

# THE INTELLECTUAL NETWORK OF MANDAILING AND HARAMAYN MUSLIM SCHOLARS IN THE MID-19<sup>TH</sup> AND EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

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**Abstract:** This paper attempts to study the scholars' network of Mandailing and Haramayn Ulama in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. By employing the content analysis method, it was discovered that the Mandailing scholars had made intellectual encounters with those in Haramayn, and some even established networks with the Egyptians and Indians. The Mandailing scholars connote those that ethnically originated from the Mandailing clan, and data reveals that they come from Tapanuli and East Sumatera residencies, both of which are parts of the modern era North Sumatera province. This information does deny that some of these scholars were born in Makkah. During the duration evaluated by the study, it was observed that some scholars studied religion intensively and settled in Makkah, while others only learned Islam by meeting the scholars in this region during the Hajj period. The last group of scholars studied religion intensely in Nusantara, but while performing hajj, they met the scholars and learned Islam in a very limited time. Mandailing scholars studied Islamic sciences, especially Quranic exegeses, ḥadīth, and Sufism, and taught them to several scholars from Arab and Nusantara. These scholars include Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, 'Abd al-Qadir b. Shabir al-Mandili (Nasution), and Hasan Masysyath. Ideologically, they studied Islamic sciences in the context of

the Sunnī school of thought, especially Ash'ariyya and Shāfi'iyya.

**Keywords:** *Ulama*, Haramayn, Nusantara, Mandailing, Tawhid, Fiqh, Sufism, Islamic History.

## Introduction

This study is an inquiry to analyze the scholars' network of Mandailing Ulama with those of Haramayn in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The term *Mandailing Ulama* signifies the learned Islamic scholars originating from Mandailing (hereinafter refers to as Mandailing Ulama). Historically, this Mandailing ethnicity originated from the western region of North Sumatera, especially the regions of South Tapanuli and Mandailing Natal. In the past, this area was incorporated into the regency of Tapanuli and adjacent to the West Sumatera region, especially Pasaman regency. So far, there are not much research conducted thoroughly pertaining to Mandailing scholars.

This study is interesting because it examines the biography of scholars who live in—borrowing the term used by Azyumardi Azra—a suburban Islamic region that he also signifies as peripheral Islam. Azra mentions that many orientalist or Islamisist divide the Muslim world by geographical map into central Islam and suburban Islam. Central Islam is Islam that exists in the Middle East or the Arab world as a place where the principles of Islamic teaching is founded through revelation. Suburban Islam, on the other hand, according to Azra, is Islam that develops outside of Arabia with the exception of Turkey and Persia. Included in the peripheral Islam is the Indonesian Malay word. Although Azra disagrees with the above classification, he maintains that Arab Islam is regarded as genuine Islam that should be referred to by Muslims outside of Arabia, and what is more, Arab Muslims are considered good Muslims. Conversely, peripheral Islam is viewed as an impure Islam, could not be made as a reference, and Muslims of this region are not true Muslims.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Azra rejects the division of the Muslim world above, because according to him, it is no longer relevant to the development of globalization.

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<sup>1</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Jejak-jejak Jaringan Kaum Muslim: Dari Australia Hingga Timur Tengah* (Jakarta: Hikmah, 2007), 31-32.

Bustamam-Ahmad and Jory,<sup>2</sup> supported Azra, arguing that the notion that peripheral Islam is considered not Islamic is of course misleading. They maintain that Muslim scholars in Southeast Asia also contributed to the development of Islamic thought through four phases. *First*, the early stages of Islam where scholars in the Sultanate of Aceh, Malacca, and Pattani responded to the problems faced by the people by writing a number of important works. *Second*, the stage when Muslim thinkers were influenced by the reformers in the Middle East during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. *Third*, the stage when orientalist from Western countries produced a variety of Islamic studies used for colonial interests. *Fourth*, the stage when the Muslim scholars of Southeast Asia gave an interpretation of Islam that started from the beginning of independence up to the present time. This idea shows that similar to the scholars in the Middle East, scholars in Southeast Asia also contributed to the interpretation of Islam, and the thought of Islam in Southeast Asia has long since developed. This further strengthened Azra's thesis,<sup>3</sup> that Islam has been equally rooted in two areas that are often compared to the Arab region and the peripheral Islam of southeast Asia. In both regions, Islamic doctrine comes into contact with local customs and traditions.

Islamic studies that have been undertaken by many experts are mostly directed to the central Islamic world, namely the Middle East, rather than to the periphery Islamic world, especially Islam in Indonesia which is considered as syncretic Islam.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, lately, research on Islam in Indonesia has flooded the academic world both at home and abroad is alike, unfortunately, very little attention is paid to Mandailing Islam. Thus, it is not an exaggeration to assert that the study of Islam and Mandailing Muslims is still inadequately touched. It appears that the underlying reason is that, historically Islam came later into the Mandailing world than Aceh and West Sumatra, although not to deny that these two areas are very close to Mandailing land. However, Islam in the world of Mandailing as those Islam practiced in other regions were also filled with many scholars who

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<sup>2</sup> Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad and Patrick Jory, *Islamic Thought in Southeast Asia: New Interpretations and Movements* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2013), 22-26.

<sup>3</sup> Azra, *Jejak-jejak Jaringan Kaum Muslim*, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Nina Nurmila, "The Indonesian Muslim Feminist Reinterpretation," in Jajat Burhanuddin and Kees van Dijk (ed.), *Islam in Indonesia: Contrasting Images and Interpretations* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 109.

responded to every emerging issue faced by Muslims and inherited many works in the field of the Islamic aspect.

