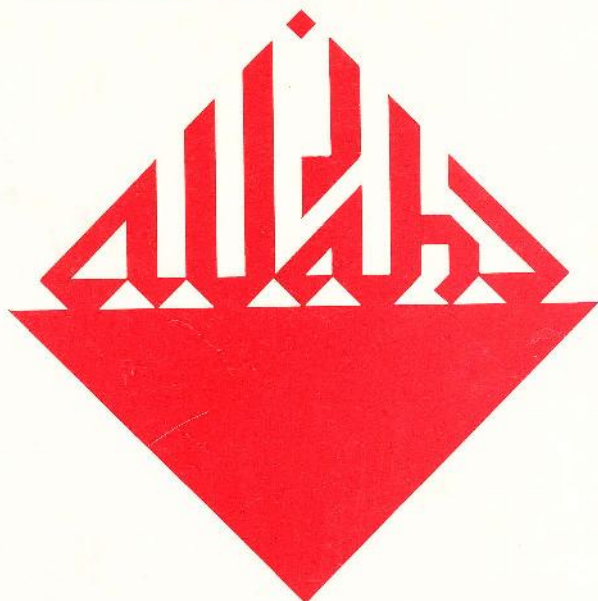


# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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## Qur'ân Interpretations of Hamzah Fansuri (CA. 1600) and Hamka (1908-1982): A Comparison

**Abstraksi:** Hubungan antara Islam dan kepulauan Nusantara telah terjalin sejak awal kehadiran Islam. Menurut salah seorang ahli etimologi Melayu, di dalam al-Qur'ân Surah 76:5-6 terdapat kata yang berasal dari bahasa Melayu: *kâfûr*. Istilah ini tidak memiliki akar katanya dalam bahasa Arab. Kenyataan ini memperkuat dugaan bahwa bangsa Melayu, atau budaya Melayu, telah bersinggungan lama dengan bangsa Arab sejak sebelum lahirnya agama Islam.

Proses Islamisasi masyarakat Nusantara dalam skalanya yang luas baru terjadi setelah abad ke 12. Pada saat itu, Islamisasi tidak hanya menyentuh masyarakat pinggiran. Beberapa kerajaan yang ada di Nusantara, khususnya yang berlokasi di pulau Sumatera, mulai memeluk agama Islam. Selanjutnya, proses konversi ini berjalan semakin intensif dan menjangkau pelbagai kerajaan di wilayah-wilayah lainnya.

Salah satu tema penting dalam melihat tradisi Islam di wilayah ini adalah pergulatan pemikir Muslim dalam menafsirkan doktrin-doktrin Islam. Pergulatan pandangan dalam wilayah ini mendorong terciptanya pola-pola pemikiran serta tindakan lainnya dalam rangka kehidupan beragama secara keseluruhan. Salah satu pemikir yang menonjol dalam bidang ini adalah Hamzah Fansuri.

Fansuri memiliki kecenderungan kuat untuk memahami doktrin Islam melalui kacamata mistik (*sûfi*). Kecenderungan ini sering mendorong para pengamat untuk berkesimpulan bahwa Fansuri adalah penganjur ajaran panteisme heterodoks (*wahdât al-wujûd*). Bahkan tokoh Muslim yang menonjol lainnya, Nuruddin al-Raniri, yang antara 1637-1643 menjadi Syaikh al-Islâm di kerajaan Aceh, memberikan perintah untuk membakar buku-buku karangan Fansuri di halaman masjid besar Banda Aceh.

Meskipun demikian, kesimpulan bahwa Hamzah Fansuri seorang panteis heterodoks tidaklah mudah dibuktikan. Kunci ajaran *wahdât al-wujûd* menekankan eksistensi Tuhan sebagai satu-satunya yang nyata.

Keberadaan sesuatu yang lain cenderung dianggap tidak memiliki eksistensi tersendiri. Dalam masalah ini Fansuri cenderung berpandangan bahwa dunia bukan tidak memiliki eksistensi. Namun, ia juga tidak memandang dunia memiliki eksistensi yang bersifat absolut maupun kekal. Ia lebih menekankan, keberadaan dunia sebagai sesuatu yang tidak dapat dipisahkan dari dan bergantung sepenuhnya pada Tuhan.

Fansuri meninggalkan beberapa karya tulis yang membahas pelbagai aspek keagamaan, khususnya sufisme. Di antara karya-karyanya yang dikenal adalah *al-Muntahî*, *Asrâr al-'Arifin* dan *Sharâb al-'Ashiqîn*. Buku pertama merupakan uraian mendasar tentang mistisisme dan komentar panjang mengenai hadits yang berbunyi *man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu*. Ditulis dalam bentuk puisi, buku kedua juga membahas wilayah yang sama. Sementara kitab *Sharâb* memuat rumusan jenjang perjalanan sufi yang sangat dikenal sampai kini: *sharî'ah*, *tarîqah*, *haqîqah*, dan *ma'rifah*. Teori yang dikemukakan Fansuri ini sekaligus menafikan anggapan bahwa ia tidak memberikan arti penting bagi *sharî'ah* dalam kehidupan beragama.

Sementara itu, Hamka merupakan sosok penting pemikir Islam di zaman modern. Karir intelektual Hamka mencakup wilayah yang sangat luas, sebagaimana ditunjukkan melalui karya-karya tulisnya yang sangat beragam. Di samping karya-karya jurnalistik dan fiksinya, Hamka juga memberikan perhatian yang mendalam terhadap masalah keagamaan. Ia menulis tentang sufisme dan menerbitkan buku tafsir *al-Qur'ân* yang jumlahnya puluhan jilid. Ciri khusus pemikiran keagamaan Hamka sedikit banyak memiliki kesamaan dengan Fansuri. Ia juga memiliki kecenderungan kuat untuk memakai model penjelasan mistik dalam memahami pelbagai aspek agama. Bahkan secara khusus Hamka menulis tentang seluk-beluk sufisme dalam kaitannya dengan tuntutan kehidupan modern.

Membandingkan kedua tokoh ini tentu akan dijumpai persamaan dan perbedaan. Hamzah Fansuri hidup berabad-abad sebelum Hamka lahir. Latar belakang sosial antarkeduanya jelas berbeda, dan tipologi masyarakat yang dihadapi oleh mereka juga tidak sama. Namun demikian, posisi sentral kedua figur ini sedikit banyak memiliki kesamaan. Keduanya merupakan figur-figur sejarah dari peradaban Islam Melayu. Kecenderungan mereka kepada sufisme juga memberikan indikasi tentang alur kaitan tradisi yang sudah berjalan dalam khazanah Islam sebelumnya. Satu hal yang lebih penting lagi dari perbandingan antara kedua tokoh ini adalah bagaimana tradisi tertentu dalam khazanah Islam Melayu berjalan hingga kini.

