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Heritage of Nusantara specializes in religious studies in the field of literature either contemporarily or classically and heritage located in Southeast Asia. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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Address : Gedung Kementerian Agama RI Lt. 18, Jl. M.H. Thamrin No.6 Jakarta-Indonesia,
Phone/Fax. 6221-3920713, 6221-3920718

E-mail : heritage@kemenag.go.id

URL : jurnallektur.kemenag.go.id/index.php/heritage

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(ت. 1334 هـ / 1916 م)

*MIN MU'ALLAFĀT 'ULAMĀ` BILĀDI JĀWĪ FIR-RIYĀDIYYĀT RAUḌATUL
ḤISĀB FĪ A`MĀLIL ḤISĀB LI AL-KHAṬĪB AL-MINGKABĀWĪ AL- JĀWĪ
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ISLAM NUSANTARA: A SEMANTIC AND SYMBOLIC ANALYSIS

Mark Woodward

Center for the Study of Religion and Conflict, Arizona State University
mark.woodward@asu.edu

Abstract

This paper presents semantic and symbolic analyzes of the concept of Islam Nusantara and the ways in which it evokes meaning and emotion to counter extremist and violent transnational movements including al-Qaeda and ISIS, based on the Salafi-Wahhabi ideology. The paper is based on a religious, cultural and political theme framework in two films produced by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU): The Blessing of Islam Nation (Oceans of Revelation: Islam as a Blessing for All Creation) and Launching the Film The Blessing Islam Nusantara. The first is based on elements of Sufism, Javanese and some other Indonesian cultures to build a vision of Islam which directly opposes the hard and non-violent Salafi-Wahhabi extremist. The latter promoted the film and the potential of the Ansor (NU) youth organization to combat extremism and terrorism. Theoretically, I rely on the insight by Goffman's observations of "farming" and "reframing" and Sperber's demonstration that symbolization is one of the cognitive processes that awaken and simultaneously communicate meaning and emotion.

Keywords: *Islam Nusantara, Transnational Movement, Religious and Cultural Movement, Nahdlatul Ulama, Islamic Vision.*

Abstrak

*Makalah ini menyajikan analisis semantik dan simbolis tentang konsep Islam Nusantara dan cara-cara di mana ia membangkitkan makna dan emosi untuk melawan gerakan ekstrem dan keras transnasional termasuk al-Qaeda dan ISIS, berdasarkan ideologi Salafi-Wahhabi. Makalah ini berdasarkan kerangka tema agama, budaya dan politik dalam dua film yang diproduksi oleh Nahdlatul Ulama (NU): *The Blessing of Islam Nusantara (Oceans of Revelation: Islam as a Blessing for All Creation)* dan *Launching the Film The Blessing Islam Nusantara*. Yang pertama didasarkan pada unsur-unsur tasawuf, Jawa dan sebagian lagi budaya Indonesia lainnya untuk membangun visi Islam yang secara langsung melawan ekstremis Salafi-Wahhabi yang keras dan tanpa kekerasan. Yang kedua mempromosikan film tersebut dan potensi organisasi pemuda Ansor (NU untuk memerangi ekstremisme dan terorisme. Secara teoritis, saya mengandalkan wawasan oleh pengamatan Goffman mengenai “farming” dan “reframing” dan demonstrasi Sperber bahwa simbolisasi adalah salah satu proses kognitif yang membangkitkan sekaligus mengkomunikasikan makna dan emosi.*

Kata Kunci: *Islam Nusantara, Gerakan Transnational, Gerakan Agama dan Budaya, Nahdlatul Ulama, Visi Islam.*

Introduction

It has often been asserted that Muslim leaders have not adequately addressed the challenge of violent extremist movements (VEM) including al-Qaeda (AQ) and ISIS. This suggest that they are acquiescent with the goals, if not the methods of VME. In Indonesia, at least, such is not the case. In this paper, I present a frame based semantic and symbolic ideology and program known as Islam Nusantara (Archipelagic Islam) designed to counter the violent form of Salafi-Wahhabism that AQ, ISIS and related groups are based on. Since 2015 his ideology has been developed by the leadership of Nahdlatul Ulama (Renaissance of the Ulama).

This paper presents a semantic and symbolic analysis of the concept and presentation of the concept of Islam Nusantara and the ways in which it evokes meaning and emotion to counter trans-national violent extremist movements including al-Qaeda and ISIS, based on Salafi-Wahhabi ideologies. It is based on a frame based content analysis of religious and political themes of Islam Nusantara. I focus primarily on two films produced by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) to promote this concept: the near feature length (83 minutes) *The Blessing of Islam Nusantara (Oceans of*

Revelation: Islam as a Blessing for All Creation)¹ and the much shorter (8 minutes) *Launching the Film The Blessing Islam Nusantara*² The first draws on elements of Sufism, Javanese and to a lesser extent other Indonesian cultures to construct a vision of Islam directly countering that of both violent and non-violent Salafi-Wahhabi extremists. The second promotes the film and Ansor's (the NU youth organization) potential for combatting violent extremism. Theoretically, I rely on insights by Goffman's observations concerning the ways in which semantic frames, and more specifically reframing, can alter dominance hierarchies in discourse systems and Sperber's demonstration that symbolization is a cognitive process that evokes as well as communicates meaning and emotion. (Sperber, D, 1975; Fairhurst, G. & Sarr, R,1996; Goffman, E,1974).

Both films are intended for both Indonesian and more specifically Javanese and international audiences as is evident from the titles and the English subtitles. They are quadra-lingual, including narrative and/or performance segments in Arabic, English, Indonesian and Javanese. Narrative, visual and performance segments of *The Blessing* construct an image on Islam Nusantara as authentic Islam based on the history of Javanese Islam as recounted in legends and texts concerning the *Wali Songo* (Nine Saints) who established Islam as the religion of Java. *Launching the Film* is more of a call to arms in the struggle against violent extremism.

This paper includes four sections: 1) A discussion of the concept of Islam Nusantara; 2) Theoretical Perspectives; 3) Cultural, political and religious themes in the two films and 4) Analysis, commentary and critique.

Islam Nusantara: Analytic and Ideological Perspectives

Islam Nusantara means "Islam of the Southeast Asian Archipelago." It refers primarily to Islam as practiced by traditionalists in what is now Indonesia, though it can be applied equally to Muslims with similar religious orientations in other Southeast Asian nations: Brunei

Darussalam, Malaysia, the Philippines, Southern Thailand and Singapore. It is vitally important to distinguish between analytic and ideological uses of the term.

Many Indonesian scholars and *ulama* have noted that in a strictly religious sense the term Islam Nusantara is rather vacuous for two reasons. The first is that identifying regional Islams contradicts the more basic notion that Islam is a universal religion whose basic principles are constant across geographic and ethnological space. The second and related point is that most, if not all, of the features commonly attributed to Islam Nusantara including Sufism, tolerance of other faiths and a symbiotic relationship with local culture can be found in Muslim societies far removed from Southeast Asia. (Fata, A. and Ichwan, M, 2017).

These problems are easily resolved if we view Islam Nusantara, not as a distinctive form of Islam but rather as what Hodgson calls an “Islamicate Civilization.” Hodgson used this term in reference to features of Muslim “high” or elite cultures - literature, palace based performance traditions, science, philosophy, monumental architecture and to institutions including *Syari’at* courts and Sufi orders that developed in societies in which Islam is the dominant religion. In these contexts, Islam provides a framework within which other elements of culture develop or are interpreted. (Hodgson, M, 1975). I take a more egalitarian and anthropological view and consider “popular” ritual and performance traditions, kinship and marriage practices and food to be elements of these same civilisations.

In Southeast Asia performance traditions including *wayang* (shadow plays) and dance rooted in the Hindu Epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, *gamelan* (percussion orchestra), matrilineal and bilateral kinship and marriage customs, educational institutions *pondok/pesantren* and *nasi tumpeng*, the rice cones used for ceremonial purposes are all elements of Southeast Asian Islamicate civilization.

Proponents of the ideological formulation of Islam Nusantara are aware of these difficulties and insistent on the point that it is not a new

mazhab (legal school) and that it remains firmly rooted in doctrinal and legal traditions of Sunni Islam especially Sufism. “*Peradaban Islamiyah Nusantara*” (a rough translation of Nusantara Islamicate Civilization) does not, however, make a good catch phrase. It is far too academic to be used effectively for political purposes. Ideologically, Islam Nusantara is what Liu and his colleagues call a “symbolology.” By this they mean coherent sets of narratives, myths, rituals, symbols, and associated meanings used to establish and maintain the legitimacy of and mobilize support for political actors including states, political parties and mass organizations. (Fisher-Onar, N. and Woodward, M, 2014). In highly competitive political arenas they are rhetorical tools used in attempts to dominate discursive systems and to capture states and other political arenas.

Islam Nusantara is a symbolology created by leading NU *ulama* and academics that combines aspects of traditional Sunni Islam, including Sufism, Javanese and to a much lesser degree other Indonesian cultures in an explicit attempt to counter Salafi-Wahhabi efforts to transform Indonesian Islam and cultures as well as violent extremist movements including ISIS. It emerged through what (Levi-Strauss, 1966). calls *bricolage* a constructive process in which abstract principles, or what Sperber would later call “symbolic knowledge,” are used to construct meaningful orders from what, at first glance, appear to be random phenomena. The NU scholars who constructed Islam Nusantara are masters of the craft.

Theoretical Perspectives: Framing and Symbolization

Framing is a key concept in Communications Theory developed by Goffman in the 1970s and elaborated and refined in subsequent scholarship. It is a rhetorical/symbolic process through which what I refer to here as symbolologies are established as dominant means for understanding and interpreting ongoing events. In the case examined here visual and auditory as well as verbal symbols are used in the framing process. In competitive arenas framing is nearly always a contested process. (Entman, R,1993). This is what (Chong and Druckman, 2009).

call adversarial framing, which “typically competitive, fought between parties or ideological factions, and [where issues] are debated and framed in opposing terms.” Goffman also points to the importance of “frame disputes” and “frame shifts” in contested discourse system. Frame disputes arise when there is no immediate potential for agreement and contesting parties use opposing frames to interpret a single set of events. Frame disputes are especially common when groups with radically opposing religious views seek to establish social and political hegemony. Frame Shifts occur when one symbology displaces another as the dominant interpretive strategy within a discourse field. Proponents of the ideological form of Islam Nusantara see themselves as being locked in a frame dispute concerning Islamic authenticity. They seek to accomplish a frame shift by falsifying Salafi-Wahhabi claims that theirs is the only authentic Islam.

Framing is one mode of what Sperber terms symbolization through which events are linked to deeply seated, subconscious meanings. Goffman and most others have described it as a semantic process through which meanings are created and altered. Symbolization and framing can, however, also be emotive processes. It is possible, though in the absence of research that is beyond the scope of this paper, impossible to state with certainty that emotions ranging including fear, love and defiance may be as much, if not more important than meanings as determinants of action. These films mix appeals to rationality and meaning and the evocation of strong emotions in complex, interacting, mutually reinforcing ways.

Cultural, Political and Religious Themes

The Blessing of Islam Nusantara (Oceans of Revelation: Islam as a Blessing for All Creation) and *Launching the Film: The Blessing Islam Nusantara* share a common set of themes that are used to frame national and global conflict that contrast sharply with those used by Salafi-Wahhabis. There are, however, subtle differences. *The Blessing* is a complex multi-layered text that weaves threads of Sufism and Javanese culture into a seamless fabric. The emotions it evokes are

sadness about the ways in which Islam has been put to evil uses by violent extremists and quiet determination to use Islam Nusantara as a tool to come to the aid of not just the Indonesian people and the Muslim community, but of humanity as a whole. Launching the Film is a simpler call to action and perhaps arms in the struggle against violent extremism. It is more overtly political. To understand this package of meaning and emotion it is necessary to consider each separately and then move towards the analysis of the two as a totality. Particular themes and motifs include:

- The symbiosis of Islam and Javanese culture and their inherently peaceful nature.
- The contrast between Islam Nusantara and Salafi-Wahhabism.
- The struggle between good and evil.
- Indonesian nationalism.
- Islam Nusantara as a model for the global Muslim community.

Support for these positions is garnered from:

- Quotations for the *Qur'an* and Hadis.
- Quotes from internationally recognized historical Sufi masters.
- Statements by leading NU *kyai*.
- *Qur'an* recitation set in Javanese context.
- Images of peaceful Islam Nusantara and violent Salafi-Wahhabism (especially ISIS).

These themes and proofs are intertwined throughout the films.

The Blessing of Islam Nusantara

This film centers on narratives and rituals concerning the Wali Songo to convey large religious and political messages. The *wali* are described as have spread Islam in ways that established inter-relations with, rather than displacing local culture. This interaction resulted in the construction of what is now known as Islam Nusantara. This is contrasted with the conquest based spread of Islam in the Middle East and the intolerance and violence of Wahhabism. The fact that this contrast is, at times, over

drawn and does not entirely correspond with historical reality does not matter when Islam Nusantara is viewed from an ideological rather than analytic perspective. Nor does this diminish its rhetorical and persuasive power.

The most important voices in the film are those of K.H. Mustofa Bisri (Gus Mus) and K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). Gus Mus (born 1944) is the Kyai at Pondok Pesantren Raudlatuth Thalibin in Rembang, Central Java. He was formerly head of the NU advisory council (*Rais Am Syuriah*), a prolific author, poet, song writer and artist. Gus Dur (1940-2009) was General Chairman of NU and subsequently President of Indonesia. Both are greatly revered. Gus Dur is widely believed to be a saint and is often described as the tenth *wali*. A many as ten thousand people visit his grave every day. Video clips of pilgrims are included in the film.

Gus Mus describes the purpose of the film as follows:

The Prophet want to make things easy for people. Recently Dakwah has been violating the principles advocated by the noble Prophet Muhammad who urged proselytizers to make it easy for people, not to make them flee in terror. Today dakwah makes people horrified and appalled by Islam.

Genuine Islam, Islam Nusantara, Indonesian Islam, the Islam taught by the messenger of God has been challenged by Saudi Arabian Islam, a grasping and capitalistic Islam, coarse, cruel and savage. I am absolutely certain that our understanding of Islam is shared by Muslims throughout the world and that the Wahhabi view is just a ghoulish nightmare that keeps the world awake at night trembling in horror. By reviving the teachings of the Wali Songo we invite you to join us in a mental revolution to re-conceptualize our understanding of the world.

While it is not stated explicitly the messages are clear. The first is that by resorting to intolerance and violence Salafi-Wahhabis have departed from Islam as preached by the Prophet Muhammad. This is ironic because it is tantamount to stating that they have fallen into *bid'ah* (religious innovation) that they consider to be a heinous sin that they accuse their opponents, especially Sufis, of. The second is that Islam Nusantara, not Wahhabism, is the vehicle for returning to the pristine Islam of the Prophet's time.

Images and video clips of Gus Dur are featured throughout the film. His recitation of the Javanese *Syi'ir Tanpo Waton* composed by Gus Nizam (born 1973) of Pesantren Darul Shofa in East Java is audio background at several points. The text is as follows:

*I begin this recitation with the name of the Lord (Pangeran = Allah).
 Praising that which gives us blessing (rahmat) and pleasure day and
 night without end.
 Oh, my fellow men and women
 Do not study only bits of Syari'a.
 In this you become adept at reading, writing and speaking.
 In the end, you have naught but regret.
 In the end, you have naught but regret.
 Many who memorize the Qur'an and Hadis
 Are glad to call others kafir.
 Their own unbelief does not concern them.
 Their hearts and minds are filled with filth.
 Their hearts and minds are filled with filth.
 They are easily seduced by the passion of pride (nafsu angkoro),
 The sparkling gleam of worldly desire,
 Envious and jealous of others wealth.
 That is why their hearts are filled with darkness.
 Oh my brothers, we are obligated (wajib) to learn
 And deepen the faith (iman) and (knowledge of) the oneness of Allah
 (tauheed).
 This is the best preparation for a noble death.
 This is the best preparation for a noble death.
 The best people are the most kind hearted
 Because their knowledge is firm.
 They practice Thariqa,
 Reaching the state of Marifa,
 Finally passing into Haqika.
 The eternal Qur'an, is a noble revelation
 Unwritten and yet it can be recited.*

*This is the teaching of one with clear vision.
Implant this deeply in your chest.
Implant this deeply in your chest.
When it fills your body, heart and mind,
The miracle of the Messenger (Rosul) (The Qur'an) will guide you
In entering the door of faith.
We must approach Allah day and night
And not neglect zikr.
Our lives will be calm and peaceful,
Bearing the unbearable.
This is a sign of our faith and belief
With consciousness of the beneficence of the Lord (Pangeran = Allah).
Friends, brothers and neighbors,
Live in harmony free from conflict.
This is the Sunna (practice) of the noble messenger (Rosul)
The Prophet Muhammad, our guide.
Allah will raise our stations
Even though we are physically weak
Our spiritual stations will be high and noble.
When death comes our souls will not wander and be lost.
Allah will reward us with paradise.
Our bodies will be preserved and our burial shrouds unblemished.*

This song is enormously popular. It has become something of an anthem for young people who describe themselves as “Gusdurians.” There are several hundred versions of Gus Dur and others reciting it on YouTube. It endorses much that Salafi-Wahhabis condemn (Sufism, *zikir*) and condemns the textual criticism that is at the heart of their belief system. It also condemns the Salafi-Wahhabi practice of *takfiri* (condemning professed Muslims as non-believers) in the strongest possible terms, stating that their hearts are filled with “filth” while those of the saints are filled with love of Allah and their fellow creatures.

Gus Dur is also quoted as saying: “No one knows who is a saint other than another saint. We must learn about human perfection. We must become saints”.

Together these statements summarize and frame the remainder of the film. The frame is that that Sufi oriented Islam Nusantara leads to personal and social peace and tranquility and that Salafi-Wahhabism leads to their opposites.

The film begins with a song attributed to Sunan Kalijaga who, of all the *wali*, most explicitly embodies the symbiosis of Islam and Javanese culture. The song is stated to be instrumental as well as evocative affording protection from evil.

*This is a sacred melody
Whose vibrations shield us in the dark of night,
Invincible, surrounded with beauty, harmony and wellbeing,
Far from every horrifying threat and disaster.
Evil spirits and setan instinctively recoil.
Sorcerers fear to hurl their evil spells.
This sacred melody disrupts evil plans and maneuvers,
Causing sorcery to fail and rebound on its sender.*

It is not clear who the sorcerers are and it is logical to suggest that in the context of the larger political themes of the film that they are the violent extremists who reject Islam Nusantara teachings.

The Symbiosis of Islam and Javanese Culture and the Struggle Between Good and Evil

This is one of the central themes in *The Blessing*. The film makes extensive use of imagery and quotations from the Javanese *wayang* shadow play tradition to make the point that Sufi mystical truths can be expressed in local linguistic and cultural forms. These claims are not in any sense unique. They are common in Southeast Asian Muslim interpretations of the Indian epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* that are

the foundation of literary, theatrical and dance traditions throughout the region. Southeast Asian Salafis have long considered these traditions to be remnants of the Hindu past and to be reprehensible, if not forbidden by Islamic Law. Here, *The Blessing* brings a message to local and regional viewers as well as a trans-national audience that this denigratory is incorrect. The message is that this symbiosis of global religion and local culture is something to be treasured and that cultural performances are appropriate vehicles for *dakwah*.

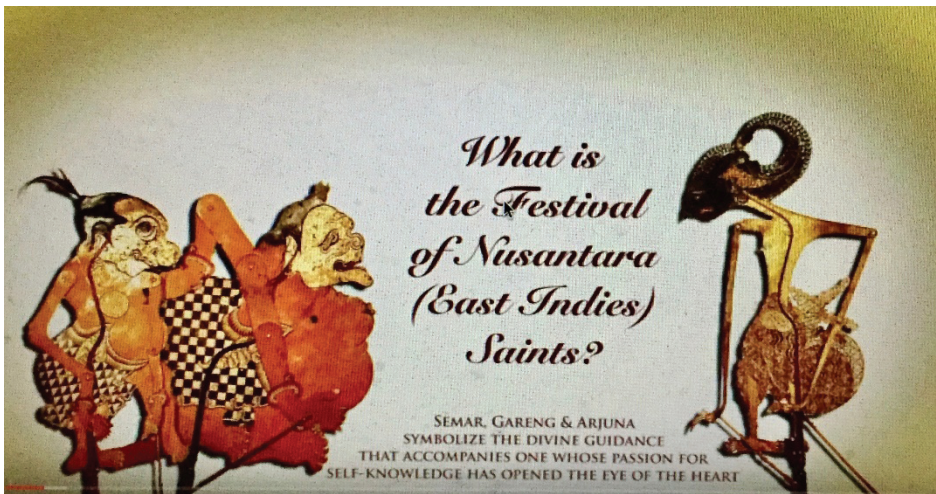


Figure One
Wayang, Sufism and Saints
Screen Capture from *The Blessing of Islam Nusantara*

There are several instances in which people dressed in traditional Javanese clothing are shown praying or reciting the *Qur'an*. This is especially significant in light of the fact that some Indonesian Muslims now claim that to be a truly pious Muslim it is necessary to wear Saudi Arabian style clothing. This theme is amplified in Launching the Film in which young women without hair coverings (*jilbab*) are shown singing (both of which are anathema to Salafi-Wahhabis) and cheering on Islam Nusantara and the struggle against violent extremism. There are also images of Javanese Muslim rituals such as the *slametan* (prayer) meal that Salafi-Wahhabis consider to be *bid'ah* and, as such, prohibited. There are occasional images depicting other Indonesian cultures.



Figure Two
Praying in Traditional Javanese Clothing
Screen Capture from *The Blessing of Islam Nusantara*

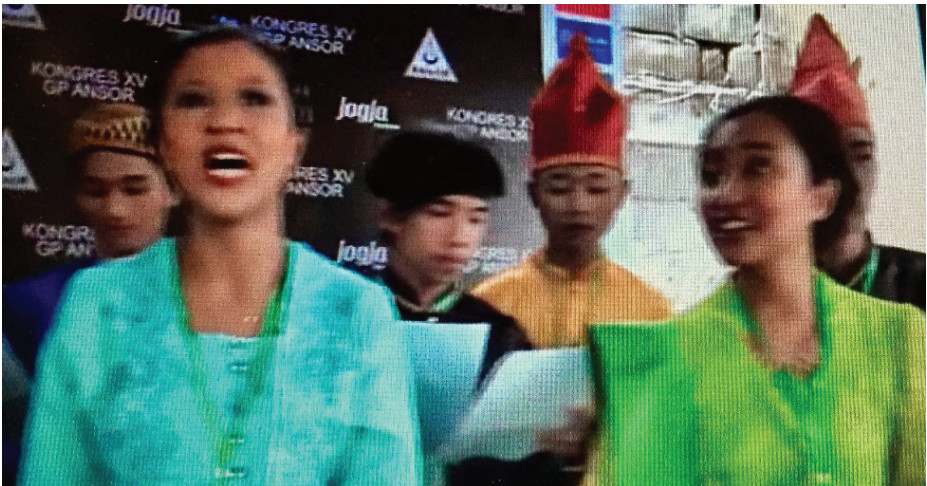


Figure Three
Young Women at the Launching of The Blessing
Screen Capture from *Launching the Film*

The struggle between good and evil that is a central theme in the Javanese *wayang* is used as a metaphor for describing the struggle against violent extremist groups including ISIS. The central image from the

wayang used in the blessing is the struggle between the *Padawa* and the *Kurawa* in the *Bharatayuda*. The *Padawa* are linked to Islam Nusantara and the *Kurawa* and their leader Duryodana the “the egotistical, power-hungry savage lord” of the *wayang* with Salafi-Wahhabis and ISIS. Here the film alternates between images of the *wayang* and ISIS fighters.

Saints (Wali)

The Blessing describes Islam Nusantara as having been shaped by the *Qur'an*, Hadis and by devotional and philosophical aspects of early Middle Eastern Sufism. Sufism is described as having developed to recapture the Islam of the Prophet Muhammad from Muslim monarchs and conquerors. There are quotes from Middle Eastern saints including Ibn al-Arabi, Rabia and Rumi, but the primary emphasis is on Javanese saints, especially the *Wali Songo*. Their teachings and methods as being the foundation approaches adopted by contemporary Javanese *kyai*, some of whom are widely regarded as being saints, or at least having saintly qualities.

