

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 5, Number 3, 1998



---

THE ORIGIN OF THE ISLAMIC REFORM MOVEMENT  
IN MINANGKABAU: LIFE AND THOUGHT OF ABDUL KARIM AMRULLAH

Murni Djamal

---

NOTES TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF  
QUR'ANIC EXEGESIS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

R. Michael Feener

---

TWO *FATWÁS* ON JIHÁD AGAINST THE DUTCH COLONIZATION  
IN INDONESIA: A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF *FATWÁ*

Amiq

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. v, no. 3, 1998

---

## EDITORIAL BOARD:

*Harun Nasution*  
*Mastuhu*  
*M. Quraish Shihab*  
*A. Aziz Dahlan*  
*M. Satria Effendi*  
*Nabilah Lubis*  
*M. Yunan Yusuf*  
*Komaruddin Hidayat*  
*M. Din Syamsuddin*  
*Muslim Nasution*  
*Wahib Mu'thi*

## EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:

*Azyumardi Azra*

## EDITORS:

*Saiful Mujani*  
*Hendro Prasetyo*  
*Johan H. Meuleman*  
*Didin Syafruddin*  
*Ali Munhanif*

## ASSISTANTS TO THE EDITOR:

*Arief Subhan*  
*Oman Fathurrahman*  
*Heni Nuroni*

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVISOR:

*Donald Potter*

## ARABIC LANGUAGE ADVISOR:

*Nursamad*

## COVER DESIGNER:

*S. Prinka*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published quarterly by the Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN), the State Institute for Islamic Studies Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta. (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) and sponsored by the Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies, 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.*

## Notes towards the History of Qur'anic Exegesis in Southeast Asia

**Abstraksi:** *Aktivitas penulisan tafsir di Dunia Melayu atau Asia Tenggara telah dimulai sejak beberapa abad lalu. Meskipun masih dalam bentuk elementer, sejak abad 17 wilayah ini telah memproduksi tafsir. Sebuah manuskrip Melayu asal Aceh yang tersimpan di Universitas Cambridge menunjukkan bahwa teknik penulisan dan metode penafsiran yang diterapkan saat itu masih tergolong sederhana. Manuskrip ini yang merupakan tafsir surat al-Kahfi ditulis dengan tinta merah disertai terjemahan serta komentar yang ditulis dengan tinta hitam.*

*Teknik penulisan dalam naskah ini belum memisahkan ruang antara teks Arab al-Qur'an, terjemahan dan tafsir. Ketiganya masih diletakkan dalam halaman yang sama tanpa pemisahan yang tegas kecuali pembedaan warna tinta. Model ini terus diterapkan di Dunia Melayu sampai abad 19, dan baru pada awal abad 20 dikembangkan teknik lain yang lebih sistematis, yaitu penulisan teks Arab al-Quran yang agak renggang secara berurutan untuk memberi ruang bagi penulisan terjemahan atau tafsir di sela-sela garisnya. Lebih lanjut, teknik lay-out yang dikembangkan adalah dengan membagi setiap halaman menjadi dua ruang, yang satu untuk teks Arab al-Qur'an dan yang satunya untuk terjemahan. Sedangkan tafsir atas teks tersebut ditulis secara terpisah dalam bentuk catatan pinggir atau catatan kaki. Teknik yang membagi setiap halaman menjadi dua bagian ini masih terus dipakai hingga sekarang sebagaimana yang tampak dalam kitab-kitab tafsir yang terbit di Indonesia maupun di negara-negara tetangga lainnya.*

*Wilayah Asia Tenggara tampaknya tidak mencatat perkembangan yang*

pesat dalam pengembangan disiplin tafsir. Hal ini terbukti bahwa baru pada abad 17 bidang kajian ini berhasil memproduksi tafsir. Sementara itu, bidang-bidang lain seperti tasawwuf, filsafat dan fiqh telah mencatat prestasi yang lebih baik. Di kalangan pesantren tafsir bukanlah disiplin ilmu keislaman yang mendapat perhatian besar. Banyak pesantren yang hanya sedikit atau sama sekali tidak mengajarkan ilmu ini karena para santri dianggap belum siap menggelutinya. Berbeda dengan ilmu keislaman lain, disiplin tafsir dipandang sebagai ilmu yang berat dan mensyaratkan keahlian tertentu; hanya mereka yang memiliki bekal pengetahuan keagamaan yang memadai yang diperbolehkan mempelajari dan menulis tafsir.

Sampai awal abad 20, metode tafsir yang diterapkan sebagian besar ulama Indonesia belum mencerminkan bobot ilmiah yang tinggi. Satu-satunya karya tafsir yang memiliki bobot ilmiah tinggi adalah Terjemahan al-Mustafid karya Abdurrauf Singkel. Tafsir yang ditulis pada paruh kedua abad 17 ini menjadi karya menonjol sampai memasuki abad 20. Karya-karya lain sepanjang periode ini masih cenderung mencampuradukkan bahan-bahan yang tidak sah dalam menjabarkan kandungan kitab suci. Misalnya, cerita-cerita yang berasal dari luar Islam atau khazanah pra-Islam sering digunakan. Cerita-cerita yang biasanya disebut *isra'iliyyat* ini dipakai para mufassir sebagai bahan dalam menginterpretasikan kejadian atau informasi yang dikandung dalam al-Qur'an.

Dalam abad 20 penggunaan *isra'iliyyat* belum hilang sepenuhnya. Mufassir modern seperti Bey Arifin juga masih memakai *isra'iliyyat* dalam karya tafsirnya Rangkaian Tjerita dalam al-Qur'an. Penggunaan *isra'iliyyat* tampaknya muncul dari kuatnya pengaruh karya-karya tafsir yang ditulis oleh al-Tha'labi (w. 1035), al-Baghawi (w. 1122) dan al-Khazin (w. 1340). Karya tafsir lain yang juga kuat pengaruhnya terhadap perkembangan ilmu ini di Asia Tenggara adalah Tafsir Jalalayn sebagaimana tampak pada karya Abdurrauf Singkel di atas.

Perkembangan tafsir yang cepat baru terjadi pada abad 20. Di Indonesia tercatat nama-nama mufassir seperti A. Hassan, Haji Rasul, Bisri Mustafa, Bahrum Rangkuti dan Munawar Chalil. Di Malaysia terdapat nama Muhammad Yusuf To' Kenali dan di Thailand ada Direk Kulsiriswasd. Pada periode yang lebih kontemporer tercatat juga nama-nama seperti HAMKA, H.B. Jassin, M. Dawam Rahardjo, M. Qur'aisy Shihab dan Jalaluddin Rahmat. Metode yang mereka terapkan cukup beragam; sebagian mengadopsi karya klasik al-Razi atau al-Maraghi dan sebagian lagi mengambil literatur tafsir modern karya Muhammad Abduh dan Sayyid Qutb. Di antara mereka juga ada yang menerapkan model penafsiran tematik (*maudhu'i*), metodologi yang diperkenalkan tokoh neo-modernis, Fazlur Rahman.

## ملاحظات على تاريخ التفسير القرآني في جنوب شرقي آسيا

خلاصة: لقد بدأ نشاط التفسير القرآني في عالم الملايو أو جنوب شرقي آسيا منذ عصور مضت. ورغم أنه لم يزل في مرحلة مبكرة إلا أنه سجل للمسلمين في هذه المنطقة منذ القرن السابع عشر الميلادي وجود إنتاج علمي في مجال التفسير، فالمخطوطة الواردة من آشييه (Aceh) المحفوظة في جامعة كامبريدج (Cambridge) تشير إلى أن أسلوب التفسير والمنهج المتبع في ذلك العصر كان يتميز بالبساطة؛ وهذه المخطوطة والتي يملكها عالم في الدراسات العربية وهو إيرينوس (Erpenus) تتضمن - من بين السور التي تتعرض لها - تفسير سورة الكهف المكتوبة بالخير الأحمر مع ترجمة وتفسير بالخير الأسود.

ولم يكن أسلوب الكتابة في هذا التفسير يتيح بين سطور النص القرآني حيزا للترجمة والتفسير، إذ وضعوا النص والترجمة والتفسير في صفحة واحدة بدون فواصل تميز بينها إلا لون الخير، واستمر اتباع هذا الأسلوب في عالم الملايو حتى القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي، وفي أوائل القرن العشرين فقط بدأ تطوير أسلوب آخر أكثر منهجيا، وهو وضع حيز بين سطور النص القرآني للترجمة والتفسير، وعلاوة على ذلك، ويفضل التأثير الغربي أصبح أسلوب الكتابة المتبع هو تقسيم الصفحة إلى عمودين، خصص أحدهما للنص القرآني والآخر للترجمة، وأما التفسير فعلى الهامش أو الحاشية، واستمر هذا الأسلوب حتى الآن كما ظهر في كتب التفاسير الصادرة في اندونيسيا وفي الدول الأخرى المجاورة.

ويبدو أن منطقة جنوب شرقي آسيا لم تشهد ازدهارا في علم التفسير، ذلك أنه لم يظهر كتاب في هذا المجال - وحتى كان ذلك في صورة بسيطة - إلا في القرن السابع عشر الميلادي، بينما شهدت العلوم الأخرى مثل التصوف والفلسفة والفقه تطورا أكبر، وكان من بين الأسباب التي أصابت هذا العلم بالضعف هو مكانته الهامشية (في المنطقة)، فالتفسير ليس من العلوم الإسلامية التي تسترعى الانتباه لدى المعاهد التراثية، فالقليل منها أو حتى لا يوجد أحد منها يقوم بتدريس هذا العلم بناء على اعتقاد بأن التلاميذ لم يتأهلوا لدراسته. وخلافا للعلوم الأخرى كان علم التفسير يعد أصعب العلوم ويشترط فيه مؤهلا معيناً لاستيعابه.

وإلى أوائل القرن العشرين الميلادي لم يكن منهج التفسير الذي طبقه المفسرون الاندونيسيون يعكس كفاءة علمية عالية، وكان المؤلف الوحيد الذي يتمتع بهذه الميزة هو كتاب ترجمان المستفيد لعبد الرؤوف السنكلي (Abdurauuf Singkel) الذي انتهى من تأليفه في النصف الثاني من القرن السابع عشر ومازال يحتل مكانة بارزة حتى القرن العشرين الميلادي، وكانت كتب التفسير طوال هذه الفترة مازالت تنزع منزعا يختلط فيه المنهج العلمي مع غير العلمي في سبيل بيان محتوى القرآن، حيث كان تأثير الثقافات غير الإسلامية - على سبيل المثال - أو المأخوذة من تراث ما قبل الإسلام قويا في إيراد القصص القرآنية. وهذه المعلومات التي أطلق عليها عادة باسم الاسرائيليات يجعلها المفسرون وسيلة لتفسير حادث أو حقيقة تحدث عنها القرآن الكريم، وحيث أن القصص من الاسرائيليات تعد ضعيفة فقد اتجه كبار العلماء إلى رفضها.