Some researchers have also studied the Ulama network in Nusantara. Azra<sup>5</sup> and Mas'ud<sup>6</sup> have studied the Indonesian Ulama network with Middle Eastern scholars. While Azra studied the network in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Mas'ud managed to uncover the network in the next era, especially the intellectual relationship of Pesantren with Haramayn scholars. The study of Mas'ud focuses more on the relationship of Ulama Haramayn with scholars among the Nahdlatul Ulama. So far, there is no specific study of the scientific network that had been established between the Haramayn Ulama and the Mandailing scholars, especially during the span from 1850 to 1970, a phase where the Malay world, according to Bustamam-Ahmad and Jory<sup>7</sup>, respected and being influenced by the ideas of the Haramayn scholars. The study of Ja'far<sup>8</sup> was also paid attention to the network of Al Washliyah Ulama most of whom originated from Mandailing ethnic with the Middle East scholars but did not treat the Mandailing Ulama network with the intellectual centers of the Muslim world, considering that Mandailing scholars are not only affiliated with Al Washliyah,<sup>9</sup> but also with Nahdlatul Ulama and Al-Ittihadiyah.<sup>10</sup>

Other researchers who studied the Ulama network in Nusantara focus their studies outside North Sumatera. It is at this juncture that distinguishes the current research with other researches. To give an

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<sup>5</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII: Akar Pembaruan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haramayn ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Ahmad and Patrick Jory, *Islamic Thought in Southeast Asia*, 23.

<sup>8</sup> Ja'far, *Tradisi Intelektual Al Washliyah: Biografi Ulama Kharismatik dan Tradisi Keulamaan* (Medan: Perdana Publishing, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> For history of Al Washliyah, see Ja'far, "Respon Dewan Fatwa Al-Jam'iyatul Washliyah terhadap Isu Akidah dan Syariah di Era Global," *Al-Manabih: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2017), 97-118; Ja'far, "Respons Al Jam'iyatul Washliyah terhadap Terorisme," *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2017; Jafar, "Al Jam'iyatul Washliyah dan Problem Kepemimpinan Non Muslim dan Perempuan," *Abkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2017).

<sup>10</sup> See Al Rasyidin, "Islamic Organizations in North Sumatra: The Politics of Initial Establishment and Later Development," *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2016).

example, Su'aidi<sup>11</sup> examined the network of ḥadīth scholars in Indonesia. Two other scholars, Haris<sup>12</sup> studied the West Kalimantan Ulama and 20<sup>th</sup> century networks, while Faisal<sup>13</sup> studied the network of scholars from the Naqshabandīyah in the Riau Islands. There is only one study related to this work conducted by Erawadi.<sup>14</sup> He analyzed the network of Mandailing-Angkola scholars with those of the Malay Peninsula. Erawadi found that some Mandailing scholars did not directly study religion with the scholars of the Haramayn and Egypt, but they studied while in the Malay Peninsula prior to their departure for an intellectual journey to the Middle East. In comparison to the study of Erawadi where he did not deepen the intellectual contact between students of ethnic Mandailing with scholars in the Middle East, this study will uncover the network of Mandailing ulama with scholars in the centers of Islamic intellectuals especially Hijaz, Egypt, and India.

The study will record Mandailing students who go to the intellectual centers of the Muslim world, which include their teachers, areas of study, as well as their influence after becoming well known as scholars upon their return to Tapanuli and East Sumatera (now the region North Sumatera Province). This research uses a historical approach. Data is obtained through a thorough literary study. In addition, interviews and observations are also done as a complement to the data even though it is not the main instrument. Data from documents are analyzed by the content analysis methods.

### **The Meaning of Mandailing Ulama**

The term Mandailing refers to one of the tribes that inhabit the island of Sumatra, Southeast Asia, precisely in the area of North Sumatra in the modern era. Today, the Mandailing community lives not only in its native region but also spreads to Malaysia and Brunei

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<sup>11</sup> Hasan Su'aidi, "Jaringan Ulama Hadits Indonesia," *Jurnal Penelitian*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2013).

<sup>12</sup> Abdul Haris Bahrudin, "Sumbangan Syeikh Ali Hasan Ahmad Al-Dariy dalam pengajian Hadith" (Thesis--University of Malaya, 2014).

<sup>13</sup> Muhammad Faisal, *Penyebaran Keilmuan Melalui Jaringan Ulama Tarekat Naqshabandi di Kepulauan Riau* (PhD Thesis--Universiti Tun Hussein Onn Malaysia, 2017).

<sup>14</sup> Erawadi, "Jaringan Keilmuan antara Mandailing Ulama-Angkola dan Ulama Semenanjung Melayu," *Prosiding Nadwah Ulama Nusantara (NUN) VI: Ulama dan Umara Berpisah Tiada*, 9-10 June 2015, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Selangor, 73-78.

Darussalam, although their number in the last two countries is relatively small. Traditionally, the Mandailing people make the clan title attached to their name, although on the contrary few Mandailing people who migrate to the Malay Sultanate area in East Sumatra do not do so. Among the clans of Mandailing people are Nasution, Daulay, Lubis, Pulungan, Parinduri, Harahap, Hasibuan, Rambe, Dalimunthe, Rangkuti, Tanjung, Siregar, Ritonga, Siregar and Matondang. The ethnic Mandailing originated from the South Tapanuli and Mandailing Natal regions.

However, the term Mandailing, in the context of this study, does not refer to the region geographically but refers to ethnicity. As such, this study discusses scholars who come from ethnic Mandailing, not only scholars who study and are active in the area Mandailing Natal and South Tapanuli, living within the range of 1985 to 1980. The scholars discussed were those who once settled for a long period of time to continue religious education to the centers of Islamic worlds such as Saudi Arabia (Makkah and Medina), Egypt (Cairo) and India. In addition, also included in this category are those who have never studied religion intensively in the region. In particular, these studies will uncover their scientific networks, works produced thematically, and their roles played in the fields of education, socio-religious, and socio-political.