The *Wali Songo* are described as models for personal piety. Their culturally sensitive approach to *dakwah* is held up as an ideal and held in stark contrast with the harsh, accusatory methods used by many contemporary preachers. Some of these threaten hell fire for those who do not follow their lead. Others promise worldly prosperity in return for piety. ISIS is depicted as the extreme case – killing those who do not conform.

The Blessing also includes numerous images and an extensive discussion of *ziyarah* (pilgrimage) to the tombs of the *Wali Songo*. Salafi-Wahhabis condemn this mode of ritual practice as *bid'ah*, and as such forbidden. This film reasserts the traditional Sunni Muslim view that it can be both a step of the journey to Allah and a source of blessing (*berkah*).

Conclusion

The Blessing concludes by urging people to learn from the *Wali Songo*. Habib Muhammad Luthfi bin Ali bin Yahya (born 1947), who is

known both as an *ulama* and a Sufi suggests that their style of *dakwah* and the more general contours of Islam Nusantara can be a model for other Muslim societies. Another speaker suggests that spreading knowledge of Islam Nusantara can help to overcome both violent extremism and Western Islamophobia. He also strongly condemns the Saudi Arabian government for destroying graves and other holy and historical places.

The film then turns to emotional appeals evoking anger and outrage about and resistance to the ISIS project of brutality and “butchery;” an ascertain that Indonesian nationalism is rooted in the values of the Wali Sango and the following image from the *wayang*.

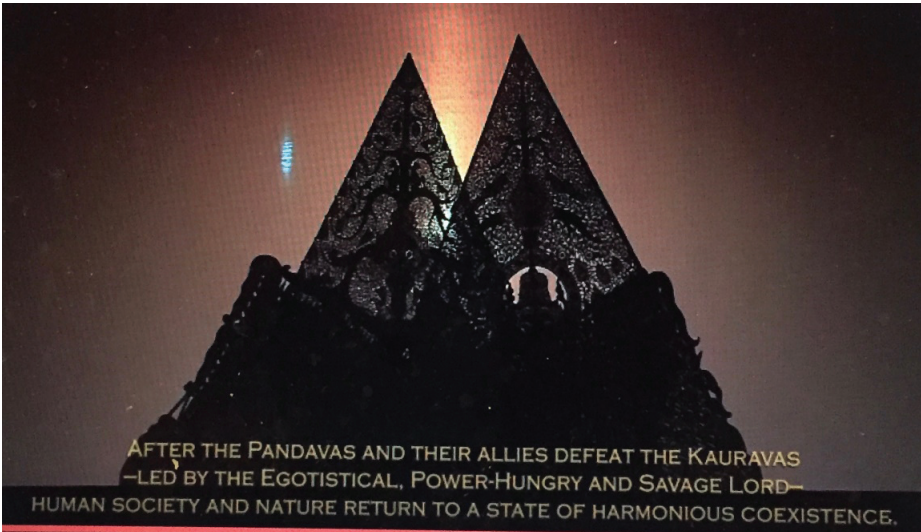


Figure Four
And Metaphor for ISIS?
 Screen Capture from *The Blessing of Islam Nusantara*

Launching the Film

This much shorter film documents the ceremony rolling out *The Blessing*. Within the brief space of eight minutes it is not possible to even summarize the theological complexities of *The Blessing*. The producers did not attempt this. Rather it consists of endorsements from leading political and religious figures and a demonstration of support for combatting ISIS. It features images of Banser (The militia of the

NU youth organization Ansor) brigades, sometimes accompanied by what appears to be an armored personnel carrier singing the following anthem:

Father, Mother

Please give me your blessings,

So that I may leave for jihad beneath the streaming NU banner.

Onwards, together to the attack.

We will not come home until we are victorious.

We are ready to sacrifice for religion

Although blood may flow on the battlefield.

Onward, onward, onward!

Ever onward!

Drive out the enemy!

Vanquish those who desecrate religion and attack the ulama (Muslim scholars)!³

Onward ANSOR militia where ever you may be!

O fellow citizens

Love of country is an element of faith.

Do not become rebels.

Oh, fellow citizens

Wake up and recognize your duty to God and country.

Indonesia is my nation and my homeland,

My sacred heirloom (pusaka) and source of pride.

Whoever comes to threaten you will surely be destroyed.

K.H. Nurson Wahid, who at the time was the General Chairman of Ansor made the following statement:

Just recently we have seen horrific acts of violence carried out in the name of Islam by a small group of religious extremists. Muslims, and especially NU and Ansor have a religious obligation (wajib) to marginalize and defeat this extremist movement. ISIS is responsible for (violent) events in the Middle East and Europe, such as those that happened a few days ago in Paris. This must not be allowed to happen here in Indonesia. Such actions bring no benefit to Islam. ANSOR and its militia BANSER are duty

bound to stand in the forefront, defending pluralism and the unity of the Republic of Indonesia.

Analysis, Commentary and Critique

The Islam Nusantara project is an effort by the NU leadership to construct a coherent historical and theological narrative opposing violent extremist Salafi-Wahhabism movements and the type of Wahhabism that the Saudi Government sponsors in Indonesia and many other Muslim countries. The fact that this narrative is not always historically accurate or complete does not matter, because this is an ideological and religious, and not an academic project. Ideologically driven narratives rarely correspond with historical fact in any country. Indonesia is no exception.

Similarly, the seamless symbiosis of *wayang* and NU style Islam is an exercise in the imagination and social construction of reality. I know this from experience having participated in organizing the Sunan Kalijaga Wayang Festival in Yogyakarta some years ago. *Dalang* (puppeteers) and *Kyai* participating in this festival shared a commitment to using Javanese culture to combat Salafi-Wahhabi violent extremism. They often had difficulties working together and understanding their respective religious terminology.

Islam Nusantara speaks to a large, but still limited portion of the Indonesian population. It is perhaps too Java-centric for many non-Javanese Indonesians to appreciate or find convincing. For example, in Lombok, the Wali Songo have limited appeal even though traditional Islam their shares much with NU. Muslims in Lombok revere saints as much as traditional Javanese Muslims do, but they have their own saints.

There are two additional points regarding Salafis. Many, probably most, Indonesian Salafis find violent extremist groups to be disgusting. They despise them as much as the proponents of Islam Nusantara do. They are however, not likely to be convinced by appeals to religious teachings and practices they do not share or approve of. For them reframing the struggle against violent extremism in terms of a religious conflict between their understanding of Islam and NU's is unlikely to evoke feelings of unity.

EndNotes

- 1 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GLqaJITjA5Y>
- 2 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-OZ4fkuXds>
- 3 The imagery in this video contrasts Indonesian political, religious, military and cultural leaders and young Indonesians, young men in military style uniforms and young women in traditional attire without *hijab* with images of ISIS leaders and a rag tag band of fighters blowing up vehicles and a mosque. ISIS Caliph Abu Bakr al Baghdadi is depicted at the point where NU youth mention “those who desecrate religion” in their anthem.

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TRANSNATIONAL IDEOLOGIES AND RELIGIOUS LOCAL WISDOM

Machasin

UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

mmachasin@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper discusses the dynamics of discourse between so-called transnational ideology and the local wisdom of religion, with an anthropological approach and description based on phenomenological observations. This discourse needs to be well understood in relation to religious life in Indonesia, for a good reason. Some Transnational ideologies have succeeded in attracting the attention of some Muslims and generating movements that have the potential to disrupt the sustainability of the state and religious diversity in Indonesia. One of the interesting phenomena that transpired with Transnational ideology is its attempt to showcase the glorious past of Islamic civilization as a dream to be rebuilt through the ideology. Some examples are the Khilafah idea propagated by Hizb ut-Tahrir, and the Jihad as political movement popularized by ISIS after being brought out to the surface as ideology by al-Qaeda. This paper will analyze the reasons why some Islamic groups are very interested in this movement. Originally, the Transnational ideology offered Islamic solidarity based on the geo-political and conflict situation in the Middle East. However, this Transnational movement developed and gained support and fanaticism in the name of Islamic solidarity and the dream of Islamic glory based on the historical example of the golden age of Islam. The ideal thought of the Transnational movement is to build a new Islamic World Order based on Islamic teachings and forms that fit with their framework and paradigm. In their propaganda, the new Islamic World Order is believed to free the suffering of the Muslims from the unfair treatment of western domination. In Indonesia, it is important to consider the local wisdom of religion as a filter to overcome the propaganda of this Transnational ideology movement. Local religious wisdom will provide a deeper understanding to the people to understand their religious teachings based on the context of their lives and the legacy of their local wisdom without deviating from the nature of the religion.

Keywords: *Transnational Ideologies, Religious Local Wisdom, Islamic Historical Experiences, the New Islamic World Order.*

Abstract

Tulisan ini membahas tentang dinamika wacana antara apa yang disebut ideologi transnasional dan kearifan lokal agama, dengan pendekatan antropologis dan deskripsi berdasarkan pengamatan fenomenologis. Alasan wacana ini perlu dipahami dengan baik dalam kaitannya dengan kehidupan beragama di Indonesia adalah karena beberapa ideologi transnasional telah berhasil menarik perhatian beberapa kalangan Islam dan melahirkan gerakan-gerakan yang berpotensi mengganggu keberlangsungan bernegara dan keberagaman beragama di Indonesia. Salah satu fenomena menarik yang terjadi dengan ideologi Transnasional ini adalah upayanya untuk menampilkan peradaban masa lalu Islam yang gemilang sebagai impian yang ingin dibangun kembali melalui ideologi tersebut. Beberapa contohnya adalah gagasan Khilafah yang disebarkan oleh Hizbut Tahrir, dan gerakan Jihad yang dipopulerkan kembali oleh ISIS setelah sebelumnya dibawa oleh Al-Qaida. Tulisan ini akan menganalisis alasan mengapa beberapa kelompok Islam sangat tertarik dengan gerakan ini. Apa yang ditawarkan oleh ideologi transnasional semula adalah solidaritas Islam berdasarkan situasi geo-politik dan konflik di Timur Tengah. Namun, gerakan transnasional ini berkembang dan mendapatkan fanatisme pendukungnya, atas nama solidaritas Islam dan impian kejayaan Islam berdasarkan contoh historis zaman keemasan Islam. Gagasan ideal gerakan Transnational adalah membangun tatanan dunia Islam baru berdasarkan ajaran dan bentuk Islam yang sesuai dengan kerangka dan paradigma mereka. Dalam propaganda mereka, tatanan dunia Islam yang baru yang dipercayai akan membebaskan penderitaan kaum muslimin dari perlakuan tidak adil dominasi barat. Di Indonesia, sangat penting untuk mempertimbangkan kearifan lokal agama sebagai filter untuk mengatasi propaganda gerakan ideologi Transnasional ini. Kearifan lokal agama akan memberikan pemahaman yang lebih dalam kepada masyarakat untuk memahami ajaran agama mereka berdasarkan konteks kehidupan mereka dan warisan kearifan lokal mereka tanpa menyimpang dari hakikat agama.

Kata Kunci: *Ideologi Transnational, Kearifan Lokal Agama, Pengalaman Sejarah Islam dan Tatanan Dunia Baru Islam.*

Introduction

Transnational ideology often connotes with ideas that create movements transcending national boundaries. The Movement of Transnationalism transforms many ideologies and expansion of social, political, economic processes between and beyond the confines of the jurisdictions of sovereign states. Thanks to globalization, the world is getting smaller and the process of information exchange is getting faster,

the access is wide open, causing the movement of transnationalism to find its place. International processes and cross-country movements are increasingly regulated by non-state actors and international organizations. “Social structure becomes transnationalization, an epistemic shift is needed alongside this ontological shift.”, said Robinson (1998). The transnational perspective offers a more profound interpretation of social, cultural, economic and political processes globally including governmental, political dan religious movements, terrorism, political violence and crime organized internationally. The challenge of the state and religious institutions is getting bigger when transnational movement has become an ideology and found its habitat in the enclaves of society.

Some of these ideologies claim to present the real message of religion. For example, Islamic and Christian fundamentalism express political power to establish one religion country (shari’a country) and evangelizing the whole earth. For the sympathizers of the movements, such religious ideologies arise as divine grace for the humankind in bringing the unhappy peoples from their dehumanizing situations to a much more humanizing circumstances. In many cases, the movements have become more exclusive and extreme, they defy others who are not agree with their believes/ideologies.

The fast spread of such ideologies generates apprehension concerning the future of humanity. They often use more emotional and violent approaches applied in a black and white perspective, instead of in a clear and balanced perspective. Take for example, the islamism movement that gives promises to its proponent of a chance to revive the past glory of Islamic Imperium, to fulfil justice for everyone, and to turn back the greatness of Islamic civilization.

These utopia/ideal has been proven to attract many, especially moslem youth, who will follow blindly, due to their lack of information and exposures, and their detachment from their own cultural and religious heritage. The movements and ideologies give them purposes

and meaning in life. On the other side, there are groups of people in local basis who disagree with the movement/ideologies, and living with some awareness of cultural understanding, moderate way of ideas and practices for their religions. Nevertheless, they have been showing their ability to support the survival of their adherents with dignity. (Jones, Carla and Mas Rusth, 2010: 2-6).

It is true that some ideologies impose themselves in a very uncompromising way, letting no room for any discussion which may be perceived as to challenge their existence. Nevertheless, the fact that they are capable of attracting a certain number of individuals to adhere to their formula for making a “better future” for them, should not be taken lightly.

Why are these ideologies so attractive that some people tend to accept them and joint the related movements? Why local wisdoms are fall behind? How to strengthen local wisdom and to market it in a much attractive way and in wider context? How to deal with local religious heritage? This talk will attempt to answer such questions.

The Attractiveness of Transnational Ideologies

Some ideologies have become attractive to some segments of the society. Part of the attractiveness is that it perceived as giving some answer to life necessity at times when the system in operation leaves no room for expression. The propaganda of Islamic State in Irak and Syria (ISIS or Daulah Islamia al-‘Irāq wa al-Syām, Dā’iṣ) advocating the rule of Islamic Sharia, deludes some people into believing that Muslims will get better living and dignity when the time come for it to rule with khilāfa system. Some of these people, it is indicated, live in a situation that deprived of pride and hope for better future. Some individuals are reportedly to have tried to join ISIS for a betterment of economy, getting more income than they usually get in their homeland. They have been informed that the Caliphate power own control of petrol field letting abundant amount of money enter its wealth. On the other hand, there are

some people who believe that joining ISIS is a good cause and religious obligation.

Some Transnational ideologies are attractive as they revive the nostalgia of the golden age claimed to be the right of certain people or nations. The right that has been suppressed by the triumph of the present order of the world. Although the past glory is actually an image fashioned in the present time or in the near past through a kind of mythification, and in many case without any historical basis, nevertheless there are some factors that help make it acceptable to the minds of its adherents. It is what makes the transnational ideologies attractive.

Let's take the caliphate of the Four Right Guided Caliphs (al-Khulafā' al-Rāsyidūn). As the title suggests, they are always presented as the ideal leaders of Islamic community who have to be considered as exemplary leaders for Muslims not only in their way of executing the authority, but also even their title "Khalīfa" as political function. However reading their history-not their hagiographical story-, one will find quickly that their leaderships are not free from human blemishes. The ascension of Abu Bakr to power was not without any resistance from some companions, especially from the house of the Prophet (Ahl al-Bayt). 'Umar, the second Caliph and the prominent supporter of Abu Bakr for caliphate, called the whole situation from the passing-away of the Prophet to the ascension of the first Caliph "a dangerous spontaneity that God has saved the believers from its evil" (falta waqā Allāh al-mu'minīn syarrahā).

It is true that all of these four Caliphs did not get any personal benefits from the authority trusted to them nor they gave any privileges to their family or relatives, except for the third Caliph, Uthman. He failed to control his nephews from taking advantage of his political authority. Despite of that fact, this is something that one may find still ideal compared to what to be the case for all of the next Caliphs.

On a different note, there have been some issues concerning the first Caliphates leadership after Muhammad passed away. Take the occasion when Abu Bakr the first Caliph, waged war against the nomad tribes who were called apostates for the reason of their unwillingness to pay alms to Medina authority after the passing away of the Prophet, or the fact that three of the Caliphs were killed raises the question of the idealistic status of this first kind of political leadership after Muhammad passed away. Thus khilafah, according to one of the Islamic organizations which always propagate the model of Islamic state, Hizbut Tahrir, then becomes an ideal model for Islamic state. It is believed Khilafah will take an ideal model of government based on the Four Rightly Guided Caliph. (Hilmi, Masdar, 2011: 1-13; Shobron, Sudarno, 2014: 44-62).

The way in which the ideologies are spread, looks appropriate to the need and psychological condition of young people being in search of identity, meaning of life, pride, position in the middle of the society etc. Every instances of Islam suffering such as bad situation in the Middle East, the Israelite occupation of Palestinian soil, the oppression of Israelite regime on the Palestinian people, the disorder in Afghanistan, and all bad situations in every muslim countries have been highlighted as cases on how the adversaries of Islam have done to its decline. The loss of Islamic parties in the elections back home is also often ascribed to the connivance of some treacherous coreligionist with the enemies out there. Such presentation of the “real situation” provoke anger in their heart against those who are considered the enemies and their assistants. Such anger becomes stronger and found its release from such ideologies, as they could not find it from the normal representation of Islam they get from their school and/or religious education. (Hegghammer, Thomas, 2010: 53-94).

Meanwhile, the kind of Islamic understanding they have, opens less room for some heroic expression of fight and does not give a challenge to do prideful action for those in need of bravery show. The burning thirsty soul does not get satisfaction from a tender,

graceful teaching presented in a peaceful formulation, but from a call for fighting in the way of God (*jihād fī sabil Allāh*), from many actions that stir more adrenals and inflame the spirit of rage. A hard struggle in the form of violent actions against those enemies seems to be more attractive than a call for hardwork in building a career in the system which is in operation. The afterlife rewards, that we can find in the treasure of religious teaching, are less clearly described on the building life in the system than that is promised for the fighting. For the physical jihād, we can read many passages in the religious books promising anyone killed there that he may enter Paradise without the process of reckoning his deeds (*Hisāb*) and that there will be female angels welcoming him in the entrance of Paradise ready to be espoused, etc. Meanwhile, the rewards for working hard to make a better future or to build good relationships with others, to enhance the standard life of the members of the community and the like, do not have special attraction such as that. This is what offered by Islamic radical organization such as al Qaeda and ISIS. (Lubeck, Paul, s.n; W.Hefner, Robert, 2017: 59-65; Hasan, Norhaidi, s.n: 52-53).

In brief, these Transnational ideologies come in the midst of people who are dissatisfied by the situation such as poverty, deprivation of the culture, the need to get the sense of purpose in life, detachment from the community where they live, while witnessing the power goes to the hands of others who they feel do not deserve it. The religious call for enjoining the good and preventing the bad and participation in a holy war against the infidels-often understood wrongly. Drawing the line between the territory of peace/Islam (*dār al-salām, dār al-Islām*) and the territory of war (*dār al-ḥarb*), leaving the home village/town in order to fight for the triumph God's religion (*hijra*), and other exclusive similar teachings emphasize self-unification with people sharing the same understanding and self-separation with others considered as enemies. All of those provide an encounter with the need for a self-actualization in a heroic faith, the hope for a more meaningful life and the will to get out of the suffocating environment. (Wathroub, Jonathan, 2017:14-20).

Local Wisdom in a Rapid Changing Society

Local wisdom constitutes crystallization of the life experienced by people living in a certain cultural and territorial context, and so it usually does not go beyond its boundaries. Its existence is always in connection with local life necessities within a community that to some extent is homogenous with a relatively limited or closed spectrum of life of its members. Therefore, as the context changes, some of the local wisdoms fail to continue their function and turn to fade.

Let us take some examples. The tradition of gotong royong or working together is helping one member or more having a work that he/ she cannot do it alone, or in doing something for common benefit like building a bridge and clearing the environment. It operates in the traditional agrarian community where the life of its members is dependent to natural process with a relatively slow rhythm. The relationships among its members are that strong that each member cares to others almost in all matters. When the modernity comes with a fast rhythm of life, a mode of life that is independent or loosely dependent to the natural process, and that everyone is occupied with his own business, and that any “help” or service costs financial reward, gotong royong loses its standing in the community. If it has to exist, it needs some modification either in its basic philosophy or in the way it is operated. For example, it can be modified to a kind of solidarity where the help of others does not come in the form of finishing the whole work, but in part.. In doing so, not all members of the community have to take part but only those who have individual motivation to do so.(Edi Suryadi and Kusnendi, 2016:467-475).

Another example is the concept of pluralism that is formulated in Indonesian motto of *Bhinneka tunggal ika* (unity in diversity, or literally: what seems to be diverse is really one). This concised formula was originally created in relationship with the two dominant religions, i.e. Buddhism and Shivaism, in the old Kingdom of Majapahit the

existence of which inspires the making of Indonesia. It seems that they were in a situation of tension, if not conflict, when Mpu Tantular wrote his masterpiece, *Sutasoma*, as the verse that contains this short formula implies. It reads as follows:

Rwâneka dhātu winuwus Buddha Wiswa, Bhinnêki rakwa ring apan kena parwanosen, Mangka ng Jinatwa kalawan Siwatatwa tunggal, Bhinnêka tunggal ika tan hana dharma mangrwa.

Translation:

It is said that the well-known Buddha and Shiva are two different substances. They seem different, yet how is it possible to recognize their difference? Since the truth of Jinaism (Buddhism) and the truth of Shivaism is one. They are indeed different, but they are one, as there is no duality in Truth.

When Indonesia got its independence and the philosophy of pluralism needs a symbol to pin it on, the founding fathers of this state agreed to take it as motto. This formula that seems to solve the conflict originating from those two different religions was taken as motto meant not only to unite adherents of different religions, but also peoples of different ethnic groups, origins and any other differences. The philosophy laying behind this motto is an example of wisdom of this nation.

The fast change of the condition of the community often put some of the local wisdoms into the state of neglect or even deterioration. As a result, many members of the community lose support and have to hold on whatever grip they may find thought to be able to serve as support for his life. It is here that some ideologies coming from outside may get entrance to the hearts of the people. The old values concealed by the changing situation is actually capable of being a strong support, but easily forgotten due to poor perception of its' usefulness, and low level of accessibility.

On top of it, there have been cases of ill-socialization of the inherited values and wisdoms and it is often that they are not restored in

an accessible repository or, if so, they are not preserved in such a way to protect them from any misuse or misunderstanding. A conspicuous example is the Javanese wisdom formulated in the adage of “alon-alon waton kelakon” which should mean suggestion continue nishing a job although in a slowly way. However, some people understand it as denoting one of the characters of Javanese people as slow working which is not the case. The essence of the suggestion is that one may not cease the struggle to accomplish a task, in spite the fact that in some situation one has to prefer slowness, while in the abused conception the emphasis is on the slowness and not on the continuity of effort.

Refer back to the last phrase of the above mentioned verse of Sutasoma: “tan hana dharma mangrwa” (there is no duality in truth) one may mean to denote that all religions are same. Seen from the angle of its general mission we may accept this idea: that all religions main objective is to enhance or to give meaning to the lives of their adherents. However, this does not deny the fact that there are differences among them that sometimes contradict one to another.

Religious Local Wisdom: Caught between Two Fires

The local wisdom as a choice to live with certain spatial and temporal life exigencies sometimes comes across as rejection to the sacred understanding of religion. This resulting in condemnation of it as heresy. On the other side, local wisdom which is related to culture, functions as dynamic and adaptive processes to alter the impact of globalization. (Magu Stephen, 2015: 630-636). (Muller Klaus, s.n: 1-15).

The zeal of purification in the side of religious people storms many of religious local wisdoms with accusation that they are not based on clear reading of source texts or even in contradiction with them, whereas every innovation in matters of religion is considered heresy. It is stated in a very well-known saying of the Prophet: *kull muḥaddathāt al-umūr bid'ah wa kull bid'atin fī al-nār* (every innovation is heresy and every heresy goes to Hell). Another accusation is that they are

part of pre-Islamic belief that is considered idolatrous and must not be preserved. Such accusations cause many of supporters of religious local wisdom feel themselves lack of confidence: what they practice is not really religious and therefore may not be maintained. In fact, however, they can find some religious leaning for maintaining some of the local wisdom, if they are able to delve into the essence of religious teaching. Facing the stormy accusation of heresy for the originality of such wisdom, one may come with genuineness or authenticity. When originality leans on the literal meaning of source texts, genuineness takes the substance and the objectives of religious order, suggestion, and warning of prohibition. (Kadir Firdaus, 2016: 179- 185).