وحتى بحلول القرن العشرين لم يستطع التفسير أن يتخلص من الاسرائيليات تماما، فالمفسر المعاصر من أمثال بي عارفين (Bey Arifin) مازال يستخدم هذا النوع من المعلومات في كتاب له بعنوان سلسلة من القصص

القرآنية (Rangkaian Cerita al-Qur'an)، وكان ذلك فيما يبدو من قوة التأثير العلمى الناشئ عن كتب التفسير التى ألفها كل من الثعلبى المتوفى ١٠٣٥م والبلغوى المتوفى ١١٢٢م والخازن المتوفى ١٣٤٠م، وقد ظهر أن مؤلفاتهم مفعومة بالتأثيرات اليهودية والمسيحية، ومع ذلك هناك مؤلفات أخرى غيرها لا تقل تأثيراً على تطور هذا العلم فى جنوب شرقى آسيا وهو تفسير الجلالين كما ظهر فى ذلك فى التفسير الذى ألفه عبد الرؤوف السنكلى المشار إليه، حيث كان الكتاب الوحيد الذى يستحب تدريسه فى المعاهد التراثية لسنين عديدة منذ القرن التاسع عشر الميلادى.

ولم يشهد علم التفسير التقدم الملحوظ إلا فى القرن العشرين، ففى اندونيسيا ظهرت أسماء لامعة من المفسرين مثل أحمد حسان (A. Hassan) والحاج رسول (Haji Rasul) وبصرى مصطفى (Bisri Mustafa) وباحروم رائكوتى (Bahrum Rangkuti) ومنور خليل (Munawar Chalil)، وأما فى ماليزيا فقد ظهر مفسرون من أمثال محمد يوسف تعكينالى (Muhammad Yusuf To'Kenali) وفى تيلاند ديرك كولسيريسواسد (Direk Kulsiriswasd)، وفى فترة متأخرة من العصر الحاضر ظهر مفسرون من أمثال حمكا (HAMKA) وح.ب. ياسين (H.B. Jassin) ودوام راهارجو (Dawam Raharjo) ومحمد قريش شهاب (M.Quraish Shihab) وجلال الدين رحمت (Jalaluddin Rahmat). وكان المنهج الذى يتبعونه جد مختلف، فبينما يبتنى بعضهم ما سار عليه الرازى أو المراغى قديماً يتجه بعضهم إلى اتباع ما سار عليه المفسرون حديثاً فى تفسير من أمثال محمد عبده وسيد قطب، كما أن بعضهم يلتزمون بالتفسير الموضوعى الذى سار عليه عالم التحديث الجديد وهو فضل الرحمن (Fazlur Rahman).



Although throughout the Qur'ân we are told that it is a 'clear'<sup>1</sup> revelation, even in Muhammad's time some further explanation of certain passages was required. During the lifetime of the Prophet, this was generally supplied by the words and actions of Muhammad himself. In the generations that followed, further endeavors to interpret the Qur'ân employed various methods from the incorporation of Jewish and Christian stories of previous prophets (*isrâ'iliyyat*) to sophisticated philological analysis until it developed into the specific science of scriptural exegesis which is today referred to as *tafsîr* proper.

There have been numerous studies of this genre of Arabic literature, however almost all have had to work in or through the shadow of Ignaz Goldziher's pioneering work, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranau- slegung*.<sup>2</sup> While there is no denying the obvious merits of this work, its very structure imposed certain limitations on its scope which has had a detrimental effect upon many subsequent studies done in this field.<sup>3</sup> Goldziher organizes the work according to a series of chapters, each of which deals with a particular 'tendency/ theme' (*richtung*) including: traditional, dogmatic, mystical, sectarian, and modern exegesis. In doing this, a number of important works seems to fall through the cracks and are only mentioned, if at all, by way of asides. Many of these neglected works are what might be classified as 'didactic' *tafsîr* that were compiled specifically to be used as pedagogical resources with a mind to the needs of beginning students. As such they often lack the comprehensiveness of al-Tabârî, the linguistic sophistication of Zamakhshârî, and the meta-physical intricacies of Ibn 'Arabî or the Ikhwân al-Safâ. However, they have for centuries served as bridges to such works and, even for those students who took their studies no further than the introductory texts, served a valuable role in the maintenance of Islamic learning in various parts of the world. In this essay we will examine some such texts with an eye to their particular role in the development of the study of Qur'ânic exegesis in Muslim Southeast Asia.

The earliest textual evidence we have of Qur'ânic exegetical activity in Muslim Southeast Asia, comes to us in a Malay manuscript held at Cambridge which was formerly the property of the Dutch Arabist Erpenius, who acquired it after it was brought back from Aceh at the turn of the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> In it the Arabic text of *sûrah* 18, *al-Kahf*, is written in red ink followed by Malay translation and running commentary in black.<sup>5</sup> At various points throughout the *sûrah* are interspersed "lengthy anecdotal interpolations"<sup>6</sup> in Malay as well. Peter Riddell has



discovered that this text was primarily based upon the commentary of al-Khâzin entitled *Ma'alim al-Tanzîl*, but that it drew upon other commentaries as well, including those of al-Baydâwî.<sup>7</sup>

Of the commentary of Baydâwî we will have occasion to say more later. Thus here we will focus on the former work of al-Khâzin, which plays a determining role in the overall tone of the tafsîr work preserved in the Cambridge MS. 'Alâ al-Dîn Abû Hasan 'Alî b. Muh. Ibrâhîm 'Umar b. Khalîl al-Sihî al-Baghdadî al-Shâfi'i al-Sûfî al-Khâzin<sup>8</sup> worked mostly in Syria and died at Aleppo in 740/1340. He is known to have written a work of tafsîr entitled, *Lubab al-Ta'wîl fî Ma'ânî al-Tanzîl* which was heavily influenced by the work of al-Baghâwî who in turn followed the method of al-Tha'labî (d. 427/1035). Al-Tha'labî is known principally for two works; a tafsîr entitled *al-Kashf wa al-Bayân 'an Tafsîr al-Qur'ân* and *'Arâ'is al-Majâlis*, a collection of stories about the prophets in the vein of *Qissas al-Anbiyâ'*.<sup>9</sup>

Between al-Tha'labî and al-Khâzin, this 'school' of tafsîr was continued in the work of Abû Muhammad al-Husayn b. Mas'ûd b. Muhammad al-Farra' al-Baghâwî (d. 516/1122 or 510/1117).<sup>10</sup> The fact that he wrote a work of tafsîr, entitled *Ma'alim al-Tanzîl*,<sup>11</sup> is little known and in fact is not even mentioned in Professor Robson's article in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.<sup>12</sup> Al-Baghâwî is perhaps more widely known for his *Masâbih al-Sunna* (or *al-Dujâ*), a collection of Prophetic traditions arranged according to subject.<sup>13</sup> Reference to the knowledge of this text in Muslim Southeast Asia is found as early as the sixteenth century. For thence dates a Javano-Muslim text which makes explicit reference to a work entitled *Masabeh Mafateh*. Professor Drewes has identified as a Javanized form of "*Mafâtiḥ al-Raja' fî Sharḥ Masâbih al-Duja* (or *al-Sunna*), a commentary by al-Wasitî (d. 797/1394) on the well-known collection of edifying traditions entitled *Masâbih al-Duja* (or *al-Sunna*) compiled by al-Baghâwî."<sup>14</sup>

The *tafsîr* works of al-Khâzin, al-Tha'labî, and al-Baghâwî contain a number of elements drawn from Judeo-Christian tradition.<sup>15</sup> Such *isrâ'iliyyat* were criticized by a number of scholars for their use of weak (*dha'îf*) traditions in their collections; and it is for this reason that they have been the object of such opprobrium, and outright neglect in the Arab-speaking areas of the Muslim world, and subsequently in Western scholarship. However, the uncritical relation of *isrâ'iliyyat* and other 'miraculous' tales (for which these commentaries have been criticized) does not seem to have posed a serious obstacle to their acceptance in early Muslim Southeast Asia, and in fact may have even facilitated it.<sup>16</sup>

In fact, the use of anecdotal material and *isrâ'iliyyat* to elaborate upon figures and events mentioned in the Qur'ân never wholly disappeared from the Islamic literatures of Muslim Southeast Asia. One form of this can be found in the collection of stories concerning the Qur'anic prophets which were collected together in texts such as those examined by Professor van Wijk. They include three manuscripts formerly held in the collection of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen which have been attributed to Entjik Hoesain Boegis.<sup>17</sup> The work contains what is often considered to be *isrâ'iliyyat*, or tales derived from the pre-Islamic scriptures of the people of the book. They might all too easily be excluded from a study of *tafsîr* proper altogether and instead linked with the genre of *Qissas al-Anbiyâ*. However, while one of the three texts dealt with by van Wijk does bear this title, the text that immediately precedes it is entitled, *Kitab Ahloe'tafsi'r*, giving an indication of how the text may have been regarded by the author, copyist, and intended audience.<sup>18</sup> While such works might not fit the classical criterion for being considered *tafsîr* proper established by such authorities as al-Suyûti in his *al-Itqân*<sup>19</sup> (and upheld somewhat dogmatically by many Orientalists), they should not be a priori excluded from consideration in a study of the history of Qur'anic exegesis.

More modern works along these lines continue to be composed in contemporary Indonesia, although not in the quantity that more 'standard' types of *tafsîr* are. One such publication that has gone through several editions and combines such *qissas* elements with historical events contemporary with the Prophet that are alluded to in the Qur'ân is Bey Arifin's *Rangkaian Tjerita dalam al-Qur'an*.<sup>20</sup> Here again elaboration of the former draws considerably from the *isrâ'iliyyat* while the latter is taken from the *hadîth* and *sîrah* literature from which comprise the foundations of Muslim historiography.<sup>21</sup>

Such material, however, seems to have generally fallen out of favor in more 'systematic' works of *tafsîr* produced in Malay-Indonesian World since the mid-seventeenth century. And from that time on we find the field being almost exclusively held by one work, the *Tarjumân al-Mustafid* of 'Abd al-Ra'uf Singkeli.<sup>22</sup> 'Abd al-Ra'uf (known locally in Aceh as Teungku di Kuala) was born in Aceh in the first part of the seventeenth century and left there in 1642 to perform the pilgrimage and to further his studies in Arabia. There he stayed for nineteen years, visiting and studying at such centers as Zabid, Bayt al-Faqih, Mecca, and Medina.<sup>23</sup> It was in the last mentioned of these centers where he spent the majority of his time studying under the renowned Sûfi

Shaykhs Ahmad al-Qushayshî (d. 1661) and Ibrâhîm al-Kuranî (d. 1101 H./1690).<sup>24</sup> After the death of al-Qushayshî in 1661, 'Abd al-Ra'uf returned to Aceh where he wrote numerous works on *fiqh*, *hadîth*, the duties of teachers and students, *tasawwuf*, and *tafsîr* until his death ca. 1700.<sup>25</sup> While his grave site at Banda Aceh continues to be visited to this day by devotees who venerate him as a great sûfi of the Shattariyyah order,<sup>26</sup> he is more widely remembered for his work of *tafsîr*, the above-mentioned *Tarjumân al-Mustafid*.

