

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 11, no. 3, 2004

## EDITORIAL BOARD:

*M. Quraish Shihab (UIN Jakarta)*  
*Taufik Abdullah (LIPI Jakarta)*  
*Nur A. Fadhil Lubis (IAIN Sumatra Utara)*  
*M.C. Ricklefs (Melbourne University)*  
*Martin van Bruinessen (Utrecht University)*  
*John R. Bowen (Washington University, St. Louis)*  
*M. Atho Mudzhar (IAIN Yogyakarta)*  
*M. Kamal Hasan (International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur)*

## EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

*Azyumardi Azra*

## EDITORS

*Saiful Mujani*  
*Jamhari*  
*Jajat Burhanuddin*  
*Fu'ad Jabali*  
*Oman Fathurahman*

## ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS

*Heni Nuroni*

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Robert Kingham*

## ARABIC LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Nursamad*

## COVER DESIGNER

*S. Prinka*

STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) and sponsored by the Australia-Indonesia Institute (AII). It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and South-east Asian Islamic Studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

*All articles published do not necessarily represent the views of the journal, or other institutions to which it is affiliated. They are solely the views of the authors. The articles contained in this journal have been refereed by the Board of Editors.*

STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 23a/DIKTI/2004).

© Copyright Reserved

Editorial Office: **STUDIA ISLAMIKA**, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta, Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan, Cirendeui, Ciputat 15419, PO Box 225, Jakarta, Indonesia. Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Facs: (62-21) 7423543; E-mail: [studia@cbn.net.id](mailto:studia@cbn.net.id)

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia: US\$ 60,00 (institution); US\$ 45,00 (individual), and US\$ 30.00 (student). The cost of a single copy ordered from outside Indonesia is US\$ 20,00. Rates include international postage and handling.

Please make all payment through bank transfer to: **PPIM-CENSIS, CITIBANK Jakarta, Indonesia**, account No. 3000212848 (USD), ABA No. 021 000089, ABA Routing # 10995291 Swift Code: **citiidjx**

All subscriptions, orders and changes of address should be sent in writing to: **STUDIA ISLAMIKA** Gedung PPIM-UIN Jakarta, Jl. Kertamukti No. 5 Pisangan, Cirendeui, Ciputat 15419 PO Box 225 Jakarta, Indonesia.



Harga berlangganan di Indonesia, satu tahun: Rp 60.000,- (lembaga), Rp 45.000,- (perorangan) dan Rp 30.000,- (mahasiswa).

Harga satu edisi Rp 20.000,-.

Harga sudah termasuk ongkos kirim. Pembayaran melalui **PPIM-CENSIS Citibank, Jakarta**  
No. Rek: 3000212831

# Table of Contents

## Articles

- 393 *Bahtiar Effendy*  
Islamic Militant Movements in Indonesia:  
A Preliminary Accounts for its Socio-Religious  
and Political Aspects
- 429 *Dick van der Meij*  
Pluralism and Identity in the Indonesian-Malay World:  
The *Isrā' Mi'rāj* as a token of both<sup>1</sup>
- 467 *Abdul Aziz*  
The Jamaah Tabligh Movement  
in Indonesia: Peaceful Fundamentalist
- 519 *Nyimas Umi Kalsum*  
Kitāb *al-Tuhfah al-Rāgibīn* wa al-Radd  
'alā 'Aqīdah al-Wujūdiyyah bi Fālīmānj  
fī al-Qarn al-Thāmin 'Ashar al-Mīlādī
- 541 *Ahmad Barizi*  
Al-Ḥarakah al-Fikriyyah wa al-Turāth 'Inda al-Shaikh  
Ihsan Jampes Kediri: Mulāḥazah Tamhīdiyyah

## Book Review

- 573 *Jajang Jahroni*  
Modernisme dan Radikalisme Islam  
di Indonesia: Menafsirkan Warisan  
Muhammad 'Abduh dan Rashīd Riḍā

## Document

- 597 *Fu'ad Jabali*  
An Indonesian Islamic University:  
How is it Possible?

Dick van der Meij

## Pluralism and Identity in the Indonesian-Malay World: The *Isrā'* *Mi'raj* as a token of both<sup>1</sup>

**Abstrak:** *Isra'* dan *Mi'raj* diyakini sebagai salah satu peristiwa dalam dunia Islam yang memberikan pengaruh penting terhadap ritual dan pola keberagamaan masyarakat Muslim secara keseluruhan. *Isra'* diyakini sebagai perjalanan spiritual Nabi Muhammad dari Masjidil Haram ke Masjidil Aqsha, sementara *Mi'raj* merupakan perjalanan berikutnya dari Masjidil Aqsha ke Sidratul Muntaha. Melalui peristiwa *Isra'* *Mi'raj* inilah, ajaran tentang shalat sebanyak 5 waktu mendapat legitimasinya sebagai bagian dari ritual umat Islam.

Seiring dengan persebaran Islam ke berbagai pelosok, termasuk ke dunia Melayu-Indonesia, cerita tentang *Isra'* dan *Mi'raj* yang memang sedemikian melekat dalam memori sebagian besar Muslim ini kemudian dikisahkan dengan berbagai bahasa, dan muncul dalam berbagai versi, yang tentu saja seringkali memberikan gambaran-gambaran yang sangat berbeda antarsatu versi dengan versi yang lain. Demikian halnya di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, cerita tentang *Isra'* dan *Mi'raj* juga muncul sebagai sebuah bentuk karya sastra.

Tulisan ini mencoba mendiskusikan berbagai versi tentang cerita *Isra'* dan *Mi'raj* sebagai salah satu genre sastra di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, dilihat dari perspektif identitas dan pluralitas. Di wilayah ini, sebagian cerita *Isra'* dan *Mi'raj* ditulis secara panjang lebar, sebagian lagi hanya berupa cerita pendek saja, sebagian ditulis dalam bentuk prosa, sebagian lagi dalam bentuk puisi dengan penggambaran yang indah dan terperinci. Di luar dunia Melayu-Indonesia, kisah *Isra'* dan *Mi'raj* ditulis dalam bahasa Arab, Swahili, Parsi, Urdu, Turki, dan Benggali; sedangkan di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, versi cerita *Isra'* dan *Mi'raj* ditemukan dalam

*bahasa Melayu, Aceh, Jawa, Sunda, Madura, Makassar, Bugis, dan Gorontalo, yang semuanya mengisahkan cerita Isra' dan Mi'raj dengan cara berbeda.*

*Tampaknya, cerita Isra' dan Mi'raj ini sedemikian populer pada masanya, terbukti bahwa hingga kini naskah yang berisi cerita Isra' dan Mi'raj ditemukan dalam jumlah besar, baik yang sudah tersimpan di perpustakaan-perpustakaan di berbagai dunia, maupun yang masih berada di tangan masyarakat. Di bagian akhir artikel ini sendiri terlampir sebuah daftar naskah-naskah tentang cerita Isra' dan Mi'raj sebagai contoh referensi yang mudah digunakan.*

*Satu hal yang mengherankan adalah bahwa hingga kini, belum banyak penelitian yang dilakukan atas naskah-naskah cerita Isra' dan Mi'raj di dunia Melayu-Indonesia ini, baik menyangkut edisi salah satu versi bahasanya, maupun tentang keanekaragaman kandungan isinya. Bahkan, buku-buku sejarah sastra Melayu atau sastra daerah pun tidak menunjukkan perhatiannya terhadap khazanah cerita Isra' dan Mi'raj ini. Padahal, di dunia Eropa misalnya, sejak awal perhatian terhadap kisah ini sedemikian besar, sehingga banyak versi terjemahannya dalam berbagai bahasa, seperti Latin, Spanyol, Perancis dan Belanda.*

*Seperti telah diisyaratkan di atas, cerita Isra' dan Mi'raj menjelaskan tentang perjalanan spiritual Nabi Muhammad, yang menghasilkan perintah shalat bagi umat Islam lima kali sehari-semalam. Ketentuan tentang jumlah shalat ini hanya ditemukan dalam kisah Isra' dan Mi'raj, dan tidak dalam teks-teks Islam yang lain. Selain itu, umat Islam di seluruh dunia, termasuk di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, juga sepakat memperingati tanggal 27 Rajab sebagai waktu terjadinya peristiwa Isra' dan Mi'raj tersebut. Dengan demikian, tidak berlebihan kiranya jika kisah ini menjadi semacam tanda identitas masyarakat Muslim, di dunia Melayu-Indonesia khususnya, dan di dunia Islam pada umumnya.*

*Sebagai bukti betapa kaya dan beragamnya literatur tentang kisah Isra' dan Mi'raj di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, artikel ini menggunakan sejumlah manuskrip Melayu dan Jawa sebagai sumber utamanya, di samping sejumlah buku yang terbit belakangan berkaitan dengan cerita Isra' dan Mi'raj tersebut. Selain itu, ditampilkan juga versi yang merupakan terjemahan dari sejumlah bahasa, khususnya Arab ke dalam bahasa Indonesia. Melalui sumber-sumber yang sedemikian tersebut, tulisan ini mencoba merekonstruksi sejauh mana perbedaan antarsatu sumber dengan sumber lainnya.*

*Dick van der Meij*

## Pluralism and Identity in the Indonesian-Malay World: The *Isrā' Mi'rāj* as a token of both<sup>1</sup>

خلاصة: من المعتقد في العالم الإسلامي أن حادثتي الإسراء والمعراج من الحوادث التي كان لها أثرها الهام في أسلوب التدين لدى المجتمعات الإسلامية جميعاً، فالإسراء هو تعرض النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم للإسراء من المسجد الحرام إلى المسجد الأقصى، بينما المعراج هو المرحلة التالية للإسراء من المسجد الأقصى إلى سدره المنتهى، ومن خلال الإسراء والمعراج تم فرض الصلوات الخمس التي تمثل جزءاً من العبادات التي يجب أن يقوم بها الأمة الإسلامية.

وفيما انتشر الإسلام في مختلف أنحاء العالم بما في ذلك مناطق ملايو وإندونيسيا أصبح الحديث حول الإسراء والمعراج حياً في ذاكرة معظم المسلمين فعلاً وألقي بلغات مختلفة وبأساليب متنوعة تعطي صوراً مختلفة بين أسلوب وآخر، وهكذا الحال في عالم الملايو- إندونيسيا حيث ظهر فيها الحديث عن الإسراء والمعراج في صورة أعمال أدبية.

تحاول هذه المقالة أن تناقش الأساليب المختلفة لحديث الإسراء والمعراج كنوع من أنواع الأدب في عالم الملايو- إندونيسيا، وذلك من وجهة نظر الهوية والتعددية، ففي بعض هذه المناطق كان عرض الإسراء والمعراج يتم بشكل مطول بينما يتم في البعض الآخر منها بشكل قصير، وأحياناً يأتي العرض نثراً وأحياناً أخرى يأتي شعراً مع جمال التعبير والتفصيل، وبالنسبة لخارج ملايو- إندونيسيا يتم عرض حادثتي الإسراء والمعراج باللغة العربية أو السواحلية أو العبرية أو الأردنية أو التركية أو البنجالية؛ وأما في مناطق ملايو- إندونيسيا فيتم عرضها باللغة الملايوية أو الآشيه أو الجاوية أو السنديوية أو

المادورية أو المكاسارية أو البوجسية أو لغة جورونتالو (Gorontalo)، وكلها بأسلوب مختلف.

ويبدو أن حادثتي الإسراء والمعراج كانت من الشهرة بحيث تم اكتشاف أن أكبر عدد من النصوص ما كانت تحتوي على حكايات الإسراء والمعراج سواء ما كانت منتشرة في المكتبات العامة في مختلف أنحاء العالم أم النصوص التي مازالت في أيدي المجتمع، وفي الجزء الأخير من هذه المقالة قائمة بالنصوص التي تحكي عن الإسراء والمعراج كمرجع يمكن الرجوع إليه بيسر وسهولة.

ومن العجب أنه حتى الآن لم يكن هناك كثرة في الدراسات التي أجريت على النصوص التي تحتوي على قصة الإسراء والمعراج في عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا سواء من ناحيتها اللغوية أم تنوع أساليبها ومحتواها، بل إن كتب التاريخ الأدبي المحلي لم يكن لها أي اهتمام بهذا التراث الخاص بقصة الإسراء والمعراج، مع أنه في أوروبا على سبيل المثال أثار هذه القصة اهتماما كبيرا من أول أمرها فصار لها أساليب مختلفة سواء في اللغة اللاتينية أم الإسبانية أم الفرنسية أم الهولندية.

وكما سبقت الإشارة إليه فإن قصة الإسراء والمعراج تعبر عن الحادثة التي تعرض لها النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم والتي تم من خلالها فرض الصلوات الخمس، وكان تحديدها بخمس يعرف من قصة الإسراء المعراج دون غيرها من النصوص الدينية الأخرى؛ بالإضافة إلى أن المسلمين في أنحاء العالم كلها بما في ذلك ملايو-إندونيسيا اتفقوا على أن يكون اليوم ٢٧ من شهر رجب هو اليوم الذي حدث فيه الإسراء والمعراج، وعلى هذا فليس من المبالغة أن تكون هذه القصة علامة هوية المسلم في عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا خاصة وفي العالم الإسلامي عامة.

ولإثبات ما لهذه القصة من ثراء وتنوع في تراث عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا تلجأ هذه المقالة إلى عدد من المخطوطات في ملايو وجاوه كمرجع أساسي لها بالإضافة إلى عدد من الكتب التي صدرت حديثا حول الإسراء والمعراج، وإلى جانب ذلك هناك صورة أخرى من الأسلوب تتمثل في ترجمة عدد من اللغات وبالأخص الترجمة من اللغة العربية إلى اللغة الإندونيسية؛ وهذه المصادر تحاول المقالة أن تنظم من جديد إلى مدى كان الاختلاف بين الصور والأساليب الموجودة.

Literature, like many other artistic expressions, is one aspect of the cultural identity of a people. We take it for granted that what we read reflects the culture and attitudes of the people, nation, or cultural groups the literary products originate from. These groups, peoples or nations are not homogeneous entities but consist of intricate amalgams of variety, diversity and plurality. The peoples are just as diverse as the literary works they produce. There is a paradoxical complex at work here. Identity and plurality as two sides of the same coin.

