JURNAL ILMIAH AL MU'ASHIRAH:
Media Kajian Al-Qur'an dan Al-Hadits Multi Perspektif
Vol. 23, No. 2, July-December 2026

p-ISSN: 1693-7562
e-ISSN: 2599-2619

Vernacularizing *Bulūgh al-Marām* in Buton: An Intertextual Study of *Sabīl al-Salām*

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Abstract

The Buton Sultanate in the 19th century CE was at the peak of its intellectual golden age, driven by the dual role of Sultan Muḥammad 'Aidrūs as both a political ruler and an *ulamā* actively shaping the local intellectual tradition. This article examines his contribution to Hadith transmission in the Nusantara by examining the intertextual relationship between the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript by 'Aidrūs and the book *Bulūgh al-Marām* by Ibn Ḥajar. This study employs a library research method, using primary sources a manuscript copy of *Sabīl al-Salām* from the British Library collection (EAP212/2/17) and the text of *Bulūgh al-Marām*. The data analysis technique applies Julia Kristeva's intertextuality approach to trace textual transformations. The results of the study reveal the presence of four intertextual principles: (1) haplology (textual simplification by omitting explanations of the chains of transmission or *sanad* for the readers' practicality); (2) expansion (broadening the scope of chapter titles to be more holistic); (3) modification (adjusting the Hadith content to more prominently highlight the virtues of deeds in accordance with the sociological needs of the Butonese society); and (4) parallelism (similarities in the reference hierarchy of the primary authoritative Hadith books). Additionally, the level of accuracy of the Hadith quotations by 'Aidrūs proves to be remarkably high, indicated by the high precision of the text (*matan*) redaction's conformity with the original reference Hadith books, leaving only a few minor discrepancies. In conclusion, this manuscript proves that the adaptation of global texts in the Nusantara represents an effort of vernacularization that enriches local Islamic literature.

Keywords: Manuscript, *Sabīl al-Salām*, *Bulūgh al-Marām*, Buton Sultanate, Intertextuality

Abstrak

Kesultanan Buton pada abad ke-19 berada pada puncak keemasan intelektualnya, didorong oleh peran ganda Sultan Muhammad 'Aidrūs sebagai penguasa politik sekaligus ulama yang aktif membentuk tradisi keilmuan lokal. Artikel ini mengeksplorasi kontribusinya dalam transmisi hadis di Nusantara dengan mengkaji hubungan intertekstual antara manuskrip Sabīl al-Salām karya 'Aidrūs dengan kitab Bulūgh al-Marām karya Ibn Hajar. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi pustaka (library research) dengan sumber primer berupa salinan naskah Sabīl al-Salām koleksi British Library (EAP212/2/17) dan teks Bulūgh al-Marām. Teknik analisis data menerapkan pendekatan intertekstualitas Julia Kristeva untuk melacak transformasi teks. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya empat prinsip intertekstual: (1) haplologi (penyederhanaan teks dengan meninggalkan penjelasan jalur sanad untuk kepraktisan pembaca); (2) ekspansi (perluasan cakupan judul bab agar lebih holistik); (3) modifikasi (penyesuaian muatan hadis yang lebih menonjolkan keutamaan amal sesuai kebutuhan sosiologis masyarakat Buton); serta (4) paralel (kesamaan hierarki rujukan otoritas kitab hadis induk). Sebagai tambahan, tingkat keakuratan pengutipan hadis oleh 'Aidrūs terbukti sangat tinggi, dengan indikator kesesuaian redaksi matan yang memiliki keakuratan tinggi terhadap kitab-kitab hadis rujukan aslinya, dan hanya menyisakan sedikit

DOI: 10.22373/jim.v23i2.34509

perbedaan minor. Kesimpulannya, naskah ini membuktikan bahwa adaptasi teks global di Nusantara merupakan upaya vernakularisasi yang memperkaya literatur Islam lokal.

Kata Kunci: *Naskah, Sabīl al-Salām, Bulūgh al-Marām, Kesultanan Buton, Intertekstualitas*

A. Introduction

Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillah al-Ahkām is a collection of jurisprudence hadiths compiled by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852 AH). Van Bruinessen notes that *Bulūgh al-Marām* is one of the primary hadith texts studied in various *pesantren* across the Indonesian Archipelago.[1] Its popularity inspired scholars to write commentaries (*syarah*) on it. The most prominent example is *Subul al-Salām* by Imam al-San'ānī, alongside *Tarjamah Bulūgh al-Marām*, which was translated and annotated by Ahmad Hassan b. Ahmad in 1887.

Additionally, another text inspired by *Bulūgh al-Marām* has been identified. The concept of a text inspiring subsequent works aligns with Julia Kristeva's assertion that when authors write, they borrow elements from other texts. These elements are then processed and reproduced through addition, reduction, opposition, or affirmation according to the author's creativity. In other words, no text is entirely original or free from the influence of other texts. One scholar who drew inspiration from *Bulūgh al-Marām* was Sultan 'Aidrūs. He compiled a book titled *Sabīl al-Salām li Bulūgh al-Marām fi Ahādīs Sayyid al-Anām*, a hadith collection from the eastern part of the Archipelago containing hadiths related to Islamic law and worship.

The primary uniqueness of this manuscript lies in its author's background, Muhammad 'Aidrūs bin Qā'im al-Din al-Butūnī. He was not merely an ordinary scolar, but the 29th Sultan of Buton, who ruled in the 19th century (1824–1851 CE). Despite his position as a political ruler and military commander (*Kapitalao*), 'Aidrūs was highly productive, authoring works on Sufism, local literature (*kabanti*), and Islamic law. Unfortunately, 'Aidrūs has primarily been known for his Sufi works, while his role in the transmission of hadith scholarship in the eastern Archipelago has remained largely untouched. The existence of the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript serves as crucial evidence of how a local ruler actively adapted an authoritative Middle Eastern text to meet the needs of his society.[2]

To date, studies specifically analyzing the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript remain very limited. This is evident from the lack of research on *Sabīl al-Salām* and 'Aidrūs's other works. *Sabīl al-Salām* has only been mentioned briefly, without specific description or analysis. Among the few studies that mention it is Amsir's thesis titled "Naskah Dliya al-Anwar fi Tashfiat al-Akdar".[3] In this thesis, Amsir focuses on another of Sultan 'Aidrūs's works, merely listing *Sabīl al-Salām* as one of his writings. Oman Fathurrahman, on his YouTube channel *Ngariksa* (episode 58), also mentioned and displayed the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript. However, since the episode was not a dedicated study of the manuscript, it was only discussed in passing. In this video, Oman posits that 'Aidrūs was one of the foremost hadith scholars from the Archipelago.[4]

Based on this background, this article aims to comprehensively analyze the intertextuality between 'Aidrūs's *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript and Ibn Hajar's *Bulūgh al-*

[1] Martin van Bruinessen, *Martin van Bruinessen - Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, & Tarekat - 1994, 2012* (1994) <http://archive.org/details/martin-van-bruinessen-1994-2012-kitab-kuning-pesantren-tarekat>.

[2] La Niampe, 'La Ode Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin Sastrawan Sufi Ternama Di Buton Abad XIX', *Humaniora*, 22.3 (2012), pp. 250–65, art. 3, doi:10.22146/jh.1338.

[3] Amsir, *Naskah "Dliya al-Anwar fi Tashfiat al-Akdar" Karya Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin (Tinjauan Stilistika)* (Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2020), Jakarta <//opac.fah.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php?p=show_detail&id=11031&keywords=>.

[4] *Ngariksa 58 | Naskah Sultan Negeri Buton | Kang Oman*, dir. by NGARIKSA TV (2021) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9LxB2iKzDNc>.

Marām. The primary focus of this research is to examine the text's transformation patterns by the Sultan and to assess the accuracy of the hadith citations within it. Through this study, it is hoped that the Buton Sultanate's contribution to the intellectual history and hadith networks of the Archipelago will become clearer.

This article utilizes a qualitative research methodology with a library research design; thus, the data sources consist of literature relevant to the study. The primary sources examined are the *Sabīl al-Salām li Bulūgh al-Marām* manuscript, authored by Muhammad 'Aidrūs bin Qā'im al-Din al-Butūnī (British Library collection code EAP212/2/17), and the text *Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillah al-Ahkām* by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī. Given that the primary source is a manuscript over a century old, the study employs philological and codicological approaches to analyze the text.

