerged, namely Hamzah Fanshuri, Syams al-Din al-Sumatrani, Nur al-Din al-Raniri, and 'Abd al-Rauf al-Fanshuri,¹ all of whom contributed to the development of

¹ It has emerged different perception on the last name of 'Abd al-Rauf. Some researchers tended to name 'Abd al-Rauf al-Singkili, while the others named as 'Abd Rauf al-Fansuri. I, personally, tend to name as 'Abd al-Rauf al-Fansuri based on his writings that are never mentioned

their society. These intellectuals have caught the attention of a number of local and international scholars and have conducted research of this period. The centrality of this era outweighs the existence of Acehese intellectuals of the succeeding century which seems to arise from the fact that Acehese kingdom at that time was in its very weak state² which consequently influence scientific activities. Moreover, in 19th century Aceh was attacked by the Dutch in order to colonize the Acehese. In reality, however, there were many local intellectuals established in these periods who had given a light to Southeast Asian in general and Acehese in particular in the case of religion and also Sufi order. The achievements of them must be taken into account, because all of them gave an impact from their intellectuality to their people. They also became pioneers to support the Acehese society fighting against the Dutch. They inspired them with the spirit of *jihād* (holy war, Acehese: *Prang Sabi*).³

In reality, the *ulamas* were not a lot known. It is difficult to find their biography in detail. They did not provide us with any background information on their life. Their students and companions also did not work on their life and rewrite their writing. There was no detail information left by them, their students and even their companions. This is a common phenomenon in respect to a scholar in this region.

al-Singkilî after his name. In *Tafsîr Tarjumân al-Mustafîd*, 'Abd al-Rauf's name is found which is also written with his parents' name and further al-Fansurî indicates that he is from Fansur, Barus. Al-Qur'an with its interpretation is something sacred for Muslims and no mistake in it, as well as the spelling or the writing of the author's name. In his work *Tanbîh al-Mâsyî* that are stored in Aceh Museum in MAP 105 and inventory number 4046 the name of 'Abd al-Rauf Alî-Jawî al-Fansurî is written. In addition, in his work *'Umdat Muhtâjîn*, it is also written with the name of 'Abd al-Rauf bin al-Jawî as the author. In those manuscripts, al-Singkilî is not written as the last name of 'Abd al-Rauf, except al-Fansurî and al-Jawî. See, 'Abd al-Rauf Al-Fansurî, *'Umdat al-Muhtâjîn ilâ Sulûk Maslak al-Mufarridîn*, Aceh Besar, Naskah Koleksi Zawiyah Tanoh Abee; 'Abd al-Rauf Al-Fansurî, *Tanbîh al-Mâsyî*, Aceh Besar: Naskah koleksi Zawiyah Tanoh Abee, 1669.

² After the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, the kingdom of Aceh launched its weakness. The successors of Sultan Iskandar Muda, started from Sultan Iskandar Tsani, were not able to control Aceh as great as Sultan Iskandar Muda did. Moreover, when Aceh was reigned by women called sultanah, Aceh kingdom became more and more weak. Mohammad Said, *Atjeh Sepanjang Abad* (Medan: t.p., 1961), p. 183-221. In addition, the conflict between *ulama* and *uleebalang* came up. James Siegel, *The Rope of God* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969); Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehese*, vol. I and II, trans. A.W.S. O'Sullivan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906).

³ The Acehese had kept war against the Dutch in a long period. Thus, many different views on the end of the Aceh War against the Dutch comes up. Alfian, for instance, considers the Aceh War ended in 1912, while in mailrapport no. 217, 1926, it is mentioned that the Dutch conquered Aceh in 1910. However, some other scholars such as Yakobi, and even the Acehese themselves never acknowledged the power of Dutch government regarding their colonial territory. In history, it is proved that Acehese never gave up performing holy war against the Dutch. A. K. Yakobi, *Aceh dalam Mempertahankan Proklamasi Kemerdekaan 1945-1949* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1988), p. 252; Fakhriati, "Sufism and Jihad: The Role of Sufism in Jihad Against the Dutch in Aceh in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries" (Thesis: Leiden University, 1998), p. 47-70.

In Malay work, especially Aceh, a scholar did not want any publicity or undue praise. It was impolite to show themselves to the others. For them, they were only servants of God who were very poor and destitute. They had various methods to express their feeling in their writing. In *Hikayat Abd al-Rahman*, for instance, the author wrote *lon teung beureukat bacut sapat bak ta turi pakri yang hina... nama ulon hana ta turi ulon hai nyakti ureung Malaka.. di lueng gampong areuta tan*. “I study everywhere. I am a very destitute person. You don’t know me. I am Malays. In Leung my village without any property.” Therefore, we often find the anonymous manuscripts.

In addition, many manuscripts are still unpublished yet. Some of them had been treated well by the formal institutes like museum and library, but some are still in the hand of the Acehnese society. They only are put in a box or cupboard or table without any appropriate treatment. Even to some of them are easily thrown away by those who are not known on the benefit of cultural materials. Therefore, the manuscripts are mostly in bad condition and some are missing.