The word *ulama* in this study expanded the meaning that Azra expressed. According to Azra, in a simple term *Ulama* connotes “the one who knows or the person who has the knowledge.” In a broad sense, there is no specification of science that must be known and possessed by one the so called *ulama*. However, according to Azra, along with the maturity of Islamic sciences, the meaning of scholars is reduced to “one who has knowledge specializing in the field of Islamic jurisprudence.”<sup>15</sup> In this study, the term *Ulama* refers to the Mandailing people who study religion intensely from a knowledgeable Islamic scholar to pursue Islamic sciences, especially Islamic creed (*tawhīd*), jurisprudence and sufism in both the central Islam and marginal areas of peripheral Islam. These three areas of religious science are of the most studied from the Nusantara scholars, especially the Mandailing *Ulama*. This meaning is consistent with the

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<sup>15</sup> Azyumardi Azra, “Biografi Sosial Intelektual Ulama Perempuan: Pemberdayaan Historiografi,” dalam Jajat Burhanuddin (ed), *Ulama Perempuan Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2002), xxviii.

meaning of scholars according to the Mandailing community, referring to the findings of Abbas Pulungan,<sup>16</sup> that “the scholars must have studied in the Middle East, established a Madrasah (school), and what is more important taught the religious doctrine to the Muslim community on the regular bases.” This meaning differs from the view of Angkola people who purport the scholars as “a mere teacher of the madrasah, or religious leaders who provide religious teachings to certain groups such as the elderly people...”

The term scholars’ network refers to the term and meaning introduced by Azyumardi Azra. He proposed that the dissemination of Islamic renewal into the region of Indonesia-Malay involved a network of scholars between scholars in Makkah and Madinah with those of the Indonesian-Malay world who played an important role in conveying the idea of renewal through teachings and works mainly in the field of sufism and syariah. According to Azra, the Ulama network is a “complex relations among the scholars of different parts of the Muslim World”.<sup>17</sup> Based on this meaning, this study will uncover the relationship between Mandailing ulama with those of scholars from various Muslim world especially Haramayn.

### **The Mandailing *Ulamas***

A number of biographies and ideas of Mandailing scholars have been written by experts, but there are still many aspects that have not been studied. IAIN of North Sumatera has initiated the writing of the history of prominent ulama in North Sumatera, but many a scholar have yet to be inserted into the book. The book with the title *Sejarah Ulama-ulama Terkemuka di Sumatera Utara* initially published by the State Islamic Institute for Islamic Studies was once again republished by the Ulama Council of North Sumatera Province in 1983. However, although this book depicted a number of biographies of ulama in North Sumatera, it did not treat ulama from Mandailing ethnicity specifically, since it also covered Malay ulama. Likewise, the book that is written by Ja’far<sup>18</sup> which describes the scholars affiliated with the organization Al Jam’iyatul Washliyah which was founded by a group of scholars from Mandailing ethnic. However, this book only covers

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<sup>16</sup> Abbas Pulungan, *Perkembangan Islam di Mandailing* (Bandung: Citapustaka Media, 2008), 101-102.

<sup>17</sup> Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 2005, 385-387.

<sup>18</sup> Ja’far, *Tradisi Intelektual Al Washliyah*.

Al Washliyah scholars both from ethnic Mandailing and Malay, while many Mandailing scholars are not affiliated with the organization Al Washliyah. Some scholars of Mandailing are affiliated with NU and Al-Ittihadiyah.<sup>19</sup> In essence, the study of the biography and the thought of Mandailing scholars in a comprehensive study has not been initiated, whereas the number of Mandailing scholars is quite numerous and productive.

There is no data available on the precise number of scholars originating from Mandailing ethnic. The Municipality Government of Mandailing Natal has once collected data about the name of scholars originating from ethnic Mandailing. There are 86 Mandailing scholars who are mentioned together with the information about their date of birth and death. From this data, it is evident that a part of Mandailing scholars was born and died in the original area, while others were born and died in the overseas area especially in East Sumatra and even the Hijaz. Previously, in the book entitled *Sejarah Ulama-ulama Terkemuka di Sumatera Utara* has introduced several scholars, especially scholars from Mandailing ethnic origins.

This study will focus on at least two groups of Mandailing scholars that will be confined into the following era. First, those scholars who went to the Hijaz prior to the year 1900 CE. This group is a group of scholars who first conducted an intellectual journey to the Hijaz. Among them is Abdul Fattah Pagaran Sigatal (Mardia-Rangkuti), Ahmad Zein (Hasibuan), Abdul Halim Hasibuan, Abdul Hamid (Lubis), Abdul Muthalib Manyabar (Lubis), and Abdul Qadir ibn Shabir (Nasution). Second, those who seek knowledge to the Hijaz after 1900 CE. The second group was a second-generation of Mandailing scholars who held an academic safari to the Hijaz and other Islamic intellectual centers. Among the leading scholars of the group are Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Muthalib, Musthafa Husein (Nasution), Muhammad Yunus (Nasution), Dja'far Hasan (Tanjung),

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<sup>19</sup> For history of Al-Ittihadiyah, see Dja'far Siddik dan Ja'far, *Al-Ittihadiyah Delapan Dasa Warsa Menerangi Nusantara* (Medan: Perdana Publishing, 2017), or Al Rasyidin, "Organisasi Islam Di Tanah Melayu: Ideologi dan Gerakan Al-Ittihadiyah Sebelum Era Reformasi," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2018); Soiman, "Gerakan Pembaruan Pendidikan Al Ittihadiyah di Sumatera Timur, 1935-1975," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2018); and Hasnah Nasution and Al Rasyidin, "Respons Al-Ittihadiyah di Sumatera Utara terhadap Radikalisme," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 3 No. 1 (2019).



Ismail Abdul Wahab (Harahap), Mhd. Mukhtar Harahap, Ismail Banda (Lubis), Adnan Lubis, Ali Hasan Ahmad Ad-Dary (Hasibuan), M. Dahlan (Hasibuan), Abdul Halim Khatib (Lubis) and Baharuddin Thalib Lubis. Interestingly, few scholars even proceeded to study outside Saudi Arabia such as Egypt and India. Ismail Banda, for example, continued his religious studies to Egypt, while Adnan Lubis studied in India.