In this article I would like to have a look at one particular piece of literature, the story of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj*, to explore whether it is possible to say something about identity and plurality in the Indonesian-Malay world.<sup>2</sup> I will propose that the story of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* is a token of both the plural aspect of the Indonesian-Malay world as well as constituting a vital element of the shared identity of the inhabitants of this Southeast Asian region.<sup>3</sup> I will do so by presenting thirteen examples of *Isrā' Mi'rāj* material available in, or originating from, the Indonesian-Malay world and present some attractive examples of the pluralism found in the stories. Subsequently I will propose that the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* functions as a token of identity in the area.

### Introduction

Stories about travels to heaven and hell abound among the adherents of world religions, be they Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, or Jews. In the past, and in the present, these stories have attracted great attention and they have found their way all over the globe in many languages, translations, renditions, and narrations – illustrated or not – in a great number of languages, and in many different traditions. Also we find stories relating journeys to heaven and hell on the fringe of the sphere of religion proper – that is, not being texts belonging to a canon.<sup>4</sup> We need only think of Dante's *La Divina Comedia*.

To stay in the Indonesian Archipelago we may consider the Balinese story Bima Swarga where the pandawa hero Bima travels to hell to retrieve his deceased parents. In Sanskrit and Old-Javanese in the *āḍiparwa*, the first book of the 18 volume *Mahābhārata*, there is the *āstikacarita* which relates the story of the Brahmin Jaratkāru who also visits hell to witness its torments. The stories of both Bima Swarga and *āstikacarita* are ubiquitous in Bali and have been portrayed in paintings and temple reliefs. The Bima Swarga adorns the



ceiling of the famous law hall Kerta Ghosa in Semarang, East Bali and has been turned into a Balinese shadow play as well.<sup>5</sup>

The *Isrā' Mi'rāj* is the story of the journey to Jerusalem (*isrā'*), the heavenly ascent to the Sidrat al-Muntahā (*mi'rāj*)<sup>6</sup>, descent to hell, and return to earth of the Prophet Muhammad. The story, or rather stories as many different versions are known, that relate the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* are embellishments of a rather brief mentioning in the Qur'ān, *sūra* XVII: 'Glory be to Him who transported His servant by night (*asrā bi-'abdihi lailan*) from the Masjid al-Ḥarām to the Masjid al-Aqā' which We have surrounded with blessing, in order to show him one of our signs',<sup>7</sup> and other places in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth have been understood as referring to the nightly journey by the Prophet from Mecca to Jerusalem and to Heaven. This has inspired many people in the Muslim world to such extend that stories relating the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* from the past and the present are often many pages containing a wealth of information and variation, none of which is found in the Qur'ān nor the Ḥadīth.<sup>8</sup>

The *Mi'rāj* was and remains of great importance in the Muslim world, including the Indonesian-Malay world. The Malaysian scholar Farish A. Noor has probably best described the importance of the *Mi'rāj*:

Muslims have been trying to understand, discuss and depict this event in a myriad of ways. Over the centuries the event has been captured in thousands of poems, philosophical treatises and works of art. Since the coming of the modern age, the event has also been a case for controversy and heated dispute among Muslim intellectuals and the Ulama. There have been those who claim that the event needs to be understood from a poetic, metaphorical or narrative point of view. Then there are those who argue that the literal truth of the event needs to be emphasised, and that belief in the ascension is itself a test of faith for Muslims.<sup>9</sup>

If we consider the great number of manuscripts containing stories of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* in many languages and the number of books written by Indonesians or translations into Indonesian circulating in the area, we cannot but agree with him.

Apart from Arabic, in the Indonesian-Malay world the story of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* was transmitted in manuscripts in a variety of languages—often using vernacular titles—including Acehnese, Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese,<sup>10</sup> Gorontalo,<sup>11</sup> Buginese,<sup>12</sup> and Makassarese.<sup>13</sup> Outside the Indonesian-Malay world, versions of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* are found in Arabic, Swahili,<sup>14</sup> Persian, Turkish, Urdu,

and Bengali and most likely in many more languages in places where Islam is adhered to, such as the specific Chinese language used by the Hui people in China. Of course there are also versions in Western languages.

The fact that this story is among the so-called *kitab kuning* (loose-leafed books in Arabic printed on yellow paper) used all over Indonesia in Islamic educational institutions such as boarding schools (*pesantren*) at present and in the past, attests to its value. As a work of religious portent the story is considered of primary importance since it contains the stipulation, told by Allah to the Prophet Muhammad that the members of the Muslim community have the obligation to perform the *salat* five times a day as part of their religious duties.

The history of the transmission of the story in the Indonesian-Malay world has – as far as I know – never been investigated exhaustively. We also do not have any reliable information as to when the story became first known in Southeast Asia. However, looking at the many differences in the story, most probably, the *Isrā' Mi 'rāj* story entered the Indonesian-Malay world through various ways, at various times, and in different traditions. Also, this tradition of transmission continues to the present day.

It is rather surprising that in anthologies of Malay Literature or in Histories of Malay Literature published after World War II, the story is often passed over. Hooykaas (1947), Winstedt (1958), and Liaw Yock Fang (1982) do not mention the story at all while Iskandar (1995) only mentions the title and Braginsky (1998:438) devotes a mere paragraph to it. In Braginsky's *The System of Classical Malay Literature* (1993) the story is also omitted, implying that it is of no importance for the system he proposes. The most recent book on traditional Malay literature also merely mentions the story in only one sentence (Harun Mat Piah et al. 2002:317). Yet, the story was noticed early in the study of Malay language and literature. It was mentioned as early as 1736 in Werndly's grammar (p. 350) and was also mentioned in the nineteenth century by J.J. de Hollander in his *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische taal en letterkunde*.<sup>15</sup> It is remarkable that no reliable text edition of the *Isrā' Mi 'rāj* stemming from whatever part of the Indonesian-Malay world has ever been produced, and that modern research on the subject is limited.

In general works on Javanese literature the situation is similar. Pigeaud, in the first volume of his catalogue on Javanese manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University only mentions the story in one

small paragraph under the heading "Edifying Muslim texts in verse and in prose" (Pigeaud, 1967:99). In this library, famous for its collection of Indonesian manuscripts, only three manuscripts are found among the Javanese texts.

This apparent lack of interest in the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* displayed by scholars in Indonesian and other Malay literatures is remarkable because in Europe, scholars' interest in the story from Arabic sources dates back many centuries. A Latin translation of an Arabic text was made as early as 1264 and was entitled *Liber Scale Machometi*. Two manuscripts have survived of which one is kept in the Bibliothèque National in Paris (*Lat.* 6064 [*ant. Lat.* 4722]), and the other in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome (*Vat. Lat.* 4072). The text was also translated into Spanish (unfortunately lost) and via this translation the text found its way into French. The French text is called *Le Livre de L'Eschiele Mahomet* and was produced after 1264 but before the end of the thirteenth century. Only one manuscript of this text remains, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford with the shelf mark Laud Misc. 537.<sup>16</sup> This text was edited lastly by Peter Wunderli in 1968 after having been edited before him by Muños Sendino and by Cerulli, both in 1949. The French text was translated into Dutch by J.H. Glazemaker in 1641 together with a translation of the Qur'an, also from the French. This edition was published repeatedly, among others in 1658. The *Isrā' Mi'rāj* has often been connected to Dante's *Divina Commedia* and scholars have been trying to prove whether or not Dante knew the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* to be able to write his own work.<sup>17</sup>

### **The *Isrā' Mi'rāj* as a Marker of Identity in the Indonesian-Malay World**

The day Muhammad ascended to Heaven (27 Rajab) is celebrated all over the Muslim World, including the Indonesian-Malay world and in parts of Malaysia (Kedah, Negeri Sembilan, and Perlis), in Indonesia, and in Brunei Darussalam it constitutes a holiday for all (Muslims and non-Muslims alike).<sup>18</sup> The famous *burāq* from this story has even inspired the name of the Indonesian domestic airline Bouraq Airlines. In the past, the celebration of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* was accompanied by narrative gatherings where the story was read or narrated and explained<sup>19</sup> and this tradition lives on in many places in the archipelago.

The celebration of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* is also occasion for religious leaders, party politicians, ministers, presidents, and vice-presidents

in Indonesia to deliver speeches. Few of these speeches have found their way into libraries. Some instances are President Soekarno's speech in the State Palace on 16 January 1961 (Soekarno 1961) and President Soeharto's speech in the Istiqlal Mosque in Jakarta on 17 April 1985 (Soeharto 1985). In 2001 the speech was given by President Megawati Soekarnoputri. The Indonesian leaders use the occasion to forge community feelings. For instance, during a speech in the Masjid Al Markaz, Makassar, at the 2004 celebration of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj*, the then candidate for the vice-presidency (at that time), Muhammad Yusuf Kalla urged the congregation to adhere to the stipulation of 5 salats a day. He even went as far as to say that in celebrating the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* it was hoped to bring better changes for the Indonesian people.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* is recognized as an important event in the whole area and in view of the ubiquity of the story it may very well be considered as a token of identity, much like many other aspects of the Islamic faith in the area. If we look at identity in the Indonesian-Malay world it may very well be this overwhelming variety, and the tolerance towards this variety, which is at its base. Instead of having one tradition of transmission of the story, we find the opposite, and not only in manuscripts – as witnesses from times past by – where variation and differences are to be expected. Also in the modern world we see widely available books in bookshops in Indonesia dealing in many different ways with the *Isrā' Mi'rāj*.

### Pluralism in the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* in the Indonesian-Malay world

Talking about pluralism in relation to the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* we see that there is plenty. In the Indonesian-Malay world the story is available in many languages, written in multiple scripts, in prose and in poetic forms, dating from many different times, stemming from different contexts and from different provenances, presented in many different styles, and moreover understood and interpreted in various ways as well.

The pluralism of the story can be viewed on two levels. One is the narrative level, which shows the most stunning variety and the second level is that of dogma. In order to show the pluralism found in the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* we will look at a few examples in which this is clearly evident by using a sample of *Isrā' Mi'rāj* material. We will use the following material in our investigation:<sup>21</sup>

Firstly we will consider two sources from the past which present a complete text. In the first place we shall look at the Malay *Hikayat Miraj Nabi Muhammad* as it is preserved in manuscript Cod. Or. 1713 from the Library of Leiden University. According to the colophon this manuscript dates from 20 Dzulka'edah 1196/27 October 1782. However, even though the colophon mentions this date, I doubt very much if this manuscript really dates from this year. I have the impression that the text was copied including the colophon of the manuscript used for copying. Looking at the paper and odd little marks in the margins of the manuscript I have the feeling we are dealing with a manuscript from an indigenous lending library, probably, but not certainly, from Batavia. Whatever the case, we deal with an old text. We confine ourselves to this manuscript, although manuscript Or. 61 in the library of the KITLV in Leiden has almost the same text and was completed in 1835.<sup>22</sup> The text of Cod. Or. 1713 comprises 114 pages in well readable Jawi (adapted Arabic script for Malay texts). It contains numerous quotations from the Qur'ān as well as many laudations (*tasbīh*) uttered by angels and prophets. The quality of the Arabic is poor, however. In this story the Prophet Muhammad relates his adventure to his uncle 'Abbās.

Secondly we consider the Javanese *Serat Michrad*, *Serad Mihradipun Kangjeng Nabi Muhammad*, *Cariyos Saking Ngarab*, *Ing Mangke Kasalinan Ing Tembung Jawi* which was published in Javanese script in Yogyakarta by A. Buning (second edition) in 1903.<sup>23</sup> This text is in Javanese *tembang macapat* verse, as is the case with almost all traditional didactic Javanese texts on matters Muslim. The booklet contains 74 pages and contains no Arabic quotations.

The *kitab kuning* version *Sharh Qiṣṣat al-Mi'rāj* (explanations on the *Qiṣṣat al-Mi'rāj*) by al-Imām al-'Ārif Billāh Abī al-Barakat Sayyidi Aḥmad ad-Dardīr (using the version of Najm al-Dīn al-Gaithī) constitutes the third source in our sample. It is represented by three imprints, one published by Pustaka al-Alawiyah in Semarang, and the second published by Maktabat Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Nabhan wa Aulāduh in Surabaya. The third one is published by Maktabah wa Maṭba'ah Toha Putra, Semarang. There may very well be more different printing houses that print the text.<sup>24</sup>

The second group involve sources on the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* which are not complete stories, but which mention enough textual materials to be useful in our context. We start with three Indonesian authors. An unexpected fourth source is the *Hikmah & Adjaran Daripada Per-*

*djalanan Soetji Isra' dan Mi'radj Rasoeloellah CLM*, by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo, first published in 1374 H. and reprinted in Al-Chaidar's book on the proclinator of the Negara Islam Indonesia, second edition 1999, pp. 483-520.<sup>25</sup> It forms part of many other articles on Islamic matters published by Kartosoewirjo, which are also reprinted in Al-Chaidar's work.

The next source (no. 5) is Amiruddin Syah, *Hakekat Isra' Mi'raj*, published in Jakarta by the Institut Kajian Tasawuf Cahaya Perdana "Az Zukhruf" in 2002. It is a small-size booklet of 190 pages, and contains many lessons about the *Isrā' Mi'rāj*. Quotations from the Qur'ān are provided in Indonesian translation. Unfortunately, no information about the author is provided apart from a photo which shows him wearing a traditional black Indonesian cap (*peci*) and a scarf around his neck.

Number six is S. Anwar Effendi, *Isra' Mi'raj: Perjalanan Ruang Waktu dalam Kaitannya dengan Penciptaan Alam Raya*, Jakarta: Pradnya Paramita, 1993. It approaches the issue in a totally different manner and contains much information on physics, astronomy, and mathematics and tries to understand the import of the story of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* in a much more 'scientific' way. The author is described as a journalist and an amateur astronomer while at the same time being a prolific writer and translator. His picture shows him in modern Western attire wearing a necktie. The book measures 232 pages full of graphs, diagrams and photos, among others portraying Max Planck, Albert Einstein, and Paul Dirac.