The above matters also occur to what Teungku di Pulo left behind. Some of his works were burned and some were sale. Hard materials such as his *dayah* (religious traditional Institution) and his house had disappeared. While his written table was really in bad condition, its four feet had been separated from the place of writing that is already moldy. In fact, it had an antique model with its flat and slanted surface made in small measure.⁴ However, there are two ink places that are still exist in fairly good condition.⁵ Therefore, I am called to write on him, before all of his data are destroyed.

To collect the data for this article, I try to find the primary sources based on the interviews with his descendants that now life around his area. Besides, I also use the existing manuscripts as his works and the places of his work for writing as another primary source. In addition, I also collect some notes concerning on Teungku di Pulo that scattered in short paragraph of some articles written for different purposes that can be considered as the secondary sources.

His Genealogy (*silsilah*) and Life

Teungku Di Pulo has an original name that is Teungku Zakaria bin Abdussalam. He was well known by Teungku di Pulo, a name indicated to his birthplace.⁶ The complete

⁴ I saw the table that was still as a complete body when I was at senior high school. At that time I did not regard the table as a valuable thing. So that, I did not pay attention on it and asked the keeper to store it well. Unfortunately, when I came back again in this year I found the table in a very bad condition.

⁵ Now, these two ink places are kept by Teuku Hasballah Dayah Tanoh, Teungku di Pulo grandson in law.

⁶ Mentioning a birthplace for a name of an intellectual figure is familiar for the Acehnese. We also find other *ulamas* who had a name of their birthplace, such as Teungku di Tiro who was

name of Pulo is Pulo Lueng Teuga, a village located in northern part of Teupin Raya. It is about 14 km from the city of Teupin Raya.

Teungku is a title given for his intellectuality as an *ulama*. In Acehese society, teungku has a high position and regarded as a figure that can solve every problem faced by the society. For the Acehese, teungku is like a mother, compared to *uleebalang* (Acehese traditional chieftains) whom regarded as a father.⁷ Thus, the title held by Teungku di Pulo has a significant position in his society. This will be clearly seen in his activities during his life to his society, even after his death. He had been respected by his society by pointed out to be a *qadi* (Islamic judge). After his death, his charisma is in the society memory. Consequently, his descendants are also in respect of the society.

Looking at his genealogy, he had an ancestor's line of *uleebalang* that had a title as Teuku or Ampon.⁸ However, he was called with Teungku instead of Teuku or Ampon. In this case, his intellectuality seems more conspicuous than the influence of his genealogy. He had much more Islamic knowledge and had a charisma around his society.

Teungku di Pulo was originated from *uleebalang* in Tiba — an area placed in Pidie. This *uleebalang* had an ancestor from Turkey. So that, they called their father as *Abit*⁹. It can be predicted that the Turkish has been in this place, since Acehese got in touch with Turkish in the reign of Ala' al-Din Riayat Syah (1537 -- 1571 M).¹⁰ The Tiba *uleebalang*, then, got married with Teungku di Langgien, who was a prominent figure of *Syaththâriyah* order and was a productive *ulama* in his writings. They had two children, namely Abdussalam, a father of Teungku di Pulo, and Bohan. Later, Teungku Abdussalam got married with Ceupo Baren who settled in Pulo Leung Teuga. The father of Teungku di Pulo's mother was Panglima Ali who worked as a leader for Acehese troops in the area of Teupin Raya. Therefore, the spirit of leader had been in the family of Teungku di Pulo.

from Tiro located in Pidie regency and Teungku Pantekulu who was from Pantekulu located in Aceh Besar regency.

⁷ Yusny Sabi, "Islam and Social Change: The Role of the Ulama in Acehese Society" (Dissertation, 1995), p. 7.

⁸ He had a brother settled in Trenggadeng, a place located in Pidie but a little bit far from Teupin Raya, called Ampon, another title for *uleebalang*.

⁹ *Uleebalang* in Aceh had different ancestors. Those who called their father as *Abû*, they came from Arabs. Some of them called their father as *Ayah* that means they are from Malays. This can be understood since those who came from outside Aceh were given by sultan a right as an *uleebalang*. Sultan Deli, for instance, was regarded as an *uleebalang* to arrange his region. Syarifuddin Tippe, *Aceh di Persimpangan Jalan* (Jakarta: Cidesindo, 2000), p. 5. Then, he had a next generation who keep his tradition.

¹⁰ In the reign of Sultan Alaidin Riayat Syah, Aceh asked to Turkish for help against Portuguese. Turkish government then sent his troops to Aceh with 15 warships under the leader of Kôurtoglu Khizir Reis. Aceh, then, wined the battle. The Turkish then succeeded in building a military academy in Aceh. Ali Soekardi, "Perang Melawan Kolonial di Aceh: Termahal dan Terlama," dalam *Analisa* (30 Agustus, 1998). Of course, some of them, then, settled in Aceh.

In his life, then, Teungku di Pulo was appointed by his society to be their leader especially in religious matter.

