# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

ECLECTICISM OF MODERN ISLAM:
*ISLAM HADHARI* IN MALAYSIA

Muhamad Ali

THE PROBLEMS OF TRANSLATION IN *TURJUMĀN AL-MUSTAFĪD*:
A STUDY OF THEOLOGICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL ASPECTS

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

Mohamad Abdun Nasir

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# Table of Contents

**Document**

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# The Problems of Translation in *Turjumān al-Mustafīd*: A Study of Theological and Eschatological Aspects

**Abstrak:** *Artikel ini mengkaji dua aspek penting yang dieksplorasi dalam Qur'an, yaitu teologi dan eskatologi. Untuk tujuan penulisan, artikel ini menggunakan beberapa salinan Manuskrip [MSS dalam bentuk jamak dan MS untuk tunggal] dan edisi cetak dari* Turjumān al-Mustafīd. *Manuskrip-manuskrip tersebut adalah ML 290 dan ML 116 untuk MSS dan terbitan dari Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī pada tahun 1951 dan Dār al-Fikr pada tahun 1990 [baca: TM90] untuk edisi cetaknya. Terkait pembahasan teologi dan eskatologi, artikel ini akan merujuk karya Fazlur Rahman,* The Major Themes of the Qur'an, *karena pikiran-pikirannya mencerminkan arus utama keyakinan umat Muslim mengenai kedua aspek tersebut.*

*Dalam budaya Melayu, baik teologi maupun eskatologi terbentuk sebagai hasil dari "Indianisasi"—kedatangan Hindu dan Budha ke Nusantara—sekitar seribu tahun sebelum kelahiran 'Abd al- Ra'ūf pada abad ke-17. Jadi, artikel ini juga akan mendiskusikan seberapa jauh Hindu mengembangkan kedua aspek tersebut dan bagaimana pemahaman masyarakat-masyarakat Asia Tenggara mengenai kedua aspek tersebut.*

*Untuk orang-orang yang bukan berbahasa Arab, pemahaman makna literal dari Qur'an dimungkinkan melalui aktivitas penerjemahan. Sementara makna Qur'an bisa disajikan dalam bahasa-bahasa non-Arab, teks aslinya tidak dapat diterjemahkan. Aspek ideologis Qur'an berbahasa Arab tidak mungkin bisa ditransmisikan ke dalam bahasa lain secara sempurna. Sepanjang sejarah, Qur'an berkomunikasi dengan berbagai aspek budaya dan ideologis masyarakat tertentu. Oleh karena itu, ketika datang ke Nusantara, Qur'an pun bersentuhan dengan berbagai budaya dan bahasa di Nusantara,*

*terutama dengan budaya Melayu. Ketika 'Abd al-Ra'ūf memperkenalkan pemahaman Qur'an terjemahan kepada orang-orang Melayu, dia sadar— atau tidak sadar—memprakarsai vernakularisasi Qur'an ke dalam bahasa Melayu. Hasil dari proses tersebut adalah bahwa ketika salah satu kata Quran tidak dapat diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa lokal, Melayu, pemindahan kata-kata asing tidak dapat dihindari.*

*Untuk yang pertama, yang terjadi adalah tindakan terjemahan. Sementara 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.*

*Artikel ini memperlihatkan bahwa bukanlah tugas yang mudah untuk memperkenalkan istilah-istilah dan ajaran-ajaran agama kepada masyarakat lokal yang sebelumnya telah mengadopsi sistem agama lain yang berbeda. Nabi Muhammad mengajarkan sosok Tuhan yang transenden. Namun demikian, masyarakat-masyarakat di Asia Tenggara memilih untuk melihat-Nya secara lebih imanen. Sebagai contoh, penggunaan kata* gusti *yang dilekatkan dalam kata* Allāh *dan dalam kata* Tuhan *[bukan kata* dewa] *adalah bukti betapa kuatnya budaya Asia Tenggara dalam berhadapan dengan Islam. Karena tidak mungkin menggunakan terjemahan istilah lokal, hampir semua misionaris Islam tidak punya pilihan lain selain mentransfer kata* Allāh *ke dalam bahasa lokal. Konsep surga yang dipahami dalam Qur'an jelas tidak berpengaruh besar bagi eskatologi lokal. Dengan hutan tropis dan berlimpahnya air, Asia Tenggara dianggap sebagai surga seperti yang diceritakan Qur'an. Jadi, berlawanan dengan kata Arab* jannah *dan* nār *yang tidak bisa dibayangkan,* swarga *dan* narake *dekat dengan, atau bahkan bagian dari, kehidupan duniawi. Oleh karena itu, ketimbang memindahkan kata* jannah *dan* nār *ke dalam bahasa lokal, penerjemahan kedua kata tersebut tampaknya diyakini menjadi alternatif terbaik meskipun keduanya tidak akan pernah mencerminkan makna aslinya.*

*Ervan Nurtawab*

# The Problems of Translation in *Turjumān al-Mustafīd*: A Study of Theological and Eschatological Aspects

**الخلاصة:** هذه الدراسة مرتكزة في بحث أهم الأصول المتضمنة في القرآن وهي الإيمان بالله واليوم الآخر. فاستعمل الباحث ليصل إلى هذه الغاية بعض المخطوطات من إندونيسيا، وهي كتاب «ترجمان المستفيد» لعبد الرؤوف الجاوى. هذه المخطوطات منها ما وجدتْ في المكتبة الوطنية الجمهورية الإندونيسية، المرقومة بـ م.ل. ١١٦ (ML 116)، وكذلك مما طبعته مطبعة مصطفى البابي الحلبي في سنة ١٩٥١ هــ ومطبعة دار الفكر في سنة ١٩٩٠ هــ. والبحث عن هذا الكتاب مستند إلى تأليف فزل الرحمن المسمى بـ — *The Major Themes of the Qur'an* خاصة فيما يتعلق بالعقائد ، لأنه أظهر على معظم معتقدات المسلمين عن الأصول المذكورة.