Ust. Maftuh Ahnan, *Peristiwa Perjalanan Isra' Mi'raj Nabi Muhammad*, SAW., Surabaya: Terbit Terang, no date provided, forms source number seven. It is a small-size booklet published in Surabaya, East Java, printed on very cheap low quality paper. No information on the author is provided. I presume it is an original Indonesian publication although I am not a hundred percent sure. The booklet is edited by Ust. MA. Asyharie. It is full of original Qur'ānic quotations and evidently meant for consultation by Muslim lay people. It contains 96 pages with Qur'ānic quotations in Arabic script.

Source number eight to ten concern translations into Indonesian from sources from outside the Indonesian-Malay world. The first one (source number eight) is Chapter 13 of Shaikh Muḥammad Hishām Kabbānī (Shaikh Tarikat Sufi Naqshabandiyyah-Haqqani in the United States) *Dialog dengan Para Malaikat. Perspektif Sufi* (Translated from the English by Nur Zain Hae), 2003, pp. 97-134. The book is concerned with many aspects of angels and their par-

ticularities and the chapter on the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* is one of them. According to the information provided, the author is an 'ulamā' and a ṛifī Shaikh who has been granted permission to lead his followers to Love with God. By means of deep spiritual practices under the guidance of his leader, Grand Shaikh Nazīm al-Qubrusī he has reached a high level of wisdom, light, and intellectualism. He is the author of books in English, among them *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way; History and Guidebook of the Saint of the Golden Chain*. His picture shows him wearing a white turban and a long flowing grey beard, wearing a heavenly blue garment.

The second translation (source nine) concerns Shaikh Najm al-Dīn al-Gaithī, *Menyingskap Rahasia Isra Miraj Rasulullah SAW* (from the Arabic *Qiṣṣatul Mi'rāj* and *al-Mir'at al-Kabīr*, edited by KH. Abdullah Zakiy Al-Kaaf), Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2000. This is by far the most bulky example (585 pages) among the sources. It also contains many lessons for Muslims and contains many citings in Arabic. No information about the author is provided in the book.

Source number ten is M. Mutawallī al-Sha'rawī, *Isra' Mi'raj Mu'jizat Terbesar* (translated from the Arabic *al-Mu'jizat al-Kubrā al-Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj* by H. Salim Basyarahil). Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, first edition 1992, seventh edition 2000. It is a brief booklet, containing 109 pages of general information on the wonder of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj*, containing citings in Arabic. No information about the author is provided.<sup>26</sup>

Lastly there are three sets of illustrated children's books: Rahimsyah & Anam, *Kisah Perjalanan Nabi Muhammad saw dari Masjid-il Haram ke Masjidil Aqsha* and *Kisah Perjalanan Nabi Muhammad saw dari Masjidil Aqsha ke Sidratul Muntaha*. There is no information about where or when these were published. I bought these booklets in Malang, East Java in July 2004. They each contain 32 pages. The second illustrated version of the life of the Prophet Muhammad of which the second part contains 6 pages on the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* (pp. 24-29). It concerns Ismail Pamungkas' *Riwayat Nabi Muhammad*, published by PT Remaja Rosdakarya in Bandung, first edition 1985, twenty-second edition 2003. This series was awarded the Adi Karya Ikapi (Indonesian Publishing Association) prize in 1997. It is not as beautifully produced as the books by Rifqy Zulkarnaen (see below), but also attractive. The third concerns the third part of M. Rifqy Zulkarnaen: *Mukjizat Rasulullah* with a preface by Prof. Dr. Ahmad Tafsir. These books are very nicely and professionally produced and first published in 2004 by PT Remaja Rosdakarya in Bandung,

and contains 35 pages. The bibliography mentions the book included here as source nine (al-Gaithī) as well as the previous illustrated books by Pamungkas. In neither books is the Prophet Muhammad depicted, nor the *burāq*. The Prophet is denoted by means of his name in Arabic script in a circle, in such a way that it is shown radiating light. Interestingly, the angel Jibril is depicted in Rifqy Zulkarnaen's book notwithstanding the ban on depicting beings from Heaven which according to al-Gaithī would also extend to him (p. 64).

### Narrative Pluralism in the *Isrā' Mi'rāj*

Of course it is impossible to look at each and every single variation found in the material. I will therefore limit myself to some interesting instances which I feel give ample illustration. The examples presented below have been chosen because of the wide variety in content and length and because they show somehow the extent to which themes can be expanded or contracted.

#### *Accompanying Angels*

We will begin our comparison with the angels who accompanied the Prophet on his night journey. There is no consensus about this in the material. They all agree that Muhammad was accompanied by Jabrā'il and he is mentioned as the only one in our Javanese source and by Amiruddin Syah. The other sources tell that Mikā'il was also present. The *kitab kuning* mention a third, unidentified angel, who, by al-Gaithī is assumed to be named Isrāfil, but he provides no certainty about this. Ust. Muftah Ahnan is clear about this and mentions Isrāfil as the third angel. The Javanese source among our sample mentions that Isrāfil and Rubail accompanied the Prophet as well as Mikā'il and Jabrā'il. Muḥammad Hishām Kabbānī mentions a total of 4 angels, Jabrā'il, Mikā'il, Isrāfil and 'Izrā'il.<sup>27</sup> The other sources do not mention any information about this. The other angels who accompany the Prophet on his journey are unnamed and vary in number between the sources from 50.000 to 70.000. The illustrated books do not mention any names nor number of angels.

#### *Burāq*

Next we will consider Muhammad's steed for his journey, the famous *burāq*. This animal accompanies the Prophet throughout his journey, even though this is often not mentioned explicitly, but may be assumed as he unexpectedly makes a reentry in the story on odd



occasions. Jabrā'il is ordered by Allah to fetch a *burāq* from Heaven and he duly obliges. The oldest source, the *Malay Hikayat*, mentions that Jabrā'il and Mikail go together and "Jabrā'il chose the best *burāq* from amongst the others" (p. 3), no further information is provided. However, Muḥammad Hishām Kabbānī is rather more elaborate in his description. Jabrā'il goes to the *burāq* location in heaven, the abode of 40 million *burāqs* who all wear a crown on which the Creed is written. Among them he spots one that is crying and when asked why he is crying tells that he had already heard the name Muhammad 40.000 years before and that he longs for him so much that he is compelled to weep. It is precisely this *burāq* which is chosen by Jabrā'il. Rifqy Zulkarnaen (pp. 7-9) follows Kabbānī but mentions that there were 40.000 *burāqs* in heaven and that they all had the name Muhammad written on their eyebrows. The crying *burāq* asks Jibril if it would at all be possible for it to meet Muhammad, which is granted. For the rest Zulkarnaen follows al-Gaithī.

Staying with the *burāq* it is also interesting to see how it is described and how his initial relationship with the Prophet is related. In the Malay manuscript is told:<sup>28</sup>

"I asked him: 'O my friend Jabrā'il. What does it look like?'

Jabrā'il said: 'O Muhammad. Its face is a bit longer than that of a horse and it is a bit smaller than a camel and it has wings. Both its wings have twelve colours and its countenance is like that of a human being. Its voice is like that of a tiger and it smells more fragrant than musk. It is clad entirely in red gold, its saddlecloth is beset with bezoars and its saddle is made of pearls. Its bridle is made of green gems and it scintillates like the sun and the moon together.'

All at once an angel arrived leading the *burāq* in front of me. For a moment I was astounded when I saw what the *burāq* looked like. Next Jabrā'il put a shining crown on my head and dressed me in jacket, *sarong*, and cummerbund.' After I was clad in this silken and brocade attire Jabrā'il said to me: 'O Muhammad. Pray, mount the *burāq*.' I was about to mount while Jabrā'il held the saddle and Mikā'il held the saddlecloth. I held the *burāq* and straightway I wanted to ride him, but the *burāq* did not want me to mount him and he bucked, neighed shrilly, and rolled about. /6/ Jabrā'il, Mikā'il, and all the angels watched the deportment of the *burāq* and they were very dejected. Jabrā'il said to the *burāq*: 'O *burāq*. Why don't you want to be ridden by Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah and the beloved of Allah – the Highest? Moreover, the Prophet of Allah is more exalted than any other prophet, on earth as well as in the Hereafter. If you are prepared to carry him you will gladden his heart.' With a resonant voice the *burāq* said: 'O Jabrā'il – Steadfast of Allah. The reason I do not want to be mounted by my lord the Messenger of Allah is because he is more exalted than any other person.' He continued: 'There is something I would like to ask of him. In the future, on the Day of Judgment, let it not be that he should mount any other *burāq*, but will be with

me again.' After I heard what the *burāq* said I asked: 'O my friend Jabrā'il, what does Allah command me about this *burāq*? Because I do not know yet.' Jabrā'il said: 'O Muhammad pray acquiesce in the command of Allah –the Highest– and take him as your future mount in Heaven.' After I heard what Jabrā'il said I assented to it and made a promise to the *burāq*. I said: 'O *Burāq*. I will mount no other *burāq* but you, later, on the Day of Judgement. You and you only shall be my mount, later in Heaven.' The *burāq* was pleased and fell silent."<sup>29</sup>

This is not quite what is mentioned in other sources, e.g. the Javanese source where first of all we see that the *burāq* is considered to be a bird (*paksi* in Javanese)!

(Canto I Dhandhanggula) 10. The bird *burāq* was standing in front of them, completely stooped and with its head to the ground, because it was terribly afraid, from the moment they set out on their way. It had been ordered by Jabrail, to be dressed in a set of beautiful cloths, and was exquisitely adorned, and nothing was omitted. Its face was that of a handsome person, and its neck and body were those of a horse. 11. Its feet did not look different from those of an elephant; its spurs were like those of a splendid boma<sup>30</sup> horse, inspiring fear because they were very sharp. Its hind side was that of a bull, and its wings were like those of Wilmuka. It was studded with sparkling gems, beautiful to behold. Around its paws it wore anklets, and around its neck it wore a large polished golden necklace, set with nine kinds of jewels. 12. The *burāq* was really beautiful, and from all the *burāqs* in heaven, not one resembled it.<sup>31</sup> (...) 14. 'Pray sir, please mount the, *burāq*.' The Prophet swiftly went up to it, and shortly came in front of the *burāq*. Then Mikail hastened, to pay homage to the Prophet. But he was startled, because the *burāq* appeared unwilling. Jabrā'il said sternly, to the *burāq*, 'what is the matter that you do not want to be mounted. 15. The Prophet is the highest ruler on earth, and it is because of the wish of God, that he is ordered to come.' Hastily, the *burāq* said, asking Jabrail, 'Allow me to address, the prophet, the messenger. In future, on the Day of Judgement, may I be allowed by him to enter the highest Heaven, and be assigned to be given a position above any other *burāq*.' 16. The Angel Jabrail accorded it, and swiftly said to the Prophet, 'My Lord, please request God the All Seeing, that the *burāq* will be allowed, to enter the highest Heaven, and to be positioned above any other *burāq*.' The messenger promised, that he would request it to God. And right there and then the *burāq* stooped to earth, as a token that it was really pleased.<sup>32</sup>

A third description (in English translation from the Indonesian) from Shaikh Muḥammad Hishām Kabbānī runs as follows (pp. 99-101):

The *burāq* has the body of a horse and the face of a human being, with big, black eyes and soft ears. It has the colours of a peacock whose feathers are red as rubies and choral, and above it its head is white and fragrant and its neck is ivory yellow. Its ears and shoulders are white as perfect

pearls and iy wears a golden necklace of which each link is adorned with shining gems. Its saddle is made of silk adorned with golden and silver thread. Its back is covered with green emeralds and its bit is made of perfect green yellowish crystal.

The speed of the *burāq* depends on its form. Its feet spans the distance as far as the eye is able to see. .... Jabrā'il gave him (Muhammad) the *burāq* to mount. But the *burāq* halted and asked Jibril: 'Is this the Prophet Muhammad who is invited by our Lord?' Jibril answered: 'Yes.' The *burāq* asked: Is he the owner of the lake of blessing in Heaven?' Jibril answered: 'Yes.' The *burāq* asked: Is he the leader of the inhabitants of Heaven?' Jibril answered: 'Yes.' The *burāq* asked: Is he the one to intercede on Judgement Day?' Jibril answered: 'Yes.' At that moment the *burāq* started to melt as snow melts under the rays of the sun. It made a prostration and said to the Prophet: 'Hai, pride of all creatures, mount me, but I have one request for you. Don't forget me on the day of intercession.'

Al-Gaithī has some more information about the *burāq* which is not found in any of the other sources. He says that the *burāq* is neither male nor female and that the name *burāq* comes either from Arabic *barīq*, meaning 'shining white' or from the word *barq*, meaning 'lightning' and that because of this it is white and faster than lightning.' Its saddle is made of white pearls and its bit is made of red jacinth and between its eyes the Creed is written. He can step as far as the eye can see. It always moves its ears as a token of its greatness, its power and its energy. It is not a bird nor a land creature as it has wings, but they are placed at its hind legs. It can understand the languages of man and this is a token that it has intelligence. al-Gaithī also mentions that other Prophets have also been known to ride the *burāq* such as Ibrāhīm when he wanted to visit his son Ismā'īl and his wife Siti Hajar who were at the time in Mekah while Ibrahim was in Palestine. It took the *burāq* only one day to transport him there (al-Gaithī pp. 62-65).

These are four lengthy examples of the way the *burāq* and his encounter with Muhammad are described. Other source are rather brief. One source merely informs us that the *burāq* is as big as a donkey, smaller than a mule, sprakling in colours and that its stride is wider than lightning and as far as the eye can see (Amiruddin Syah, p. 47). The *kitab kuning* tell us that the *burāq* wears a saddle and a bit, has white hair and is larger than a donkey but smaller than a horse. Its stride is as far as the eye can see and its ears are always in motion. When it ascends a hill its frontlegs become short and when it descends, its hind legs become short. It has a wing at each thigh to accelerate its speed. Initially the *burāq* is reluctant to carry the Prophet but eventually does so, without further description being provided.