Furthermore, to analyze the transformation patterns from *Bulūgh al-Marām* to *Sabīl al-Salām*, this study employs Julia Kristeva's intertextuality approach as an analytical framework. This intertextual approach is not merely a method for comparing two texts, but rather a tool to observe the direct relationship between the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript and its primary influence, *Bulūgh al-Marām*. Through this approach, we can trace how 'Aidrūs absorbed, simplified, and modified the hadiths compiled by Ibn Hajar. These modifications are not acts of plagiarism, but rather reflect Sultan 'Aidrūs's creativity in adapting religious teachings to the culture and mindset of the Buton society at the time. However, applying Western literary theory to religious texts requires a critical reading. Kristeva's concept of intertextuality, which tends to free texts from the confines of original authority, cannot be applied uncritically to hadith texts, which are deeply bound to the authority of transmission chains (*sanad*) and the sacredness of the content (*matan*). Therefore, to bridge this theoretical gap, this research brings Kristeva's ideas into dialogue with Gérard Genette's concept of transtextuality. Specifically, the relationship between *Sabīl al-Salām* and *Bulūgh al-Marām* is better situated within Genette's framework of hypertextuality, where *Bulūgh al-Marām* functions as the authoritative foundational text (hypotext) and *Sabīl al-Salām* serves as the derivative text (hypertext) that modifies the foundation for new pragmatic and sociological purposes.[5]

Subsequently, to ensure a focused and valid comparison between the two books, this study applies purposive sampling by specifically limiting the analysis to two chapters; the chapters discussing the call to prayer (*adhan*) and ablution (*wudu*). The selection of these two chapters is based on the highest level of thematic and structural similarity between the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript and *Bulūgh al-Marām*. Other themes within the books are excluded because they do not appear consistently across both texts. The total number of hadiths in the *adhan* and *wudu* chapters of the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript is 40. These serve as the primary data for testing the accuracy of the hadith citations against authoritative hadith collections. This study also limits the reference count of the hadiths in both books by only including hadiths from the seven canonical hadith collections authored by Ahmad bin Hanbal, al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasa'i, and Ibn Majah.

[5] Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge University Press, 1997); Doni Wahidul Akbar, Fitri Liza, and Ahmad Luqman Hakim, 'Ideology of Established the Muhammadiyah Organization in the Manuscript "Ma Huwa Asasul Jamiatul Muhammadiyah": Naskah "Ma Huwa Asasul Jamiatul Muhammadiyah"', *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 22.2 (2024), pp. 517–60, doi:10.31291/jlka.v22i2.1184; Muhammad Falikh Rifqi Maulana, Agus Suyadi Raharusun, and Ismail Ibrahim el Sayed Ahmed, 'The Significance of Sundanese Culture and Hadits Teaching in Wawacan Panganten Tujuh as an Islamic Heritage of Nusantara', *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 22.2 (2024), pp. 421–54, doi:10.31291/jlka.v22i2.1202.

 DOI: 10.22373/jim.v23i2.34509

B. Results and Discussion

'Aidrūs's full name is La Ode Muhammad 'Aidrūs Ibn Badaruddīn al-Butūnī. The Sultanate of Buton, where 'Aidrūs was born, officially became an Islamic kingdom in the early 16th century.[6] The exact date of 'Aidrūs's birth is unknown, but he is estimated to have been born in 1784 CE, considering he ascended to the throne as sultan in 1824 CE at the age of 40. 'Aidrūs descended from a noble family known as *kaomu* (the nobility from which sultans were appointed), specifically the *kumbewaha* lineage (descendants of La Bula), and received intensive religious education from an early age. 'Aidrūs's grandfather, La Jampi (the 24th Sultan of Buton), was a prominent *'ulama* of his time and played a highly significant role in cultivating 'Aidrūs's religious knowledge [7]

Compared to his siblings, young 'Aidrūs distinguished himself through his education. His father and grandfather profoundly supported and guided him in Islamic studies. To this day, the site where Sultan 'Aidrūs studied remains preserved and is known as a *zāwiyah*[8] In addition to studying under his grandfather, 'Aidrūs also sought knowledge from several other scholars, one of whom was Shaykh Muhammad bin Syais Sunbul al-Makkī. The fact that this teacher originated from Mecca indicates the possibility that 'Aidrūs had traveled to Mecca to pursue knowledge. In the 19th century, journeys by 'ulama to the Ḥaramayn were not uncommon, especially given 'Aidrūs's highly proficient Arabic language capacity.[9] Under this teacher, 'Aidrūs studied the *Khalwatiyyah Sammāniyyah tariqah* and received an *ijāzah*, which subsequently led to the growth and development of the *Sammāniyyah tarīqah* within the Sultanate of Buton.[10]

In 1824 CE, 'Aidrūs was appointed the 29th Sultan of Buton at the age of 40, succeeding his father, Sultan Badaruddin. He served as the Sultan of Buton for 27 years, until 1851 CE. Prior to his ascension to the throne, he was the commander of the Buton Sultanate's army, a position known as *Kapitalao*.[11] In his capacity as military commander, 'Aidrūs was once deployed to eradicate pirates in Pasar Wajo.[12] 'Aidrūs also held numerous honorary titles, including *La Ode* (the highest title for Buton nobility holding governmental positions), *Oputa Mokobaadiana* (the founder of Baadia Village), *Oputa I Kuba* (the founder of the Quba Mosque), *Oputa Mancuana* (the Great Sultan, due to his two sons also being appointed as Sultans), *Sultan Khalīfatullāh*, *Sulutani Moadilina* (the Just Sultan), and *Aedrusu Matambe* (the Humble 'Aidrūs).[13]

During his tenure as Sultan, 'Aidrūs implemented numerous initiatives to improve the welfare of his people. Among his actions, he negotiated a treaty with the Dutch Colonial

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[6] Muhammad Khaerun Rijaal, 'Jejak Islam Di Tanah Kesultanan Buton', *Jurnal Dakwah: Media Komunikasi Dan Dakwah*, 21.2 (2020), pp. 205–34, art. 2 (p. 211), doi:10.14421/JD.2122020.4.

[7] Ahmad Rahman and Arif Syibromalisi, *Teks Klasik Keagamaan Sulawesi dan Cirebon* (Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan, Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2013), p. 173.

[8] Niampe, 'La Ode Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin Sastrawan Sufi Ternama Di Buton Abad XIX'; Syarifuddin Nanti, Ahmad M. Sewang, and Muzakkir Muzakkir, 'PENDIDIKAN ISLAM DI ZAWIYAH PADA MASA KESULTANAN BUTON ABAD KE-19', *Jurnal Diskursus Islam*, 6.3 (2018), pp. 538–61, doi:10.24252/jdi.v6i3.6550.

[9] Arrazy Hasyim, 'Kitab Hadiyat Al-Baṣīr Fī Ma'rifat al-Qadīr Sultan Muhammad 'Aydrus al-Butuni: Puriíkasi Teologi Islam Di Kesultanan Buton', *Manuskripta*, 5.1 (2015), pp. 55–87, doi:10.33656/manuskripta.v5i1.26.

[10] Niampe, 'La Ode Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin Sastrawan Sufi Ternama Di Buton Abad XIX'; Martin van Bruinessen, *The Tariqa Khalwatiyya in South Celebes* (1991), pp. 251–69, doi:10.1163/9789004454224_016.

[11] Amsir, *Naskah "Dliya al-Anwar fi Tashfiat al-Akdar" Karya Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin (Tinjauan Stilistika)*, p. 26.

[12] Rahman and Syibromalisi, *Teks Klasik Keagamaan Sulawesi dan Cirebon*, p. 174.

[13] Amsir, *Naskah "Dliya al-Anwar fi Tashfiat al-Akdar" Karya Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin (Tinjauan Stilistika)*, p. 26.

