ECLECTICISM OF MODERN ISLAM: 
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Muhammad Ali

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A Study of Theological and Eschatological Aspects
Erwan Nurtawab

ISLAM, HISTORICAL REPRESENTATION AND MUSLIM
AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN THE INDONESIAN NEW ORDER
Mohamad Abdul Nasir

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The Problems of Translation in *Turjumán al-Mustafá*: A Study of Theological and Eschatological Aspects


Untuk orang-orang yang bukan berbahasa Arab, penambahan makna literal dari Qur’an dimungkinkan melalui aktivitas penjemahan. Sementara makna Qur’an bisa disajikan dalam bahasa-bahasa non-Arab, teks aslinya tidak dapat diterjemahkan. Aspek ideologi Qur’an berbahasa Arab tidak mungkin bisa ditransmisikan ke dalam bahasa lain sepenuhnya. Sepanjang sejarah, Qur’an berkomunikasi dengan berbagai aspek budaya dan ideologi masyarakat terzenu. Oleh karena itu, ketika datang ke Nusantara, Qur’an pun bersentuhan dengan berbagai budaya dan bahasa di Nusantara.

Untuk yang pertama, yang terjadi adalah tindakan terjemahan. Semenara untuk yang kedua, disebut tindakan mentransfer kata-kata asing ke dalam bahasa lokal, dan karena itu transfer tidak sama dengan tindakan terjemahan. Mengacu pada konsep hermeneutika Gadamer, kasus yang pertama mengungkapkan bahwa proses kompromi (baca: vernakularisasi) antara kata-kata asli dan yang diterjemahkan terbukti tidak mungkin berhasil. Untuk kasus kedua, seperti ditegaskan Gadamer, aktivitas penerjemahan tampaknya mustahil dan oleh karena itu pembaca perlu memahami teks asli atau menjadikannya sebagai kosakata mereka sendiri. Jika tidak, mereka tidak akan pernah mendapatkan arti teks yang sebenarnya.

Erwan Nurrawab

The Problems of Translation in Turjumān al-Mustafid: A Study of Theological and Eschatological Aspects

The Major Themes of the Qurān

The Problems of Translation

in Turjumān al-Mustafid: A Study
of Theological and Eschatological Aspects
بل مع مرور التاريخ والدهر كان القرآن متصلة بتنوع الثقافات والمعتقدات من المجتمع. فيقابل القرآن بالأفكار المحلية والمعتقدات الداخلية. وكذلك القرآن حين دخل إلى المجتمع الجاوي، فالمعلمان مثل عبد الرؤوف في أثناء ترجمته على القرآن إلى اللغة الجاوية يعتبر أول من أبدأ بتوافق الألفاظ القرآنية إلى اللغة المحلية. والحاصل، إذا وجد أي لفظ من القرآن الذي لا يمكن أن يترجم إلى اللغة الجاوية فلا سبيل له إلا يذكر لفظه العربي تماما.

في المرحلة الأولى، أولما يفعله أحد الناقلین المترجمين فهو النزعة. والمرحلة الثانية أن ينقل بلفظه العربي تماما مع عدم النزعة. من أجل ذلك، النقل في هذا البحث غير مساوي للترجمة. فالأول له توافق وتكيف بين لفظه العربي القرآن واللغة المحلية وهي الجاوية. كما اصطلاح جادمير (Gadamer) أن لا يمكن لهذا العامل أن يصل إلى النزعة. وكذلك النزاع محاولة على القراء أن يفهمه إلا إذا راجع إلى أصل نصوصه، ولا فلا يفهم معنى النصوص أبدا.

وهذا البحث يحقق على أن نشر التعريف من المصطلحات الدينية وتعاليهما إلى المجتمع الأعجمي ليس أمرًا سهلا. قد علم النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم أصحابه عن الله المترأ عن الشبيبة والتمثيل. وأما المجتمع الجاوي يعتقدونه حقيقية. واستعمل لفظ "Gusti" (النبي) أو "Tuhan" (الإله) إلى الله. هذا يدل على أن أصل التقاليد المحلية مقابل التعاليم الإسلامية. بناء على هذا، فلا موقف لمعظم دعاء الإسلام في هذا المناطق إلا أن يستعملوا لفظ "الله" في اللغة المحلية. وقضية "الجنة" في القرآن لا يوثق إلى المجتمع الجاوي، لأن هذه المناطق ملوية بالخداع والغابات والعيون والأهزام. وكأن الجنة في القرآن مثل الأحوال الجارية في هذا البلد. مع أنهما مختلفان عن إدراك العقول. ولا تبدو الجنة بـ "سواركأ" (swarga) أو النار بـ "ناركأ" (Narake). لأن سواركا وناركأ موجودتان في هذه الدنيا.
Arabic for the Qur'an is believed to be the most perfect Arabic language. For non-Arabic speaking people, they are not knowledgeable of Arabic; the understanding of the literal meanings of the Qur'an is possible through the activities of translation. Nevertheless, they could not be considered the definite words of God but are instead what God revealed to the Prophet Muhammad through the angel Gabriel. While the meanings of the Qur'an could be fairly presented in non-Arabic languages, the original text is of course untranslatable. For this reason, as Woodward puts it, the Qur'an is regarded as both oral and written texts. Regardless of what language is used, the ideological aspects of the Arabic Qur'an are not likely to be perfectly transmitted in any other language.

The language of the Qur'an has never been introduced in a vacuum, due to the simple reality that everything coming from the outside world would certainly come into contact with the local languages in which the local ideas have been established. Throughout history, various ideological aspects of language are possible to communicate, and even compete with each other in certain communities. Such phenomena could be certainly seen in the use of the Qur'an around the Muslim world, when the Qur'an inevitably faces the established local ideas of certain cultures.

The Qur'an came eventually into contact with the Archipelago cultures and languages, particularly, with the Malay culture. When 'Abd al-Ra'uf introduced the translated understanding of the Qur'an to the Malay people, he consciously—or unconsciously—took the lead in the process of what A. H. Johns considered it as "Malay vernacularization of the Qur'an." The possible result of such a process is that when one of the Qur'anic words could not be translated into the local language, that is Malay, the transference of foreign words was inevitable. For the former, we could regard it as the act of translation. But for the latter, we call it as the act of transferring the alien words into the local language. Therefore this transference is not the same as the act of translation.

If we move back to the concept of translation in Gadamer's hermeneutics, the former points to the process a compromise [read: vernacularization] between the original words and the translated ones which is evidently difficult and could not be perfectly successful. For the latter case, conversely, as Gadamer affirms, the activity of translation is seemingly impossible and therefore the audiences need to understand
the original texts or take them as their own vocabulary. Otherwise, they cannot get the true meanings of the texts. For the purpose of this article, I will investigate two important aspects explored in the Qur'an. These are the aspects of theology and eschatology. In this regard, I will use some MS copies and printed editions of the *Tafsir*. They are ML 290 and ML 116 for the MSS and the publication of Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Halabī in 1951 A.D. and Dar al-Fikr in 1990 A.D. [read: TM90]. With regards to the elaboration of theology and eschatology, I will use Fazlur Rahman's work, *The Major Themes of the Qur'an*, as his thoughts mainly reflect the mainstream of Muslim beliefs on both aspects.