The *Tarjumân* has often been regarded as being basically as Malay translation of the well-known commentary of al-Baydâwî,<sup>27</sup> an opinion popularized by Snouck Hurgronje, presumably resulting from a quick skimming through his copy of the Istanbul edition of this work.<sup>28</sup> This superficial understanding was then echoed by a host of other scholars including Rinkes and Voorhoeve, and even found its way onto the title page of an edition of the *Tarjumân* published at Singapore in 1951.<sup>29</sup> However, a more thorough study by Peter Riddell has revealed that in fact, references to and citations from Baydâwî's commentary are rather rare in the *Tarjumân*, and the latter text seems instead to be largely an adaptation of the *Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn* with occasional insertions of information from Baydâwî, al-Khâzin, and Abdurra'uf himself, with subsequent minor additions by his student, Baba Da'ud Jawi.<sup>30</sup> This work was until very recently the only Malay-language *tafsîr* of the entire Qur'ân and continues to be taught today in a limited number of *pondok pesantren* and similar institutions in parts of Indonesia, Malaysia, and southern Thailand (Patani).

While Abdurra'uf Singkeli's *Tarjumân al-Mustafid* remained standard work of *tafsîr* and translation in Malay, other texts attest to the existence of similar work in other regional languages of Muslim South-east Asia. In the early part of the nineteenth century, Sir Stamford Raffles acquired a text which his colleague Dr. Leyden, incorrectly identified as being written in Bugis. The text in question is actually written in Makassarese and constitutes a paraphrase of the Qur'ân in that language.<sup>31</sup> The first two *sûrahs* of this paraphrase were edited and translated into Dutch by B.F. Matthes in 1856.<sup>32</sup> The text itself is a rather loose translation from the Arabic and would thus be considered a type of *tafsîr* rather than a straight translation.<sup>33</sup>

Yet another method of Qur'anic 'translation' and interpretation can be found in Javanese literature, where one discovers a tradition of inserting an interlinear Javanese translation (written in *pegon*, or Arabic script) into the text of the Qur'ân itself. Examples of this exist in

numerous manuscript copies and a handful of printed editions such as that by Lange & Co. of Batavia published in 1858.<sup>34</sup> Later Javanese translations and commentaries on the Qur'ân adopted a somewhat different format. Some such texts, produced since the 1930's print the Arabic text of the Qur'ân on one half of every page with a Javanese translation, in either Javanese or Latin script, opposite it. More elaborate commentaries on the verses rendered are sometimes found in the form of footnotes. The organization and printed format of such texts seems to evidence the influence of Western technological and organizational models on the development of at least one stream of the development of Qur'ânic interpretation. A similar shift can also be seen through works of *tafsîr* and translation in Bahasa Indonesia. One striking example of this can be seen in the popular translation by the Cairo-educated reformer Mahmud Junus.<sup>35</sup> In the first edition of this work the print format is strikingly traditional—representing the accustomed practice of Arabic-language Muslim scholarship with the Arabic text of the Qur'ân printed continuously in a small inset off-center of each page and surrounded by translation in wide margins on three sides. Further running commentary is also supplied in a separate section of the bottom margin.<sup>36</sup> In later additions, however, the same material was reformatted in accordance with the increasingly popular 'parallel text' format. This style of presentation was to become the dominant format for most later Indonesian *tafsîr* publications.<sup>37</sup>

Returning now to other works of Qur'ânic exegesis in Javanese, we find a number of more sufistic-oriented texts, and in particular a number which deal exclusively with *al-fâtihah* (the first *sûrah* of the Qur'ân), produced in Central Javanese court circles during the eighteenth century and beyond. Two examples of this genre written in *macapat* verse,<sup>38</sup> *Suluk Tegesipun Patékah* and *Suluk Suraosipun Patékah*, are preserved in the Royal Library at Surakarta.<sup>39</sup> This tradition continues to have minor echoes in this century such as that found in Mpu Wesi Geni's *Samudera al-Fatihah*,<sup>40</sup> in which mystical interpretation in the form of numerology dominates.<sup>41</sup> Such developments may also be seen in Modern Indonesian with Bahrum Rangkuti's *Kandungan al-Fatihah*,<sup>42</sup> Labib & Ahnan's *Butir-butir Mutiara Alfatihah*,<sup>43</sup> and Bey Arifin's work (also entitled *Samudera al-Fatihah*),<sup>44</sup> which has in recent decades been reprinted in Surabaya, Malaysia, and Singapore. More recently, Dawam Rahardjo has also attempted an, "interpretation of the contents of the Qur'ân with *al-fatihah*—using it as an 'opener' or key to understanding the [other] verses of the Qur'ân."<sup>45</sup>

Despite all this activity, *tafsîr* was rarely included in the *pesantren* curriculum of traditionalist circles until the middle of this century. In relation to the particular situation in the Gayo Highlands (Aceh, Indonesia), Professor Bowen notes that, "In the 1930's most traditionalist scholars held that students should not be exposed to *tafsîr*, on the grounds that only someone with appropriate training can interpret scripture."<sup>46</sup> And yet, even at that time and place there were signs of change as a number of local poets such as Tengku Yahyë began to rendering select verses of the Qur'ân (along with Prophetic *hadîth*) into Gayo-language verse. A number of such verses were collected and published at Cairo in 1938 under the title *Tafsîr al-Gayo*. It should be kept in mind, however, that these printed versions were secondary to the oral milieu in which the texts originated, as these verse interpretations of the Qur'ân were more generally known through their public recitations. A similar oral mode of transmission was also used by the Sudanese modernist Ahmad Soorkati who gave lectures on the Qur'ân at Batavia (Jakarta) in the 1930's which an on-the-spot interpreter translated from Arabic to Malay.<sup>48</sup>

Up to this time, the development of written texts of *tafsîr* in Southeast Asia was making somewhat stalled progress. In 1908, Muhammad Yusuf To' Kenali (1866-1933), returned to his native Kelantan after nearly twenty years of study in the Middle East.<sup>49</sup> There he was active in stimulating the development of Islamic education by compiling dictionaries and tables of Arabic verb forms for use by Malay students. He was also commissioned by the Kelantan Council on Religion and Malay Custom to translate the *tafsîr* works of al-Khâzin and Ibn Kathîr into Malay; unfortunately these translations were never published.<sup>50</sup> However the works chosen by the council remain an interesting insight into the state of the field at the time. We have already remarked briefly upon the former-mentioned work of al-Khâzin and therefore shall here confine ourselves to a short note on the latter work.

'Imad al-Dîn Ismâ'îl b. 'Umar b. Kathîr (d. 774/ 1373) was a historian and traditionist who was greatly influenced by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/ 1328) and held various posts under the Bahri Mamluks in Syria.<sup>51</sup> He is known for his works on history and the science of *hadîth* as well as his *tafsîr*, a work about which H. Laoust has noted:

Ibn Hađjar al-'Askalânî also reports that Ibn Kathîr had begun work on a vast commentary on the Qur'ân. His *Tafsîr* (Cairo 1342/1923), essentially a philological work, is very elementary and foreshadows, in its style, that which al-Suyûtî wrote later.<sup>52</sup>



The last reference is to Jalâl al-Dîn ‘Abd al-Rahmân al-Suyûtî (d. 911/1505)<sup>53</sup> who together with his teacher Imâm Jalâl al-Dîn Muhammad al-Mahallî (d. 864/1459) compiled the *Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn*, a brief work whose intention was:

To clarify that which can be understood of God’s Word, to choose the best supported opinions, to bring together sentences for better clarification, to explain the well-known readings,... without transmitting any weak opinions or other lengthy matters which would be better discussed in a work on Arabic philology.<sup>54</sup>

It is this work, as we have seen above, that formed the basis for Abdurra’uf Singkeli’s *Tarjumân al-Mustafîd*; and the original Arabic text of the *Jalâlayn* is to this day taught throughout the Malay peninsula and has been reprinted several times,<sup>55</sup> both by itself, along with the text of the Qur’ân, and with the marginal annotations of al-Sâwî and al-Jamâl.<sup>56</sup> One manuscript copy of this work held at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur is annotated with interlinear Javanese glosses.<sup>57</sup>

In his 1886 survey of Arabic books used in traditional Muslim Religious Education on Java and Madura, van den Berg mentions that only one work of *tafsîr* was being taught in the region at that time, with the general comment that *tafsîr* was the least-studied branch of the Islamic sciences in that milieu.<sup>58</sup> This one work mentioned was the *Tafsîr Jalâlayn*. In his much more recent survey of materials currently used in such settings, Martin van Bruinessen noted the continuing domination of the *Jalâlayn* in *pesantren* education, although a number of other texts including the works of Tabârî (*Jamî’ al-Bayân*), Baydâwî, and Ibn Kathîr have recently found their way into the curriculum.<sup>59</sup> Alongside these we should mention the *Tafsîr al-Munîr* of Shaykh Muhammad al-Nawâwî Tanara Banten (1813-1897).<sup>60</sup> In more modernist-oriented institutions one also finds the *Tafsîr al-Manâr* of Muhammad ‘Abduh (d. 1905) and Rashîd Ridâ (d. 1935),<sup>61</sup> and that of al-Marâghî<sup>62</sup> being taught.<sup>63</sup>

The author of the above-mentioned *Tafsîr al-Munîr*, Shaykh Muhammad al-Nawâwî Tanara Banten was born in West Java in 1813, and as a young man went to study in Mecca under some of the leading scholars of his time, including: Shaykh Ahmad Zayni Dahlan, Sayyid Ahmad an-Nahrâwî and Shaykh Ahmad Dimyâtî. He then furthered his studies in Medina (with Shaykh Muhammad Khatîb al-Hanbalî), Syria, and Egypt. He was the author of numerous works in Arabic dealing with *fiqh* and Qur’ânîc exegesis.<sup>64</sup> His work of *tafsîr* is sometimes also referred to as *Marah Labîd*, and it is as such that Snouck

reported it to have gone to press at Mecca around 1884.<sup>65</sup> However it was under the title of *Tafsîr al-Munîr*<sup>66</sup> that it was reprinted at Cairo in 1887 with al-Wahîdî's (d. 468/1076) *Kitâb al-Wajîz fî Tafsîr al-Qur'ân al-'Azîz* in the margin.<sup>67</sup> This is a rather late date for the appearance of such a 'classically-styled' work of tafsîr and thus seems to represent one final flourish of this tradition on the verge of a modern reformulation of the genre.<sup>68</sup>

Professor Johns has commented on the influence of Fakhr al-Dîn Râzî's *Tafsîr al-Kabîr*<sup>69</sup> upon Nawâwî Banten's work. In this connection he notes:

...although in many respects al-Nawâwî's *tafsîr* is traditional, not to say old-fashioned—it takes for granted a Ptolemaic astronomy, for example—its approach is consistent with reformist ideas, and it perhaps helped pave the way for them, characterized as it is by the three strands of rationalism, frequent reference to the life of Muhammad—the best of creation—in the elucidation of the text of the Qur'ân, and the 'sober' mysticism or spirituality that infuses this and his other works.<sup>70</sup>

Taking this into account we may be better able to appreciate the importance of Shaykh Nawâwî Banten's work as a bridge between the formalized genre of *tafsîr* as traditionally taught in the *pesantren* milieu and a more "modern" style of exegetical writing which has flourished throughout the Muslim world since the turn of the century.<sup>71</sup>

Perhaps the most important such work is the well known *al-Manâr* commentary which was started by Muhammad 'Abduh and continued after his death by Rashîd Ridâ.<sup>72</sup> Before this, however, 'Abduh had himself written a commentary on the *juz 'amma*, or last thirtieth-part of the Qur'ân, which was published at Cairo in 1903.<sup>73</sup> In 1923, an Indonesian translation of this work appeared at Batavia, which was printed together with a short historical essay on the Prophet and his companions as well as a brief primer of ritual law according to the Shâfi'î *madhhab*.<sup>74</sup> This last addition is somewhat surprising considering 'Abduh's own attitude towards the need for consistent adherence to this or any other formalized 'school of law.'

