

ISLAMIC CONTEXTUALIZATION ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE INDONESIAN SULTANATES

An Exploration of Ancient Islamic Manuscript in Maluku Island

**Wuri Handoko, Asep Saefullah, Ali Akbar,
Abu Muslim, Nensia, and Hamsiati** | National Research and Innovation Agency
(BRIN) – Indonesia

Corresponding author: asep.saefullah@brin.go.id

Abstract: The spread of Islam in Maluku occurred not only in central areas of power but also in the peripheral regions. Based on various ancient Islamic manuscripts, this article examines the contextualization of these manuscripts within the broader framework of Islamization and acculturation with local traditions in the peripheral regions of the Maluku Islands. By combining a field research and literature study with contextual analysis, the article explores the significance of these manuscripts in preserving and transmitting Islamic knowledge, as well as the development of Islam in this region. The research findings indicate that these manuscripts reflect the dynamic interaction between Islamic traditions and local customs in the region. Additionally, the study highlights the textualization of ancient Islamic manuscripts, which contain various Islamic teachings that were contextually adapted to align with local culture. This paper contributes to a deeper understanding of the processes through which Islam was integrated into the cultural fabric of the Maluku Islands.

Keywords: Ancient manuscript, Islam, Maluku, Indonesian Sultanates.

Introduction

Maluku was a pivotal center for the growth and development of Islam in eastern Indonesia, with its spice trade routes¹ serving as

¹ P Basundoro and A S Nugroho, "The Role of Eastern Java in the Global Spice Trade Network during the Ancient Period to the 17th Century," *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences* 45, 2 (2024): pp. 661–70, <https://doi.org/10.34044/j.kjss.2024.45.2.33>.

conduits for diverse cultural influences from both the East and West.² The process of Islamization in Maluku began in earnest in the late 14th century, spurred by trade and the significant influence of King Ternate Molomoteya (1350-1357 AD), who fostered friendly relations with Arab traders.³ This connection facilitated the exchange of knowledge, particularly in shipbuilding, which enhanced inter-island connectivity.⁴

As a meeting point for various civilizations, Maluku witnessed the emergence of prominent Islamic kingdoms, including Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, and Jailolo, collectively known as Moloku Kie Raha.⁵ In present-day Maluku Province, the Kingdom of Hitu on Ambon Island and the Kingdom of Hoamoal on western Seram Island also played vital roles. The establishment of the Sultanates of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan marked the height of Islamic influence in the region, with Ternate and Tidore emerging as the dominant centers of power.⁶ Surrounding areas acted as peripheral zones of Islam's spread, each contributing unique aspects of Islamic civilization worthy of further exploration. According to Andaya, regions outside Ternate and Tidore are classified as the peripheral world of Maluku.⁷ Over the years, the Sultanate of Ternate has been recognized as the most influential Islamic authority in North Maluku, extending its reach to the southern parts of Maluku Province, including Seram, Buru, and Ambon.⁸

² Timo Kaartinen, "Islamic Transformations in the Periphery of Maluku, Indonesia," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 47, 138 (2019): pp. 184–98, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2019.1583428>; Guanmian Xu, "Junks to Mare Clausum: China-Maluku Connections in the Spice Wars, 1607–1622," *Itinerario* 44, 1 (2020): pp. 196–225, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S016511531900055X>.

³ Bunyamin Marasabessy, "Dawr Al-Sultān Zayn Al-Ābidīn Fī Nashr Al-Islām Fī Sultānah Al-Tarnātī Fī Al-Qarn Al-Rābʿ ‘Ashr Al-Mīlādīyah," *Studia Islamika* 13, 3 (2006): pp. 499–515, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v13i3.562>.

⁴ Uka Tjandrasasmita (ed.), *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia Jilid 3: Zaman Pertumbuhan & Perkembangan Kerajaan Islam Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2019).

⁵ Syahyunan Pora, Arqom Kuswanjono, and Hardono Hadi, "Epistemological Implications of Maluku Spices Against European Minds in XIV-XVII Century," *International Journal of Scientific and Technology Research* 9, 4 (2020): pp. 1109–14.

⁶ Titik Pudjiastuti, "Moloku Kie Raha Community and Their Old Manuscript Heritage," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 175 (Institute of Physics Publishing, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/175/1/012059>.

⁷ Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku. Eastern Indonesian in Modern Period* (Honolulu: Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press., 1993).

⁸ Shaleh Putuhena, "Proses Perluasan Agama Islam Di Maluku Utara," M.J. Abdulrahman et al (ed.), *Ternate: Bandar Jalur Suteru* (Jakarta: LinTas (Lembaga

This article aims to illuminate the history and development of Islam in Maluku through the analysis of Islamic manuscripts, which represent a vital component of the region's historical and cultural heritage.⁹ By studying material culture, researchers can glean insights into past cultural practices and monumental architecture still visible today.¹⁰ The examination of ancient Islamic manuscripts, as part of a historical archaeology approach, provides a framework for understanding the social dynamics of Islamic society during a time when literacy began to take hold.¹¹

While historical science primarily relies on written sources, archaeology emphasizes material evidence.¹² Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of 15th-century Islam in the archipelago necessitates an integrated approach that synthesizes both disciplines. This study also aims to uncover critical information about the processes of Islamization in specific localities, complementing archaeological findings with insights from ancient manuscripts to construct a more complete historical narrative.¹³ The ancient Islamic manuscripts of Maluku serve as essential links to the past, shedding light on methods of Islamic preaching, educational practices, and the intellectual networks connecting Maluku with other Islamic regions.¹⁴ These manuscripts transcend their role as historical documents; they

Informasi dan Transformasi Sosial), 2001); R.Z. Leirissa, *Jalur Sutera: Integrasi Laut-Darat Dan Ternate Sebagai Bandar Di Jalur Sutera. Dalam M.J. Abdulrahman, et Al. Ternate: Bandar Jalur Sutera, Ternate.* (Jakarta: LinTas, 2021).

⁹ Husaini Ibrahim et al., "Early Islam of Lamuri Site Based on Archaeological Evidence," *Archaeological Research in Asia* 29 (2022): 100350, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ara.2022.100350>.

¹⁰ R. Michael Feener et al., "Islamisation and the Formation of Vernacular Muslim Material Culture in 15th-Century Northern Sumatra," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49, 143 (2021): pp. 1–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2021.1873564>.

¹¹ Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara* (Jakarta: KPG, 2009).

¹² Wuri Handoko, "Tradisi Nisan Menhir Pada Makam Kuno Raja-Raja Di Wilayah Kerajaan Hitu," *Kapata Arkeologi* 10, 1 (2014): pp. 33–46; Wuri Handoko and Muhammad Al Mujabuddawat, "Situs Kampung Tua Kao: Identitas Asal Usul Dan Jejak Peradaban Islam Di Wilayah Pedalaman Halmahera Utara," *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan* 2, 2 (2017): pp. 150–65, <https://doi.org/10.24832/JPNK.V2I2.653>.

¹³ Handoko and Mujabuddawat, "Situs Kampung Tua Kao.