### The *Hūr 'Īn*

Part of the heavenly delights awaiting the virtuous Muslim after life concerns the heavenly nymphs. The narrative diversity found among the stories concerning this matter may be grasped from the following examples:

The Malay text is most outspoken and detailed in its description:

I saw that the rooms of all those palaces were full of nymphs. Among them were very young ones, about twelve years old, and their bodies had four colours: white, yellow, red, and purple, just like the words of Allah –the Highest– in the Qur'ān, which run as follow:

*Wa hūr 'īm ka amshāl al-lu 'lu 'i al-maknūn*<sup>33</sup>

which mean: “the faces of the nymphs are like pearls in their mother’s womb,” and moreover like the words of Allah –the highest– in the Qur'ān:

*Ka annahinna al-yāqūt wa al-marjān*<sup>34</sup>

which mean: “the complexion of the nymphs is like the glowing of sparkling rubies and alabaster,” and moreover like the words of Allah –the highest–

*hūr maqṣūrāt fī al-khiyām*<sup>35</sup>

which mean: “all the nymphs are hidden in their tent,”

In other words, locked away inside their room during daytime, and moreover, Muhammad, each time Allah –the Highest– orders me to do so, I will put you in Janat al-Adnan here. The *hūr 'īm* nymphs were spying on me from within their rooms and all I could see was their glow and their radiance glittered. /59/ I bowed my head as I thought it was the light of the Lord of the Universe. I heard a very clear loud voice, which said to me: “Muhammad raise your head, do not allow it to hang down.” I raised my head while I looked up thinking it was the light of the *hūr 'īm*. I said *astagfirullāh al-‘aẓīm* seventy times while I repented to Allah –the Highest– who gives light to His creatures. Whatever His light may be, Allah –the Highest– Who is most wise and astute, Who has no equal among spirits and humans, bestows it on them.

After that, I left from beneath the palace –‘Abbas. I heard a very clear loud voice of one of the nymphs, who asked: “O Jabrā’il – Friend of Allah. Who is that, passing by with you? I see that he is extraordinarily handsome and radiant?” Jabrā’il answered: “Hey, *hūr 'īm*, don’t you know who he is? He is the one called Muhammad, the beloved of Allah –the Highest– on earth, whose name is written on the doors and the walls of all the palaces. He has come here to see the mighty works of Allah –the Highest– in all the Heavens.” She also said: “Jabrā’il, if that is so, with the permission of the Lord, let him stop by my place for a while.” After that Jabrā’il said to me: “Well, Muhammad, do you want to pay your respects<sup>36</sup> to the *Hūr 'īm*” I answered: “Ail right.”

Jabrā’il took me with him and I went up into the palace. I sat on a gilded chair and all the nymphs emerged from their rooms and showed themselves to me very politely. I greeted them all and they hastened to return my greeting while saying: “Well Muhammad, you have received the utmost gift of Allah –the Highest– to have been shown His omnipotence, glory, grandeur, and mighty works, and to have been brought here in Heaven” – O ‘Abbas. I saw that the /60/ faces of the nymphs were just like people, very beautiful, that they moved gracefully and that they were thirty-five cubits tall and that their chests mea-

sured five cubits. They were all the same size and I will not tarry long on how pretty they were and on what they did. If Allah –the Highest– should send only one down to earth, she would shed radiance between earth and the sky as it would be touched by the light of her clothing. After that I heard from the Presence of Allah – the Highest: “Well, nymphs, entertain My beloved at once with all the pleasures of My Heaven!” All the nymphs arrived, carrying golden trays, filled with dishes in all sorts of tastes, which I had not seen in all my lifetime. They were put in front of me together with all sorts of fruits and beverages. They said: “Well, Muhammad, please taste all these pleasures of Heaven.” I recited: “*Bismilāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*.” First I ate from the dates and pomegranates, just like the words of Allah –the Highest– in the Qur’ān, which run as follows:

*Fihā fākihah wa nakhil wa rummān*<sup>37</sup>

which mean: “In Heaven there are various fruits such as dates and pomegranates and tens of thousands of others including the *pidudung* fruit. Each Heaven will have fruit of seventy different flavours.” After I had eaten and drunk, I thanked the Lord of the Universe. I asked: “O Jabrā’il, do the nymphs in Heaven also partake of all these delicacies?” Jabrā’il said: “Well Muhammad, not quite so, because Allah –the Highest– has created all the contents of Heaven and has created all delicacies and foodstuffs /61/ and he has made them breath and eat just as human beings on earth eat and drink, sleep and have orgasms, but they do not have their monthly period or relieve themselves. The only fluid that leaves their body is their perspiration.” I smelled their sweat and it was more fragrant than musk and I saw that each nymph wore seventy layers of silk hip cloths and seventy layers of upper garments in all sorts of colours, made of brocade. I could see through the parts of their body, which were not covered by garments and could see the marrow in their bones much like seeing the red earth in a white flask<sup>38</sup> made of glass. Such was their beauty. All the nymphs had shining bodies and they wore very fine clothes, which never smelled foul and were never stained by dirt. After bathing they could choose whatever they wanted to wear and I saw that all the nymphs were completely dressed as if they were wearing their wedding garments. They all wore gilded ear studs set with all sorts of sparkling gems and around their neck they had a hundred necklaces of pure red gold studded with all sorts of *parbahat*<sup>39</sup> made of gold, sapphires, and alabaster. Around their wrists they wore ten bracelets made of gold and lapis lazuli, studded with green emeralds and clear shining pearls. On each of their ten fingers they wore ten golden shining rings studded with rubies and unflawed diamonds. Around both ankles they wore anklets made of red gold and studded with gems and bezoar stones. They were not /62/ impeded by wearing all this. I saw that on each of their foreheads was written the name of Allah and on their breast was written the name of their future husband who was still alive as a man on earth and among the nymphs there was none who had ever made love to anyone as is stated by Allah –the Highest– in the Qur’ān which says:

*Fihinna qāīrāt al-tarf lam yaṭmithlumna ins qablahum wa lā jān*<sup>40</sup>

which means: “A number of nymphs in Heaven have never made love or had sex with a human or a jinn or an angel, but only with their husband.” And their husbands will remain with them while they are *bikr*, that is: virgin. It is like the words of Allah –the Highest– in the Qur’ān, which run as follows:*innā*

*ansya 'nāhunnahunna insyā'a. faja 'alnāhunna abkārā. 'ūruban atrābā*<sup>41</sup> which mean: "It is truly so that I have created all the women who live in Heaven a virgin." And after they have made love with their husband, their virginity is returned to them as before. Moreover, Allah –the Highest– has given each nymph a thousand beautiful human women who are modestly dressed as slaves to wait on them and to attend to their will. I heard their praises and their mouths never stopped offering thanks to Allah, chanting their laudation, their *takbir*,<sup>42</sup> their *tahlil*,<sup>43</sup> and their *tahmīd*<sup>44</sup> to praise their Lord forever and ever. After that I bade farewell to them and Jabrā'il brought me down to the palace, which I used as my carrier.<sup>45</sup>

Our Javanese source has the following to say on this matter:

(Canto VII Asmaradana 36) (...) it was bordered with decorations in the form of buildings, made to have pleasure in, and for the nymphs to walk around in, and if they went out they went hand in hand. (Canto VIII Kinanthi) 1. Following the bank of the water, if you would describe the nymphs, they all, looked beautiful and elegant, and they were 14 years of age, they behaved freely as they were all still virgins, and whatever they did aroused feelings of love. 2. Their faces were as if made of gold leaf, and their posture was regular and elegant, and it was just as if they did not have a body at all. Their eyes were stunning, dark, large, and looked like jewels, sparkling as clearly as the sun. 3. The attire of the nymphs, were of great variety, but they all wore the same, no other, clothes each and every day, and did not desire to wear different dress each day. 4. They all wore lovely perfumes, which spread very delicately, and caused all hearts to jump a beat, so that one would really be willing to make love, because they behaved very lovely all the time, and they were extraordinary gorgeous and one felt overwhelmed.<sup>46</sup>

The third and last source considered here in connection with the nymphs is al-Gaithī. Here it is mentioned that Jabrā'īl asks Muhammad whether it is true that he has requested Allah to be shown the *Hūr 'īn*, the nymphs in Heaven. When he sees them he asks them who they are and they answer: "We here are good women and we have been put at the disposal of men who are good as well, that is, men whose body and soul are free of sin and immorality. They will stay with us and will never be bored, for ever and ever. It is moreover said that the nymphs would shed light on both heaven and earth and would fill them with fragrant smells and that their veil would be superior to the earth and all its contents. There are at least two nymphs for each individual who enters Heaven. They congregate every seven days and they are soft voiced while uttering: We are eternal and cannot be destroyed. We receive joy and are never miserable. We stay where we are and never change place. Happy will be he who owns us

and we will be happy with him." Men will marry them quite like they would be married on earth and they would have a hundred times more energy for making love in Heaven. Once having been made love to, the nymph will return to be a virgin and if a man in Heaven desires to have a child, birth and breast feeding will be done in a single moment. During coitus there will be no ejaculation, only pleasure without anything to disturb it (pp. 276-278).

### **Pluralism in Dogmatic Matters in the *Isrā' Mi'rāj***

We shall now turn our attention to two other points in the story which are of importance since they are related to the duration of the fast and the number of daily prayers (*salāt*). Only two among the sources used mentions that in the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* a stipulation has been offered about the duration of the fast. In the quotes below from the Malay text and the Javanese text we see that Allah first ordered the Muslim people to observe the fast three months a year and that Muhammad negotiated this duration and subsequently Allah reduced it to one month only.<sup>47</sup> Most importantly the story is known for the stipulation on the number of daily prayers. Let us start with what the Malay manuscript has to say about this too.

"Hey, My beloved Muhammad. Your request is very fitting, but convey to all your followers that each year they have to fast for three months, that each twenty-four hours they have to pray seven times without ever missing one single day and to never be in conflict with my interdictions, then they will certainly attain My Heaven. There they will return to together with you, Muhammad. I will send those two angels, the first a messenger and the second a writer to whomever who does not execute My command /96/ to write it down and I will have them hand that person over to angel Zabaniah and he will certainly put that person in Hell." After I heard this command of Allah –the Highest– I answered while I made an obeisance: "O Lord, O Master, O Commander, O my God, Lord of the Universe, it is not that I would disregard Your command but the community of Your servants will not be capable of executing Your rightful command since many among them will be too weak to observe all their religious duties, my Lord. If You have mercy and compassion, I would request that in a year I would ask for one month of fasting since your servants will be able to do that easily. If You could acquiesce and allow prayer five times in twenty-four hours they are capable of doing that." Allah –the Highest– was merciful to His servants: "Well, Muhammad, if that is your wish I will acquiesce and order that your followers will pray five times within twenty-four hours and that they fast one month a year in order for them to obtain My mercy and that is thanks to you, O Muhammad."<sup>48</sup>

The relevant passage from the Javanese source runs as follows:

(Canto IX, Durma) 23. that all your followers to perform the salat, within one day, fifty times, and moreover they have to fast, three months in the year'. The prophet acquiesced, while he prostrated himself and bade leave. 24. When he arrived at the tree Sajratalmuntaha, he met with Jabrail, who said kindly: 'May you swiftly express your gratitude, to God Who Rules the Earth.' The Prophet acquiesced, and swiftly expressed his gratitude. 25. Together they descended and arrived, in a while in the sixth heaven, and there they met the prophet Musa who asked: 'My brother, exalted Prophet, the command of God, tell me what it was.' 26. The exalted Prophet told him all, and the Prophet Musa said friendly: 'Well, if that is the case, my brother, return quickly, and present yourself at the throne of God Who Ordains All, and request reduction, because there is no way your people, 27. will be capable to perform what he has ordained.' Willingly the Prophet left, to return to present himself, at the throne of God the Immaterial, to ask to reduce it with ten, and quickly he descended, to Musa who told him, 28. to go back again to appear in front of Him and ask yet for less, because your followers, could not possibly be expected to be so strong, and to do the same regarding the fast. The Prophet appeared in front of the throne, and quickly he asked Him, to reduce it by four times ten. 29. At long last he was allowed to reduce it to five, and the fast to one month. The prophet Musa insisted, and vehemently asked to quickly to ask for reduction, because his followers could not possibly do that. The Prophet said angrily: 30. 'There is no way that I will return, I vow by Allah, because I am too embarrassed, because there only rests 5, and fasting only one month, that they have to do.' And at that moment a voice was heard: 31. 'Well, Muhammad, do it with a restful heart, with all your followers, because I have ordained it so, that you will later obtain a token of favour, and all your followers, will receive it after you.' Then the exalted Prophet asked permission to leave.<sup>49</sup>

In the other versions Allah orders Muhammad to tell his followers to pray 50 times a day. Returning from the throne of Allah, Muhammad meets the Prophet Musa. Muhammad relates to him what Allah has ordered him to convey to his followers. Musa then tells him to return to Allah to ask for a reduction as 50 times of prayer a day is too much. He says that he had tried in the past to make his followers say a similar number of prayers each day and that they had failed to be able to do so. Muhammad returns to Allah to ask for a smaller number of daily prayers and the number is reduced by 5 in some versions (*kitab kuning*, S. Anwar Effendi, Ust. Maftuh Ahnan, al-Gaithī, Pamungkas, Zulkarnaen) and by 10 in others (Javanese version, Rahimsyah & Anam, al-Gaithī [mentions both]). Having returned to him, the Prophet Musa says that the number of prayers is still too high and that he should ask for further reductions. Muhammad agrees and returns yet again to Allah to make his request.



This is repeated until the number 5 has been reached. Some versions then tell that the number is being decreased by Allah by 5 times until the number of 5 has been reached and Muhammad has no longer the courage to return yet again to ask for even less. Other versions tell of a steady reduction by 10 times. Kabbānī does not mention the matter at all while Mutawalli Asy Sya'rawi, S.M. Kartosoewirjo, and Amiruddin Syah tell only of a reduction to 5 times without mentioning the number by which it is reduced.