Since this first translation, a number of other Indonesian editions of 'Abduh's *tafsîr* have appeared by various translators,<sup>75</sup> the most recent of which being that of Muhammad Bagir which was published by the prestigious Bandung firm Mizan in 1998.<sup>76</sup> Starting from the first 'Abduh translation mentioned above, a number of new works based on modern foreign prototypes appeared in Southeast Asia. Perhaps the most controversial of these was the proposed Indonesian transla-



tion of Maulana Muhammad Ali's *The Holy Qur'ân* and accompanying commentary by Tjokroaminoto. In 1928, the Muhammadiyah and other groups protested the project on the grounds that the work to be translated contained Ahmadiyyah elements. Although the Majlis Ulama did not raise any official condemnation, the publication of an Indonesian translation of this work was postponed for several decades.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless this work was available within Indonesia published in other forms. For example, the Dutch translation of this work by an ethnic Javanese and published in Suriname found its way onto a number of bookshelves in the Archipelago,<sup>78</sup> and even a latin-script Javanese version was eventually published in 1963.<sup>79</sup> As recently as 1998 the present author was also able to find copies of the original English work available in fashionable shopping mall bookstores around greater Jakarta.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, the economist and editor of the journal *Ulumul Qur'an* Dawam Rahardjo has even cited this work as, 'a suitable model to be followed' by Indonesian Muslim exegetes.<sup>81</sup>

The appearance (or near appearance) of such foreign works, however, did not mean an end to locally written works of *tafsîr*. In fact, it is from this time that we find an unprecedented explosion in the production of exegetical works in a number of Southeast Asian languages. In the line of Malay scholarship, we find Shaykh Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (a.k.a. Haji Rasul) from the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra. He published numerous works in *jawi* (Malay written with the Arabic script) including, *al-Burhân: Tafsîr Juz 'Amma*, a commentary on the last thirtieth part of the Qur'ân.<sup>82</sup> In a similar vein we also find the *Tafsîr al-Ibrîz* of Bisri Mustofa, another work of the *kitab kuning* genre, only this one being written in Javanese with the Arabic (*pegon*) script.<sup>83</sup> This work even more than Amrullah's *al-Burhân* seems to reflect much more of the specific Indonesian cultural context in which it was created.<sup>84</sup> The authors of these two works however also share a rather unique parallel in that both of these classically-trained '*ulamâ*' were the fathers of sons who went on to assume prominent roles both as writers on religious subjects and of literature. Amrullah was of course the father of Hamka (of whom we shall have more to say below), whereas Bisri Mustofa was the father of Mustofa Bisri, a well-known contemporary author of poetry as well as prose works on more specifically religious subjects.<sup>85</sup>

As the twentieth century progressed, however, such works in *jawi* and *pegon* script were fated to near oblivion—relegated only to a select number of pesantren in the shadow of the explosion of works in vari-

ous fields of the religious sciences composed in modern Bahasa Indonesia and printed in the Latin script. A significant pioneer in this movement is the *Tafsîr al-Furqân* by A. Hassan (a.k.a. Hassan Bandung/Hassan Bangil, d. 1958), which first appeared serially starting in 1928, but was finally published in complete form only in 1956.<sup>86</sup> This work by one of the leading figures of the radical reformist organization Persis (Persatuan Islam, or Islamic Union) is actually more of a straight translation than work of tafsîr proper as what little non-literal interpretation there is comes only in the form of short footnotes. Nonetheless it also contains a fairly lengthy preface in which the author outlines his method of interpretation; laying out a set of radical exegetical principles differing significantly from most works produced in Southeast Asia either before or since.<sup>87</sup> This can be seen as an integral part of Hassan's larger project of blasting open the 'gate of *ijtihad*' — a movement which had a profound effect on subsequent generations of Indonesian Muslims even if they could not follow Hassan all the way to the same radical conclusions.<sup>88</sup>

During the same year that the completed version of Hassan's *al-Furqân* saw print, another important work was published by the Central Javanese reformist Moenawar Chalil (d. 1961).<sup>89</sup> The work was entitled, *Return to the Qur'an and Sunnah*<sup>90</sup> and was also envisioned as an important component of a much larger project of reform/ renewal (*islah/ tajdid*), especially in the field of *fiqh* (jurisprudence).<sup>91</sup> While technically speaking this is not a work of *tafsîr* proper, the first eight sections are constructed in a style that might be considered a type of topical (*maudhû'î*) *tafsîr* which interprets individual Qur'anic verses in terms of other related verses on a given topic (*bi'l-ma'thûr*)<sup>92</sup> Thus for example under the rubric, "The Qur'an as the First Source of Law," he presents nine verses on the subject gleaned from various parts of the Qur'anic text, first in the original Arabic and then in Indonesian translation. Following this, he provides a more extensive commentary in which he establishes conceptual linkages between the various verses in order to establish a more balanced and complete interpretation of the Qur'anic statements on the subject.<sup>93</sup> Aside from this work, Chalil also began composing what was planned to be a multi-volume *tafsîr* in Javanese.<sup>94</sup> Unfortunately it was left uncompleted upon his death, having gotten no further than the last third of *sûrah al-Baqarah*.<sup>95</sup>

In general it could be observed that in the 1950's one finds a great increase in *tafsîr* works written in modern Indonesian with the Latin script.<sup>96</sup> A major example of which is Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy's *Tafsir an-*

*Nûr*, first published in 1956.<sup>97</sup> It has been noted that in this work, Hasbi makes selective use of material from Middle Eastern Muslim modernists, as Professor Johns writes:

In the structuring of his discussion at least, there is clear influence of 'Abduh's approach. But what of 'Abduh has been put in, what has been left out? The moral lesson, and the defense of the *'isma* of the Prophet are clear. Ash-Shiddeiqy has, however, omitted the in 'Abasa the positivistic, deist type of rationalism, the account of the clear intelligence which brought the blind man to Muhammad in the first place, so important to 'Abduh; and in *al-Falaq* he omits 'Abduh's pericope on the relative character of evil "what is bad for you is good for the lion who devours you." ..."<sup>98</sup>

However there is one important element of Hasbi's work unmentioned in Prof. Johns' overview; that being the predominant influence of the later Egyptian *mufasssîr* al-Marâghî (d. 1945).<sup>99</sup> Such a choice of inspiration seems quite appropriate judging from the similar legal orientations of both authors.<sup>100</sup> Hasbi also followed Marâghî's movement towards simplicity of language and conscious reduction of the use of technical terminology in order to make the work accessible to a larger audience.<sup>101</sup> The parallels between the two works were in fact so close in many cases that critics of the first edition of *Tafsîr al-Nûr* labeled it little more than a translation of Marâghî's work.<sup>102</sup> This criticism seems to be overstating the case to some extent, as within the work of Hasbi one also finds interesting incorporations of other previous interpretations from Indonesia and beyond. For instance he cites not only such 'standard' works as Zamakhshârî's *Kashshâf*, but also the *Fath al-Qadîr* of the radical eighteenth century Yemeni *mujtahid* al-Shawkânî.<sup>103</sup> This kind of creative appropriation of elements from Muslim modernism and elsewhere has subsequently come to characterize other works of twentieth century Indonesian Qur'ân translation and commentary. It is part of a process which perhaps reached its peak in Hamka's massive *Tafsîr al-Azhar*, which finally appeared in a complete form a decade after the publication of Hasbi's work.<sup>104</sup>

The *Tafsîr Al-Azhar* of Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah) is one of the most enterprising endeavors of modern Qur'ânîc exegesis, not just in Southeast Asia, but in the Muslim World in general.<sup>105</sup> It is a thirty volume work which began as a series of early morning lectures at the *al-Azhar* mosque in Kebayoran, Jakarta that were also be published serially in the magazine *Gema Islam*. However shortly after beginning the project, Hamka was imprisoned by the communist-influenced government of Soekarno and thus the work was com-

pleted during his two years of confinement. Hamka's copious commentary draws on a number of authorities with a heavy emphasis on modern Egyptian exegeses, especially that of Sayyid Qutb.<sup>106</sup> However the commentary is not simply a rehashing of Egyptian modernism under the rubric of Qur'anic exegesis, but rather incorporates select elements of Egyptian modernism and other aspects of Muslim tradition with a considerable bit of originality—containing even a number of revealing personal anecdotes.<sup>107</sup> This work continues to enjoy considerable popularity not only in Indonesia, but other parts of Southeast Asia as well, including Malaysia and Singapore where the 'Deluxe Edition' was published by Pustaka Nasional from 1982-1993.<sup>108</sup>

With the establishment of New Order not only were figures like Hamka able to publish major works of Qur'anic commentary, but the government itself began to sponsor ambitious projects in the area of *tafsir*. In 1967, the Ministry of Religion initiated a special foundation which was given the assignment of producing works of translation and Qur'anic commentary. This resulted in the publication of two major works: *Al Qur'an dan Terjemahannya*,<sup>109</sup> and *Al Quraan dan Tafsirnya*.<sup>110</sup> Both of these works may be seen as an officially sponsored attempt to provide Indonesian Muslims with a 'standard' reference and thus ensure a greater uniformity in national discourse concerning the sacred text.<sup>111</sup> Nonetheless since their publication the number of privately conceived and published works of translation and exegesis has continued to proliferate.<sup>112</sup>