¹⁴ Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan Kota-Kota Muslim Di Indonesia Dari Abad XIII Sampai XVIII Masehi* (Kudus: Menara Kudus, 2000).

are living testaments to the rich and complex tapestry of Islamic civilization that once flourished in the area.¹⁵

The development of Islam in Maluku can be understood through the interplay between Islam and local customs as happened elsewhere in Indonesia, such as Lombok¹⁶ and Sulawesi,¹⁷ leading to a positive integration where Islamic values merge with traditional beliefs. This synthesis is particularly evident in regions like Masohi and Ternate, where local communities have preserved their identities while embracing Islam. This fusion reflects an acculturation process, intertwining religious and cultural values to create a unique civilization that is both Islamic and indigenous.¹⁸

The research employs a descriptive analytical method to study the ancient Islamic texts scattered throughout Maluku. Data collection involved literature reviews, primarily from the British Library's catalog of ancient manuscripts from Ambon Island,¹⁹ as well as research conducted by the Ministry of Religious Affairs.²⁰ Complementary data were gathered from archaeological research reports and scholarly works. Ancient manuscripts were analyzed by classifying them into different types to elucidate the forms of Islamic textualization that emerged.²¹ Additionally, ethnographic approach were conducted to

¹⁵ Bakar Djibat, Saiful Deni, and Zubair Saing, "The Culture of Makayaklo in North Maluku Society: Teaching the Values of Building Solidarity and Social Integration," *International Journal of Critical Cultural Studies* 17, 1 (2019): pp. 43 – 54, <https://doi.org/10.18848/2327-0055/CGP/v17i01/43-54>.

¹⁶ F Umam, M A Al Humaidy, and M A Amrulloh, "Dialectics Between Islam and Local Culture in Wetu Telu Lombok Muslims' Merariq Tradition: An 'Urf Perspective," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 19, 2 (2024): pp. 104–25, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v19i1.10603>.

¹⁷ A Zainal, H S Ahimsa-Putra, and A Rezki, "Hybrid Culture In Katoba Ritual Of Muna," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 18, 1 (2024): pp. 155–79, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2024.18.1.155-179>.

¹⁸ Yance Zadrak Rumahuru, "Kontekstualisasi Dalam Penyebaran Islam: Analisis Pola Pembentukan Islam Di Nusantara," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 14, 1 (2018): pp. 123–29, <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.14.2018.011>.

¹⁹ Titik Pudjastuti et al., *Katalog Ringkas Naskah Ambon* (Jakarta: The British Library and Indonesian University, 2011); "Documentation and Preservation of Ambon Manuscripts (EAP276)," n.d.

²⁰ Ahmad Jaeni et al., *Mushaf Kuno Nusantara: Sulawesi Dan Maluku*, ed. Jonni Syatri and Mustopa (Jakarta: LPMQ, 2018); Ali Akbar, *Khazanah Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Maluku* (Jakarta: LPMQ, 2012).

²¹ Wuri Handoko, "Menelusuri Jejak Peradaban Islam Kerajaan Hitu, Kecamatan Leihitu, Kabupaten Maluku Tengah" (Ambon, 2012).

explore the relationships between Islamic teachings in the manuscripts and the local traditions of the communities where these manuscripts were found. A historical analogy approach further contextualizes the development of Islam in relation to local cultural practices.

Ancient Manuscript in the Periphery of Islamic Power in Maluku *Highlight of Ancient Manuscript in the Periphery of Maluku*

The rapid development of Islamization in the Maluku region has left a rich legacy of civilizational heritage, including literacy and ancient Islamic carpentry (architecture) skills.²² This legacy continues to be evident today, significantly shaped by Islamic education and preaching that utilized textual teachings and ancient manuscripts as teaching media. Numerous ancient manuscripts have been discovered on various islands in Maluku, particularly in the administrative areas of Ambon and Ternate.²³

Manuscripts encompass all forms of handwriting that express thoughts and feelings, reflecting the cultural heritage of past civilizations.²⁴ Ancient manuscripts represent the accumulated legacy of human civilization, containing diverse content that spans social, political, economic, religious, cultural, linguistic, and literary aspects. These texts provide valuable insights into the daily lives, emotions, and attitudes of people in the past, capturing the essence of their culture.²⁵ These manuscripts offer abundant information across various fields, including literature, religion, history, law, customs, medicine, and engineering. Therefore, it is essential for scholars to explore the data hidden within these manuscript collections.²⁶

The content of ancient manuscripts allows for the classification of themes that illustrate the process of Islamization. The classifications of

²² W Handoko et al., "The Relationship Of Islam And Locality In The Architecture Of The Wapauwe Ancient Mosque In Maluku," *Journal of Islamic Architecture* 8, 1 (2024): pp. 184–98, <https://doi.org/10.18860/jia.v8i1.21729>.

²³ Hamzah Tualeka Zn, "The History of Islam and Its Dissemination in Ambon-Lease, Maluku," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 5, 2 (2011): pp. 296–312, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.2.296-312>.

²⁴ Siti Baroroh Baried et al., *Pengantar Teori Filologi* (Yogyakarta: Fakultas Sastra UGM, 1994).

²⁵ Akhadiati Ikram, *Filologi Nusantara*. (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1997).

²⁶ Tjandrasasmita, *Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan Kota-Kota Muslim Di Indonesia Dari Abad XIII Sampai XV/III Masehi*.

ancient Islamic manuscripts include: ²⁷ 1) Ancient Qur'an, primarily found in Kaitetu, Morella, and Hitu Lama; 2) Sermon (*Khutbah*), including those for Friday and Eid sermons; 3) Genealogy (*Silsilah*), detailing the genealogy of the King of Hitu; 4) Astrology and Horoscope (*Falak* and *Primbon*), which encompass divination, astrology, calendar systems, and auspicious days; 5) *Fiqh*, focusing on sharia-related topics like prayer, fasting, and zakat; 6) Islamic History (*Hikayat/Cerita Islam*), which narrate biography of the Prophet Muhammad and other significant events; 7) Prayers (*Doa*); 8) Spell (*Mantra*), including amulets and protective spells; 9) Islamic mysticism (sufism) and sufi order (*tariqa*), covering teachings on the paths of *shari'a*, *haqiqah*, and *ma'rifa*; 10) Islamic doctrines (*Ajaran/Aqidah*), promoting values like respect for parents and love; 11) Literary Manuscripts (*sastra*), which include poetry²⁸ praising the Prophet Muhammad and other literary forms; and 12) Other/manuscripts with multiple themes.

In terms of quantity, the comparison of ancient manuscripts is based on the locations of manuscript acquisition. For example, Kaitetu Village on Ambon Island, part of the Hitu Kingdom, along with Haruku, Hitu Lama, Hitu Messing, Hila, and Morella in Central Maluku, as well as Soa Kilbarin, Bula, East Seram, are significant areas for manuscript discovery. Approximately 200 manuscripts have been found, which can be illustrated in the figure 1.

²⁷ Wuri Handoko, "Naskah Kuno Dan Perkembangan Islam Di Maluku: Studi Kasus Kerajaan Hitu, Maluku Tengah Abad XVI-XIX M," *Berkala Arkeologi* 35, 2 (2015): pp. 169–82, <https://doi.org/10.30883/jba.v35i2.64>; Pudjiastuti et al., *Katalog Ringkas Naskah Ambon*.

²⁸ K Fuad, L A Satriawan, and S Ma'arif, "Ibn Arabi's Creative Imagination In Odhy Poetry of Sufism Figures In His Anthology Rahasia Sang Guru Sufi," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 23, 2 (2023): pp. 360–79, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v23i2.15291>.

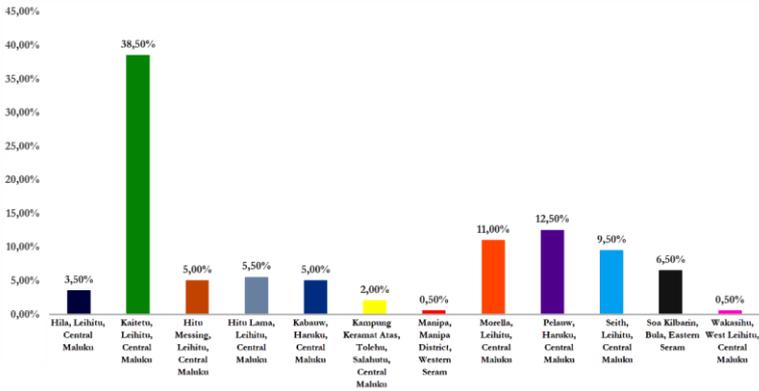


Figure 1. Percentage comparison diagram of ancient Islamic manuscript origin in Ambon and Seram Islands (Authors, 2024)

Language wise, Arabic remains the most used language in those manuscripts which signifies the high degree of Arabic commands among locals. At least, Arabic is used alongside with Malayu language. In contrast, the vernacular language of Malayu and Javanese are the least used language as shown by the following chart.