### Illustrations of the *Burāq* in the Indonesian-Malay World

Not only has the *mi'rāj* been around in the Indonesian-Malay world by means of texts or translations and commentaries. Also in the visual arts the *mi'rāj* is present through drawings and manuscript illustrations. It is not my intention to deal with this here in great length as a thorough investigation into this matter has never been attempted. However, illustrations of the *mi'rāj* seem to be particularly popular. For instance, the beautiful *burāq* found in manuscript Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz Ms. Or. Quart. 163. It shows a polychrome drawing of the *burāq* in Javanese style, complete with a wayang puppet-like face.<sup>50</sup> Another example is the illustration of a winged horse (most likely the *burāq*) in a Buginese manuscript from a diary for the period 1790-1800 from the British Library, Or. 8154, f 3v.<sup>51</sup> Framed and mounted glass-paintings of the *burāq* were ubiquitous in the East Javanese Muslim communities in which Prof. Robert Hefner worked in the nineteen seventies. Representations of the *burāq* varied enormously from straightforward horses, horselike figures with a horselike face to anthropomorphized Garudas.<sup>52</sup> Other examples concern the illustrations of the *burāq* found on the cover of books about the *mi'rāj* such as the one by Amiruddin Syah. The only source explicitly forbidding depicting the *burāq* is Ust. Maftuh Ahnan. He claims that, since the *burāq* is an invisible creature like angels, it is forbidden to portray him (p. 23). The mystical animal has also penetrated the world of *batik* as it witnessed by the illustration of the *batik* Kawung Bouraq in H. Santoso Doellah's book *Batik ; The Impact of Time and Environment*, p. 59, illustration 46.

## Conclusion

Above I have shown that in the Indonesian-Malay world past and present there was, and is a wide variety of material on the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* and that they all show enormous textual and interpretational variety. Even though the material of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* is plural in almost each and every aspect, we may conclude that it plays an important role in constituting Malay identity and will most probably continue to do so. In this story it is not the details that matter – although perhaps there may be people who, for whatever reason, prefer distinct readings of distinct traditions – and also not the wording into which this message is conveyed, nor the language used. It is the overall impression that lingers in the mind from having been exposed to the story, that matters. What remains constant is the story and why it will remain universally recognized as of paramount importance is that in this story Muhammad is told by Allah that the Muslim community members are obliged to pray five times a day. Even though each and every individual in the Indonesian-Malay world has a different knowledge of, or different notions about details in the story, the fact that there is a shared memory of it is what is important in the context of Malay identity and plurality.

Whether this plurality will remain is an open question. It may be under threat as attempts are being made in the Middle East to turn the account of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* into a single version which may mean that the final outcome of this endeavour will be accepted in the Indonesian-Malay world as well.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, locally indigenized versions seem to be on the decline where interesting details such as the *burāq* being a bird in the Javanese version (witness also the remarks Hefner made, comparing the *burāq* to an antropomorphized Garuda) will become lost and as such local identities will be no longer be witnessed in renditions of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* story.

It seems that we are watching a trend from indigenized renditions of the story in the Indonesian-Malay world to more internationally inspired versions. Perhaps it is simply by lack of knowledge about manuscripts and a decline in reading capabilities in indigenous scripts that people in the Indonesian-Malay world look for versions which show less indigenised details and aspects and look more to modern versions relying on Middle Eastern or, rather, international story content. These modern versions are indeed much more easily available – in local bookshops rather than far-off libraries where manuscripts are kept – and they are also more accessible

because of the use of Arabic (*kitab kuning*) or roman script. This shift may also reflect a general trend of the inclination of many Muslims in the area to express their religious identity in terms of Middle Eastern, or International, Muslim standards.<sup>54</sup> It would seem that globalization is also witnessed in this particular instance of Muslim culture.

Finally, how now can we explain the textual variety found among the material used above? Millie draws our attention to the various 'literacy events' featuring the story of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* and he continues to explain that the 'narrative potential' of the story could (and evidently was) used by the people to exaggerate and enlarge it (Millie, 2004). (We should not rule out the possibility that it was also condensed and shortened if deemed necessary.) Millie's findings may in part explain the wide variety found. However, basing himself on Juynboll (1969:4) he says that the whole story of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* is in essence a *ḥadīth* (Millie, 2004:130). I am not sure about the validity of his remark for this story as, for one, there is no *isnād* to substantiate any such claim. To call each and every utterance mentioning the name, the sayings and deeds of the prophet a *ḥadīth* would mean that every story about the Prophet in the Indonesian-Malay world would have to be considered as such. I doubt whether the people in the Indonesian-Malay world would agree with this.

## Endnotes

1. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Henk Maier, Prof. Bob Hefner, Prof. Merle Ricklefs and Jajat Burhanuddin MA for the valuable comments they shared with me while writing this article.
2. I am aware of the fact that applying the connotation 'literature' to stories such as the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* may be felt problematical for many. However, if we consider literature in its widest sense we may circumvent this particular academic problem. Of course the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* is by no means the only story which has found its way in different ways among the Malay peoples from Malaysia to Brunei. We need only think of the Panji cycle and the many stories in Malay, Javanese and other languages drawing their inspiration from the Sanskrit epics *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, or other Muslim stories such as the *Nabi Bercukur* (in Javanese called *Nabi Aparas*, Van der Meij 1996).
3. In this article I understand the Indonesian-Malay world to include Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and Brunei Darussalam.
4. A clear division between 'story' and 'religious text' is in many cases not easy to make. The *Mahābhārata*, for instance, is considered a (be it long) story by some and as a religious text by others.
5. For the story of Jaratkāru on a Balinese *Uluu-uluu* (painting used to adorn the back wall of a temple building) see Hunter, 1988 and Van der Meij 1997. The Bima Swarga illustrations in the roof of the Kertha Ghosa in Semarapura (former Klungkung), Bali, have been presented in the works by Idanna Pucci (1985, 1992). The story of Jaratkāru is used during final death rituals in Bali and sold in Balinese bookshops in a very small edition containing the Old Javanese text and Balinese and Indonesian translations (e.g. *Putru Panyekahan/Maligia*). See also: Willem Kern, *Oudjavaansche en Balische Hellevoor-stellingen*, 1934. On the Bima Swarga in Balinese shadow play and other Balinese arts see Hinzler 1981.
6. Often the texts do not make a clear distinction between the two. Most texts contain both but are referred to simply as *Mi'rāj*.
7. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. VII, p. 97.
8. On general information and many more details about the history of the *Mi'rāj* see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition part VII pp. 97-105.
9. [http://www.pemantau.tripod.com/artikel/05Nov\\_farish.html](http://www.pemantau.tripod.com/artikel/05Nov_farish.html) accessed 15 September 2004.
10. On the Madurese version see Sri Ratnawati 1999.
11. See Mansur Pateda, 1991.
12. Mukhlis PaEni et al. (2003, p. 976) mention no less than 75 privately owned manuscripts from South Sulawesi containing the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* in their catalogue.
13. For easy reference, a list of manuscripts, their repositories, and shelf numbers is added as an appendix at the end of this article.
14. See, J. Knappert 1971.
15. At least in the fourth edition of 1874 which was the only one I was able to consult.
16. See Wunderli 1968, pp. 13-24.
17. This discussion has been entered into by among others Asín Palacios (1919, 1943, 1961), Cerulli (1949), Groult (1950), Levi della Vida (1949), Monfrin (1951), and Wunderli (1964). For an overview of the discussion (and

- controversy on the issue) up to 1965 see Vicente Cantarino 1965. A more modern example of a scholar involved in the issue is Brenda Deen Schildgen. Whether or not the opposite may have happened whereby Muslim individuals knew Dante's work to embellish their stories of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* (as well) is unknown to me but should not be ruled out as a matter of course. I am indebted to Dr. Nanno Lambooy for part of this information.
18. Many references on celebrations of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* are found shattered in works on Islam in Indonesia. On the celebration of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* in the first half of the twentieth century, see Pijper 1934, 1977; in Bawean in the first half of the 1960s, see Vredembregt 1990, pp. 37-38; in Aceh, see Snouck Hurgronje 1996, pp. 170-171. On the celebration of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* by Indonesians in the Netherlands, see Usep Abdul Matin 1999, 2001.
  19. Millie 2004.
  20. 'Dengan peringatan Isra Miraj, diharapkan membawa perubahan yang lebih baik bagi bangsa Indonesia', *NOVA Mingguan Berita Wanita* 868, 2004.
  21. For this article it is impossible to discuss all variations and many interesting differences will have to remain undisclosed for the moment. Of course there is much more material available, for instance in the library of the KITLV in Leiden. However, this article does not claim to be comprehensive in its use of all material available. The examples shown will be rather exhaustive precisely to show the narrative diversity as it is. In accompanying footnotes the texts of the Javanese and Malay examples will be given for reference.
  22. An edition with translation and introduction is being prepared by the present author and Dr. Nanno Lambooy.
  23. An edition with translation and introduction is also being prepared by the present author and Dr. Nanno Lambooy.
  24. I would like to thank my INIS colleague Ahmad Seadie MAG for his kind help in reading the Arabic for me.
  25. See Al-Chaidar 19992. In his bibliography, Al-Chaidir also mentions an article by Kartosoewirjo, I'tibar Majazy dan Ma'ani dari pada perjalanannya Isra dan Mi'radj Rasuloallah Clm. published in *Soeara MIAI* (= Madjlis Islam 'Alaa Indonesia) No. 11, 2603, which I have been unable to consult. It may very well be that this article is the one published in the book under a different title.
  26. These are by no means the only books in Indonesian translation which circulate Indonesia. Some contemporary examples have been left out of this study because they do not relate the story of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* in part or in total. They concern Bediuzzaman Said Nursi (2003), Drs. Muhamad Soebari, M.A. (2003), and the most recently published Nashir Makarim Syirazi (June 2004) (For details please refer to the bibliography). We should not forget that much more material on the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* is available on the Internet, also in many languages, which may easily be accessed by anyone in the Indonesian-Malay world.
  27. There is a relationship between the contents of the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* tale and the various *tarekats* who use the story.
  28. For Malay, the numbers in the texts and the translations refer to the page numbers in the original manuscript. For Javanese they refer to the number of the strophe within the stanza. The Arabic used in quotations from the Qur'an is presented in the correct way regardless of the many differences in spelling and numerous mistakes found in the manuscript.

29. Maka ujar hamba bertanya: "Ya tolanu Jibrail, binatang apakah parasnya burak itu?" Maka ujar Jibrail: "Ya Muhammad, adapun parasnya burak itu panjang sedikit daripada kuda dan rendah sedikit daripada unta dan bersayap ia. Maka kedua sayapnya itu dua belas warna rupanya dan mukanya seperti muka manusia dan bunyinya itu seperti bunyi harimau dan bahunya terlebih harum daripada kasturi dan pakaiannya burak itu lengkap daripada emas yang merah. Kekapahnya daripada kemala dan pelananya daripada mutiara dan ikatnya daripada manikam yang hijau bercahaya-cahaya seperti cahaya matahari dan bulan." Tiba-tiba, maka datanglah malaikat membawa burak itu ke hadapan hamba.
30. Maka tajib seketika hamba melihat warna burak itu. Setelah itu, maka Jibrail mengenakan makuta bercahaya-cahaya itu di kepala hamba dan mengenakan baju dan kain dan kamar akan hamba. Setelah suda hamba memakai pakaian sundus wa istibrak itu, maka ujar Jibrail akan hamba: "Ya Muhammad, baik-baiklah sayidi naik burak ini." Maka hamba naiklah serta Jibrail memegangkan pelananya dan Mikail memegangkan kekapannya. Maka hamba pegang burak itu serta hendak hamba gendarai. Maka burak itu pun tiada mau hamba naiki, lalu ia menggerakkan dirinya dan dengan nyaring suaranya dan serta mengguling-gulingkan dirinya. Maka /6/ ujar Jibrail dan Mikail dan segala malaikat itu melihat kelakuan burak itu, maka terlalu duka cita. Maka ujar Jibrail berkata-kata kepada burak itu: "Hai burak, mengapakah engkau (tia) tiada mau digendarai oleh nabi Muhammad Rasulullah kekasih Allah ta'ala, lagi nabi Allah yang terlebih mulianya daripada nabi yang lain dari dunia datang ke akhirat. Jika engkau mau terlalu sekali berbahagiamu akan dia." Maka ujar burak itu dengan nyaring suaranya, demikian katanya: "Ya Jibrail –amin Allah –mengapakah maka hamba tiada mau dinaiki oleh jungjunganku nabi Muhammad Rasulullah itu karena ia manusia yang terlebih mulia daripada manusia yang lain." Lagi (bur) burak berkata: "Ada yang kupohonkan kepadanya. Kelak jemah pada hari kiamat jangan kiranya ia menaiki burak yang lain lagi daripada hamba ini." Telah hamba mendengar katanya burak itu maka ujar hamba bertanya: "Ya habibku Jibrail, betapakah firman Allah ta'ala kepada hamba akan burak ini, karena hamba belum lagi tahu." Maka ujar Jibrail: "Ya Muhammad, baiklah tuanhamba mengakuilah firman Allah ta'ala akan gendaraan tuanhamba kelak di dalam syurga." Telah hamba mendengar kata Jibrail itu demikian maka hamba pun mengakulah serta berjanji akan burak. Maka kata hamba: "Hai burak, bahwa tiada aku menaik burak yang lain lagi daripadamu kelak pada hari kiamat, melainkan engkau jua aku dapatkan gendaraanku kelak di dalam syurga." Maka burak itu pun suka cita serta mendiamkan dirinya. Maka ujar Jibrail: "Ya Muhammad, naiklah tuanhamba." Maka hamba pun segerah mengendarai burak itu.
31. Because the text mentions these kind of Javanese matters, and also by introducing the animal Wilmuka in the next sentence I feel that this text is not just a translation of the Arabic original it claims to be, but rather an adaptation.
32. (Canto I Dhandhanggula) stanza 10. de kang paksi burak sumweng arsi, sarwya ndheku lir konjeming kisma, saking kalintang ajrihe, awit duk aneng enu, wus winangsit dening Jabrail, busanabra saprangkat, rinasuk sadaram, tan ana kantun sajuga, warnanira muka lir sujanma pekik, tenggeg wanda lir kuda. 11. sikilira tan beda lan esthi, ajejaluk adi boma kuda, amamedeni tikswane, buntutira lir lembu, suwiwi lir wilmuka paksi, tinratap manik