In Malay culture, both theology and eschatology have been established as the results of Indianization—the coming of Hinduism and Buddhism to Archipelago—for about one thousand years before the birth of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf in the 17th century. Thus, I also examine how far Hindu has developed both aspects and their understanding in the local communities in Southeast Asia.

**Theology**

In Islam, together with the other two mass religions originating in the Middle East, which are Judaism and Christianity, the name of God, *Allāh*, was introduced a long time ago. It was the Prophet Abraham who is considered the father of those three great monotheistic traditions, and who purified the concept of God as the Unique and Omnipotent God, with humankind as apostates from the teachings of the Prophet Noah. Regarding the Prophet Abraham, Jerald E. Dirks states that he is the central figure and played a significant role in the history of these three great religions. In the Jewish tradition, it was Abraham who received the religion and oath for the Hebrews from God. In the Christian tradition, Abraham became the most famous patriarch and receiver of the revelations that were continuously revealed to the Prophet Moses and then to Jesus. In the Islamic tradition, he is the best example of those who held on firmly to the true faith and monotheism, the prophet and messenger, and the receiver of the religious treatise and *subhān* from the God. All these religions admit that Abraham is the prophet and messenger of God.⁷

In the pre-Islamic Arab communities, it has been evidently noted that the word *Allāh* had been known and worshipped.⁸ Nevertheless,
the way they worshipped Him were considered heretical. In the first period of revelation, the Qur'an evidently attempted to purify the word *Allāh* as the One and only God by using the word *rabbi* instead of *Allāh* as Quraish Shihāb, a prominent Muslim Indonesian scholar, noted. This fact can be seen from at least the first revelation to the sixth one, received by the Prophet Muhammad. It could be even extended to the 19th revelation, Q.S. al-Ikhlās.\(^9\)

This could be certainly the evidence that for several years the Prophet Muhammad strived to teach and put more emphasis on the real substance of God by which the usage of the word *Allāh* begun to clearly describe His Holiness and Perfectness. The use of the word *Allāh* by the Qur'an contained a very different understanding contrasted to the local ideas. This is one of the evidence of semantic change that had been made. Although, the word did not change, the concept is clearly not derived from the worldview of the pre-Islamic Arabs.\(^11\)

The learning of the religious principle, which is the description of *Allāh*, then emerged in Q.S. al-Ikhlās (112): 1-4: "Say: He is Allah, the One and Only, Allah, the Eternal, Absolute. He begetteth not, Nor is He begotten. And there is none Like unto Him."\(^12\) Since then, the word *Allāh* emerged more frequently in the following revelations. According to Quraish Shihāb, the word *Allāh* is mentioned in the Qur'an 2,698 times in total. If the word *Allāh* is mentioned the word includes all aspects of all His other names. This is of course different from the calling of His other names, for example, *al-rabb* that only reflects His Mercifulness.\(^13\)

Since monotheism is the most typical characteristic in Islam, the Qur'an continuously describes the real substance of God. I do not intend to mention all related theological verses. For the purpose of study, I just take some examples to show how the word *Allāh* is transferred or translated by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf. Some verses that can be mentioned here are Q.S. al-Naml (27): 60 and al-I-Jashr (59): 22-24. In Q.S. al-Naml (27): 60, the God says:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An man khalasa al-samāwāt wa-al-ard wa-anzala lakan min al-samāi na'a fi-anba'na bi ši bābī al-bāb al-bāb</td>
<td>Atau siapakah yang menjadikan tujuh pelata langit dan bumi dan telah menurunkan bagi kamu dari langit air maka kamu tambahankan dengan dia beberapa bunga yang baik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>Or, who has created heaven and earth, and who has sent you rain from the sky? Yea, with it We cause to grow well-plantcd orchards full of beauty and delight:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Ma kana labum an inabiyyu shajarah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Tiada-da baga kamu dapat menumbuhkan segala pohon kavinya karena tiada kamu kuat leasnya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>It is not in your power to cause the growth of the trees in them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>a-ilah waa Allah hal bnn qaum yaddilun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Adalah serta Allah ta’ala menolong dia atas yang demikian itu artinya tiada-da Tuhan serta-Nya tetapi mereka itu kaum yang menyekutukan Allah ta’ala dengan lain-Nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>(Can there be another) God besides Allah? Nay, they are people who swerve from justice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These verses constitute parts of the Qur’an that affirm the true Creator of the universe and why the universe always works on the right path. Basing himself on the other verses, Fazlur Rahman states that Qur’an basically recognizes the availability of Causality. However, God neither takes rests in the aftermath of creating the universe, nor does God compete with humans in contradictory positions. Equally, God does not function in the side of humans and of the universe. Without the act of God, says Rahman, the acts of humans and of the universe are clearly useless.

The Qur’an frequently affirms the Almighty and Supreme of the God. Having rejected polytheism and affirmed monotheism, in Q.S. al-Jashr (59): 22-24, God says:

Verse 22:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Huwa Allah al-kadhib li ilah illa huwa ’alim al-ghayb wa-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 290</td>
<td>al-shahidat huwa al-rahman al-rabbim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Ia juwa Tuhan yang bernama Allah yang tiada Tuhan hanya ia yang mengetahui gaib dan shahada yang amat mengasihani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Ia juwa tuhan yang nama Allah yang tiada tuhan hanya ia mengetahui gaib dan shahada yang amat mengasihani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ML 290 | Ia juwa Tuhan yang bernama Allah yang tiada Tuhan hanya ia yang mengetahui gaib2 dan shahadah ia yang murah lagi yang amat mengasih
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AYA</th>
<th>Allah is He, than Whom there is no other god:—who knows (all things) both secret and open. He, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verse 23:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML 290</td>
<td>Ia juga tuhan yang bernama Allah tiada tuhan hanya ia juga yang raja lagi suci daripada segala yang tiada patut dengan dia lagi yang sejahthera daripada segala kekurangan lagi membentarkan segala pesuruhnya lagi hak: siksa akan segala hambanya yang berbuat segala amal lagi kuat lagi [...] segala hambanya lagi membentarkan diri daripada segala pekerjaan yang tiada patut dengan dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Ia juga Tuhan yang bernama Allah tiada Tuhan hanya ia juga yang raja lagi suci daripada yang tiada patut dengan dia lagi yang sejahthera daripada segala kekurangan lagi membentarkan segala pesuruhnya lagi yang [...] siksa akan segala hambanya yang [...] segala amal lagi yang berbaik2 segala hal hambanya lagi membentarkan diri daripada segala pekerjaan yang tiada patut dengan Dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>Allah is He, than whom there is no other god:—the Sovereign, the Holy One, the Source of Peace (and Perfection), the Guardian of Faith, the Preserver of Safety, the Exalted in Might, the Irresistible, the Supreme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verse 23 &amp; 24</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Subhân Allah 'amma yashrikâhu, Huwa Allah al-khalîq al-bâri al-muâsawir la'thu al-'amîd al-'basâh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML 290</td>
<td>Telah ditanzibkan Allah dirinya daripada yang disekutukan oleh mereka itu ia juga tuhan yang namâ Allah yang menjadikan daripada adam lagi merupakan baginya jua segala nama yang baik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Telah tanzibkan Allah ta'ala dirinya daripada yang disekutukan oleh mereka itu ia juga Tuhan yang bernama Allah ta'ala yang menjadikan daripada adam lagi yang merupakan baginya jua segala nama bernama yang baik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| AYA | Glory to Allah! (High is He) above the partners they attribute to Him. He is Allah, the Creator, the Evolver, the Bestower of Forms (or Colours) to Him belong the Most Beautiful Names.
Q | yusabbihu labih mā fi al-samawāt wa-al-ār d wa-huwā al-deēz al-hakīm.