In the case of mutual helps among people of different religions, for example, in building of restoration of house for worship which is common in Maluku and Maluku Utara that is called Siwalima, some radical Muslims denounced it. Their argument is based on the saying of the Prophet that reads, “Man a’āna ‘alā ma’siyat in walaw bi-syaṭr kalimat “in kāna syarīk an lahū fī-hā” meaning that anyone who give any assistance to an action of disobedience, even if only by a half word, shares the guilty of it with the actor. For them, the worship of adherents of other religions than Islam is a kind of disobedience, i.e. worshipping other than the real God. Therefore, helping them build their house of worship is helping to perform a disobedience.

The writer once experienced such an accusation from one of his old friends. It happened in Salatiga, a small town Central Java, about fifteen years ago, when Percik (Lembaga Persemaian Cinta Kemanusiaan or The Institute for Social Research, Democracy, and Social Justice) inaugurated the use of a small wood shelter in its campus where anyone may perform worship, no matter the faith he/she may adhere to. The writer’s present there was without any plan before, since it was for a conference on the practice of democracy in local settings held by Percik in the same campus. However, when the friend mentioned above read a newspaper account of the celebration mentioning the writer’s presence therein, he could not help to put the

writer as an example of the existence of apostate professors within State Institution of Islamic High Learning which now includes UINs (State Islamic Universities), IAINs (State Institutes for Islamic Studies) and STAINs (State College for Islamic Studies). For him, such a shelter is a symbol of mix-worship that stains the sanctity of Islamic worship.

Nevertheless, one may argue that such help mentioned before about the helping others (gotong royong) may fall under the title of suggestion to do good things toward other human beings who happen to be neighbors, friends, colleague etc., and worship is a matter of relationship between the worshiper and the worshiped. It is true that there is no special text that may suggest Muslim to help adherents of different religion build their house of worship, but helping others fulfil their obligation is recommended provided that it does not endanger other's life, disturb the order, create destruction to environment and the like.

In the eyes of common people overwhelmed by the spirit of modernity, religious local wisdom appears outdated. It is even likened with a limp body organ that is no longer functional, but still burdens the body. The best choice in this relation is to have it amputated in order that the body be released from its burdening. Against such a view one has to prove that the local wisdom is not, in fact, as outdated as it appears to be. As long the philosophy lying behind it is valid, the apparent form of outdatedness is very trivial. What is needed then is modification approach that usually can be done easily. Since it is rooted in the very heart of the community, its existence may be more solid and by preserving it, the adherents preserve their own identity.

Reviewing Local Wisdom in the Light of Human Achievements in Global Context

Islam did not come to this archipelago, like the way in which it came to other parts of the world. It was not through war and imperialism, but through peace, culture and assimilation of its tradition.

The assimilation of both is a common phenomenon and its process may last long, involving many actors of both sides. Accordingly, some elements that were already accepted in the past may be put into question in the future and vice versa. We notice that the in-coming Islam consists of various cultural elements passing to and through people and generation. Culture is always a result of taking and giving process. It is conspicuous in the external appearance of some Muslims in this country. The way they cut their hair, shave their beard or let it grow, wear their cloths, cover their head with black white or batik cap; likewise, for the way female Muslims cover their body and fashion their hair style.

It has been noticed in the last two decades the rising number of those who show some conspicuous symbols that are believed to be “Islamic”, such as a double blackened mark on men forehead, the letting-grow of beard and half calf trousers for males, and the wearing of burkaa and loose head covers for females. Some female students even cover all of their bodies except their eyes. This kind practice make their appearance differ from most of other Muslims in this country who do not make themselves different from other inhabitants. Most of ulamas here do not grew beard and usually cover their heads with black cops called *peci* (*peci*) that is now part of national formal costume for man thanks to Bung Karno, the rst President of the Republic. Only some wear white Arabic head cover called surban and less hang shawl over their shoulders. Only a few follow the Middle Eastern clothing.

It is probable that in the beginning the propagators of Islam in this archipelago chose gradual change in the appearance of Muslims. The did not want to look fancy in the middle of the community. Nevertheless, then it is clear than most of Muslims here do not want to get rid of the indigenious appearance. Their preference of brief European cut (batik chemise, coat), South Asian clothe (*sarung*, *peci*) and Chinese (*baju koko*) to European dress or Arabian clothing may come from the easiness and handiness suitable to the climate of

their country. Muslims of this country observe the religious order to cover the part of the body that is called aurat (from the Arabic 'aura), while maintaining their identity the appearance. They do not want to be Arabs, Iranians, or Afghans when they convert to Islam. The philosophy of not looking fancy that belong to the wisdom of the first propagators of Islam then developed to become one important mark of Muslim identity in this archipelago. (Horstmann, Alexander, 2009: 45-47; Hasan, Noorhaidi, 2009: 121-140).

The use of some kinds of vernacular belles lettres-come of them are modified from Arabic and others taken from Malay, Javanese and other poetical patterns-in teaching religious values, in my opinion, comes from this philosophy. What is called Singiran is modified from the Arabic pattern of rajz is used by many to give their understanding of Islam and to teach Islamic teachings. Take for example that of Muhammad Arshad, Bagelen, Purworejo:

Sun mimiti anarik akalé bocah mbok manawa lawas-lawas bisa pecah. Bisa mikir; bisa ngrasa, bisa bisa genah ngarep-arep kabèh iku min faḍlillāh. Wajib bapa awèh sandhang, mangan ngamel awèh arta sangu ngaji aja owel. Lah arepen hasil ngilmu buwang sebel aja nganti ati atos amekiyel.

Translation:

I begin to attract the reasoning capacity of children, in order that it may eventually fully develop and so, they are able to think, to sense and to act properly hoping that all be realized by God's graciousness.

It is father's obligation to provide [his children] clothing, good feeding not to restrain himself from giving money for seeking knowledge. Face yourself to acquire knowledge, get rid of narrowmindedness don't let your heart hardened and congealed.

Another example the writer take from the famous Malay Gurindam of Raja Ali Haji containing Islamic philosophy of life:

*Barang siapa tiada memegang agama,
Sekali-kali tiada boleh dibilangkan nama.*

*Barang siapa mengenal yang empat,
 Maka ia itulah orang yang ma'rifat Barang siapa mengenal Allah,
 Suruh dan tegahnya tiada ia menyalah.
 Barang siapa mengenal diri,
 Maka telah mengenal akan Tuhan yang bahri.
 Barang siapa mengenal dunia,
 Tahulah ia barang yang teperdaya.
 Barang siapa mengenal akhirat,
 Tahulah ia dunia mudarat.*

Translation:

*Anyone who does not adhere a religion,
 May not be taken into account.
 Anyone who knows the four,
 things is really the Gnostic Anyone who knows God,
 will not blame His order nor His prohibition
 Anyone who knows himself
 knows the Eternal God
 Anyone who knows this worldly life
 knows the deceived
 Anyone who knows the hereafter
 knows that the worldly life is detrimental*

The use of storytelling, performance art included puppet shadow, folklore and other pre Islamic arts in propagating and preserving Islamic teachings is common in every part of the country. This leaving huge heritage of religious traditions, customs and manuscripts. Some of them have not yet been studied nor even uncovered and identified. Nevertheless, one thing is certain, i.e. that within this kind of pénétration pacifique of Islam there are many elements of Islamic praxis that may serve as materials for the formulation of Indonesian Islam. We may not take only sources of Islamic teaching that are considered authorized in the traditional Islamic understanding, since we would not find in them anything special for the expression of Islam in this country. We should try to find it in the praxis of Islam here in the life of the people.

The making of Indonesia with Pancasila¹ as basic philosophy shows the wisdom of the founders of the nation most of whom belong

to Muslim communities. It is not easy to believe that when you constitute the majority you choose to prefer pluralism where Islam is only a complementary part. The first formulation of Pancasila, with the phrase “Believing in God with the obligation of observing Islamic Sharia on those who adhere it”, was then replaced the next day of the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence with “Believing on One Sole God”. That changes turned out to be the best solution for the problem of unifying peoples of different ethnicities, languages and beliefs. It is true that this choice was not by design, but through dynamics of political struggle where traditional Islamic thought in political life always appears with considerable number of supporters. Nevertheless, the number of Muslims who prefer pluralistic identity for Indonesia always outnumber that of those who aspire Islam as the base of the state.

Strengthening Local Wisdom and to Market it in a much Wider Context

How to strengthen religious local wisdom? One is often deceived by a good slogan. When the discourse of Islam Nusantara or Indonesian Islam comes up to the air, many think that all elements of traditions that are there in Islamic communities of this country should be considered as parts of Islamic heritage that ought to be preserved and disseminated under the title of this kind of Islamic expression, including the tradition of worshiping relics and sacralized places. Likewise, religious ceremonies (or better ceremonies related to Islamic tradition) such as the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad and that of Nişf Sha’bān (the 15 of the eighth month of Islamic calendar) where Muslims in some places observe them excessively seeing them as chances to show their success in earning money. The celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad in some rural mountainous villages of Central Java where each family present an *ambeng*, some four kilos of cooked rice fashioned in circular form upon which are placed small portions of a number

of dishes, which includes sliced tempeh, dried noodles, vegetables, peanuts, eggs and, in the middle, a big *ingkung* (a whole rooster cooked in coconut milk). The best *ambeng* will be offered to the highest ranks of guests among others the invited preacher, the head of the village and the religious teacher (*Kiyai*). Another example is the tradition of taking bath in seven different places, can be found in many areas in rural Java; likewise, is the tradition of the exchange of *berating* that we can witness in the confluence of Opak and Oya rivers in Yogyakarta on the last Wednesday of the second month of Islamic Calendar. Such traditions are worthwhile to be preserved, but not to be considered as important parts of Indonesian Islam.

There are at least three things for strengthening religious local wisdom. The first is its selection: what is worth to be preserved and socialized, and what is not. The most basic criterion is that the tradition and understanding of it may strengthen personality, celebrate differences and confirm the spirit of togetherness. Second, that the apparent forms may or even should follow the changing temporal needs. Some of them may need reformulation to be able to keep abreast with the changing situation. Third, dissemination to as many members of the community as possible. The existence of figures with great concern to the propagation of beautiful humane values is very helpful in this dissemination. The role of state, shown by the Indonesia Ministry of Religious Affairs through its technical agents like the Office of Research and Development and its Center for Religious Literatures and Heritage has been playing significantly to the efforts of strengthening religious local wisdom.

Having been established firmly at home, religious local wisdom should be put forward to wider context. We live in a world with the same humanity and any good praxis of human experience in each part of the world may actually serve as a share for the betterment of life on earth; it must not be kept solely in the treasure of the people who created in or practiced it for the first time. (Wahid, Abdurrahman: 2009).

The practice of religious teachings should also consider the context of society. In the case of Indonesia, although two great Islamic organizations also have been influenced by Transnasional Islamic movement at the early birth but both organizations adapt it with local wisdom and the context of culture. Thus both organizations have become filter for the propagation of Islamic transnationalism ideas. (Jinan, Mutohharun, 2009: 269-279).

Dealing with Local Religious Heritage

Dealing with religious heritage does not mean that we are facing the problem of originality and genuineness or authenticity but of functionality. When something religious continues to fulfil the need of the people such as meaning, relief, hope, confidence, determination, security and the like, it will survive although with some modification in its form, duration or quantity. Take for example the gathering for making prayer for the sake of one's father who passed away-called selamatan, kirim do'a, tahlilan or yasinan etc. It has survived all the accusations of being heretical since it does not cease to give condolence to the concerned family and possibility of prolonging the chance for them to perform dedication to the passing away. One may raise an objection to a religious heritage for the fact that it is not based on a religious text like a verse of the Qur'an or a sound hadith, even some will call it innovation in religious matters (*bid'a*) which is considered prohibited in Islam. However, as long as it may give support or reinforcement for life based on religious basic principles such as God's unicity and what so called the five necessities (*al-darūriyyāt al-khams*) or objectives (*al-maqāsid al-khamsah*) of Islamic law-i.e., the protection of faith, reason, life, dignity/wealth and offspring-, we may take and preserve it. Take the truth wherever you find it, says the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, let alone if it comes from the heritage of Muslim community. In relations to the above explanation, local cultures which is based on cultures and religious wisdom is very important for the people. (Abi, Rahmani, 2009: 207-219).

Conclusion

What should be done in dealing with transnational ideologies? How religious local wisdom play part in it? It clear that religious local wisdom can become a balance equal to the attractiveness of transnational ideologies, since it is anchored in the life of the people. Strengthening religious local wisdom does not mean only preserving it and making it existent as part of elements that constitute local or national identity, but also means helping people in the selection of ideologies that come easily from abroad to any part of the country.

Giving satisfaction to everyone is impossible, but providing more choices with good reasoning and attractive presentation can be something better than letting transnational ideologies become the only choice. There will be always dissatisfaction and frustration caused by the unpleasant reality for some people although the prosperity may be distributed evenly, the room for expression may be open widely. Nevertheless, we may not stop trying to provide satisfaction at home in order to prevent people from being attracted by the propaganda coming from abroad. Strengthening local wisdoms means making them continue to function as resources for meaning of life, dignity and pride, not burdening the people with many tasks that cost money, time and cerebral capacity in the project of preserving the heritage.

EndNotes

- 1 Panca = five, sila = principle. The five basic principles are: (1) Believing in One God, (2) Just and civilized humanity, (3) Indonesian unity, (4) Democracy led by wisdom in representative deliberation, and (5) Social justice for all Indonesian citizens.

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THE EXPERIENCES OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC CIVILISATION & MALAY WORLD (ISTAC), INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA IN EMPOWERING THE MALAY WORLD & ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

Hafiz Zakariya¹ & Suryadi²

International Institute of Islamic Civilization & Malay World (ISTAC),
International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM)

hafizz@iium.edu.my

s.suryadi@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Abstract

Although Indonesia and Malaysia are now two independent nations, both countries have a lot in common, tied by a common religion, language and cultural heritage dating back centuries ago. In building a better tomorrow, both nations can benefit from each other's rich experiences. This paper will focus on an educational institute established at the International Islamic University (henceforth, IIUM) in 2016 initially named the Centre for Malay World and Islamic Civilization and now has been transformed as the International Institute of Islamic Civilization & Malay World (henceforth, ISTAC). The institute is established to support the efforts of the university in creating an academic and intellectual field of research and studies focusing on the Malay World and Islamic civilization. This study describes the scope, major types of activities and concerns of the institute. In so doing it will identify the potential areas for collaboration (such as academic exchange, research, international conference) with relevant institutions in Indonesia.

Keywords: *ISTAC; Malaysia-Indonesia Collaboration; Malay World Studies; International Islamic University Malaysia; Islamic Civilisational Studies.*

Abstrak

Walaupun Indonesia dan Malaysia sekarang sudah menjadi dua negara yang merdeka, namun kedua negara ini memiliki banyak persamaan dari segi agama, bahasa dan warisan budaya sejak berabad-abad lampau. Dalam membina hari esok yang lebih baik, kedua negara ini bisa saling memanfaatkan pengalaman masing-masing yang sangat kaya. Makalah ini memberi tumpuan pada institut pendidikan yang didirikan di Universitas Islam Antarbangsa Malaysia (selanjutnya, IUM) pada tahun 2016 yang semula bernama Institut Dunia Melayu dan Peradaban Islam dan sekarang telah ditransformasikan menjadi Institut Antarbangsa Peradaban Islam dan Dunia Melayu (selanjutnya, ISTAC). Institut ini didirikan untuk menyokong usaha-usaha IUM dalam menciptakan sebuah dunia akademik dan intelektual untuk pengkajian dan studi yang berfokus pada dunia Melayu dan peradaban Islam. Makalah ini mendeskripsikan ruang lingkup, aktivitas dan fokus perhatian yang utama dari institut ini. Dengan begitu, ia akan mengidentifikasi bidang-bidang yang potensial untuk menjalin kerjasama (seperti program pertukaran mahasiswa dan dosen, penelitian, konferensi internasional) dengan intitusi-institusi yang relevan di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: *ISTAC; Kerjasama Malaysia-Indonesia; Pengkajian Dunia Melayu; Universitas Islam Antarbangsa Malaysia; Pengkajian Peradaban Islam.*

Introduction

The countries around the world take different ways of shaping their national identities, ideologies and cultural values, which are closely intertwined with nationalism. This paper deals with Malaysian experiences on these matters. In accordance with the theme of this symposium, that is “cultivating religious culture for nationalism”, and with passion to share experiences with its Indonesian neighbor, this paper describes how the Malaysian government stimulates the academic institutions to encourage researches and practical actions in framework of shaping and maintaining the national identity and cultural values of *Bangsa Malaysia* which is firmly rooted in Islam and traditions. It focuses on the rebranding of ISTAC and the major scope and activities of this institute.

To have a comprehensive overview about ISTAC, it is important to know what ISTAC is. This introduction, thus will give a brief comprehensive overview about ISTAC is the brainchild of the Honourable Tan Sri Dato’ Seri Utama Dr. Rais Yatim (Henceforth, Tan

Sri Rais), the Special Advisor to the Government of Malaysia on socio-cultural -matters with ministerial status, and President of IIUM. Its broad agenda is to advance the cause of Malay world and Islamic civilisation studies, research and related academic and non-academic activities. It was established through the International Islamic University Malaysia Board of Governors meeting in October 2015. Its full operation started in April 2016. This Centre was based at IIUM Jalan Damansara Campus. After almost one year of operation, in January 2017, with tremendous support from IIUM Rector--Professor Dato' Sri Dr. Zaleha Kamarudin; this Centre has been upgraded to the International Institute of Malay World and Islamic Civilisation. This paper comprises three main parts: a) an overview; b) highlights of its scope and major activities and; c) potential areas of collaboration.

An Overview of International Institute of Islamic Civilisation and Malay World (ISTAC)

Historically, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) IIUM was established in 1983. Since the inception of its existence, IIUM had primarily emphasized the global and ummatic issues as opposed to the local and particular concerns. Therefore, though courses in specific disciplines like history exist in IIUM, it tends to focus on the global history of Muslims instead of Malaysia and Nusantara. As such the Malay Studies Institutes exist in other local universities but not at IIUM. In Tan Sri Rais' insightful view, in order to enrich its academic endeavours, IIUM should transcend its focus on the traditional niche areas/disciplines and embrace the multidisciplinary studies of the Malay World studies. In Tan Sri's perceptive view, the concern for the Malayness will complement rather than contradict IIUM's niche area, namely Islamization. This is so because there are more than 200 million Muslims in the Malay Archipelago. This represents about 25% of the total Muslim population in the world. Thus, the introduction of Malay World Institute at IIUM is timely because the Malay World studies would also enrich our understanding of the dynamic development of Islam

and its society throughout the world. Tan Sri Rais' proposal has been well-received and fully-supported by IIUM top management.

To realize this noble goal, the existing International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, which was established by the eminent scholar, Professor Syed Naquib al-Attas, has been rebranded by IIUM by incorporating Malay World Studies as additional element in its scope of study and research. Thus, the institute has been rebranded as the International Institute of Islamic Civilisation & Malay World. However, its famous brand and acronym, ISTAC has been retained and launched by the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato'Seri Dr. Ahmad Zahid Hamidi on 25th October 2017.

Academically, the establishment of Islamic Civilisation and Malay World Studies Institute at IIUM would fill a major gap in the academia. This is so because, internationally, Muslim experiences in the Malay world remain an understudied area. As Denys Lombard has noted, although the Muslims from the Malay-speaking world “are the most numerous of the Islamic world, classical Islamology has interested itself in them only very marginally. (Lombard in Reid, 1993:4)”

Furthermore, some Orientalists tend to portray Islam as practiced in the Malay Archipelago as the “peripheral Islam”, that is “syncretic Islam” influenced by local custom and pre-Islamic beliefs and practices, which differ from the “pristine” Islam as emerged and developed in the “heartlands” of Islam. This argument was put forth by Landon, who contends “Islam is but a thin veneer over indigenous Indonesian civilization”. (Landon, 1949: 164; van Luer, 1955:169). Echoes Landon, says that Islam is only “a thin, easily flaking glaze on the massive body of indigenous civilization”. In the case of British Malaya, (Winsted, 1951: 71-73) a prominent British administrator-scholar of Malay language and history, argued that whatever influence Islam had on Malay society was very limited and even that was strongly mixed with Hindu and Buddhist beliefs and practices. Such a line of thought has been refuted by a number of comparatively recent works on Islam in Southeast Asia.

(Roff, 1985: 7) in his critique of selected studies of Islam in Southeast Asia deplores “the extraordinary desire on the part of western social science observers to diminish, conceptually, the place and role of the religion and culture of Islam, now, and in the past, in Southeast Asian societies”. (Keddie, 1987:3-4) in perhaps her least known article, “Islam and Society in Minangkabau and in the Middle East: Comparative Reflections” echoes the same sentiment. (Keddie, 1987:3) points out that there is a tendency to exaggerate that Muslims in the Middle East are the good and normative Muslims while the “inhabitants of more recently converted areas are ‘bad’, ‘syncretic’ or ‘nominal’ Muslims, whose Islam is sometimes called a veneer over their pre-Islamic beliefs and practices.” Therefore, academically, the establishment of ISTAC is indeed an important paradigm shift brought about by Tan Sri Rais at IIUM.

The vision of the Institute is to become a leading hub in promoting Islamic Civilisation & Malay World in all aspects through research, academic, non-academic and socio-cultural activities. In the existence and operation of the Institute, the vision and mission must always be linked and tied to the needs of the *ummah*, Malays and nation. The International Institute of Islamic Civilisation and Malay World (ISTAC) aims to proliferate studies on the Islamic Civilisation and Malay World through learning, research and exchange of ideas and knowledge at a time where the world seems to thrive upon over simplification and ignorance of history and cultural heritage. Leveraging on the extensive expertise on Islamic Civilisation and Malay World at International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), ISTAC aspires to facilitate capacity building in the Muslim world through shared values of Islamic Civilisation and the diversity of the *ummah*. In this way, the shared values, interests and cultures of Islamic Civilisation will be conserved, promoted and evolve into the future, where Malaysia has a massive advantage to promote academic scholarship, economic growth and unity amongst Muslim countries to drive positive changes in the *ummah*.

In brief, the main objectives of the Institute are:

- a. To be the distinguished source of reference in learning, research and promotion of the Malay world and Islamic civilisation;
- b. To encourage academic collaborations with other institutions locally and internationally on aspects concerning Malay world and Islamic civilisation;
- c. To open up channels of scientific and cultural cooperation and exchange between the Malay World and Muslim world at large world to engage in intellectual and civilisational activities and relations;
- d. To nurture talents, scholars and experts in the Malay world and Islamic civilization through postgraduate studies, postdoctoral and academic fellowship activities;
- e. Encourage relevant activities on areas of fine arts, literature, culture; and in other related areas of priority.

During this inception stage, ISTAC organized various events to promote scholarship and appreciation of civilizational knowledge to help understanding of a people's path whilst informing their plans moving forward. The University's Special collection on Malay literature and Islamic artefacts (including manuscripts, first editions, letters and research materials) are in the process of being transferred to ISTAC Library wing.

ISTAC is fortunate in being able to draw on the expertise of distinguished external and internal researchers on Malay studies and other Islamic cultures. The broad scope of ISTAC covers various countries in which there are Malay-speaking communities from southern Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Patani, Brunei to Sri Lanka and South Africa. Through our network in Turkey and other Muslim countries, the Institute hopes to tap into an extensive network of scholars and research material on Islamic civilisation. ISTAC is continuing its efforts to foster collaborative relationships with other important institutions in Southeast Asia, West Asia, Europe, North America, Oceania, North Africa and East Asia.

Highlights of Major Activities, April 2016- January 2017

ISTAC's objectives are achieved through a wide-range of activities including seminars and Eminent Speaker Lecture Series, forums, cultural activities as well as publications. This paper will give a short description about those activities as follow:

“Academic Exchange Programme with Students and Lecturers from Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakif University (FSMVU), Turkey”.

This activity started from 17 July 2016 to 13 August 2016. The Centre spearheaded an academic exchange program involving IIUM and FSMVU. This academic exchange program involved twenty four students, with twelve of them from Fatih Sultan Mehmet Waqf University (FSMVU) and the rest from Department of Architecture, Kulliyah of Architecture and Environmental Design (KAED), IIUM. The participants were involved in a joint academic programme. The training, educational and design planning programme were conducted throughout the third semester of 2015/2016 session. This programme helped to create a bond between the two nations involved in developing a common understanding of respective vernacular architecture. The theoretical and practical courses offered to the students were directed in producing a centralized design of the futuristic and ummatic Complex for The Malay World and Ottoman Studies planned to be at the Diplomatic Enclave, Putrajaya or Jalan Conlay, Kuala Lumpur. The project involves three related structures to serve the functions and needs of the centre namely, the main complex, the urban mosque, and researchers and visitors guesthouse. The exchange programme was conducted by distinguished academic instructors, five from IIUM, led by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Noor Hanita Abdul Majid, and three from FMSVU led by Prof. Dr. Ibrahim Numan.