Just a few years after the completion of these works, a new Indonesian translation of the Qur'an was published by the well-known literary critic H.B. Jassin.<sup>113</sup> It was entitled, *Bacaan Mulia (The Glorious Reading; an Indonesian rendering of al-Qur'an al-Karim)* and met with a considerable amount of criticism from conservative 'ulamâ' who objected to the fact that it claimed to be a 'poetic' translation.<sup>114</sup> His literary translation efforts were however defended by none other than Hamka himself, who wrote an appreciative foreword to Jassin's translation. However even the support of such a prominent Muslim leader as Hamka was not enough to save the work from condemnation from more traditionalist circles. Critical responses appeared in a number of magazines and newspapers, and some even found their way into a number of polemic monographs.<sup>115</sup> However, Jassin seemed undeterred by all of this, some fifteen years later Jassin published another edition of the Qur'an, this one in Arabic.<sup>116</sup> While this last work of Jassin's experimented with a new typographical arrangement of the Arabic text of

the Qur'an, most Indonesian readers continue to prefer either the more traditional, continuous printing of the Arabic text of the Qur'an as employed in H. Oemar Bakry's *Tafsir Rahmat*<sup>117</sup> or the ayat-by-ayat division in Bachtiar Surin's *Terjemah dan Tafsir Al-Qur'an; Huruf Arab dan Latin*.<sup>118</sup> While the former has been characterized as having a focus on clear presentation of the Arabic script in its traditional form, the latter also makes use of latin-script transliteration as well as a simplification of its rendering into Indonesian in order to facilitate pedagogical purposes.<sup>119</sup>

During the seventies there was also a flurry of work in the fields of Qur'anic 'translation' and exegesis in various Southeast Asian languages other than Malay/Indonesian. An important example of this is the Sundanese 'translation' of the Qur'an with parallel Arabic text and footnote commentaries published by a trio of West Javanese 'ulamâ' in 1971.<sup>120</sup> Such activity was not even restricted to languages with predominantly Muslim speakers. For, at this time we find the first full Thai translation of the Qur'an completed by Direk Kulsiriswasd (a.k.a. Ibrahim Qureyshi), who later went on to produce a Thai translation of al-Bukhârî's collection of *hadith* in 1977.<sup>121</sup> Here we should also mention two works in Tagalog published the early 1980's. The first, *Ang Banal na Kuran*, is a fairly straight-forward 'translation' printed without the Arabic text.<sup>122</sup> The second is a topically arranged treatment of legal categories and related concepts as illustrated by Qur'anic verses.<sup>123</sup> In each section the verse is given first in English (text from Yusuf Ali's translation) and then followed by a Tagalog translation without commentary.<sup>124</sup>

In the 1980's, one can also observe a new interest in Indonesian *tafsîr* of this topical (*madhû'î*) type of arrangement,<sup>125</sup> rather than strictly following the *tartîb al-ayat* approach, in a work entitled, *Tafsir Syari'ah (at-tafsîr fisy-sharî'ah wal-ahkâm)*.<sup>126</sup> In this topical arrangement, each section of the Qur'an to be discussed is given in Arabic followed by a fairly straight-forward Indonesian translation; and after this comes several paragraphs of word-by-word explanations of some of the more complicated sections of the Arabic text and finally the 'tafsîr' proper in the form of several paragraphs discussing the general theme discussed in the passage and linking it with other related statements in the Qur'an itself. With this work we enter a new period in the history of interpretive literature on the Qur'an in Indonesia; one in which traditional methodologies have at least partially given way to address the needs of a wider readership whose education was not in the traditional Islamic



sciences. Examples of such approaches to writing about the Qur'ân can now be found throughout the Muslim world, in languages ranging from Arabic to English. One important representative of this genre is Fazlur Rahman's *Major Themes of the Qur'an*,<sup>127</sup> which was itself translated into Indonesian in 1983.<sup>128</sup>

Since then a number of original works of 'topical' *tafsîr* have appeared in Bahasa Indonesia, including the works of Jalaluddin Rakhmat and Dawam Rahardjo. In addition to this there have also been a considerable number of specialized monographs, mostly dealing with aspects of *ibâdah*, that might also be classified as examples of contemporary Indonesian *tafsîr maudhû'î*. One example of this may be found in K.H. Muchtar Adam's *Tafsîr Ayat-ayat Haji; Telaah Intensif dari Pelbagai Mazhab*.<sup>129</sup> This work is particularly interesting in that it combines two important aspects of later Islamic Modernism, i.e. *tafsîr maudhû'î* and the methodology of comparison between the rulings of various legal schools (*muqâranah al-madhâhib*), both of which became known in Indonesia to a considerable extent via the works of the former Rector of al-Azhar, Shaykh Mahmud Shaltût (d. 1963).<sup>130</sup>

Aside from such specialized monographs, a number of works dealing with a much wider range of topical issues have also been published by some of Indonesia's most prominent Muslim intellectuals. Here we should mention the work of Jalaluddin Rakhmat, a popular author from Bandung who was professionally trained as in modern communications but is much more widely known for his works on Islamic subjects. Around the month of Ramadân, 1413 H. (February/ March 1993), Rakhmat authored a series of articles for the ICMI-affiliated daily *Republika* on subjects related to various Qur'ânic verses.<sup>131</sup> These articles were later compiled into book form and published as: *Tafsîr Bil Ma'tsur: Pesan Moral Alquran*.<sup>132</sup> In these short essays, Rakhmat adopts the method of *tafsîr bi'l-ma'thûr*, or interpreting Qur'ânic verses in terms of other related verses from the Qur'ân itself;<sup>133</sup> while at the same time not neglecting the *sunnah* of the Prophet as a further means of clarification.<sup>134</sup> What is interesting here is the fact that he employs this methodology not in one long work of *tafsîr* following the order of verses as found in the standard text of the Qur'ân (*tartîb al-ayât*), but rather topically (a kind of *tafsîr maudhû'î*) in the form of reflections on the 'moral message' contained in individual verses. Here we find the convergence of a number of trends popular in contemporary Indonesia, including the concern with the 'objectives' or 'intention' behind various religious texts (*nusûs*) and the legal rulings derived from them.<sup>135</sup>

Another major undertaking along somewhat similar lines can be found in Dawam Rahardjo's 700-plus page *Ensiklopedi al-Qur'an*, which is actually comprised of chapters dealing with such 'major themes'<sup>136</sup> as "Justice", "Mercy", "Religion", "Knowledge", etc. In addition to this, the work also contains important chapters on his interpretive methodology and his understanding of the "Social Vision" of the Qur'ân. His social science background (economics) brings a new approach to the Qur'ân that is all the more striking due to his freedom from many of the built-in preconceptions that are often carried unconsciously by those with more training and ability in Arabic and the religious sciences (*ulûm al-dîn*). For example, he takes as his primary point of departure not the technical, philological aspects of particular words, but rather their already 'culturalized' meanings within the context of Indonesian society.<sup>137</sup>

More recently, however, *tafsîr maudhû'i* has been widely popularized through the works of M. Quraish Shihab, the former Rector of IAIN Jakarta who in March of 1998 was appointed the new Minister of Religious Affairs under the seventh cabinet of President Suharto. Shihab is perhaps still best known for his collection of short essays entitled, *'Membumikan' al-Quran*,<sup>138</sup> which contains the most popular Indonesian language introduction to the concept of *tafsîr maudhû'i*.<sup>139</sup> His own more practical application of the approach<sup>140</sup> however might be regarded as more of an innovation in form than in content, as it seems much richer in classical citations and contemporary Arabic references than in any radically new or original interpretation by the compiler.<sup>141</sup> More recently he also published a partial *tafsîr* of the more traditional *tartîb al-ayât* approach which seems to follow in the same general direction.<sup>142</sup>

Thus it seems unlikely that this more traditional style and organization of *tafsîr* works will ever be completely displaced from their honored position in the intellectual heritage of Islamicate civilization. Nonetheless, more 'accessible' works dealing with the understanding and interpretation of the sacred text may become of increasing importance for the way in which Muslims understand revelation and their own relationship with it. It is for this reason that they constitute an important corpus of texts which should not be neglected by any serious student of modern Islamicate civilization.<sup>143</sup>



## Endnotes

1. *Ar. mubīn*: "clear, plain, evident," as used in, e.g., *al-Mā'idah* (5): 15. This adjective and other forms derived from the same Arabic root can be found repeatedly throughout the text of the Qur'an. (Muhammad 'Abd al-Karīm al-Bāqī. *al-Mu'jam al-Mufaḥras li Alfāz al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1987. pp. 141-149)
2. Goldziher, Ignaz. *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranlegung*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1920.
3. Nonetheless much significant progress has been made. The present essay represents a modest attempt at supplementing the information already provided in the foundational studies of Johns and Federspiel while at the same time attempting to address some larger issues which might be useful in communicating developments here within the larger framework of international scholarship dealing with Qur'anic exegesis and its place in Islamicate societies. The sheer amount of material to be dealt with here is immense and proliferating each day from presses in at least a half-dozen cities and thus the present author has little choice but to present them only in the most general terms which the hope of creating some basic map of this largely unfamiliar territory from which future studies may be able to take their departure. (Johns, A. H. "Islam in the Malay World; An Explanatory Survey with some reference to Qur'anic exegesis," *Islam in Asia* (Israeli & Johns, eds.) Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984, 115-161; Johns, A. H. "Qur'anic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile," *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an*, (A. Rippin, ed.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, 257-287; & Federspiel, H. M. *Popular Indonesian Literature of the Qur'an*. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1994.)
4. Riddell, Peter. "Earliest Quranic Exegetic Activity in the Malay Speaking States." *Archipel* 38 (1989), p. 112.
5. Riddell, Peter. "Controversy in Qur'anic Exegesis and its Relevance to the Malay-Indonesian World." *The Making of an Islamic Political Discourse in Southeast Asia*, (Anthony Reid, ed.) Clayton: Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, 1993. 27: 61.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Riddell, P.G. "The Use of Arabic Commentaries on the Qur'an in the Early Islamic Period in South and Southeast Asia: A Report on a Work in Progress." *Indonesian Circle* 51 (1990) 11-12.
8. Brocklemann, Carl. *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*. (2 vols. + Supplements) Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937-949. II: 133, III: 135. Hereafter abbreviated as *GAL*.
9. (Riddell 1993: 67) This latter collection of stories seems also to have been known in early Muslim Southeast Asia, for several of its narratives were translated into Malay and expanded into separate works in and of themselves See, e.g.: Hamid, Ismail. *The Malay Islamic Hikayat*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1983.
10. *GAL* I: 477, SI: 620ff.
11. Riddell (1993), 64.
12. *EI2*, 2: 893.
13. Published editions were printed at Bulaq (1294), and Cairo (1318). It was also arranged by Walī al-Dīn (d. 743/1342) and given the title, *Mishkāt al-Masābih*). It was translated into English by A.N. Matthews at Calcutta in 1809-10, and published once again in the same city with Arabic and English parallel text by Fazlul Karīm in 1938-9, (Robson, J. "al-Baghāwī," *EI2* II: 893)
14. Drewes, G.W.J. *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics*. (Bibliotheca Indonesia 18)