ML 290 | Mengucap tasbih baginya barang yang dalam tujuh petaa langit dan bumi dan ia jua tuhan yang amat kuat lagi hakim pada perbuatannya.

TM 90 | Mengucap tasbih baginya barang yang di dalam tujuh petaa langit dan bumi dan ia jua Tuhann yang amat kuat lagi yang hakim pada perbuatannya.

AYA | Whatever is in the heavens and on earth, doth declare His Praises and Glory; and He is the Exalted in Might, the Wise.

In these verses, Allāh as God has many names regarded as the description of His attributes. Apart from the affirmation of One God, the Qurʼān asserts that the God is Who knows all things both secret and open. He is also The Merciful and has given the welfare and all things that the creatures need for survival, especially the survival of humans life. Nevertheless, as Rahman reveals, the attribute of His Perfectness is not likely to create the infinite transcendence. He, therefore, is clearly closed to humans and even God is “nearer to him than (his) jugular vein.”

With regards to the typical monotheism, according to Michael Angrosino, there are many facts that these three great religions together—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—all of them have been developed in the desert areas. In this regard, the desert conditions reflect being alone. The desert is the place of the “One God” and here alone could a person directly perform contemplation in which they could feel free of the complexity of crowded lives in the towns and villages. Some comments are necessary to note here, that those three religions developed the monotheistic philosophy in the desert milieu, which is full of quietness, and in which the single power could be perceived through its farthest horizons. Conversely, the religious traditions established in the forest areas tend to be expressed with the concepts of polytheism, the belief in many supernatural beings.

The miscellaneous religious traditions have regarded certain natural forms as the elementary elements that they perceived as sacred. The mountains have been commonly believed to be either home of gods or the places that emanate “supernatural” powers. Volcanoes are especially thought to possess a sacred status since they have been clearly produced by The Almighty far beyond any human ability to imitate or even...
understand. The rivers have been also understood as sacred things. Perhaps, it is due to the fact that they pick the water for the survival of living things, or caused quite extensive damage due to flooding. For those who lived before the period of the scientific revolution, the rivers were taken for granted in coming from the unknown areas. They are thought to be unsolved mysteries, very powerful, and give many advantages while also holding many dangers. Like water, fire had been worshipped as sacred since it helps life (heats the foods and drinks), but at the same time can become a deadly threat. Apart from those, many other uncontrolled natural powers, such as hurricanes and thunderstorms, could be certainly regarded as the source of supernatural powers and black magic.

Then, the question would be how far the local communities in Southeast Asia, especially the Malays, prior to the Islamization and of course vernacularization of the word Allâh as the God, have understood supernatural beings. We could state by and large that Southeast Asian societies have established religious systems based on animism and then adopted a concept of polytheism in Hinduism. In this regard, I would like to investigate how god has been perceived in Hinduism. Then, it is expected to answer the question why, unlike the eschatological aspects, such as svarga (heaven) and narak (hell), as we will discuss later, the Hinduistic name of god is unacceptable in the Turjuman, and of course in almost all other Islamic Malay MSS.

The highest god in Hinduism is Brahmâ. In the mythology of Hindu, Brahmâ is The Creator. Frequently, He is said to create a Trimurti with Viṣṇu as The Guardian and Śiva as The Destroyer. Yet, Brahmâ does not play an important role as belonging to the other gods in the mythology, as well as His equality to Śiva or Viṣṇu. Albeit Brahmâ more frequently emerges in the myths rather than almost all Hinduistic gods, Brahmâ has been hardly worshipped in India. The mythology of Brahmâ is primarily derived from the mythology of the god Pujâpati in the Brahmanas. Unlike Brahmâ, however, Pujâpati was believed to be in the highest position and did the creation in various manners. He practiced ascetism to heat himself up through which his children have been created. In this way, he initially created a fire, wind, sun, and time; then all gods and demons; the humans and animals; then all other creatures. In the epik and Puânas, when Brahmâ took over the task of creation, he still used to use such ways. Yet he commonly did
creation mentally so that when he was thinking of something, such a thing came to exist. While he was under the influence of darkness (tamas), he created Satans. Under the influence of goodness (sattva), he created gods.21

In Falsaflah Upanishad,22 we can find the elaboration that The Almighty is Brahman. In the Brahmans, Brahman points out the rite and is therefore regarded as having the secret effects. Those who understand Brahman are likely to understand and control the universe. Then, Brahman is understood as a virtue or Veda. Since the perception of divinity is used both to Veda and Brahman, both words are then used for the same meaning. Brahman is then believed to be the first thing ever created. (brahma prathama prajam).22

The followers of Hinduism in Southeast Asia named the highest god Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa. In Pancu Sadha,24 Oka Purunandga explains that Hyang Widhi Wasa is called Hyang Tenggal with Trisakti. In the Upanisads, the last part of Veda, presents the dictum:

“Ekam ewa adityam Brahma”

“Only one God (Brahma), there is no two the Second One”

Having considered such a dictum, it is clearly noted that there is only one power which does creation (Upatti), guards (Sbitti), and brings everything to exist in the universe back to the origin (Pralina).25