Administration.[14] Furthermore, in response to the growing population in the sultanate and its surrounding areas, ‘Aidrūs established a new settlement named Baadia. Consequently, he was granted the title *moko baadiana*. Within this new settlement, ‘Aidrūs constructed a mosque with an adjacent water pool. Later, in 1257 AH or 1841 CE, ‘Aidrūs amended the *barata* laws, which were no longer suitable for the era. Acknowledging his exemplary reign, the Dutch King Willem, I awarded him the Great Gold Star (*Groot Gouden Ster*). The intellectual golden age of the Buton Sultanate occurred during ‘Aidrūs's leadership, as he was a ruler with a profound devotion to knowledge.[15]

‘Aidrūs's background as both a ruler and a *mursyid* (spiritual guide) of a *tarīqah* serves as the analytical key to understanding his dozens of scholarly works[16], particularly the manuscript of *Sabīl al-Salām*. To date, ‘Aidrūs's productivity has frequently been examined solely through a descriptive historical lens.[17] However, when classified thematically, his literary legacy, comprising dozens of titles, reveals a systematic intellectual project designed for the Butonese society. His works can be categorized into three primary loci: (1) Literature and Local Culture (*Kabanti*), such as *Bula Malino*, *Jauhara Manikamu Molabi*, *Guru Molakina*, and *Kanturuna Molehana*; (2) Sufism (*Tasawwuf*) and Theology, encompassing texts like *Jauharana Manikam*, *Mu’nisat al-Qulūb fī Dzikr wa Musyāhadat ‘Allām al-Ghuyūb*, *Dliyā al-Anwār fī Tashfiyat al-Akdār*, and *Kasyf al-Hijāb fī Murāqabat al-Wahhāb*; and (3) Books of Hadith, including *Hadith Arba’īn*, *Durrāt al-Ahkām min Hadīth Sayyid al-Anām*, and *Sabīl al-Salām li Bulūgh al-Marām*.[18]

These works by ‘Aidrūs demonstrate that *Sabīl al-Salām* did not emerge in a vacuum; rather, it was an integral part of a Sultan's cultural strategy.[19] The analytical correlation between ‘Aidrūs's biography and the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript becomes highly evident when scrutinized through the principles of intertextuality. As a political leader bearing the title *Sulutani Moadilina* (the Just Sultan) as well as a spiritual guide, ‘Aidrūs recognized the urgent need to provide legal literature that was both applicable and capable of motivating his subjects.

The Structure of the *Sabīl al-Salām* Manuscript

The manuscript entitled *Sabīl al-Salām li Bulūgh al-Marām fī Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Anām* was digitized and is preserved at the British Library under the reference code EAP212/2/17. The physical manuscript of *Sabīl al-Salām* is kept in Baadia Village, Betoambari Subdistrict, Bau-bau, Southeast Sulawesi. As indicated in the colophon, the British Library collection of the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript was written by ‘Aidrūs and his scribe, Abdul Khalik Ibn Abdullah al-Buthūnī. In the manuscript, the complete title given by the author is:

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15 Arrazy Hasyim, *Teologi Sufi Nusantara Studi Naskah Klasik* (Yayasan Ribath Nouraniyyah Hasyimiyyah, 2023).

16 Abd. Wahid and others, ‘UTILIZING ZUHD HADITHS FOR UPPER-CLASS CRIME PREVENTION’, *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 23.2 (2023), p. 263, doi:10.22373/jiif.v23i2.17353.

17 A. C. S. Peacock, *Arabic Manuscripts from Buton, Southeast Sulawesi, and the Literary Activities of Sultan Muḥammad ʿAydarūs (1824–1851)*, published online 15 April 2019, doi:10.1163/1878464X-01001005.

18 Ali Rosdin, ‘Buton, Islamization, and This Manuscript Tradition’, *International Journal of Nusantara Islam*, 2 (2015), p. 101, doi:10.15575/ijni.v2i2.75.

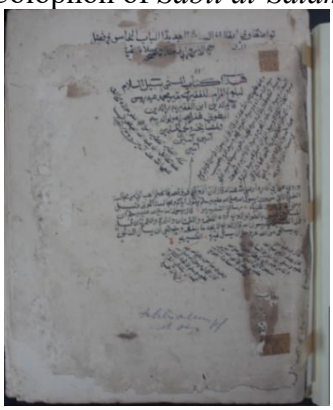
19 Zuherni AB and Juwaini Juwaini, ‘Examining The Doctrine of Seven Grades of Being (Maratib Sab’ah) in Tuhfah Al-Mursalah; An Overview toward Quranic’s Perpective’, *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Mu Ashirah*, 20.1 (2023), p. 170, doi:10.22373/jim.v20i1.17291.

DOI: 10.22373/jim.v23i2.34509

وَسَمَّيْتُهُ سَبِيلَ السَّلَامِ لِبُلُوغِ الْمَرَامِ فِي الْأَحَادِيثِ سَيِّدِ الْأَنَامِ[20]

"And I ('Aidrūs) named it *Sabīl al-Salām li Bulūgh al-Marām fī Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Anām*."

Figure 1
Colophon of *Sabīl al-Salām*



The mention of Abdul Khalik Ibn Abdullah al-Buthūnī as Sultan 'Aidrūs's scribe reveals the specific involvement of the sultanate's apparatus in copying this manuscript. Consequently, this indicates that the writing of *Sabīl al-Salām* was not merely an individual literary activity or 'Aidrūs's personal hobby. This manuscript represents an institutionalized intellectual project directly sponsored by the state. Sultan 'Aidrūs acted as the creator and ideologue who modified the book *Bulūgh al-Marām*, while the sultanate's bureaucratic structure was utilized to duplicate, legitimize, and distribute these ideas to the public.[21]

The writing material used is European paper, which remains in good condition and is highly legible, although the edges of the pages are worn and torn.[22] The use of European paper for this Butonese Hadith work carries crucial historical implications. In the 19th century, European paper was neither easily accessible nor inexpensive in the eastern part of the Nusantara archipelago; it was a prestigious imported commodity.[23] The presence of this material indicates that the Buton Sultanate was not an isolated political entity but rather an active and integrated node within the global maritime trade and shipping networks.[24] Access to European paper, known for its superior durability, also reflects the author's long-term vision, ensuring the work would survive for centuries and be passed down to future generations.[25]

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[20] 'Sabil As-Salam Li Bulug al-Maram', Endangered Archives Programme, n.d. <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP212-2-17> [accessed 16 May 2023].

[21] Muhammad Faiz and others, 'Philological Study and Hadith Criticism of The Manuscript Sabil Al-Salam Li-Bulugh al-Maram by Muhammad Idrus Qaym al-Din (c.1784-1851)', *Nabawi: Journal of Hadith Studies*, 7.1 (2026), doi:10.55987/njhs.v7i1.309.

[22] Roger Tol, *Bugis Kitab Literature. The Phase-Out of a Manuscript Tradition*, published online 1 January 2015, doi:10.1163/1878464X-00601005; Dick van der Meij, *Islamic Palm-Leaf Manuscripts from Lombok*, published online 1 August 2022, doi:10.1163/1878464X-01302003.

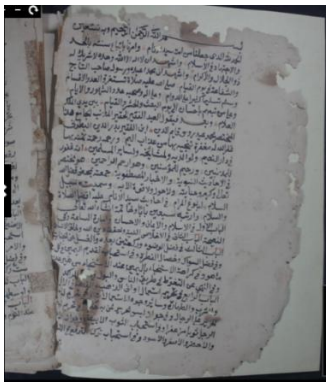
[23] Cornelius Berthold, *Approaching the Last Decades of Arabic Manuscript Culture (1870–1930): Materiality*, published online 10 July 2024, doi:10.1163/1878464X-01502005.

[24] Abdullah Maulani, 'Revealing New Insights: Preserving Islamic Manuscripts in Eastern Indonesia', *Studia Islamika*, 30.3 (2023), pp. 607–12, doi:10.36712/sdi.v30i3.38647; Jajang A. Rohmana, 'Risālat Al-Sheikh Asnāwī al-Quds al-Jāwī: Rebuttal of Jawi Ulama against Fatwa of the Meccan Ulama', *Studia Islamika*, 30.3 (2023), pp. 469–94, doi:10.36712/sdi.v30i3.25055.