كارل أ. ستينبرينك

## مقارنة بين تفسير القرآن لحمزة الفانسوري وحمكا

قد ارتبطت علاقة الإسلام بجزر أرخبيل إندونيسيا منذ أوائل صدر الإسلام. رأى عالم أصولي (لغوي) ملايوى أن فى صورة "الإنسان" من القرآن الكريم كلمة أصلها من اللغة الملايوية، وهى كلمة "كافور". هذه الكلمة ليس لها اشتقاق فى اللغة العربية بالذات. إذن، هذا الوضع الافتراضى القائل بأن الشعب الملايوى أو الثقافة الملايوية قد ارتبطت بالشعوب العربية قبل ظهور الإسلام.

وكانت عمليات إسلامية المجتمع الإندونيسى فى ذلك النطاق الواسع قد حدثت منذ القرن الثانى عشر الميلادى. وكانت هذه الإسلامية لا تقتصر على المجتمعات الريفية فحسب، وإنما تشمل أيضا بعض الممالك القائمة بأرجاء الأرخييل، خاصة الممالك الواقعة فى جزيرة سومطرة، إذ أخذت تعتنق الدين الإسلامى.

وتعتبر محاولة المفكر المسلم فى تفسير المبادئ والتعاليم الإسلامية من الموضوعات الهامة فى معالجة التقاليد الإسلامية فى مناطق الأرخييل. ويحتل هذا الموضوع مكانة عالية فى تشكيل التراث الإسلامى، إذ أن التعاليم الإسلامية، خاصة القرآن الكريم، تعدّ من الدعائم والركائز الأساسية من نظام الدين الإسلامى. ومن المفكرين البارزين فى هذا المجال السيد حمزة الفانسورى.

كان الفانسورى يتجه اتجاهها قويا إلى فهم تعاليم الإسلام من زاوية التصوف. وأدى هذا الاتجاه بالمراقبين إلى القول بأن الفانسورى كان من أنصار تعليم "وحدة الوجود". هناك نور الدين الرانيرى، الذى عين شيخ الإسلام فى مملكة "آتشيه" الإسلامية فى الفترة

ما بين ١٦٣٧-١٦٤٣، أمر السلطان في عهده بتحريق الكتب التى ألفها الفانسورى أمام جامع "باندا آتشي".

وعلى الرغم من ذلك، فإن الاتهام بأن حمزة الفانسورى تابع لمذهب وحدة الوجود يصعب تحقيقه. وجدير بالذكر أن أساس "وحدة الوجود" تأكيد على وجود الله كموجد وحيد. ووجود ما سوى الله يعتبر وجودا بدون كيان مستقل. بينما رأى الفانسورى أن الدنيا لها كيان، اعتبر أن الدنيا ليس لها كيان مطلق ولا خالد.

ترك الفانسورى عدة مؤلفات تناولت البحث فى شتى الجوانب الدينية. ومن مؤلفاته المشهورة: المنتهى، وأسرار العارفين، وشراب العاشقين. تناول الكتاب الأول شروحا أساسية عن الصوفية وتعليقات مطولة عن الحديث القائل: "من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه". كما تناول الكتاب الثانى البحث فى نفس المجال، غير أن أعماله مكتوبة بأسلوب شعرى. أما الكتاب الثالث فتناول فيه شروحا عن سيرة حياته ومراحل تجاربه الصوفية. احتوى كتاب "شراب العاشقين" صياغات المراحل والمقامات الصوفية المعروفة حتى الآن، وهى: الشريعة، ثم الطريقة، ثم الحقيقة، والمعرفة.

وهناك مفكر الإسلام البارز فى العصر الحديث، وهو حمكا. كان له بحث عقلى يشمل النطاق الواسع الذى يتمثل فى مؤلفاته المختلفة. وإلى جانب مؤلفاته القصصية الخيالية، كان يهتم اهتماما عميقا بالمسائل الدينية. فقد ألف كتابا عن الصوفية، عشرين مجلدا من كتب تفسير القرآن الكريم. ويبدو أن خصائص التفكير الدينى لدى حمكا لها أوجه الشبه المتفقة مع تفكير الفانسورى.

وإذا قارنا بين هذين الرجلين، وجدنا أوجه الشبه والاختلاف بينهما. وأصبح من الواضح أن خلفياتهما الاجتماعية متفاوتة. غير أن مكاتهما الهامة ذات أوجه الشبه إلى حد ما، إذ أنهما صورتان لرجال تاريخ الحضارة الإسلامية الملايوية. وإن اتجاهاهما إلى التفكير الصوفى يؤشر إلى مسير ارتباط التقاليد الفكرية الجارية بالتراث الفكرى الإسلامى فى العصور الماضية. وفوق كل ذلك، فإن هناك أمرا ذا أهمية كبرى فى المقارنة بين الرجلين، ألا وأن تلك التقاليد المعينة فى التراث الفكرى الإسلامى الملايوى احتفظت وتطورت حتى اليوم.

From the very beginning of the religion of Islam, there has been a relationship between the Qur'ân and the Malay archipelago. According to some scholars, there is even one word of Malay origin in the text of the Holy Book. In the description of the Paradise of Surah 76, *al-Insân*, verses 5-6 we read: "Lo! the righteous shall drink of a cup whereof the mixture is of *Kâfûr*, a spring wherefrom the slaves of Allah drink, making it gush forth abundantly...". The word for camphor, *Kâfûr*, is surely not of Arab origin, the root k.f.r. meaning ungrateful. According to specialists in the field of the etymology of Malay, it is an original Malay word.<sup>1</sup> This word indicates one of the most precious and important products in the trade between the archipelago and the Arab countries between the sixth and the sixteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Camphor not only is an etymological link between the Qur'ân and the islands, it was also part of the trade that since the early seventh century, brought individual Muslims to visit and settle in these areas.