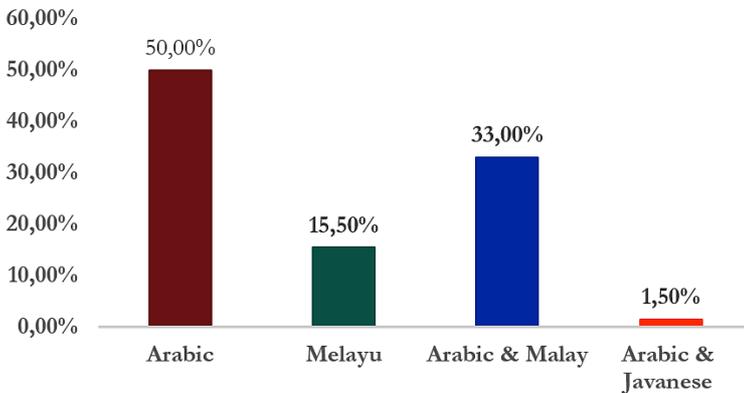


Figure 2. Percentage comparison diagram of ancient Islamic manuscript languages in Ambon and Seram Islands (Authors, 2024)

In term of themes, the practical aspects of Islam, such as sermon, prayer, the *mushaf* of the Quran, are dominant at the expense of other themes like astrology, jurisprudence and literary manuscripts. However, the vast spectrum of the themes in these manuscripts as

reflected in the following figure shows the richness and the depth of Islamic intellectualism in the area.

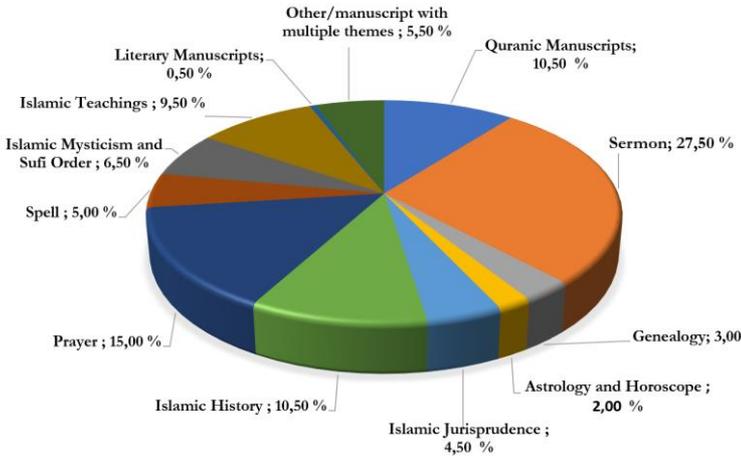


Figure 3. Percentage comparison diagram of ancient Islamic manuscript themes in Ambon and Seram Islands (Authors, 2024)

Ancient Manuscripts in the Territory of the Former Hitu Kingdom in Ambon Island

In Ambon Island, several ancient Islamic manuscripts were discovered in villages that were once part of the Hitu Kingdom. The locations of ancient manuscripts were found in the villages of Hitu Lama, Hitu Messing, Morela, Hila, and Kaitetu, which holds the largest collection of these manuscripts.

Ancient Manuscripts in Hitu Lama Village

In Hitu, Ambon Island, there are numerous manuscripts on the Quran, Islamic law, and ancient explanations of the Pelu family heirs, who are descendants of the Hitu King family that still reigns today.²⁹ The ancient manuscripts in Hitu have also been noted by the Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an (LPMQ), the institute for correcting Qur'anic text, of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.³⁰ This *mushaf* is well-preserved and in good condition. The

²⁹ Florence Sahunilawane, "Arkeologi Islam Maluku Di Kecamatan Leihitu Kabupaten Maluku Tengah." (Ambon, 1996).

³⁰ Akbar, *Khazanah Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Maluku*.

manuscript is made of European paper, with the leather cover still intact. The beginning and end pages of the *mushaf*, which are usually illuminated, are left blank as if unfinished. The front page of the *mushaf* contains a colophon that reads *haqq al-faqir al-hajj Idris Pelu Negeri Hitu Lama lapisan ketujuh* ([this Mushaf] belongs to Haji Idris Pelu of Hitu Lama Village, the seventh descendant). The colophon is written in Arab Jawi script with pen ink, suggesting that the colophon was added later.³¹

Records or data on ancient manuscript collections are primarily obtained from the book *Katalog Ringkas Naskah Ambon* from the British Library. The catalog lists nine ancient manuscripts from Hitu Lama, consisting of Qadiriyyah Order history, prayers, Malay family and government rules, records of the activities of the king of Hitu Lama, genealogies, and astrology. Additionally, some manuscripts were found on wood in the form of trays and on tin plates.³²

Ancient Manuscripts in Hitumessing Village

A collection of ancient manuscripts from Hitu Messing, complementing the collection of ancient manuscripts from Hitu Lama Village is recorded. However, the majority of the 33 manuscripts in this collection are letters of colonial rulers. Only about seven of these manuscripts are Islamic manuscripts, including genealogical manuscripts of the Hitu kings. These texts consist of prayers and mantras, one of which contains prayers for signs of death. The source of these prayers is the book *Al-Mudhakarab Shaykh Al-Mashayikh Rabmat*. The texts are written in Arabic and Malay, using both Arabic and Arab-Jawi scripts.³³

Ancient Manuscripts in Hila Village

In Hila Village, ancient manuscripts are generally collected in the *Rumah Tua* (Old House of) Hasan Sulaeman.³⁴ The collection includes an ancient Qur'an and other ancient Islamic manuscripts. Four manuscripts in very damaged condition were obtained from the field during data collection: a) A printed book of *Kitab Barzanji*; b) An

³¹ Ibid.

³² Pudjiastuti et al., *Katalog Ringkas Naskah Ambon*.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Handoko, "Menelusuri Jejak Peradaban Islam Kerajaan Hitu, Kecamatan Leihitu, Kabupaten Maluku Tengah."

ancient Qur'an where the verses are marked by small red circles instead of numbers, written on European paper with unidentified watermark and countermark; c) Two ancient manuscripts in Arabic and Malay, the content of which is yet unknown due to their very damaged condition.



Figure 4. Tajweed manuscript of Hila Village (Authors and LKKMO Team, 2024)

They are two ancient Qur'an manuscripts owned by a family in Hila. The first Qur'an is made of *dluwang* (wooden bark); it is incomplete and damaged, and it lacks a cover. The second is smaller in size and in poor condition, incomplete, lacks a cover, and has detached leaves. This is printed on European Concordia paper and is written per *juḏ*, with each *juḏ* separated and the beginning of each *juḏ* starting on a new page with triangular decoration. The word 'Allah' is specially scrawled in red ink throughout the text.³⁵

An Arabic manuscript was also discovered on a wooden slab shaped like a fan. Unfortunately, much of the manuscript is illegible due to the weathering of the wood material, with only small portions remaining readable. The manuscript contains a prayer text based on a few decipherable letters.³⁶ Meanwhile, data from the British Library, they are nine ancient manuscripts, of which only two can be categorized as Islamic.³⁷ The two manuscripts are a 36-page Jawi, Arabic, and Malay poem containing teachings on respect for parents

³⁵ Akbar, *Khazanah Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Maluku*.