It is a tradition for the people in Pidie that a husband stays in his wife's house. Thus, the father of Teungku di Pulo built his household in the place of his wife, Pulo Lueng Teuga. In this place, then, Teungku di Pulo's parents had three children, Teungku di Pulo, Syamaun, and Mi Isah. Teungku di Pulo was born in 1848 M. This date is still readable in his gravestone. Mi Isah was a mother of Teungku Muhammad Ali Irsyad Teupin Raya¹¹, an *ulama* of Teupin Raya after Teungku di Pulo.

Teungku di Pulo had spent his childhood with his father for studying Islamic knowledge. When he was young, he studied with Teungku Chik Teupin Raya, called Teungku Harun (1800–1930), in central of Teupin Raya.¹² One of his colleagues was Teungku Daud Bereueh, known as a leader for PUSA (All-Aceh Union of Religious Scholars) and an owner of the *dayah* in Beurenuen.¹³ Beside studying with Teungku Teupin Raya, he also went to other places to pursue some knowledge. He studied also with Teungku Ie Leubeu, Pidie, where he had *bai'ah* (took his students' oath) of *Syaththâriyah* order.

Teungku di Pulo had become an excellent student for his teacher. He replaced his teacher in Teupin Raya and taught his students as the next generation. He built *dayah* near by central of Teupin Raya, called Meunasah Keutapang. In this place he did *bai'ah* and gave them *ijazah* (a license to be in *Syaththâriyah* order). After that, he led his students to take *khalwat* (go into retreat by performing some religious services to be nearest with God).¹⁴ One of his students was Teungku Wahab, a father of Teungku Muchtar, who is an *ulama* in Teupin Raya nowadays.

Near by his *dayah*, Teungku di Pulo was buried. It is also written in his gravestone that the date of his death is 1954 M, in Ramadan (fasting month) on Thursday night.

¹¹ Teungku Muhammad Ali Irsyad was a successor of Teungku di Pulo as an *ulama* and prominent figure of *Syattâriyyah* order living in 20th century. He was also a productive *ulama* in writing many books for his students, and he had his own clerk. He built *dayah* called *Dayah Dar al-Sa'adah*. He is also a moderate *ulama* in teaching his students. He joined with the government in building a school as a combination between traditional and modern education, that is *SMP Dar al-Sa'adah*. This school still exists nowadays and it is held by his son. The students are mostly from *Dayah Dar al-Sa'adah*. Nevertheless, there is no limitation for the society who want to attend this school. The uniform of this school is also a combination between *dayah* habitual dress and uniform of school in general. For the male, they wear long pants and long T-shirts, and for the female, they are asked to be worn long skirts, long dresses, and *jilbab* (female headgear that exposes face and covers the others).

¹² Hasjmy, *Kebudayaan Aceh dalam Sejarah* (Jakarta: Penerbit Beuna, 1983).

¹³ Anthony Reid, *The Blood of People: Revolution and the End of Traditional Rule in Northern Sumatra* (London: Oxford University Press, 1987).

¹⁴ This work, in fact, had been done by the Prophet Muhammad in Gua Hira'. In this place, the Prophet also received the first verse of *al-Qur'an*, i.e. the first five verse of Surah al-Alaq.

Although his *dayah* has destroyed nowadays, we still find an old well and several cement ruins as a place of his *dayah*, in this place.

However, there was a big regret of him, because he could not go to Mecca to perform *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) and pursue Islamic knowledge there.¹⁵ There are two information on the reason why he did not perform *hajj*. On the one hand, according to his grandson in law, he had been deceived by his friend. In fact, his wife, a rich woman in Teupin Raya at that time, gave him money for going *hajj*. But his friend borrowed his money and spent it for another purpose. He never gave back anymore. On the other hand, according to his daughter, Teungku Nyak Aisyah who is still alive, he did not perform *hajj* because when he had money, he was already sick. Both of these two information can be combined that he was probably deceived by his friend, and when he got money, he was in bad condition.

However, Teungku di Pulo still got in touch with those who came back from Mecca. He could studied with Teungku di Tiro, and even Teungku Abdul Wahab Tanoh Abee. Studying with them had established his own reflection to find the answer of current challenges that was living under the Dutch colonial. (See on the point of his works during his life).

Teungku di Pulo had four wives, namely Ceupo Puteh, Pocut Rabi'ah, Nyak Aminah, and Pocut Ubiet. He had many children. Three of them are now still alive, Teungku Nyak Asiah, Teungku Nyak Halimah, and Teungku Nyak Aisyah. They live around his grave, and all of them are old, but they can still communicated in the Acehese. They keep many evidences of his glory during his life.

¹⁵ Since Islam coming, it was a tradition for Muslim in the Archipelago in general and in Aceh in particular travelling to Mecca for performing *hajj* and pursuing knowledge. Those who came there tended to stay for a longer time to reach their goals. Consequently, this tradition had been a medium for spreading Islamic knowledge and various information on the developing of Islamic countries. See J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Order in Islam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 130; Martin Bruinessen, "Seeking Knowledge and Merit: Indonesians on the *Hajj*", dalam *Ulumul Qur'an*, vol. II, p. 42-49. 'Abd al-Rauf al-Fansurî is regarded as the first figure who came back to the Archipelago. He had stayed in Mecca for fifteen years. There he studied various knowledge, including *Syattâriyyah* order. Then, he came back to his hometown and spread his knowledge to his society. Besides, he wrote many books to them.