In addition to the above-mentioned scholars, there are three groups of scholars originated from Mandailing clan. First, the Mandailing scholar who was born and studied in the Hijaz. Among the scholars of the group are Muhammad Ja'far Abdul Qadir (Nasution), Abdullah Lubis, Abdul Wahab Mandily, and Muhammad Ya'cub Nasution. However, little is known about their information except for the biography of Muhammad Ja'far Abdul Qadir (Nasution). Secondly, scholars who did not vehemently learn religion in Haramayn, but rather zealously studied religious sciences in Islamic education centers in Nusantara. These scholars, however, had had a chance to meet and study from the Haramayn scholars as they performed the pilgrimage. Among them were Abdurrahman Syihab (Rangkuti), M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis, Abdul Halim Hasan (Daulay), and Muhammad Maksum Siregar. Third, scholars who had never studied in foreign countries and studied only to scholars who have learned at the Hijaz but then settled in Nusantara such as Muhammad Ridlwan (Harahap) and Yusuf Ahmad Lubis. To illustrate the case further, it is worthy of note Hasan Maksum as an example, who had been a teacher for many local scholars who had never studied in the Hijaz. Another ulama in the case in hand is Yusuf Ahmad Lubis, who spent some time studied with Hasan Maksum in Medan. Hasan Maksum was a disciple of Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi in Makkah, and Yusuf Ahmad Lubis is known as a prolific scholar and once the chairperson of the Indonesian Ulama Council of North Sumatra province.

### **From Mandailing Land to Haramayn**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, according to Bustamam-Ahmad and Jory, Islamic intellectual traditions in Southeast Asia was influenced by the Middle East, in particular, two holy cities of Makkah and Medina, with a number of channels. First, through the performing of Hajj to the Holy Land, where people from South East

Asia get transmission of Islamic sciences, and usually they did not directly return to the archipelago following the completion of Hajj, but rather they settled for some time to continue their studies. Secondly, in particular, a number of students from the Malay world met and learned to certain scholars at the educational institutions in Haramayn after they have completed their religious studies in Islamic education institutions in the archipelago such as Madrasah and Pesantren. Third, through newspapers and magazines where the media becoming as a means of disseminating the idea of their reform in the archipelago. Based on these reasons, it is conceivable that Mandailing Ulama is influenced by the thriving intellectual world in the Hijaz through the three channels respectively.

As far as the origin is concerned, Mandailing Ulama came from different parts regions. Firstly, there are those who come from the Mandailing that used to be part of the residency of Tapanuli which the then divided into South Tapanuli and Mandailing Natal districts, both of which are part of the province of North Sumatra. In this context, towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century CE, the Mandailing people sent their children to study religion to Islamic education institutions in the residency of Tapanuli or North Sumatera. Their children became religious students who would become scholars in their respective regions. Those who came from the Tapanuli residency either studied religion under the supervision of the scholars in their respective regions or they were sent to the place which was considered more advanced.

Secondly, there were among those who did not originate from the Mandailing area because as wonderer about the country, they were born outside the residency of Tapanuli. In the context of the first case, some of them were in East Sumatra, especially in Medan, Binjai, Langkat, and Tanjungbalai, while few others were born in Makkah because their parents settled temporarily or permanently in Makkah. Historically, in the early twentieth century, some Mandailing people migrated to several areas in the residency of East Sumatra, especially the city of Medan. In this area, they worked and settled, and their children were studying at a local madrasah. There are also those who traveled to the Arabian Peninsula, especially Makkah, for studying purposes while raising their children, and some of them even died in Makkah, far away from his homeland.

Thus, it should be noted that the Muslim students of the Mandailing ethnicity may originate from the residency area of Tapanuli and some are from the residency of East Sumatera. There were also some Mandailing people who were born and studied in the Middle East then became teachers in the visited country. It can be concluded then there are three types of Mandailing students, namely those who originate from the land of Mandailing ethnicity, those who come from outside the land of Mandailing such as East Sumatra, and those who come from ethnic Mandailing but had inhabited Haramayn since their birth.

### **The 19<sup>th</sup> Century *Ulama* Networks**

Based on the previous exposition above, Muslim students from Mandailing had wandered to Hijaz for the purpose of seeking Islamic knowledge before 1900 CE. These groups, of course, could be categorized as a group of the first-generation of students who travel intellectually to Hijaz. Among them is Abdul Fattah Pagaran Sigatal (Mardia-Rangkuti), Ahmad Zein (Hasibuan), Abdul Halim Hasibuan, Abdul Hamid (Lubis), Abdul Muthalib Manyabar (Lubis), and Abdul Qadir ibn Shabir (Nasution).

All the scholars mentioned above are a student of the Islamic religion of Mandailing land who had great interest to study directly to the scholars at the Hijaz. The most profound Mandailing student and became a prominent scholar in Hijaz is Abdul Qadir bin Shabir from the Nasution clan. Though little is known about the life and work of this scholar, many Nusantara scholars had become his deciphers. One of his known works entitled *Fatḥh al-Raḥmān* which contains Islamic Theology related issues or *tawḥīd* in line with the Ash‘ariyya school of thought. On the main, this book discusses *Sifat Dua Puluh*, the 20 articles of God. Among his students from the Mandailing Ulama was Muhammad Yunus (Nasution) who was the director of the Maktab Islamiyah Tapanuli established in Medan in the year of 1918. Another scholar who also studied with this shaykh is Hasan Maksum, a Malay scholar with whom many students from Mandailing ethnic studied Islamic religion, for example, M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis is known as a famous christologist. Abdul Qadir is the Mandailing Ulama coming from Huta Siantar, Panyabungan. It is uncertain when he traveled to Makkah and who was his teachers, but in 1896 he had a son named

Muhammad Ja'far. According to Erawadi<sup>20</sup> (2015) Abdul Qadir, is a teacher of teachers (*Shaykh al-Shuyūkh*) who organized and led the Madrasah Dār al-'Ulūm al-Diniyah in Mecca. His disciples came from the Malay world, especially Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. Among his famous students in North Sumatra is Musthafa Husein (founder of Nahdlatul Ulama in North Sumatra)<sup>21</sup> and Hasan Maksum (Mufti of Deli kingdom and teachers of many Mandailing Ulama in Medan especially those who founded organizations of Al Washliyah and Al-Ittihadiyah).<sup>22</sup>

Abdul Fattah (1809-1900) is a Muslim scholar of Natal origin with the surname of Mardia (Rangkuti). He left for Makkah after studying in his homeland area, and his teacher urged him to go to the Hijaz. It is unclear how long he settled in the Hijaz, but it is commonly mentioned that he settled several years in this Islamic intellectual center. Accordingly, it is also not known who had become his teachers, but one thing is certain that, in Makkah, he studied the order of Naqshabandiyya in Jabal Qubeis.<sup>23</sup>

Ahmad Zein (1846-1950) was one of the students of Mandailing with Hasibuan surname who studied in Makkah for a long period of time. He was born in Pintu Padang, Panyabungan, in 1846. Ahmad Zein was younger than Abdul Fattah, when he left for Makkah in 1869 he was 23 years old, and settled to study in Makkah for 12 years. While in Makkah, he studied with Mukhtar Bogor and Umar Sumbawa. He also studied and became a follower of the Naqshabandiyya order, and after taking stronghold of the criticism of Ahmad Khatib,<sup>24</sup> he tended to practice the Sammāniyya order than the Naqshabandiyya. After studying for a long time in Makkah, he

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<sup>20</sup> See Erawadi, "Jaringan Keilmuan", 73-78.