Around 1200 the second broad movement of Islamization also resulted in the conversion of a number of Indonesian kingdoms to the religion of Islam. The first of these were located on the coast of the island of Sumatra. One of the oldest accounts of the arrival of the Islamic movement in this area, gives a prominent role to the Qur'ân. In *Sejarah Melayu*, one of the stories tells that the prophet Muhammad foretold the conversion to Islam of a place called Semudra:

And when they reached Semudra the fakir went ashore where he met Merah Silu hunting for shell-fish on the beach. And the fakir asked him: "What is the name of this country?" and Merah Silu answered: "This is Semudra." And the fakir asked: "What is the name of the headman of this country?" And Merah Silu replied: "It is I who am the headman of this people here." The fakir thereupon admitted him to the Faith of Islam and taught him the Muslim creed. And when Merah Silu had become a Muslim he returned to his house and the fakir returned to his ship. And that night in his sleep Merah Silu dreamt that the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) appeared to him and the Apostle of God said to him: "Open your mouth, Merah Silu." And Merah Silu opened his mouth and the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) spat into the mouth of Merah Silu. And Merah Silu was awakened from his sleep and to his nostrils there came from his body a fragrance as of spikenard. The next morning the fakir came ashore bringing with him a Qur'ân and he told Merah Silu to read it. And Merah Silu read the Qur'ân. Then said the fakir to Shaikh Isma'il, the master of the ship: "This is the country of Semudra of which the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) spoke." Shaikh Isma'il then took ashore from his ship the regalia

he had brought with him and he installed Merah Silu as Raja with the title of Sultan Malikus-Saleh.<sup>3</sup>

This moving story is corroborated by historical data from the great collections of Malay and Javanese manuscripts, which show, that Arab copies of the Qur'ân, as well as translations and commentaries, were among the first writings of the Muslims of Southeast Asia. One of the oldest manuscripts, brought in 1606 from the sultanate of Johore to the harbour town of Rotterdam in the Netherlands by the traders of the VOC, the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) is a nice copy of the Qur'ân, now under "96 D 16" in the Municipal Library of Rotterdam. Many others can be found.<sup>4</sup>

The history of the reception and interpretation of the Qur'ân is one of the major manifestations of the Muslim tradition in the area. In order to demonstrate the continuity and significant shifts in this tradition, we want to compare two giants in the development of this intellectual and religious heritage, Hamzah Fansuri, who lived ca. 1600 and Hamka, an acronym for Haji Abdulmalik ibn Abdulkarim ibn Amrullah, who passed away in 1981. Both have prominent position in the literary tradition of Indonesian Islam and are known through a fairly large number of writings. Both have mystical inclinations and good knowledge of the history of the Islamic intellectual tradition, especially in the fields of speculative theology (*kalâm*). Both travelled abroad and have intimate knowledge of the Muslim world outside Indonesia. Notwithstanding these similarities, we also find differences, because both were contributing to the religious discourse of their periods.

### Hamzah Fansuri

From June 1599 until mid-1601 the Dutch trader Frederik de Houtman was imprisoned by the Sultan of Aceh because of a complicated series of accusations. One of the main reasons was that De Houtman refused to serve the military goals of the sultan in his war against the sultanate of Johor. The superb Dutch ships, faster and larger than those used until then in the Malay archipelago, combined with their superior weaponry, were more important to the rich sultan of Aceh than the gold, diamonds or fine cloths that were brought by the Dutch as merchandise. In the company of the Dutch trader, we also find an English sailor, John David, who wrote afterwards about



the Acehnese of this period:

They bring up their children in learning and have many schools. They have an Archbishop and Spiritual Dignities. Here is a prophet in Achien whom they greatly honour; they say that he hath the spirit of prophecies as the ancients have had. He is dignified from the rest in his aperell and greatly imbraced of the King.<sup>5</sup>

There have been several opinions about the persons indicated in this text, but those who are most generally accepted to be these two are Shamsuddin al Samatrani, the principal religious official (called *Shaykh al-Islâm*) of the Sultanate, identified as an 'archbishop' and Hamzah Fansuri, the poet, mystical leader and *shaykh* of the Qadiriyyah brotherhood as the one who 'hath the spirit of prophethood'. Another possible portrait of these two prominent muslims has been given by the British sailor Sir James Lancaster, describing the two, who discussed with him political affairs:

The one of those noblemen was the chiefe bishope of the realme, a man of great estimation with the king and all the people; and so he wel deserved, for he was a man very wise and temperate. The other was opne of the most ancient nobilitie, a man of very good gravitie but not so fit to enter into those conferences as the bishop was.<sup>6</sup>

Very few details are known about the life and career of this Hamzah Fansuri . Some 35 poems, each consisting of about 15 quatrains, are attributed to him. They show such a personal style, such a mastery of Malay and the technical terminology of a specific blend of mysticism, that there is little doubt as to the coherence of these writings. Besides these poems three prose writings are attributed to this divine. The shortest of these is called *al-Muntahî* and is a basic writing on mysticism, in effect a long meditation on the famous *hadîth*: "*Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu*" (He who knows his self, knows his Lord). This saying is explained by a large number of quotations from Muslims saints, *hadîth*, and 21 quotations from the Qur'ân, loosely put together in an explanatory prose text. In Al-Attas' editions this text takes up 24 pages. A second treatise is known by its title as *Asrâr al-'Arifîn*. This text is basically a poem of 15 quatrains together with a detailed line by line explanation of its content. This much longer text (63 pages in the Al-Attas' edition) contains not less than 54 quotations from the Qur'ân. A third treatise, *Sbarâb al-'Ashiqîn* (31 pages in the

Al-Attas edition), has 23 verses from the Holy Qur'ân.

From this first inventarisation it is clear that at least the prose works of Hamzah Fansuri reveal a strong influence from the Holy Book. Whatever is said by some orientalists about the origins of Islamic mysticism (i.e. originating not from the times of the Prophet Muhammad and the revelation of Qur'ân), such ideas can easily be refuted by virtue of the frequent use of the verses of the Qur'ân.<sup>7</sup>

### Hamka (1908-1981)

Hamka was born in a dynasty of very important Muslim leaders in Minangkabau, the mountainous area of West Sumatra. His grandfather, Shaykh Amrullah was a Naqshbandi *murshid*, who promoted this brotherhood after long years of study in Mecca in the mid 19th century. With 8 (successive) wives, 46 children and thousands of devotees, who came to him for *berkat* (blessing), he met the expectations of his numerous followers. In fact the Naqshbandi in the area succeeded to the more 'old-fashioned' and 'unorthodox' Shatariyyah brotherhood.<sup>8</sup> The orthodoxy of the Naqshbandi came under the attack of Amrullah's son Abdulkarim, who was born in 1879 and spent about ten years of study in Mecca between 1895 and 1906. Under the influence of the modernism of Muhammad 'Abduh, this Abdulkarim ibn Amrullah denounced all practices of any *tariqah* as heterodox. The best known person of the third generation in this religious dynasty, Abdulmalik ibn Abdulkarim ibn Amrullah, who after performing the haj was known by his acronym Hamka, was born in 1908. Hamka was educated in the tradition of this Islamic reformism: back to the Qur'ân and hadîth of the Prophet, no *taqlid*, no practices of *tariqah* and purification from many local practices or even superstitions that were practiced under the label of Islam.