The tradition of travelling to Mecca also gives another benefit. The Archipelago Muslim could meet their colleagues who came from various countries. There, they found many information developed in their country. In nineteenth century, for instance, those who came back from Mecca could create the spirit of their society to fight against the colonial. Teungku Chik di Tiro was an appropriate person to do this. He found the information of the success of Sudan Mahdi against the colonial in his country. Thus, he had a spirit and burned the society spirit to do *jihad* (holy war) against the Dutch. Fakhriati, *Sufism and Jihad*, h. 23.

His Intellectual Genealogy: *Syaththâriyah* Network

Teungku di Pulo had been in *Syaththâriyah* order. He was taken oath by his teacher and had a license to spread the order in his area. In this order, he had *silsilah* of his teachers until the Prophet Muhammad. There were three teachers who came from Aceh, Syaikh Hamzah Ie Leubue, Muhammad Thahir Tiro, Abdul Wahab Tanoh Abee. The *silsilah*, then, was followed by the teachers from Haramayn, Muhammad Asad Thahir Madinah, Muhammad Said Thahir, Sheikh Mansub Badiri, Sheikh Ibrahim Kurani, Sheikh Qushashi, Sheikh Ahmad Stanawi, Said Wajihuddin Alawi, Muhammad Gawst, Sheikh Abdullah al-Syattar, Sheikh Muhammad Arif, Sheikh Muhammad Asyiq, Sheikh Abi Yazid Bistami, Muhammad Ja'far as-Siddiq, Muhammad Baqir, Husin, Saidina Ali bin Abi Talib, Saidina Muhammad SAW.¹⁶

From the Acehese teachers of Teungku di Pulo, it is interesting to be noted that, Teungku di Pulo did not include Abd al-Rauf al-Fansuri (1615–1693 M) as his teacher from Aceh. He only referred to the teacher of Abd al-Rauf, i.e. Kurani and Qushashi. In fact, Abd al-Rauf, one of Acehese *ulamas* in 17th century, is the first prominent figure who had responsible to spread *Syaththâriyah* order in the archipelago.¹⁷ Abd al-Rauf had many students spread not only in Aceh itself but outside Aceh as well. His students, then, spread the order in their places. In West Java, for instance, Abd al-Rauf Student, Abdul Muhyi (1660 M–1738 M), had responsible to this order. The Javanese are proud with Abdul Muhyi. In this case they claim themselves to be inherited of Abdul Muhyi. They relate their *silsilah* to Abdul Muhyi not only as a Sufis figure but also as legitimation of all the families.¹⁸

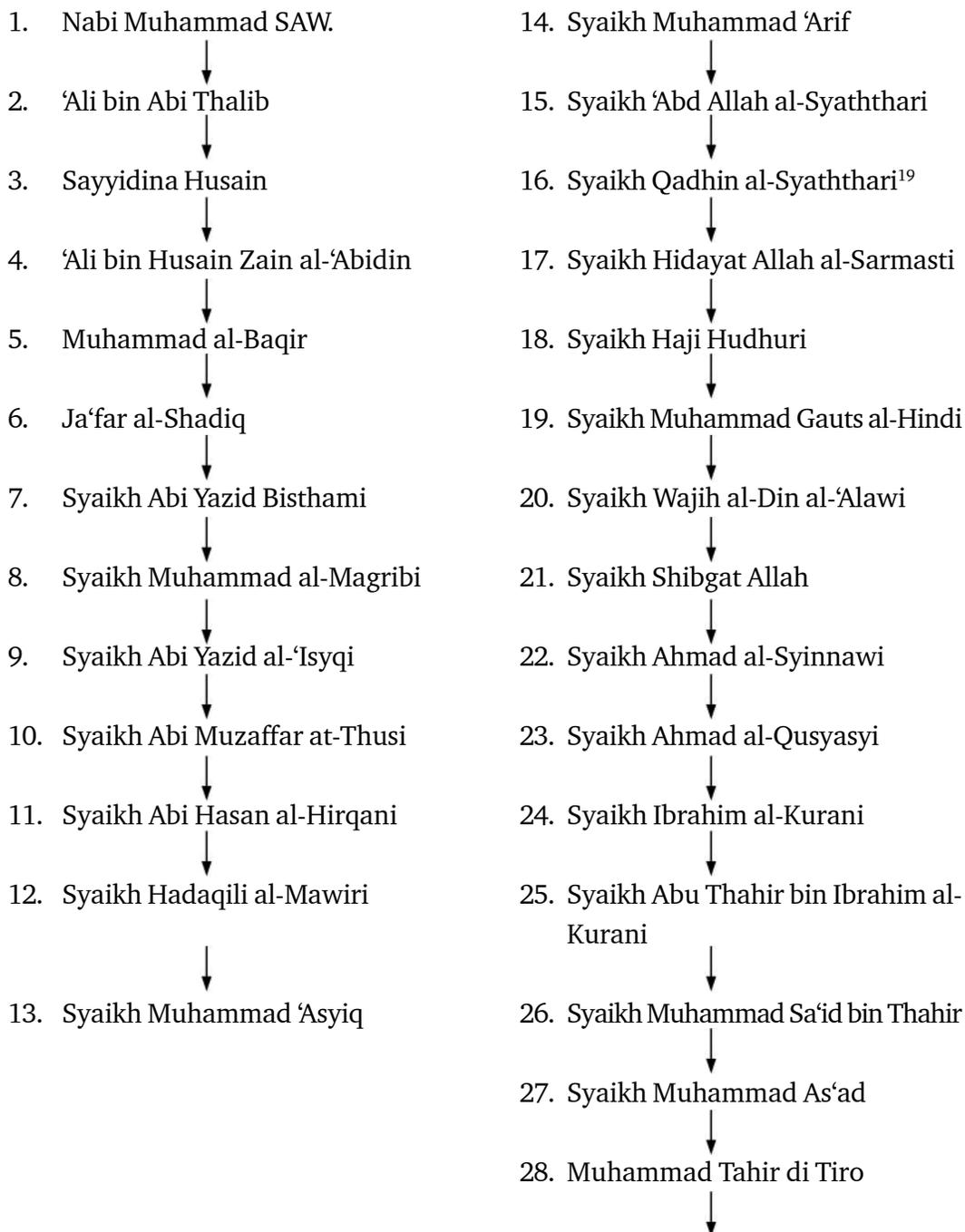
Teungku di Pulo related his teacher to Arabs teachers started from Muhammad Asad Thahir Medina. It is in the fourth level of his teachers. This indicated that he never met this teacher in reality except in spiritual way. The network of Teungku di Pulo's *silsilah* in *Syaththâriyah* order can be drawn in a scheme as follows:

¹⁶ Tommy Christomy, "Syaththâriyah Tradition in West Java: the Case of Pamijahan," dalam *Studia Islamika*, vol. 2, p. 7-8.

¹⁷ Abd al-Rauf spread *Syaththâriyah* order after returning from Mecca. He had *bai'ah* and *ijazah* from his teachers in Mecca, Qusyasyî and Kuranî, to teach and spread the order in his region. He came to Aceh in the reign of Sultanah Safiat al-Dîn (1641–1676 M). He was welcomed by the Queen and the Acehese warmly. Therefore, he had a chance to develop his career as an *ulama*. He became a *qadî* (judge in Islamic court) for the Queen, and became a teacher, educator, and writer to the Acehese. He also built a *dayah* (traditional institution) in Kuala, Great Aceh. Then, in 1693 M he died in this place. Later, he was well-known by Syaikh Kuala. Nowadays, the Acehese called *Syiah Kuala* in the influence of their language. Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994); Fathurrahman, *Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999).

¹⁸ Christomy, *Syaththâriyah*, p. 78.

Scheme of *Syaththâriyah* Silsilah of Teungku di Pulo



¹⁹ Syaikh Qadhin al-Syaththarî adalah nama kecil dari Syaikh Muhammad 'Ala, murid dari Syaikh 'Abd Allah al-Syaththari. Lihat J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Order in Islam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998); S. A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, 2 vol (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1983). Namun, dalam naskah *Syaththâriyah* Aceh sesudah Abd al-Rauf al-Fanshurî ditulis dengan *Qadhî*. Mungkin pengarang naskah keliru dalam menulis. Dalam hal ini saya menyesuaikan tulisan nama tersebut dalam bagan ini dengan tulisan 'Abd Rauf al-Fansurî, Rizvi, dan Trimingham.

29. Teungku Ie Leubeu



30. Teungku di Pulo

(w. 1954 M)

It can be analysed on the reason of referring the teacher of Teungku di Pulo to Muhammad As'ad Medina. In 18th century there was another *ulama* established in Patani, Thailand, called Syaikh Daud al-Fatani. His teacher was also Muhammad As'ad. He put this teacher in second level of his *silsilah*. This means that he met his teacher directly. According to Wan Shaghir, Syaikh Daud al-Fatani had ever pursued his knowledge to Mecca and took *bai'ah* from this teacher.²⁰ In this century, the Acehnese *ulama*, Teungku Muhammad Ali, also referred his teacher to Muhammad Asad at the same level as Syaikh Daud al-Fatani. It is a great plausibility that both of them met each other in Mecca. In addition, Syaikh Daud al-Fatani had ever stayed in Aceh for two years. There, he studied with Sheikh Muhammad Zain Faqih Jalaluddin, another *Syaththâriyah* figure from Aceh.²¹

In the following century, the Acehnese *ulamas*, then, referred their *silsilah* to their teacher references. Teungku di Awe Geutah, for instance, referred his *silsilah* to Muhammad As'ad instead of Abd al-Rauf. His inheritances then follow his *silsilah* until now. Teungku Muhsin, his grandson, has an argument that the Acehnese *ulamas* had come to *hajj* and met some scholars there after Abd al-Rauf. According to him because of that the *ulamas* better referred to Arabs *ulamas*.²²

Teungku di Pulo, as an *ulama* came after those who lived in 18th century, also referred his *silsilah* to Muhammad As'ad instead of Abd al-Rauf. He was one of *ulamas* who had influenced by the *ulamas* before him. Not only did Teungku di Pulo refer to Muhammad Asad as a Mecca *ulama*, but the *ulama* who lived after Teungku di Pulo, such as Teungku Muhammad Ali Teupin Raya, also referred to Muhammad As'ad.