قديما، منهج شعب الجاوية الملاوية في فهم هذه الأصول متأثرة بمعتقدات الهندوسي والبوذوي، وذلك ألف سنة قبل القرن السابع عشر، أي قبل عصر عبد الرؤوف الجاوى. بناء على هذا، فهذا البحث متحرى إلى أي جهة بقيت آثار المعتقدات المذكورة في مجتمع الجاويين.وليفهم المسلمون الأعجميون القرآن فأمكن لهم أن يترجموه لفظيا إلى لغتهم. وإن كان معناه مبينا في أي لغة سوى العربية، لكن نصوصه المنزلة لا يمكن أن يترجم. من أجل ذلك فالجانب الإيمان فيه لا يمكن أيضا أن يترجم وينقل إلى أي لغة نقلا تماما.

بل مع مرور التاريخ والدهر كان القرآن متصلا بتنوع الثقافات والمعتقدات من المجتمع. فيقابل القرآن بالأفكار المحلية والمعتقدات الداخلية. وكذلك القرآن حين دخل إلى المجتمع الجاوية، فالعلماء مثل عبد الرؤوف فى أثناء ترجمته على القرآن إلى اللغة الجاوية يعتبر أول من ابتدأ بتوفيق الألفاظ القرآنية إلى اللغة المحلية. والحاصل، إذا وجد أي لفظ من القرآن الذي لا يمكن أن يترجم إلى اللغة الجاوية فلا سبيل له إلا بذكر لفظه العربي تماما.

فى المرحلة الأولى، أول ما يفعله أحد الناقلين المترجمين فهو الترجمة. والمرحلة الثانية أن ينقل بلفظها العربية تماما مع عدم الترجمة. من أجل ذلك، النقل فى هذا البحث غير مساوى بالترجمة. فالأول له توفيق وتكييف بين اللفظ العربي القرآنى واللغة المحلية وهي الجاوية. كما اصطلحه جادمير (Gadamer) أن لا يمكن لهذا العمل أن يصل إلى النجاح. وكذلك الثاني فمحال على القارئ أن يفهمه إلا إذا راجع إلى أصل نصوصه، وإلا فلا يفهم معنى النصوص أبدا.

وهذا البحث يحقق على أن نشر التعريف من المصطلح الدينية وتعاليمها إلى المجتمع الأعجمية ليس أمرا سهلا. قد علم النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم أصحابه عن الله المنزه عن التشبيه والتمثيل. وأما المجتمع الجاوية يعتقدونه حقيقيا. واستعمل لفظ "Gusti" (السيد) أو «Tuhan» (الإله) إلى الله. هذا يدل على أن أصل التقاليد المحلية مقابل على التعاليم الإسلامية. بناء على هذا، فلا موقف لمعظم دعاة الإسلام فى هذه المناطق إلا أن يستعملوا لفظ «الله» فى اللغة المحلية. وقضية «الجنة» فى القرآن لا يؤثر إلى المجتمع الجاوية، لأن هذه المناطق مملوءة بالحدائق والغابات والعيون والأنهار، وكأن الجنة فى القرآن مثل الأحوال الجارية فى هذا البلد. مع أنهما تختلفان عن إدراك العقول. ولا تستوى الجنة بـ «سوراكا» (swarga) أو النار بـ ناركى (Narake). لأن سواركا وناراكى موجودتان فى هذه الدنيا.

Arabic for the Qur'an is believed to be the most perfect Arabic language. For non-Arabic speaking people where 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.[2] 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.[3] 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'ūf 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."[4] 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.[5] 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 *Turjumān*. They are ML 290 and ML 116 for the MSS and the publication of Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī in 1951 A.D. and Dār al-Fikr in 1990 A.D. [read: TM90]. With regards to the elaboration of theology and escathology, 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[6]—the coming of Hinduism and Budhism 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 F. 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 *ṣuḥuf* 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.[9] 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 *rabb* instead of *Allāh* as Quraish Shihab, 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 Muḥammad. It could be even extended to the 19th revelation, Q.S. al-Ikhlāṣ.[10]

This could be certainly the evidence that for several years the Prophet Muḥammad 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-Ikhlāṣ (112): 1-4: "Say: He is Allāh, The One and Only. Allāh, 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 Shihab, 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-raḥīm* 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-Ḥashr (59): 22-24. In Q.S. al-Naml (27): 60, the God says:

| Q | *Amman khalaqa al-samāwāt wa-al-ard wa-anzala lakum min al- samā'i mā'a fa-anbatnā bihi ḥadā'iq dhāt bahjah* |
|---|---|
| TM90 | Ataw siapalah yang menjadikan tujuh petala langit dan bumi dan telah menurunkan bagi kamu dari langit air maka kamu tambahkan dengan dia beberapa bustan yang baik |

| AYA | Or, who has created heaven and earth, and who has sent you rain from the sky? Yea, with it We cause to grow well-planted orchards full of beauty and delight: |

| Q | *Mā kāna lakum an tunbitū shajarahā* |
| TM90 | Tiada-da bagi kamu dapat menumbahkan segala pohon kayunya karena tiada kamu kuat atasnya |
| AYA | It is not in your power to cause the growth of the trees in them |

| Q | *a-ilāh maʾa Allāh bal hum qawm yaʾdilūn.* |
| TM90 | Adalah serta Allāh taʾala menolong dia atas yang demikian itu artinya tiada-da Tuhan serta-Nya tetapi mereka itu kaum yang menyekutukan Allāh taʾala dengan lain-Nya. |
| AYA | (Can there be another) God besides Allāh? Nay, they are people who swerve from justice |