[25] Russell Jones, 'European and Asian Papers in Malay Manuscripts. a Provisional Assessment', *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, 149.3 (1993), pp. 474–502.

The original text of *Sabīl al-Salām* measures 20.5 x 16.5 cm. It consists of 44 pages with 26-29 lines per page. Catchwords, a standard philological feature, are visible at the bottom of the manuscript pages. Catchwords function as a connective link between the text on one folio and the next. They were also utilized as a substitute for pagination. However, not all pages feature catchwords.

Figure 2
The opening page of the manuscript



Throughout the pages of this manuscript, there are no illustrations or illuminations.[26] The manuscript is written in Arabic without diacritical marks (*ḥarakāt*). The handwriting is relatively small but neat and quite legible.[27] The use of the Arabic language and Arabic script in this manuscript implies that the text was produced for an educated readership possessing a proficient understanding of Arabic, rather than for elementary readers or those with no knowledge of the language. This further affirms the intellectual legitimacy of the Buton Sultanate in producing high-tier religious literature.

Overall, the text is written in black ink. However, red ink is also used in a practice known as lubrications,[28] which is applied consistently to mark the beginning of a chapter as well as the beginning and end of a *ḥadīth*. Furthermore, the manuscript does not state the exact date of its writing or copying. Nevertheless, judging by the use of European paper and considering ‘Aidrūs's age, it is estimated that this manuscript was written and copied between the 19th and 20th centuries CE.[29]

This manuscript contains *ḥadīth* without their chains of transmission and without translations, divided into 70 chapters; however, chapters 14 to 70 are missing. The number of *hadīth* from the 13 surviving chapters totals 233. It is highly probable that the complete number of *ḥadīth* in this book exceeded 1,000. ‘Aidrūs arranged these *ḥadīth* based on Islamic jurisprudence chapters. Thematically, the manuscript covers topics ranging from the foundations of theology and issues of purification to *ḥadīth* concerning the procedures for the

[26] Oman Fathurahman, *Filologi Indonesia: teori dan metode* (Prenadamedia Group, 2015) <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/34896>; Farouk Yahya, *Illustrated and Illuminated Manuscripts of the Dalāʾil Al-Khayrāt from Southeast Asia*, published online 11 November 2021, doi:10.1163/1878464X-01203012.

[27] Lucia Raggetti, *Inks as Instruments of Writing*, published online 8 July 2019, doi:10.1163/1878464X-01002003.

[28] Jan Just Witkam, ‘The Islamic Arabic Manuscripts of the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo’, *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 16.3 (2025), pp. 257–329, doi:10.1163/1878464X-01602008; Paul M. Love, ‘Ibāḍī Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Tunisie: Descriptions, Watermarks, and Implications’, *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 7.1 (2016), pp. 1–35, doi:10.1163/1878464X-00701002.

[29] ‘Sabil As-Salam Li Bulug al-Maram’.

DOI: 10.22373/jim.v23i2.34509

call to prayer, the virtues of congregational prayer, and recommendations for performing voluntary worship, such as the *ḍuḥā* and *tahajjud* prayers.

On the final leaves of the manuscript, there are conjugate folia. These pages contain a supplication (*du'ā'*) written in Jawi-Malay. According to its description, this prayer holds special virtues as it was frequently recited by the *Sharīf*, *Sayyid*, *Mashāyikh*, and great kings.

Figure 3
The final section of the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript



Thus, the physical form of this manuscript represents a complex convergence. Sultan 'Aidrūs utilized materials sourced from the global trade network, specifically Europe, to carry an authoritative text originating from the Middle Eastern intellectual tradition, the work of Ibn Ḥajar while being entirely produced, edited, and institutionalized by the local political agency of the Buton Sultanate to address the sociological and religious needs of its society.[30]

The Intertextuality between *Sabīl al-Salām* and *Bulūgh al-Marām*

Typically, in a classical book or other written work, the author begins with a *muqaddimah*, which is an introduction or preface on the opening pages of a manuscript. This practice was also observed by Ibn Ḥajar and 'Aidrūs. However, a structural comparison of the *muqaddimah* between *Bulūgh al-Marām* and *Sabīl al-Salām* reveals a sharp contrast. This practice was also followed by both Ibn Hajar and 'Aidrūs. However, a comparison of the introductory structures between *Bulūgh al-Marām* and *Sabīl al-Salām* reveals notable differences between the two. These structural differences in the prefaces demonstrate a process of haplology or text simplification, which carries significant implications for the hadith writing tradition in the Archipelago.[31]

Table 1. The structural differences in the *muqaddimah*

Focus of the *Muqaddimah*	***Bulūgh al-Marām***	***Sabīl al-Salām***
Opening	*Basmalah*, praises to Allah, *ṣalawāt*, and supplications for the *'ulamā'*.	*Basmalah*, praises to Allah, *shahādah*, *ṣalawāt*, and supplications for the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).
Methodological Justification	Explains in detail that the book is a summary of legal evidences,	Lacks methodological explanations or transmission

[30] Oman Fathurahman and Muchlis, *Filologi dan islam Indonesia* (Kementerian Agama RI Badan Litbang dan Diklat Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan, 2010) <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/34972> [accessed 3 May 2026].

[31] Genette, *Paratexts*.

	mentions the primary sources of the book, and details the symbols of Hadith narrators to demonstrate epistemological authority.	symbols. Focuses on prayers for parents, teachers, and the Muslim community.
Author's Identity & Stance	Positions himself as a Hadith expert authority compiling the book to facilitate Hadith students.	Introduces himself as a weak and lowly servant (a reflection of Sufistic humility / *tawāḍu'*), then mentions the manuscript's title and its 70-chapter structure.

From the table showing the differences in the introductions above, there is a clear effort of simplification or in intertextual terms, haplology carried out by ‘Aidrūs. In his introduction, Ibn Hajar details the references for his hadiths, making it heavily laden with academic validation.[32] As a hadith scholar, he seeks to explain the symbols used for narrators (*takhrij*), as his readers range from beginners to advanced students of knowledge who are critical of *sanad* authenticity. In contrast, ‘Aidrūs omits the explanation of reference books in his introduction. As a Sufi Master, ‘Aidrūs replaces this academic justification with the declaration of faith, salutations to the Prophet, and expressions of humility, describing himself as a lowly servant. He also includes prayers for his teachers and parents. This indicates that the authority of *Sabīl al-Salām* is not built upon the methodological arguments of hadith criticism, but rather on the spiritual authority and intellectual genealogy of the author.[33]

Furthermore, this simplification represents a general characteristic of the hadith writing tradition in the Archipelago. Local scholars often acted to simplify global Islamic scholarly discourse to make it easily understandable for the local populace. By stripping away the complexities of the science of hadith narrators, ‘Aidrūs ensured that this work was ready for practical use by his people. His goal was to provide a concise and clear legal and moral guide that directly addressed the essence of worship for his subjects, rather than to produce hadith critics in Buton.[34]

However, this simplification carries serious epistemological implications. The complete omission of the *sanad* pathways risks severing the chain of academic validation that serves as a foundational pillar of the hadith criticism tradition. This signifies a shift in authority, the validity of the text is no longer tested through a rigorous transmission methodology as in *Bulūgh al-Marām*, but relies entirely on his charisma as both Sultan and scholar. The audience in Buton was positioned to accept the text for granted, which, in the long run, could reduce critical reasoning in hadith studies into a mere doctrine of obedience based on a singular authority.

The Aspect of Expansion in Chapter Titles

The next prominent intertextual principle in *Sabīl al-Salām* is expansion. Expansion occurs when the absorbing text develops the foundational text. In this context, ‘Aidrūs did not merely adopt the chapter titles from *Bulūgh al-Marām*, but executed a significant narrative expansion on these titles.

[32] Abdul Wahid Arsyad, ‘STUDI TERHADAP ASPEK KEUNGGULAN KITAB SAHIH MUSLIM TERHADAP SHAHIH BUKHARI’, *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 17.2 (2019), p. 312, doi:10.22373/jiif.v17i2.2454.

[33] ‘Sabil As-Salam Li Bulug al-Maram’.