- The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978. p. 6.
15. (Riddell 1993: 69)
  16. (Riddell 1993: 70-76) More recently the subject has attracted considerable attention not only by 'traditionalist' scholars associated with *pesantren* circles, but also by a number of prominent Indonesian Muslim intellectuals. For example, see the essays by Nurcholish Madjid, Shodiq Ihsan, Salimuddin A. Rahman, Jalaluddin Rakhmat and Muhd. Syamsoeri Yoesoef, in: Muhtar Gandaatmadja, et al. (eds.) *Kontroversi Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 1990.
  17. Wijk, D. Gerth van. "De Koranische Verhalen in het Maleisch." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* XXXV (1893): 249-345; continued in: Wijk, Gerth van, "De Koranische Verhalen in het Maleisch (vervolg en slot)." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Vokenkunde* XXXVI (1894): 531-699.
  18. (Wijk 1893: 251)
  19. Jalâl al-Dîn 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Suyûti. *Al-Itqân fi 'Ulûm al-Qur'ân*, (2 vols.). Damascus: Dâr ibn Kathîr, 1407 H./ 1987.
  20. Arifin, Bey. *Rangkaian Tjerita dalam al-Qur'an* (4th ed.) Bandung: al-Ma'arif, 1963.
  21. On the relationship between these fields of early Islamic literature, see: Goldziher, Ignaz. "Historiography in Arabic Literature." *Ignaz Goldziher gesammelte Schriften*, (Joseph de Somogyi, ed./ VI vols.). Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchandlung, 1969. III: 359-395; Rosenthal, Franz. *A History of Muslim Historiography*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968; & Khâlidî, Tarif. *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*. *Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization*. Cambridge: University Press, 1994.
  22. It should, however, be kept in mind that this limitation of the study of *tafsîr* almost exclusively to one or two works was not peculiar to Southeast Asia at that time. In fact Snouck Hurgronje noted in 1885 that, at Mecca, in the Haram itself, "As guiding threads in this exegesis (*tafsîr*) serve almost exclusively the works of Baydâwî and the two Jalâls (Sujûti and Mahallî) with the glosses thereon." (Snouck Hurgronje, C. *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1931. p. 197.)
  23. The text from which information concerning his 'Abd al-Ra'uf's studies in Arabia is the *'Umdat al-Muhtajin*, an 'abstract' of which, entitled *Kifâyat al-Muhtajin* was obtained at Aceh by Snouck Hurgronje. Snouck Hurgronje, C. *The Acehnese* (A.W.S. O'Sullivan, trans./ 2 vols.). Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1906. II: 17.
  24. Johns, A.H. "Friends in Grace: Ibrahim al-Kurani and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli." *Spectrum: Essays Presented to Sultan Takdir Alisjahbana on his Seventieth Birthday*. S. Udin (ed.) Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978. pp. 469-485.
  25. Rinkes (1909), 25; Riddell (1990), 13. A rather comprehensive list of works in these various fields can be found in: Voorhoeve, P. "Bajan Tadjalli: Gegevens voor en nadere Studie over Adurrauf van Singkel." *TBG* LXXXV (1952). pp. 87-117.
  26. (Snouck Hurgronje 1906: II, 20)
  27. *Anwâr al-Tanzîl wa Asrâr al-Ta'wîl*.
  28. *Tarjuman al-Mustafid*. (2 vols.) Istanbul: Matba'ah 'Uthmâniyyah, 1302/ 1884. (Riddell 1990: 26) For my own work here I am using the most recent Egyptian edition: 'Abd al-Ra'uf Singkeli. *al-Qur'ân al-Karîm wa bi Hamshihî: Tarjuman al-Mustafid* (2 vols.) Cairo: Mustafa Bâbî al-Halabî, 1370 H./1951.
  29. Riddell, Peter. *Transferring A Tradition: 'Abd Al-Ra'uf Al-Singkeli's Rendering into Malay of the Jalalyn Commentary*, Vol. 31 of Monograph Series. Berkeley: University of California Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1990. pp. 38-41.
  30. (Riddell 1990: 63-67) Not much is known about this last-mentioned student of Abdurra'uf; Baba Da'ud Jawi b. Ismâ'îl b. Agha Mustafâ b. Agha 'Alî Rûmî. Riddell

- concludes that he was most likely of Turkish descent although born in Aceh (*Ibid.*, 42).
31. In fact, the Arabic text of the Qur'an itself is not reproduced in this work.
  32. Millies, H.C.. "Inleiding: Proeven eener Makassarsche vertaling des Korans door B.F. Matthes," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (hereafter abbreviated as *BKI*) 1856. pp. 89-106.
  33. Indeed even the most literal translations of the Qur'an into any other language are considered not *terjemahan* but *tafsir* in many circles. However in this case the interpretive material inserted into the translation is rather striking. For instance, where the Makassarese text would render the Arabic *al-al-'alamîn* (I: 2, "the worlds") the 'translation' reads: "of all creation; of humankind, and of spirits, angels, animals, and everything else." ; elsewhere in rendering the Ar. *dhâlin* (I: 7) it is elaborated into: "those towards whom You vent your wrath, that is of the Jews, or on the way of those who have strayed from the right way, that is the Christians." (Matthes *op. cit.*: Makassarese text followed by Dutch translation)
  34. Keijzer, S. "De twee erste Soera's van den Javaanschen Koran." *BKI* X (1863). p. 319.
  35. For a biography and outline of his efforts in educational reform, see: (Syafuruddin Didin. "Mahmûd Yûnus wa Ittijâhâtuhu fi Tajdîd Ta'lim al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah bi Indûnîsiyâ." *Studia Islamika*. II, 3 (1995). pp. 173-198.) The nature of Yunus' reformism comes through clearly in his *tafsir* as he himself describes it, "This work of *tafsir* is different from others in that it takes its direction directly from the Qur'an and not from the words of other exegetes with their various opinions. Because of this *tafsir* is short and concise, but also straightforward and clear." (Mahmud Junus: *Tafsir al-Qur'an dalam Bahasa Indonesia*. Bandung: al-Maarif, 1968. p. iv)
  36. Mahmoed Joenoes. *Tafsir Koerân Indonesia* Padang: Boekh. Mahmoedijah, 1938.
  37. e.g.: H.M. Kasim Bakry, Imam N. Nur Idris, A. DT. Madjoindo. *Al-Qur'an-ul-Hakim beserta Terjemah dan Tafsirnja*. Jakarta: Penerbit Djembatan, 1961.
  38. On *macapat* verse form, see: Zoetmulder, P.J. *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974. pp. 121-125.
  39. Florida, Nancy K. *Javanese Literature in Surakarta Manuscripts*. Vol. 1: Introduction and Manuscripts of the Karaton Surakarta of Ithaca: Cornell SEAP, 1993. p. 264.
  40. *Kiblat* 20, no. 23 (20 Apr.-5 May 1983). pp. 40ff.
  41. (Johns 1988: 284)
  42. Bahrum Rangkuti, *Kandungan al-Fatihah: Tinjauan dari Sudut Kebudayaan, Agama, Politik dan Sastra*. Jakarta: Pustaka Islam, 1954.
  43. Labib MZ & Maftuh Ahnan, *Butir-Butir Mutiara Alfatihah*. Jakarta: Bintang Pelajar, n.d.. The present author has been unable to examine a copy of this work, however it has already been discussed to a considerable extent along with Bey Arifin's *Samudera al-Fatihah* in: Federspiel (1994: 86-88).
  44. Arifin, B. *Samudera al-Fatihah*. Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1994. (first published Bandung: Umar Hasan Mansoor, 1968)
  45. Rahardjo, M. Dawam. *Ensiklopedi Al-Qur'an: Tafsir Sosial Berdasarkan Konsep-konsep Kunci*. Jakarta, Penerbit Paramadina, 1996, pp. 22-33; 654-659.
  46. Bowen, John Richard. *Muslims Through Discourse*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. p. 66.
  47. *Ibid.*, 68.
  48. (Johns 1988: 275)
  49. Johns, A. H.. "From Coastal Settlement to Islamic School and City: Islamization in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and Java," *Indonesia: The Making of a Culture*, (J. J.

- Fox, ed.). Canberra: Australian National University, 1980, p. 178.
50. Johns (1984), 135.
  51. *GAL* II: 60-1, SII: 48-9.
  52. ("Ibn al-Kathîr," *EI2* 3: 818) More recently parts of his *tafsîr* have also begun to appear in Modern Indonesian translation, e.g.: Ibn Katsir. *Meryingkep Rahasia Surat Yaasiin, karya Ibnu Katsir*. Surabaya: Aneka Pustaka Islam, 1991.
  53. As we shall see below, another work of al-Suyûtî, , has more recently served as the inspiration for a topical approach to *tafsîr* by the popular Indonesian Muslim intellectual Jalaluddin Rakhmat. (*Tafsîr Bil Ma'tsur: Pesan Moral Alquran*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 1994, p. vi)
  54. Muhamed, Othman bin. "Pengenalan terhadap Tafsir al-Jalalayn," *Islamiyat*. Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1987. Jilid 8: p. 7.
  55. As have a number of modern Indonesian translations, including: *Tafsir Jalalain* (trans. Drs. Aliy As'ad & Moh. Afief Ridwan) Yogyakarta: Penerbit Kota Kembang, 1986.
  56. (Muhamed 1987: 10)
  57. Voorhoeve, P. "Notes on some Manuscripts in the Library of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur." *BKI* 125 (1969). p. 373.
  58. Berg, L.W.C. van der. "Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de daarbij gebruikte Arabische Boeken." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* XXI (1886). p. 55.
  59. Bruinessen, Martin van. "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic script used in the *Pesantren* Milieu." *BKI* 146 (1990). p. 265.
  60. Hafiduddin, Didin. "Tinjauan atas 'Tafsir al-Munir' karya Imam Muhammad Nawawi Tanara." *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia*. (Ahmad Rifa'i Hasan, ed.), Bandung: Mizan, 1987/ 1408. pp. 39-58. For a more extensive study of his life and works, see: Chaidar. *Sejarah Pujangga Islam Syech Nawawi Alhanteni Indonesia*. Jakarta: Sarana Utama, 1978. p. 35; &
  61. For an important study of this work, see: Jomier, J. *Le Commentaire Coranique du Manar: Tendances Modernes de L'exégèse Coranique en Égypte*. Paris: Éditions G.-P. Maisonneuve & Cie, 1954.
  62. Mustafâ al-Marâghî (1881-1945) was a prominent Egyptian reformist and rector of al-Azhar from 1928-1929 (when he was dismissed by King Fu'ad, and reinstated from 1935-1945). He was well known for his work in education and his endorsement of the translation of the Qur'an into other languages. (art. "Marâghî," in: John Esposito (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*. v. 3: 44-45.) al-Marâghî's *tafsîr* is extremely popular in contemporary Indonesia, especially through its widely available Indonesian translation, (al-Maragi, A. M. *Terjemah Tafsir al-Maragi*. Semarang: Toha Putra, 1992). Furthermore it is said to have become a staple of the post-secondary Islamic educational curriculum in some circles, as noted by Nur Ahmad Fadhil Lubis in the case of materials taught at IAIN Medan, North Sumatra. ("Islamic Legal Literature and Substantive Law in Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* IV, 4 (1997); 46)
  63. (van Bruinessen 1990: 25).
  64. A complete listing of his works can be found in: Haji Rafiuddin ar-Ramli/ H. Muhammad Fakhru al-Aslami, *Sejarah Hidup dan Silsilah Keturunan Syaikh Imam Nawawi*. Tangerang: H. Muhammad Afif Asytari al-Asnawi, (in Jawi, no date).
  65. Snouck Hurgronje, C. *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1931. p. 271.
  66. Hafiduddin, Didin. "Tinjauan atas 'Tafsir al-Munir' karya Imam Muhammad