³⁶ Handoko, "Naskah Kuno Dan Perkembangan Islam Di Maluku: Studi Kasus Kerajaan Hitu, Maluku Tengah Abad XVI-XIX M."

³⁷ Pudjiastuti et al., *Katalog Ringkas Naskah Ambon*.

and affection for spouses, always remembering the teachings of Abdul Qadir Jaelani and Rasulullah, and always doing dhikr. Another manuscript is in the form of a treatise on sufism doctrine of *ma'rifah* (gnosis).

Ancient Manuscript in Kaitetu Village

The collection of ancient manuscripts in Kaitetu is both extensive and diverse, comprising Qur'ans, preaching, *fiqh*, collections of prayers, and many more. Most of these ancient manuscripts are housed in the Hatuwe clan's house, descendants of Imam Arikupelessy. A significant number of these manuscripts have been restored or conserved by the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia, with 19 manuscripts having been digitized in 2011-2012. The digitized manuscripts from the collection of Husein Hatuwe, a traditional leader descended from Kapitan in the traditional structure of Kaitetu Village, include *Barzanji*, Sermon of 1 Ramadan, Sermon 1 and 2, Handwritten Qur'an, Prayer Guidance (*Tuntunan Salat*), Signs of Believers (*Tanda-Tanda Orang Beriman*) 1-3, Prayers 1-3, Eid Sermon, *Juz 30* of Handwritten Qur'an, Friday Sermon, Apocalypse Poem (*Syair Kiamat*), and 20 Characters of God (*Sifat 20*).



Figure 5. *Barzanji* manuscript of Keitetu, Ambon (Authors and LKKMO Team, 2024)

One of the most notable manuscripts in the Hatuwe family collection is an ancient Qur'an claimed to have been written by Nur Cahya, the granddaughter of Imam Arikualpessy, and completed in 1590 AD. This manuscript lacks illumination and verse marks.

However, Akbar disputed the claim that Nur Cahya was the scribe and questioned the manuscript's dating.³⁸ According to Jones, a European paper expert, the type of paper used in this manuscript originated in the 19th century, making it unlikely that the manuscript was copied in the 16th century. The manuscript was written on European paper with the countermark "C and I HONIG." However, based on an interview with the owner, it was mentioned that the current ancient manuscript underwent several copying processes, and the community believes that Nur Cahya originally wrote it in the 16th century AD.³⁹



Figure 6. Ancient Dating Manuscript, Hatuwe Collection, in Kaitetu Village (Authors and LKKMO Team, 2024)

The Wapauwe Ancient Mosque houses several Qur'anic manuscripts, including one handwritten by Imam Muhammad Arikulapessy in 1550 AD. Based on the paper type, it is possible that this Qur'an was also produced in the 19th century. The paper used is of European origin, though the watermark is unclear, and the countermark is 'LVG'.⁴⁰ The *mushaf* is in poor condition, with no binding, fragmented pages, and several sections missing.

³⁸ Ali Akbar, "Mushaf Sultan Ternate Tertua Di Nusantara? Menelaah Ulang Kolofon," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 8, 2 (2010): pp. 283–96.

³⁹ Handoko, "Menelusuri Jejak Peradaban Islam Kerajaan Hitu, Kecamatan Leihitu, Kabupaten Maluku Tengah."

⁴⁰ Akbar, *Khazanah Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Maluku*.



Figure 7. Ancient Qur'an [19th century], British Library, EAP276/7/15, fig. 233-234 (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP276-7-15>, 2024)

In addition to the Hatuwe collection, there are other well-preserved manuscripts, including *Friday and Eid Sermon*, *Barzanji*, *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* (The Story of Muhammad's Light), and *Falaqiyah* (Islamic dating and astrology).⁴¹

Morella Village

In Morella Village, various ancient manuscripts are stored in several clan families, including the Manilet Clan House, the Ameth Clan Collection, the Leikawa Clan Collection, the Lauelang Clan Collection, and the Ulath Clan Collection. The Manilet clan has the largest collection of ancient manuscripts. The ancient Qur'an copies in the Ameth clan, although still relatively well-preserved, are damaged and fragile. Additionally, various clans possess ancient manuscripts, including the Lauselang clan's house establishment manuscript, which is stored in bamboo slats and wrapped in white cloth due to its fragile condition. The Leikawa clan also owns ancient copies of the Qur'an. The Ulath clan's ancient manuscripts, consisting of prayer and *salawat* manuscripts and ancient Qur'an copies, are made of *dluwang* paper and are similarly fragile.⁴²

Other clans possess only one ancient Qur'an each. However, a prayer manuscript for building a house in Mara Lauselang was also

⁴¹ Pudjiastuti et al., *Katalog Ringkas Naskah Ambon*.

⁴² Handoko, "Menelusuri Jejak Peradaban Islam Kerajaan Hitu, Kecamatan Leihitu, Kabupaten Maluku Tengah."

discovered during this research. The ancient manuscripts in Rumah Pusaka Manilet are generally very fragile and damaged. The Ameth clan has only one ancient Qur'anic Mushaf which, despite being damaged and fragile, is still quite well-preserved and lacks both watermark and countermark. It contains the initial part of Al-Baqarah chapter, featuring rectangular and triangular illuminations with ornamental motifs integrated with Arabic letter motifs. They are also four ancient Qur'ans of the Morella clan, three of them made of *dluwang* and the other one made European paper, without watermark and countermark.



Figure 8. The sermon of Salat Jumat, Ambon [20th century] and its place was made of bamboo, British Library, EAP276/8/1, fig. 1-4 (https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP276-8-1_2024)

Ancient Manuscripts in the Former Kingdom of Hoamoal, Seram Island and Surrounding Areas

In addition to Ambon Island, where the Hitu Kingdom is located, several collections of ancient manuscripts have also been found in other peripheral areas of Islamic rule, namely the western part of Seram Island, which was an area of Islamic expansion under the Sultanate of Ternate. Significant finds from Buano Island, a territory of the Hoamoal Kingdom, include an ancient Qur'an and several tombs. This ancient Qur'an, brought by the Husemahu family, was traditionally used during the month of Ramadan before being stored in the family's traditional house. The Qur'an is handwritten and is made of a paper with a high fiber density, indicating its durability.⁴³

⁴³ Wuri Handoko, "Islamisasi Dan Perkembangan Kerajaan Hoamoal Di Seram Bagian Barat," *Kapata Arkeologi* 10, 2 (2014): pp. 99–114.

According to historical records, after the VOC (Dutch East India Company) conquered the region, many people from the Hoamoal Kingdom left their lands in search of new settlements. Some of them established new communities on Buano and Manipa Islands, following local traditions. The ancient Qur'anic Mushaf data collection in the Leiden University Library supports the notion of the peak of Islamic development in the 17th century on Manipa Island. One of the copies of the Qur'an from 1694 AD was written by Batu Langkai, the imam of Tomilehu, on Manipa Island.⁴⁴

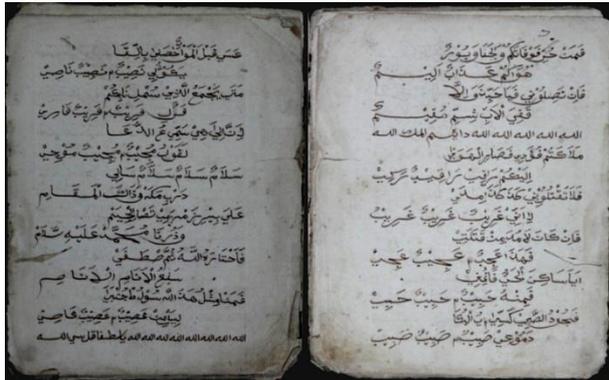


Figure 9. The religious teaching of islam [19th century], British Library, EAP276/2/1, fig. 1, 21-22 (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/E.AP276-2-1>, 2024)

Other ancient Qur'anic manuscripts were found on the southern coast of Seram Island in Central Maluku.⁴⁵ This complete ancient Qur'an is made of European paper. Unlike most ancient Qur'ans in Maluku, each *juz* (part) is separated and not bound together in a single volume. Each *juz* is tied individually, and there are no illustrations or illuminations on the manuscript's pages. The manuscript is in a weathered condition and appears poorly maintained, with some parts damaged and illegible.