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,[14] 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.[15]

The Qur'an frequently affirms the Almighty and Supreme of the God. Having rejected polytheism and affirmed monotheism, in Q.S. al-Ḥashr (59): 22-24, God says:[16]

Verse 22:

| Q | *Huwa Allāh al-ladhī lā ilāh illā huwa ʾālim al-ghayb wa-al-shahādat huwa al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* |
| ML 290 | Ia jua tuhan yang nama Allāh yang tiada tuhan hanya ia mengetahui gaib dan shahāda yang amat murah lagi amat mengasihani |
| TM90 | Ia juwa Tuhan yang bernama Allāh yang tiada Tuhan hanya Ia yang mengetahui yang ghaib2 dan shahadah ia yang murah lagi yang amat mengasihi |

| AYA | Allāh is He, than Whom there is no other god;—who knows (all things) both secret and open. He, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. |
|---|---|

Verse 23:

| Q | *Huwa Allāh al-ladhī lā ilāh illā huwa al-malik al-quddūs al-salām al-muʾmin al-muhaymin al-ʾazīz al-jabbār al-mutakabbir* |
|---|---|
| ML 290 | Ia jua tuhan yang bernama Allāh tiada tuhan hanya ia jua yang raja lagi suci daripada segala yang tiada patut dengan dia lagi yang sejahtera daripada segala kekurangan lagi membenarkan segala pesuruhnya lagi nak? siksa akan segala hambanya yang berbuat segala amal lagi kuat lagi [ ...] segala hal hambanya lagi membesarkan diri daripada segala pekerjaan yang tiada patut dengan dia |
| TM90 | Ia jua Tuhan yang bernama Allāh tiada Tuhan hanya Ia yang raja lagi yang suci daripada yang tiada patut dengan dia lagi yang sejahtera daripada segala kekurangan lagi yang membenarkan segala pesuruhnya lagi yang [.....] shiksa akan segala hambanya yang [....] segala amal lagi yang berbaik2 segala hal hambanya lagi membesarkan diri daripada segala pekerjaan yang tiada patut dengan Dia. |
| AYA | Allāh 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 |

Verse 23 & 24

| Q | *Subhān Allāh ʿammā yushrikūn. Huwa Allāh al-khāliq al-bāriʾ al-muṣawwir lahu al-asmāʾ al-ḥusná* |
|---|---|
| ML 290 | Telah ditanzihkan Allāh dirinya daripada yang disekutukan oleh mereka itu ia jua tuhan yang nama Allāh yang menjadikan daripada ʿadam lagi merupakan baginya jua segala nama yang baik |
| TM90 | Telah tanzihkan Allāh taʾala dirinya daripada yang disekutukan oleh mereka itu ia jua Tuhan yang bernama Allāh taʾala yang menjadikan daripada ʿadam lagi yang merupakan baginya jua segala nama bernama yang baik |
| AYA | Glory to Allāh! (High is He) above the partners they attribute to Him. He is Allāh, the Creator, the Evolver, the Bestower of Forms (or Colours) to Him belong the Most Beautiful Names; |

| Q | *yusabbiḥu lahū mā fī al-samāwāt wa-al-arḍ wa-huwa al-'azīz al-ḥakīm.* |
|---|---|
| ML 290 | Mengucap tasbih baginya barang yang dalam tujuh petala langit dan bumi dan ia jua tuhan yang amat kuat lagi hakim pada perbuatannya. |
| TM90 | Mengucap tasbih baginya barang yang di dalam tujuh petala langit dan bumi dan ia jua Tuhan 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 Qur'an asserts that the God is Who knows all things both secret and open. He[17] 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."[18]

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.[19]

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.[20]

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 *Allāh* 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 *narake* (hell), as we will discuss later, the Hinduistic name of god is unacceptable in the *Turjumān*, and of course in almost all other Islamic Malay MSS.

The highest god in Hinduism is *Brahmā*. In the mythology of Hindu, *Brahmā* is The Creator. Frequently, He is said to create a *trimurti* with *Visnu* as The Guardian and *Śiva* as The Destroyer. Yet, *Brahmā* does not play an important role as belonging to the other gods in the mythology, as well as His equality to *Śiva* or *Visnu*. Albeit *Brahmā* more frequently emerges in the myths rather than almost all Hinduistic gods, *Brahmā* has been hardly worshipped in India. The mythology of *Brahmā* is primarily derived from the mythology of the god *Prajāpati* in the *Brāhmanas*. Unlike *Brahmā*, however, *Prajāpati* 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 *Purānas*, when *Brahmā* 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 *Falsafah Upaniṣad*,[22] we can find the elaboration that The Almighty is *Brahman*. In the *Brāhmanas*, *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 prathamajam)*.[23]

The followers of Hinduism in Southeast Asia named the highest god *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*,[24] Oka Punyatmadja explains that *Hyang Widhi Wāsa* is called *Hyang Tunggal* with *Trisakti*. In the Upaniṣads, the last part of Veda, presents the dictum:

"Ekam ewa adwityam Brahmā"

"Only one God *(Brahmā)*, there is no the Second One"