Seminar Series

In order to promote vibrant intellectual milieu, the Institute had also organized a series of seminars on the Malay and Muslim world issues as follows:

1. Seminar on Understanding Turkish Vernacular Architecture

A public lecture on Understanding Turkish Vernacular Architecture was delivered by Prof Ibrahim Nouman, Dean Faculty of Architecture and Design, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Waqf University. The session which was conducted from 11.30 a.m. – 12.45 p.m. aims to give better understanding on Turkish Vernacular Architecture. The program succeeded to enlighten on the Turkish Vernacular Architecture.

2. Forum on The Failed Coup Attempt in Turkey: A New Wave for Democracy?

On 27 July 2016, ISTAC organized a forum on The Failed Coup Attempt in Turkey: A New Wave for Democracy? Four distinguished speakers were invited namely Dr. Mohd Iqbal Abdul Wahab (Laws), Assoc. Prof Dr. Saim Kayadibi from (Economics) and Assoc. Prof Dr. Ishtiaq Hossain (Politics) and Prof Dr. Wahabuddin Ra'ees (Politics).

The discussion was very informative as Dr. Iqbal started the sessions with the history of AK party and other political parties in Turkey. He also explained about the constitutional milieu in Turkey by highlighting the secularism is well-embedded within the Turkish constitution. The second panel Dr. Saim continued the session by briefly explaining the chronology of the coup and the causes behind the event. He claimed that the conspiracy had started a long time ago and led by exiled preacher Fethullah Gulen. The third panel, Dr. Ishtiaq enlightened the floor by explaining thoroughly how the social media helped to defeat the Turkish coup. He showed few pictures of Turkey's national building that been destroyed during the coup and also a few wonderful pictures depicts the enthusiasm of the crowds. Dr. Wahabuddin complimented the discussion by emphasizing the importance of wisdom in handling the ideology of secularism and liberalism in a country.

The forum ended by the Q&A sessions and souvenir-giving session by Prof Datuk Seri Dr. Salleh Yaapar, ISTAC distinguished

fellow. The responses of the participant was very positive. The forum succeeded to enlighten all the participants regarding the importance of unity among the Muslim *ummah* and also the solidarity towards the real value of democracy.

3. The Malays are the Indigenous People of Malaysia

On 8 August 2016, Prof. Datuk Seri Dr. Md. Salleh Yaapar, a distinguished fellow of ISTAC and Professor of Universiti Sains Malaysia has unraveled the secret of the Malay people and their mysterious origins in a public lecture organized by ISTAC.

The session which was conducted from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. at the Al-Tabari Conference Room, Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences, International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) entitled “The Malays: Their Origins, Migration and Travels”. The shocking scientific discovery created a spark in the interest of believing whether the Malays are really migrants in this modern state of Malaysia, as well as this region or are they the natives of this land from time immemorial? The Malays are found out to be genetically, historically, culturally and linguistically to be the people who roamed and settled this region of mainland and South East Asia archipelago since tens of thousands of years ago as the cradle of the East Asian population.

The activity was supported by Prof. Stephen Oppenheimer’s studies, which debunked the ‘Out from Taiwan’ theory and directed to the new one coined as the ‘Out of Sundaland’ theory. The theory reversed the whole East Asian ancestry to that of the Aslian and that of Proto-Malay stocks over 16,000 years ago. These people then in their course to survive had developed a steady maritime technology and moved out of the western Austronesian realm to reach the eastern seaboard of the Pacific Ocean, reaching and building colonies with interconnected bloodline as far as Hawai’i, Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and Aoteroa (New Zealand). Westward, they arrived to Madagascar and together to this day formed more than one thousand distinct ethnic groups with over 200 million speakers.

4. The 2000 years old ‘Kotas’ of South East Asia

On 2 November 2016, ISTAC were proud to organize our third seminar series entitled Lives in Ancient Southeast Asian Cities by Prof. Dr. John Miksic, Professor of Southeast Asian Studies, National University of Singapore (NUS). He is an expert and active contributor on regional historical, cultural and archaeological studies, especially in Southeast Asia region. The lecture started with welcoming speech by Honorable Tan Sri Dato’ Seri Utama Rais Yatim, Patron of Institute of ISTAC and Islamic Civilization (IIUM) and also President of International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). He pointed out the need to hone expertise in the Malay World and the Islamic Civilisation research as he seen very pressing nowadays.

Prof. Dr. John Miksic started the public lecture by introducing the concept of ‘kota’ or city that is believed created from outside influences beyond the South East Asian region itself. The existence of ‘kota’ in Southeast Asia has first emerged in the region of Cambodia then East Java, the center administration of Majapahit before reached out to Malay Archipelago. There were also influences of Islam in these ancient urban areas in Southeast Asia. He proclaimed, the Malay World (Alam Melayu) can be classified by two characteristics that are language and ceramic/pottery styles. From his work nearly 50 years in Southeast Asia studies, he found many artifacts and monuments that showed the existence of the city, especially in Malay World. For instance, there are many stones in Lembah Bujang that came from India, Rajastan, Pakistan and Java as evidence 2000 years ago Lembah Bujang was the biggest port in Asia. He also clarified that there is still limited research been done as many evidence from ancient Malay times were remains or been ruined as they settled in the middle of the water such as Srivijaya government in Palembang.

Participants also were amazed by the slide presentation that depicts all the artifacts discovered along his works in Southeast

Asia studies and followed by Q&A session. Prof. John Miksic ended his lectures by recorded his gratitude to the organizer. He was hoping authorities and also private institutions give the best effort to establish an archaeological institution in Malaysia. He also hopes the Malay solidarity being emphasized in order to achieve regional unity, especially in the Malay world.

5. The Earliest ‘Talking Machine’ of the Malay World

On 5 January 2017, Dr. Suryadi from the University of Leiden (Netherlands) delivered the above lecture, organised by ISTAC in collaboration with the Department of History and Civilisation, IIUM. Dr. Suryadi’s talk was entitled “Muslims met the ‘Talking Machine’ in the early 20th century: Muslim Experiences from The Malay World”.

Throughout the lecture, Dr. Suryadi elaborated on the extensive trading of gramophone in Southeast Asia during the first half of the twentieth century which enabled groups of people other than Europeans to gain access to the technology which called ‘*mesin bitjara*’ in Malay. According to him, the domestication of ‘talking machine’ and gramophone discs, which produced mechanical sound, affected the lives of natives in the regions, both socially and individually, and give rise to questions about their own culture, religious beliefs and identity. The variety of uses of the machines epitomized their complex attitudes towards technology.

Looking at the attraction and irritation of modern sound in the early twentieth century Malay society, the lecture explored the Muslim’s acceptance to the initial recording of Qur’an on gramophone discs in the Straits Settlements and the Dutch East Indies. Apart from discussing the fatwas of *ulama* on this matter, the lecture also discussed the debates among the Malay Muslim on the mediation of women’s voice and other issues dealing with Islamic beliefs on gramophone.

Academic Programmes

The International Institute of Islamic Civilisation & Malay World is both a research and postgraduate institution, which covers two broad areas:

- a) The interdisciplinary studies of history, literature, economy, politics and other aspects of Malay world.
- b) The study of all aspects of Islamic thought and civilisation.

Unlike the traditional Malay studies elsewhere, Malay World studies at IIUM will not only focus on conservative topics such as history and philology alone, but it will place great emphasis on the various contemporary issues and challenges facing the Malays in the Archipelago in particular and the Austronesian world in general. Thus, this aspect of Malay World study will be particularly responsive to the needs of the *ummah* in the Malay world.

Similarly, the field of Islamic thought and civilisation is not only confined to the historical periods of the rise and fall of various Islamic civilisations throughout history across the region. Moreover, it would also encompass the major issues facing the contemporary Muslim world. Currently, the Institute offers master's and doctoral degrees. The existing academic programmes offered by the institute are as follows:

Master's Programmes

1. Master of Arts in Islamic Thought and Civilization (mixed mode)
2. Master of Arts in Islamic Thought and Civilization (research)
3. Master of Arts in Malay World Studies (research)

Doctor of Philosophy Programmes

1. Doctor of Philosophy in Islamic Thought and Civilization (mixed mode)
2. Doctor of Philosophy in Islamic Thought and Civilization (research)
3. Doctor of Philosophy in Malay World Studies (research)

It offers the following fields of specialization:

1. Islamic Civilisation
2. Islamic Thought

3. Islamic and Other Civilisation
4. Islamic Science
5. Islamic Spiritual Culture and Contemporary Society
6. Muslim World Issues
7. Philosophy, Ethics, and Contemporary Issues
8. Malay World Studies

As the programmes undergo further expansion and more expertise become available, the niche areas of the Institute shall be expanded too to include many other important issues relevant to the needs of the *ummah*. Besides, academic programmes, The Institute had also conducted academic exchange programme with its partners from abroad. For example, in 2016, academic exchange programme was organized with our partner in Turkey, Faith Sultan Mehmet Vakif University (FSMVU). Moreover, the two partners had also exchanged staff with when one staff from FSMVU taught in IIUM for two weeks in December 2016. In return, through Erasmus Programme, IIUM had also sent two lecturers to deliver lectures at FSMVU in Turkey for 2 weeks (From May to June 2017).

Moreover, in 2017, such academic collaboration has expanded to include universities in China especially the Beijing University for Foreign Studies and Hainan University. In October 2017, IIUM hosted visiting scholars from Hainan University for 1 week. Moreover, the Institute has also held discussions with relevant institutions in Indonesia to organize academic and staff exchange as well collaborative research with the Institute. It is hoped that more collaboration with relevant institutions in Southeast Asia and the Muslim world will materialize in the near future.

Future Programmes

As the Institute attempts to be a prominent educational institution in Malaysia and the region, strategic networking is of paramount importance. In 2017, the Institute plan to focus on establishing cooperation with institutions in Indonesia and China on aspects concerning Malay world and Islamic civilisation;

Second, to open up channels of scientific and cultural cooperation and exchange within the Malay World and Muslim world at large world to engage in intellectual and civilizational activities and relations. To promote the above objectives, the following activities may be relevant:

1. Establishing linkages with relevant institutions in Indonesia through MOU/MOA
 - a. Academic exchange programmes (students and staff).
 - b. Facilitate exchange of knowledge, expertise, training and skills, cultures and mutual values.
 - c. Enhance the numbers of students and staff involved in mobility activities in Indonesia and China.
 - d. Collaborative learning environment through sharing and complementing facilities and technologies in Nusantara partner universities.
2. Research collaborations on Malay world and Islamic issues.
3. Organising regional/international conferences on various aspects of Malay world and Islamic civilisation.
4. Research and promotion of manuscript collections at the Library of Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas at Institute, Persiaran Syed Sirajuddin.
5. Provision of Fellowships/visiting scholars.

Conclusion

ISTAC aims to lead the way in Malay and Islamic civilizational research. It is founded based on the belief that the Malay world is rich with tradition and history that has been formed to a large extent by its interactions with other civilization in the neighboring region and most particularly by important Islamic civilization in the past. It aims to leverage on this repository of knowledge and ties of the past and present to facilitate capacity building in both the Malay world and fellow Muslim countries. In this way, the shared values, interests and cultures of Islamic civilization will be conserved, promoted and evolve into the future. Malaysia has a massive advantage to promote the academic scholarship, economic growth and unity amongst Muslim countries to

drive positive change in the *ummah*. It is hoped that the establishment of the Institute can further foster academic and research collaborations between Malaysia and Indonesia in particular and the Malay Archipelago and Muslim world at large.

In the process of nation-building, Malaysia has merged traditions and Islam as essential parts of its own national identity. This choice has been translated into regulations, state's instruments and action programs, including the scholarly field. Holding firmly on Malay-Islamic norms and values, Malaysia is continually trying to build-up its national identity. For example, in translating the concept of 'educational tourism', Malaysia has been promoting and encouraging many international students from Islamic countries in Asia, Middle East and Africa, to study in its universities. This is one of the nation's strategy to introduce its national culture and identity worldwide and to achieve an important political role among the Muslim countries. The contemporary modern Malaysia demonstrates the success story of "Islamisation of knowledge" (*Islamisasi ilmu pengetahuan*), which now becomes the distinctive characteristics of *bangsa Malaysia*.

With the spirit of mutual learning and mutual benefit between the neighboring nation-states, Indonesia could learn from Malaysian experiences in shaping and strengthening its national identity through religion. Similarly, Malaysia too could learn from Indonesia especially through its solid concept of unitary state (*negara kesatuan*) based on *Pancasila* which continues to be debated and interpreted diversely by Indonesian citizens.

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ARABIC AS A LANGUAGE OF ISLAM NUSANTARA: THE NEED FOR AN *ARABIC LITERATURE OF INDONESIA*

Nico J.G. Kaptein

Leiden University¹

n.j.g.kaptein@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Abstract

The term Islam Nusantara has been in circulation for a long time, but recently its use has gained a new significance after the 2015 Nahdlatul Ulama Congress in Jombang. Understanding of the term Islam Nusantara differs, but a common feature in all interpretations is the opinion that it is a blend of universal Islamic notions and specific regional cultural elements with specific Indonesian characteristics, like tolerance, peacefulness and moderation. In the history of Islam in Indonesia different appreciations of Arabic as a language of Islam Nusantara exist. In this paper, I want to go into the role of Arabic in Islam in Indonesia and I will argue that for a proper assessment of position of Arabic within the concept of Islam Nusantara an Arabic Literature of Indonesia should be produced.

Keywords: *Islam Nusantara, Nahdlatul Ulama, Universal Islamic Notions, Arabic language, Arabic literature of Indonesia.*

Abstrak

Istilah Islam Nusantara telah beredar dalam waktu lama, namun baru-baru ini penggunaannya telah mendapatkan signifikansi baru setelah Kongres Nahdlatul Ulama 2015 di Jombang. Pemahaman tentang istilah Islam Nusantara berbeda, namun merupakan ciri umum dalam segala bentuk toleransi, kedamaian dan moderasi. Dalam sejarah Islam di Indonesia terdapat perbedaan apresiasi terhadap bahasa Arab sebagai bahasa Islam Nusantara. Dalam tulisan ini saya ingin masuk kedalam peran bahasa Arab dalam Islam dan saya berpendapat bahwa bahasa Arab dalam konsep Islam Nusantara merupakan sebuah Sastra Arab Indonesia yang harus diproduksi.

Kata Kunci: *Islam Nusantara, Nahdlatul Ulama, Pengertian Islam Universal, Bahasa Arab, Sastra Arab Indonesia.*

Introduction

The term Islam Nusantara has been in circulation for a long time and different understandings of the term have been used. When we engage in the discussion on Islam Nusantara a lot of terminological issues pop up. First there is the idea of Nusantara. This topographical term is usually translated as Malay-Indonesian Archipelago or maritime Southeast Asia, and evidently does not only include the present republic of Indonesia, but also comprises Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and the southern parts of both Thailand and the Philippines. However, in most writings on Islam Nusantara, the term Nusantara is used to denote or, at least, is focussing on present day Indonesia. Next, there is the issue of the concept of Islam itself. Academically spoken, there is no one single understanding of 'Islam', so as an academic descriptive category, the word Islam also adds to the complexity of the issue. In using the term Islam Nusantara, often authentic or true Islam as present in Indonesia is meant, and as such the term is less descriptive and more of a normative and ideological nature.

This terminological vagueness is present in almost all publications dealing with Islam Nusantara, but in all interpretations the opinion is voiced that Islam Nusantara is a blend of universal Islamic notions on the one hand and, on the other hand, specific regional cultural elements with specific Indonesian characteristics, like tolerance, peacefulness and moderation.

The issue of a specific type or manifestation of Islam in a particular region is, of course, not restricted to this part of the world, and the debate of how the universal message and claims of Islam translates into and manifests itself in local cultures, and what the relationship between Islam and local culture is, has led to many sophisticated discussions.

As an example of how this relationship has been conceptualized, I would like to refer to an interesting study by the the German scholar of African Islam Rüdiger Seesemann. In an article, entitled “African Islam or Islam in Africa? Evidence from Kenya” he gives a table in which he lists a number of opposing categories to characterize the local “African Islam” and the global “Islam in Africa”, which is sometimes also called “Arab Islam”. This scheme looks as follows:

African Islam	Islam in Africa or Arab Islam
tolerant	militant
emotional	puritanical
syncretistic	fundamentalist
oral	literal
local	trans local or global
contextualized	non-contextualized
traditional	modern
“popular” Islam	“orthodox” Islam

By taking Kenya as an illustration Seesemann shows that this dichotomy does not do justice to empirical data, and he concludes that this dichotomy is too schematic and therefore not tenable as a proper academic model for understanding and analyzing the various manifestations of Islam in Africa.

Although I completely agree with the conclusion of Seesemann, I think that for heuristic reasons this scheme is useful, and for studying the concept Islam Nusantara it might also be helpful. Each of the different

pairs of characteristics can also be used to have a closer look to Islam Nusantara, if only to establish where these different characterizations came from and who used them for the first time and with what agenda in mind.

In this paper it will be impossible to go into all of these pairs, but I will look more closely at the language issue, which is also identified by Seesemann in Africa, namely the opposition between oral and literal. It is evident that in Africa Arabic is linked to pure Islam, which is also called Arab Islam, while African Islam is making use of local languages (in the scheme of Seeseman in oral form). The issue of Arabic also plays a role within Islam Nusantara and it is this issue which is the focus of my paper.

The Academic Study of the Role of Arabic in Nusantara

It is evident that Arabic as the Islamic language *par excellence* has played and still plays a very central role in Indonesia. The introduction and spread of Arabic in Indonesia has however not yet been dealt with comprehensively nor in detail. In a book on the various writing traditions of Indonesia, published in 1996, like others before him, the Australian scholar Anthony Johns (1996:33) noticed a lack of academic studies on the Arabic writing tradition in Indonesia. According to him this was due to the circumstance that generally spoken Arabists do not consider the Arabic works produced in Nusantara interesting enough as compared to those produced in other parts of the Muslim world and therefore not worthy of attention, while on the other hand Southeast Asianists do not have the proper sensibility to recognize the underlying Islamic norms and ideas of Muslim communities in Indonesia.

Since the publication of Johns's article, there seems to be more openness towards the Arabic writing tradition in Indonesia, as is shown, for instance, by an entry on Indonesia in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, written by Karel Steenbrink, published online in 2011, but written earlier. The article of Steenbrink

is useful and can be regarded as a state of the art of the academic study of the role of Arabic in Indonesia. The author has divided his article in the following paragraphs: 1) the arrival of Islam in Indonesia; 2) Arabic in literary texts; 3) the study of Arabic; 4) Arabs in the archipelago; and finally 5) The study of Arabic today. In the present audience, anyone can think for himself or herself of several issues which are dealt with under these headings and here I restrict myself in mentioning that plenty of historical persons figure in this overview, like the 17th century scholars Syamsuddin al-Samatrani and Yusuf al-Makassari, the two of whom published both in Malay and in Arabic.

Based on the articles of Johns and Steenbrink it appears that at least two conditions contributed to the – indeed – prominent role of Arabic in Indonesia, that is the close links with Mecca, Medina and Cairo as educational centres for Indonesian Muslims and, secondly, the presence of an Arabic Hadrami minority in the archipelago, who kept on using Arabic until far in the 20th century. Both articles also show that the Arabic writing tradition is important in the transmission of Muslim scholarship and forms a vital component of the Muslim intellectual tradition in Indonesia.

However, in spite of these and other commendable efforts, there is still a gap in our academic knowledge on the topic. Earlier this month, the famous German language history of Arabic literature by Carl Brockelmann became available online in English through the efforts of Brill Publishers in Leiden, entitled *Brockelmann in English: The History of the Arabic Written Tradition Online*. The work is preceded by an introduction of the Dutch scholar Jan Just Witkam, the retired keeper of the Oriental Department of Leiden University Library. In this introduction Witkam (2017: ix) refers to the small amount of bio-biographical tools which Brockelmann had at his disposal when he was preparing his work in the first half of the 20th century, in particular pertaining to Arabic literature outside the classical Muslim heartlands. Today this is still the case and in relation to this Witkam writes:

“The extent of Arabic literature in Sub-Saharan Africa, East Turkestan,

the rest of China, South-East Asia's mainland and Indonesia is, even today, almost a closed book”.

Different Appreciations of Local Culture and Arabic in Indonesia

As mentioned, the position of Arabic in Indonesia has always been strong. When we confine ourselves to the 20th century, a number of relevant data can be related to substantiate this. In the pre-independence period of the 20th century, we see that the well-known modernist leader of PERSIS Ahmad Hassan (1887-1958) considers knowledge of Arabic a duty for scholars who study the constituent textual sources of Islam, the Qur'an and the Hadis. In the same vein, Hassan declared the use of Arabic in reciting the Fatiha, and in the ritual prayer an obligation for every single Muslim. However, in issues which he did not regard as part of the *'ibadah*, Hassan had a great concern that the common believers would be enabled to understand the religious reasoning and arguments and, therefore held a favourable position to the use of Malay to convey religious ideas. For instance, he took the position that the Friday sermon could be given in a local language, because the sermon was delivered by the Prophet to convey a particular message, while it was nowhere mentioned in the Qur'an nor in the Hadis that the sermon should be given in Arabic (Federspiel 2001: 56; 163-5).

Also in circles of the traditionalists in Indonesia, Arabic was rated as very important. Perhaps this is related to the dominant school of law in Indonesia which the traditionalists adhered to, namely the Syafi'ite *mazhab*. For, in this *mazhab* the reverence for Arabic is very high, as expressed, for instance, by the founder of the *mazhab al-Syafi'i* (767-820), who wrote in his famous book *Al-Risala* that “every Muslim must learn Arabic to the utmost of his capacity ...” (Tibawi 1962:14). A prominent representative of the traditionalists in pre-independence Indonesia Hasyim Asy'ari (1871-1947), one of the founders of the Nahdlatul Ulama, wrote in Arabic. Recently, I got a copy of his collected works, entitled *Irsyad al-Sari fi Jam` Musannafat al-Syaikh Hasyim Asy'ari*, “The right guidance of the night traveller containing the collected writings of Syaikh Hasyim Asy'ari”. This

undated compilation contains not less than 17 of his writings, and all of those are in Arabic. As an example I mention here his essay *Risala Tusamma bi al-Jalus fi Bayan Ahkam al-Naqus*, “An essay bearing the title The spy who clarifies the legal judgments on the drum”,² which deals with a custom which can be regarded as characteristic for Islam in Indonesia, namely the beating of the drum in order to let the believers know that the time for prayer has come, instead of the common Islamic way to do this by way of the *azan*, the “call for prayer”, which is done with the human voice, today most of the times with the help of sound equipment. In this work, dated 7 Rabi` al-awwal 1335/ 31 December 1916, Hasyim approves of this use of the drum as a *bid`a mahmuda*, a “praiseworthy innovation”.

In itself this essay is very interesting, because it was obviously written in the context of a protracted discussion about this particular use of the drum. Also the just mentioned PERSIS leader Ahmad Hassan participated in this debate and severely condemned this use of the drum, because in the Hadis there was no precedent for this custom and the Prophet had clearly advocated calling the people for prayer by means of the human voice, and had declined all other forms, like the *naqus*, or drum (Kaptein 2014: 118-9). When we compare the opinion of Hasyim Asy`ari with that of Ahmad Hassan we thus see that a prominent traditionalist spokesman defended the local custom of using the drum *in Arabic*, while an important modernist leader rejected this local custom *in Malay*. This is just one example to show that the abovementioned dichotomy of Seesemann, which associates Arabic with puritan and modernist Islam is not tenable.

The point I want to make here, however, is that Hasyim Asy`ari, writing in 20th century Indonesia used the Arabic language to convey his ideas. This is not an exception, because also from more recent times Arabic writings produced in Indonesia are known. As an example I mention here a *fiqh* treatise on smoking, by Ihsan Jampes Kediri (1901-1952), entitled *Irsyad al-Ikhwan li-Bayan Syarab al-Qahwa wa al-Dukhan*, “The right guidance of the brothers clarifying the consuming

of coffee and tobacco”, which forms just one title of his oeuvre in Arabic (Barizi 2004).