Another important manuscript is the *primbon* (horoscope), written on a mirror-shaped wooden slab. This slab is round with a diameter of 30 cm and has a handle 13 cm long. The wooden disc has two concave

⁴⁴ Akbar, *Khazanah Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Maluku*.

⁴⁵ Wuri Handoko, "Arkeologi Sejarah Islam Di Pesisir Selatan Pulau Seram Maluku Tengah," *Kapata Arkeologi* 12, 1 (2016): pp. 79–90, <https://doi.org/10.24832/kapata.v12i1.307>.

sides, resembling a mirror. When opened, Malay/Jawi Arabic writing is visible on the wooden surface. The outer surface of the object is carved, while the inside is plain. The writing on the inside is likely a form of prophecy or dating advice, with one disc containing the prophecy and the other containing a calendar.

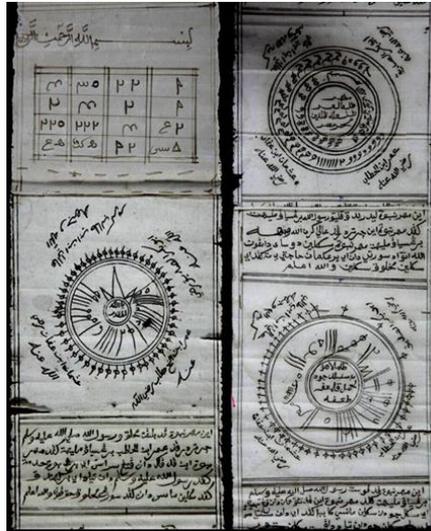


Figure 10. *Primbon* [19th century], British Library, EAP276/7/47, fig. 1-2 (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP276-7-47>, 2024)

Ancient manuscripts are also found in the eastern coast of Seram, which was the territory of Sultanate of Tidore.⁴⁶ One manuscript found here contained spells and other related items, such as *debus* ritual. This manuscript, handwritten in 1686 AD, was dedicated to memorizing the intention of performing the ritual with the blessing of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadir Jaylani. It is written in Arabic script and contains prayers or mantras to be recited during *debus* rituals. Additionally, sermon manuscripts were discovered, including those for Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha. These handwritten manuscripts are made of brownish-white paper, with each sheet having two pages of writing, possibly European paper, but had no watermark.

⁴⁶ Wuri Handoko, “Konversi Islam Dan Determinasi Kekuasaan. Studi Arkeologi Kawasan Teluk Waru Kabupaten Seram Bagian Timur,” *Kapata Arkeologi* 6, 10 (2010): pp. 1–18.



Figure 11. Prayer to Allah [19th century], British Library, EAP276/1/25, fig. 1-3 (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/E.AP276-1-25>, 2024)



Figure 12. Astronomy [c 20th century], British Library, EAP276/10/7, fig. 1-2 (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/E.AP276-10-7>, 2024)

Contextualization of Ancient Islamic Manuscripts in the Periphery of Maluku Power

In the territory of the Hitu Kingdom on Ambon Island, Islamic teaching followed processes and stages similar to those in other islands. The existence of a handwritten Quran from the 16th century AD and its continued development during the growth of the European paper industry demonstrate the rapid advancement of Islamic education and the textualization of Islamic teachings through Quranic literacy. While sharia (*fiqh*) gained prominence, its dissemination was

slower than that of *tasawuf* (Sufism) due to the strong influence of enduring traditions and customary laws.⁴⁷ In contrast, Sufism, particularly the *tariqa* (Sufi orders), became more dominant. The rapid development of Sufism stemmed from its accessibility and its appeal to individuals seeking spiritual connections, as conveyed through ancient texts that evolved between the 16th and 19th centuries. These developments highlight the increasingly dynamic and complex nature of Islam in the region.⁴⁸

Ancient manuscripts provide significant insights into the development of Islamic schools, sects, sufism, and *tariqa*. Records of Arab traders, Persians, and historical accounts reveal how Islam took root in the Hitu Kingdom community, manifesting in diverse forms.⁴⁹ Manuscript analyses uncover rich religious treasures and show that Islam was propagated not only through royal institutions but also through mystical approaches. During the kingdom's early development, Islam's penetration was in its initial stages but flourished as Hitu engaged more extensively with external influences.⁵⁰

The discovery of ancient Qur'ans and other Islamic manuscripts in Maluku—particularly in Hitu Lama, Hitumessing, and Hila villages—offers compelling evidence of Islam's spread in the region. These manuscripts, with their use of European paper and unique calligraphic styles, provide insights into their historical and cultural origins as well as the processes of Islamization in Maluku. They were not merely religious texts but also instruments that legitimized Islamic rule and integrated Islamic practices into local cultural frameworks.

The education, sufism, and Islamic law are key drivers of Islamization in the Hitu Kingdom. Beginning in the 16th century, the process was marked by Quranic literacy, the teaching of *fiqh*, and the introduction of *tariqa*. Sufism was particularly effective in attracting converts and influencing Islamic practices in the region. This emphasis

⁴⁷ M A Rusdi et al., "The King's Decree: Integration of Customary Law and Islamic Law in the Clove Lease Agreement," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, 1 (2024): pp. 97–118, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i1.97-118>.

⁴⁸ Wuri Handoko, "Sufisme Dan Sinkretisme Islam Di Wilayah Maluku," *Patanjala: Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya* 4, 2 (2012): pp. 183–97, <https://doi.org/10.30959/patanjala.v4i2.131>.

⁴⁹ Wuri Handoko, *Prasejarah Dan Sinkretisme Religi Islam* (Australia: Research Report for Granucci Fund. IPPA-ANU, 2012).

⁵⁰ Handoko, "Naskah Kuno Dan Perkembangan Islam Di Maluku: Studi Kasus Kerajaan Hitu, Maluku Tengah Abad XVI-XIX M."

on sufism, as reflected in sermons and Quranic studies, underscores the localized nature of Islamic propagation in Maluku. The European paper had the critical role in facilitating manuscript production during the colonial era. Manuscript-making flourished during this period, with increased transcription of Sufi texts and prayers that played a vital role in the expansion of Islamic teachings.⁵¹

The use of Arab Jawi script—a form of Arabic adapted for Malay—in the study of manuscripts, including *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* illustrates the flexibility of written traditions in accommodating diverse linguistic communities. Arab Jawi Manuscripts conveyed narratives and teachings that resonated with local traditions while maintaining connections to broader Islamic practices. The adaptability of the script enabled communication in multilingual contexts, facilitating the seamless integration of Islamic knowledge into local frameworks.⁵²

The religious manuscripts in Tidore and Maitara containing sufism, *dhikir* (litany), prayers, and Quranic verses reflect the sacralization of texts within Tidore society, where handwritten recopying preserved and transmitted sufism teaching. This tradition underscores the enduring spiritual significance of manuscript culture in Maluku, highlighting a system of knowledge transfer deeply rooted in the community.⁵³

The contextualization of these manuscripts within the broader Southeast Asian Islamic narrative can be analyzed through works by Setiawan and Fathurahman. Setiawan's exploration of Islamic-Malay kingdoms across the Malacca Strait highlights the resilience of Islamic societies in shaping their identities and cultural relations. This framework helps explain how Islam in Maluku adapted to local traditions, creating a form of Islam deeply intertwined with the region's historical and cultural context.⁵⁴ Fathurahman underscores the importance of manuscript cultures in preserving Islamic knowledge

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Jan Van Der Putten, "A Collection of Unstandardised Consistencies? The Use of Jawi Script in a Few Early Malay Manuscripts from the Moluccas," *Creating Standards* (2019), pp. 217–36, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110639063-009>.