Having considered such a dictum, it is clearly noted that there is only one power who does creation *(Utpatti)*, guards *(Sthiti)*, 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 destnies of live things. He is also called *Bhatāra Siwa*, "The Noble Guardian" *(Pelindung Yang Termulia)*, and *Sanghyang Mahādewa*, "The Highest God" *(Dewa Yang Tertinggi)*. They also attribute Him to many names, i.e. *Sang Hyang Parameswara*, "The Glory King" *(Raja Termulia)*, *Parama Wisesha*, "The Almighty" *(Maha Kuasa)*, *Jagat Kārana*, "The Creator" *(Pencipta alam)*, and so on. As The Creator, He is named Brahmā *(Utpatti)* and shmbolized with the letter "A." As The Guardian and Protector *(Sthiti)*, He is called Visnu, simbolized 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 shmbol is "M."[26] In His manifestations as Brahmā, Visnu, and Siwa Rudra, He is called *trimurti*. As stated, *trimurti* is defined as the three manifestations, that is *Trisakti* that reflects *Utpatti*, *Sthitti*, and *Pralina*. The Siwa Mahādewa is then simbolized with "OM"

(A.U.M) that is also called *Omkāra* or *Prānawa*.[27]

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'an, 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.[28]

Both Peter G. Riddell[29] and Salman Harun[30] proved that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was relying on the *al-Jalālayn* in writing the *Turjumān*. While we know that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was the leader of the sufis order, that is the Shaṭṭārīyah 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 Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, and also of Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatra-ī.

According to Riddell,[31] al-Rānīrī possibly objected the freedom of expression from his rival group. As for the flexibility in the building of commentaries, the Arabic *tafsīr*s 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'ūf merely translated the *Jalālayn* 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'ūf in the *Turjumān* 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.[32] 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.[33] 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.[34]

It turned out that the word *Allāh* 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 "rasūl Allāh ṣallá Allāh 'alayh wa-sallam." The expression to the Deity was translated from its Arabic or Islamic term, *Allāh subḥānahu wa-taʿālá*, into *Dewata Mulia Raya*.[35] Hence, it was translatable on that occasion.

The struggle for introducing the word *Allāh* as the Only God was getting much harder in the Javanese culture. Focusing on the *sulūk* of Siti Jenar, before the coming of Islam the Javanese people had no idea about the name of *Allāh*. 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 Shncretism was developed, which is Buddha-Shiwa, 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 *(Islām)*. It is reasonable to say that the word *Allāh* merely exists in the mouth. Even nowadays, there are many people who merely mouth the name of Allāh. It is not practically understood in daily life. At that time, the Javanese people are more fluent in spelling *Hyang Manon* than *Allāh*. Even now, there are many

Javanese villagers who spell *Alah* (without double consonant "l") instead of *Allāh*. 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 Rūmī and Ibn al-'Arabī. 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.[36]

Nevertheless, the Malay language transferred the word *tuhan* to identify supernatural beings. In *Kamus Jawa Kuna Indonesia*, the word *tuhan* means [1] *tuan*; *majikan*; *pemimpin*; *kepala*; [2] *yang termulia*; *muliawan*.[37] Having been transmitted to the Malay and Indonesian languages, the word *tuhan* has changed semantically. In *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, the word *Tuhan* (with T-capital) represents something believed and worshipped by humans as The Almighty regardless of what the name is.[38] In *Kamus Dewan*, on the other hand, the word *Tuhan* is more specifically understood as *Allāh* Who creates the universe.[39] Then the word *tuan* emerged that means [1] *orang tempat menghambakan diri* [2] *pemilik/kepala (pejabat perusahaan)* [3] *orang laki-laki yang dihormati* [4] *panggilan bagi orang yang berpangkat yang patut dihormati*, and so on.[40]

### 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 *nār*. In the Qur'an, the word *jannah* emerges in three forms, i.e. singular, *muthanná*, and plural. In the singular form, it is mentioned seventy times, in *muthanná* eight times, and in the plural sixty-nine times.[41] Conversely, the Qur'an uses the word *al-nār* in its singular form only, which constitute 126 times. Like heaven, hell has seven levels, i.e. the *jahannam, wayl, ḥuṭamah, sa'īr, saqar, jaḥīm,* and *hāwiyah*. The *jahannam* is the most frequent name repeated in the Qur'an. It emerges seventy-seven times.[42]

According to al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, such a happy place is named the *jannah*. Heaven and hell are basically the imitation of the worldly lives,[43] albeit both have contradictory aspects and different kinds of levels of delight as reflected in Q.S. al-Sajdah (32): 17: *Fa-lā ta'lamu*

*nafs mā ukhfiya lahum min qurrat a'yun jazā' bi-mā kānū ya'malūn* (Now no persons knows what delights of the eye are kept hidden (in reserve) for them—as a reward for their (good) Deeds). Ibn 'Abbās states that, as quoted by al-Ishfahānī, the heaven in plural forms *(jannātin)* is to describe the various characteristics of the seven heavens, i.e. the *Firdaws, 'Adn, Na'īm, Dār al-Khuld, Ma'wá, Dār al-Salām,* and *'Illīyīn*.[44] 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.[45]

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,[46] 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.[47]

While we proved that the word *Allāh* is untranslatable in the *Turjumān*, both words *al-jannāh* and *al-nār* are more easily replaceable with the translated words, *shurgā* (شرجا) and *neraka* (ناركا). 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

| Q | *Wa-yawm yuḥsharu a'dā' Allāh ilá al-nār fahum yūza'ūn* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Dan pada hari kami[48] himpunkan segala seteru Allāh kepada neraka padahal mereka itu diaku? |
| TM90 | Dan hari dihimpunkan segala seteru Allāh ta'ala kepada neraka padahal mereka itu diaku? |
| AYA | On the Day that the enemies of Allāh will be gathered together to the Fire, they will be marched in ranks. |