Hamka developed not only as a religious scholar, but also as a journalist and writer of novels. He did not found his *surau* or traditional religious school, emphasizing religious knowledge only, but spent much time writing. From 1936 on he became nationally known as the editor of a popular and modern Muslim magazine, *Pedoman Masyarakat*, aiming at the better educated middle-classes, who had good secular knowledge, could speak Western languages but still wanted to know more about the Islamic religious tradition. Hamka's readers did not like the technical language of religious specialists, but preferred moving stories with religious lessons or short

articles, as in popular magazines, well written and immediately coming to the basic practical teachings of Islam.

Hamka served this 'new religious market' from the modern city of Medan, centre of commerce and industry of Sumatra, between 1936 and 1950. In this last year he moved to the capital of the new independent Republic of Indonesia, where he played a minor role in politics, but became famous as a preacher on national radio and as *imam* of a modern multifunctional mosque annex Islamic center in an elite suburb of modern Jakarta. Every morning he presented his Qur'an commentary after the *subh*-prayers. In Jakarta he continued the publication of several magazines. Many of the articles and serials out of these magazines were also published as books. Some were devoted to lessons from the history of Islam, some to the general teachings of Islamic mysticism, some seven serials were in fact novels discussing a number of actual problems of modern Muslims in his country. Between 1962-1966 Hamka experienced the fate of many convinced and important religious leaders: imprisonment by order of the Soekarno regime. This period was 'a time of grace' for him, because now he had the time to write a full commentary of the Qur'an, which was published in thirty volumes during the next ten years.

Comparing the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an by Hamzah Fansuri with Hamka, we come across some similarities: both have a strong preference for mysticism. But we will also see a number of differences. Before analysing this, we want to put some interpretations side by side. The selection we have made is seven quotations from the works of Hamzah Fansuri, mentioned above, in the translation of Al-Attas alongside a summary of the great 30 volume commentary of Hamka.

### Commentaries from the *Muntabî* compared<sup>9</sup>

Qur'an 41:54 *Wa Allâhu bi kulli shay'in muhib*

Fansuri:

But if the relationship [between the Lord and any thing in this world] is likened to that of the sea and its waves, it is permissible as the verse says:

Hamka:

Hamka presents the content from 47-54 in one commentary and relates it to the day of judgment. Therefore verse 54: "Are they not in doubt touching the encounter with their Lord? Does He not encompass everything" is not describing the mystical meeting of human beings with the Lord in this life, but

The sea is the sea, as it was before,  
 The 'new' are waves and rivers;  
 Let not forms that resemble them veil thee,  
 for the shapes they form are but veils.  
 But the waves exist together with the eternal sea. As the hemistich says:  
 The sea is eternal: when it heaves  
 it is called 'waves' —but in reality they are sea—for sea and waves are one. As God most exalted says: *Wa'llāhu bi kulli shay'in muhîr*, that is: God embraces every thing. [Al-Attas p. 449]

is about the meeting at the final judgment. Modern man, scientifically educated, finally knows the intimacies of matter up to the atomic system. "But some final questions cannot be explained. He will openly confess, that science will not bring him to that understanding.. at the end of his pilgrimage, he will come to the understanding of human intellect of God's Spirit (*akal dan Rob*). At this point a true upheaval has started... Finally he will find "Suffices it not as to thy Lord, that He is witness over everything?" (41:53) And God, according to His promise, surely will give him knowledge, as said in the verse: "Are they not in doubt touching the encounter with their Lord? Does He not encompass everything?" [Hamka vol. 24:306-307]

As already mentioned above, the *Muntahî* of Hamzah Fansuri is a compilation of quotations from the Qur'ân, the hadîth and the important mystical authors like al Bistâmî, Junayd, Rûmî, al Hallâj, Ibn 'Arâbî, al Ghazâlî and many others. This long chain of quotations is put into one dominating framework: an elaboration of the unity of man's and God's self. Immediately after the ceremonial praise of God and the Prophet, the *hadîth qudsî* is quoted: *man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu*. In this work Hamzah does not present any elaborated mystical or metaphysical theory. The text is more an evocation of the major themes, often in a richly symbolic way. The tree and the seed, pure cloth and the same cloth imbued with water, the ocean and the waves, the sun and its shining, its warmth, a name and a bodily form, the mirror and its reflection, milk and butter, body and soul, a gem and its shining, wine in a glass: these all are symbols of one and the same reality, i.e. the unity between God and man, through the mystery of being. The whole of *Muntahî*, through its many repetitions, is a training in looking at this world in a mystico-religious way, finding God in His manifestations.

One of the keywords in the writings of Hamzah Fansuri is the word *bertemu* (to meet, the equivalent of the Ar. *wâsil* or *liqâ'*). In another part of the *Muntahî* there is a quotation from Ibn 'Arâbî: *wa*

*fi damîri wa lâ alqâhu fi 'umûri* (And He is in myself, and yet I meet Him not in my life, Al Attas p. 338 and 457). To meet God is a thisworldly endeavour for the mystic, who also knows that he will not (definitely) succeed in his efforts. The Day of Judgment and the events related to that day do not play any role in Hamzah's work. We see, that Hamka more clearly 'postpones' the meeting with God until that day. Considering this difference we even may wonder whether the reproach of modernist Muslims towards older generations about their emphasis on the hereafter is right? In fact Hamzah Fansuri presents an image of Islam that is very much concentrated on the religious practice of believers here and now.