⁵³ Idham Khalid Bodi, "Naskah Kuno Keagamaan Di Kota Tidore Kepulauan, Provinsi Maluku Utara," *Al-Qalam* 23, no. 1 (2017): 61–69.

⁵⁴ Azhari Setiawan, "Existence and Dynamics of The Islamic-Malay Sultanate Across The Malacca Strait: A Multifaceted Exploration Of Non-Western Ir Theories," *Review of International Relations* 5, 2 (2023): pp. 143–75, <https://doi.org/10.24252/rir.v5i2.42854>.

across generations and geographic boundaries. The preservation of manuscripts in Maluku's clans and traditional houses reflects a similar cultural transmission process, where Islamic teachings were adapted to fit local contexts while maintaining their core religious values.⁵⁵

The integration of Islamic teachings with local traditions in Maluku mirrors broader patterns of Islamization in Southeast Asia. For example, Sevea's work on Islamic miracle workers in Malaya provides a lens for understanding how Quranic texts were used for blessings and protection, eventually becoming embedded in local rituals.⁵⁶ Similarly, Azra's study of Islamic reformism in the Malay Archipelago highlights intellectual exchanges that influenced Maluku's Islamization, evident in the circulation of texts and the contributions of Islamic scholars.⁵⁷

The text of the *tariqa* teachings is related to several important textual components, namely, Islamic law and sufism, since in many instances, legal and mystical dimensions is inseparable in Islam.⁵⁸ Dwiatojo explains that in Islam a novice will begin the journey by studying Islamic law (sharia), the exoteric aspect of Islam and then continue on the path of a mystical dimension through the *tariqa* path to attain *ma'rifa* and *haqiqa* (true truth), which are the ultimate goal of a *tariqa* follower.⁵⁹

The Kingdom of Hitu, under the influence of Ternate's rule, illustrates how Islam was textualized and contextualized in Maluku, reflecting broader trends in Southeast Asia's Islamization. As Reid and Ricklefs argue, the spread of Islam in the region was characterized by its adaptability and synthesis with local traditions.⁶⁰ The rich corpus of

⁵⁵ Oman Fathurahman, "Memaknai Pengasingan Orang Melayu-Indonesia Di Ceylon, Sri Lanka," *Studia Islamika* 29, 2 (2022): pp. 399–415.

⁵⁶ Teren Sevea, *Miracles and Material Life: Rice, Ore, Traps and Gums in Islamic Malaya* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108569781>.

⁵⁷ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah & Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2013).

⁵⁸ F Amin, "Kitab Rukun Istinja'k: Integration of Fiqh and Sufism in the Early 19th Century of West Borneo Hinterland," *Ulumuna* 26, 1 (2022): pp. 145–73, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v26i1.485>.

⁵⁹ Ghis Nggar Dwiatojo, "Azimat Dan Rajah Dalam Catatan Pengikut Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Di Desa Lebak Ayu Kabupaten Madiun Pertengahan Abad Ke-20," *Manuskripta* 8, 1 (2018), p. 81.

⁶⁰ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988); Merle Calvin Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk SE: EastBridge, 2006), <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/1085493352>.

manuscripts found in Hitu, which include Sufi teachings, prayers, and amulets, underscores the pivotal role of textual traditions in the Islamization process. These texts not only facilitated the dissemination of Islamic practices but also served as tools to integrate Islamic mysticism with local beliefs and rituals, fostering social cohesion.⁶¹

Sufism, with its emphasis on the veneration of saints (*wali*), was particularly instrumental in this integration. Manuscripts from Hitu reflect a blend of Islamic teachings and local practices, mirroring the strategies observed across Nusantara. As Johns emphasizes, the transmission of Islam through Sufism provided a framework for local adaptation, enabling Islam to take root in diverse cultural settings.⁶² The genealogical manuscripts from Hitumessing, which incorporate prayers, mantras, and references to Sufi practices, exemplify how Islamic mysticism was localized to meet the spiritual and societal needs of the community.



Figure 13. *Mantra* [19th century], British Library, EAP276/1/1, fig. 58-59 (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP276-1-1>, 2024)

⁶¹ Henri Chambert-Loir and Claude Guillot, *Ziarah Dan Wali Di Dunia Islam* (Jakarta: Serambi, École française d'Extrême-Orient, dan Forum Jakarta-Paris, 2007).

⁶² Anthony H. Johns, "Islamization in Southeast Asia," *Southeast Asian Studies* 31, 1 (1993): pp. 43–61.

The teachings of the *Walisepulub* (Ten Saints) in Java, offer a comparative lens to understand the process. Figures such as Sunan Kudus and Sunan Kalijaga employed inclusive strategies—kinship, education, and Sufism—to propagate Islam in a manner resonant with the Islamization process in Maluku. Fuadi's analysis further highlights the dialogical nature of Islamic propagation, aligning with the practices seen in the Maluku manuscripts.⁶³ The establishment of *tariqa* networks played a central role, as Guillot and Chambert-Loir argue, embedding Islam within the social fabric of the region through the veneration of saints and adherence to spiritual practices.⁶⁴ Moreover, Rohmana sheds light on how Islamic textual traditions have historically served as vehicles for both spiritual guidance and socio-political commentary.⁶⁵ This dual role of Islamic texts is evident in the Maluku manuscripts, which not only disseminated Sufi doctrines but also reinforced the spiritual authority of Sufi leaders and local rulers.

During the peak of Islamization process, ancient manuscripts became institutionalized despite of colonialization. The community's introduction to reading and reproducing manuscripts passed down from generation to generation illustrates how Islamization persisted as a strategy to resist colonialism. Notably, the colonial era saw a significant increase in the use of European paper materials, such as ProPatria, Nedherland Indie, and Concordia, for manuscript copying.⁶⁶ Burhanuddin explains that the spread of lithography in the Dutch East Indies and Southeast Asia facilitated the transmission of Islam throughout the region in the 19th century.⁶⁷ The research findings indicate that the era of manuscript-making began in the 16th century and continued through the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. This

⁶³ Moh. Ashif Fuadi, "Islamization and the Transition of Power in Nusantara According to Kiai Abul Fadhol's *Ahlā Al-Musāmarah*," *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 16, 1 (2021): pp. 80–104, <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2021.16.1.80-104>.

⁶⁴ Chambert-Loir and Guillot, *Ziarah Dan Wali Di Dunia Islam*.

⁶⁵ Ahmad Ali Nurdin and Jajang A. Rohmana, "Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun and Social Critiques: Moh. E. Hasim's Critiques of the Political Policy of the New Order," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 13, 1 (2019): pp. 141–76, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2019.13.1.141-176>.

⁶⁶ Handoko, "Naskah Kuno Dan Perkembangan Islam Di Maluku: Studi Kasus Kerajaan Hitu, Maluku Tengah Abad XVI-XIX M."

⁶⁷ Jajat Burhanuddin, *Ulama Dan Kekuasaan. Pergumulan Elite Muslim Dalam Sejarah Indonesia*. (Bandung: Mizan Khazanah Ilmu-ilmu Islam., 2012).

continuity demonstrates that colonialism did not hinder the flow of Islamization in the Hitu Kingdom on Ambon Island.