- muncar, abra yen dinulu, kanang suku bininggelan, mawi gung sing akalung emas sinangling, pinatik nawa retina. 12. burak iku pan tuhu apekik, sakweh burak kang aneng suwarga, tan ana kang mirib kabeh.
33. 14. swawi gusti anitiha maring, paksi burak jeng nabi gya tedhak, prapta ing gen burak age, Mikail tandya gupuh, angurmati mring kangjeng nabi, nanging anjumbul sigra, burak datan ayun, lingnati sru Jabrail mring sang, paksi burak pa gene ta sira iki, alumuh finitihan. 15. kangjeng nabi niyakaning bumi, sarta pan wus atas karsaning hyang, jeng nabi ngandikan age, paksi burak umatur, angrarepa maring Jabrail, ulun mugu aturna, mring jeng nabi rasul, benjang ing dinten wekasan, mugu ulun pinanjingna ing swargadi, punjula ing lyan burak. 16. malekat Jabrail anuruti, gya matur ing jeng nabi paduka, nuwunena ing Hyang Manon, paksi burak darbyatur, anuwun sih manjing swargadi, punjul samaning burak, jeng rasul asanggup, nuwunena ing pangeran, pan ingriku paksi burak dheku aglis, tondha yen dahat suka.
34. Sūrah 56: 23.  
 35. Sūrah 55: 58.  
 36. Sura 55:58.  
 37. Sura 55:72.  
 38. Sūrah 55: 72.  
 39. Bertanda, short for bertanda memberi hormat, 'to pay respects.'  
 40. Sura 55:68.  
 41. Sūrah 55: 68.  
 42. Surahi = serahi 'bottle with a long neck.'  
 43. Unfortunately I do not know what parhabat means.  
 44. Sūrah 55:56.  
 45. Sūrah 56:35-37.  
 46. The recitation of *Allāhu Akbar*.  
 47. The recitation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh*.  
 48. The recitation of *alḥamdu lillāh*.  
 49. Maka hamba lihat pada bilangannya yang sepangkat-pangkat maligai sekalian itu, adalah penuh dengan berisi segala anak-anakan bidadari, dalamnya yang muda-muda dan umurnya ada dua belas tahun rupanya dan warnanya tubuhnya sekalian mereka itu ada empat perkara iaitu putih, kuning, merah, ungu yang seperti firman Allah ta'ala dalam Quran, demikian bunyinya: *Wa hūr 'in. ka amshāl al-lu 'lu 'i al-maknūn*, artinya itu: "Elok parasnya bidadari itu seperti mutiara yang di dalam gundungan inangnya", dan lagi seperti firman Allah ta'ala dalam Quran: *Ka annahunna al-yāqūt wa al-marjān*, artinya: "Adalah rupanya segala bidadari itu seperti sinar yakut dan pualam kikang gilang-gemilang warnanya", dan lagi seperti firman Allah ta'ala: *Hūr maqṣūrāt fī al-khiyām*, artinya: "Segala bidadari itu ter<sem>bunyi dalam kaimahnya", yakni terpingit siang-siang dalam biliknya dan lagi, ya Muhammad adalah pada segala masa firman Allah ta'ala akan hamba masuklah ke dalam Janat al-Adnan ini. Maka bidadari Khur al-'ain dari dalam biliknya menengok hamba. Maka ia kelihatan oleh hamba cahayanya gilang-gemilang /59/ berkilat-kilat. Maka hamba sujud kepala hamba, kusangka cahaya Tuhan Seluruh Alam Sekalian. Maka hamba dengar pula berseru-seru suaranya yang mahanyaring katanya akan hamba: "Ya Jibrail, amin Allah, angkatkan kepalamu daripada sujud itu." Maka hamba bangun daripada sujud itu serta hamba melihat ke atas

kiranya cahaya Khur al-'āin. Maka hamba mengucap astagfiru *Allāh al-'azīm* tujuh puluh kali dan serta tobat hamba akan Allah ta'ala memberi cahaya akan makhluknya betapa pula cahaya yang menjadikan dia lagi diberi Allah ta'ala akan mereka itu, terlebih arif serta bijaksana, tiada lagi ada samanya daripada jin dan manusia. Setelah itu, maka hamba lalu dari sana dari bawa maligai itu – ya 'Abas. Maka kedengaranlah berseru-seru mahanyaring suara bidadari bertanya: "Ya Jibrail amin Allah, siapakah serta sayid<i> lalu itu, hamba lihat terlalu elok parasnya gilang-gemilang cahayanya itu?" Maka ujar Jibrail menyahut: "Hai Khur al-'āin, tiadakah diri kenal? Inilah yang bernama Muhammad, kekasih (kekasih) Allah ta'ala di dalam dunia yang telah tersurat namanya kepada pintu dinding sekalian maligai itu. Maka datang ia kemari, karena hendak melihat akan kekayaan Allah ta'ala di dalam syurga sekalian ini." Maka katanya pula: "Ya Jibrail, jika demikian dengan izin Tuan bahwalah ia singgah iya kemari ke tempat hamba ini." Setelah itu maka ujar Jibrail akan hamba: "Ya Muhammad mahukah sayidi bertanda kepada tempat Khur al-'āin itu." Maka sahut hamba: "Baiklah." Syahdan, maka hamba dibawa oleh Jibrail. Maka hamba naik ke atas maligai itu. Maka hamba duduk di atas krusi yang keemasan. Maka keluarlah segala bidadari itu, masing-masing dari dalam biliknya menu<n>jukkan dirinya serta dengan hormatnya akan hamba. Maka hamba memberi salam kepada sekalian mereka itu. Maka ia pun sigerah menyahuti salam hamba serta katanya: "Wah Muhammad, terlalu sekali tuanhamba beroleh karunia Allah ta'ala dan diperlihatkan-Nya kodrat Allah dan kemuliaan dan kebesaran-Nya dan kekayaan-Nya dan sampaikan tuanhamba ke dalam syurga ini" – ya 'Abas. Maka adalah hamba melihat /60/ muka bidadari itu seperti manusia juga mahaelok rupanya, amat manis barang lakunya dan besyar panjangnya itu adalah tiga puluh lima hasta bidang dadahnya dan lima hasta panjang dirinya. Maka rata sekalian mereka itu dan tiadalah hamba panjangkan kata peri menyatakan parasnya dan mengatakan kejadian sekalian mereka itu. Adapun jika diturunkan Allah ta'ala seorang jua ia ke dalam dunia niscaya teranglah antara langit dan bumi itu olehnya daripada kena sinar pakaiannya itu. Setelah itu maka kedengaranlah dari hadirat Allah ta'ala: "Hai bidadari perjamulah sigerah olehmu dengan segala nikmat syurga-Ku akan kekasih-Ku itu." Maka segala bidadari itu pun masing-masing datang membawa tabak emas berisi hidangan santapan daripada berbagai nikmat yang belum lagi seumur hamba hidup melihat sebagai ini terhantar di hadapan hamba dan beberapa warna pula daripada buah-buahan dan minuman-minuman. Maka ujarnya mereka itu: "Ya Muhammad, santaplah oleh tuanhamba akan semua nikmat syurga ini." Maka hamba membaca: "Bismillah Ar-Rahmani Ar-Rahim." Maka adalah pertama hamba makan itu buah-buah kurma dan delima seperti firman Allah ta'ala di dalam Quran, demikian bunyinya: *Fihā fākihah wa nakhil wa rummān*, artinya: "Adalah dalamnya syurga itu beberapa bagi buah-buahan seperti kurma dan delima dan lainnya pula beberapa laksa-laksa jenis ada hingga buah pudidung sekalipun tetap buah-buahan akan suatu syurga itu tujuh puluh rasanya nikmat dalamnya. Telah suda hamba makan dan minum itu maka hamba mengucap sukur wa Alhamdulillah Rabbul-alamīn. Maka ujar hamba bertanya: "Wahai Jibrail, adakah segala bidadari isi syurga itu makan dan minum akan segala nikmat itu?" Maka ujar Jibrail:



"Ya Muhammad, bukan tiada sebab adalah Allah ta'ala menjadikan akan isi syurga dan menjadikan segala nikmat akan makan-makanan /61/ dan diberi ia bernafas makan seperti adat manusia di dalam dunia makan dan minum, tidur dan syahwat dan tetapi tidak ia haid dan kada hajat besyar dan kecil hanya keluar peluhnya juga." Maka adalah hamba mencium bau pelu mereka itu terlebih harum daripada kasturi baunya dan adalah hamba melihat yang dipakai oleh segala bidadari itu tujuh puluh helai kain sutera dan tujuh puluh lapis bajunya yang berbagai-bagai warnanya daripada sundus wa istibrak itu pun maka kelihatan juga kulihat tubuhnya di luar bajunya itu terus lalu kelihatan otak yang di dalam tulangnya itu seperti melihat tanah yang merah dalam surahi kaca yang putih, demikianlah daripada peri eloknya segala bidadari itu berkilat-kilat tubuhnya dan sangat peri halusnyanya yang dipakai oleh segala mereka itu dan tiada kena busuk dan cemar pakaiannya itu selama-lamanya. Dan adalah bersalin kain bajunya itu kepada barang kehendaknya yang lain ketika suda mandi dan adalah hamba melihat segala bidadari itu memakai selengkapnya seola-ola pakaian yang mempelai rupanya. Maka adalah pada tiap-tiap kedua telinganya memakai subang yang keemasan bertatahkan permata ratna mutu manikam bercahaya-cahaya dan adalah tergantung pada tiap-tiap batang lehernya seratus susun berkuliling daripada emas yang merah seribu mutu yang bertatahkan parbahat pancawarna daripada emasan-emasan nilam pualam puspaparagam. Dan adalah pada tiap-tiap pergelangan tangannya itu memakai sepuluh susun gegelang emas balajawardi itu pun bertatahkan zarmardu yang hijau dan mutiara yang hening-hening dan adalah segala mereka itu pada tiap-tiap sepuluh jarinya memakai sepuluh susun cincin emas permata yakut yang merah dan intan yang hening bercahaya-cahaya rupanya. Dan adalah pada tiap-tiap kedua kakinya mereka itu memakai sepuluh susun kancang emas yang merah bertatahkan manikam dan kemala. Maka tiadalah ia /62/ keberatan atas mereka itu sebab memakai sekian banyaknya itu. Dan adalah hamba lihat pada tiap-tiap dahinya mereka itu tersurat ism Allah dan adalah pada tiap-tiap dadanya itu tersurat dan tersebut nama akan (suam) suaminya manusia masing-masing yang lagi ada di dalam dunia dan lagi adalah segala bidadari itu tida yang menyentu dia seorang-orang jua pun ada seperti firman Allah ta'ala di dalam Quran, demikian bunyinya: *Fihinna qāṣīrāt al-tarf lam yaṣmīthhunna ins qablahum wa lā jān*, artinya: "Dalam syurga itu beberapa bidadari tiada yang menyantu dia atau setubuh dengan manusia dahulu atau jin atau malaikat melainkan suaminya juga." Maka adalah duduk oleh suaminya akan mereka itu masing-masing dengan bikirnya yakni perawannya dan lagi yang seperti firman Allah ta'ala di dalam Quran, demikian bunyinya: *Innā ansya 'nāhunnaḥunna insyā 'a. faja 'alnāhunna abkārā. 'aruban atrābā*, artinya: "Bahwa sesungguhnya segala perempuan isi syurga itu, maka Kujadikan ia bikirnya." Dan lagi apabila suda mereka itu jama dengan suaminya kelak, maka (dikembali) dikembalikan pula bikirnya itu seperti sudakala dan lagi dianugerahkan Allah ta'ala akan sekalian mereka itu hamba akan melihat pada tiap-tiap seorang bidadari adalah seribu orang perempuan dunia yang elok parasnya dan memakai ia sederhana pakaiannya. Maka ialah akan suruh-suruhannya yang berbuat khidmat akan bidadari itu. Dan adalah hamba dengar puji-pujiannya, segala mereka itu (tiada), dan adalah tida ada diam mulutnya masing-

- masing mengucap sukur akan Allah dan membaca tasbih dan takbir dan tahlil dan tahmid dan memuji akan Tuhannya selama-lamanya. Setelah itu maka hamba bermohon kepada segala mereka itu, lalu dibawanya pula hamba oleh Jibrail turun kepada maligai yang kenaikan hamba itu.
50. (Canto VII Asmaradana) stanza 36 (...) rinenggen tarub wangunan, kinarya cangkramannya, leledhangira apsantun, yen mimba angandhi asta. VIII Kinanthi. 1. urut satepining banyu, samya andhar pra apsari, warnane ayu utama, umure pat belas warsi, naracak pan maksih kenya, sasolahe asu brangti. 2. wadana pindha mas tatur, dedeg pidegsa respati, angganya tan katon awak, saking kabyating lindri, wilis anglir manik retina, gumebyar katon angrawit. 3. busananing pra apsantun, pan samya aneka warni, kalamun arsa busana, tanana beda sawiji, andina-dina apadha, tanana sulayeng kapti. 4. gandanira marbuk arum, kongas sumawur sumili, dahat karya kenyuting tyas, kudu-kudu mrih saresmi, wit tansah asung lelewa, kaduk ayu pantes wingit.
51. Many Muslims seem to fast also during the months of Rajab and Sha`bān apart from Ramaḍān and thus perform the fast three months anyway. The desirability and the validity of these fasts are of course under discussion. See, for instance, *Questions On Fasting And Extra Worship In Rajab And Sha`Ban* issued by the As-Sunnah Foundation of America (<http://www.sunnah.org/ibadaat/fasting/fasting/index.htm>, accessed 15 September 2004.)
52. "Hai kekasih-Ku Muhammad, adapun pintamu (mu) itu sebenarnya tetapi sampaikan suruh-Ku sampaikan kepada segala umatmu itu kepada tiap-tiap setahun tiga bulan puasa, pada syehari semalam, tujuh waktu ia sembahyang pada senantiasa hari janganlah ia berputusan, lagi barang tegah-Ku jangan dilanggar, niscaya Aku masukkan ia ke dalam syurga-Ku, di sanalah tempatnya pulang bersama-sama dengan dikau sekalian mereka itu, ya Muhammad. Barang siapa tiada mau mengerjakan pesuruh-Ku itu, maka Ku-suruh<sup>54</sup> malaikat kedua orang itu dan satu kiriman dan kedua katibin /96/ yang menyuratkan dia dan Ku-suruh serahkan kepada malaikat Zabariah, niscaya dimasukkannya ke dalam naraka. Dan setelah hamba mendengar firman Allah ta`ala yang demikian itu, maka hamba menjawab firman-Nya itu serta hamba berdatang sembah: "Ya Rab, ya Sayidi, ya Maulaya, ya Tuhanku, ya Rabul-alam<in> (bu) bukannyalah hamba-Mu itu melalui firman Tuhanku dan firman yang asah tiadalah kuasya akan umat hamba-Mu itu, karena banyak yang lemah mengerjakan ibadat sekalian itu, ya Tuhanku. (jika) Jikalau ada rahim dan rahman itu, maka hamba-Mu pinta di dalam setahun, maka hamba pintah sebulan puasa. Maka dapatlah hamba-Mu mengerjakan dia dengan mudah-mudahan. Jikalau dengan kerelaan Tuhanku itu dan pada sehari semalam lima waktu, maka dapatlah ia mengerjakan sembahyang itu." Maka firman Allah ta`ala kasyihanlah ia akan hamba-Nya: "Ya Muhammad, jikalau demikian pintamu itu, maka Aku relakanlah kepada segala umatmu itu engkau suruhlah pada sehari semalam ia mengerjakan sembahyang lima waktu dan pada setahun, maka sebulanlah ia puasa supaya rahmat-Ku itu diperolehnya daripada berkatmu itu, ya Muhammad."
53. (Canto IX, Durma) stanza 23. mring sagunge umatira karya salat, ing sadina sawengi, seket wektu kehnya, sarta malih puwasa, ing sawarsa telung sasih, nabi sandika, sujud lengser apamit. 24. duk prapta ing kajeng Sajratalmuntaha, lan Jabrail kapanggih, sarwi lon turira, mugi enggal paduka, sukuring Hyang