After independence we see that an entire new element is brought into the discussion on the relationship between universal Islamic notions and local customs, that is -unsurprisingly- the idea of nationalism. Important contributions to this debate were made by the Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy (1904-1975). Hasbi approached the issue through a thorough investigation of the history of Islamic *fiqh*. He was convinced that many parts of what was considered divine classical Islamic Law were actually reflections of specific conditions in Arab culture and society of the past, which therefore did not have validity for Muslims in other circumstances. This insight opened up the possibility for him to develop a school of law which took into account the specific Indonesian living conditions and in this way he conceptualized an “Indonesian *mazhab*” (Feener 2007: 54-80).

Another person who made important theoretical contributions to the relationship between Islam and custom was Hazairin (d. 1975). He was trained as an *adat* law scholar and held the opinion that Indonesian society should be understood in its own local terms and not according to foreign concepts. For instance, Hazairin declined certain patrilineal elements in Islamic inheritance law, because he regarded these as being suitable to the Arab society from which it originated, but not to Indonesian society. In the same vein, he also criticized the popular idea that adhering to the Shari`a automatically implied the following of Arab custom. In his work he, thus, also helped to develop a national Indonesian *mazhab* and, like Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy, distanced himself from Arab culture (Feener 2007: 54-80).

More recently, also important ideas have been developed in relation to the idea of a specific Indonesian Islam, and similar to the previous ones these were strongly imbued with ideas of nationalism. The first person I would like to deal with here is Nurkholish Madjid (1939-2005). Madjid’s work can be characterized briefly as an effort to integrate Islam and Indonesian identity (*keindonesiaan*). In a recent

paper the Indonesian researcher Ahmad Najib Burhani identified at least four components of this integration, to wit: 1) the acceptance of modern nationalism; 2) the redefinition of the concept of *umma*; 3) the acceptance of the Pancasila; and 4) the rejection of the perception of Islam as a political ideology (Burhani 2013: 35-40). By means of theorizing on these four points Madjid depoliticized Islam and brought it into perfect harmony with the Indonesian nation state of the New Order. For this paper, it is also interesting to go into the question of how Madjid saw the relation between Indonesian Islam and Islam elsewhere. According to Madjid, compared to other countries Islam in Indonesia is the least influenced by Arabization and in this context he uses the term *Islam pinggiran*. He uses this term to indicate that Islam as compared to other countries is still very young and very “marginal” in a negative sense: Islam in Indonesia has not yet advanced enough and in this sense is thus unique. However, as such, this is not something which according to Madjid should be protected and preserved (Burhani 2013: 40-1).

As a public Muslim intellectual Madjid has been for a long time at the heart of political, cultural and religious debates and in his numerous writings he has dealt with many issues. One of the issues which is relevant to this paper is Madjid’s article, entitled *Islamic universalism and the position of the Arabic language*, (“Universalisme Islam dan kedudukan Bahasa Arab”). In this article Madjid (1995: 358- 372) mentions that Arabic is of course the language of the revelation, but in the course history in addition to Arabic also other languages became important bearers of Islamic culture, like Persian, and Malay in Southeast Asia. Basing himself on some Qur’anic verses and the Prophetic tradition which says that an Arab is not better than a non-Arabs, unless if he is more pious, Madjid concludes that for God all languages are equal. The Qur’an was revealed in Arabic, because the Prophet was an Arab, and therefore it could not have been sent down in another language.

At the same time, the language of the Qur’an is linguistically unique (he refers here to the classical doctrine of the *i’jaz al-Qur’an*)

and therefor the Qur'an cannot be translated because many linguistic subtleties and the emotions evoked by the sounds of the Arabic language would get lost in the translation. Consequently, in another language the meaning of the Qur'an can only be rendered as an interpretation, and this rendering can never replace the Qur'an. We thus see that on the one hand Nurkholish underlines that the universal message of Islam is not dependent upon Arabic, while on the other hand he subscribes to the doctrine of the *i`jaz al-Qur'an* and stresses that Arabic, especially when used in ritual, promotes the unity of Islam in the entire world.

A final person I would like to deal with is Abdurrahman Wahid (1940-2009), who has voiced perhaps the most outspoken opinions on the relationship of Islam and local Indonesian culture and the role of Arabic in Indonesia. In 1983 Wahid had introduced the idea of *Indigenization of Islam* ("Pribumisasi Islam") and in 1989 he published an essay with the same title. A central idea within this notion is that Islam as it manifests itself in Indonesia is an authentic expression of Islam, which is not inferior to other forms of Islam which are practised in the Middle East, or which are propagated for instance by the modernists. In order to counterbalance the feeling of inferiority among Indonesian Muslims, he also proposed not to use Arabic words when an good Indonesian word was available. For instance, instead of the Arabic word *salat* one should use *sembahyang*, and likewise the words *langgar* and *Kiyai* or *tuan guru* should be used instead of the Arabic words *musalla* and *ustadh*. Like Madjid, Wahid also stressed the universal character of Islam, which implied that persons were not obliged to follow Arab culture. In fact he regarded the process of what he called Arabization a threat to other cultures, and as cases in point he mentioned religious terminology and mosque architecture. A second point in his notion of *pribumisasi* was the idea of nationalism. Since the Pancasila was a reflection of both Islamic universal values and Indonesian culture, Wahid convincingly subscribed to the Pancasila. Finally, by stressing *'urf*, or custom, as a source of Islamic Law, Wahid further substantiated the notion of *pribumisasi* (Burhani 2013: 27-34).

This essay by Wahid can still be regarded as one of the most intriguing contributions to the debate on the specificity of Indonesian Islam and it does not come as a surprise that it was recently reprinted in a collection of essays on Islam Nusantara, where it is called a “manifesto” (Wahid 2015). This collection was published in the wake of the 2015 Nahdlatul Ulama Congress in Jombang and contains various interesting issues by prominent scholars. It starts with a brief introduction by KH. A. Mustofa Bisri, one of the top leaders of the NU. In this introduction Mostofa Bisri advocates the moderate and tolerant Islam Nusantara against foreign understandings of Islam and expresses his hope that this Islam, “which is troubled by particular influences from outside”, will be strengthened (Bisri 2015). Although not explicitly mentioned, it is clear that Mostafa Bisri is aiming at Salafi-Wahhabi ideas from the Middle East.

In addition to this very sketchy overview of the views of a number of scholars on Indonesian Islam and Arabic, we should also mention that in educational institutions belonging to both modernist and traditionalist organisations within Islam in Indonesia, Arabic was and still is important, be it in different degrees, varying from a complete curriculum in Arabic, as was and still is the case in particular *pesantren*, to the requirement of at least being able to read Arabic religious textbooks. There is much more to say about this, but this suffices to underline my point of the prominence of Arabic in Indonesian Islam.

Finally, I like to mention here that Arabic is not only important within the intellectual and scholarly tradition in Indonesia, but also among the common people. Recent research has shown that there is a positive appreciation for Arabic as is demonstrated in a recent article which deals with Arabic names in Java. In this research, done in three regencies in Java, the number of Arabic names given to new born children is growing, as well as hybrid names in which one Arabic name forms one component (Kuipers and Asturi 2017).

Concluding Discussion: Towards an Arabic Literature of Indonesia?

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the perception of the Arabic language also plays a role in assessing what Islam Nusantara is. Issues which are not a matter of debate are the general conviction that the Qur'an cannot be translated, as well as the use of Arabic in ritual, like in the *salat*. Moreover, this paper has shown that within Indonesia different appreciations of Arabic are in existence and that the identification of Arabic with puritan and modernist Islam, as done in the above mentioned dichotomy of Seesemann, is not tenable. It seems that among traditionalists Arabic is more important than among modernists and in the light of the different appreciation of the scholarly Arabic tradition, this does not come to a surprise, since the traditionalist aim and claim to continue this tradition, while the modernists consider this scholarly tradition less important and orient themselves much more to the Qur'an and the Hadis.

When we try to correlate the different appreciations of Arabic with the idea of Islam Nusantara, a serious problem pops up, namely that - to me at least - it is not always clear who can be regarded as a spokesman or representative of Islam Nusantara. Evidently the concept has gained prominence in circles of the Nahdlatul Ulama after its 2015 congress in Jombang, but the term has been in circulation much longer and the question arises whether also persons who are not attached to NU can be regarded as spokesmen of Islam Nusantara. In any case we might say that persons like Hasbi As Shiddiqui and Hazairin, as well as Nurkholish Madjid were convinced of a particular type of Islam in Nusantara, which formed an unbreakable unity with the Indonesian identity.

All in all, I think that if we want to get a better insight in the ambiguous appreciation of Arabic in Indonesia an *Arabic Literature of Indonesia* is a serious desideratum. Such a work can serve as an instrument, both to fill the above mentioned gap in our academic knowledge on the Arabic writing tradition in Indonesia, as well as to facilitate a balanced judgement of the role of Arabic literature in Islam Nusantara. Once the

role of Arabic by means of the proposed instrument is available, the next step should be to combine and integrate the Arabic strand of Indonesian Islamic learning with products of Indonesian Islamic scholarship in other languages. Eventually, this huge intellectual effort will lead to a better understanding of what Islam Nusantara is.

Of course, it is rather audacious to propose such a huge project here in this learned audience and I would be interested to learn your reactions. As an example we could think of the prestigious work *Arabic Literature of Africa* (ALA), which can be regarded as a supplement to the abovementioned work by Carl Brockelmann. The first volume of ALA was published in 1993 and recently volume 6 has appeared with Brill Publishers. The work has been compiled by a large team of corroborators and is a bio-bibliography on the Arabic literature of Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa from its beginnings to well into the 20th century. The work offers information about African authors, the texts they wrote in Arabic, and bibliographical references to these texts.

Obviously, when we want to produce a work comparable with ALA, this requires a lot of thinking, e.g. what period of time should be covered? How should the contents be structured in terms of geography? How should this be done thematically? Do we include scholars, like Nawawi al-Bantani, Ahmad Khatib and 'Abd al-Hamid Kudus, who were scholars from Nusantara and wrote in Arabic, but produced their works in Mecca? Should we restrict ourselves to manuscripts, or should we also include printed work? These and other questions should be seriously addressed before a start with an *Arabic Literature of Indonesia* (ALI) can be made.

It goes without saying that the production of ALI could never be the work of one single scholar. For this enormous task, which might take decades, a specialized office with highly trained staff and long-term funds will be needed. To conclude this paper, I would like to say that for this enormous task I cannot think of a better institution than our host of the present conference.

EndNotes

- 1 Paper presented at the 2nd International Symposium on Religious Literature and Heritage (ISLAGE), Bogor, 18-21 July 2017.
- 2 The word naqus actually means church bell, but in these discussions it is the equivalent of the Malay word toktok, tong-tong or bedug.

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RELIGIOUS RHETORIC AND REFORM: A CASE STUDY OF INDIA

Gautam Kumar Jha

Jawaharlal Nehru University, India
gautamkja@gmail.com

Abstract

Nationalist movements in India during the mid 19th century took momentum and gained popularity when various intellectual freedom fighters started reinterpreting the religious texts motivating the educated people. The reinterpretation was oriented towards inducing the mass with the feeling of self-consciousness and nationalism. Most of these freedom fighters i.e. Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Swami Vivekanada, Aurobindo Ghose, Mahatma Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, who wrote extensively on 'Bhagavad Gita' and their basic interpretation converged on ethical and moral basis for nationalism. Nationalist leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak who wrote Gita Rahasya in which he has justified the use of violence for the cause of nation unlike Mahatma Gandhi and Vinobha Bhave who oriented interpretation of Gita towards non-violence. However, both the interpretations worked in mobilising the people against the imperialism by invoking conscience of the mass towards nationalism through religious texts. The article will deal with the stepwise process of highlighting religious texts and their reinterpretation by the leaders towards nationalism.

Keywords: *Religious Texts, Art of Reinterpreting Pro and Anti-Violence, Religious Nationalism.*

Abstrak

Gerakan nasionalis di India mengambil momentum dan menjadi populer ketika berbagai pejuang kebebasan intelektual mulai menafsirkan teks-teks agama yang memotivasi orang-orang terpelajar. Reinterpretasi itu berorientasi pada mendorong massa dengan perasaan nasionalisme. Sebagian besar pejuang kemerdekaan ini; Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, Mahatma Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, yang menulis secara ekstensif tentang 'Bhagavad Gita' dan interpretasi dasar mereka berkonvergensi pada dasar etika dan moral untuk nasionalisme. Pemimpin nasionalis seperti Bal Gangadhar Tilak yang menulis 'Gita Rahasya' di mana dia telah membenarkan penggunaan kekerasan untuk kepentingan negara tidak seperti Mahatma Gandhi dan Vinobha Bhave yang berorientasi interpretasi Gita terhadap non-kekerasan. Namun, kedua interpretasi tersebut berhasil memobilisasi orang-orang melawan imperialisme dengan menerapkan hati nurani massa menuju nasionalisme melalui teks-teks keagamaan. Artikel tersebut akan membahas proses bertahap untuk menyoroti teks keagamaan dan re-interpretasinya oleh para pemimpin terhadap nasionalisme.

Kata Kunci: *Teks Agama, Seni Reinterpretasi Pro dan Anti Kekerasan, Nasionalisme Agama.*

Introduction

Nationalist movements in India during the mid 19th century took momentum and gained popularity when various intellectual freedom fighters started reinterpreting or citing the Hindu religious texts aiming reforms in the existing social system to build a consensus and rapport among the mass to mobilize the people against the domination of the British imperialism and the Christian missionary activities in India. India during post Mughal and pre-independence era witnessed introverted system of society which where Brahmanical and primordial orders wrapped the social system hindering the development of nationalism and inclusivity. The social systems converged into complete acquisitive Brahmanical orders leaving the pristine form of liberal Vedic orders. The ignorant people were subjected to harsh discriminations in the name of castes and sub-castes, and the worst was the situation of women across all the higher castes and affluent societies.

Mughal period, where Mughals kidnapped Hindu women post annihilation of male members, left the community to start strict purdah (veil) system.¹ After the male members were killed widows feared to

be kidnapped they got themselves immolated in the pyre of their dead husbands. Getting themselves immolated with dead husband has been referred as (sati). Generally, scholars cite this tradition as prevalent tradition in primordial society of India. However, referring Mahabharata, Nakula and Sahadeva was the sons of Madri. After the death of her husband Pandu she committed sati. However, Kunti never got sati after her husbands passed away.

Indian economy during the precolonial period of India was quite robust having estimated GDP of 25.1 % of the world economy during the 16th Century.² There was no slavery system in India as such witnessed in the Western countries. India had bonded labour system but not having complete subjugation as there is no evidence of such practices. In the middle of 19th the century there were markets of slaves in America where slaves were sold and bought in open market.

The British occupation of India started from Bengal with the battle of Plassey in 1757, which slowly spread towards the rest of India. (Stanhope, Philip H, 1853). The occupation gave first hand to Bengalis to know English language and culture. This gave them advantage to know how the British had understanding about Indian culture and society. Therefore, some of the Indian reformers who used religious back ground of Indians during the later period came from one of the eastern provinces of India; Bengal.

During this time, India was about to transform itself from medieval to modern age, the leaders started introspecting themselves and finding the causes of the hindrances among the Hindu societies. The British in the beginning were hesitant to start their missionary activities as they feared it may incite the Hindu sentiments so they had adopted non-interference policy with India. However, during the late 18th and early 19th century, amid many oppositions the British parliament allowed the missionary activities with certain codes and conducts. For example; Hindus were not allowed to use marks or any kind of symbols on their forehead, and the Muslims were subjected to remove their beard and trim their moustaches. Indians answered this movements in the form of Vellore Mutiny which began on

July 10, 1806. This mutiny was being instigated by sons of Tipu Sultan who were forced to live at Vellore after being defeated and demoralized by the British forces.³ However slowly the missionaries become active and stronger with the aid from the British government.

Some of the intellectuals group of India, on hand, appreciated how British women enjoyed freedom on the social level, and on the other hand they were not able to criticize the Christian missionaries' approach towards conversion spree due to certain welfare activities brought by the same. At the same time, there were many leaders who came forward with *desi* rhetoric. They tried to invoke the sentiments of Hindus and most of them converged on that the prevailed social problems emerged due to not following the original Vedic texts.

For this purpose, few nationalist leaders who reinterpreted the religious texts, values and ethics, have been considered for the study in order to justify the reforms that provided the strong base for the unity of the country during the later phase of the freedom struggle. These leaders are:

1. Raja Ram Mohon Roy
2. Swami Vivekanand
3. Dayanand Saraswati
4. Ishwarchand Vidyasagar
5. Balgangadhar Tilak
6. Mahatma Gandhi

The reinterpretation of religious texts was oriented towards inducing the mass with the feeling of self-consciousness and nationalism. Most of these freedom fighters i.e. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Ishwarchand Vidyasagar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, Mahatma Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave wrote extensively and cited or reinterpreted 'Bhagavad Gita' to disseminate the magnificence of Indian heritage. Most of their reinterpretations converged on ethical and moral basis for nationalism. Nationalist leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a social reformer and independence activist who wrote Gita Rahasya in which he has justified the use of selfless vehemence for the cause

of nation unlike Mahatma Gandhi and Vonobha Bhave who oriented interpretation of Bhagwat Gita towards non-violence.⁴ However, both kind of reinterpretations worked in mobilising the people against the imperialism by invoking conscience and imbibing convictions among mass towards nationalism.

Some of popular leaders during colonial period used Indian religious texts to instil convictions in their minds about the glory of ancient Bharat as one nation and its scholarship, philosophy and understanding about the other religions and culture, civilizations of the world and thus sometimes demeaning the western culture as well. The purpose was to overthrow the British imperialism. (BG Bhosale, 2009).

1. Raja Rammohan Roy (1772 to 1833)

Roy was born in Bengal province of India in 1772 in a traditional Brahmin family. Bengal was the centre of British rule and Kolkata was the capital of India. His father was chief of various districts and his grandfather Krishna Chandra Banerji had been honoured as Raya Rayan for his service to the Nawab of Bengal. Roy started high secondary education in Persian with the objective of working with courts. He was well acquainted with Persian and Arabian poetry and logic. He was inspired by Quran's monotheism. He also studied Sanskrit at Benaras and mastered Vedanta, the Upanishads, Smritis, Tantra's, and Puranas. He later went to Tibet and studied Buddhist philosophy.⁵ He joined British East India company, where he came in contacts with several missionary activities and got supposedly inspired from missionary activities but at the same time questioned its dogmatic views.

His defended human-being's inherent neutrality and natural sentiments for religion and the rest he termed it as invented dogmas by religious leaders for their own convenience.

Roy tried to invoke the existing Hindu traditions which he saw an impediment in the development of the society. He propagated the preaching of 'God is One' by founding Brahma Samaj. He

became very influential among the mass and called for abolition of primordial practices which he termed them as impediment for their development. He fought against the practice of Sati, a Hindu funeral practice in which a widow supposed to be sacrificed with her husband in some parts of Bengal and Rajasthan. He also crusaded against the polygamy and child marriages.⁶ His biggest attack was on idol worshipping among Hindus. He termed idol worshipping as one of the most primordial and corrupt practices reinterpreting the Upanishads⁷. His objective of reinterpretation was mainly focused on two things: one was to counter Christian missionaries which had the sole objective of proselytization of poor Hindus and Muslims, and the other was to organize Indians to counter British imperialism. (Christophe Jaffrelot, 1993: 517-524)⁸. He directly attacked the primordial system of Hindu society comparing the other traditions of the world. He was very critical about the authoritative Brahmins and the priests who deliberately preyed upon the ignorant mass by interpreting the religious texts vaguely and concealing knowledge from the rest of the people. He spoke regarding missionary activity:

“I feel persuaded that by separating from the other matters contained in the New Testament, the moral precepts found in that book, these will be more likely to produce the desirable effect of the improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding. For, historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of free thinkers and anti-Christians, especially, miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently would be apt, at best, carry little weight of them. (Sharma Arvin, 2002: 12).

If by the ‘ray of intelligence’ for which the Christian says we are indebted to the English, he means the introduction of useful mechanical arts, I am ready to express assent and, also my gratitude; but with respect to science, literature, or religion I do not acknowledge that we are placed under any obligation. For by a reference to History it may be proved that the world was indebted to our ancestor for the first dawn of knowledge, which sprang up in the East, and thanks to the Goddess of wisdom, we have still a philosophical and copious language of our own which distinguishes us from others nation who cannot express scientific or abstract ideas without borrowing the language of foreigners....

Before, 'A Christian' indulged in a tirade about persons being 'degraded by Asiatic effeminacy' he should have recollected that almost all the ancients prophets and patriarchs venerated by Christians, may even Jesus Christ himself, a Devine Incarnation and the founder of the Christian faith, were Asiatic. So that if a Christian thinks it degrading to be born or to reside in Asia he directly reflects upon them.....

Its unjust in the Christians with quarrel with Hindoos because (he says) they cannot comprehend the sublime mystery of the religion. The Doctrine of the 'Trinity'; since he is equally unable to comprehend the sublime mysteries of ours, and since both mysteries equally transcend the human understanding, one cannot be preferred to the others". (Theodore de Bary, ed., 1958: 28)⁹.

On the Status of Women

"Women are in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy; consequently, the male part of the community, taking advantage of their corporeal weakness, have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. But if we give the subject consideration, we may easily ascertain whether your accusation against them is in consistent with justice. As to their inferiority in a point of understanding, when did you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding? If after instruction in knowledge and wisdom of a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirement, you cannot therefore in justice pronounce on their inferiority".

He further explicates the status of the women by giving narratives of great women referred in the Upanishads known for their scholarship. He attacks the male chauvinism about their question of faithfulness or trustworthiness of women and says at any point of time, the number of male deceived by women is ten times lesser than the number of women deceived by men. He also attacked on polygamy in Hindu community.

And this is possible because of the degree of social freedom a male community enjoys. He elaborated about the inheritance of the property post the death of the husband. The property left by the husband should equally be distributed among the mother and

the sons equally by excerpting the dialogue on the issue from the Upanishads. (Theodore de Bary, ed., 1958: 6).

On the nationalism and British domination, however, his vision was different;

“Conquest is very rarely an evil when the conquering people are more civilized than the conquered, because the former bring to (the) latter the benefits of civilization. India requires many more years of English domination so that she may not have many things to lose while she is reclaiming her political independence. (Nirad C. Chaudhury, 1968: 415).

On view of independence of India from the British, he was sure that India is going to be an independent country and his narrative on social reforms were reaching to the mass he never eschewed himself with the English language based education system provided by the British colonial government. He saw India was getting united and this was an apt time for him to generate a moderate view about the Hinduism among the mass by disapproving the Brahmin’s hegemony on the weaker section of the society.

The Puranas and Tantras describe gods and goddesses, he said, but admit they are an aid for the less educated, of a greater harder to grasp divine unity. Idols have divided the people into Hindu sects, belief in the nationalism of Hindu that embraced one uniting God. It was time to ditch them and return to the Veda’s monotheism.¹⁰

Roy made a complete new thought for modern nationalism where he prescribed to adopt the middle path, he never promulgated isolation or rejection of traditionalist and radicals, rather he chose to attack the exaggerative impositions. Thus, his Brahma Samaj played very important role in reforming Hindu society. He was the first person who attacked Hinduism for its exaggerative rituals meant for exploiting the weaker section of the society including women. He chose to moderate path by attacking Christian philosophy which was not opposed by the majority of the British and was rather welcomed. His continuous attacks on idol worshipping was not taken by few Hindu leaders in great spirit but it helped them to unite against British imperialism and proselytizing activities.

2. Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902)¹¹

During the late nineteenth century, followed by Indian Mutiny in 1857, the East India company was abolished and the British crown took over it and then followed the many reforms to contain the rebellions. The reforms were tolerance of religions and inclusions of Indians into their civil service exam. The tolerance of religions came into force as Christian missionaries were turned very active had left no occasions in making propaganda against Hinduism. The mutiny of 1857 also became a factor in uniting the Indians against British. The root cause of this mutiny was the Indian Sepoy who were given cartridge wrapped in paper, which had been coated in a grease so that it could be loaded easily in the rifle barrels. The rumors were that this grease was derived from pig and cow's fat. This angered both Muslim and Hindu soldiers and this led to uprising in 1857. This mutiny resulted in killings of over 10 million of soldiers during next decade.¹² Following this the East India Company was abolished and the British crown assumed full rule of India.