Verse 20

| Q | *Ḥattá idhā mā jā'ūhā shahida 'alayhim sam'uhum wa-abṣāruhum wa-julūduhum bi-mā kānū ya'malūn* |
|---|---|

| ML 116 | Hingga apabila datanglah mereka itu kepada neraka naik? shaksilah atas mereka pen[d]engar mereka dan segala penglihat mereka itu dan segala kulit mereka itu akan yang telah diperbuat mereka itu |
|---|---|
| TM90 | Hingga apabila datanglah mereka itu kepada neraka naik? saksi atas mereka itu pen[d]engar mereka itu dan penglihat mereka itu dan segala kulit mereka itu dengan barang yang telah diperbuat mereka itu |
| AYA | At length, when they reach the (Fire), their hearing, their sight, and their skins will bear witness against them, as to (all) their deeds. |

Verse 21

| Q | *Wa-qālū li-julūdihim lima shahidtum ʿalaynā* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Dan dikata mereka itu bagi segala kulit mereka itu karena apa kamu nak? shaksi atas kamu |
| TM90 | Dan dikata mereka itu bagi segala kulit mereka itu karena apa kamu naik? saksi atas kamu |
| AYA | They will say to their skins: "Why bear ye witness against us?" |

| Q | *Qālū antaqanā Allāh al-ladhī antaqa kull shayʾ wa-huwa khalaqakum awwal marrat wa-ilayh turjaʿūn.* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Kata mereka itu telah dijadikan berkata kami oleh Allāh yang menjadikan tiap2 sesuatu berkata padahal [...] menjadikan kamu pada mula pertamanya dan kepadanya jua kamu dikembalikan |
| TM90 | Kata mereka itu yakni segala kulit telah dijadikan berkata kamu oleh Allāh taʿala yang menjadikan tiap2 suatu itu berkata padahal ia jua menjadikan kamu mula2 pertamanya dan kepadanya kamu dikembalikan |
| AYA | They will say: "Allāh hath given us speech,—(He) Who giveth speech to everything: He created you for the first time, and unto Him were ye to return. |

Verse 22

| Q | *Wa-mā kuntum tastatirūna an yashhada ʿalaykum samʿukum wa-lā abṣārukum wa-lā julūdukum wa-lākin zanantum anna Allāh lā yaʿlamu kathīran mimmā taʿmalūn.* |
|---|---|

| ML 116 | Bahwasanya kamu tiada kuasa atas mematikan daripada segala engkau kamu dan tiada kamu sangka bahwa naik? shaksi atas kamu pen[d]engar kamu dan tiada segala penglihat kamu dan tiada segala kulit kamu dan tetapi kamu sangka bahwasanya Allāh tiada mengetahui kebanyakan daripada yang kamu perbuat |
|---|---|
| TM90 | Bahwasanya kamu tiada kuasa atas mematikan daripada segala anggota kamu dan tiada kamu sangka bahwasanya naik? saksi atas kamu pen[d]engar kamu dan tiada segala penglihat kamu dan tiada segala kulit kamu dan tetapi kamu sangka bahwasanya Allāh ta'ala tiada mengetahui kebanyakan daripada yang kamu perbuat |
| AYA | "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 Allāh knew not many of the things that ye used to do! |

Verse 23

| Q | *Wa-dhālikum zannukum al-ladhī zanantum bi-rabbikum ardákum fa-aṣbaḥtum min al-khāsirīn.* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Bermula sangka kamu yang telah kamu sangkakan tuhan kamu itu telah mem[b]inasakan kamu maka jadilah kamu daripada segala orang yang rugi |
| TM90 | Bermula sangka kamu yang telah kamu sangka akan tuhan kamu itu membinasakan kamu maka jadilah kamu daripada segala orang yang rugi |
| AYA | "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!" |

Verse 24

| Q | *Fa-in yaṣbirū fa-al-nār mathwá lahum wa-in yasta'tibū fa-mā hum min al-mu'tabīn.* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Maka jika sabar mereka itu atas shiksa maka neraka itulah tempat mereka itu maka jika dituntut mereka itu ke ridanya maka tiada mereka itu daripada segala yang di-ku-ridai |
| TM90 | Maka jika sabar mereka itu atas siksa maka neraka itulah tempat mereka itu maka jika dituntut mereka itu keridaan maka tiada mereka itu daripada segala yang di-ku-ridai. |

| AYA | 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. |
|---|---|

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

| Q | *Wa-sīq al-ladhīna kafarū ilá jahannam zumaran* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Dan telah dihalau akan segala mereka yang kafir itu ke dalam neraka Jahannam beberapa jama'ah [ ...] |
| TM90 | Dan di[h]alaukan segala mereka yang kafir ke dalam neraka Jahannam beberapa jama'ah [ ...] |
| AYA | The Unbelievers will be led to Hell in crowds; |

| Q | *Hattá idhā jā'ūha futiḥat abwābuhā wa-qāla lahum khazanatuhā* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Hingga apabila datanglah mereka itu kepada neraka Jahannam maka dibukakan segala pintunya dan telah berkata bagi mereka itu yang menunggu dia dengan hardik |
| TM90 | Hingga apabila datang mereka itu kepada neraka Jahannam maka dibukakan segala pintunya dan telah berkata bagi mereka itu yang menunggu dia dengan hardik |
| AYA | Until, when they arrive there, its gates will be opened, and its Keepers will say, |

| Q | *A-lam ya'tikum rusul minkum yatlūna 'alaykum āyāt rabbikum wa-yundhirūnakum liqā' yawmikum hādhā qālū balá* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Tiadakah sudah datang akan kamu segala pesuruh Allāh daripada jenis kamu dibacakan mereka itu segala ayat tuhan kamu dan diceriterakan mereka itu akan kamu pertemuan hingga dengan hari kamu ini kata mereka itu bahkan |

| TM90 | Tiadakah sudah datang akan dikau segala pesuruh Allāh ta'ala 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 |
|---|---|
| AYA | "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: |

| Q | *Wa-lākin ḥaqqat kalimat al-'adhāb 'alá al-kāfirīn* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Dan tetapi telah wajib kalimat azab atas segala kafir dengan firman Allāh lagi akan kupenuhi Jahannam itu daripada segala jin dan manusia |
| TM90 | Dan tetapi telah wajiblah kalimat azab itu atas segala kafir dengan firman Allāh ta'ala lagi akan kupenuhi neraka Jahannam itu daripada segala jin dan manusia |
| AYA | But the Decree of Punishment has been proved true against the Unbelievers!" |