[34] Suparwany Suparwany, ‘Naskah Hadis Aceh’, *Al-Bukhari : Jurnal Ilmu Hadis*, 3.2 (2020), pp. 206–16, doi:10.32505/al-bukhari.v3i2.2169.

DOI: 10.22373/jim.v23i2.34509

The following table demonstrates the pattern of expansion conducted by 'Aidrūs:

Chapter Titles in ***Bulūgh al-Marām***	Chapter Titles in ***Sabīl al-Salām***
بَابُ الْوُضُوءِ[35] (The Chapter of *Wuḍū'*)	الْبَابُ الثَّالِثُ فِي فَضْلِ الْوُضُوءِ وَرَكْعَتَيْنِ بَعْدَهُ وَالْغُسْلِ عَنِ الْجَنَابَةِ وَفِي فَضْلِ السِّوَاكِ وَخِصَالِ الْفِطْرَةِ وَفِي اسْتِحْبَابِ تَقْدِيمِ الْيَمِينِ فِي كُلِّ مَا هُوَ وَفِي كَرَاهَةِ الِاسْتِنْجَاءِ بِالْيَمِينِ عِنْدَ الِاسْتِنْجَاءِ مِنْ غَيْرِ عُذْرٍ وَفِي النَّهْيِ عَنِ التَّغَوُّطِ فِي طَرِيقِ النَّاسِ وَالْبَوْلِ فِي مَاءٍ الرَّاكِدِ The third chapter concerning the virtues of *wuḍū'*, the two-*rak'ah* voluntary prayer afterwards, the major ritual from impurity, the virtues of using the tooth-stick, acts conforming to natural disposition, the recommendation of prioritizing the right side in all matters, the reprehensibility of cleaning oneself after relieving nature with the right hand without a valid excuse, the prohibition of defecating on pathways used by people, and urinating in stagnant water.
بَابُ الْأَذَانِ (The Chapter of *Adhān*)	الْبَابُ الْخَامِسُ فِي فَضْلِ الْأَذَانِ وَالْمَشْيِ إِلَى الْمَسَاجِدِ وَفِي الْحَثِّ عَلَى صَلَاةِ تَحِيَّةِ الْمَسْجِدِ رَكْعَتَيْنِ وَكَرَاهَةِ الْجُلُوسِ قَبْلَ أَنْ يُصَلِّيَ رَكْعَتَيْنِ فِي أَيِّ وَقْتٍ دَخَلَ وَسَوَاءٌ صَلَّى رَكْعَتَيْنِ بِنِيَّةِ التَّحِيَّةِ أَوْ صَلَاةٍ فَرِيضَةٍ أَوْ سُنَّةٍ رَاتِبَةٍ أَوْ غَيْرِهَا The fifth chapter concerning the virtues of the call to prayer and walking to the mosques, the encouragement to perform the two-*rak'ah* mosque-greeting prayer, and the reprehensibility of sitting before performing two *rak'ahs* of prayer at any time of entry, whether the two *rak'ahs* are intended as the mosque-greeting prayer, an obligatory prayer, a confirmed voluntary prayer, or others.

'Aidrūs did not simply adopt the concise chapter titles from *Bulūgh al-Marām* instead, he expanded them into highly detailed descriptions. For instance, while Ibn Ḥajar only utilized a brief title such as *Bāb al-Wuḍū'*, 'Aidrūs massively expanded it into a paragraph

[35] Ibnu Hajar al-Asqalani, *Bulughul Maram Min Adillatil Ahkam* (Elex Media Komputindo, 2012).

encompassing the virtues of *wuḍū'*, the voluntary prayer following it, *ghusl* for *janābah*, daily ethics like using the *siwāk*, and the prohibition against polluting stagnant water. A similar phenomenon is found in the chapter of *adhān*, where ‘Aidrūs expanded it by directly inserting the recommendation to walk to the mosque and the procedures for the *taḥiyyat al-masjid* prayer into the chapter title.

This practice of expanding chapter titles carries significant academic implications for the strategy of ḥadīth transmission in Nusantara. The shift from an initially fragmented and technical structure in *Bulūgh al-Marām* to an integrative structure in *Sabīl al-Salām* indicates a displacement in the text's function. Through his book, ‘Aidrūs designed the chapter titles as a holistic learning roadmap for the Butonese people. By consolidating various interconnected topics under a single overarching title, the Sultan implemented a pedagogical strategy to enable readers to recognize the correlation between a specific act of worship and other social ethics within a unified theme.[36]

Furthermore, the expansion found in the chapter titles of *Sabīl al-Salām* reflects an effort toward the vernacularization of thought within the Butonese intellectual tradition. The lengthy and descriptive chapter titles provide pre-understanding to readers before they delve deeply into the *matan* of the *ḥadīths*. Additionally, the insertion of terms such as virtues into chapters on Islamic jurisprudence laws represents a conscious step to touch the spiritual dimension of the readers.[37] The addition of non-legal themes also reinforces this perspective, as seen in the following titles in *Sabīl al-Salām*:

الْبَابُ الْأَوَّلُ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْإِيمَانِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَأَمَرَةِ السَّاعَةِ وَفِي النَّصِيحَةِ

الْبَابُ الثَّانِي فِي الْإِخْلَاصِ النِّيَّةِ وَحِفْظِ دِينِ اللَّهِ وَخَلْقِ الْإِنْسَانِ

The first chapter above contains *ḥadīths* concerning the pillars of Islam, explanations of Islam, faith, excellence in faith, the signs of the Day of Judgment, and concludes with the *ḥadīth* stating that religion is sincere counsel. Meanwhile, the second chapter encompasses *ḥadīths* regarding the importance of intention, preserving the religion of Allah, and the creation of humankind. Placing these themes at the very beginning of his book proves that Sultan Muhammad ‘Aidrūs's objective was not solely to enforce the discipline of Islamic law, but also to awaken inner motivation and shape the character of the 19th-century CE Butonese society to be law-abiding while remaining rich in Islamic spiritual values.

The Aspect of Modification in the Hadiths of *Sabīl al-Salām*

The principle of modification within the theory of intertextuality requires adjustments, alterations, or transpositions of textual elements by the author to align the written work with the cultural, political, and readership conditions.[38] Within the manuscript of *Sabīl al-Salām*, the modifications made by ‘Aidrūs to Bulūgh al-Marām appear highly significant, particularly in the selection of the *matan* of the *ḥadīths*. For instance, in the chapter concerning *adhān*, although both books address the same topic, there is a divergence in the quantity and orientation of the *ḥadīths* included. While *Bulūgh al-Marām* contains 19 *ḥadīths* focusing on the procedural execution of *adhān* and *iqāmah*, which are characteristic of *fiqh*

[36] Syahidil Mubarik Mh and Ekatul Hilwatis Sakinah, ‘The Vernacularization of Sunnah: Hadith Reception and Local Identity in The Rasulan Tradition Of Ngalang Village’, *Nabawi: Journal of Hadith Studies*, 7.1 (2026), doi:10.55987/njhs.v6i2.240.

[37] Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan, Ali Yunis Aldahesh, and Adrian Vickers, ‘A Newly Identified Islamic Text from Sixteenth-Century Java: A Guide to Islamic Prayer and Belief’, *Studia Islamika*, 33.1 (2026), pp. 175–209, doi:10.36712/sdi.v33i1.46614; Muhammad Nida’ Fadlan, ‘Lebih Dari Sekedar Katalog Manuskrip: Jejak Intelektualisme Islam Di Mindanao’, *Studia Islamika*, 26.3 (2019), pp. 585–96, doi:10.36712/sdi.v26i3.14054.

[38] Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (Language Columbia University Press, 1982).

DOI: 10.22373/jim.v23i2.34509

stipulations, 'Aidrūs selected only 13 *ḥadīths* that are almost entirely oriented toward the virtues, rewards, and promises of forgiveness for those who practice the *adhān* and *iqāmah*.