Certain reforms were made in which "tolerance of religion and the recruitment of Indians into the civil service" got prominent place. This gave opportunity for Indians to travel to Britain and other countries and like Raja Rammohan Roy other scholars were given chance to visit. One of such scholars and spiritual gurus was Swami Vivekananda.

No one in the Indian history so far achieved the eminence in the Indian history to become a torch bearer to imbibe conviction among Indians towards their tradition, culture and civilization. Vivekananda was the first spiritual monk who was given chance to speak at the World Parliament of Religions on 11 September, 1893 in Chicago. (Sailendra Nath Dhar, 1975: 91).

Opening Address - Chicago, September 11, 1893 Sisters and Brothers of America

It fills my heart with joy unspeakable to rise in response to the warm and cordial welcome which you have given us. I thank you in

the name of the most ancient order of monks in the world; I thank you in the name of the mother of religions, and I thank you in the name of millions and millions of Hindu people of all classes and sects.

My thanks, also, to some of the speakers on this platform who, referring to the delegates from the Orient, have told you that these men from far-off nations may well claim the honour of bearing to different lands the idea of toleration. I am proud to belong to a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance.

We believe not only in universal toleration, but we accept all religions as true. I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth. I am proud to tell you that we have gathered in our bosom the purest remnant of the Israelites, who came to Southern India and took refuge with us in the very year in which their holy temple was shattered to pieces by Roman tyranny. I am proud to belong to the religion which has sheltered and is still fostering the remnant of the grand Zoroastrian nation. I will quote to you, brethren, a few lines from a hymn which I remember to have repeated from my earliest boyhood, which is every day repeated by millions of human beings:

“As the different streams having their sources in different paths which men take through different tendencies, various though they appear, crooked or straight, all lead to Thee.”

The present convention, which is one of the most august assemblies ever held, is in itself a vindication, a declaration to the world of the wonderful doctrine preached in the Gita:

“Whosoever comes to Me, through whatsoever form, I reach him; all men are struggling through paths which in the end lead to me.” Sectarianism, bigotry, and its horrible descendant, fanaticism, have long possessed this beautiful earth.

They have filled the earth with violence, drenched it often and often with human blood, destroyed civilization and sent whole

nations to despair. Had it not been for these horrible demons, human society would be far more advanced than it is now. But their time is come; and I fervently hope that the bell that tolled this morning in honor of this convention may be the death-knell of all fanaticism, of all persecutions with the sword or with the pen, and of all uncharitable feelings between persons wending their way to the same goal.

Concluding Address -- Chicago, September 27, 1893

The World's Parliament of Religions has become an accomplished fact, and the merciful Father has helped those who labored to bring it into existence, and crowned with success their most unselfish labor. My thanks to those noble souls whose large hearts and love of truth first dreamed this wonderful dream and then realized it. My thanks to the shower of liberal sentiments that has overflowed this platform. My thanks to this enlightened audience for their uniform kindness to me and for their appreciation of every thought that tends to smooth the friction of religions. A few jarring notes were heard from time to time in this harmony. My special thanks to them, for they have, by their striking contrast, made general harmony the sweeter.

Much has been said of the common ground of religious unity. I am not going just now to venture my own theory. But if any one here hopes that this unity will come by the triumph of any one of the religions and the destruction of the others, to him I say, "Brother, yours is an impossible hope." Do I wish that the Christian would become Hindu? God forbid. Do I wish that the Hindu or Buddhist would become Christian? God forbid.

The seed is put in the ground, and earth and air and water are placed around it. Does the seed become the earth, or the air, or the water? No. It becomes a plant. It develops after the law of its own growth, assimilates the air, the earth, and the water, converts them into plant substance, and grows into a plant.

Similar is the case with religion. The Christian is not to become a Hindu or a Buddhist, nor a Hindu or a Buddhist to become a Christian. But each must assimilate the spirit of the others and yet preserve his individuality and grow according to his own law of growth.

If the Parliament of Religions has shown anything to the world, it is this: It has proved to the world that holiness, purity and charity are not the exclusive possessions of any church in the world, and that every system has produced men and women of the most exalted character.

In the face of this evidence, if anybody dreams of the exclusive survival of his own religion and the destruction of the others, I pity him from the bottom of my heart, and point out to him that upon the banner of every religion will soon be written in spite of resistance: "Help and not fight," "Assimilation and not Destruction," "Harmony and Peace and not Dissension."¹³

His entire speech was focused on the religious harmony in the world bringing him the title of the "Cyclonic monk of India" He made relevance emphasizing the ultimate goal of all the religions are same and pluralism is a catalyst to this. This pluralism manifest into accepting all the religions of the world as true having different paths to reach to the one destination. Each path has its own way to personify the human-being into the supreme being. The mere existence of one path should be understood as a singular means as followers may assume define the world as a frog of a well who has never seen the world beyond.¹⁴ He cited Vedas for the Hindu way of life; which may be termed as a religion, which can be taken as source of revelation is nothing but a source of accumulated treasury of spiritual laws discovered by different persons at different times. He talked about science as a continuous flow to reach its ultimate goal of unity and once its reached it would cease to yield further. The existence of Faith in God is directly proportional to the cause of

worry or sorrow. Thus, he legitimized the relationship of God and human-being as natural based on cause and effect model.

Emphasizing the plurality, he was opposed to the conversions of people to different faiths. He was critical of increasing rift of different streams emerged out of Hinduism such as Jainism and Buddhism that made a base of nationalism in India. His take on nationalism is deeply rooted in Indian spiritualism and morality which is based upon its ethical knowledge treasured in its hundreds of spiritual texts compiled thorough the course of time.¹⁵ Vivekananda imbibed the millions of youths of India struggling with choosing the right path, or hopelessness with a sense of energy and asked them to fight until you find your objectives. This became a source of conviction of Indian youths left in misery by the exploitative British imperialism.

3. Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883)

Swami Dayanand Saraswati, a renowned scholar of Veda and Sanskrit and later founded Araya Samaj, aimed at reforming Hindu society. He gave a call for Swaraj as “Indian for India” in 1876, he was called as the “makers of Modern India” by India’s President S. Radhakrishnan. Arya Samaj opposed to the English education and was opposed to Brahmo Samaj of RRR. They were completely opposed to the Christians missionaries’ intentions to convert Hindus and Muslims.

Dayanand was a very genius from his childhood and always questioned the cause of causative phenomenon who questioned the power of God while he was asked to guard statue of lord Shiva during one of the auspicious days to worship Shiva and when he saw a rat was eating the offering and the God was not able to control it. Thus, later he fought against the orthodoxy which also brought wrath from the fundamentalists towards him. (KC Yadav, tr., 1976: 11). His teaching source was Vedas and Bhagwat Gita advocating Karma and Reincarnation. He took keen interest in understanding the

religious extravaganza since he was mere 14. He started taking part in religious discourse and debates and soon he became very popular. One of the most important debates on “Do the Vedas uphold deity worship? that took place in 1869 in Varanasi, he participated and won against 27 scholars and 12 experts pundits attended by approx. 50,000 people.

Summary from the debate:

Excerpt taken from comments over the debate:

A person named dayanand Saraswati who roams along the river of Ganda and really a scholar of Shastras. He has studied entire Rigveda and says with conviction that idol worshipping, wearing necklace of rudraksha (Elaeocarpus ganitrus), basil, etc all these are not mentioned in the Vedas. These all things are myths. We should not go against the ways described in Vedas, if going against it will bring sins.¹⁶

During the debate, he was firmed in his teaching and knowledge about Vedas and would answer each and every question asked by the priests and scholars. Most of the questions asked to him converged upon the idol worshipping and ritualistic extravaganza. Like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, he was adamant on the unity of God.

He founded Arya Samaj which opposed to the several ill traditions which was hampering the progress of the society and bifurcated the Hindus among different sects. Idol worshipping, animal sacrificing practices (these two things are still prevalent among Hindus all over India), child marriages, castes systems, meat eating and discrimination against women etc. Arya Samaj also opposed to dogmas and symbolism which it termed as against the teachings of Vedas. (JTF Jordens, 1978: 3-4).

4. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891)

He was called as Bengali Polymath as described by his title “Vidyasagar” means ocean of the knowledge. He had significant knowledge in almost all the modern subjects which paved the way for him to be one of the most significant farsighted social reformer.

Born in a very poor family, he showed to the society that if a person wants to go ahead in his life nothing can stop. He started studying in the street lamp when there was no oil in his hurricane lantern. He mastered Vedanta, Grammar, literature, Smriti and Ethics in Sanskrit college, thus he became renowned Sanskrit scholar and became the principal of Sanskrit College in 1885.

Through his talk and lectures and writing he widened his reach towards the mass mobilizing them to realize the unethical traditions prevailed in the contemporary society. He showed great sympathy for the downtrodden. He was the first scholar and reformer who started thinking of girls' education and opened many schools exclusively for the women. He started making efforts for the remarriages of widows by taking the first step to get his own son married with a widow. Thus, dedicating his entire life in social reform, he further made a base for the nationalism in India. His struggle for the widow marriage was manifested into Widow Remarriage Act in 1856 and since then remarriages of widow started. He was also critical about the tradition of child marriage and polygamy prevalent among Hindus and called for immediate abolition of such acts.

5. Bal Gangadhar Tilak or Lokmanya Tilak (1856-1920)

Tilak was considered as the greatest enemy of the British empire as the British called him "Father of the Indian unrest." He was conferred the title of "Lokmanya" means 'accepted by the people as their leader. (D.V Tahmankar, 1956). Unlike other reformer he was more focused on Bhagwat Gita and used to cite its couplets as frequent possible in his talks. He propagated the power of Swaraj (self-rule) and deep seated consciousness among Indians. His famous quote in Marathi language which means "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it!) became very famous. He reinterpreted Bhagwat Gita as 'Gita Rahasya' for the common man to justify act against the British imperialist. He forged very close alliances with both contemporary Hindu and Muslim leaders.

Conclusion

India, a rich, old and glorious civilization, came under several attacks mostly by the Mughals starting from early 16th to the early 18th century and then followed by the British from 1858 and 1947. This long period of invasion changed and weakened the identity of *Bhartiyata* or Indianism of the Indians changing the scholarship and mindset of the mass. Colonialism overpowered the moral and ethical conscience of the Indians built through thousands of years and they were no longer able to establish their own identity. However, through the course of time, during the British Raj, people started learning English and read the interpretations of Indian texts by the British and western scholars, which let the rise of Indian leaders who used the rhetoric pertaining to the religious texts like Bhagwat Gita, Ramayana and Mahabharata which could bring convictions among the mass back resulting their unification against the colonialism.

Unlike India, Indonesia being an archipelagic country has different landscapes and strategic location along major sea lanes from Indian ocean to pacific ocean. Its numerous diversified cultures have been somehow remained partially influenced from other parts of the world due to inconvenience in mobility of the people. However, Indonesia is a country where the maximum number of Chinese migrated across the globe for various reasons. Java was considered as a central place in Southeast Asia for lucrative trade, agriculture, aristocracy, cultural vibrancy and arts. Besides, the native Indonesians were polite, tolerant, suave and not contesting anyone arriving across the sea which reflects from the fact that not a single incidence before the arrival of the Dutch has been referred in the history where native Indonesian showed any tangible aggression towards Chinese emigration.

Monarchy was the commonality of the government system of different regions and islands. Most of the Indonesian monarchy system was based upon pattern of ancient Indian monarchy where a king was considered as the most supreme being and established himself at par with the God. Therefore, like British who made divide and rule policy,

Dutch also used the same tactics to rule over the archipelago and used the ethnic Chinese populations against the native Indonesians in establishing their rule. Later period Indonesian leaders like Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta, called for the unification of all the ethnic groups and fight against the Dutch colonialism. (Clark, 2014: 163-165).

EndNotes

1. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Experts-lift-veil-off-purdah-origin/articleshow/2132555.cms>
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6. <http://www.nayichetana.com/2015/12/raja-rammohan-roy-biography-in-hindi.html>
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THE LEGACY OF 'TASAWUF AKHLAQI' SYAIKH SHOLEH DARAT AND SYAIKH IHSAN JAMPES

Zainul Milal Bizawie

STIBI-Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Budaya Islam, Pati, Jawa Tengah
milalbz@yahoo.com

Abstract

One of the Nusantara's legacies is tasawuf akhlaqi (morals sufism). Since walisongo's era, this Sufism pervades and colors the spread of Islam in Nusantara. Many various works of scholars and heritage of Nusantara contain the teaching of tasawuf akhlaqi or morals sufism. The works of Syaikh Sholeh Darat and Syaikh Ihsan Jampes explain how this Sufism creates dialogue with the local people so that the teaching is easily digested and exercised. Tracing of this tasawuf akhlaqi, will open up the entrance to the map of genealogy of thought, the historical foundation and epistemologi formula in recognizing the identity of a religious nation, especially related to morals. This works becomes more important in playing its role during this nation's identity crisis where it increasingly away from the value that have been embedded in Nusantara. In this paper, it is asserted that Islamic tradition in Indonesia has become one of the founders and sustainers of the nation's current identity. These traditions contributes to the legacy of various socio-cultural heritages that need to be traced and found especially to the transmission of Islam into Nusantara. The socio-cultural heritage has become one of the foundations of massively constructed Indonesian identity, which later became the foundation of Indonesian Islam that is tolerant, moderate, peaceful and opened in attitude. The legacy of Nusantara Scholars, also affects the extent to which the relation and interaction of scholars form a network of knowledge and culture passed on to the next generation. There are two figures and works of manuscripts that are the focus of this paper: it belongs to Syaikh Sholeh Darat Semarang and Syaikh Ihsan Jampes. Both have brought understanding of Al Ghazali's moral sufism teaching (tasawuf akhlaqi) into the Indonesian rich culture, and strengthening the identity of the Indonesian nation with a foundation of etiquette and morality.

Keywords: *Legacy, Tasawuf Akhlaqi, Revitalization, Identity, Syaikh Sholeh Darat, Syaikh Ihsan Jampes.*

Abstrak

Salah satu warisan ulama Nusantara adalah tasawuf akhlaqi. Sejak walisongo tasawuf ini meresap dan mewarnai penyebaran Islam di Nusantara. Dari berbagai karya peninggalan para ulama Nusantara secara turun temurun bernafaskan tasawuf akhlaqi. Karya Syekh Sholeh Darat dan Syekh Ihsan Jampes dapat menjelaskan bagaimana tasawuf ini berdialog dengan masyarakat setempat agar dengan mudah dapat dijalankan. Dengan penelusuran tasawuf akhlaqi ini, akan menjadi pintu masuk untuk memetakan genealogi pemikiran, landasan historis dan formula esepitemologis dalam mengenal jatidiri bangsa yang religius, khususnya terkait dengan akhlak. Hal ini menjadi penting, karena selama ini jatidiri bangsa makin menjauh dari nilai-nilai yang telah tertanam di Nusantara. Dalam tulisan ini, ditegaskan bahwa tradisi Islam di Indonesia telah menjadi salah satu pembentuk dan penopang jatidiri bangsa saat ini. Tradisi tersebut meninggalkan berbagai warisan sosial budaya yang perlu dilacak dan ditemukan terutama alur transmisi masuknya Islam ke Nusantara. Warisan sosial budaya tersebut telah menjadi salah satu dasar dari identitas/jatidiri bangsa Indonesia yang terkonstruksi secara massif, yang kemudian menjadi fondasi Islam Indonesia saat ini, yaitu sikap toleran, moderat, damai dan terbuka. Warisan ulama Nusantara ini, juga mempengaruhi sejauh mana relasi dan interaksi ulama membentuk jaringan keilmuan, pengetahuan dan kebudayaan yang diwariskan kepada generasi setelahnya. Terdapat dua tokoh dan karya atau manuskrip yang dijadikan fokus dalam tulisan ini, yaitu syekh Sholeh Darat Semarang dan Syekh Ihsan Jampes, yang telah membawa pemahaman terhadap tasawuf akhlaqi al Ghazali dalam memperkuat jatidiri bangsa Indonesia dengan landasan tata krama dan kesantunan.

Kata Kunci: *Warisan, Tasawuf Akhlaqi, Revitalisasi, Jatidiri, Syekh Sholeh Darat, Syekh Ihsan Jampes.*

Introduction

Is it still relevant to revitalize the identity of the nation in this era of globalization, Entering the 21st century? The ongoing reform that are plagued with various ideologies such as democracy that jazz on the ideals of individualistic freedom and universal human rights, transnationalism, and racism and of others, have pushed Indonesian people to disintegration and moral decadence. This is due to the identity crisis and lack of appreciation to the values and inheritance of local wisdom and old schools teaching that have been preserved for centuries. Nusantara scholars as part of the ancestors of the nation of Indonesia has left a variety of inheritance that can be found and preserved for the revitalization of national identity.

In an effort to revitalize national identity, mannerism and morality have become important elements in building the character of every individuals of the nation. In the teachings of Islam, morality is the most important aspect because the Prophet Muhammad PBUH was sent as messenger of God to teaching and perfecting human morality. The task of completing this specific teaching and morality are continued by many muslim scholars, and one of them is Imam Al Ghazali, who is a Sunni figure in Islam living in the 11th century in Egypt. In Nusantara the teachings of Sunni ‘Ghazalian’ Sufism rather than philosophical sufism experienced a fairly massive development, it even has become the daily practice of moslem students (*santri*) and traditional moslem community. Therefore some of the books of Imam Al-Ghazali, for example *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al- dīn*, are quite familiar in the boarding school (*pesantren*) environment, including other books which in principle bear a resemblance to the Sunni Gazalian Sufism. Sufism is capable of harmonizing its teaching with shari’a by quoting the main sources of the Qur’an and the hadīṣ. The Sufis are known to have certain discipline and integrity, and are respected by many, for its thoughts and teaching practices.

The contribution of Sufism of al-Ghazali in Islamic treasures in *pesantren* is noted and highlighted in the study of Javanese Sufism (Simuh, 2002), indicating that Sufism of this model is more adaptable to the reality of nationality whose character of the population has an array diversity of local values. Therefore, when viewed in the perspective of the sociology of knowledge, the choice of al-Ghazali’s model of thought in sufism can not be separated from the above factors. *Pesantren (Islamic boarding school)* is not merely an educational institution, but a moderate paradigm in viewing the life of the world, as well as being an institution that has always been striving for consistency with the ideals of its ancestors, and its teaching. (Wasid, 2016: 9).

Maimoen Zubair in his book *al-’Ulāmā al-Mujaddidūn*, stated that the first scholars of Nusantara brought home and taught the book of *Ittiḥaf Sādat al-Muttaqīn Syarah Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-dīn* by Sayyid Murtaḍa al-Zabidi is Abdul Manan Dipomenggolo, the founder of Pesantren

Tremas, Pacitan. This book is one of the works that gives the best explanation about *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-ḍīn* by Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazali. Manan Dipomenggolo once studied with Grand Syaikh al Azhar of Egypt 19th, Ibrahim al-Bājuri. In various pesantrens in Java, one can find the book *Faṭ al-Mubīn, syarah* from the book of *Umm al-Barāhīn* which was written by Grand Syaikh Ibrahim al-Bājuri. He is the grandfather of Syaikh *Mahfūz* al-Tarmāsi who became one important links to the teaching of *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-ḍīn*. In the book, Maimoen Zubair explains that he studied the book of *syarah Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-ḍīn* from his father, Zubair Dahlan, who learned from Faqih Maskumambang Gresik, from Syaikh Mahfūz Tremas, from his father, *Kiyai* 'Abdullah from his father, Abdul Manan Dipomenggolo. (Maimoen, s.n: 9).

It is well-known that, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-ḍīn* is still taught in various *pesantren* around Indonesia. With an emphasis on *tazkiyah al-naḥs*, the teachings of Imam al- Ghazali, continue to be inherited to form the character of the santri/students with high emphasize on morals aspects in sufism and sharia. Morals aspect in sufism concentrate more on the theories of behavior and character. In other words, sufism concentrates on the efforts to avoid the disgraceful morality (*maẓmumah*), both inner and outwardly; arrogant, prejudice, miser, etc.

Then, how to relate the influence of Imam al-Ghazali in the context of strengthening the identity of the nation in Indonesia? This paper seeks to reveal the two scholars who have continued as well as transforming the teachings of tasawuf akhlaqī (morals sufism) Imam al Gazali in Nusantara, namely Syaikh Sholeh Darat and Syaikh Ihsan Jampes. How Imam al-Gazali thoughts captured through their respective works, namely *Minhāj al-Atqiyā 'Syarh Ma'rifah al-Adkiya' ila Tariq al-Awliyā* and *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* (Lanterns for Searchers). *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* was written in Arabic, and *Minhāj al-Atqiya'* was written in the local language to make it easier to understand and practiced by the locals.

Before discussing these two scholars, it is necessary to introduce the scholar who make tasawwuf akhlaqī -the simple sufism philosophy-become dominant and popular in Indonesia. His name is Syaikh Abd

al *Ṣamad* bin Abdullah al-Palimbani (1704-1789). Syaikh Abd al *Ṣamad*'s influence in establishing the Sufism of Ghazalian appears in the preparation of the *tazkiyah al-naḥs* curriculum through the works of Imam al-Ghazali, such as *Hidāyah al-Sālikīn* which is a free adaptation of *Bidāyah al- Hidāyah*. As for *Sair al-Sālikīn Ilā Ibādati Rabb al-'Alamīn*, written between 1779 and 1788 AD, this is a translation as well as a description in Malay on *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-ḏīn*.

As a master of the ideology of Sufism, al-Palimbani advised that these elaborate philosophical Sufism books are not to be read by beginners. He suggested that one should start with Alh Ghazali's books and that it should be treated as standard reference. In his works, Syaikh al-Palimbani not only spread the ideas of Ghazalian neo-sufism, but also encouraged the Muslims to wage *jihād fī sabilillāh* against the invaders, who tried to subdue the Islamic political entities in Indonesia. (Azra, 2004: 314).

The Legacy of Syaikh Sholeh Darat: Nine Ladders to Develop Complete Morals

Syaikh Sholeh Darat is a contemporary scholar of Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani and Syaikh Kholil Bangkalan. Some works that explore about Syaikh Sholeh Darat teaching, included Muchoyyar HS, *KH. Muhammad Saleh Darat al-Samarani, Tafsir Study Fayd al-Rahmān fī Tarjamah Tafsir Kalam Mālik al-Dayyan* (Yogyakarta: Dissertation of Postgraduate Program IAIN Sunan Kalijogo, 2000); Ghazali Ghazali, *Thought Kalam Muhammad Saleh Darat al-Samarani (1820-1903)* (Yogyakarta: Dissertation of the Pasuruan Program Bachelor of IAIN Sunan Kalijogo, 2007); Ghazali Ghazali, *Intellectual Javanese Islamic Heritage in Kalam Thought Muhammad Shalih Darat al-Samarani* (Semarang: Wali Songo Press, 2008); Muslich Sabir, *Report of Research Results, Study Book of Minhāj al-Atqīya “, An Effort to Uncover Thought of Sufism Sholeh Darat* (Semarang: IAIN Wali Songo, 2003); Abdullah Salim, *al-Majmu'ah al-Ṣari'ah al-Kafīyah li al-Awwam Karya KH. Sholeh Darat, A Study of Jurisprudence Books in Java End of the 19th Century M* (Jakarta: Dissertation of Post Graduate Program IAIN

Syarif Hidayatullah, 1995); Ali Mas'ud, *Dynamics of Javanese Sufism: The Study of Thought of Sufism Sholeh Darat Semarang in the Book of Minhāj al-Atqiya'* (Surabaya: IAIN Graduate Program Dissertation Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2011).

Syeikh Sholeh Darat was born with the birth name of Muhammad Saleh bin Umar As-Samarani, was born in Kedung Cumpleng, Jepara in the year 1235 H/ 1820 AD, and died in Semarang on Friday 29 Ramadhan 1321 H / December 18th 1903 M (Salim, 1995: 21). His father, *Kiyai* Haji Umar was one of the Prince Diponegoro's advisers during the Java War. Among the senior scholar with whom he had close contacts were Hasan Bashari, Syada' (Danuwiryo, 1977: 68) and Darda '(two soldiers of Prince Diponegoro), Murtaḍa (his father-in-law and his father's comrades against the Dutch), *Kiyai* Jamsari (Pangeran Diponegoro Solo area and founder of Pondok Pesantren Jamsaren, Surakarta).