For Balinese Hinduism, there is only One God. The adherents named Him Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa. Widhi means “fate” (takdir) and Wasa, “The Almighty” (Yang Maha Kuasa). Widhi Wasa means The Almighty Who determines all destinies of live things. He is also called Bhatara Siwa, “The Noble Guardian” (Pelindung Yang Termatu), and Sang Hyang Mahadewa, “The Highest God” (Dewa Yang Tertinggi). They also attribute Him to many names, i.e. Sang Hyang Parameswara, “The Glory King” (Raja Ternilu), Parama Wiseda, “The Almighty” (Maha Kuasa), Jagat Karna, “The Creator” (Pencipta alam), and so on. As The Creator, He is named Brahma (Upatti) and symbolized with the letter “A.” As The Guardian and Protector (Sbitti), He is called Visnu, symbolized with “U.” As The God Who brings everything back to the origin (Pralina), He is named Siwa Rudra. Siwa Rudra is frequently called Iswara, the symbol is “M.”26 In His manifestations as Brahma, Visnu, and Siwa Rudra, He is called trimurti. As stated, trimurti is defined as the three manifestations, that is Trisakti, that reflects Upatti, Sbitti, and Pralina. The Siwa Mahadewa is then symbolized with “OM”
(A.U.M) that is also called Omkāra or Prānava.  
Taking the elaboration into account, we could seemingly conclude it through the analysis of R.C. Zaehner, who comparatively studied Muslim and Hinduistic mysticism. Compared to other religious mysticisms, Christianity, for instance, says Zaehner, Hindu mysticism is apparently unique since until the birth of the Upaniṣads, the ideas of a god who kept His distance from the universe was entirely unknown. In the Qur’ān, based on Islamic beliefs, the God sent the last revelation to humans. Then, the revelation itself becomes one of His transcendent attributes. The God has an infinite distance from humans. Thus, it is seemingly impossible for humans to hold any kind of contact except through the worship with—in AYA’s words—“humility and in reverence.” For this reason, the early Sufis believed that there would not be a relation with the God unless He, with His Merciful, calls humans to approach Him. It would be human obligation to purify himself before the God and regard himself as a slave. Hindu texts, on the other hand, do not provide more clear explanation on a transcendent god. Hinduism is typically considered polytheism.  
Both Peter G. Riddell and Salman Harun proved that ‘Abd al-Ra‘uf was relying on the al-Jalā‘ayn in writing the Turjuman. While we know that ‘Abd al-Ra‘uf was the leader of the sufi order, that is the Shaqṭarīyah order, he attempted to avoid using mysticism in making his Malay commentaries. This was due to the unfriendly socio-political situation in the aftermath of the long-term religious conflicts between the followers of Nur al-Din al-Rāmrī and of I‘amzah Fanṣūrī, and also of Shams al-Din al-Sumatrī.  
According to Riddell,31 al-Rāmrī possibly objected the freedom of expression from his rival group. As for the flexibility in the building of commentaries, the Arabic taḥṣīn are likely to produce any kind of commentaries that in the next periods they would be the target for prohibition and burning. Instead of using such flexibility as the author of the Cambridge MS did, ‘Abd al-Ra‘uf merely translated the Jalā‘ayn and—by so doing—any kind of risk as to the writing of such a work would certainly not be directed to himself. This was reflected in final result of the previous polemics. Innovation was forbidden, while the literal understanding was acceptable.  
As for the introduction of the “Islamic God,” ‘Abd al-Ra‘uf in the Turjuman consistently used the word Allāh. Such a word was transmitted
to the Malay language, together with all Arabic words concerning either the religious matters or other fields, and introduced during the Islamization of Malay world. In this regard, Teuku Iskandar reveals that the Islamization originating from Samudera-Pasai to all parts of Archipelago through the use of the Malay language as a medium has brought about the development of the Malay language as Islamic language instead of Arabic. The Malay had been the lingua franca since the period of the Srivijaya kingdom. The works on Islam in Arabic and Persian have been translated to Malay. Then, the Malay Islamic works have been produced by way of using both Arabic and Persian works as reference. During those periods, there are about 5000 Arabic and 1000 Persian words transmitted into the Malay vocabulary.

It turned out that the word Allah had its translated version in Malay, which is appeared in an early Malay inscription from Trengganu, dated 1303 A.D. This could be regarded as an attempt to do the promulgation of a new religion utilizing Hinduistic religious terms. This 14th century inscription predominantly comprised of Sanskrit words while there are less words borrowed from Arabic and—as Paterson confirms—these are simply Arabic names for the day, week, and month as well as a phrase “rasul Allah ṣallá Allah alayh wa-sallam.” The expression to the Deity was translated from its Arabic or Islamic term, Allah subhanahu wa-tallâh, into Dewatta Mulia Raja. Hence, it was translatable on that occasion.

The struggle for introducing the word Allah as the Only God was getting much harder in the Javanese culture. Focusing on the suluk of Siti Jepar, before the coming of Islam the Javanese people had no idea about the name of Allah. The 12th-13th centuries Javanese literary books already showed such facts. Even at that time, there was no single word derived from Arabic words in such books. Only Buddhism and Hinduism were recognized by the Javanese people. What turned out was that Buddhist-Hindu Shmcretism was developed, which is Budha-Shiva, as an official religion in the Majapahit kingdom. Then, Muslim teachers and missionaries came at the end of the 15th century to call for a new religious teaching (Islam). It is reasonable to say that the word Allah merely exists in the mouth. Even nowadays, there are many people who merely mouth the name of Allah. It is not practically understood in daily life. At that time, the Javanese people are more fluent in spelling Hjung Manon than Allah. Even now, there are many
Javanese villagers who spell *Alah* (without double consonant “l”) instead of *Allah*. And also, it has been usually called *Gusti Alah*. For Siti Jenar, therefore, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam are not too different. It is different in image, but the same in reality. It is through different ways, but with the same goal. Siti Jenar’s teaching is like those of some Sufis, such as Rumi and Ibn al-Arabi. Thus, Siti Jenar was careless with the name for God. Even if the God name were continuously emphasized, it would be the same as a lie. To him, the belief in God is clearly not the struggle of naming it.

Nevertheless, the Malay language transferred the word *tuban* to identify supernatural beings. In *Kamus Jawa* *Kamus Indonesia*, the word *tuban* means [1] *tuam majikan, penempok kepala* [2] *yang termulia, muliawan*. Having been transmitted to the Malay and Indonesian languages, the word *tuban* has changed semantically. In *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, the word *Tuban* (with T-capital) represents something believed and worshipped by humans as *The Almighty regardless of what the name is*. In *Kamus Dewan*, on the other hand, the word *Tuban* is more specifically understood as *Allah* Who creates the universe. Then the word *tuam* emerged that means [1] *orang tempat menghambakan diri* [2] *pemilik kepala (pejabat perusahaan)* [3] *orang laki-laki yang dibormati* [4] *panggilan bagi orang yang berbangga yang patti dibormati, and so on.*

**Eschatology**

In the Qur’an, the place that is full of joys and goods in which the good people live is called the *jannah*. Conversely, those who are sinful on the earthly realm will be arrested in the so-called *nir*. In the Qur’an, the word *jannah* emerges in three forms, i.e. singular, *muthanna*, and plural. In the singular form, it is mentioned seventy times, in *muthanna* eight times, and in the plural sixty-nine times. Conversely, the Qur’an uses the word *al-nir* in its singular form only, which constitute 126 times. Like heaven, hell has seven levels, i.e. the *jannah*, *wayl*, *hutamah*, *sur*, *saqar*, *jabim*, and *hitawiyah*. The *jannah* is the most frequent name repeated in the Qur’an. It emerges seventy-seven times.