In Hamka's commentary one clearly modernist aspect is immediately shown through the reference to modern science. Qur'anic interpretation and natural history is an important topic in twentieth century Muslim thought with Ahmad al Iskandarani, Ibrahim al Rifâ'i and Yahya al Dardîrî as prominent representants and Tantâwî Jauhârî as the indisputable champion.<sup>10</sup> Hamka gave his Qur'an commentary the title *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, as a sign of his reverence for modern developments of Islam in Egypt and he took the commentaries of 'Abduh and Jauhârî among his most honoured examples.<sup>11</sup>

*Qur'an 57:3 Huwa al 'awwalu wa al âkhiru wa al zâhiru wa al bâtinu*<sup>12</sup>

Fansuri:

His eternal manifestations are many but the Essence is not many and is not subject to change, for *Huwa al-awwalu wa al-âkhiru wa al-zâhiru wa al-bâtinu*, that is He is the First and the Last, the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden. His Firstness is unknown, His Lastness is endless, His Outward Manifestness is most concealed, and His Inward Hiddenness is unattainable; He sees Him-self through Him-self, He sees Himself

Hamka:

... He is the Outward and the Inward". God is Outward, that is clear and without doubt, because we are able to discern Him with the eyes of our heart, see the proof through His works. Even scientists say that it is impossible that this world came into being by chance. Already during millions of years this earth encircles the sun in strict order, and the same can be said about the moon. Therefore we may state that this circulation related to the sun takes 365 and to the moon 354 days. So it was millions of years ago and will remain for the next millions of years. This is an outward sign of God's existence. And He is Inward, cannot be seen through our eyes, but can be seen by the heart. Therefore man has been given a heart. This has been stated by the mystical masters: *Kuntu*

through His Essence, His Attributes, His Acts and His Effects. [Al-Attas p. 461]

*kanzan makhfiyyan fa khalaqtu `ibâdî fa bi `arafûnî: I was a hidden treasure, then I created My servants, through my favour they are able to know Me. [Hamka vol. 27:302-303]*

The teachings of Hamzah Fansuri were considered by many as heterodox pantheism. One of the first to do so was Nuruddin al Raniri, an Indian scholar, who between 1637-1643 held the post of *Shaykh al-Islâm* at the court of Aceh and ordered the writings of Hamzah Fansuri and some others to be burnt in front of the great mosque of Banda Aceh and some of their adherents to be executed as heretics. Is it true that Hamzah holds that only God is the true reality, and thus a doctrine of *wahdat al-wujûd*? Raniri had a number of followers among modern scholars in the West and a school of Leiden scholars echoed him: C. Snouck Hurgronje, H. Kraemer, C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijzen and G.W.J. Drewes, to mention just a few, readily talked and wrote about "heterodox" or even "pantheistic mysticism". The only one, who for many statements, sided with the mystics was the Jesuit priest and scholar Dr. Piet Zoetmulder, who wrote a doctoral dissertation about the topic. All others, mentioned above, were educated in the Calvinist tradition of Dutch Reformed Protestantism, a religious tradition very much opposed to any form of mysticism. It is quite understandable that they not only rejected mysticism in their own tradition, but at the same times could not have positive feelings for the same phenomenon in another religious tradition.

Hamzah did not take the world as non-existent, neither as absolutely co-eternal and co-existing with God, but only considered it as inseparable and absolutely dependent on God. Therefore we can not simply identify Hamzah with the defenders of the *wahdat al-wujûd*. Perhaps we should also look at this problem from the other side: from the problem of man's knowledge of God. Different from the earlier mystics, who accepted an emotional and direct knowledge of God, the later mystics, after the time of Ibn 'Arâbî, stressed the mystery of the hidden God, who can only be known through his creations. This is probably also the main point of Hamzah Fansuri here. Even God only knows Himself 'through His Attributes, His Acts and His Effects'.

Hamka as the pragmatic pastoral teacher, accepts both ways of knowing God: the way of direct intuition, the knowledge through

the heart (inductive way in modern academic language), but he more clearly stresses the inductive way, through modern science. At the end of this short commentary Hamka shows his affinity with the mystical tradition and even refers to one of the favourite *hadith qudsi* from this heritage: *Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa khalaqtu 'ibadi fa bi 'arafunî*: I was a hidden treasure, then I created My servants, through my favour they are able to know Me. The sentence 'through my favour' here is Hamka's own addition, perhaps added in fear of being accused of heresy? The teaching of mysticism often resembles a mine-field with so many dangerous spots and so many hidden enemies!

Qur'an 89:28: *Irji' ila 'aslihi*

Fansuri:

Since seeking and gnosis and passionate love and attachment, all of them, pertain to the creaturely nature, when all these are absent in him, then he is annihilated. Since his essence and his qualities are attributes related only to God Glorious and Exalted, when he is annihilated, slavehood, like the wave, returns to the Sea. This is the meaning of 'Return thou to thy origin! [Al-Attas p. 470]

Hamka:

In a *hadith* the friend of the prophet, 'Amr ibn al-As tells us how the Lord will send two of His angels to His servants on the eve of their death. They say then: "Oh, spirit, which has attained your goal with the grace and favour of your Lord, come out. The Lord loves you and the Lord is not angry towards you." [...] After the struggle in this transient life, now you may return to your Lord. [Hamka vol. 30:136]

The word 'slavehood' in the passage from Hamzah Fansuri has to be understood in the sense that man is by his own will the 'slave' of God. It is quite clear that it is referring to the famous *hadith qudsi*, quoted so often by Hamzah: *man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu*. When the Lord is considered to be *rabb*, man naturally is the slave, the *'abd*, not in the terminology of the feudal period, but simply in order to indicate the 'natural' order between God and man.

In many orientalist theories about the origins of Indonesian mysticism, it has been suggested that Islam was not originally a mystic religion and that mystical elements only came into the Muslim tradition from India. It has even been suggested, that the mystical traditions of Indonesia were mere continuations of the symbiosis and

close connection between mysticism and Islam in India. The French scholar Louis Massignon has rejected this myth of the Indian origins of Islamic mysticism in his book *Essai sur les origines du lexique techniques de la mystique musulmane* (Paris, 1922, several reprints) by proving that the basic elements of Muslim mysticism can be traced back to the Qur'ân and early commentaries on the Holy Book. While the terminology of the ocean and the sea may perhaps have some similarity with Hinduist thinking, the 'abd-Rabb relationship is specifically Qur'ânic and Islamic. Also in this comparison we find the difference between a thisworldly opening with Hamzah (through his emphasis on *ma'rifat* or gnosis) and the conversation after death in the grave, as quoted by Hamka.