Verse 72

| Q | *Qīla udkhulū abwāb jahannam khālidīn fī-hā fa-bi'sa mathwá al-mutakabbirīn.* |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | Dikata bagi mereka itu masuk oleh kamu segala pintu neraka Jahannam padahal kamu kekal dalamnya maka sejahat bertempat segala orang takabbur lah neraka Jahannam itu |
| TM90 | Dikata mereka itu masuk oleh kamu segala pintu neraka Jahannam padahal kamu kekal di dalamnya maka sejahat2 tempat segala orang yang takabburlah neraka Jahannam itu |
| AYA | (To them) will be said: "Enter ye the gates of Hell, to dwell therein: and evil is (this) abode of the arrogant!" |

Verse 73

| Q | *Wa-sīq al-ladhīna ittaqaw rabbahum ilá al-jannah zumaran ḥattá idhā jā'ūhā wa-futiḥat abwābuhā wa-qāla lahum khazanatuhā salām 'alaykum ṭibtum fa-udkhulūhā khālidīn.* |
|---|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| ML 116 | 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 sejahtera atas kamu telah sucilah kamu daripada daku maksiat maka masuklah kamu ke dalamnya padahal kamu kekal dalamnya |
| TM90 | Dan di[h]alaukan segala mereka yang takut akan tuhan mereka itu dengan perlahan2 ke dalam surga [....2]$^{50}$ hingga apabila datang mereka itu berjama'at lah padahal telah dibukakan bagi mereka itu segala pintunya dan berkatalah bagi mereka itu yang menunggui dia sejahtera atas kamu telah suci kamu daripada daku maksiat maka masuklah kamu ke dalamnya padahal kamu kekal di dalamnya |
| 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

| | |
|---|---|
| Q | *Wa-qālū al-ḥamd lil-lāh al-ladhī ṣadaqanā wa'dahu wa-awrathanā al-arḍ natabawwa' min al-jannah ḥaythu nashā' fa-ni'ma ajr al-'āmilīn.* |
| ML 116 | Dan dikata mereka itu segala puji bagi Allāh yang telah benar janjinya beroleh surga dan dipusakakannya akan kamu bumi surga kamu kediam daripadanya barang tempat yang kamu kehendaki maka sebaik2 pahala akan segala yang berbuat amal itu surga |
| TM90 | Dan kata mereka itu segala puji bagi Allāh ta'ala yang telah benar janjinya beroleh surga dan pusakakannya akan kamu bumi surga kamu kediaman daripadanya barang mana tempat yang kamu kehendakinya maka sebaik2 pahala lah akan segala yang berbuat amal itu surga |
| AYA | They will say: "Praise be to Allāh, 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

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 intelligentsia, 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 explore 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 *neraka* are derived from the Sanskrit language, i.e. *swarga* and *narake*. 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 *swargadwāram* means "the heaven door" *(pintu sorga)* as follow:

> yadricchayā ca'papanam
> swargadwāram apāwritam
> sukhinah ksatriyah partha
> labhante yuddham īdrisam[54]

> 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[55]

Conversely, the word *naraka* has also derivative words, such as "narakāyai wa" mentioned in "Arjuna Wisada Yoga," *Bhagawadgita* as follow:[56]

> samkaro narakāyai wa
> kulaghnānām kulasha ca

patanti pitaro hyesam
        luptapindodakakriyāh

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 *narake* is also available as follow:

utsanna kuladharmānām
        manushānām janārdana
narake niyatam wāso
        bhawatī'tyarusustuma[57]

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.[58]

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 *Brāhmanas*, 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* (sixt 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)*. *Karman* (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 releasement *(moksa)*. Nirvāna is then variously thought to be the unification of soul (ātman) 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 Budhism as 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.[62] In many examples, the Arabic prayers have been officially adopted into Malay since the 17th century.[63]

Snouck Hurgronje, for example, tells the legend of the way ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī did Islamic *daʿwah*. He describes that in terms of mysticism, Islam became part of a healing tradition. If the ʿulamāʾ 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 *shahādah*.[64] 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.[65]

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 *narake* (hell).[66]

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.[67] Such a new vision[68] 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.[69]

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.[70] One of the Acehnese ulama who wrote about Judgment day is Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. His work is *Akhbār al-Ākhirah*, 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*.[71]

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.[72]

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.[73]

## 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'an 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 *Allāh* and

of the word *Tuhan* [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 *Allāh* 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 *nār* that nobody could imagine it, the *swarga* and *narake* are close to, or even parts of, the worldly life.[74] 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 *nār* 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

\*   This article was presented in *Temu Riset Keagamaan Tingkat Nasional VII*, organized by Badan Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama RI, held in Bandung, West Java-Indonesia, on 13-16 December 2009. I would like to express my grateful thanks to Prof. Peter G. Riddell for commenting on this article in its MA thesis version. Yet, I take responsibility for all errors and shortcomings found in it.