The Thought of Teungku di Pulo

In general, the real thought of Teungku di Pulo is in line with *syari'a* (Islamic law). He did and acted in everything according to *Syari'a*. In specific, the thought of him can be divided into two categories. First is his thought on sufi doctrine. Second is his thought to the education developed around him.

²⁰ Wan Shaghir Abdullah, *Shufiyah Muktabarah di Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2000), p. 10.

²¹ Wan Shaghir Abdullah, *Syaikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani: Ulama dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (Malaysia: Penerbit Hizbi, 1990), p. 32.

²² The information is from interview with Teungku Muhsin, a grandson of Teungku Awe Geutah, North Aceh.

In relation with the sufi doctrine, he had an opinion to combine sufi doctrine and *syari'a*. He used the *syari'a* as a vehicle for achieving the highest destination in sufi knowledge. He made a balance of *tanzih* (transcendence of God) and *tasybih* (anthropomorphism), as well as asserted that human existence is different from that of God. This understanding was expressed in his work on *Syaththâriyah* order²³. He accused to those who deviated from *syari'a*.

During the life time of Teungku di Pulo, another sufi group had appeared in Teupin Raya. This group was led by Teungku Id (1800 – 1860 M) who settled in Teupin Raya.²⁴ His place is then called *Geudong Huk*. *Huk* is the word come from *Hu* indicated to the abbreviation of *Hu Allah* (He is Allah) that is the way of Teungku Id and his followers' *zikir* performance. The followers regarded that God is their own soul and the soul is the essence of their body.²⁵ It is assumed as part of *wahdatul wujud* doctrine inherited from Hamzah Fansuri's doctrine.^{26 27} The followers did not perform *syari'a* as their obligation anymore, such as performing *salat*. They felt that performing of the *zikir* was enough and able to replace their obligation to God.²⁸

Teungku di Pulo asked to the leader to not spread the doctrine to the society. It would be dangerous and misunderstood. The doctrine can lead the society in false way reaching their religious destination. Teungku di Pulo regarded that the *zikir* is true, but not for the way of their performance by leaving *syari'a* and the way of their understanding to Creator and creatures.

The second category of Teungku di Pulo's thought was in answering the alteration of education. He had a moderate thought and not conservative at all. He was in line with

²³ The doctrine of *Syaththâriyah* order also concerns to *syari'a*. The founder of *Syaththâriyah* order, Abdullah al-Syattar, had enough knowledge on *syari'a*. He studied with Suhrawardi. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism*, h. 152. 'Abd Rauf al-Fansurî, the first *Syaththâriyah* figure in Archipelago, also elaborated on the way of understanding the essence of God and human beings. He taught that between God and His creatures are different. The word *tanzih* and *tasybih* are two words that have to be understood in a harmonious connection without separate them. It cannot be ignored one of them that can lead to misinterpretation on God and His creatures.

²⁴ Teungku Id had a complete name that is Teungku Id bin Ustman. He wrote a book for his doctrine entitled *Laot Makrifat Allâh*. This manuscript has been examined philologically by me. See, Fakhriati, *Laot Makrifat Allah: Transliterasi, Suntingan Teks dan Analisa Isi* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, 1999).

²⁵ Aziz Poerwa, "Tumbuhnya Agama Baru Indonesia," dalam *Sketsmasa*, no. 17, 1961, p. 16.

²⁶ Otto Syamsuddin Ishak, "Dinamika Pemikiran Keagamaan di Aceh," dalam *Serambi Indonesia* (15 Januari 1993), p. 4.

²⁷ I don't think this doctrine was a part of Hamzah Fansuri doctrine. The doctrine was contradictory with Hamzah Fansuri's teaching. Hamzah taught us that God is not identical with the Universe. He SAW. God as a Creator and humans as creatures. He adhered to the principle that God will not be reached without knowing ourselves first. Sayyid Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Raniri and the Wujudiyah of 17th Century Aceh* (Singapore: MBRAS, 1966), p. 37.

²⁸ The information is from the society living in Teupin Raya.

the idea of Teungku Daud Bereueh, one of his friends and also a chairman of PUSA. He agreed with studying everything and every where. He did not tie and prohibited his students to study what they wanted. He gave them freedom to choose whatever they like, as long as they were still in Islamic way of life.

In 1936, Teungku di Pulo was one of a member of a great meeting held by all *ulamas* in Aceh in Kuta Raja (a capital city for Aceh), now it is called Banda Aceh. This meeting was a way to solve the problem arisen among the Acehnese on creating a modern school taught either Islamic or non-Islamic lessons. There were pro and contra on the existing of modern school. Some *ulamas* prohibited and some others agreed. Those who did not agree had a reason that modern school was not the right school, because of many aspects were in the wrong way, such as studying with other gender and some lessons were not benefit such as mathematics. Thus, a proverb also arose from Teungku Amin and became popular in the society i.e. : *in the year of 34 and the month of nine there was forbidden to go to school.*²⁹ However, some *ulama* regarded that modern school was in urgent to present among the society. The modern school gave more benefits than those of traditional education taught in *dayah*.