Murbeng Bumi, darpa dardjanya, jeng nabi sukur aglis. 25. sasarengan kalihnya mudhun duk prapta, mring langit ping nem aglis, kapanggih kalawan, nabi Musah atanya, dulurku nabi linuwih, prentahireng Hyang, tuturna mring wak mami. 26. kangjeng nabi umatur saliring rehnya, nabi Musah lingnyaris, lah ta duluringwang, agyandika wangsula, sowan ngarsaning Hyang Widi, anuwun kirang, wit umat dika mesthi. 27. tan kuwawi anglakoni kang kadyeka, tarwiyang nabi nuli, wangsul sowan marang, ngarsanira Hyang Suksma, pinaring kirang sadesi, gya mudhun sigra, mring Musah tur udani. 28. kinen malih wangsul sowan nuwun kirang, wit umat dika sami, mesthi tan kuwawa, lawan malih puwasa, nabi sowan ngarseng Widi, gya pinaringan, nyadasa ping pat nganti. 29. pungkasane pinaringan kirang gangsal, puwasa mung sasasi, nabi Musah ngudya, age malih nuwuna, awit umat dika mesthi, boten anyongga, nabi umatur wengis. 30. boten-boten kawula malih wangsula, ngong supata walahi, wit isin kalintang, pan namung kari gangsal, puwasa kari sasasi, den lakonan, sakala swara myarsi. 31. eh Muhammad den legawa sira karya, lawan umatmu sami, wus ingsun sadhiya, benjang ganjaranira, lan mring umatmu kang sami, ing wurinira, ya ta jeng nabi pamit.

56. *Versunkene Königreiche Indonesiens*, 1995, Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
57. See Teh Gallop and Arps 1991, p. 109.
58. Personal communication with Robert Hefner, 26 October 2004.
59. See <http://www.sunnah.org/ibadaat/fasting/fasting/index.htm>, accessed 15 September 2004.
60. Sometimes I have the impression that in discussions about Indonesian Islam and the Middle East, the term 'Middle East' should be replaced by 'International.' It would be interesting to investigate what the Indonesian ideas about International Muslim standards really are. The fact that Indonesian Muslims tend to look to the Middle East for inspiration and changes of lifestyle is not without its contesters, see e.g. the special number of *Tashwirul Afkar*, Jurnal Refleksi Pemikiran Keagamaan & Kebudayaan, 14/2003 entitled: "Islam Pribumi. Menolak Arabisme, Mencari Islam Indonesia".
61. Unfortunately, time constraints prevented me from including manuscripts in Malaysian collections.

## Bibliography

- al-Gaithi, Shaikh Najm al-Dīn (2000). *Menyingkap Rahasia Isra' Mi'raj Rasulullah SAW* (translated from *Qīṭāt al-Mi'raj* and *al-Mi'rat al-Kabīr* KH. Abdullah Zakiy Al-Kaaf). Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Amiruddin Syah (2002). *Hakekat Isra' Mi'raj*, Jakarta: Institut Kajian Tasawuf Cahaya Perdana "Az Zukhruf".
- Anwar Effendi, S. (1993). *Isra' Mi'raj: Perjalanan Ruang Waktu dalam Kaitannya dengan Penciptaan Alam Raya*, Jakarta: Pradnya Paramita.
- Asy-Sya'rawi, M. Mutawalli (1992', 2000'). *Isra' Mi'raj Mu'jizat Terbesar*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press.
- Bediuzzaman Said Nursi (2003). *Mi'raj Menembus Konstelasi Langit* (translated by Sugeng Hariyanto from *The Prophet Muhammad's Ascension*), Jakarta: Prenada Media.
- Behrend, T.E. (1990). *Museum Sonobudoyo Yogyakarta*. Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara jilid 1. Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan.
- [ed]. (1998) *Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia*. Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara jilid 4. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia-École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Behrend, T.E. dan Titik Pudjiastuti (1997). *Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia*. Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara jilid 3-A – 3-B. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia-École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- [Bidja, I Made] (n.d.) *Putri Panyekahan/Maligia*. Denpasar: Pustaka Bali Post.
- Braginsky, V.I. (1993). *The System of Classical Malay Literature*. Leiden: KITLV Press (KITLV Working Paper 11).
- (1998). *Yang Indah, Berfaedah dan Kamal*. Sejarah Sastra Melayu dalam Abad 7-19. Jakarta: INIS (INIS Materials 34).
- Bruinessen, Martin van (1995 [1999]). *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Cantarino, Vicente (1965). 'Dante and Islam: History and Analysis of a Controversy,' in: De Sua and Rizzo, eds., a *Dante Symposium*, pp. 175-198.
- Cerruli, E. (1949). *Il «Libro della Scala» et la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*. Città Vaticana.
- Doellah, H. Santoso (2002). *Batik: The Impact of Time and Environment*. Solo: Dinar Hadi.
- Ekadjati, Edi S. and Undang A. Darsa (1999). *Jawa Barat; Koleksi Lima Lembaga*. Penyunting: Oman Fathrurahman. Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara Jilid 5A. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia-École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Florida, Nancy K. (1993). *Javanese Literature in Surakarta Manuscripts*. Vol. 1, Introduction and Manuscripts of the Karaton Surakarta. Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program Cornell University.
- (2000). *Javanese Literature in Surakarta Manuscripts*. Vol. 2, Manuscripts of the Mangkunagaran Palace. Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program Cornell University.
- Glazemaker, J.H. (1658). *Mahomets Alkoran. Dor Du Ryer uit d'Arabische i.d. Fransche Taal gestelt; benevens een tweevoudige Beschrijving van Mahomets Leven; en een verhaal van des zelfs Reis ten hemel, gelyk ook zyn Samenspraak met de Jood Abdias*. Amsterdam: J. Riewertsz.
- Hinzler, H.I.R. (1981). *Bina Swarga in Balinese Wayang*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff (Verhandelingen KITLV 90).

- Hollander, J.J. de (1874). *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische taal en letterkunde*. Breda: Koninklijke Militaire Academie.
- Hooykaas, C. (1947<sup>2</sup>). *Over Maleise Literatuur*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Hunter, T.M. (1988). 'Crime and Punishment in Bali: Paintings from a Balinese Hall of Justice', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 22, pp. 62-113.
- Ikram, Achadiati et al. (2001). *Katalog Naskah Buton: Koleksi Abdul Mulku Zahari*. Jakarta: Manassa (Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara), The Toyota Foundation, dan Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Iskandar, Teuku (1995). *Kesusastraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad*. Brunei: Jabatan Kesusasteraan Melayu, Universiti Brunei Darussalam.
- Liaw Yock Fang (1975). *Sejarah Kesusastraan Melayu Klasik*. Singapura: Pustaka Nasional.
- Iskandar, Teuku (1999). *Catalogue of Malay, Minangkabau, and South Sumatran Manuscripts in the Netherlands*, 2 vols. Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom.
- Juynboll, G.A.H. (1969). *The authenticity of tradition literature; discussions in modern Egypt*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Juynboll, H.H. (1899). *Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-bibliotheek*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- (1911). *Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-bibliotheek*. Deel II. Nieuwjavaansche gedichten en oud-, Middel- en Nieuwjavaansche prozageschriften. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Kabbani, Shaikh Muhammad Hisham (2003). *Dialog dengan Para Malaikat. Perspektif Sufi* (Translated from the English by Nur Zain Hae), Jakarta: Hikmah.
- Kern, Willem (1934). *Oudjavaansche en Balische Hellevoorstellingen*, Dissertation Leiden University.
- Knappert, J. (1971). *Swahili Islamic Poetry, III Mi'raj and Maulid*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lindsey, Jennifer, R.M. Soetanto & Alan Feinstein (1994). *Kraton Yogyakarta*. Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara jilid 2. (Jakarta): Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Maftuh Ahnan, Ust. (n.d.). *Peristiwa Perjalanan Isra' Mi'raj Nabi Muhammad, SAW.*, Surabaya: Terbit Terang.
- Marrison, Gepffrey E. (1999). *Sasak and Javanese Literature of Lombok*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Mat Piah, Harun et al. (2002). *Traditional Malay Literature* (Translated by Harry Aveling). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Matthes, B.F. (1875). *Kort verslag aangaande alle mij in Europa bekende Makassaarsche en Boegineesche handschriften, vooral die van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap te Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Spin.
- Meij, Dick van der (1996). *Nabi Aparas. The Shaving of the Prophet Muhammad's Hair*. A facsimile edition of a Javanese manuscript from Lombok. MS. M 53 in the private collection of Dick van der Meij. Leiden: Indonesian-Netherlands Co-operation in Islamic Studies (INIS) in co-operation with Legatum Warnerianum in the Library of Leiden University.
- (1997). 'The Story of Jaratkāru on a Balinese *Ulun-ulun*', in: Dick van der Meij (ed.). *India and Beyond. Aspects of Literature, Meaning, Ritual and Thought*. Essays in Honour of Frits Staal. London and New York: Kegan Paul International/Leiden and Amsterdam: International Institute for Asian Studies, pp. 361-372.
- Miller, George (1982). *Indonesian and Malayan Traditional Manuscripts held in Public Collections in Australia*. Canberra: The Library Australian National University.

- Millie, Jullian (2004). 'The narrative potential of the *mi'raj*: two contexts for its interpretation,' in Jan Jansen and Henk M.J. Maier (eds.). *Epic Adventures: Heroic Narrative in the Oral Performance Traditions of Four Continents*, Münster: Lit Verlag (Literatur Forschung und Wissenschaft Band 3), pp. 128-39.
- Muõs Sendino, J. (1949). *La Escala de Mahoma*. Trad. del árabe al castellano, latin y francés, ordenada por Alfonso X el Sabio. Madrid.
- Noor, Farish A. (n.d.). *Isra' Miraj and the Miracle of Transcendence* on [http://www.pemantau.tripod.com/artikel/05Nov\\_farish.html](http://www.pemantau.tripod.com/artikel/05Nov_farish.html).
- Nyimas Umi Kulsum (2004). 'Naskah-naskah Islam Palembang', in: Achadiati Ikram (ed.). *Jati diri yang terlupakan: Naskah-naskah Palembang*. Jakarta: Yanassa, pp. 115-133.
- PaEni, Mukhlis et al. (2003). *Sulawesi Selatan*. Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara. (Jakarta): Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia [etc.].
- Pamungkas, Ismail (1985<sup>1</sup>, 2003<sup>21</sup>). *Riwayat Nabi Muhammad*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Pateda, Mansur (1991). *Penyelamatan kandungan mikraj Nabi Muhammad SAW dalam bahasa Gorontalo: laporan penelitian*. Gorontalo: Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan, Universitas Sam Ratulangi.
- Pigeaud, Th.G.Th. (1967). *Literature of Java. Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Public Collections in the Netherlands*. Volume I, Synopsis of Javanese Literature 900-1900 A.D.
- (1968). *Literature of Java. Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Public Collections in the Netherlands*. Volume II, Descriptive list of Javanese manuscripts. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Pijper, G.F. (1934). *Fragmenta Islamica: Studiën over het islamisme in Nederlandsch-Indië*. Leiden: Brill.
- (1977). *Studiën over de geschiedenis van de Islam in Indonesië 1900-1950*. Leiden: Brill.
- Pucci, Idanna (1985). *The Epic of Life. A Balinese Journey of the Soul*. New York: Alfred van der Marck.
- (1992). *Bhima Swarga. The Balinese Journey of the Soul*. Boston/Toronto/London: Little, Brown and Company.
- Rahimsyah & Anam (n.d.). *Kisah Perjalanan Nabi Muhammad saw dari Masjidil Haram ke Masjidil Aqsha*. N.p.: Pustaka Agung Harapan.
- (n.d.). *Kisah Perjalanan Nabi Muhammad saw dari Masjidil Aqsha ke Sidratul Muntaha*. N.p.: Pustaka Agung Harapan.
- Ratnawati, Sri (1999). *Pola Bahasa Kitabi dalam serat Mi'raj*. Simposium Internasional Pernaskahan Nusantara III, 12-13 Oktober 1999.
- Ricklefs, M.C. and P. Voorhoeve (1977). *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain. A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections*. Oxford etc.: Oxford University Press.
- Ronkel, Ph.S. van (1909). *Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*. Batavia: Albrecht & Co.-'s Hage: M. Nijhoff.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C. (1950). *Katalog der Malaiischen Handschriften der Königlichen Hofbibliothek in Berlin von C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889 (Cod.Or. 8015 der Leidener Universitätsbibliothek)*.
- (1996). *Aceh, Rakyat dan Adat Istiadatnya (I)*. Jakarta: INIS (INIS Materials 28(I))
- Soebari, Muhammad (2003). *Pelajaran dari Isra Mi'raj Nabi*. Jakarta: Khairul Bayan.