Darat studied to Syahid (known as *Murtaḍo*), a great cleric of Syaikh Mutamakkin in Kajen, Pati, Central Java who is also a teacher of *Kiyai* Syaib Sarang Rembang. After that he studied to some scholars, among them Muhammad Saleh son of Asnawi of Kudus (father of Hambali, descendant of Syaikh Mutamakkin), Haji Ishaq Damaran, Haji Abu Abdillah Muhammad Hadi Banguni (*Mufti* of Semarang), Ahmad Bafaqih Ba'alawi, and Abdul Gani Bima (Jajat 2012: 194), Ahmad (Muhammad) Alim Basayban of Bulus Gebang Purworejo, and Asy'ari Kaliwungu Kendal.

He then went to Mecca and studied to Syaikh Muhammad al-Muqri al Miṣri al Makki, Syaikh Muhammad bin Sulaiman Hasbullah al-Makki, Sayyid Ahmad bin Zaini Dahlan, Syaikh Ahmad Nahrawi al-Miṣri al-Makki, Sayyid Muhammad Saleh bin Sayyid Abdur Rahman az-Zawawi, Syaikh Zahid, Syaikh Umarāṣ-Ṣami, Syaikh Yusuf al-Miṣri and Syaikh Jamal (*Mufti Madzhab Hana*).

Some historians do not exactly put Syaikh Mahfuz Tremas as the teacher of Syaikh Sholeh Darat. Syaikh Mahfuz Tremas (born 1868) was still a teenager when Syaikh Sholeh Darat was in Mecca until 1880. Syaikh Sholeh Darat was in contact with many Indonesian scholars who

studied there, including Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani, Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau, *Kiyai Tolhah* Cirebon, *Kiyai* Abdul Jamil Cirebon, *Kiyai* Khalil Bangkalan Madura and *Kiyai* Hadi Girikusumo. This is the last *Kiyai* who abducted him to return from Mecca (Bizawie, 2016: 445).

In the 1880s, Syaikh Sholeh Darat established a boarding school in Darat Semarang as the basis of Islamic translation into the context of Javanese culture. He has also printed early Javanese early twentieth-century scholars. Some of his students became prominent scholars and took part in building networks and institutions of scholars. Those who studied at *Kiyai* Khalil Bangkalan pesantren also became his students. Among them who became famous scholars is Syaikh Mahfuz Tremas, Hasyim Asy'ari (Founder of *Nahdatul 'Ulamā*), Ahmad Dahlan (Founder of *Muhammadiyah*), Bisri Syamsuri (Founder of Pesantren Mamba'ul Ma'arif Denanyar Jombang), Idris (Pondok Pesantren Jamsaren, Solo), Dahlan Tremas (son-in-law), Sha'ban son of Hasan (Falak Expert Clerk in Semarang), KH Abdul Hamid Kendal, Dimiyati of Tremas, Basir of Rembang, Nahrawi Dalhar (Founder of Pondok Pesantren Watucongol Muntilan, Magelang), Munawwir of Krapyak, Amir of Pekalongan (son-in-law), Abdul Hamid Kendal, Tahir (successor of Mangkang Wetan boarding school in Semarang), Sahli kauman of Semarang, Khalil of Rembang, Yasin of Rembang, Ridwan Ibnu Mujahid, Sya'ban son of Hasan of Semarang, Semarang, Abdus Shamad of Surakarta, Yasir Areng of Rembang, as well as Raden Ajeng Kartini, which symbolizes the pride of Indonesian women (Salim 1994: 44-46).

The works of Syaikh Sholeh Darat include *Majmu'ah al-Syāri'ah al-Kaḥfiyah li al-Awwam, al-Ḥakim* (the science of Sufism refers to *Ḥikam*'s book by Syaikh Ibnu *Āta'illah* Aa-Sakandari), *Kitab Munjiyat* (knowledge of Sufism, referring to Al-Gazali's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-dīn*), *Kitab Baṭā'if At-Taḥārah*, *Kitab Fa'iḍir Rahmān* (Qur'anic interpretation into Javanese), *Manasik Al-Ḥajj*, *Kitab Al-Ṣalāh*, Translation of *Sābil Al-'Abād 'Alā Jauharah At-Tauhid*, *Mursyid Al-Wajiz*, *Minhāj Al-Atqiyā'*, *Kitab Hadīs Al-Mi'raj*, dan *Kitab Asrār al-Ṣalāh*.

In some of his works, Syaikh Sholeh Darat indeed shows his admiration for the *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-ḍīn* and *al-Ḥikām* books by Syaikh Ibn 'Athallah al-Sakandari. In fact, he especially explained *al-Ḥikām* this with common Java language that is easy to understand. Syaikh Sholeh in his introduction usually also gives a brief explanation of why his book was written using the local Javanese language (or what he calls *al-Jawi al-Mirikiyah*) aka Javanese *ngoko*, the everyday peasant language, not Javanese *krama inggil* a more elitist sophisticated one that usually applied by and for royals.

The choice of using the everyday Java language was with consideration so that his work can be easily understood and enjoyed by anyone. It also applied for the several books he wrote and essentially cultivated from the essence of *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-ḍīn* saripati, such as *Munjiyat: Metik Saking Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-ḍīn* as well as other works such as *Laṭā'if al-Taḥārah Wa Asrār al-Ṣalāh*. Meanwhile, the book *Majmu'ah al-Syari'ah al-Kaifiyah li al-'Awam* is a compilation of various discussions about Islam, both about *uṣuluddin* (religion), *fiqh* (law & rules), *zakat* (tax), *ḥajj* (pilgrimage), etc., Syaikh Sholeh many works refer to books like *'atabarah like Syarḥ al-Minhāj*, *al-Durār al-Baḥiyyah* by Sayyid Bakri Syata, and *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-ḍīn*.

Syaikh Sholeh Darat was a prominent Javanese cleric in the nineteenth century who had a strong interest in orthodox Sunni sufism. In addition to having a strong interest in Sunni sufism, he also intensively studied theology, *tafsir* (interpretation), *fiqh* (law), and *sirah al-Nabawiyyah* (history about the prophet). From various fields of Islamic studies, Syaikh Sholeh Darat can also be seen as an important intellectual from the poles of traditionalist Islam in Java. To achieve the level of *muqarabah* (closeness) and *mahabbah* (love) to God plenary, then a Sufi (*sālik*) must travel through the nine ladders (*al-maqāmat*), that is; regrets of past sins and no longer committing the same sin or immorality (*al-tawbah*), accepting what it is (*al-qana'ah*), abstinence from the glamor of the world (*al-zuhd*), studying (*ta'allum al-'ilma*), consistent with the practice of the Sunnah (Prophet's life practices) (*al-*

mulazamah bi al-sunnah), submission (*al-tawakkal*), sincerity, to get closer to God, and to keep time (*hifz al-awqat*). In addition, a Sufi is required to enter the syariah stage, at the tarekat and the essence levels simultaneously, because all three are like ships, oceans and diamonds, they are interconnected. Sharia (law, life guidance) as the ship, tarekat is the ocean, and the diamonds (treasures) based on the ocean is the essence.

According to Ali Mas'ud in his dissertation (2011), the style of Sufism of Syaikh Sholeh Darat is an orthodox Sunni Sufism proven by its consistency in presenting *al-maqāmat* (*place*) as a way of climbing towards God, the harmony of doctrinal aspects of sufism with al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah, guarding the implementation of shari'a (law) strictly. His critical views is of the doctrinal aspects of philosophical sufism, and the mystical deviation of 'Islam kejawen'. The orthodox Sunni sufism of Syaikh Sholeh Darat became a counter discourse against the Islamic Javanese texts laden with philosophical Sufism which developed in the midst of non-santri Islamic society in Java.

The orthodox Sunni sufism thoughts developed by Syaikh Sholeh Darat has a distinctive character. *First*, the construction of his thought was heavily influenced by the Sunni Sufi scholars of the Middle Ages. *Secondly*, the various thoughts of Sunni Sufi figures establishing dialogue with the local context of Javanese Muslims through the publication of his Javanese works. *Thirdly*, the process of dialogue between the text and the context puts forward the text as the owner of the truth authority of the elements of locality, so that the construction of the thought of Sufism of Syaikh Sholeh Darat tends to be critical and rejects the locality (Ali Mas'ud, 2011).

Syaikh Sholeh Darat paid serious attention to the growing Sufism behaviors among indigenous Muslim, especially in Java. He is well aware that Sufism behavior has so long attached and colored Muslim life in Java. In addition, Javanese Sufism Muslim behaviors can not be erased from their daily religious life. What is needed is how the implementation of the Javanese Muslim societal practices of Sufism remains within the framework of Islamic shari'a. This phenomenon prompted Syaikh Sholeh Darat to

translate much and give an overview of the works of widely known Sufi scholars remains consistent with the implementation of the Shari'a, such as the works of Imam al-Gazali, Ibn Aṭa'illah and Zainuddin al-Malibari.

For the Muslim community in Java to remain within the framework of shari'a, it is necessary to have a correct understanding of the meaning of Sufism itself. Sufism in the view of Syaikh Sholeh Darat is no different from the commonly accepted mainstream of understanding among Sunni sufism. That, the heart of all the behavior of Sufism is to get a blessing from Allah who rely on the plenary morals. (Sholeh Darat, s.n: 106).

To get the morals plenary, every Muslim can follow the Sufism behavior that has been implemented by the saint (*waliyallāh*) in their daily life. Sufi behaviors referred to are specific behaviors that in the tradition of Sunni sufism known as ladders (*al-maqāmat*). For Syaikh Sholeh Darat, there are at least nine ladders that must be passed by every Muslim and Sufi who intend to get God's willingness as did the Sufis. (Ali Mas'ud, 2011).

First, repentance that is not only important and should not be left for the Sufi perpetrators who want complete morals. Moreover, repentance is an obligation of *farḍu 'ain* inherent in every Muslim believe. *Farḍu 'ain* emerged as an obligation, consequence of the Muslim life without exception which is impossible to escape or avoid. A person's repentance includes *nāṣuḥā*, *total surrender* as long as it is based on three conditions: the remorse that underlies a person's repentance is solely directed to God alone, commits to abandon not just immorality, and repentance must also be included "*nejo tinggal duso selawase umure ingkang bakal teko, lan ora pisan-pisan nejo bakal ngelakoni maksiat*", that muslim or *sālik* who repented must have commitment will not do the same disobedience all his life.

Second, *Qana'ah*, has a variety of meanings, including in it, accepting happily no matter how little for what is given (*nrimo kelawan sekedik sangking peparang*), do not expect on something that does not exist and sufficiency for what is available (*ora ngarep-ngarep barang*

kang ora ono lan ngalap cukup barang kang maujud), to lose hope/greed when something is not achievable (*ngilangaken tamak ing dalem barangkang ora hasil*), or be in peace of mind when the item is lost from the grasp (*anteng atine nalikane kesepen ing barang kang wus kulino*).

Third, Simple life (*qana'ah*) will not be perfect if not accompanied by *zuhud total surrender in simplicity* behavior. The presence of *zuhud* can strengthen the function of *qana'ah* which leads Muslims or *sālik* not fall into the shackles of luxury and possessions, so as to forget God as his Lord. *Zuhud* can be interpreted as the behavior of a Muslim or a *sālik* who escape from the confusion of property (*sepine kumanthil kanthile ati kelawan arto*), although at the same time muslim or *sālik* is absence from greed.

Fourth, studying (*ta'allum al-ilmu*). Studying is an obligation for every Muslim man and woman without exception. The reason, all deeds of worship will not be valid, without any knowledge (*ora sah amal yen ora kelawan ilmu*). *Fifth*, Consistency of Sunnah worship. In addition, a Sufi practitioner (*sālik*) in carrying out the practices of the sunna is also required to keep the ethics as determined by Muhammad through his behaviors. Must be understood, all the deeds of the sunnan merely become one way to God (*al-tāriq ila Allāh*). There is no way that actually deliver *salik* to his God, except the Sunnah of Muhammad.

Sixth, surrender or *tawakkal*. Syekh Sholeh Darat states that *tawakkal* refers to submitting to Allah (*pasrah maring Allah*) in all cases inherent in a *sālik*. Furthermore, it is *farḍu 'ain*, a must, an obligation for every Muslim or Sufi practitioner. *Tawakkal* is not merely a part of the Sufi's world, but it also has a close connection with Islamic theology (*aqidah*). *Seventh*, sincere meaning merely received God's willingness. All the deeds done by Sufi actors only as a manifest of love to Allah (*muhung nejo demen ing Allah*), and closer to Him (*nejo keparek ing Allah*), without any expectation to get reward of paradise (*ora nejo suwiji-wiji sangking suwarga*) or safe from hell (*melayu sangking neroko*). Nor does the charity of worship merely to abort the obligation or the manifestation of gratitude for the blessings given.

Eighth, the next ladder the Sufi practitioner must go through is *uzlah* which is simply interpreted as “aloof life”. *Uzlah*, does not mean Sufi practitioners have to flee to the top of the mountain to be alone. However, what is meant is not to mix with bad people who do damage (*lā taḥsiban kāna ahl batalah*) and people who always simplify in religion (*tasahul al-dīn*). *Ninth*, keeping time understood as a serious attempt of Sufi practitioners in filling their time to worship God alone. On the contrary, Sufi practitioners will avoid doing everything that is not beneficial to him, whether in relation to world affairs or the hereafter.

His thought of Syaikh Sholeh Darat that is so deep about sufism not only presents a tolerant attitude or thought to local customs or religious traditions. On the contrary, Syaikh Sholeh Darat is known to be very persistent against local traditions that have been developed in Java, such as the salvation for the deceased with its variants. Interestingly, his rejection of the local tradition is not based on heretical arguments as did by the Salafis-Wahhabism, but the predecessors of ulama, such as al-Ghazali, al-Malibari, al-Junayd, al-Asy'ari, which he claimed the sholihin (strong believers) never do or run the same ritual. In conclusion, Ali Mas'ud gives a different theoretical proposition concerning the idea of Sufism of Syaikh Sholeh Darat, ie orthodox Sunni sufism thoughts to have a distinctive character or characteristic, namely Sunni fundamentalism sufism. While ontologically, the Sufism of Syaikh Sholeh Darat is rooted in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of Muhammad, Syaikh Sholeh Darat also managed to dialogue the thoughts of Sunni Sufi figures with the local context of Javanese Muslims in the 19th century, through the publication of his works using the Javanese language. Besides maintaining the doctrinal aspects of Sufism which are understood to be very relevant to the life of Javanese society at the time, textual dialogue and context also resulted in local religious elements becoming part of its heritage to establish the identity of the nation.

Syaikh Ihsan Jampes: Path to Develop Harmony and Moderate

One of the pesantren who admired Al-Ghazali's thoughts was Syaikh Ihsan ibn Dahlan Jampes Kediri (1901 - 25 Zulhijjah 1371 H

/ September 1952). His father, Dahlan son of Saleh Bogor whose ancestors still have a connection nasab with Sunan Gunung Jati (Syarif Hidayatullah) Cirebon, is the founder of Pondok Pesantren Jampes in 1886 M. His mother, Artimah is the daughter of Sholeh Banjarmelati Kediri. Grandma from her father, Isti'anah daughter of Mesir son of Yahuda (a Manditagiri, *Kiyai* of Lorog Pacitan), which was joined to Panembahan Senopati, the founder of the Mataram Kingdom in the 16th century. As for the mother's path, Isti'anah is the great grandson of Syaikh Hasan Besari Tegalsari Ponorogo who still descendants of Sunan Ampel Surabaya. In addition to study in Pesantren Bangkalan, Syaikh Jampes also study in Pesantren Bendo Pare Kediri up bringing Khozin (uncle), Pondok Pesantren Jamseran Solo, Pondok Pesantren Dahlan Semarang, Pondok Pesantren Mangkang Semarang, Pondok Pesantren Punduh Magelang, and Pondok Pesantren Gondanglegi Nganjuk. However *Rihlah 'ilmiah* stated that he did not spend much time in these pesantren. (Bizawie, 2016: 103).

At the time of the physical revolution of 1945, Syaikh Ihsan also had an important role in the struggle of the nation. Pesantren Jampes has always been a place for transit of warriors and republican guerrillas who were about to attack the Dutch. At Pesantren Jampes, they ask for the blessing of Syaikh Ihsan before continuing the journey. In fact, several times Syaikh Ihsan also sent his students to join the fight in the front line. If the villages around the pesantren become a battleground, the displaced population will choose Pesantren Jampes as the safest location, and Syaikh Ihsan open the gates of his pesantren wide.

Some of Syaikh Ihsan's disciples who inherited and continued their struggle in preaching through pesantren are Soim, a caretaker of pesantren in Tanggiri Tuban, Zubaidi of Mantenan Blitar, Mustholih of Kesugihan Cilacap, Busyairi of Sampang Madura, Hambili of Plumbon Cirebon, K.Khazin Tegal, and others. His works, among others, *Taşrih al-Ibarat* (*syarah* from the book *Natījah al-Miqāt* by Ahmad Dahlan Semarang), published in 1930 as thick as 48 pages. This book reviews astronomy, *Sirāj al-Ṭalibīn* (*syarah* of Imam al-Ghazali's *Minhāj al-Abidīn*), published in 1932 as thick as ± 800 pages. This book covers

sufism. *Manāhij al-Imdād* (*syarah* from the book of *Irsyad al-'Ibād* by Syaikh Zainuddin al-Malibari), published in 1940 as thick as ± 1088 pages, explains Sufism, *Irsyad al-Ikhwan Bayan Hukmi al-Qahwah wa al-Dukhan* (adaptation poetic/plus *syarah*) from the book of *Tazkirah al-Ikhwan Bayani al-Qahwah wal Dukhan* by Ahmad Dahlan Semarang), no date., thickness ± 50 pages. This book talks about the polemics of the law of smoking and drinking coffee (Bizawie, 2016: 105).

His work, *Sirāj al-Ṭalibīn*, which consists of two volumes, is not only taught in the archipelago, but also abroad, such as Egypt and Morocco, and made reference by some world libraries both East and West. This is the figure expressed by Abdurrahman Mas'ud (2004), “*Traditional is not intellectually conservative, as evidenced by the strong traditions of the Islamic world, as well as the diligence and perseverance of seeking knowledge, the students who are hungry for science. the function of Islamic teachings at the hands of the 'ulama' suggests that the intellectual dynamism within this community remains its essence, unshakable for centuries*”.

Syaikh Ihsan's sufism of fusha allows his work, *Sirāj al-Ṭalibīn*, to be read by enthusiasts and observers of the Sufism world, especially the Sufism of Ghazalian, whereas, as an interpreter of the concepts of Sufism, the locality of Syaikh Ihsan necessitates influence on his interpretations which then can be categorized as local interpretation model of Sufism (local sufism). (Wasid, 2016).

Sirāj al-Ṭalibīn (lantern for the seekers of Allah's way) is the *syarah* of the work of al-Gazali priest, *Minhāj al-'Abidīn* (the path for worshipers). Seen from the title *Sirāj al-Ṭalibīn*, it seems that the work of Syaikh Ihsan is like a lamp for those who crave self-closeness to Allah SWT. This work in printed version consists of two volumes with a number of pages over 1000 with reviews using standard Arabic (fusha). His extensive and straight forward overview of the book of *syarah* is increasingly easy to understand, especially in the context of facilitating the understanding of Al-Ghazali's work, *Minhāj al-'Abidīn* which in printed version consists of only 93 pages.

Syaikh Ihsan has given way in the values of Sufism grounded, easy to apply and digest for human life. Sufism is not narrowly interpreted only to bring individuals close to Allah SWT, but has a concern for the social condition of his community, especially in order to alleviate all the social diseases that befall him. He invites those who walk the path of Sufism to the degree of Allah's *Ma'rifat* to continue to place the message of peace and compassion as an integral part of every journey.

According to Syaikh Ihsan, "It should be for everyone to love his brother to emulate him (His attributes). Ka'ab al-Ahbar said In the Gospels it says 'As you are pitied, you will have mercy. how can you expect love from God, while you are not spreading affection to His servants' "(Wasid, 2016). This expression contains the principles of nobleness in the context of social life. Every individual who is committed to keeping harmony with God through total and unconditional obedience, is obliged to keep harmony with others. It is understood that spreading love and harmony to others is nothing but being in order to imitate "the greatness of His attributes, the nature of *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm*".

In its implementation, Syaikh Ihsan also involved in providing solutions in the face of war against invaders, especially after the resolution of Jihad was launched on October 22, 1945. This shows the ability of Syaikh Ihsan to internalize and externalize the values of Sufism so that it is not only oriented towards the attainment of individual piety to the ultimate happiness (*ma'rifat Allāh*), but also social piety by responding directly to the social life of the society which in general face the pressure of the invaders at that time. This message is actually implied from the beginning in *Sirāj al-Ṭalibīn*, which he asserts that the manifestation of the sincerity of religious people is the necessity of presenting divine attributes in humanitarian practice, for example the nature of his affection is applied as the ethical framework for human beings to always put their loving attitude towards others (Wasid: 2016).

The thought of Sufism of Syaikh Ihsan is the process of interpretation of earlier Sufism, especially Sunni-Ghazalian Sufism, but there is an element of locality that accompanies the process of Ghazalian's interpretation of

Sufism. The presence of *Sirāj al-Ṭalibīn* in the context of the intellectual tradition of pesantren, as well as in the framework of Islamic Nusantara's up heaval, is in order to confirm the commitment of Syaikh Ihsan, to the study and practice of the Sunni sufism model Imam al-Ghazali.

M.C. Ricklefs (2012), an Indonesianist from Australia, mentions that Pesantren Jampes also contributed greatly in delegating his 'santri' to participate in initiating the spirit of *jihād* (holy war) against the invaders, especially when the *jihād* spirit was simultaneously aroused by Hadratush Syaikh Hasyim Asy'ari through the '*Resolusi Jihad*' on October 22, 1945 which has been agreed by all elements of *santri* (students), a fatwa whose content affirms the obligation of Muslims to defend the Unitary State of all forms of petition. Not only that, the pesantren Jampes - as well as some pesantren in Kediri such as Lirboyo and Bendo pesantrens have revealed their faces not only as a place of cadres of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* cadres, but also the military headquarters of the Laskar Hizbullah.

One of Syaikh Ihsan's inheritance is to provide steps in internalizing and externalizing the values of Sufism so that it is not only oriented towards the attainment of individual piety, ie. in order to the ultimate happiness (*ma'rifat Allah*), but also social piety with responding directly to the social life of the people who generally face the pressure of the invaders. It is this heritage that is actually implicit in *Sirāj al-Ṭalibīn*, that the manifestation of the sincerity of religious people is the necessity of presenting divine attributes in humanitarian practice, for example the nature of his affection is applied as the ethical framework for humans to always begiving priority to loving others (Ihsan: 1984).

According to Syaikh Ihsan, Islamic values teach that good words, helping the weak, and avoiding the painful things of others are part of worship (*sadaqah*). Thus, doing the deeds is as important as doing prayer, zakat (paying tax), fasting and hajj (pilgrimage). Therefore, the *jihād* of one of its functions is to help the oppressed, at the same time to make the colonizer not to perpetrate continuous oppression to others because oppression is against the human values.

Syaikh Ihsan's commitment to the practices of sufism and fiqh shows his attitude to be in the framework of moderate ways of thinking, that is always the paradigm of thinking which views the matter not in the extreme frames, both the extreme right and the extreme left, which in the theological framework becomes portraits of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah*. Therefore, fighting against invaders is an individual's obligation in fiqh, as well as sufism in order to confirm the moral revolution (*al-taurat al-ruhiyyah*). As well as in interpreting the concept of *zuhud*, he always stressed not to act extreme by leaving, even forbid, as well as the concept of *tawakkal*.

According to him by quoting Farghali "Sufism encourages people not only to do something that is obligatory for them, but to make them constantly dissolve and contribute to life in general with real spirit and power", Syaikh Ihsan wants to emphasize the activity of Sufism not to seek individual shelter, but also social shade with the involvement of Sufism practitioners to contribute in solving humanitarian problems. This is a way of not being easy to be extreme, which is actually part of a moderate and tolerant attitude.

Thus, Syaikh Ihsan is a portrait of a number of Sufi figures who are able to ground the values of Sufism as a framework of ethics for the perpetrators to continue to create a peaceful and free social space of oppression, in addition to continuing to hone inward in order to always have strong connections with God as a source of knowledge and the purpose of true love.

Revitalization of Identity

Identity is a characteristic that marks a person, a group of people, or a nation. If that characteristic belongs to a nation, it must be a sign of the national identity. As well as other nations, the Indonesian nation also has its identity distinguishes from other nations in the world. Identity also shows the existence of the Indonesian nation among other nations. If the identity of the nation began to fade, it is possible that Indonesia as a nation will fade, not even closed the possibility of endangered in the flow of global culture. Therefore, it is necessary to make efforts to keep our

nation's identity alive among other nations of the world. In the context of such global life, an artifact, manuscript, heritage, traditions and other inheritance are essential to increasingly discover values to revitalize national identity, as well as a symbol of national sovereignty.