The result of this meeting was the *ulamas* agreed with modern school. There were three decisions on it. First, there was no prohibition in Islamic religion on studying non-religious lessons. Second, having general lessons is significant for an educational institution. Finally, it was allowed studying to other gender.³⁰ The result of this meeting, then, called *Keudahsingel* Decision. Teungku di Pulo, of course, in line with these decisions. These are, in fact, in the line with what the Prophet Muhammad command to Muslims. He asked them to ‘pursue the knowledge even to Chinese country’.

Teungku di Pulo, then, came back to his place. There he pointed out to build an Islamic Elementary School called *MIN (Madrasah Ibtidaiyah)* Teupin Raya, located in Meunasah Keutapang, near by the *dayah* of Teungku di Pulo. The society, then, responded his idea and they built the school. In the school, all subjects either Islamic or non-Islamic were taught to the students. This school has been renovated nowadays and it had been renovated in the same place after burned by unknown people in 2002 when Aceh was in conflict between GAM (Free Aceh Movement) and TNI (Indonesian Troops).

²⁹ The prohibition on studying in modern school is also occurred until nowadays. In Samalanga, based on my own experience when I was studying at *dayah* Samalanga, the students have no permission to study in modern school. I stayed there for a while to continue my study in modern school, because there was no other modern *dayah*. They mocked me and tried to persuade me to do not continue my study anymore. They always said that those who studied in modern school will be *kafir* ‘infidel’. Because there was no limitation life between men and women, then the lesson studied were English as an infidel language.

³⁰ Ismail Yakub, “Gambaran Pendidikan di Aceh sesudah Perang Aceh-Belanda sampai Sekarang,” dalam *Bunga Rampai tentang Aceh* (Jakarta: Penerbit Bhratara Karya Aksara, 1980), p. 350.

The Work of Teungku di Pulo

Concerning with the work of Teungku di Pulo, it can be divided into two works, namely the work that was directly getting in touch with his society and the work of producing his writings for the sake of his society.

1. His Direct in Touch with the Society

In his life, Teungku di Pulo had routine works; teaching the people of Aceh, giving *baiat* for the candidates of *Syaththâriyah* followers, and giving *ijazah* for the successful followers in performing *Syaththâriyah* order. Apart from this, Teungku di Pulo was also appointed to be a *qadi* in 1930, but this was only in one year. He did not enjoy this work. He was not in line with the *uleebalang* of Teupin Raya, Teuku Gam, who led Teupin Raya region at that time. Dealing with the problem arisen, he had a firm attitude by relying himself on the Islamic law, while the *uleebalang* was flexible and followed the current situation. Dealing with the problem of *HUK*, for instance, he did not agree this matter to spread in the society, because it could create misperception of the society, and he suggested stopping this activity. However, the *uleebalang* allowed the followers of *HUK* to perform their activities around the society. In this matter, Teungku di Pulo did not give up. He tried to solve the problem in another way. He discussed the situation with other *ulamas* and gave the accurate information to the society. Consequently, the people had been influenced by the statement of Teungku di Pulo. The leader of this group was, then, killed, even though, it was still continued in the limited scope by his successors, Teungku Gade and Teungku Rahman.

Therefore, facing war and problems arisen in the society, he tended to be a peacemaker. In 1926, for instance, he was delegated to be a peacemaker in Bakongan war, South Aceh. He said to the Acehnese that for those who wanted to perform war against the Dutch must unite themselves at the first. As a result, the Acehnese troop would be in a big group. According to him, it was inappropriate strategy to perform war in a small troop, because the Dutch had more troops and well organize. He said that basically Acehnese had an ability to kill the Dutch, if they had an ability to unite themselves first.

2. His Writings

As an *ulama*, Teungku di Pulo also produced his hand writings to his students dealing with many subjects. His works cover various fields of expertise including jurisprudence, ethics, theology, exegeses, and Arabic linguistics. These works mostly comprise Arabic works instead of Malay commentaries. It is interesting to note that even though Teungku di Pulo did not spent his life in Mecca, most of his works were written in Arabic. It means

that he had an excellent capability in understanding Arabic and writing. He regarded that Arabic is an important language for Muslims.