<sup>21</sup> Abbas Pulungan, "Nahdlatul Ulama Di Luar Jawa: Perkembangan di Tanah Mandailing," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2018), or Salamuddin, "Meneguhkan Islam Nusantara: Nahdlatul Ulama dan Falsafah Pendidikan Pesantren Musthafawiyah," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2019).

<sup>22</sup> Ja'far, "Tarekat dan Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan Shaykh Hasan Maksum," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2015), 269-293.

<sup>23</sup> Majelis Ulama Propinsi Sumatera Utara, *Sejarah Ulama-ulama Terkemuka di Sumatera Utara* (Medan: Majelis Ulama Propinsi Sumatera Utara, 1983), 19-23.

<sup>24</sup> Ahmad Fauzi Ilyas, "Syekh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau dan Polemik Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Nusantara," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2017).

taught Arab Malay books such as *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*, and *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*.<sup>25</sup>

Another Mandailing student was Abdul Halim Hasibuan (1857-1920). He is originally from Sipirok, South Tapanuli. He went to Makkah at a young age of 12 years. He settled in Makkah for 30 years from 1870 to 1900, in which he studied with Umar Hamdan, Muhammad Daud Fathoni, Asy‘ari Bawean, and Kendi. Abdul Halim Hasibuan is very keen on mastering Islamic religious science especially in the field of jurisprudence, Ḥadīth, and Sufism. He was a follower of the Naqshabandīyah order.<sup>26</sup>

Abdul Muthalib Manyabar (1874-1937) with Lubis surname is another Mandailing student worth mentioning. He was born in Manyabar, Panyabungan in 1874. Having traveled to Deli, East Sumatera, he left for Makkah in 1864 at the age of 17 years old and settled in the holy city for 10 years. In Makkah, he studied and became a follower of the Naqshabandīyya order, but there is no information that can be traced concerning with whom he had studied.<sup>27</sup>

Based on the historical-biographic analysis above, it is evident that Mandailing students have had a very long intellectual contact with the Hijaz scholars, beginning from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Having settled in Makkah for several years, in addition to studying under the auspicious of the scholars of the Hijaz, they also taught a number of students from various regions of Nusantara. They pursued Islamic sciences, especially Tawhid, Fiqh and Sufism, three areas that have received serious attention from the students. In the next era, they became well-known scholars in their homeland of his birth, with the exception of Abdul Qadir b. Shabir who became a famous scholar in the Hijaz where students from Nusantara studied Islamic religion with him.

There are a number of scholars who can be shown that they used to be the teacher of Mandailing students previously mentioned especially on the Islamic religion. Among them are Mukhtar Bogor, Umar Sumbawa, Umar Hamdan, and M. Daud Fathoni. The first two scholars were born in Bogor and Sumbawa, which now has become part of Indonesia’s territory. While Umar Hamdan is an ulama of

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 61-63.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 103-106.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 69-72.

Tunisian origin, and M. Daud Fathoni is a scholar from Pattani, Thailand. From this fact, it can be perceived that Mandailing students studied not only with the scholars in the archipelago but also from scholars of other countries who had used to reside in the Hijaz. Some of them made a visit and studied the order of Naqshabandīyah, and then developed it in their respective homeland. This indicates that Mandailing students are also interested in orders. Mandailing students traveled to Makkah for a long time to pursue Islamic sciences, and eventually became scholars in the archipelago, especially in North Sumatra, although some of them would eventually prefer to settle in Makkah and become teachers and Scholars there. All this shows that Mandailing students are not blind to the intellectual development of Islam because they migrated from their birthplace to study in the center of the Islamic world at the time when the distance between homeland with Makkah is very far away and can only be reached by a sea voyage within several months.

The findings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Mandailing Ulama that have focused their attention on sufism and become a follower of the sufi order strengthen the findings of other researchers. Abbas Pulungan (2012) found that the understanding that Mandailing Ulama developed in the era before the year 1900 emphasized more with sufism in character. It is common that people who pursue sufism and Tariqa are provided with healing abilities and self-protection, and they are in need of this ability to propagate religion to people who still believe in animism and dynamism. That is why, in the biography written about Mandailing Ulama, it is filled with mystical stories that suggest that they have gifted knowledge. This is different from the scholars after the year 1900 where they tend to study jurisprudence rather than sufism as to be discussed in subsequent discussions.

### **Early Muslim Scholars of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

The culture of wandering in academic interests not only happened since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but continued until the 20<sup>th</sup> century CE. Many students are interested in learning religion directly to the scholars at the Hijaz, imitating their seniors who have studied there and have become religious leaders in both Tapanuli and East Sumatra. They studied religion at Hijaz from the beginning of 1900 CE until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. These students consist of students from Tapanuli and students from East Sumatra, but they

have an interest in studying religion in the Holy Land. The students who originated from Tapanuli include Musthafa Husein (Nasution), Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Muthalib (1910-1965), Mhd. Mukhtar Harahap, Ali Hasan Ahmad Ad-Dary (Hasibuan) and Abdul Halim Khatib (Lubis).