1.   Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), 83.
2.   See Benjamin Zimmer, "Al-'Arabiyyah and Basa Sunda: Ideologies of Translation and Interpretation among the Muslims of West Java," *Studia Islamika* 7:3 (2000), 38.
3.   Johns, "She Desired Him and He Desired Her (Quran 12:24): 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Treatment of an Episode of the Joseph Story in Tarjuman al-Mustafid," *Archipel* 57:2 (1999), 109.
4.   As for the concept of translation in Gadamer's hermeneutics, see Ervan Nurtawab, "Discourse on Translation in Hermeneutics: Its Application to the Analysis of Abdurra'uf's *Turjuman al-Mustafid*," M.A. Thesis at Graduate School UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, (2007), especially Chapter 3, and "New Light on the Study of Abdurra'uf's *Turjuman al-Mustafid,"* presented in *the Workshop on Islamic Manuscript Tradition and Kitab in Southeast Asia*, at Nagoya University, Nagoya-Japan, 23 November 2007.
5.   For further elaboration see Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya: Warisan Kerajaan-kerajaan Konsentris*, vol. 3, translated by Winarsih Partaningrat Arifin, et.al., from French edition, 2nd edition, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2000), 3-9.
6.   Jerald F. Dirks, *Abraham: The Friend of God*, (Beltsville: Amana Publications, 2001), 1.
7.   The Qur'ān 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. Luqmān (31): 25: *"wa-la'in sa'altahum man khalaqa al-samāwāt wa-al-arḍ la-yaqūlunna Allāh qul al-ḥamd lil-lāh bal aktharuhum lā ya'lamūn"* (If you ask them, who is that created the heavens and the earth, they will certainly say, "Allah." Say: "Praise be to Allah!" But most of them understand not.).
8.   Albeit they knew that Allah is their God, the Qur'ān evaluated their way of worshipping the God a heretical due to the use of media, that ir the statue. The Qur'ān mentions this in Q.S. al-Zumar (39): 3: *"Alā lil-lāh al-dīn al-khāliṣ wa-al-ladhīna ittakhadhū min dūnihī awliyā mā nabuduhum illā li-yuqarribūnā ilá Allāh zulfá ..."* (Is it not to Allah that sincere devotion is due? But those who take for protectors other than Allah (say): "We only serve them in order that they may bring us nearer to Allah, ...").
9.   See Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Amanah*, (n.p: Pustaka Kartini, 1992), 14-17.
10.  Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Amanah*, 17-18.
11.  This translation and all other translated versions of the Qur'ān are based on the work of A. Yusuf Ali (AYA). See AYA, *The Holy Qur'ān: Texts, Translation & Commentary*, (Lahore: SH. Muhammad Ashraf, 1980), 1806.
12.  Quraish Shihab, *Menyingkap Tabir Ilahi: Asmā al-Husnā dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'ān*, (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 1998), 3-4.
13.  In *Tema Pokok Alquran*, translated by Anas Mahyuddin, 2nd edition, (Bandung: Pustaka, 1996), Fazlur Rahman mentions Q.S. al-Naml : 60-64 and some other related verses, such as Q.S. al-Baqarah (2): 254-255 and Q.S. al-ḥashr (59): 22-24. For the latter, I will mention them and do not intend to mention all related theological verses. For further description of the Qur'ānic verses on theology, see Rahman, *Tema Pokok Alquran*, 1-25.
14.  Rahman, *Tema Pokok Alquran*, 6.

15. Rahman, *Tema Pokok Alquran*, 7-9.
16. As can be seen, both English and Arabic are considered sexist languages. The God is always defined as "Male God." It is very contradictory when we look at the translated version of the pronoun *Huwa* in Arabic and *He* in English, that is *Dia* in Malay. *Dia* can definitely be attributed to both male and female.
17. See for example Q.S. Qāf (50): 16. For further see Rahman, *Tema Pokok Alquran*, 9.
18. Michael V. Angrosino, *The Culture of the Sacred: Exploring the Anthropology of Religion*, (Illinois: Waveland Press, 2004), 177.
19. Angrosino, *The Culture of the Sacred*, 176.
20. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, "Brahmā," in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 1 & 2, (New York: Macmillan, 1995), 293.
21. Radhakrishnan, *Falsafah Upanishad*, 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 Upaniṣad. Then, from page 156 to the end of the text contains *Brhad-āranyaka Upaniṣad* that is considered the most important, longest, and oldest text compared to other parts of the Upaniṣad. For the latter account, see Juan Mascaró, "Introduction," *The Upanishads. Translations from the Sanskrit*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965), 7. The second volume is entitled *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, while the third one is *Mundaka Upaniṣad*.
22. Radhakrishnan, "Pendahuluan [Foreword]," *Falsafah Upanishad*, 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 clergymen from all religions should revise their religious teachings to meet the First principle of the Pancasila, *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*. To large extent, therefore, its socio-political context should be taken into consideration.
24. I.B. Oka Punyatmadja, *Pancha Çradha*, (Denpasar: Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat, 1970), 34-35.
25. Punyatmadja, *Pancha Çradha*, 35
26. Punyatmadja, *Pancha Çradha*, 35.
27. R.C. Zaehner, *Hindu & Muslim Mysticism*, (Oxford: Oneworld, 1994), 21-22.
28. Peter G. Riddell, "'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd: A Critical Study of His Treatment of Juz ۱۱,» Ph.D. thesis at the Australian National University, (۱۹۸٤).
29. Salman Harun, *Hakekat Tafsir Tarjuman al-Mustafid Karya Shekh Abdurrauf Singkel*, Ph.D. Thesis at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, (1988).
30. Riddell, "Earliest Qur'ānic Exegetical Activities," *Archipel* (1989), 119.
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 Javanese culture in which all systems of its culture, formed from the influence of local beliefs and Hinduism-Budhism, 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, Modjokuto, in East-Java in the first decade of 1950s.
32. See Braginsky, *The System of Malay Classical Literature*, (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 12-22.
33. Teuku Iskandar, "Malay Palaeography," paper presented in *the International Course of Handling and Catalouging MSS*, held at the IIUM, Kuala Lumpur, (2006), 7.
34. See H.S. Paterson, "An Early Malay Inscription from Trengganu," *JMBRAS* Vol. II Part. III (December, 1924), 244-245.
35. See for further M. Afif Anshori, "Ajaran Tasawuf dalam Serat Shekh Siti Jenar,"

Doctoral Thesis at Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, (2007), 337-349. Cf. Ahmad Chodjim, *Shekh Siti Jenar: Makna "Kematian,"* 5th edition, (Jakarta: Serambi, 2003), 83-88.