To the best of my knowledge, there is still no bibliographical list of all his discovered works. This is because his works are kept by the Acehese society, and some others are lost. At this point, I will try to compile the bibliographical details of the lists. The following is the list in alphabetical order,

1. *Al-Arjûzah*. The manuscript is about Islamic jurisprudence. It is written in Arabic without any explanation under it. The ink used is black.
2. *Jawar al-Kanûn*. This manuscript consists of the third part of Arabic literature called *al-Badi'*. There was no explanation under the main sentences. The ink used is black.
3. *Qawâ'id al-I'râb*. This work is on the explanation of Arabic grammar. It is written in Arabic and the explanation of the main sentences was written in Malays and placed under the main sentences which are in italics.
4. *Al-Ma'anî*. The treatise is on the explanation of the first part in Arabic literature. The author described the definition of each term as a part of the literature and gave them some examples. The language used is Arabic. There is also some explanations on the main sentence using Arabic language as well. Two colors of ink used in this writing, black and red. The black color is the dominant color in this writing and the red is only used for the sub title of this writing.
5. *Kitab Tharîqah Syaththâriyah*. I found two versions on relation with this order. The first is collected in other manuscripts and consists of only two pages. This manuscript is in the hand of his granddaughter, Teungku Nyak Ainol Mardhiah, living in Meunasah Keutapang Teupin Raya. The second is separated from the others, and it is a copy of his writing. It is mention in colophon that the copyist was Teungku Sulaiman, Teungku di Pulo's son and now he passed away, written in 1975. This manuscripts, now, is kept by his daughter, Cut Nyak Asiah, who is still alive, but her condition is very bad because of her old age.
The content of these two manuscripts is about the practice of *Syaththâriyah* order, some *do'a* after performing *zikir* and finally is about the *silsilah* (spiritual genealogy).
6. *Tafsîr al-Qur'ân al-Karîm*. This work focuses on Qur'anic exegeses. It is written in two volumes. The author wrote a verse and translated it by giving some interpretation on it in Arabic. He wrote the verses in red color, then he interpreted it in black color. These two manuscripts are covered by goat leather. These manuscripts are in the private hand of his daughter, Teungku Nyak Aisyah.
7. *Ziyâdat al-Mar'î*. The treatise consists of ethics and theology. The language used is Arabic with some explanation under it in Arabic as well.

The first four manuscripts and the last are in one bundle, kept by Teungku di Pulo's grand daughter, Teungku Nyak Ainal Mardhiah.

Besides, I also find a number of books written by other scholars, as reading materials of Teungku di Pulo.³¹ All of these books are in Arabic. The books that still exist in his descendants are as follows;

1. *I'anatut Thalibîn* four volumes written by Shaleh Kamil.
2. *Ihya' 'Ulûm al-Dîn* written by al-Ghazâlî
3. *Ism al-Muthallib* Written by Zain al-Abî Zakaria al-Ansharî al-Syafi'î.
4. *Al-Iqnaq* written by Ibn Syuja'.
5. *Jawahir al-Tafsîr* written by Syarqawî
6. *Minhaj al-Thullâb*, four volumes written by Syaikh Sulaiman bin Jarimî.
7. *Matan Bahjah*, five volumes written by Alama Ibn Wardî
8. *Majmu'*, eleven volumes written by Ibn Zakaria Mahy al-Dîn al-Nawâwî.
9. *Tafsîr Muḥammad Razî*, written by Muḥammad Razî.

Most of these books incline to the knowledge of *syaria*, except two books of *Tafsîr* that consist of the interpretation on Qur'anic verses, discussing on various kinds of knowledge. These readings convince us on the thought of Teungku di Pulo based on *syaria*.

Concluding Remarks

The study on the life and careers of Teungku di Pulo shows us an evident on the existence of religious intellectuals called *ulamas*, appeared in Aceh after 17th century. In fact, there were many *ulamas* that are still uncovered by researchers and current intellectuals to study them. In their life, they worked to their society with all of their efforts and energy. They had given many important inputs on the Acehnese culture in particular and the archipelago's culture in general. The next generations of their society then keep their material remains, even though some of them do not understand the meaning and contents of the materials and do not know how to use them into their life. They only regard them as valuable things from their ancestors.

Teungku di Pulo had tracked the program of our tradition in the past in history and also in the present time. Teungku di Pulo showed his important way of thought in his life to answer the problems arisen around him. The tradition of Sufi doctrine, for instance, was contradictive with him and the practice had been attacked by him and also some other *ulamas* who had in line with him. He gave an alternative view to overcome the problem.

He also gave to the society some Islamic knowledge existing till nowadays. The

³¹ All of these reading books are stored by his daughter, Teungku Nyak Aisyah. She also talked that some of her father's books had taken by some people and they never return them anymore.

Syaththâriyah order, for instance, still exists in Teupin Raya and many students who come from various places take *Syaththâriyah* order (Acehnese: *Teung tarikat*) in Teupin Raya.³² Not only has that, Teupin Raya, from time to time, become a place for a center of Islamic education. Nowadays, it was lead by Teungku Yahya and Teungku Muchtar who have been intellectually descended from Teungku di Pulo. In addition, the Islamic Elementary School (Madrasah Ibtida'iyah) in Teupin Raya continually used by the generation up to now is a result of moderate thought of Teungku di Pulo.

Teungku di Pulo's works and careers are not only useful for the past but also provided a strategic post for the future. His history would become contextual for the present readers who are rationally and critically reconstructing and formulating relevant relationship with the reality of the present. Thus, the intellectual heritage can be created and utilizing it to what is relevant and contextual to the present.

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³² It is a tradition of the society to perform *teung tarikat* as a sufi order ritual in every year. They perform it in a certain day determined by their teacher. It is usually in a month before *Ramadan* (fasting month).

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