### Commentaries from the *Asrâr* compared

The book *Asrâr al-'Arifîn* (one would expect a longer title, but to date I can not find any full reference to the usually rhyming start of this book) is a much more systematic and theoretical work than the *Muntahî*. The structure of the *Asrâr* is quite simple: a poem of fifteen quatrains, containing in all 60 lines is presented at the beginning and then explained, line by line. This general structure is applied in an exposition of the seven main attributes of God: *hayy*, 'ilm, *murîd*, *qadîr*, *kalâm*, *samî'*, *basîr*, *qadîm* (living, will, almighty, word, listening, seeing, eternal). The next six stanzas elaborate on these attributes, sometimes even adding other attributes. The next four stanzas shift from *wujûd* to *shuhûd*, by stressing the (moral or ethical) implications:

(stanza 11:)  
*Jikalau sini kamu tahu akan wujud*  
*Itulah tempat kamu shubud*  
*Buangkan rupamu daripada sekalian quyud*  
*Supaya dapat kedalam Diri qu'ud* (Al-Attas 237 and 357)

If you really know the meaning of existence  
 It is where you effect true vision  
 Cast off your form from all restrictions,  
 In order that you may abide in your Self

The fifteenth stanza has, as is usual in Hamzah's poems, a reference to his name.

*Hamzah Fansuri sungguh pada Zat da'if*  
*Haqiqatnya hampir pada Zat al-Syarif*  
*Sungguh pun habab rupanya kathif*  
*Wasilnya da'im dengan Bahr al-Latif* (Ibid.)



Hamzah Fansuri, though he is insignificant  
 His Reality is close to the Noble Essence,  
 Though but a bubble whose form is gross,  
 His union is constant in the Sea of the Subtle

This poem is commented upon, line by line. In the text itself, we do not find explicit references to the Qur'ân, but in the commentary there are very many: 54 quotations for 60 lines of a poem, which means that nearly one quotation from the Qur'ân has been given for each line of this poem!

Qur'ân 16:40: *idhâ aradnâ an naqûla labu kun fa yakûn*

#### Hamzah:

According to the schools of the Mu'tazilah, the Rafidi and the Zindiq, God's Speech is created. But according to the Prescribed Law (*shari'at*) whosoever says that God's Speech is created, is an unbeliever may God preserve us from such! God's Speech is as the Essence; It is eternal, together with the seven Attributes. But the Speech of God that is conveyed to the Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger of God (God bless him and give him peace!) that is written on pages, this can be said to be created, for the judgment concerning it is that it has become separated, from the point of view of expression, from the Essence. In its real sense, God alone knows best! God Most Exalted says: *Innamâ qawlunâ li shay'in idhâ aradnâ an naqûla labu kun fa yakûn* (16:40). [Al-Attas p. 368]

#### Hamka:

To create the world, to place man on earth, or to destroy the present world order or even to call back to life the deceased: all this is very difficult to conceive for man but for God it can be arranged through one word only. Therefore, if He says 'Be', everything happens according to His will, be it construction or destruction, because God's will is absolute.

Therefore, if God does not arrange other regulations besides, this does not mean that there would be some constraints or limitations with Him. Because He is the One, the Almighty and the Highest. All creature will bow for His power, his superiority and His omnipotence. There is no Lord besides Him and no lawgiver. [Hamka vol. 14:244].

The more scholarly style of this commentary by Hamzah Fansuri is clear from this passage, taken from his notes on line 9 of the poem, describing the attribute of 'Powerful':

*Keempat Qâdir dengan QuadratNya tamâm  
 Kelimanya sifat bernama Kalâm  
 Keenamnya Sami' dengan AdaNya dawam  
 KetujuhNya Basir akan halal dan haram (Al-Attas 235 and 356)*

The fourth is 'Powerful', with a Power Absolute  
 Fifth is the Attribute called 'Speech'  
 Sixth is 'Hearing', with His Existence enduring  
 The seventh is 'Seeing', the permitted and forbidden

In the tradition of Islamic philosophy and theology we are familiar with two series of names for God: the ninety-nine names which are taken from the Qur'ân and the more speculative list of twenty, taken from the philosophical vocabulary, like *mukhâlafat li al-hawâdith* or 'differing from the accidentals' and *qiyâmuhu bi nafsibi*, 'existing through Himself' etc. Hamza Fansuri here takes his examples from the Qur'ânic list of the 99 names, but in his explanation he is very philosophical and takes into consideration the main streams of development in Islamic philosophy and theology. On many places Hamka regrets the hot debates and even fighting in the history of Islam and he prefers to reduce the debates in the history of Islam to unimportant subtitles, which have no immediate connection with the essential doctrines of Islam. In his commentary Hamka again and again stresses the principle that the Holy Book must not be interpreted by external sources: *tafsîr al-Qur'ân bi al-Qur'ân* is the slogan he took from the Egyptian reformers of the late 19th and early 20th century which he also wants to apply in this case. I found that Hamka also often uses this notion in the wonderful stories on the prophets where much material from rabbinic sources (*isrâ'îliyyât*) has been placed in the classical commentaries, especially the commentary of Tabari. In these cases, however, Hamka, as a good storyteller, does not refrain from retelling these captivating tales, while still giving warnings to his readers that we should not understand the Qur'ân from external explanations.

Qur'ân 51:21: *Wa fî anfusikum afalâ tubsirûn*

Fansuri:

...You must not seek  
 God further than within  
 yourself, for God Most  
 Exalted says: *Wa fî*

Hamka:

Hamka starts with the interpretation  
 of 51:20: "In the earth are signs for those  
 having sure faith". [...] This world is full  
 of amazing and stupefying testimonies,

*anfusikum afalâ tubsirûn* (51:21): that is 'And in yourself do you not see?' Furthermore the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says: *Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu*, that is 'Whosoever knows his Self knows his Lord.' When one's Lord is thus known, then one will be able to be indifferent to all else; whether being clothed or naked, is it the same to him; whether being rich or poor, it is the same to him; whether being great or insignificant, it is the same to him; whether being praised or scorned, it is the same to him; he does not desire heaven nor does he fear hell. As for the poor who begs for food, according to the Prescribed Law: that is lawful inasmuch as it is sufficient to give him strength for a day or two. But if he begs for food to last him for tomorrow and the day after, then that is 'polytheism', for in doing so, he desires to preserve his self. If he behaves in this manner, then he is not yet extinct from his self. All such actions of his are restrictions. As God most Exalted says: *Fa tawakkalû in kuntum mu'minin* (5:23), that is: Surrender yourselves to God, if ye be faithful. [Al-Attas 398-399].

such as precious metals .. After the progress of mankind, who developed from the use of wind and sails to the knowledge of atomic power, man again reached maturation in other fields. One of these is the building of sky-scrapers up to one hundred storeys, like the Empire State Building of New York. After considering all that is possible on this earth, the next verse is given: "and in yourselves; what, do you not see?" Although there is no correlation, the sequence of verses 20 and 21 surely coincides with the human intellect. After considering the richness of this world and looking around him, man will meditate about himself, who he is, from where are his origins, to what destination he is going? [...] If we try to answer these questions, we certainly will come at this conclusion:

*Wa kullu shay'in labu âyâtum tadullu 'alâ annahu wâhidun*

All things become a proof that he is One!