Furthermore, trade played a vital role in the spread of Islam in Maluku. As scholars like John have noted, economic and political motives were closely intertwined with religious expansion.⁶⁸ Many manuscripts from Maluku, written on European paper, reflect the broader trade networks connecting the region to the Islamic world. The circulation of these texts facilitated the exchange of religious ideas and practices, which were subsequently adapted to local contexts through the processes of textualization and contextualization.

The ancient Islamic manuscripts of Maluku provide invaluable evidence for understanding the processes of Islamization and acculturation. These texts not only preserved Islamic teachings but also ensured their integration into local cultural and social contexts. Manuscripts from Hitu and Tidore exemplify how Islamic power and influence were established and maintained through a combination of religious, cultural, and economic factors. The role of Sufism, trade, and textual traditions underscores the dynamic interplay between global Islamic values and local practices.⁶⁹

This contextualization highlights a unique fusion of Islamic teachings with indigenous traditions, creating a form of Islam that was both rooted in its origins and adapted to local realities. As argued by Rumahuru, this indigenization process illustrates the importance of integrating religious teachings with cultural elements to ensure their relevance and sustainability.⁷⁰ The manuscripts of Maluku, thus, contribute to a broader understanding of Southeast Asian Islamic history, emphasizing the dynamic and adaptive nature of Islam in the region.⁷¹

⁶⁸ A.H. Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26 (1995): pp. 169–83.

⁶⁹ Idham, ed., *Katalog Naskah Keagamaan* (Makassar: BLAM, 2017).

⁷⁰ Rumahuru, "Kontekstualisasi Dalam Penyebaran Islam: Analisis Pola Pembentukan Islam Di Nusantara."

⁷¹ Iim Imadudin and Lia Nurulia, "Culture and Religion: Dialogue on the Tensions between Tradition and Religious Perceptions in Local Cultural Preservation," in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference Entitled Language, Literary, and Cultural Studies* (Malang: EAI, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.5-11-2022.2329461>.

Conclusion

The rapid growth of Islam reflected in the development and widespread distribution of ancient Islamic manuscripts across various regions of the Maluku, marks a significant peak in Islamic development. These manuscripts as a medium for the dissemination and teaching of Islam in the Maluku indicates that Islam flourished not only in the central power hubs, such as Ternate and Tidore, but also in their peripheral areas. The ancient manuscripts from the 17th to 19th centuries AD suggest that Islam was well-established in Maluku region, including the Hitu Kingdom on Ambon Island and the Hoamoal Kingdom on Seram Island, as well as in smaller areas within the territories of these Islamic kingdoms.

The study of the ancient Islamic manuscripts also provides valuable insights into the processes acculturation within the region. Islamic teachings were preserved, transmitted, and adapted to fit the local cultural framework. The prominence of Ternate and Tidore as centers of Islamic power in Maluku, along with the role of Sufism in spreading Islamic practices, highlights the dynamic interaction between global Islamic traditions and local customs. These manuscripts served not only as religious texts but also as cultural artifacts that facilitated the integration of Islam into Maluku social and political landscape.

The interaction between the peripheral kingdoms and others, including Ternate, Tidore, and even the colonial powers, became increasingly intensive. Despite political domination by the Dutch, the spread of Islam became even more complex and dynamic. Evidence from ancient manuscripts written on European paper shows that the teaching of Islam, through reading and writing, became more intensive and systematic during the colonial period. The introduction of literacy practices has been a long-standing tradition, and the teachings of Islam have remained dynamic throughout history. This is evident not only in the various contents of ancient manuscripts, including the Qur'an, sermons, and prayer collections, but also *fiqh*, the development of schools of thought, sufism and *tariqa*. The combined influence of trade networks, *tariqa*, and local leadership contributed to the successful establishment and perpetuation of Islam in the region. []

References

- Akbar, Ali. *Khazanah Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Maluku*. Jakarta: LPMQ, 2012.
- . “Mushaf Sultan Ternate Tertua Di Nusantara? Menelaah Ulang Kolofon.” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 8, 2 (2010).
- Amin, F. “Kitab Rukun Istinjak: Integration of Fiqh and Sufism in the Early 19th Century of West Borneo Hinterland.” *Ulumuna* 26, 1 (2022) <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v26i1.485>.
- Andaya, Leonard Y. *The World of Maluku. Eastern Indonesian in Modern Period*. Honolulu: Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah & Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2013.
- Baried, Siti Baroroh, Siti Chamamah Soeratno, Sawoe, Sulastin Sutrisno, and Moh Syakir. *Pengantar Teori Filologi*. Yogyakarta: Fakultas Sastra UGM, 1994.
- Basundoro, P, and A S Nugroho. “The Role of Eastern Java in the Global Spice Trade Network during the Ancient Period to the 17th Century.” *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences* 45, 2 (2024) <https://doi.org/10.34044/j.kjss.2024.45.2.33>.
- Bodi, Idham Khalid. “Naskah Kuno Keagamaan Di Kota Tidore Kepulauan, Provinsi Maluku Utara.” *Al-Qalam* 23, 1 (2017).
- Burhanuddin, Jajat. *Ulama Dan Kekuasaan. Pergumulan Elite Muslim Dalam Sejarah Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan Khazanah Ilmu-ilmu Islam, 2012.
- Chambert-Loir, Henri, and Claude Guillot. *Ziarah Dan Wali Di Dunia Islam*. Jakarta: Serambi, École française d'Extrême-Orient, dan Forum Jakarta-Paris, 2007.
- Djibat, Bakar, Saiful Deni, and Zubair Saing. “The Culture of Makayaklo in North Maluku Society: Teaching the Values of Building Solidarity and Social Integration.” *International Journal of Critical Cultural Studies* 17, 1 (2019) <https://doi.org/10.18848/2327-0055/CGP/v17i01/43-54>.

- “Documentation and Preservation of Ambon Manuscripts (EAP276),” n.d.
- Dwiatmojo, Ghis Nggar. “Azimat Dan Rajah Dalam Catatan Pengikut Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Di Desa Lebak Ayu Kabupaten Madiun Pertengahan Abad Ke-20.” *Manuskripta* 8, 1 (2018).
- Fathurahman, Oman. “Memaknai Pengasingan Orang Melayu-Indonesia Di Ceylon, Sri Lanka.” *Studia Islamika* 29, 2 (2022).
- Feener, R. Michael, Patrick Daly, E. Edwards McKinnon, Luca Lum En-Ci, Ardiansyah, Nizamuddin, Nazli Ismail, Tai Yew Seng, Jessica Rahardjo, and Kerry Sieh. “Islamisation and the Formation of Vernacular Muslim Material Culture in 15th-Century Northern Sumatra.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49, 143 (2021) <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2021.1873564>.
- Fuad, K, L A Satriawan, and S Ma’arif. “Ibn Arabi’s Creative Imagination In Odhy Poetry Of Sufism Figures In His Anthology Rahasia Sang Guru Sufi.” *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 23, 2 (2023) <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v23i2.15291>.
- Fuadi, Moh. Ashif. “Islamization and the Transition of Power in Nusantara According to Kiai Abul Fadhol’s Ahlā Al-Musāmarah.” *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 16, 1 (2021) <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2021.16.1.80-104>.
- Handoko, W, I P Nasution, W R Wahyudi, H Yogaswara, M Subair, N Kholis, K Massoweang, A Firmanto, and A Akbar. “The Relationship Of Islam And Locality In The Architecture Of The Wapauwe Ancient Mosque In Maluku.” *Journal of Islamic Architecture* 8, 1 (2024) <https://doi.org/10.18860/jia.v8i1.21729>.
- Handoko, Wuri. “Arkeologi Sejarah Islam Di Pesisir Selatan Pulau Seram Maluku Tengah.” *Kapata Arkeologi* 12, 1 (2016) <https://doi.org/10.24832/kapata.v12i1.307>.
- . “Islamisasi Dan Perkembangan Kerajaan Hoamoal Di Seram Bagian Barat.” *Kapata Arkeologi* 10, 2 (2014).
- . “Konversi Islam Dan Determinasi Kekuasaan. Studi Arkeologi Kawasan Teluk Waru Kabupaten Seram Bagian Timur.” *Kapata Arkeologi* 6, 10 (2010).