- Nawawi Tanara." *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia*, (Ahmad Rifa' i Hasan, ed.). Bandung: Mizan, 1987/ 1408. 39-58.
67. Johns (1988), 268.
  68. Abd. Rachman. *The Pesantren Architects and their Socio-Religious Teachings (1850-1950)*. University of California, Los Angeles Ph.D. dissertation, 1997. p.117.
  69. Abú Abdallah Muhammad b. Umar b. al-Husayn Fakhr al-Din al-Râzî (d. 606/1209) is one of the most celebrated theologians & exegetes in Muslim history. His most important work is the *Mafâtih al-Ghayb* or *Kitâb al-Tafsîr al-kabîr* which has been printed in several editions at Cairo and has in many ways served as a link between the traditional genre of *tafsîr* and more modern works. ("Fakhr al-Din al-Râzî," *EI2* II: 754) In fact his *tafsîr* was highly regarded by 'traditionalist' scholars in the *pesantren* milieu such as Mahfûz al-Tarmasî (d. 1919) as the work of a great *mujaddid* and defender of the Sunnah. (Abd. Rachman 1997: 157-8)
  70. (Johns 1988: 273).
  71. Beginning in Egyptian reformist circles centered around Muhammad 'Abduh and spreading to Indo-Pakistan and Southeast Asia. On these wider developments, see: Baljon, J.M.S. *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880-1960)*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968; & Jansen, J.J.G. *The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980.
  72. Jomier, J. *Le Commentaire Coranique du Manar: Tendances Modernes de L'exégèse Coranique en Égypte*. Paris: Éditions G.-P. Maisonneuve & Cie, 1954.
  73. Jansen, J. J. G. *The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980. p. 23.
  74. Moehammad Abdoeh. *Tafsier al-Qoeran al-Hakim, Djoezoe 'Amma*, (trans. Moehammad Sjah Sjaff'ie). Batavia: Borobudur, 1342 H./ 1923.
  75. e.g.: 'Abduh, M. *Tafsir Juz 'Amma Berikut Penjelasan*. Bandung: Sinar Baru, 1993.
  76. 'Abduh, M. *Tafsir Juz 'Amma*. Bandung: Mizan, 1998.
  77. Deliar Noer, writing in the early 1970's, stated that the publication in fact never saw print. (*The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia: 1900-1942*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. p. 150) However, just a few years later one did in fact appear with an appreciative forward from no less a figure than Haji Agus Salim. Since its first publication, this Indonesian work has gone through at least five printings. (M.M. Ali. *Qur'an Suci: Teks Arab, Terjemah dan Tafsir Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Darul Kutubil Islamiyah, 1979.)
  78. Ali, M. M. *De Heilige Qoer-an, Vervattende den Arabischen Tekst met Ophelderende Aanteekeningen en Voorede van Maulwi Mochammad Ali, Voorzitter Ahmadijja Andjoeman-i-Isjaat-i-Islam Lahore, Voor Indië*, (tr. Soedewo). Suriname: Stichting Isha'at Islam Qoranfonds, 1968.
  79. Maulvi Muhammad Ali. *Qurân Sutji: Djarwa Djawi Dalam Tafsiripun*, (trans. R. Ng. Djajasugita Sarta M. Mufti Sharif). Jogjakarta: Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (Ali-ran Lahore), 1963.
  80. Ali, M. M. *The Holy Qur'an*. Columbus: Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Isha'at Islam Lahore Inc. U.S.A., (n.d.).
  81. (Rahardjo 1996: 33).
  82. Amrullah, Haji Abdul Karim. *al-Burhan: Tafsîr Juz 'Amma*. Sungai Batang/ Mandjau: 1935/ 1354 H.
  83. Kiai Bisri Mustofa, *al-Ibriz li-Ma'rifa'ti Tafsîr al-Qur'an al-'Azîz*. Kudus: Menara Kudus, 1960.
  84. Here the present writer must acknowledge the valuable observations on this work

- that were shared with me by a number of colleagues at IAIN Walisongo, Semarang during my period there as a visiting researcher in 1997-1998.
85. Many of his poems have even become standard materials used in 'religious poetry recitations' held by the youth groups associated with a number of large mosques in Metro Jakarta.
  86. Hassan, A. *Tafsir al-Furqān*. Bangil: Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, 1986.
  87. e.g. in his relative inattention to *ashāb al-nuzūl* and his denial of the possibility of *nasikh wa mansūkh* within the text of the Qur'an.
  88. The present author's forthcoming thesis plans to dedicate significant attention to Hassan's place in the development of *fiqh* in twentieth century Indonesia.
  89. For a study of this important figure's life and works, see: Toha Hamim. *Moenawar Chalil's Reformist Thought: A Study of an Indonesian Religious Scholar (1908-1961)*. McGill University Ph.D. dissertation, 1996.
  90. Chalil, M. *Kembali Kepada al Qur'an dan As-Sunnab: Suatu Muqaddimah bagi Himpunan Hadis-Hadis Pilihan*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1956.
  91. The relationship between exegetical and jurisprudential methodologies in the works of Chalil and other twentieth century Indonesian authors is the subject of a more detailed, forthcoming study by the present author.
  92. Of these alternative types of *tafsir* we will have occasion to say more below.
  93. (Chalil 1956: 14-17) In later sections of this same work, Chalil also employs the same type of methodology to groups of related *hadith* from the Prophet.
  94. Chalil, M. *Tafsir Qur'an Hudaajatur-Rahmaan*, (only one volume published). Solo: Ab. Siti Sjamsijah, 1958.
  95. For an examination and analysis of Chalil's exegesis based upon this incomplete work and a number of his shorter writings, see: (Toha Hamim 1996: 78-111).
  96. The earliest such work in Bahasa Indonesia is, to my knowledge, the above-mentioned translation of Muhammad 'Abduh's *Tafsir Juz al-'Ammā*.
  97. M. Hasbi Shiddiqy. *Tafsir al-Qur'an "An Nur."* Jakarta, 1956. The "sober and scholarly" qualities of this work are highly commended in: Boland, B.J. *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*. (Verhandelingen van het KITLV # 59) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971, p. 201. The present article refers to the second edition of this work: Ash-Shiddiqy, H. *Tafsir al-Qur'ān al-Madjiid 'An-Nur*. Jakarta, Bulan Bintang 1965.
  98. Johns, A.H. "Islam in the Malay World; An Explanatory Survey with some Reference to Quranic Exegesis." *Islam in Asia*. (Raphael Israeli & Anthony H. Johns, eds.). Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984, II: 157.
  99. Later translated into Bahasa Indonesia as: al-Maragi, A. M. *Terjemah Tafsir al-Maragi*. Semarang: Toha Putra, 1992. The popularity of this work is also evidenced by the attention it receives in various circles. A recent thesis from IAIN Jakarta has characterized the general pattern of theological thought in the work as tending towards Mu'tazilite rationalism and the model of the Bukharā Matūridiyyah school. Such an orientation then interpreted as a contribution towards, "fostering an active, dynamic, and creative attitude among the *ummah*. Such a disposition is greatly needed in this era of development and globalization, which is marked by advances in various fields of science and technology." (Zaini, H. *Corak Pemikiran Kalam Tafsir al-Maraghi*, IAIN Jakarta: 1995, p. 264)
  100. For instance, in the first sentence of his preface—before he mentions the Qur'an as a source of literary inspiration or morals—Marāghī states that, "The Qur'an is legislation and a source of law that must be observed and carried out by every



- Muslim. In it are matters of the permissible and the forbidden as well as 'enjoining the good and prohibiting that which is wrong,' (al-Marāghī, I: 3). Such a primary orientation is also reflected in the preface to Hasbi's own work (*al-Nur*, I: 4) and fits well with his larger project towards the creation of a new 'school' of law to be named 'madhhab Indonesia.' For more on this, see: Nourouzzaman Shiddiqi, *Fiqh Indonesia: Penggagas dan Gagasannya*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1997.
101. al-Marāghī (op. cit.), 11-20; *al-Nūr* I: 5ff.
  102. Such accusations were refuted by Hasbi in the preface to the second edition of his work. (*al-Nūr* I: 9-11).
  103. Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Shawkānī. *Fath al-Qadīr: al-Jāmi' bayn Fana al-Riwayāt wa al-Dināyat min 'Ilm al-Tafsīr*, (5 vols.), Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1393 H./1973. This edition includes a short sketch of Shawkānī's life and works (3-9). In recent years, a number of secondary studies in Western languages have also appeared relating particularly to Shawkānī's legal thought; Wart, W. M. "The Closing of the Door of Ijtihād," *Orientalia Hispanica: sive studia F.M. Pareja octogenario dictata*, (J. M. Barral, ed.). Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, I: 675-678; Iik Arifin al-Mansurnoor. "Shawkani and the Closed Door of Ijtihad: Did Shawkani Possess the Key to Reopening the Closed Door of Ijtihad?" *Hamdard Islamicus* 11 (1988) pp. 57-65; & Haykel, B. "Al-Shawkani and the Jurisprudential Unity of Yemen," *Le Yémen, Passé et Present de l'Unité*, (M. Tuchscherer, ed.). Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1988, pp. 53-66.
  104. Hasbi himself acknowledged the provisional nature of his own work. Upon considerations of what he felt to be problems of translation in his *Tafsīr al-Nur*, Hasbi went back to revise his work in a later publication *Tafsīr al-Bayān* (1966), which consists of a more careful translation of the actual text with only brief commentary being given in the form of footnotes. It also includes a rather lengthy introductory section comprised of fourteen chapters which discuss such preliminaries as: "The Arabian Peninsula before the Birth of the Prophet", "A Short Biography of Muhammad", "The Glorious Qur'an" (which includes a breakdown of the individual *sūrah*s), "The Wisdom of the Qur'an's Gradual Revelation", "Laws Contained in the Qur'an and Its Style of *Da'wah*", "Aspects of Its Miraculous Nature", "The History of Its Revelation", "The Compilation of the Text", "Qur'anic Exegesis", "Translation of the Qur'an and the Laws Governing its Practice", "The Theory of Abrogation", "Rules of Etiquette for Reading and Listening to the Text", "Discussions of the [variant] Readings", and a glossary of terms. (13-172)
  105. Hamka. *Tafsīr al-Azhar*. Djakarta: P.T. Pembimbing Masa. 1967-1973. For an overview of some major works from other areas of the Muslim World, see: Baljon, J. M. S. *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880-1960)*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968.
  106. Here it may be interesting to note the intriguing similarities of biography— if not ideology— of these two men: Neither were fully trained as 'ulamā' in the traditional sense, but rather spent their early careers working in the fields of journalism and literature, only later to become more and more religiously oriented as they grew to become the primary representatives of major Muslim organizations (Muhammadiyah/ al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn). For more on the life and work of Sayyid Qutb, see: Abu-Rabi', I. M. *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1996; especially chapters 4-6. Some parts of Qutb's tafsīr, *Fi Zilāl al-Qur'ān*, have even been rendered into Indonesian as, *Di Bawah Naungan al-Qur'ān* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1982) by J. Kafi & Bey Arifin, who we have had occasion to mention earlier as the author of several original