According to al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, such a happy place is named the *jannah*. Heaven and hell are basically the imitation of the worldly lives, albeit both have contradictory aspects and different kinds of levels of delight as reflected in Q.S. al-Sajdah (32): 17: *Fa-lā tākam
nafi ma ukhfi run min qurut a'yun jaza bi-ma hani yamaan (Now no persons knows what delights of their eye are kept hidden (in reserve) for them—as a reward for their (good) Deeds). Ibn 'Abbas states that, as quoted by al-Islahathi, the heaven in plural forms (jannahin) is to describe the various characteristics of the seven heavens, i.e. the Firdaus Ashur Na'im, Dar al-Khulq Malv, Dar al-Salam, and Iliyin.** Nevertheless, heaven is not believed to be the highest reward for good people. The highest reward for the good people is His bless and the encounter with Him in the hereafter.**

As to the concepts of heaven and hell, Rahman argues that heaven and hell are frequently repeated in the Qur'an as, by and large, the reward and punishment, including His blessing and wrath. In the way people go to the heaven or hell, the accounts of their deeds will be the witness and undoubtedly the accounts are likely to defend or ruin themselves. Apart from that, all people will know all our secrets and we will have no power to hide them, even the graves will take everything out.

While we proved that the word Allah is untranslatable in the Turjuman, both words al-jannah and al-nar are more easily replaceable with the translated words, shurgical (shurah) and neraka (narak). I would like to give some examples of Qur'anic verses, together with their Malay commentaries, concerning this aspect. i.e. Q.S. Fuṣṣilat (41: 19-24) and al-Zumar (39): 71-74. In Q.S. Fuṣṣilat (41): 19-24, the God says:

**Verse 19**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Wa-yawm yahsharu ulla Allah ilā al-nir fahum yaza'irun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML16</td>
<td>Dan pada hari kami himpunkan segala seteru Allah kepada neraka padahal mereka itu diaku?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Dan hari dihimpunkan segala seteru Allah ta'ala kepada neraka padahal mereka itu diaku?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>On the Day that the enemies of Allah will be gathered together to the Fire, they will be marched in ranks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verse 20**

| Q   | Hattā jibā mā jā'ibā shabida 'alayhim sam'ulum wa-ABSARUBUM WA-JULIDUBUM BI-MA HANI YAMAAN |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ML 116</th>
<th>Hingga apabila datanglah mereka itu kepada neraka naik? shaksilah atas mereka pen[dlengar mereka dan segala penglihat mereka itu dan segala kulit mereka itu akan yang telah diperbuat mereka itu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Hingga apabila datanglah mereka itu kepada neraka naik? saksi atas mereka itu pen[dlengar mereka itu dan penglihat mereka itu dan segala kulit mereka itu dengan barang yang telah diperbuat mereka itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>At length, when they reach the (Fire), their hearing, their sight, and their skins will bear witness against them, as to (all) their deeds.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verse 21**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Wa-qala li-ja'lidibim lima shahidum 'aleynä</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Dan dikata mereka itu lagi segala kulit mereka itu karena apa kamu nak? shaksis atas kamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Dan dikata mereka itu lagi segala kulit mereka itu karena apa kamu nak? saksi atas kamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>They will say to their skins: “Why bear ye witness against us?”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verse 22**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Qālī antaqađ Allah al-lādhī antaqa kull shay' wa-humā khalaqakum awma wāla ra'at wa-ilāhi turjūm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Kata mereka itu telah dijadikan berkata kami oleh Allah yang menjadikan tiap2 sesuatu berkata padahal [...] menjadikan kamu pada mula pertamanya dan kepada yang kamu dikembalikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Kata mereka itu yakni segala kulit telah dijadikan berkata kamu oleh Allah tala yang menjadikan tiap2 suatu itu berkata padahal dan jua menjadikan kamu mula2 pertamanya dan kepada kamu dikembalikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>They will say: “Allah hath given us speech,—(He) Who giveth speech to everything: He created you for the first time, and unto Him were ye to return.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Studia Islamika, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2011*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ML 116</th>
<th>Bahwasanya kamu tiada kuasa atas mematikan daripada segala engkau kamu dan tiada kamu sangka bahwa baik mafi asat kamu penghajar kamu dan tiada segala penghijat kamu dan tiada segala kulit kamu dan tetapi kamu sangka bahwasanya Allah tiada mengetahui kebanyakan daripada yang kamu perbuat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Bahwasanya kamu tiada kuasa atas mematikan daripada segala anggota kamu dan tiada kamu sangka bahwasanya baik mafi asat kamu penghajar kamu dan tiada segala penghijat kamu dan tiada segala kulit kamu dan tetapi kamu sangka bahwasanya Allah tiada tiada mengetahui kebanyakan daripada yang kamu perbuat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>&quot;Ye did not seek to hide yourselves, lest your hearing, your sight, and your skins should bear witness against you! But ye did think that Allah knew not many of the things that ye used to do!&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verse 23**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Wa-dhālikum yannikum al-ladhi zamanum bi-rabbikum annālikum fā-sababum min al-khāṣīrīn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Bermula sangka kamu yang telah kamu sangkakan tuhan kamu itu telah membunuh kamu inaka jadilah kamu daripada segala orang yang rugi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Bermula sangka kamu yang telah kamu sangkakan tuhan kamu itu membunuh kamu inaka jadilah kamu daripada segala orang yang rugi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>&quot;But this thought of yours which ye did entertain concerning your Lord, hath brought you to destruction, and (now) have ye become of those utterly lost&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verse 24**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Fa-īn yāsīrī fa-īl-nār matbu'ah labhum wa-in yastāḥibū fa-mā bihom min al-mu'tabīn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Maka jika sabar mereka itu atas shiksa maka neraka itulah tempat mereka itu maka jika dirusut mereka itu ke ridaya maka tiada mereka itu daripada segala yang di-ku-ridai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Maka jika sabar mereka itu atas shiksa maka neraka itulah tempat mereka itu maka jika dirusut mereka itu ke ridaya maka tiada mereka itu daripada segala yang di-ku-ridai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>If, then, they have patience, the Fire will be a Home for them! And if they beg to be received into favour, into favour will they not (then) be received.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above verses describe that in the Judgment day there will be noisy conversations. The guardians of hell will ask those who go to hell why they go to such a place, and God has sent messengers to the guardians to inform them of their religion, together with its rewards and punishments. 49

In Q.S. al-Zumar (39): 71-74, the God says:

**Verse 71**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Wa-i'tiq al-ladhina kafirū ila jannaham zumānin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Dan telah dihalau akan segala mereka yang kafir itu ke dalam neraka Jannaham beberapa jama'ah [...],</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Dan dihalau akan segala mereka yang kafir ke dalam neraka Jannaham beberapa jama'ah [...],</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>The Unbelievers will be led to Hell in crowds;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Hatā 'idhā jā'īha fiṣṭiḥat abwābuhā wa-qalā laahun khashamatuḥabā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Hingga apabila datanglah mereka itu kepada neraka laahun maka dibuka akan segala pintunya dan telah berkata bagi mereka itu yang menunggu dia dengan hardik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Hingga apabila datanglah mereka itu kepada neraka laahun maka dibuka akan segala pintunya dan telah berkata bagi mereka itu yang menunggu dia dengan hardik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>Until, when they arrive there, its gates will be opened, and its Keepers will say;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>A-lam yatikum rasūl minkum yatīna 'alaykum ayyat rabbikum wa-yunābirīnaka 'aqa' yawmikum ba'dā gilla bilād</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Tidaklah sudah datang akan kamu segala pesuruh Allah daripada jenis kamu dibacakan mereka itu segala ayyat tuhan kamu dan diceriterakan mereka itu akan kamu pertemuan hingga dengan hari kamu ini kata mereka itu bahkan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TM90</th>
<th>Tiadakah sudah datang akan dikau segala pesuruh Allah taala daripada jenis kamu dibacakan mereka itu segala ayat tuhan kamu dan diceritakan mereka itu akan kamu pertemuan dengan hari kamu ini kata mereka itu bahkan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>“Did not apostles come to you from among yourselves, rehearsing to you the Signs of your Lord, and warning you of the Meeting of this Day of yours?” The answer will be: “True;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q</strong></td>
<td>Wa-lakin baiqat kalimat al-<code>adab </code>ali al-kaifirin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Dan tetapi telah wajib kalimat azab atas segala kafir dengan firman Allah lagi akan kupenuhi Jahannam itu daripada segala jin dan manusia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Dan tetapi telah wajiblah kalimat azab itu atas segala kafir dengan firman Allah ta`ala lagi akan kupenuhi neraka Jahannam itu daripada segala jin dan manusia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>But the Decree of Punishment has been proved true against the Unbelievers!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verse 72**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Q</strong></th>
<th>Qila <code>udhulul </code>awwab jahannam khālidin fi-hā fi-bi-`ān matbawī al-mutahhabīn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Dikata bagi mereka itu masuk oleh kamu segala pintu neraka Jahannam padahal kamu kekal dalamnya maka sehalah bertempat segala orang takabbur lah neraka Jahannam itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Dikata mereka itu masuk oleh kamu segala pintu neraka Jahannam padahal kamu kekal di dalamnya maka sejater2 tempat segala orang yang takaburlah neraka Jahannam itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYA</td>
<td>(To them) will be said: “Enter ye the gates of Hell, to dwell therein: and evil is (this) abode of the arrogant!”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verse 73**

| **Q** | Wa-irg al-ladiha ittagaw wabahnum ilā al-jannah sanaatan batti idda jāhiha wa-`ustuha abwabihā wa-qala al-labum khabarsihābā salām `alayhunn atībatum fa-`udhulilābā khabīdin. |

*Sunss Islamica, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2011*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ML 116</th>
<th>Dan telah dihalau kan segala mereka yang takut akan Tuhan mereka itu dengan perlahan kepada surga berjama'ah² padahal dibukakan bagi mereka itu segala pintunya dan berkata bagi mereka itu yang menunggu dia sejauh atas kamu tebah suci kamu daripada daku maksiat maka masuklah kamu ke dalamnya padahal kamu kekal dalamnya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Dan di[h]aluakan segala mereka yang takut akan tuhan mereka itu dengan perlahan² ke dalam surga [...]² hingga apabila datang mereka itu berjama'at lah padahal telah dibukakan bagi mereka itu segala pintunya dan berkatalah bagi mereka itu yang menunggu dia sejauh atas kamu tebah suci kamu daripada daku maksiat maka masuklah kamu ke dalamnya padahal kamu kekal di dalamnya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| AYA | And those who feared their Lord will be led to the Garden in crowds; until behold, they arrive there; its gates will be opened; and its Keepers will say: "Peace be upon you! Well have ye done! Enter ye here, to dwell therein."

Verse 74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Wa-qala al-khans lil-lith al-ladhi sadaqa waidahu wa-awaidhuna al-a'id natahawwad mina Jannah bayhun nabha fa-nima ajral-ilmih</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML 116</td>
<td>Dan dikata mereka itu segala pujii bagi Allah yang telah benar janjinya beroleh surga dan dipusakakannya akan kamu bumi surga kamu kediam daripadanya barang tempat yang kamu kehendaki maka baik² pahala akan segala yang berbuat amal itu surga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM90</td>
<td>Dan kata mereka itu segala pujii bagi Allah tala'a yang telah benar janjinya beroleh surga dan pusakakannya akan kamu bumi surga kamu kediam daripadanya barang mana tempat yang kamu kehendaki maka baik² pahala lah akan segala yang berbuat amal itu surga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| AYA | They will say: “Praise be to Allah, Who has truly fulfilled His promise to us, and has given us (this) land in heritage: We can dwell in the Garden as we will: how excellent a reward for those who work (righteousness)!"

Fazlur Rahman argues that humans would be physically and mentally happy and sad on Judgment day. Unlike the thoughts of Muslim philosophers, the Qur’an does not recognize that the hereafter

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are inhabited by the souls without their bodies. The Qur’an at the same
time does not recognize dualism between human bodies and souls since
humans are considered living organisms. In Qur’an, the word nafs, that
in the next periods the Muslim philosophers preferred to consider it a
“soul” as a substance disassociated from its body, greatly means “him/
herself” and “themselves,” while in certain contextually means “human,”
“human inner,” or the reality of humanity—yet not disconnected from
his/her body. Actually, the body, together with its center of life and
intelligence, constitutes its identity or the true human personality.51

Thus, says Fazlur Rahman, Qur’an does not accept heaven and
hell that are merely spiritual in character.52 If the Qur’an—repeatedly
mentioned very beautiful styles and assertions—discusses the physical
happiness and suffering in the hereafter, the definition is not solely
what the Muslim philosophers believe albeit the sacred text basically
attempted to explain both reward and punishment as the effects of
feeling happy and sad physically and spiritually. The clear descriptions
of the beautiful heaven and eerie hell are intended to explain these
effects as the real physico-spiritual feelings and different from the
psychological effects.