First we have also to note here, that the mystic Hamzah Fansuri shows his great respect for the legal aspects of Islam and stresses, that begging for food should always be begging for lawful food. In his elaboration of these themes Hamzah is very strict, nearly as severe as the law for Buddhist monks, who are not allowed to beg for food more than for this day (and sometimes one or two days more). In the interpretation of *Wa fi anfusikum afalâ tubsirûn* Hamzah surely underscores much more the immediate relationship between man and God, while Hamka emphasizes the indirect way of knowing and experiencing God: through the material things of this world.

### Commentaries from the *Sharâb al-‘âshiqîn* compared

Hamzah’s third work, *Sharâb al-‘âshiqîn* is again much more systematic than the two other prose works. Although it is more or less of the same length as the *Muntahî*, it has surely a different character: it is not a loose chain of quotations, circling around one theme (as the *Muntahî*) or following one poem (like the *Sharâb al-‘âshiqîn*), but it has a clear and logical structure in itself. The treatise counts 26 small pages in the main manuscript Leiden Orientalia 2016.<sup>13</sup>

The structure of the *Sharâb al-‘âshiqîn* is twofold: the first four chapters (*bab*) present the mystical path, climbing from *sharî‘ah* to *tarîqah*, *haqîqah* and *ma‘rifah*. Chapter five and six explain the emanation (*tajallî*) of God in His essence (five) and attributes (six). The final chapter seven concludes with the eminent virtues of love and gratitude. It starts with the famous hadîth: *Man mâta min al-ishqi faqad mâta shahîdan*: “Whosoever dies of excessive love has dies a martyr’s dead.”

Qur’ân 28:88: *Kullu shay’in hâlikun illâ wajhabu*

#### Fansuri:

When the rain falls on the earth it is called water flowing in rivers that is when the Relational Spirit (*Rûb Idâfi*), the Primordial Potentialities (*isti‘dâd aslî*) and the Fixed Essences (*a‘yân thâbita*) ‘flow’ under the command of the Creative Word ‘Be’. They are called rivers. When the rivers flow back to the ocean, they become ocean once again, but that Ocean is Most Pure. Although the Waves ebb and flow, the Ocean does not shrink or grow vaster for It is the Purest of the pure, as God the Exalted says: *Kullu shay’in hâlikun illâ wajhabu* (28:88), that is: Everything perishes except His face [Al-Attas 436-437].

#### Hamka:

Everything perishes except His face”, because God is the absolute being, his existence was necessary (*wujûd muthlaq; wujûd wâjib*)! Before anything came into being, He existed already! After all has been destroyed, He will abide. With the expression *wajh* (face) his Essence is meant.

It is without doubt that here Hamzah Fansuri is thinking in the referential scheme of Ibn ‘Arâbî with terms like *Rûb ‘Idâfi*, the *a‘yân thâbitah*. Hamka is the more sober one in stating, that the expression *wajh* should not be taken literally. Here Hamka perhaps shows some signs of ‘neo-mu‘tazilism’, by renouncing the literal meaning of the

term *wajb*. But besides these differences, we can see many similarities. This is not surprising, because both confessing muslims are meditating and mediating the same text of the Qur'ân.

Qur'ân 7:34: *Idbâ jâ'a ajalubum lâ yasta'khirûna sâ'atan wa lâ yastaqdimûn*

Hamzah:

... reason desires physical well-being, love desires infirmity; reason desires worldly loftiness, love desires lowliness; reason desires being well fed, love desires hunger; reason desires a high position, love desires a low position this is the reason why the People of the Path say: 'Love is the foe of Reason'. As in the case of a person who wishes to do battle with a hundred men, reason cautions him: Do not fight them, you are one and they are many, how can you fight them? But Love will urge him: You must not fear anyone! As God the Exalted says: *Idbâ jâ'a ajalubum lâ yasta'khirûna sâ'atan wa lâ yastaqdimûn* (7:34), that is: And when their term comes, they cannot remain behind the least while, nor can they precede it. (Al-Attas 444-445).

Hamka:

The meaning of *ajal* is promise, or decision or term. It is related to the word *taqdîr* ('predestina-tion'). [...] In this verse it is explained that the growth or decline of a nation runs according to the time schedule determined by God. If it is time for greater prosperity, it will happen, notwithstanding the number of people who want to prevent this, such as happened with the independence of the Indonesian nation on 17 August 1945. And when it is time for decline, it cannot be evaded and therefore the power of the Dutch, who ruled Indonesia for 350 years, was eclipsed with the arrival of the Japanese in less than one week.. [Hamka Vol. 7:222-223]

Hamka was born into a homogeneous Muslim society, the villages of Minangkabau, the mountainous area of West Sumatra. But after he moved to Medan and finally to Jakarta he started fighting for an Islamic character, or at least Islamic influence in a multicultural society. In this sense he became an advocate for a more outspoken Islamic society, an ideal which was only possible for citizens of a mixed society. This is even clearer in the political struggle that occurred during his lifetime: the fight for the independence of Indonesia.

### Some final notes about the relation between Hamka and Hamzah Fansuri

Hamka wrote several substantial historical works. His *Sejarah Ummat Islam* with its 921 pages is surely the most impressive of these.<sup>14</sup> In this work part VII (pages 645-920) is dedicated to a history of the

first centuries of Islam in the Malay archipelago. The nine saints of Java (*Wali Sanga*) are discussed in full detail including their miraculous stories, while reference is also often made to the Malay Annals, the *Sejarah Melayu*, mentioned above. This work is more concentrated on politics: the arrival of the Portuguese and the Dutch East India Company are referred to in some detail, but the most important mystic of Sumatra, Hamzah Fansuri, is not mentioned by name. Sultan Agung of Mataram (Central Java), who ruled between 1613 and 1643 is discussed in this book at some length and, together with the *pujanga-pujangga istana* (the scribes at his court), he is also criticized for his syncretism between Hinduism and Islam (p. 839). Is this a sign for Hamka's negative attitude towards Hamzah Fansuri? Or his ignorance about him?