One of Mandailing ethnic-religious students who are judged successfully is Musthafa Husein surnamed Nasution. He was born in Tanobato in 1884 and departed from Mandailing to Makkah at the age of 16, in 1900. He studied religion for approximately 12 years to the Makkah scholars such as Abdul Qadir b. Shabir al-Mandili, Ahmad Sumbawa, Saleh Bafadil, Shaykh ‘Ali al-Maliki, Umar Bajuned, Ahmad Khatib, Abdurrahman, ‘Umar Sato, and Muhammad Amin Mardin. To these scholars, he was in the Arabic language, the Qoran and the *tafsir*, the science of ḥadīth, jurisprudence and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *tawḥīd*, and sufism. In 1912, he returned to Mandailing and then established a pesantren that was still influential until today called Pesantren Musthafawiyah. This Pesantren has produced many scholars including Ali Hasan Ahmad ad-Dary (Hasibuan), Abdulllah Kayulaut (Nasution), Abdul Halim Khatib (Lubis), Abdul Wahab/Tuan Maramais (Lubis), four scholars who also continued to study Makkah.<sup>28</sup> In the next era, Shaykh Musthafa Husein was the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama in the residency of Tapanuli and was elected to the Constituent Assembly in the general elections in 1955 (Abbas: 2004, 31-35). Shaykh Musthafa Husein did not write a book-shaped work, but he preserved the Sunni tradition in Mandailing land through an educational movement where he established Pesantren Musthafawiyah known to teach the *kitab kuning*<sup>29</sup> (yellow book’s) treasures by prioritizing the sect of Shāfi‘iyya and Ash‘ariyya.

Another ulama derived from the land of Mandailing and later became a teacher and scholar in Makkah was Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Muthalib (1910-1965). Initially, he was a religious student from Sishipyad, Batang Angkola, South Tapanuli. Before he went to Makkah, he studied Islam in Kedah, Malaysia from 1924. Finally, he went to Makkah in 1936 where he studied with a number of famous

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<sup>28</sup> Abbas Pulungan, *Syekh Musthafa Husein, Syekh Abdul Halim Khatib dan Haji Abdulllah Musthafa* (Medan: Perdana Publishing, 2012), 9-29.

<sup>29</sup> Al Rasyidin, “Pembelajaran Kitab Kuning di Pesantren Musthafawiyah, Mandailing Natal,” *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2017).

scholars there such as Abū Bakr Shaṭā' al-Dimyaṭī, Muḥammad 'Alī al-Mālikī, Hasan al-Masysyath, Umar Hamdan al-Mahrasyi, and Muhammad Yasin al-Fadani. Not less than 30 years, he became a teacher for a number of students in the field of *tawḥīd*, jurisprudence and sufism in Makkah until he died there.<sup>30</sup> Different from the unwritten Musthafa Husein, Abdul Qadir b. Abdul Muthalib also produced many works that have been compiled by Wan Mohd. Shaghīr Abdullah.

Another scholar who studied religion in Makkah is Mhd. Mukhtar Harahap (1900-1948) who started a religious study in a variety of cities from Tanjung Pura, Langkat to Kelantan, Malaysia. In 1925, he studied religion where he attended for six years to Mukhtar Bogor, Abdul Qadir al-Mandili, and 'Ali al-Maliki. In addition to studying, he also taught in Makkah. Like Musthafa Husein, Mhd. Mukhtar Harahap established a pesantren called Pesantren al-Mukhtariyah.<sup>31</sup>

There are at least two significant pupils of Musthafa Husein, namely Ali Hasan Ahmad Ad-Dary (Hasibuan) and Abdul Halim Khatib (Lubis). In addition to their status as the students of Musthafa Husein who studied with Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, they also wrote the book and have credited to the realm of education. Ali Hasan Ahmad (1915-1998) is a son of the clan Hasibuan's child from Ahmad Zein. After studying religion at the Pesantren Musthafawiyah which was founded by his teacher, Musthafa Husein, at the age of 12 he continued his studies to Makkah for as long as 11 years from 1927 until 1938. In Makkah, he studied at Madrasah Shaulatiyah and eventually moved to Madrasah Dār al-'Ulūm. In the Holy Land, he studied with numerous scholars such as Abdul Qadir al-Mandili, Mukhtar Bogor, 'Umar Hamdan al-Mahrasy, 'Ali al-Maliki, Muhammad Fathani, 'Abbas Maliki, Jamal al-Maliki, Sayyid 'Alawi al-Maliki, 'Umar Bajuned, Abu Samh, and Hasan Muhammad Masysyath. At this point, it is revealed that his teachers come from various Islamic worlds. Ali Hasan studied the science of Quran, Ḥadīth, jurisprudence, and Arabic, and after returning to his hometown he was known as the scholar of ḥadīth. In addition to

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<sup>30</sup> Abd Ghani Asyraf dan Mohd. Azmi, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Muttalib Al-Mandili: Sumbangan dalam Ilmu Tauhid, Fiqih dan Tasawuf" (Thesis--Universiti Utara Malaysia, 2013).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 237-242.



studying, he also taught at Madrasah Dār al-‘Ulūm and Masjidilharam.<sup>32</sup> Upon his return to the homeland, he initiated a number of Islamic educational institutions and wrote books in the field of Qur’anic exegeses, Islamic law, Arabic, morality, sufism, and ḥadīth. Most of his works are published by the publishing house he himself founded.<sup>33</sup> In addition to Musthafa Husein, Ali Hasan ad-Dary is known as the scholar of Nahdlatul Ulama.

One other disciple of Musthafa Husein was Abdul Halim Khatib (1901-1991), Mandailing Ulama who was of Lubis clan. Abdul Halim Khatib has a legacy of work titled *Kashf al-Ghummah Pada Menyatakan al-Adillah al-Shar’iyah* in stating *al-Adillah al-Shar’iyah*. Following the step of his teacher, he was affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama. He was born in Huta Raja Tinggi, Sosa, Padang Lawas in 1906. He received his religious education at the Pesantren Musthafawiyah and studied with Musthafa Husein until he finally continued his religious studies at Madrasah Shaulatiah in Makkah from 1928 to 1934. For six years, he studied for a number of scholars in Makkah such as ‘Umar Hamdan, Mukhtar Bogor, Hasan Masysyath, Abdul Qadir al-Mandili, Ali al-Maliki, and Muhammad Ahyat. Then he dedicated his knowledge in the Pesantren Musthafawiyah and once became *Ra’is Mu’allimin* of this pesantren succeeding Musthafawiyah after the death of the latter.<sup>34</sup>

Among those who came from East Sumatera area which includes the area under the control of the Malay sultans from Langkat through to Asahan are Muhammad Yunus (Nasution), Ismail Abdul Wahab (Harahap), Ismail Banda (Lubis), Adnan Lubis, (In) In this era, it would be apparent that some Mandailing students chose to pursue studies in Egypt and India, two Islamic intellectual centers besides Haramayn.