- . “Menelusuri Jejak Peradaban Islam Kerajaan Hitu, Kecamatan Leihitu, Kabupaten Maluku Tengah.” Ambon, 2012.
- . “Naskah Kuno Dan Perkembangan Islam Di Maluku: Studi Kasus Kerajaan Hitu, Maluku Tengah Abad XVI-XIX M.” *Berkala Arkeologi* 35, 2 (2015) <https://doi.org/10.30883/jba.v35i2.64>.
- . *Prasejarah Dan Sinkretisme Religi Islam*. Australia: Research Report for Granucci Fund. IPPA-ANU, 2012.
- . “Sufisme Dan Sinkretisme Islam Di Wilayah Maluku.” *Patanjala: Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya* 4, 2 (2012) <https://doi.org/10.30959/patanjala.v4i2.131>.
- . “Tradisi Nisan Menhir Pada Makam Kuno Raja-Raja Di Wilayah Kerajaan Hitu.” *Kapata Arkeologi* 10, 1 (2014).
- Handoko, Wuri, and Muhammad Al Mujabuddawat. “Situs Kampung Tua Kao: Identitas Asal Usul Dan Jejak Peradaban Islam Di Wilayah Pedalaman Halmahera Utara.” *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan* 2, 2 (2017) <https://doi.org/10.24832/JPNK.V2I2.653>.
- Ibrahim, Husaini, Razali Abdullah, Syarifuddin Hasyim, Amir Husni, and Mokhtar Saidin. “Early Islam of Lamuri Site Based on Archaeological Evidence.” *Archaeological Research in Asia* 29 (2022) <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ara.2022.100350>.
- Idham, ed. *Katalog Naskah Keagamaan*. Makassar: BLAM, 2017.
- Ikram, Akhadiati. *Filologi Nusantara*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1997.
- Imadudin, Iim, and Lia Nuralia. “Culture and Religion: Dialogue on the Tensions between Tradition and Religious Perceptions in Local Cultural Preservation.” In *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference Entitled Language, Literary, and Cultural Studies*. Malang: EAI, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.5-11-2022.2329461>.
- Jaeni, Ahmad, Ali Akbar, Harits Fadlly, Jonni Syatri, Muhammad Musadad, Mustopa, Zainal Arifin, and Zarkasi Afif. *Mushaf Kuno Nusantara: Sulawesi Dan Maluku*. Edited by Jonni Syatri and Mustopa. Jakarta: LPMQ, 2018.

- Johns, A.H. “Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations.” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26 (1995).
- Johns, Anthony H. “Islamization in Southeast Asia.” *Southeast Asian Studies* 31, 1 (1993).
- Kaartinen, Timo. “Islamic Transformations in the Periphery of Maluku, Indonesia.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 47, 138 (2019) <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2019.1583428>.
- Leirissa, R.Z. *Jalur Sutera: Integrasi Laut-Darat Dan Ternate Sebagai Bandar Di Jalur Sutera. Dalam M.J. Abdulrahman, et Al. Ternate: Bandar Jalur Sutera, Ternate*. Jakarta: LinTas, 2021.
- Marasabessy, Bunyamin. “Dawr Al-Sultān Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn Fī Nashr Al-Islām Fī Sultānah Al-Tarnātī Fī Al-Qarn Al-Rābī ‘Ashr Al-Milādiyah.” *Studia Islamika* 13, 3 (2006) <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v13i3.562>.
- Nurdin, Ahmad Ali, and Jajang A. Rohmana. “Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun and Social Critiques: Moh. E. Hasim’s Critiques of the Political Policy of the New Order.” *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 13, 1 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2019.13.1.141-176>.
- Pora, Syahyunan, Arqom Kuswanjono, and Hardono Hadi. “Epistemological Implications of Maluku Spices Against European Minds in XIV-XVII Century.” *International Journal of Scientific and Technology Research* 9, 4 (2020).
- Pudjiastuti, Titik. “Moloku Kie Raha Community and Their Old Manuscript Heritage.” In *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 175. Institute of Physics Publishing, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/175/1/012059>.
- Pudjiastuti, Titik, A Malik M Thaha Tuanaya, Achadiati Ikram, and Ali Akhbar. *Katalog Ringkas Naskah Ambon*. Jakarta: The British Library and Indonesian University, 2011.
- Putten, Jan Van Der. “A Collection of Unstandardised Consistencies? The Use of Jawi Script in a Few Early Malay Manuscripts from the Moluccas.” *Creating Standards*, 2019, 217–36. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110639063-009>.

- Putuhena, Shaleh. "Proses Perluasan Agama Islam Di Maluku Utara." In *Ternate: Bandar Jalur Sutra*, edited by M.J. Abdulrahman et al. Jakarta: LinTas (Lembaga Informasi dan Transformasi Sosial), 2001.
- Reid, Anthony. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin. *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries*. Norwalk SE: EastBridge, 2006. <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/1085493352>.
- Rumahuru, Yance Zadrak. "Kontekstualisasi Dalam Penyebaran Islam: Analisis Pola Pembentukan Islam Di Nusantara." *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 14, 1 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.14.2018.011>.
- Rusdi, M A, S A Pradana, R M Pikahulan, F N S Shabri, and D Achmad. "The King's Decree: Integration of Customary Law and Islamic Law in the Clove Lease Agreement." *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, 1 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i1.97-118>.
- Sahusilawane, Florence. "Arkeologi Islam Maluku Di Kecamatan Leihitu Kabupaten Maluku Tengah." Ambon, 1996.
- Setiawan, Azhari. "Existence and Dynamics of The Islamic-Malay Sultanate Across The Malacca Strait: A Multifaceted Exploration Of Non-Western Ir Theories." *Review of International Relations* 5, 2 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.24252/rir.v5i2.42854>.
- Sevea, Teren. *Miracles and Material Life: Rice, Ore, Traps and Guns in Islamic Malaya*. Cambridge University Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108569781>.
- Tjandrasasmita, Uka. *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara*. Jakarta: KPG, 2009.
- . *Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan Kota-Kota Muslim Di Indonesia Dari Abad XIII Sampai XVIII Masehi*. Kudus: Menara Kudus, 2000.
- , ed. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia Jilid 3: Zaman Pertumbuhan & Perkembangan Kerajaan Islam Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2019.

- Tualeka Zn, Hamzah. "The History of Islam and Its Dissemination in Ambon-Lease, Maluku." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 5, 2 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.2.296-312>.
- Umam, F, M A Al Humaidy, and M A Amrulloh. "Dialectics Between Islam and Local Culture in Wetu Telu Lombok Muslims' Merariq Tradition: An 'Urf Perspective." *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 19, 2 (2024) <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v19i1.10603>.
- Xu, Guanmian. "Junks to Mare Clausum: China-Maluku Connections in the Spice Wars, 1607–1622." *Itinerario* 44, 1 (2020) <https://doi.org/10.1017/S016511531900055X>.
- Zainal, A, H S Ahimsa-Putra, and A Rezki. "Hybrid Culture In Katoba Ritual Of Muna." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 18, 1 (2024) <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2024.18.1.155-179>.