This shift from procedural *ḥadīth* to *ḥadīth* of *faḍā'il al-a'māl* reflects that *Sabīl al-Salām* is rooted in the sociological conditions of the 19th-century CE Butonese society. As both a Sultan and a *Mursyid* of a *ṭarīqah*, 'Aidrūs perceived that the Butonese society of his era was in greater need of spiritual stimulation rather than technical debates concerning jurisprudence.[39] The selection of *ḥadīths* promising the forgiveness of sins for those who listen to the *adhān* or multiplied rewards for those who walk to the mosque had a more profound impact in mobilizing the community to become more active in communal worship. This modification proves that the manuscript of *Sabīl al-Salām* was not compiled solely as a reference book for legal scholars, but rather as a manual for the society, thereby shaping the character of a religious community through a persuasive approach.[40]

Ultimately, this modification strategy positions *Sabīl al-Salām* as a text that transcends the formal boundaries of a legal Hadith book. This manuscript serves as tangible evidence of how a local ruler in the Nusantara possessed the intellectual sovereignty to curate and adapt global Islamic literature to address the communal needs of his realm, simultaneously ensuring that prophetic messages remained relevant and maintained a driving force within the cultural reality of the Butonese society.

Sabīl al-Salām	***Bulūgh al-Marām***
وَعَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، أَنَّهُ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: "ثَلَاثٌ لَوْ يَعْلَمُ النَّاسُ مَا فِيهِنَّ مَا أَخِذْنَ إِلَّا بِسِهْمَةٍ حِرْصًا عَلَى مَا فِيهِنَّ مِنَ الْخَيْرِ وَالْبَرَكَةِ: التَّأْذِينُ بِالصَّلَاةِ، وَالتَّهْجِيرُ بِالْجَمَاعَةِ، وَالصَّلَاةُ فِي أَوَّلِ الصُّفُوفِ". رَوَاهُ ابْنُ النَّجَّارِ From Abū Hurairah, may Allah be pleased with him, who said: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said, "There are three matters; if people knew the benefits contained within them, they would surely partake in them with great zeal due to the goodness and blessings they hold. First, calling the *adhān* for prayer; second, hastening to the congregational prayer; and third, praying in the first row." (Narrated by Ibn an-Najjār)	عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: طَافَ بِي وَأَنَا نَائِمٌ رَجُلٌ فَقَالَ: تَقُولُ: اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهِ أَكْبَرُ. فَذَكَرَ الْآذَانَ بِتَرْبِيعِ التَّكْبِيرِ بِغَيْرِ تَرْجِيعٍ، وَالْإِقَامَةَ فُرَادَى، إِلَّا قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ. قَالَ: فَلَمَّا أَصْبَحْتُ أَتَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فَقَالَ: إِنَّهَا لَرُؤْيَا حَقٍّ. الْحَدِيثَ. أَخْرَجَهُ أَحْمَدُ، وَأَبُو دَاوُدَ، وَصَحَّحَهُ التِّرْمِذِيُّ، وَابْنُ خُزَيْمَةَ From 'Abdullāh bin Zaid bin 'Abd Rabbih, may Allah be pleased with him, who said: While I was sleeping, a man circumambulated me and said: "Say, 'Allāhu Akbar, Allāhu Akbar.'" Then he mentioned the *adhān* by pronouncing the *takbīr* four times without repetition, and taught the

[39] Pradibyo Herdiansyah and others, 'The Philosophy of Waḥdah Al-Wujūd in the Waḥdah Al-Wujūd Fī Bayān Al-Ma'Rifah Min Kull Bayān Al-Muḥaqqiqīn Manuscript: A Study of Nusantara Sufi Traditions', *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 23.2 (2025), pp. 554–84, doi:10.31291/jlka.v23i2.1258; Basrin Melamba and Wa Ode Siti Hafsah, 'Ijtihad Sultan Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin Ibnu Badaruddin Al Buthuni: Akulturasi Islam dan Budaya Kesultanan Buton', *el Harakah: Jurnal Budaya Islam*, 16.1 (2014), pp. 22–50, art. 1, doi:10.18860/el.v16i1.2768; Andalas University and others, 'A Newly Discovered Manuscript: Second Version of Syarh Rubai of Hamzah Fansuri Written by Syamsuddin Al Sumatrani', *Manuscripta Orientalia. International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research*, 27.1 (2021), pp. 65–77, doi:10.31250/1238-5018-2021-27-1-65-77.

[40] Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (Routledge, 2000).

	iqāmah singly, except for the phrase "qad qāmat aṣ-ṣalāh." He said: When morning came, I went to the Messenger of Allah and told him the dream. He replied: "It is a true vision..." (Narrated by Aḥmad and Abū Dāwūd, and authenticated by at-Tirmidhī and Ibn Khuzaimah)
عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَالَ: مِنَ السُّنَّةِ إِذَا قَالَ الْمُؤَذِّنُ فِي الْفَجْرِ: حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ. قَالَ: الصَّلَاةُ خَيْرٌ مِنَ النَّوْمِ Anas bin Mālik who said: "It is from the *sunnah* that when a *mu'adhdhin* calls the dawn prayer and says: *'Hayya 'alal falāḥ'*, he should then say: *'Aṣ-ṣalātu khairun minan naum'* (Prayer is better than sleep)."	وَعَنْ مُعَاوِيَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: "الْمُؤَذِّنُونَ أَطْوَلُ النَّاسِ أَعْنَاقًا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ". رَوَاهُ مُسْلِمٌ From Mu'āwiyah, may Allah be pleased with him, who said: I heard the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, saying, "The *mu'adhdhins* (callers to prayer) will have the longest necks among the people on the Day of Resurrection." (Narrated by Muslim)
عَنْ أَبِي مَحْذُورَةَ رضي الله عنه أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم عَلَّمَهُ الْأَذَانَ. فَذَكَرَ فِيهِ التَّرْجِيعَ. أَخْرَجَهُ مُسْلِمٌ. وَلَكِنْ ذَكَرَ التَّكْبِيرَ فِي أَوَّلِهِ مَرَّتَيْنِ فَقَطْ From Abū Maḥdhūrah, may Allah be pleased with him, that the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, taught him the *adhān*, and mentioned *tarjī'* within it. (Narrated by Muslim). However, he only mentioned the *takbīr* at its beginning twice.	وَعَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْعَاصِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا. أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: "إِذَا سَمِعْتُمُ النِّدَاءَ فَقُولُوا مِثْلَ مَا يَقُولُ. ثُمَّ صَلُّوا عَلَيَّ. فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ صَلَّى عَلَيَّ صَلَاةً. صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ بِهَا عَشْرًا". ثُمَّ سَلُوا اللَّهَ لِيَ الْوَسِيلَةَ. فَإِنَّهَا مَنْزِلَةٌ فِي الْجَنَّةِ لَا تَنْبَغِي إِلَّا لِعَبْدٍ مِنْ عِبَادِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى. وَأَرْجُو أَنْ أَكُونَ أَنَا هُوَ. فَمَنْ سَأَلَ لِيَ الْوَسِيلَةَ. حَلَّتْ لَهُ الشَّفَاعَةُ". رَوَاهُ مُسْلِمٌ From 'Abdullāh bin 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ, may Allah be pleased with them both, that he heard the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, saying, "When you hear the call (*adhān*), repeat what the *mu'adhdhin* says, then send blessings upon me. For indeed, whoever sends blessings upon me once, Allah will bestow ten blessings upon him. Then, ask Allah to grant me *al-Wasīlah*, for it is a station in Paradise that is fitting for only one of Allah the Almighty's servants. And I hope that I am that person. So whoever asks *al-Wasīlah* for me, my intercession becomes permissible for him." (Narrated by Muslim)