Muhammad Yunus (1889-1960) was a scholar who was born in Binjai, East Sumatera. He was a teacher for the founders of Al Jam’iyatul Washliyah and was once the director of the Maktab Islamiyah Tapanuli in Medan. He studied religion starting from Langkat (Basilam), Kedah to Makkah. He even became a teacher at

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<sup>32</sup> *Jaringan Ulama Kalimantan Barat*, 54-61.

<sup>33</sup> Mhd. Syahnan, “Nahdlatul Ulama Scholar in Mandailing Land: A Biography of Shaykh Ali Hasan Ahmad ad-Dary,” *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2019), 74-78.

<sup>34</sup> Pulungan, *Syekh Musthafa Husein*, 38-39.

Madrasah Shaulatiyah. During his studies, he studied with 'Abd al-Rahman and Abdul Hamid.<sup>35</sup>

Baharuddin Thalib Lubis (1905-1965) was a Muslim scholar of the Nahdlatul Ulama from Langkat, while his younger brother, M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis was the founding scholar of Al Jam'iyatul Washliyah. In 1928, he studied religion for four years to several scholars in Makkah after performing the hajj. Among his teachers were Ahmad 'Araby, Ahmad Harsyani, 'Umar Hamdan, 'Ali al-Maliki and Mukhtar Bogor. He wrote a book called *Silāh al-Mulaqqinīn*.<sup>36</sup>

Unfortunately, little is known about the information of Ismail Abdul Wahab's teachers (1897-1947), an Ulama of Tanjung Balai origin with Harahap clan, and Ismail Banda (1910-1951), a scholar from Medan with Lubis clan. The two scholars studied religion in Makkah for several years, who then preferred to pursue study at al-Azhar University. It is uncertain why they chose to study in Egypt rather than continuing to Makkah. However, they are clearly an example for other Mandailing students to continue their studies to al-Azhar University rather than to other Islamic educational institutions.

Adnan Lubis (1910-1966) may be seen as a unique student by considering the destination of learning. He studied religion at Madrasah Shaulatiyah in Makkah (1926-1934) with numerous *ulama* such as Hasan Masysyath, 'Abdullah al-Bukhary, Said Mukhsin, Mansyur, and Zubier. Then he went on to study to Dār al-'Ulum Nadwatul 'Ulama in Lucknow, India from 1934 to 1939. In Lucknow, he studied for a number of Indian scholars such as Mas'ud 'Allam, Syibli Nu'mani, Sulaiman An-Nadvi, and Tarmidhi.<sup>37</sup> He was the first Mandailing student to study religion in India.

In addition to the two groups above, some students were born and educated in the Hijaz. There are at least four people born in Makkah, namely Muhammad Ja'far Abdul Qadir (Nasution), Abdullah Lubis, Abdul Wahab Mandily, and Muhammad Ya'cub Nasution. Unfortunately, only the biography of Muhammad Ja'far Abdul Qadir (Nasution) can be mentioned as an example in this case. Muhammad Ja'far Abdul Qadir (1896-1958) was a Mandailing Ulama who was born in Makkah in 1896, the son of Abdul Qadir bin Shabir al-

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<sup>35</sup> Majelis Ulama Propinsi Sumatera Utara, *Sejarah Ulama-ulama Terkemuka di Sumatera Utara*, 177.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 275-278.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 311-312.

Mandili in the of Nasution clan. In Makkah, he studied with his father, Abdul Qadir, and learned to Ahmad Fase of Egypt. Although he was born in Makkah, he decided to settle in Panyabungan to dedicate his knowledge until the end of his life.<sup>38</sup>

In addition, there are also Islamic religious students who took advantage of the time of pilgrimage to meet and study with the scholars of Haramayn, but they are more intense to learn religion in East Sumatera. Among them was Abdurrahman Syihab (Rangkuti), M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis and Abdul Halim Hasan (Daulay). They had never studied religion specifically in Makkah. However, they studied intensely to Syakh Hasan Maksum who once studied religion intensively in Haramayn especially to Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi and Abdul Qadir bin Shabir al-Mandili.

Abdurrahman Syihab (1910-1955) is a scholar of the Rangkuti clan. He was born and studied religion in Medan. His teachers include Muhammad Yunus while at the Maktab Islamiyah Tapanuli and Hasan Maksum in Madrasah Hasaniyah. However, during the hajj pilgrimage to Makkah in 1939, he studied several scholars such as ‘Ali al-Maliki, ‘Umar Hamdan and Hasan Masysyath.<sup>39</sup> As a scholar, he was not against political and state issues. That is why he became head of the Masjumi Party in Jakarta after Al Washliyah as the organization that was founded with his colleagues joined the special members of the Masjumi Party. Abdurrahman Syihab produced several works, among them *Penoentoen Hadji*.<sup>40</sup>

Two other scholars, M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis (1908-1972) and Abdul Halim Hasan (Daulay) also spent much time studying and teaching in East Sumatera. However, they have also met and learned although not intensely to the Makkah scholars. M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis is a scholar from Langkat who co-founded Al Jam’iyatul Washliyah organization in Medan. While studying, he was intensively in the Islamic sciences to Hasan Maksum especially in the field of interpretation, ḥadīth, astronomy, and jurisprudence.<sup>41</sup> He also became famous after publishing books in comparative religion, where

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 209.

<sup>39</sup> For his biography, see Ja’far, *Biografi Ketua Umum Pengurus Besar Al Jam’iyatul Washliyah 1930-2015* (Medan: Perdana Publishing, 2015), 39-46.

<sup>40</sup> Abdurrahman Sjihab, *Penoentoen Hadji* (Medan: Islamijah, 1940).