In a second work, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* ("From our Old Heritage", Medan, Madju, 1963), a compilation of articles on the Islamic history of Indonesia, originally written in 1955, Hamka only briefly mentions Hamzah Fansuri, as someone who was attacked by Nuruddin al-Raniri, "because he taught that everything that is found in this world in fact has no essence. The only real existence is the Essence of God, the Most High! All things existing besides the Essence of God Most High, are only shadow or phantom! Or like the wave and the ocean, or like the mixture of iron, burnt in a fire!"<sup>15</sup>

In a book on the history of mysticism, *Tasauf dari abad ke abad*, first published in 1952, full attention has been given to the development of Islamic mysticism in the central areas of the Middle East. Only incidentally are some words dedicated to the Indonesian mystics. On page 145, after a general description of the pantheistic tendencies, culminating in the oeuvre of Ibn 'Arâbî, it is said that the great Indonesian mystics like Hamzah Fansuri, Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani and Siti Jenar were all adherents of this kind of pantheism.<sup>16</sup>

Hamka's most major work on mysticism is surely his *Tasauf Modern*, written in the 1930's at the request of a Chinese person, who was sympathetic towards theosophy and uttered some reproaches that Islam was a religion of a very strict law and jurisprudence only and had no interest in philosophy and mysticism. In his journal *Pedomana Masyarakat* Hamka wrote a series of articles on mysticism, which were later collected in a separate book.<sup>17</sup> In the (unsigned) preface of this book, the well-known literary reviewer Drs. Slamet Muljono is cited as having said that Hamka should be considered as the "Hamzah

Fansuri of our Century" (p. 7). But Hamka himself does not use any quotation from this great Indonesian mystic, nor does he mention him in this most important book on the renewed formulations of a practical way of mysticism, formulated close to al-Ghazali's ideas. From our explanation it may be understood how great the differences really were between these two giants but also that, in fact, there were so many similarities that it is a pity, that Hamka was never able to read Hamzah Fansuri in a cheap and good Indonesian edition. Therefore we estimate the similarities between the two to be much more important, than was ever recognized by Hamka himself.

### Endnotes

1. Personal communication from the late Prof. R. Roolvink, Voorschoten, June 1991.
2. For the mystical use of camphor in the poems of Hamzah Fansuri see Brakel and Drewes (1986:74)

*Hamzah gharib unggas quddisi  
Akan Rumahnya Bayt al-Ma'muri  
Kursinya sekalian kapuri  
Min al-ashjâri di negeri Fansuri*

Hamzah the stranger is a sacred bird  
His house is the 'Frequented House'  
In this pre-existent state he was intended for camphor  
From the trees of the region of Fansur

*Ibid* p. 142.

*Hamzah Shahrnawi terlalu hapus  
Seperti kayu sekalian hangus  
Asalnya laut yang tiada berharus  
Menjadi kapur di dalam Barus*

Hamzah of Shahr-i-Naw is entirely effaced  
As wood burnt down altogether  
His origin is the unruffled Ocean  
He became camphor in Barus

Camphor is a soft substance, within the kernel of a tree: like the soul, the divine essence within the human body?

3. C.C. Brown, *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals* (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1970), pp:32-33.
4. Cfr. P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1957), p. 277. Anthony H. Johns, "Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile", in Andrew Rippin (ed.) *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an* (Oxford: Clarendon), pp: 257-287; IDEM, "Islam in

- the Malay World: an Exploratory Survey with Some Reference to Quranic Exegesis", in Raphael Israel and A. Johns (ed.) *Islam in Asia* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1984), II:115-161.
5. W.S. Unger (ed.), *The Voyage of Captaine John Davis to the Easterne India, Pilot in a Dutch Ship, writtem by Himself* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1948), pp. 56-57.
  6. *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt to the East Indies*, edited by Markham (London: Hakluyt Society), vol. 56 p. 84. Cfr. C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Samsu'l-Din van Pasai, Bijdrage tot de kennis der Sumatraansche Mystiek* (Leiden: Brill, 1945), pp. 17-18.
  7. We will not touch here upon the short but also numerous references to the Qur'ân in Hamzah's poetry, because the elaboration of the interpretation is much shorter. For a first look, compare the list of Drewes and Brakel 1986:175-178. To give just one example from a reference to Surat *Al-Ikhlâs* (112: Drews and Brakel 1968:62)
 

Kata ini daripada *Nasihat al-walad*  
 Yogya kaubaca *Qul Huwa llâhu ahad*  
 Jika kautahu akan *Allâhu 'l-Samad*  
 Engkaulah wasil pada azal dan abad

What follows next is from the Advice to Children  
 Recite: Say: He is Allah, One  
 If you know that Allah is the Permanent One  
 You have achieved union with the Primordial and Everlasting  
 One.
  8. Karel Steenbrink, "The Muslims of West Sumatra and Dutch Colonialism in 1908", *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue*, Vol 1 (1991), 174-185.
  9. For the prose works of Hamzah Fansuri we use Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970). Translation from Hamka's *Tafsir Al-Azhar* was made for this article. Hamka named his tafsir after the old mosque-university of Cairo, where both his father and he received doctorates *honoris causa*.
  10. J.J.G. Jansen, *The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), esp. chapter III 'Koran Interpretation and Natural History', pp. 35-54.
  11. Cfr. *Tafsir Al-Azhar* vol. I, 52.
  12. Cfr. also *Asrâr*, no 11, ed. Al-Attas p. 244-245.
  13. Cfr. H.H. Juynboll, 1899:271-272 and 34. The first three pages in this manuscript have an interlinear Javanese translation, probably from Banten, because on p. 4 Kagungan Kanjeng Sultan Abu'l Muhasin Muhammad Zain al-'Abidin has been mentioned. This king ruled between 1690-1733. This oldest manuscript has the date of 9 Rajab 1116H or 7 November 1704. Pages 27-97 of this manuscript contain mystical poetry, mostly (probably) from Hamzah Fansuri.
  14. First edition 1949. I use the 1961 edition, Djakarta, Nusantara.
  15. "Sebab dalam mereka itu [Hamzah Fansuri and Shamsuddin al-Samatrani] dikatakan bahwasanya Zat segala jang maujud ini pada hakikatnya tidaklah ada: Yang ada hanyalah Zat Allah Ta'ala. Adapun Zat yang selain daripada Zat Tuhan, hanyalah semata-mata seumpama *zhill* atau bayang-bayang saja daripada Tuhan! Atau seperti ombak dengan lautan, atau seumpama perpaduan di antara besi dibakar dengan apinya!" Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan lama*, p. 190.
  16. Hamka coined the expression *Kesatuan Agama, Tasauf dari abad ke abad*, 145-147.



- I used the sixth edition (Jakarta, Pustaka Islam, 1996).  
17. I used the twelfth edition (Jakarta, Jayamurni, 1970).

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