The words surga and nenaka are derived from the Sanskrit language,
i.e. swarga and naraka. From the former, the word swargaloka emerges
that means “the place in the heaven” (tempat di surga), and swargawarga,
“the group in the heaven” (golongan di surga).53 In “Upasad Samkhya
Yoga,” Bhagawadgita, the word swargadwaram means “the heaven door”
(pintu surga) as follow:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yadricchaya ca papanam} & \\
\text{swargadwaram apamiitim} & \\
\text{sukhirah kstriyah janah} & \\
\text{labhanca yuddham tiristam} &
\end{align*}
\]

Have a happy life O the true warrior
To have a chance to fight in this state
O Arjuna, because for them
The heaven door is open

Conversely, the word nenaka has also derivative words, such as
“narakāyai” mentioned in “Arjuna Wisada Yoga,” Bhagawadgita as
follow:55

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{samkaro narakāyai} & \\
\text{kulaghniitam kalasha ca}
\end{align*}
\]
patanti picaro bcesam
luptapindodakakriyāḥ

the decadence leads
family and the killers to the hell
the spirits of the ancestors fall into hell)
all are surprised, no more food and water for them

Apart from that, the word narāke is also available as follow:

utsanta kuladharmānām
manushānāṁ janārdana
narāke niyatum śāso
bhavaṁ yāt varusustumā?

We heard this
Oh Janārdana, the human
Whose civilization and law are destroyed
He will live in the hell forever

According to Linda M. Tober & F. Stanley Lusby, the symbolism of heaven and hell as reflected in the Indian religious traditions has different roles and significances when this is contrasted to the various meanings in the religious contexts in the West Asian and Western cultures. The Old Veda (1500-1200 B.C.), especially Rgveda (a hymn collection associated with funereal rituals, illustrates the heaven as the the realm of the fathers), God of fire, Agni, was appointed to provide the dead for purification since the cremation achieved conspicuousness. Yama, believed to be the god of the dead, supervises the heaven, which is connected to the sky. The deceased was then associated with the stars. There is one god, Varuna, in the heaven. He is thought to be a cause of the order in the worldly life. The welfare of people would be determined by their involvement in rituals, ceremonies, and offerings to the gods while on the worldly life.

Good people enjoy the pleasures they have known on the earthly life, but in full measures. The classification of personal identity is maintained. The clergymen and combatants are classified among those who enter heaven. Nevertheless, the description of the heavenly communities is not clear enough. In the earliest Vedas, say Tober and Lusby, those who failed to enter the heavenly realm would be arrested in the realm of darkness, which is hell. In the Brāhmaṇas, containing the ritual performances of the clergymen, the clearer characterization of
heaven as a place in which good people enjoy the goodness of worldly existence, hugely increased and not limited as they are found on the earthly realm. The excellence of heavenly realm was believed to have correlation with the adequate ritual conduct. Equally, the suffering of bad people in hell is viewed as equal to the punishment due to the lack of ritual performances.59

By the third century B.C., explains Tober & Lusby, the Indian landscape had been dominated by a very different worldview, basically developed by the philosophy and religious perspectives of the Upanishads (sixth to first centuries B.C.). This was enriched by the cyclical worldview. Reincarnation, for instance, told an extensive perception of human existence as a sequence of lives, deaths, and rebirths. It also came to overshadow a thorough understanding of human beings.60

Both heaven and hell are not believed to be a sight of supreme destiny. Yet, argue Tober & Lusby, both were regarded as the transitional stages occasional with a sequence of worldly life in a rotation of births and deaths (samsāra), Karma (or kamma), the store of the outcomes of thought and deeds accrued over the whole series of human existence, dictates the cosmos of soul’s transition from his worldly realm to another via one of the several stages of heaven or hell. These are the transitional conditions of different levels of suffering or happiness. In the old Hindu cosmology, three realms (lokas)—the heaven, earth, and sky—are extended by a sight of fourteen additional realms. The realms contain the seven spheres above the earth (heavens) and seven spheres under the earth (hells). It is similar to what we find in Islamic eschatology. The further goal of human sacred journey is realeasement (moksa). Nirvāṇa is then variously thought to be the unification of soul (âtman) with the highest deity, which is brahman.61

Some Notes on [Un]Translatable Words

The powerful or powerless gods are perceived greatly depend on the glory level of His communal adherents. In addition, their “deaths” are actually due to the decline of the adherent glory or because they reform or even change their religious belief. Otherwise, the gods could be perceived in a new form as a result of assimilation. For centuries before the coming of Islam, the local communities in Southeast Asia have adhered to Hinduism and Buddhism in the results of Indianization in addition to animism. Those old religious forms believe in the existence
of the unseen worlds inhabited by the gods and demons and humans are believed to be capable of communicating with them. As for the sufferings due to the contact with the creatures from the unseen world, the established Islam in this region holds the belief that such torments are actually made by devils. This new religion, together with all things written in Arabic, has been of course accepted among the local communities, and the shamans themselves have taken many advantages of it. The Arabic mantras have been included in each religious rite. In many examples, the Arabic prayers have been officially adopted into Malay since the 17th century.

Snoed Hurgonje, for example, tells the legend of the way 'Abd al-Ra'if al-Sinkill did Islamic da'wah. He describes that in terms of mysticism, Islam became part of a healing tradition. If the 'ulama' in the Arab world are commonly perceived as the ones who strongly prohibit cockfighting and many other things, this Acehnese ulama conversely gave the mantra to the cockfighter to make his fighting cock more powerful. The mantra was the shahdah. Shortly after that, each cockfighter knew this secret mantra and imitated it by which their cocks also became winners. Then the first cock fighter came back to the ulama to seek another mantra. At the time, he was given the five times prayer. Through such a way, the ulama has successfully spread Islam among the local communities, by way of using the spiritual power of religion as the mantra necessarily belonged to those who would control the unseen world.

With regards to the eschatology, the local communities have known the hell and heaven realms long before the spreading of Islam. In the attempt to seek the precise terms to transfer the values of Islam, the missionaries used the local ideas. In almost all parts of Archipelago, they used such Sanskrit words as swarga (heaven) and narakas (hell).

The assimilation of spirits into Islamic genies and evil spirits was not too difficult. Even, the educated ulamas do not deny the existence of the spirits, yet they do not feel more threatened by their existence compared to the ordinary people. Islam was, and is, also perceived as providing the protection against the spirits in certain different realms. The pious Muslims would be protected by the God from what the spirits could do and be rewarded with the heaven then. Also, those who were powerless would be rewarded if they took the right path. They all would be equal regardless of what their statuses are in worldly
life. Such a new vision certainly led to the equality among the people. Then, the religion became more rational. For traders, this new worldview would be a basic and very important principle and would develop their trading companies to be more internationalized.

This moral realm primarily relied on the simple but consistent concept of the permanent reward and punishment. The old worldview did not provide such a concept with a level of certainty. Islam, on the contrary, promised people a heaven that is always safe and happy. There would not be death, but always happy life. There would not be any complains and all things would be acceptable without feeling upset and sad. One of the Acehnese ulama who wrote about Judgment day is Nūr al-Dīn al-Rāfīrī. His work is Aḥḥār al-Āḥkāmah, written in 1636 A.D. In this work, he presents the explanation of the death, reward and punishment, heaven, hell, and Judgment day. The other ulamas also explain the heavenly rewards for those who recited the shahādah.