<sup>41</sup> Arwin Juli Rakhmadi Butar-Butar, “Kajian Ilmu Falak di Indonesia: Kontribusi Syaikh Hasan Maksum dalam Bidang Ilmu Falak,” *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2017).

he compared Islam and Christianity. He never studied intensely in the Middle East, but he was recognized as a qualified scholar and his name continued to be mentioned today. After performing the hajj, he was called to meet and learn to Muhammad Yasin Isa al-Fadani in Makkah. Al-Fadani is known as a scholar in the field of ḥadīth and jurisprudence.

Abdul Halim Hasan (1901-1969), a scholar from Binjai, North Sumatera, is both an ulama and expert in the field of Qur'anic exegeses as reflected in his work *Tafsīr al-Aḥkām* dan *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*.<sup>42</sup> He was a disciple of a number of scholars at Binjai and Medan, but after performing the pilgrimage to Makkah in 1926, he took himself to study with Muhammad Mukhtar 'Aththarid al-Bogori or could be known as Mukhtar Bogor who is a scholar in the field of ḥadīth, jurisprudence and theology. Many scholars of Nusantara are students of Mukhtar Bogor whose name perhaps has long been known by Abdul Halim Hasan while still studying in East Sumatera so that he used the time, after performing the hajj, to study to the profound scholar in Masjidilharam.

There are also students of Islamic religion who have never studied abroad, and they only learn religion intensely to the Nusantara scholars who have studied at the Hijaz. Muhammad Ridlwan of Harahap clan (1922-1981) and Yusuf Ahmad Lubis were two scholars classified in this category. However, their popularity was also not inferior to the long-standing scholars in Haramayn. Yusuf Ahmad Lubis (1912-1980) was a Mandailing Ulama who was born in Medan. He studied religion at the Maktab Islamiyah Tapanuli and Madrasah Hasaniyah. He studied intensely to Hasan Maksun who was a disciple of Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi and Abdul Qadir al-Mandily. He was a co-founder of Al Washliyah, a chairperson of the first Indonesian Ulama Council of North Sumatera Province, and a prolific writer. His work includes many areas, especially the interpretation, ḥadīth, morality, and comparative religion. In addition to M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis, he was one of Mandailing Ulama who

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<sup>42</sup> M. Jamil and Ja'far, "Pemimpin Perempuan dan Non-Muslim Perspektif Ulama Tiga Serangkai," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2018), 144-167; Zaini Dahlan, "Syekh Abdul Halim Hasan, 1901-1969: Akar Tradisi Intelektual di Sumatera Timur Awal Abad XX," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2018).

wrote a lot about comparing Islam and Christianity and he is well known not only in Indonesia but also in Malaysia.

Based on the above studies, it appears that the majority of Mandailing scholars still build a network of sciences with the Makkah scholars by studying with them at a different rate of intensity. At least, there are a small number of scholars who learned to the scholars of the archipelago who previously had long studied in Haramayn. Mandailing scholars in the post-1900 concentrated more in the theology of Ash'ariyya and fiqh of Shāfi'yya. Unlike the scholars or *ulama* before the year 1900, those of the post-1900 scholars got themselves attached to the world of activism with particular attention to liberating the archipelago from the Dutch colonial suppress. Mandailing Ulama who reside in the residency of Tapanuli originally affiliated with Al Washliyah such as Musthafa Husein, but then after traveling to the land of Java, he decided to join the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Finally, he became the founder of NU in North Sumatra establishing for the first time from the residency of Tapanuli. Musthafa Husein approached all of his pupils and followers persuasively affiliated with NU, and in so doing the influence of NU gained a stronghold in the Mandailing region. Many scholars in this era were the disciples of Musthafa Husein such as Ali Hasan Ad-Dary, Abdul Halim Khatib Lubis, and Abdullah Nasution or Tuan Kayulaut. Different from the scholars in Mandailing, the scholars of the Mandailing clan in East Sumatra are the founder and supporter of the Al Jam'iyatul Washliyah. Among them were Muhammad Yunus, Abdurrahman Syihab (Rangkuti), M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis, Ismail Abdul Wahab, Adnan Lubis and Yusuf Ahmad Lubis. Interestingly, however, there are very few Mandailing ulama also affiliated with Muhammadiyah<sup>43</sup> such as Abdul Halim Hasan, or Al Ittihadiyah such as Zainal Arifin Abbas (1912-1979). Mandailing scholars in East Sumatra were popularly known as prolific scholars in producing books on Islamic studies in Bahasa Indonesia, Malay-Arabic and Arabic, and accordingly, they are Indonesian independence fighters in North Sumatra.

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<sup>43</sup> For the history of Muhammadiyah in North Sumatra, see Dja'far Siddik, "Dinamika Organisasi Muhammadiyah di Sumatera Utara," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2017).

## Concluding Remarks

It is evident that Mandailing Ulama have established an intellectual network with those of Haramayn scholars. Scholars prior to the year 1900 performed the Hajj at a young age then they settled for a long period of time and studied intensely with the scholars in Haramayn. At this time, they tend to concentrate on the science of Sufism and follow the step of Naqshabandiyya order. Although they have not yet involved in the world of activism, they exhibited anticipative resistance against Dutch colonialism. While the scholars after the post-1900 performed the Hajj in the youth then settled long ago and studied religion intensely to the scholars in Makkah and Medina. A number of scholars who lived at this time were not intensely studying religion in Haramayn but they had happened to learn to the scholars in Makkah as they performed the Hajj. Mandailing Scholars in the post-1900 are more prone to jurisprudence than Sufism, and they involve themselves in the world of movement. The scholars in Mandailing (the residency of Tapanuli) tend to be affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and its central figure is Musthafa Husein. While Mandailing scholars in East Sumatera is the founder and follower of Al Jam'iyatul Washliyah, and its central figure is Abdurrahman Syihab (Rangkuti), M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis, Ismail Banda (Lubis) and Yusuf Ahmad Lubis. Although it is affiliated with different Islamic organizations, their religious understanding is identical because they embraced Ash'ariyya in theology and Shāfi'iyya in the field of Islamic law.

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