- Soeharto (1985). *Sambutan presiden pada peringatan Isra' Mi'raj Nabi Muhammad SAW pada tgl. 17 Apr. 1985 di Masjid Istiqlal Jakarta*. Jakarta: Direktorat Publikasi, Direktorat Jenderal PPG, Departemen Penerangan.
- Soekarno (1961). *Isyra' Dan Mi'raj Mu'jizat Allah Kepada Nabi Besar Muhammad SAW*. (Jakarta): Jawatan Penerangan Agama, Departemen Agama.
- Syirazi, Nashir Makarim (2004). *Isra' Mikraj. Sebuah Pandangan Alternatif*. Ciomas-Bogor: Qorina.
- Teh Gallop, Annabel and Bernard Arps (1991). *Golden Letters. Writing Traditions of Indonesia/Surat Emas. Budaya Tulis di Indonesia*. London: British Library/Jakarta: Yayasan Lontar.
- Usep Abdul Matin (1999). *The occasion of the Isrā' Mi'rāj: A comparative study of Moroccan, Turkish, and Indonesian Muslim communities in the Netherlands*. MA thesis, Leiden University.
- (2001). 'The Isrā' Mi'rāj among Moroccan, Turkish, and Indonesian Muslims', *Kultur, The Indonesian Journal for Muslim Culture*, 1/2, pp. 115-134.
- Voorhoeve, P. (1994). *Catalogue of Acehnese Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Collections outside Aceh. Compiled by P. Voorhoeve in Co-operation with T. Iskandar. Translated and Edited by M. Durie*. Leiden: Leiden University Library (Legatum Warnerianum). in co-operation with Indonesian Linguistics Development Project (ILDEP).
- Vredenburg, Jacob (1990). *Bawean dan Islam*. Jakarta: INIS (INIS Materials 8).
- Wernedly, George Henrik (1736). *Maleische spraakkunst : uit de eige schriften der Maleiers opgemaakt; met eene voorreden, behelzende eene inleiding tot dit werk, en een aanhangsel van twee boekzalen van boeken, in deze tale zo van Europeers, als van Maleiers geschreven / door.* — Amsterdam: Oost-Indische Maatschappij.
- Wieringa, E.P. (1998). *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other Collections in the Netherlands*. Volume One Comprising the Acquisitions of Malay Manuscripts in Leiden University Library up to the Year 1896. Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum in Leiden University Library.
- Wunderli, Peter (1968). *Le Livre de L'Eschiele Mahomet*. Bern: Francke Verlag (Romanica Helvetica vol. 77).
- Zulkarnaen, M. Rifqy (2004). *Mukjizat Rasulullah with a preface by Prof. Dr. Ahmad Tafsir*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.

## Appendix:

### *Isrā' Mi'rāj* Manuscripts in Malay and other Indonesian Languages<sup>55</sup>

**Malay** Leiden University Library: Cod. Or. 1713 (Juynboll, 1899:203-4; Wieringa, 1998:6-5; Iskandar, 1999:15) (= Monash University m/film 195 [Miller, 1982:12]), Cod. Or. 3300 (Iskandar 1999:150), Cod. Or. 3305, Cod. Or. 3306(1) (Juynboll, 1899:204-5; Iskandar 1999:156-7)), Cod. Or. 6728 (Iskandar 1999:364); Amsterdam University Library: UBA XI G 14 (Iskandar 1999:948); Jakarta National Library: PN Br 207, ML 123, ML 186, ML 199, ML 358, ML 364, ML 389, ML 412, W 78 (Van Ronkel 1909, Behrend 1998); Buton IS/107/AMZ (Ikram et al. 2001:143); London British Library Add. 12399 (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, 1977:110); Royal Asiatic Society Maxwell 97 (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, 1977:149); India Office Library Malay B. 3D (IO 2609) (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, 1977:123); Cambridge Emmanuel College Library 3.2.10 (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, 1977:111); Berlin Schoemann V, 31; V, 32 (Snouck Hurgronje, 1950:204-9).

**Acehnese** Leiden University Library: Hikayat Mè'reuet. Cod. Or. 8128(3) (Legacy Snouck Hurgronje), Cod. Or. 8677, Cod. Or. 8705i (Damsté Collection) (Voorhoeve, 1994:160-1); Amsterdam Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen 687/77 (Voorhoeve, 1994:161); Jakarta National Library: Vt.145e, PN Vt.47C (Voorhoeve, 1994:161, both not in Behrend 1998!).

**Javanese** Poetic versions Leiden University Library (*tembang macapat*) Cod. Or. 5039 (Juynboll, 1911:44, Pigeaud, 1968:256, ms. from Lombok, Marrison 1999:56), Cod. Or. 6776 (= Cod. Or. 10.837, Pigeaud, 1968:413, ms. made for Pigeaud of a ms of the Panti Budaya collection); (other *tembang* versions) Cod. Or. 2187(4), Cod. Or. 6390 (Pigeaud, 1968:366, ms. from Yogyakarta); Jakarta National Library: (prose versions) Aw 73, Br 224 (prose?), KBG 436 (prose?), KBG 984, (Behrend 1998); Faculty of Arts, University of Indonesia: (*tembang macapat*) FSUI CI. 54, CI. 90; (other *tembang* versions) FSUI CI. 88; (prose versions) FSUI BA 291, CI 89 (Behrend and Pudjiasturi 1997); Surakarta, Kraton: (*tembang macapat*) KS 537 (Florida 1993:298-9); Pura Mangkunagaran (other *tembang* versions [*tembang gedhe*] MN 277C (Florida 2000:176-7); Yogyakarta, Museum Sonobudoyo: (*tembang macapat*) MSB I21, I22, I23, (Behrend 1990:551-3); (other *tembang* versions [*tembang gedhe*] MSB I24, I25, I25a (Behrend 1990:553-4); (prose versions) MSB I20 (Behrend 1990:551); Kraton (Prose and Tembang Gedhe) W.326, W.327, W.328 (Lindsay, Soetanto & Feinstein 1994)

**Buginese** 75 privately owned manuscripts mentioned in PaEni et al. 2003, p. 976.

**Makassarese** Pau-paunna maera'na na'bia s. A. 'a.w.s., Leiden: (Matthes, 1875:14) mno. 33,1; United Kingdom: SOAS MS 41498 (Ricklefs & Voorhoeve, 1977:101), many manuscripts mentioned in PaEni et al. 2003, p. 976.

**Madurese** Mehrat Nabi Mukamad, Leiden: Cod. Or. 4862 = Cod. Or. 4954 (Juynboll, 1907:22); Musium Mpu Tantular Surabaya 2068M.



Palembang Pusat Manuskrip Melayu Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia *Kitāb al-Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj* (Nyimas Umi Kulsum 2004:130-131).

*Sundanese* Cod. Or. 3350 (Juynboll, 1899:328-9); *Kitab Miraj* PN Br 299, I50, I51 (Ekadjati and Darsa 1999:273-4)

#### Abbreviations

- Cod. Or. = Leiden University Library  
FSUI = Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia (Behrend & Pudjiastuti, 1997)  
KS = Karaton Surakarta  
KY = Kraton Yogyakarta (Lindsay, Soetanto & Feinstein 1994)  
MN = Mangkunagaran  
MSB = Museum Sonobudoyo (Behrend, 1990)  
PN = Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia (Behrend [ed.], 1998)

---

Dick van der Meij works at Leiden University for the Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS) and is currently visiting Professor at the Postgraduate program UIN Jakarta.

# Index of Articles, 2004

## I. Vol. 11, No. 1, 2004

### Articles

*William R. Roff*

*Pondoks, Madrasahs and the Production of 'Ulamā' in Malaysia*

*Jajat Burhanudin*

*The Fragmentation of Religious Authority: Islamic Print Media in Early 20th Century Indonesia*

*Yudi Latif*

*On the Genesis of Intellectual Crossroads: Early Fragmentation in the Formation of Modern Indonesian Intelligentsia*

*Abdul Ala*

*Niqāṭ al-Ittiqā' bain Madhhab al-Taḥdīth al-Jadīd wa al-Ittijāh al-Taqlīdī al-Mutaṭawwir al-Judhūr al-Ma'rifiyyah li Madhhab al-Jauhariyyah al-Islāmiyyah wa Intishāruhā fi Indūnīsiyyā*

*Toto Suharto*

*Ma'had Ittiḥād al-Islām (Persis) 1984-1996 wa al-Ta'lim al-Qā'im 'alā Di'āmah al-Mujtama'*

### Book Review

*Jajat Burhanudin*

*Islam dan Negara-Bangsa: Melacak Akar-Akar Nasionalisme Indonesia*

### Document

*Ismatu Ropi*

*In Search of Principles of Good Governance: Lessons Learned from a Series of Workshops on "Islamic-Western Dialogues on Governance Values"*

## II. Vol. 11, No. 2, 2004

**Articles***Jajang Jahroni*

Defending the Majesty of Islam:  
Indonesia's Front Pembela Islam (FPI) 1998-2003

*Mohammad Redzuan Othman*

In Search of an Islamic Leader:  
Malay Perceptions of Ibn Sa'ūd's Triumph and  
the Domination of the Wahhābīs in Saudi Arabia

*Zulkifli*

Being a Shr'ite among the Sunnī Majority  
in Indonesia: A Preliminary Study of  
Ustadz Husein Al-Habsyi (1921-1994)

*Muhammad Nursamad*

Nahḍat al-'Ulamā' bain al-Bāṭiniyyah al-Jāwiyyah  
wa al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī: 'Arḍun wa Munāqashāt

*Sri Denti*

Mumārasāt al-Sulūk bi Mīnānjakābāu:  
Taṭbīq al-Ta'ālīm al-Islāmiyyah 'alā al-Thaqāfah al-Maḥalliyyah

**Book Review***Oman Fathurahman*

Jaringan Ulama: Pembaharuan dan Rekonsiliasi  
dalam Tradisi Intelektual Islam  
di Dunia Melayu-Indonesia

**Document***Yumi SUGAHARA*

International Symposium on Archipelago Manuscripts VIII:  
In Search of Local Islam in Manuscripts

حقوق الطبع محفوظة  
عنوان المراسلة:

STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian  
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta  
Jl. Kertamukti no. 5, P.O. Box 225 Pisangan Barat  
Ciputat 15419 Jakarta, Indonesia  
Telp. (62-21) 7423543, 7499227; Fax. (62-21) 742 3543  
E-mail: studia@cbn.net.id.

رقم الحساب:  
خارج إندونيسيا (دولارا أمريكا):

PPIM-CENSIS, CITIBANK Jakarta, Indonesia,  
account No. 3000212848 (USD), ABA No. 021 000089,  
ABA Routing # 10995291 Swift Code: citiidjx

داخل إندونيسيا (روبية):

PPIM-CENSIS Citibank, Jakarta No. Rek: 3000212831

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي خارج إندونيسيا:  
لسنة واحدة: ٦٠ دولارا أمريكا (للمؤسسة)، ٤٥ دولارا أمريكا (للفرد)،  
٣٠ دولارا أمريكا (للطالب). قيمة العدد الواحد: ٢٠ دولارا أمريكا.  
قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:  
لسنة واحدة: ٦٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للمؤسسة)، ٤٥,٠٠٠ روبية (للفرد)،  
٣٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للطالب).  
قيمة العدد الواحد: ٢٠,٠٠٠ روبية.

والقيمة مشتملة على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوي.



Australia  
Indonesia  
Institute

# ستوديا إسلاميكا

مجلة إندونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة الحادية عشر، العدد ٣، ٢٠٠٤

هيئة الإشراف على التحرير:

- م. قريش شهاب (الجامعة الإسلامية الحكومية جاكرتا)  
توفيق عبد الله (المؤسسة الإندونيسية للعلوم)  
نور أ. فاضل لوبيس (الجامعة الإسلامية الحكومية سومطرة الشمالية)  
م. ش. ريكليف (جامعة ميلبورن)  
مارتين فان برونسين (جامعة أترنخة)  
جوهن ر. بووين (جامعة واسنجتون، س.ت. لويس)  
م. عطاء مظهر (الجامعة الإسلامية الحكومية جوكرتا)  
م. كمال حسن (الجامعة الإسلامية العالمية كوالا لومبور)

رئيس التحرير:

أزيوماردي أورا

المحررون:

سيف المجاني

جمهاري

حاجات برهان الدين

عمان فتح الرحمن

فؤاد جبلي

سكريتير التحرير:

حيني نورني

تصميم ومراجعة اللغة الإنجليزية:

رابت كينج حام

تصميم ومراجعة اللغة العربية:

نور صمد

تصميم الغلاف:

س. برنكا

ستوديا إسلاميكا (ISSN: 0215-0492) هي مجلة دورية يصدرها مركز البحوث الإسلامية والاجتماعية (PPIM) جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاكرتا (STT/DEPPEN NO. 129/DITJEN/PPG/ STT/1976) وأيدها Australia-Indonesia Institute (AII)، وتخصص للدراسات الإسلامية في إندونيسيا، بقصد نشر البحوث والمقالات التي تبحث في القضايا الأخيرة. وتدعو المجلة العلماء والمثقفين إلى أن يبعثوا إليها بمقالاتهم العلمية التي تتعلق برسالة المجلة. والمقالات المنشورة على صفحات هذه الدورية لا تعبر بالضرورة عن إدارة التحرير أو الهيئات ذات الارتباط وإنما عن آراء الكتاب. وهذه المجلة قد أقرتها وزارة التعليم القومي مجلة علمية (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 23a/DIKTI/Kep/2004)