DOI: 10.22373/jim.v23i2.34509

وَعَنْ أَنَسٍ رضي الله عنه قَالَ: أُمِرَ بِلَالٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الْأَذَانَ، وَيُوتِرَ الْإِقَامَةَ، إِلَّا الْإِقَامَةَ، يَعْنِي قَوْلَهُ: قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ. مُتَّفَقٌ عَلَيْهِ، وَلَمْ يَذْكُرْ مُسْلِمٌ الِاسْتِثْنَاءَ	From Anas, may Allah be pleased with him, who said: "Bilāl was commanded to pronounce the phrases of the *adhān* in pairs and the phrases of the *iqāmah* singly, except for the *iqāmah* itself, meaning his saying: 'qad qāmat aṣ-ṣalāh'." (Agreed upon, and Muslim did not mention the exception)
وَعَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، أَنَّهُ قَالَ: "مَنْ قَالَ حِينَ يَسْمَعُ الْمُؤَذِّنَ: أَنَا أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ، رَضِيتُ بِاللَّهِ رَبًّا، وَبِمُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولًا، وَبِالْإِسْلَامِ دِينًا، غُفِرَ لَهُ ذَنْبُهُ". رَوَاهُ مُسْلِمٌ وَأَبُو دَاوُدَ	From Sa'īd bin Abī Waqqāṣ, may Allah be pleased with him, from the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, who said: "Whoever says upon hearing the *mu'adhdhin*: 'And I bear witness that there is no deity worthy of worship except Allah, the One, having no partner, and that Muhammad is His servant and His Messenger; I am pleased with Allah as my Lord, with Muhammad as my Messenger, and with Islam as my religion,' his sins will be forgiven." (Narrated by Muslim and Abū Dāwūd)
وَعَنْ أَبِي جُحَيْفَةَ رضي الله عنه قَالَ: رَأَيْتُ بِلَالًا يُؤَذِّنُ وَأَتَتَبَّعُ فَاهُ، هَاهُنَا وَهَاهُنَا، وَإِصْبَعَاهُ فِي أُذُنَيْهِ. رَوَاهُ أَحْمَدُ، وَالتِّرْمِذِيُّ وَصَحَّحَهُ	From Abū Juḥaifah, may Allah be pleased with him, who said: "I saw Bilāl calling the *adhān* and I followed the movement of his mouth here and there, while his two fingers were in his ears." (Narrated by Aḥmad and at-Tirmidhī)
وَعَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "مَنْ طَهَّرَ فِي بَيْتِهِ، ثُمَّ مَشَى إِلَى بَيْتٍ مِنْ بُيُوتِ اللَّهِ لِيَقْضِيَ فَرِيضَةً مِنْ فَرَائِضِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى، كَانَتْ خُطُوَاتُهُ إِحْدَاهُمَا تَحُطُّ خَطِيئَةً، وَالْأُخْرَى تَرْفَعُ دَرَجَةً". رَوَاهُ مُسْلِمٌ.	From Abū Hurairah, may Allah be pleased with him, that the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, said: "Whoever purifies himself in his house, then walks to one of the houses of Allah to fulfill one of the obligations prescribed by Allah the Almighty, one of his footsteps will erase a sin, and the other will raise him a degree." (Narrated by Muslim)

The Aspect of Parallelism in Hadith References

The principle of parallelism in intertextual studies does not merely observe physical similarities between texts; rather, it traces how a text maintains the line of intellectual authority from its reference source. In the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript, this principle is concretely manifested in the hierarchy of Hadith references utilized by Sultan Muḥammad ʻAidrūs.

In the *muqaddimah* of his book, Ibn Ḥajar mentions seven Hadith scholars whom he established as the primary reference sources in his book, *Bulūgh al-Marām*. These seven Hadith scholars are Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (d. 241 AH), al-Bukhārī (d. 256 AH), Muslim (d. 261 AH), Abū Dāwūd (d. 275 AH), al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH), al-Nasā'ī (d. 303 AH), and Ibn Mājah (d. 273 AH). Apart from the works of these seven scholars, Ibn Ḥajar also extracted *ḥadīths* from 35 other Hadith books.[41] The number of *ḥadīths* from the works of these seven scholars is as follows: al-Bukhārī with 586 *ḥadīths*, Muslim with 664 *ḥadīths*, Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal with 270 *ḥadīths*, Abū Dāwūd with 430 *ḥadīths*, al-Tirmidhī with 297 *ḥadīths*, al-Nasā'ī with 267 *ḥadīths*, and Ibn Mājah with 234 *ḥadīths*.[42]

Conversely, 'Aidrūs does not explicate his Hadith reference books in the *muqaddimah* of *Sabīl al-Salām* as Ibn Ḥajar did. 'Aidrūs merely states that the *ḥadīths* contained within his book are but a small portion of the vast collection of prophetic *ḥadīths*. Although the total number of ḥadīths cited by 'Aidrūs decreased drastically due to the strategies of haplology and thematic modification, the hierarchy of references he utilized demonstrates a precise parallelism with Ibn Ḥajar's *Bulūgh al-Marām*. Just as Ibn Ḥajar acquired *ḥadīths* from the seven primary Hadith books, so did 'Aidrūs. The primary Hadith books he utilized are *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* with 89 *ḥadīths*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* with 80 *ḥadīths*, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* with 36 *ḥadīths, Musnad Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal* with 9 *ḥadīths*, *Sunan Abū Dāwūd* with 41 *ḥadīths*, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī* with 6 *ḥadīths*, and *Sunan Ibn Mājah* with 3 *ḥadīths*. Aside from the books of these seven Hadith scholars, 'Aidrūs also extracted *ḥadīths* from several other scholars, namely al-Dārimī, Ibn Khuzaimah, al-Dailamī, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim, and Ibn al-Sunnī. The *ḥadīths* from these latter books appear only sparsely in *Sabīl al-Salām*.[43]

By summing up the Hadith references in *Sabīl al-Salām* and *Bulūgh al-Marām*, the similarities between the two books become evident once again. If ordered by the highest number of *ḥadīths* obtained, both rely sequentially on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, *Musnad Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal*, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*, and *Sunan Ibn Mājah*.

Bulūgh al-Marām	***Sabīl al-Salām***
Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim: 664 hadiths	Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim: 89 hadiths
Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: 586 hadiths	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: 80 hadiths
Sunan Abū Dāwūd: 430 hadiths	Sunan Abū Dāwūd: 41 hadiths
Sunan al-Tirmidhī: 297 hadiths	Sunan al-Tirmidhī: 36 hadiths
Musnad Aḥmad: 270 hadiths	Musnad Aḥmad: 9 hadiths
Sunan al-Nasā'ī: 267 hadiths	Sunan al-Nasā'ī: 6 hadiths
Sunan Ibn Mājah: 234 hadiths	Sunan Ibn Mājah: 3 hadiths

This parallel aspect in the references indicates that 'Aidrūs did not simply include *ḥadīths* indiscriminately without filtering them based on their quality, especially considering that this book was intended as a guide for the Butonese society.[44] Despite making numerous adjustments to align with the Buton Sultanate's culture, which was deeply infused with

[41] Ishak Haji Suliaman, 'Ibn Hajar Al-'Asqalani: Biografi Seorang Tokoh Ilmu Hadis', *Jurnal Usuluddin*, 7 (1998), pp. 97–128 (p. 135).

[42] Ishak Hj Sulaiman, 'Metodologi Penulisan Bulugh Al-Maram Sebagai Kitab Hadith Al-Ahkam', *Jurnal Usuluddin*, 10 (1999), pp. 1–20 (p. 7).

[43] 'Sabil As-Salam Li Bulug al-Maram'.

[44] Muhammad Purwanto, 'Acculturation among Local Wisdom, Law and Sufism in Forming Martabat Tujuh Enactment of Buton Sultanate', *International Journal of Humanities and Management Sciences*, 4 (2016), p. 288.