36. Mardiwarsito, *Kamus Jawa Kuna Indonesia*, (Ende: Nusa Indah, 1981), 614.
37. Hasan Alwi, et.al, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 3rd edition, (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas, 2003), 1216.
38. Teuku Iskandar, *Kamus Dewan*, (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1970), 1283.
39. Teuku Iskandar, *Kamus Dewan*, 1279. Cf. Hasan Alwi, et.al, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 1213.
40. This and next calculations are based on the index made by Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. See 'Abd al-Bāqī, *Mu'jam al-Mufahras*, 229-232.
41. 'Abd al-Bāqī, *Mu'jam al-Mufahras*, 234-235.
42. Take as examples, see Q.S. Muḥammad (47): 15; al-Raḥmān (55): 1-78; and al-Wāqi'ah (56): 1-96.
43. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mu'jam Mufradāt Alfāẓ al-Qur'ān*, edited by Nadīm Mar'ashlī, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), 96.
44. See for examples Q.S. Āli 'Imrān (3): 15 and al-Qiyāmah (75): 23.
45. See Q.S. al-Mu'minūn (23): 62; 45; 29.
46. Q.S. al-'Ādiyāt (100): 9-10. See for further Rahman, *Tema Pokok Alquran*, 154-159.
47. It should be noted that in MS ML 116, the translation of the word *yuḥsharu*, «dihimpunkan» (are gathered), changes into *kami himpun* (we gather) in the transitive verb form. This is due to the falsity of scribing the word. It should be *yuḥsharu*, but it is written *naḥsharu*.
48. Rahman, *Tema Pokok Alquran*, 160-161.
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.
50. Rahman, *Tema Pokok Alquran*, 163.
51. Rahman, *Tema Pokok Alquran*, 164.
52. L.Mardiwarsito, *Kamus Jawa Kuno-Indonesia*, (Ende: Nusa Indah, 1981), 555.
53. *Bhagawadgita*, 47.
54. This translated version and all others are based on the Indonesian version contained in *Bhagawadgita* I use for the study.
55. *Bhagawadgita*, 24.
56. *Bhagawadgita*, 25.
57. Linda M. Tober & F. Stanley Lusby, "Hell and Heaven: Hinduism," in Mircea Eliade, (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 5 & 6, (New York: MacMillan, 1995), 239-240.
58. Tober & Lusby, "Hell and Heaven," in Eliade, (ed.), *The Encyclopedia*, 239-240.
59. Tober & Lusby, "Hell and Heaven," in Eliade, (ed.), *The Encyclopedia*, 239-240.
60. Tober & Lusby, "Hell and Heaven," in Eliade, (ed.), *The Encyclopedia*, 239-240.
61. Quoted from Walter Skeat, *Malay Magic: Being an Introduction to the Folklore and Popular Religion of the Malay Peninsula*, (London: McMillan, 1900), 581-672, see Anthony Reid, *Dari Ekspansi hingga Krisis: Jaringan Perdagangan Global Asia Tenggara 1450-1680*, translated by R.Z. Leirissa dan P. Soemitro, (Jakarta: YOI, 1999), 209.
62. Quoted from Frederick de Houtman, "Le "Spraeck ende Woord-boek," edited by Denys Lombard, (EFEO: Paris, 1970), 107, 165; see Reid, *Dari Ekspansi hingga Krisis*, 209.
63. The *shahādah* contains the confession that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His messenger. This confession is called the *ṭayyibah* sentence. The *shahādah* 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.*

64. Quoted from Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese,* translated by A.W.S. O'Sullivan, vol. 2, (Leiden: Brill, 1893), 311-312, see Anthony Reid, *Dari Ekspansi hingga Krisis,* 209.

65. Quoted from Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 170-181, see Reid, *Dari Ekspansi hingga Krisis,* 213. Cf. Reid, "Islamization and Christianization," in Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia,* 172.

66. Reid, *Dari Ekspansi hingga Krisis,* 211. Cf. Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase 1550-1650," in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief,* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 169.

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 Ekspansi hingga Krisis,* 211.

69. Quoted from Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism,* 172-173. Reid, *Dari Ekspansi hingga Krisis,* 212; Cf. Reid, "Islamization and Christianization," in Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia,* 170.

70. See for further, Reid, *Dari Ekspansi hingga Krisis,* 212; Cf. Reid, "Islamization and Christianization," in Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia,* 170.

71. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism,* 179-184. See also Reid, *Dari Ekspansi hingga Krisis,* 212; Cf. Reid, "Islamization and Christianization," in Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia,* 170-172.

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

73. Cf. Anshori, "Ajaran Tasawuf dalam Serat Shekh Siti Jenar," 396-401; and Achmad Chodjim, *Membangun Surga: Bagaimana Hidup Damai di Bumi agar Damai pula di Akhirat,* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2004), 24.

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الطريقة النقشبندية في مينانجكابو:
ترجمة كتاب السعادة الأبدية للشيخ عبد القديم

إجم باب ظ ن

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حكاية الشعبية المينانجكابوية "بنداكاندوانج"
بين الأسطورة والخرافة: المنظورات الدينية

إبغ. غ

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