- works on the Qur'an. Unfortunately the present author has as yet been unable to examine this translation personally. The citation is taken from: (Rahardjo 1996: 717).
107. e.g. His account of overcoming the temptation to fornicate included as "Kenangan bagi Anak Cucuku" in his commentary to *Surat Yusuf* (12).
  108. For a study comparing Hamka's work to earlier examples of particularly South-east Asian exegetical tradition, see: Steenbrink, K.. "Qur'ân Interpretations of Hamzah Fansuri (ca. 1600) and Hamka (1908-1982): A Comparison." *Studia Islamika* II, 2 (1995), 73-98. Another recent study of the *Tafsir al-Azhar* has called attention to its 'rationalist' elements, see: Yusuf, M. Y. *Corak Pemikiran Kalam Tafsir al-Azhar: Sebuah Telaah tentang Pemikiran Hamka dalam Teologi Islam*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1990.
  109. *Al Quraan dan Terjemahannya*. Jakarta: Yayasan Penyelenggara Penterjemah/Pentafsir Al Quraan, 1967 (numerous reprints).
  110. *Al Quraan dan Tafsirnya* (11 vols.). Jakarta: Yayasan Penyelenggara Penterjemah/Pentafsir Al Quraan, 1975.
  111. Here Muhammad Arkoun might be tempted to note the historical parallels between such contemporary endeavors and his own reading of developments in earlier Umayyad and 'Abbasid times. In an essay written several years ago he notes that, "It is definitely the case that the political demands of the Omeyya and Abbassid states have led groups of intellectuals to institute... an exegesis... with the aim of satisfying immediate needs: communication, the legitimisation of power, unification around the State-Orthodoxy-Truth, means of integrating heterogeneous elements; giving priority to simple definition, to a paraphrase of the Qur'an in a straightforward language, relating to modern usage, and to practical reason or common sense." (Arkoun, M. "Religion and Society: The Example of Islam," *Islam in a World of Diverse Faiths*, (D. Cohn-Sherbok, ed.). New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. p. 146.)
  112. For further discussion of these 'official commentaries', see Federspiel (1994: 64-69).
  113. Jassin, H.B. *Al-Qur'anul-Karim—Bacaan Mulia*. Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1977.
  114. (Jassin 1977: 13).
  115. i.e.: Syamsu, Nazwar. *Koreksi Terjemahan Bacaan Mulia HB Jassin*. Padang Panjang: Pustaka Saadiyah, 1978; *Polemik H. Oemar Bakry dengan H.B. Jassin tentang al-Qur'anul Karim Bacaan Mulia*. Jakarta: Mutiara, 1979.; & Abbas, K.H. Siradjudin. *Sorotan atas Terjemahan Quran H.B. Jassin*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiyah, 1979.
  116. It was called *Al-Qur'an Berwajah Puisi* and presented the standard Egyptian edition of the text in a somewhat unconventional format. Instead of printing the verses in contiguous lines filling the entire space of the page, they were arranged in such a way that there 'poetic' aspects were enhanced. Although this was intended to highlight the sublime beauty of the revelation he was once again attacked by critics who strictly interpreted remarks concerning 'poets' (i.e. those who challenged the Prophet) and poetry found in the Qur'an and *hadith* literature. For an edited collection of materials contributing to the debate over this publication, see: Jassin, H.B. (ed.), *Kontroversi Al-Qur'an Berwajah Puisi*. Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1995. More recently a well-articulated rebuttal of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia's (MUI) disapproval of Jassin's work has been published, based upon a critical review of the early history of the Qur'anic text itself. (Wahyudi. "Puitisasi Al-Qur'an: Ijtihad yang Patut Dihargai," *Islamologi Terapan*. Surabaya: Gitamedia Press, 1997. pp. 44-54.)

117. Jakarta: Mutiara, 1983
118. Bandung: F.A. Sumatera, 1978.
119. Thus perhaps these works can be seen as a continuation of the 'richtung' of didactic tafsir works alluded to at the beginning of this essay. For more on the didactic dimensions of these two works, see Federspiel (1994: 69-72).
120. K.H. Qamaruddin Shaleh, A.A. Dahlan, & Jus Rusami. *Al-Amin: Al-Qur'an Tarjama Sunda*. Bandung; c.v. Diponegoro, 1971. However this is not the only translation available in Sundanese as this has been one of the most fruitful areas for Southeast Asian translation/tafsir literature in recent decades. See also: Ramli, K.H. Mhd. *Al Kitabul Mubin: Tafsir al-Qur'an Basa Sunda*, II vols, al-Ma'arif, 1981; & Shaleh, H. Qamaruddin. *Tardjaman Djuz 'Ammah (Basa Sunda)*. Bandung: C.V. Diponegoro, 1965.
121. Scupin, Raymond. *Thai Muslims in Bangkok: Islam and Modernization in a Buddhist Society*. PhD Dissertation: University of California, Santa Barbara, 1978. p. 100.
122. Bruce, Abdul Rakman H. *Ang Banal na Kuran*. Manila(?): 1982.
123. de Leon, Imam Muhammad al-Lauhi. *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an in Tagalog on Islamic Legislation*. Manila: Convislam Publications, 1982.
124. The Arabic text is not given at all in this publication, and one questions whether or not the Tagalog translations and subsequent commentary are actually based upon the original text of the Qur'an or simply from the English translation.
125. Although as we have seen above there were already some moves in this direction up to three decades earlier, such as in Moenawar Chalil's *Kembali kepada Al Qur'an dan As-Sunnah* (1956).
126. Marsekan Fatawi, H. Rachmat Djatnika, H. Gufron Zainul Alim, H. Asyik Kholil, Abd. Mujib Manan, & H. Abd. Djalal. *Tafsir Syari'ah (at-Tafsir fi al-Syari'ah wal-Ahkâm)*, Surabaya; Bina Ilmu, 1984.
127. Rahman, Fazlur. *Major Themes of the Qur'an*. Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1980. Here one should keep in mind the tremendous influence that Rahman's thought has had upon developments in contemporary Indonesian Islam; both via his prominent Indonesian students such as Nurcholish Madjid and Syafii Ma'arif, and the popularity of his works among students in the country's IAIN system of State Islamic Colleges.
128. Rahman, F. *Tema Pokok Al-Qur'an*. Bandung: Penerbit Pustaka, 1983.
129. Bandung: Mizan, 1993 (7th printing, 1997).
130. His popularity in Indonesia is evidenced by the fact that several of Shaltût's major works have been translated into Indonesian, including his *tafsir*. (Syaltut, M. *Tafsir Al-Quranul Karim (Pendekatan Syaltut dalam Menggali Esensi al-Qur'an*. Bandung: CV. Diponegoro, 1989) He was also the first recipient of an honorary degree from IAIN in the 1960's. For more on Shaltût's influence in the development of contemporary Indonesian Islam, please see chapter 3 of the present author's forthcoming dissertation from Boston University.
131. As we have seen, this is not the first time that works of or Indonesian *tafsir* have appeared serially before finding circulation in monograph form.
132. Rakhmat, J. *Tafsir Bil Ma'tsur: Pesan Moral Alquran*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 1994. To my knowledge only this first volume has appeared to date.
133. This might be seen as the utilization of the popular interpretive principle found in the contemporary context of 'holistic' approaches to the Qur'an.
134. This is done especially in connection with *hadith* relating to the *asbâb al-nuzûl* ('occasions of revelation').

135. This orientation towards the interpretation of authoritative religious texts in context has been adopted by numerous prominent Indonesian Muslim thinkers who employ various terminology in their discussions. The meanings or intention behind a particular text can be referred to as *maqâsid* (sing. *maqâsid*), *hakikat*, or *sirr* (pl. *asrâr*); depending on the particular usage and background of the author concerned. These authors in turn draw upon a number of established Muslim scholars for their point of departure including al-Shâubî (d. 790 H./ 1388), and Shah Wali-ullah al-Dihlawî (d. 1176 H./ 1763).
136. The allusion to Rahman's work here is intentional, for Dawam's limited training in Arabic necessitates his heavy reliance on such works in English and sources already available in Indonesian translation.
137. (Rahardjo 1996: 17-19) Dawam himself uses such examples as: *syukr*, *ikhlâsh*, *ummah*, etc.; citing the fact that even non-Muslim Indonesians commonly refer to these same terms in their social and religious discourses.
138. *Contextualizing the Qur'an* or, more literally, "Bringing the Qur'an Down to Earth." This book is to date the most popular title ever published by the prominent Bandung house Mizan, having gone through at least fifteen printings over the last six years. (Shihab, M. Q. "Membumikan" *Al-Qur'an: Fungsi dan Peran Wahyu dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992 (15th printing, 1997). pp. 11-120.
140. Shihab, M. Q. *Warsawan Al-Quran: Tafsir Maudhu'i atas Pelbagai Persoalan Umat*. Bandung, Mizan 1996 (6th printing, 1997).
141. He was the first Southeast Asian-born (although of Arab descent) recipient of the Doctorate in Qur'anic Sciences from al-Azhar (*summa cum laude*, 1982).
142. Shihab, M. Q. *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Karim: Tafsir atas Surat-surat Pendek Berdasarkan Urutan Turunnya Wahyu*. Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1997.
143. In a further note, future studies might also benefit from considering non-written works of *tafsir* that are currently experiencing vigorous growth in Indonesia and which actually produce profound effects upon large sections of the Muslim population. Here I am referring to the genre of radio and television programs which are often organized as a kind of running 'topical tafsir'. The most prominent early examples of this form includes Hamka's incredibly popular radio sermons starting in the 1960's. Today television has become the primary means of broadcast for such popularizations, such as TPI's (Television Pendidikan Indonesia) *Kuliah Subuh*, which the host of the program himself has described as a "program tafsir maudhu'i."

---

R. Michael Feener is a graduate student at Boston University.