Hell, on the other hand, was believed to be more persuasive. In 1604, Chirino accounted that the local communities in the Philippines were greatly worried about what the Devil could do. The description of the hell led to the conversion of many Filipinos into Christians. Both Muslim and Christian missionaries used to tell the great suffering for those who gave preference to the worldly life instead of opting for their safety on Judgment day. It was also with the case of those who reject to live in the right religious path.

Yet, a number of Malay and Javanese poetry questions the higher ecstatic unification with God in which both heaven and hell no longer exist. Reid points out that there is a Javanese Islamic text from the 16th century that talks about the people who served God with the hope of obtaining heaven or did not eat and sleep for days due to the fearness of suffering in the hell. Yet, they believe that the true reward is merely given to those who sincerely love God.

Conclusion

The above description shows that it was not an easy task to introduce the religious terms and teachings to the local communities that have previously adopted other religious systems. As stated, the Qur’ān successfully made a transcendent God. Nevertheless, the local communities in Southeast Asia chose to perceive Him more immanently. The use of the word gusti attached in the word Allah and
of the word *Tukan* [not the word *dewa*], for examples, is evidence of how powerful the Southeast Asian cultures it was as to their encounters with Islam. Since no translated local word was possible, almost all Islamic missionaries had no choice but to transfer the word *Allah* into local languages.

The perceived heaven in the Qur'an certainly did not greatly affect the local eschatology. With the tropical forest and abundance of water resources, the Southeast Asian world was perceived as what the Qur'an told about heaven. Thus, contrasted to the Arabic *jannah* and *nahr* that nobody could imagine it, the *swarga* and *naitke* are close to, or even parts of, the worldly life.4 However, both Islam and Hinduism seemingly admit that all people would physically and mentally fell either the happiness of the heaven or the suffering of the hell. Accordingly, instead of transferring the word *jannah* and *nahr* into the local languages, the translation of both words was apparently believed to be the best alternative way though they would never reflect the original meanings.
Endnotes


7. The Qur’an basically does not negate that the pre-Islamic Arab people had known the so-called Allah as their God. This is mentioned in Q.S. Luqman (31): 25: "Allah subḥanahu wa-ta‘āla khalqummin ilā-yuqalluma..." (if you ask them, who is that created the heavens and the earth, they will certainly say, "Allah.") Say, "Praise be to Allah!"

8. Aliberti they knew that Allah is their God, the Qur’an evaluated their way of worshipping the God a heretical due to the use of media, that is the statue. The Qur’an mentions this in Q.S. al-Zumar (39): 3: "Allah bi-lilāb al-da‘in al-khabīs wa al-ḥabbina innakhabina min ġārin bi‘anija..." (The Qur’an mentions that sincere devotion is duel! But those who take for protectors other than Allah say: "We only serve them in order that they may be near to Allah, ...")


11. This translation and all other translated versions of the Qur’an are based on the work of A. Yusuf Ali (AYA), See AYA, The Holy Qur’an: Text, Translation & Commentary (Lahore: SH. Muhammad Ashraf, 1980), 1806.


16. As can be seen, both English and Arabic are considered sexist languages. The God is always defined as "Mala God." It is very contradictory when we look at the translated version of the pronoun *Hanc* in Arabic and *He* in English, that is *Dius* in Malay. *Diu* can definitely be attributed to both male and female.


21. Radhakrishnan, *Tatbikat Upensad*, 3 vols, 1989 [unpublished work]. The title and author of this text is based on the "Foreword" made by Rabindranath Tagore attached in the third volume in APPENDIX A, p. 1104–1111 in the first paragraph. Based on the table of contents, pages 1–155 contain the elaboration on the philosophy of Upensad. Then, from page 156 to the end of the text contains Brhad-Atanagata Upensad that is considered the most important, longest, and oldest text compared to other parts of the Upensad. For the latter account, see Juan Mascaro, "Introduction," *The Upanshads: Translations from the Sanskrit*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965), 7. The second volume is entitled Chandasya Upensad while the third one is Mandala Upensad.

22. Radhakrishnan, "Pendaluluan (Foreword)," *Tatbikat Upensad* vol 1, 44.

23. It should be noted that this book is made in the first period of the New-Order. From the period of Old Order to the New-Order, the clergyman from all religions should revise their religious teachings to meet the first principle of the Pancasila, *Kerukunan Yng Maha Eja*. To large extent, therefore, its socio-political context should be taken into consideration.


31. This fact contributes to prove that the Malay culture apparently accepted the Islamization. To know, the Malay literature has well developed due to the Islamization as well as the Arabization. The phenomenon is different from Japanese culture in which all systems of its culture, formed from the influence of local beliefs and Hinduism-Buddhism, is not easily Islamized or Arabized. Many scholars paid more attention to the study of these assimilations. One of the most important studies is written by Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, based on his fieldwork in the town, Modjokerto, in East Java in the first decade of 1950s.


34. See H.S. Paterson, "An Early Malay Inscription from Trengganu," *JARAS* Vol. II Part III (December, 1924), 244–245.


40. The next calculations are based on the index made by Fai'ad al-Baqi'. See 'Abd al-Baqi', *Mujam al-Mufahim,* 229-232.


42. Take as examples, see Q.S. Muhammad (47): 15; al-Rahman (55): 1-78; and al-Waqi'ah (56): 1-96.


45. See Q.S. al-Ma'mimin (23): 62; 45; 29.


47. It should be noted that in MS ML 116, the translation of the word puhiburu, "diimpun kan" (are gathered), changes into karin hupenu (we gather) in the transitve verb form. This is due to the falsity of scribbling the word. It should be puhiburu, but it is written nukhurur.


49. In MS ML 116, this verse is not separated. But in TM90, this verse is divided into two parts. It is seemingly to follow the the interpretive technique of verse 71.


53. Bhagavasugata, 47.

54. This translated version and all others are based on the Indonesian version contained in *Bhagavasugata* I use for the study.


63. The *shahadah* contains the confession that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His messenger. This confession is called the *ja'farab* sentence. The *shahadah* is considered the basic for introducing the word Allah and His main attribute to the
individual since before to be Moslem means someone must initially recite the shahādah.


67. Before Islam came to introduce the equality, the local communities were certainly formed based on the caste system although this was not rigidly practiced as found in its origin in India.

68. Reid, *Dari Ekspanasi hingga Krisis*, 211.


70. See for further, Reid, *Dari Ekspanasi hingga Krisis*, 212; Cf. Reid, “Islamization and Christianization,” in Reid ed., *Southeast Asia*, 170.


72. Reid, *Dari Ekspanasi hingga Krisis*, 212.


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 открытка

 محاية الشعبية المينايجابوية "بها مستوحى" بين الأسطورة والخلاقة: المنظورات الدينية

 إباغ