DOI: 10.22373/jim.v23i2.34509

Sufism, he firmly adhered to utilizing the *ḥadīth* of the Messenger of Allah from the authentic books.[45]

The Accuracy of Hadith Citations in *Sabīl al-Salām*

To assess the accuracy of 'Aidrūs's hadith citations, an examination was conducted by directly comparing the verbatim hadith texts in the manuscript with their original reference books. Based on a sample of 40 hadiths examined from two chapters: *adhan* and *wudu* the hadith citations in *Sabīl al-Salām* demonstrate a high degree of textual consistency. Out of these 40 hadith samples, 35 feature precise wording, while only 5 exhibit minor variations or omissions. The details of these variations can be seen in the following table:

Sabil al-Salām	**The Hadith Reference Books of Sabīl al-Salām**
تَوَضَّأَ نَحْوَ وُضُوئِي هَذَا، ثُمَّ صَلَّى رَكْعَتَيْنِ لَا يُحَدِّثُ فِيهِمَا نَفْسَهُ، غُفِرَ لَهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِهِ. رَوَاهُ مُسْلِمٌ	مَنْ تَوَضَّأَ نَحْوَ وُضُوئِي هَذَا، ثُمَّ صَلَّى رَكْعَتَيْنِ لَا يُحَدِّثُ نَفْسَهُ فِيهِمَا بِشَيْءٍ غُفِرَ لَهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِهِ[46]
Note: Missing the word مَنْ	
إِذَا صُمْتُمْ فَاسْتَاكُوا بِالْغَدَاةِ وَلَا تَسْتَاكُوا بِالْعَشِيِّ فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِنْ صَائِمٍ تَيَبَّسُ شَفَتَاهُ بِالْعَشِيِّ إِلَّا كَانَ نُورًا بَيْنَ عَيْنَيْهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ	إِذَا صُمْتُمْ فَاسْتَاكُوا بِالْغَدَاةِ وَلَا تَسْتَاكُوا بِالْعَشِيِّ فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِنْ صَائِمٍ تَيَبَّسُ شَفَتَاهُ بِالْعَشِيِّ إِلَّا كَانَ نُورًا بَيْنَ عَيْنَيْهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ
Note: Missing the word بِالْغَدَاةِ	
مَنْ تَوَضَّأَ، فَأَحْسَنَ الْوُضُوءَ خَرَجَتْ خَطَايَاهُ مِنْ جَسَدِهِ حَتَّى تَخْرُجَ مِنْ تَحْتِ أَظْفَارِهِ	مَنْ تَوَضَّأَ، فَأَحْسَنَ الْوُضُوءَ خَرَجَتْ خَطَايَاهُ حَتَّى تَخْرُجَ مِنْ تَحْتِ أَظْفَارِهِ رَوَاهُ مُسْلِمٌ
Note: There is an omission of a word in the *ḥadīth* above, namely the word جَسَدِهِ , which is missing in *Sabīl al-Salām*.	
مَنْ تَطَهَّرَ فِي بَيْتِهِ، ثُمَّ مَشَى إِلَى بَيْتٍ مِنْ بُيُوتِ اللهِ لِيَقْضِيَ فَرِيضَةً مِنْ فَرَائِضِ اللهِ كَانَتْ	مَنْ طَهَّرَ فِي بَيْتِهِ، ثُمَّ مَشَى إِلَى بَيْتٍ مِنْ بُيُوتِ اللَّهِ لِيَقْضِيَ فَرِيضَةً مِنْ فَرَائِضِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى، كَانَتْ

[45] Muhamad Khoirul Huda, 'Dissemination of Sanad Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī in West Java: A Biographical Study of Kh. Muhammad Qudsi Garut', *Nabawi: Journal of Hadith Studies*, 6.1 (2025), doi:10.55987/njhs.v6i1.191.

[46] Abu Husain Muslim bin al-Hajjaj bin Muslim al-Qusyairi al-Naisaburi, *Shahih Muslim* (Dar al-Alamiyyah, 2016).

خُطْوَتَاهُ :إِحْدَاهُمَا تَحُطُّ خَطِيئَةً، وَالْأُخْرَى تَرْفَعُ دَرَجَةً	خُطَوَاتُهُ إِحْدَاهُمَا تَحُطُّ خَطِيئَةً، وَالْأُخْرَى تَرْفَعُ دَرَجَةً رواه مسلم

Note: Missing the letter تَ in the word طَهَّرَ, which should be تَطَهَّرَ. Additionally, the pronunciation of خُطُوَاتُهُ should be خُطْوَتَاهُ.

انَ رَجُلٌ لا أَعْلَمُ رَجلًا أَبْعَدَ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ مِنْهُ، وَكَانَ لَا تُخْطِئُهُ صَلاةٌ، فَقِيلَ لَهُ أَوْ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ :لَوِ اشْتَرَيْتَ حِمَارًا تَرْكَبُهُ فِي الظَّلْمَاءِ وفِي الرَّمْضَاءِ فَقَالَ :مَا يَسُرُّنِي أَنَّ مَنْزِلِي إِلَى جَنْبِ الْمَسْجِدِ إِنِّي أُرِيدُ أَنْ يُكْتَبَ لِي مَمْشَايَ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ وَرُجُوعِي إِذَا رَجَعْتُ إِلَى أَهْلِي، فَقَالَ رَسُولُ الله- صلى الله عليه وسلم» :قَدْ جَمَعَ اللهُ لَكَ ذلِكَ كُلَّهُ[47]	كَانَ رَجُلٌ مِنْ الاَ الأنْصَارِ لَا أَعْلَمُ اَحَدًا أَبْعَدَ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ مِنْهُ، وَكَانَ لَا تُخْطِئُهُ صَلاةٌ، فَقِيلَ لَهُ لَوْ اشْتَرَيْتَ حِمَارًا تَرْكَبُهُ فِي الظَّلْمَاءِ وَفِي الرَّمْضَاءِ قَالَ مَا يَسُرُّنِي أَنَّ مَنْزِلِي إِلَى جَنْبِ الْمَسْجِدِ إِنِّي أُرِيدُ أَنْ يُكْتَبَ لِي مَمْشَايَ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ وَرُجُوعِي إِذَا رَجَعْتُ إِلَى أَهْلِي، فَقَالَ رَسُولُ الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَدْ جَمَعَ اللهُ لَكَ كُلَّهُ رواه مسلم.

Note: Missing the word ذَلِكَ.

An analysis of the five textual variations above indicates that these differences are technically forms of word-level omission or haplology,[48] such as the missing words *man*, *bi al-ghadāti*, *jasadihi*, and *dhālika*, along with a slight scribal slip regarding the word *khutwatahu*. These minor variations do not delegitimize the text's accuracy in the slightest, as they neither undermine nor alter the underlying jurisprudential substance. For instance, the omission of the phrase *bi al-ghadāti* in the hadith about using the *siwak* does not invalidate the recommendation to use the *siwak* itself; it is merely a narrative simplification.

This also reflects the natural dynamics within the codicological tradition of the Archipelago, where the process of manual copying is susceptible to scribal errors, particularly since the manuscript currently under study is a copy, rather than an autograph (the original handwriting of ‘Aidrūs). Consequently, this textual adaptation and the slight copyist variations are not viewed as flaws in precision according to local hadith scholarship standards. Instead, they serve as evidence of the flexible vernacularization of global Islamic teachings into the sociological sphere of the Buton Sultanate.[49]

[47] al-Naisaburi, *Shahih Muslim*.

[48] Alimron Muhtasor and others, ‘Teks dan Konteks Kitab Hadis Melayu Palembang’, *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 21.2 (2023), pp. 353–82, doi:10.31291/jlka.v21i2.1049.

[49] Teuku Amnar Saputra Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, ‘Perkembangan Dan Kesahihan Hadis Dari Awal Islam Hingga Zaman Post Truth’, *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Mu’ashirah: Media Kajian Al-Qur’an Dan Al-Hadits*

DOI: 10.22373/jim.v23i2.34509

C. Conclusion

Research on the *Sabīl al-Salām* manuscript by Sultan Muḥammad 'Aidrūs demonstrates that Nusantara's Hadith tradition was not a passive imitation of Middle Eastern scholarship, but an active cultural adaptation. By adapting Ibn Ḥajar's *Bulūgh al-Marām* through summarizing content, expanding chapter titles, and prioritizing *ḥadīths* on the virtues of deeds (*faḍā'il al-a'māl*), 'Aidrūs successfully established a localized intellectual tradition in the 19th-century Buton Sultanate. This "literary diplomacy" enabled him to balance two major interests: preserving the authoritative prestige of global Islamic jurisprudence while exercising intellectual independence to tailor text structures to the socio-spiritual needs of Butonese society.

Ultimately, these findings contribute significantly to manuscript intertextual studies, proving that intertextuality among classical *'ulamā'* was a strategic method to contextualize sacred teachings rather than mere textual borrowing. By deconstructing and reassembling older texts for a new audience, Sultan 'Aidrūs integrated global Islamic teachings without dissolving local cultural identity. This study asserts that Islamic intellectual history in Eastern Nusantara was dynamic and self-driven, powered by local scholars capable of reviving classical literature to address the contemporary challenges of their era.

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