In this regard, the legacy of 'tasawwuf akhlaqi' from the two scholars of the Nusantara above has shaped and enriched the elements of the nation's cultural wealth, cultural arts, customs or traditions, values, and cultural behaviors that need to be preserved and developed as reflecting symbols national identity, both in relation to local identity and national identity. The legacy is a local wisdom that can be a symbol of national identity. Both have provided the foundation of morality, the ladder attains morally perfect and the way to build a harmony, tolerant and moderate life. They emphasize the balance between individual piety and social piety.

Conclusion

The heritage of Syaikh Sholeh Darat and Syaikh Ihsan Jampes became the entrance to map the genealogy of thought, the historical foundation and the empirical formula in recognizing the identity of a religious nation. Tasawuf akhlaqi that has been developed by both scholars is a heritage/legacy from previous scholars that helps shaped and sustained the identity of the nation today. The legacy of tasawwuf akhlaqi which combines individual piety and social piety has become one of the foundations of massively constructed Indonesian identity, which later became the foundation of Indonesian Islam today, that is tolerant, moderate, peaceful and opened. It is the legacy that has become the main capital of the founding fathers in building nation-state (nation state) of Indonesia.

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من مؤلفات علماء بلاد جاوي في الرياضيات:
"روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب" للخطيب المنكابوي الجاوي ثم المكّي
(هـ. 1334 / م. 1916)

A. Ginanjar Sya'ban

كلية الدراسات العليا جامعة نَهضة العلماء الإندونيسية (UNUSIA) جاكرتا
bajahitamku@yahoo.com

ملخص

هذا البحث يسلط الضوء على مخطوط كتاب "روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب" من تأليف الشيخ أحمد الخطيب المنكابوي الجاوي ثم المكّي (ت. 1334 هـ / 1916 م)، أحد أكبر علماء بلاد جاوي وعلماء الشافعية، من أصل بلدة منكاباو ببلاد جاوي ثم جاور مكة المكرمة. كان المخطوط محفوظا بمكتبة مكة المكرمة ضمن مجموعة الحساب والفلك وتحت رقم 8. نقوم بوصف المخطوط ودراسته، ثم دراسة ترجمة مؤلفه، وكذلك نقوم بدراسة وجيزة على مضمون الكتاب. نستعمل نظرية ومنهج علم الكوديكولوجيا وأيضا علم تراجم الرجال في هذا البحث.

الكلمات الأساسية: روضة الحساب، علم الحساب، مخطوط، الشيخ أحمد الخطيب المنكابوي الجاوي، علماء بلاد جاوي.

Abstrak

Artikel ini hendak mengkaji manuskrip "Rauḍah al-Hussāb fī A'māl al-Hisāb" karangan salah satu ulama besar Nusantara yang berkarir di Timur Tengah, yaitu Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau (w. 1916). Manuskrip tersebut tersimpan di Perpustakaan Makkah al-Mukarramah, dengan nomer kode (Hisāb: 8). Rauḍah al-Hussāb termasuk karya ulama Nusantara yang langka, karena ia berisi kajian bidang ilmu matematika dan ditulis dalam bahasa Arab. Artikel ini hendak menyoroti manuskrip tersebut secara kodikologis, membedah secara umum pembagian isi dari karya tersebut, serta mengetengahkan biografi Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau sebagaimana terdapat dalam sumber-sumber hahioografi Arab.

Kata Kunci: *Rauḍah Al-Hussāb, Manuskrip, Matematika, Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau, Ulama Nusantara.*

تمهيد

"بلاد جاوي" هو مصطلح عربي متأخر يعني به منطقة أرخبيل جنوب شرق آسيا التي تقع بين الهند والصين والتي أصبحت الآن عدة دول مختلفة، وهي إندونيسيا، وماليزيا، وسنغافورة، وسلطنة بروناي دار السلام، وتايلاند، والفلبين. وحسب ما كتبه بعض المؤرخين، فقد انتشر الإسلام في هذه البقعة الأرضية البعدية منذ بواكير عهده، أي في القرن السابع الميلادي، حتى أصبح الدين المحمدي دين الأغلبية لسكان الأرخييل الى يومنا هذا (للبحث المطول عن مصطلح "بلاد جاوي" أو "جاوة" أو "جاوي" أو "جاوى"، انظر: لفان: 2005).

بلغت الأرخييل ذروة عصر ازدهارها الإسلامي في أواخر القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي، حيث اتخارت إمبراطورة "مجاهايت" الهندو-بوذية، كبرى القوة المسيطرة في المنطقة منذ القرون السابقة. فظهرت سلطنات إسلامية كثيرة، من أهمها سلطنة آشييه، وسلطنة فلمبان، وسلطنة منكاباو (في جزيرة سومطرة الإندونيسية الآن)، وسلطنة

جوهر، وسلطنة ملاكا (في شبه جزيرة الملايو، ماليزيا الآن)، وسلطنة بنتن، وسلطنة دماك (في جزيرة جاوا الإندونيسية الآن)، وسلطنة سمبس، وسلطنة بنجر، وسلطنة فنتياناك (في جزيرة بورنيو الإندونيسية الآن) وسلطنتا بيما وسمباوا (في إندونيسيا الآن)، وسلطنة غاوا بمكاسار (جزيرة سولاويسي الإندونيسية الآن)، وسلطنة فطاني (جزء من تايلاند البوذية الآن)، وسلطنة سولو (جزء من الفلبين المسيحية الآن) (قارن: جريس: 2010 ص 154-285).

برز من هذه الأرخبيل علماء عظام على مدى عصور تاريخها، كالشيخ حمزة الفنصوري الآشي، والشيخ شمس الدين السمطراي (أوائل القرن الـ 17 م)، والشيخ نور الدين الرانيزي (منتصف القرن الـ 17 م)، و الشيخ عبد الرؤوف السنكلي الآشي الجاوي، والشيخ يوسف المكاسري (المقاصري) في أواخر القرن الـ 17 م، ثم تلاهم الشيخ فقيه جلال الدين الآشي الجاوي، والشيخ بابا داود بن إسماعيل آغا الرومي ثم الآشي (أوائل القرن الـ 18 م)، والشيخ عبد المحي الجاوي، والشيخ برهان الدين أولانك المنكباوي، والشيخ عبد الملك بن عبد الله فولاو مانيس الجاوي (منتصف القرن الـ 18 م)، والشيخ محمد أرشد البنجري الجاوي، والشيخ نفيس البنجري الجاوي، والشيخ عبد الصمد الفلمباني الجاوي (أواخر القرن الـ 18 م) (انظر: الجاوي: 2016، وأيضا عزرا: 1994).

في القرن الثامن عشر الميلادي، ظهرت أسماء العلماء الجاويين المجاورين في مكة المكرمة وقاموا بالتدريس هناك ولم يعودوا الى وطنهم الأم حتى توفوا ودفنوا بتلك المدينة المقدسة. نذكر مثلا اسم الشيخ داود بن عبد الله الفطاني الجاوي، والشيخ عبد

الرشيد بن محمد علي القاضي السومباوي، والشيخ صالح راوه الجاوي، والشيخ عبد الغني بيما الجاوي (المنتصف الأول للقرن 19 م)، والشيخ أحمد خطيب سمبس الجاوي ثم المكّي، والشيخ جنيد البتاوي ثم المكّي، والشيخ نووي بن عمر الجاوي ثم المكّي (المنتصف الثاني للقرن 19 م) (انظر: المرجعان السابقان).

كان الأخير من أهم الشخصية الجاوية المسلمة، حيث أن كبار مشايخ تلك البلاد من تلامذته، من شرقها الى غربها، بل يُعتبر من أهم علماء المسلمين في القرن التاسع عشر، ولقب بـ"فقيه الشافعية في القرن الرابع عشر، والمفسر، والمتصوف" (الزركلي: 2002 ص 318)، و"سيد علماء الحجاز"، و"صاحب التصانيف الكثيرة" (أمين: 2010).

وإزداد عدد علماء بلاد جاوي المجاورين بمكة، وأصبحوا من كبار علمائها، حينما دخلت بداية القرن العشرين الميلادي. نذكر مثلا أسماء الشيخ العلامة أحمد بن عبد اللطيف الخطيب المنكباوي الجاوي ثم المكّي (إمام وخطيب الشافعية بالمسجد الحرام، وليد الشيخ عبد الحميد الخطيب وزير وسفير السعودية الأسبق)، والشيخ الفقيه الأصولي المقرئ محمد محفوظ بن عبد الله الترمسي الجاوي ثم المكّي، والشيخ المحدث المسند محمد باقر بن نور الجوكجاوي ثم المكّي، و الفقيه الشيخ أحمد نراوي بن إمام راجا الجاوي ثم المكّي، والمحدث مؤسس مدرسة دار العلوم الدينية المكية الشيخ محسن بن علي المساوي الفلمباني ثم المكّي، والمحدث الشيخ مختار بن عطارد البوغوري الجاوي ثم المكّي، والشيخ عبد القادر بن عبد المطلب المنديلي ثم المكّي، وحتى أخير شخصية

علماء بلاد جاوي بمكة الشيخ المحدث المسند محمد ياسين بن عيسى الفاداني المكي (انظر: الجاوي: 2016).

كان لهؤلاء العلماء الجاويين مؤلفات كثيرة، بعضها مكتوبة باللغة العربية، والبعض الآخر باللغة الجاوية الملايوية (اللغة المشتركة في الأرخيل) لكن بالأبجدية العربية، وكذلك باللغات المحلية، كالأشيه والسونداوية والجاوية المريكية والمادورية والبوقيسية والبيماوية وغيرها، لكن أيضا بالأبجدية العربية. ولم تقتصر مؤلفات علماء بلاد جاوي في فنون العلوم الدينية فحسب، كالفقه وأصول الفقه والعقيدة والتصوف والحديث والتفسير وعلوم القرآن وغيره، بل تشتمل أيضا فنون العلوم الرياضية أيضا، مثل الهندسة والسياسة والفلك والمقادير والحساب (المرجع السابق، وانظر أيضا: فانغ: 2016).

ومن مؤلفات علماء بلاد جاوي في مجال الرياضيات هو كتاب "روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب" تأليف العالم الجاوي الشهير، وهو الشيخ أحمد بن عبد اللطيف الخطيب المنكبواي الجاوي ثم المكي (ت. 1334 هـ / 1916 م) الذي سيكون محور بحثنا هذا.

منهج البحث

استعمل الباحث في هذه الدراسة المنهج الكوديكولوجي (codicology). وكوديكولوجيا هو جزء لا يتجزء من علم فيلولوجيا (philology ،مقابل علم التحقيق في العالم العربي). في المنهج الكوديكولوجي هناك خطوات بحثية مهمة، وهي عملية

جرد المخطوط (manuscripts inventory)، ثم تحديد هوية المخطوط (manuscripts identification)، فوصف المخطوط وصفا موسعا (manuscripts description)، ثم اعطاء بعض الملاحظة البسيطة والكافية على مضمون المخطوط (انظر: فتح الرحمن: 108. 2015). وطبعا لا ينسى الباحث أيضا عملية توثيق عنوان الكتاب، ونسبة الكتاب نسبة صحيحة الى مؤلفه، كما قام بدراسة سيرة حياة مؤلفه.

وصف مخطوط الكتاب

كان كتاب "روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب" من تأليف الشيخ أحمد الخطيب بن عبد اللطيف المنكبواوي الجاوي ثم المكي المتوفى سنة 1334 هـ (1916 م)، وهو من أحد كبار علماء الحرم المكي، وإمام وخطيب بالمسجد الحرام، وصاحب التصانيف الكثيرة. كان مخطوط الكتاب محفوظا بمكتبة مكة المكرمة تحت رقم (8 حساب). النص مكتوب باللغة العربية وبالحروف العربية (انظر: طرابلسي: 1997 ص 496 ق 1483).

المخطوط ليس من خط مؤلفه، بل من خط الناسخ الذي كان تلميذ المؤلف ومعاصرا له، وهو جاد الله بن محمد بدوي. سنذكر بيان هذا فيما بعد.

الخط نستعليق ومقروء جيدا. لون الحبر أسود يخلله أحمر. كان عدد صفحات الكتاب 246 صفحة (ص) في 123 ورقة (ق). وترقيم المخطوط على حسب عدد الورقات، لا على حسب الصفحات. ففي كل ورقة صفحتان. وكان الترقيم حديث ليس من أصل الناسخ، حيث يبدو أنه من ترقيم المكتبة، اذ الناسخ ترك كتابه دون

ترقيمه. يجلد المخطوط بجلد أسود. وسط المجلد يكتب اسم رقم المخطوط (8 حساب)، واسم أو عنوان الكتاب (روضة الحساب) وتحت اسم مؤلف الكتاب (أحمد عبد اللطيف).

أما الهوية الكاملة للمخطوط ومؤلفه (توثيق عنوان الكتاب ونسبته الى مؤلفه) فتكون في صفحة ما بعد الغلاف التي ليست من صفحة المخطوط، اذ تبدو فيه علامة الكتابة الجديدة من المكتبة التي وُضعت عنوان الكتاب واسم مؤلفه. تُكتب هناك "روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب تأليف أحمد خطيب بن عبد اللطيف خطيب الجاوي".

أما التوثيق المضبوط لعنوان الكتاب ونسبته المضبوطة الى مؤلفه فيكون فيما كتبه الناسخ في المخطوط بصفحة 245، حيث كتب: "بعده أقول وأنا الفقير الى الله تعالى أحمد خطيب بن عبد اللطيف خطيب الجاوي أحد المدرسين بالمسجد الحرام المكي من تلامذة العالم العلامة البحر الفهامة السيد أبي بكر شطا متعنا الله ببقائه ونفعنا ببركاته، أني قد فرغتُ من تسويد هذه العجالة المسماة بروضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب".

ثم ذكر الناسخ تاريخ انتهاء تأليف الكتاب مسودا، وذلك في يوم الأحد، 19 ذي القعدة سنة 1307 الهجرية (الموافق ب) بمكة المشرفة. بعده يأتي ذكر هوية الناسخ وتاريخ نسخ الكتاب، حيث يُكتب في آخر المخطوط ما يلي: "سنة 1308 (الهجرية)

في 15 ص (صفر) على يد الفقير جاد الله بن محمد بدوي غفر الله وللمسلمين أجمعين".

لم نعر على ترجمة الناسخ جاد الله بن محمد بدوي. لكن نستطيع أن نفترض قويا بأنه من أحد تلامذة المؤلف وأنه معاصرا له، حيث أن تاريخ التأليف (1307 هـ) يسبق سنة واحدة فقط من تاريخ النسخ (1308 هـ)، وأن في تلك السنة الأخيرة مازالت المؤلف على قيد الحياة، حيث توفي في سنة 1334 هـ، أي بعد 27 سنة من تأليف كتابه "روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب".

كانت الصفحة الأولى الأصلية للمخطوط، وكذلك صفحة الغلاف مفقودتين. فكان أول نص الكلمة في أول صفحة من المخطوط هو "الدواعي اليه في الحضر والسفر اذ به تعرف الأوقات وتضبط المعاملات" ... الى قوله "وسميتها روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب". ثم تلت ذلك "المقدمة" في نفس الصفحة.

وعلى ذلك كان المخطوط وحيدا يتيما، أي أنه في نسخته الوحيدة فقط، لم نجد له أي نسخة أخرى في مكتبة مكة المكرمة التي يُحتفظ بالمخطوط، ولا في المكاتب العربية والإسلامية والأجنبية الأخرى.

وقد طبع الكتاب مرة بالقاهرة في سنة 1310 هـ (1892 م) لكن يبدو أنه لم يطبع مرة ثانية بعد ذلك. فأصبحت نسخة المطبوع لهذا الكتاب من جملة نوادر المطبوعات (انظر: دليل مكتبة الملك فهد الوطنية الإلكترونية، رقم الاستدعاء 513 - 804 م).

حصلنا على مخطوط الكتاب في شكله المصور عبر موقع "جامع المخطوطات الإسلامية" جناح "مكتبة مكة المكرمة" مجموعة "مخطوطات علم الحساب والفلك والرياضيات" برقم 8 (<http://wqf.me/?p=15992>). ولا نحصل على النسخة المطبوعة القديمة للكتاب (ولا نعتقد أنه طبع مرة ثانية بعد طبع القاهرة سنة 1310 هـ). لذلك نعتمد على المخطوط كمصدر أساسي لهذا البحث.

ترجمة المؤلف

ورد ذكر ترجمة المؤلف في بعض كتب السير والتراجم العربية، خصوصاً لعلماء القرن الرابع عشر الهجري، منها "أعلام المكيين" للمعلمي (المعلمي: ج 1، ص 407-408)، ومنها "السير والتراجم" لعمر عبد الجبار (عبد الجبار: 2006، ص 38-43)، ومنها "المختصر الحاوي في تراجم بعض علماء بلاد جاوي" لأبي الفاتح غيناچار شعبان الجالانكي الجاوي (الجاوي: 2016، ص 103-107).

واختصاراً، كانت ترجمة المؤلف كما يلي:

أحمد بن عبد اللطيف الخطيب المنكاباوي الجاوي (1276 – 1334 هـ)

أحمد بن عبد اللطيف بن عبد الله الخطيب المنكاباوي الجاوي ثم المكي، العالم العلامة، البحر الفهامة، الفقيه الشافعي، الأصولي محاشي شرح الورقات، الخطيب الفصيح.

ولد يوم الإثنين 6 ذي الحجة سنة 1276 هـ في كوتا كارانغ بإقليم مينانكاباو بولاية غرب سومطرة. كان والده الشيخ عبد اللطيف الخطيب إماما وخطيبا كبيرا في الولاية. نشأ نشأةً صالحةً تحت رعاية والديه.

فحفظ جانباً من القرآن الكريم وتلقى بعض العلوم عن والده. ثم سافر جده المعمر الشيخ عبد الله المنكاباوي إلى الحجاز بقصد الحج واستصبح أسرته. فلما وصلوا إلى مكة المكرمة احتفل بقدمه أصدقاؤه أقاموا له حفلات تكريم حضرها علماء مكة وأعيانها. وكان موضع احترامهم وتقديرهم. ثم اشترى الجد لأسرته منزلين وتركهما بمكة، ثم سافر إلى منكاباو بسومطرة وقد عمر كثيراً، إذ بلغ من العمر يوم وفاته 120 سنة.

وانصرف المترجم إلى حفظ القرآن الكريم ثم تعلم اللغة الإنجليزية فأتقنها. ثم أخذ العلم عن السيد عمر شطا، والسيد عثمان شطا، والسيد بكري شطا. ولم يلتق العلم عن سواهم وإنما كان مثال الجد والاجتهاد والنشاط في طلب العلم والمذاكرة ليلاً ونهاراً في مختلف الفنون. فنبغ بفضل جده ومثابرتة على المطالعة في العلوم الرياضية كالحساب والجبر والمقابلة والهندسة والهيئة وقسمة الموارث وعلم الميقات والزيج وألّف فيها دون أن يتلقاها من مدرس.

وكان الشيخ محمد صالح الكردي من أثرياء مكة على جانب عظيم من التقوى والصلاح وملازمة المسجد. فلمس في الشيخ أحمد الخطيب استقامة وزهداً وورعاً واجتهاداً في طلب العلم فأعجب به وزوجه بنته ودفع له صداقها واشترى له

منزلا ونهاها عن ارهاق زوجها بطلب شئ من كسوة أو خلافها وتعهد لخا بشراء ما تحتاجه.

وكان الشيخ محمد صالح الكردي من جلساء الشريف عون الرفيق، شريف مكة وقتذاك. فقال له: بلغني أنك زوجت بنتك برجل جاوي لا يحسن اللغة العربية إلا بعد أن تعلمها بمكة. فأجابه فوراً: ولكنه رجل صالح تقى والرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: ((إذا جاءكم من ترضون دينه وأمانته فزوجوه)) وأرجو أن يتكرم سيدنا بتعيينه مدرسا وإماما وخطيبا بالمسجد الحرام. فاستجاب الشريف عون الرفيق لرجاء جليسه وأصدر أمره بذلك. فشرع الشيخ أحمد الخطيب يخطب ويصلي بالناس ويدرس بالمسجد الحرام. وقد رزق من زوجته عام 1300 هـ ولدا اسمه عبد الكريم وتوفي بمصر عام 1357 هـ، وهو والد عبد الله صالح ولطفي وحسين ويوسف الخطيب.

ثم توفيت زوجته وزوجه والدها أختها وكانت مثال المرأة الصالحة تحفظ القرآن غيبا وتعرف جانباً من علم الدين وصارت تعينه على الدروس والمذاكرة. ففرق منها ولدين، وهما:

1. عبد الله بن أحمد بن عبد اللطيف الخطيب، وقد تلقى العلم عن والده ثم انصرف الى الأدب والسياسة فتولى رئاسة جريدة القلبة ومنح أرفع الأوسمة وعين معتمداً سياسياً للحكومة الهاشمية بمصر، وظل متمسكاً بولائه للأشراف إلى أن توفي بمصر عام 1946 م وخلف أربعة أولاد جلهم موظفون بمصر.

2. عبد الحميد بن أحمد بن عبد اللطيف الخطيب، وقد تلقى العلم عن والده ولازمه وكان يدرس لصغار الطلبة بالمسجد الحرام. ثم سافر الى مصر بعد

سقوط الحكومة الهاشمية فاشترك في عدة جمعيات إسلامية وأسّس جمعية خيرية باسم جمعية الشبان الحجازيين. وتولى رئاستها. ثم كوّن جمعية أحرار الحجاز. وكان يكتب عدة مقالات في جريدة الوطن والمقطم لمقاومة الحكم السعودي. ثم تصالح مع الحكومة السعودية وسافر إلى مكة مع أعضاء حزبه فأكرمهم جلال الملك عبد العزيز آل سعود وعينه عضواً بمجلس الشورى، وعاد إلى التدريس بالمسجد الحرام ثم اختاره الملك لتأسيس أول مفوضة للمملكة العربية السعودية بباكستان، ثم رفعها إلى سفارة بعد أن ظهر له إخلاصه ووطنيته. ثم أصيب بمرض اضطره إلى طلب التقاعد فأجيب طلبه واتخذ دمشق مقراً لإقامته والدعوة إلى الله بتأليف الكتب ونظم القصائد الدينية إلى أن توفي عام 1382 هـ.

كان الشيخ أحمد الخطيب يعقد حلقة دروسه في رحبة باب الزيادة، وكان يقصدها مئات من طلاب العلم من بلاد جاوي، ثم يعودون إلى بلادهم بعد أن يعاهدوه على القيام بالدعوة إلى الله والتفرغ لنشر العلم في تلك الأقصاع البعيدة. ومن تلامذه الشيخ عبد الكريم أمر الله زعيم حركة الإصلاح بسومطرة والشيخ أحمد دحلان مؤسس الجمعية المحمدية الإسلامية الإصلاحية بجاو.

اشتهر الشيخ أحمد الخطيب بين الناس بطيبة القلب وحسن الخلق وسلامة النية وكره الملق ومقت المتكبرين وكان رغم حبه لأهله وبره بهم ينتقد منهم من يضيع أوقاته. وكان لا يبحث في السياسة ولا يتدخل فيما لا يعنيه. وكان جمهوري الصوت بحيث يسمع صوته من كان بعيداً.

وكان مشهورا برحابة الصدر ومناقشة طلابه له. وكان لا يرضيه مجرد اضعائهم لدرسه بل كان يشجعهم على الافصاح عن آرائهم ومجادلته في حرية وجرأة لتتقرر الحقيقة يقنعوا بها، ثم يرجع الى البيت ليتناول افطاره ويضطجع برهة ثم يعود الى المذاكرة حتى الظهر، فيذهب الى المسجد لأداء الصلاة في الجماعة. ثم يعود الى بيته فيلقي درسين على الطلبة ثم يتناول الغذاء وينام قليلا ثم يذهب الى المسجد فيؤدي صلاة العصر مع الجماعة، ثم يرجع الى داره فيلقي درسا واحدا على طلابه ثم يذاكر دروسه الى أن يحين المغرب فينزل المسجد فيصلي مع الجماعة ثم يلقي درسا في الوعظ والارشاد حتى العشاء. وبعد الصلاة يرجع الى داره فيتعشى ويجلس مع أهله ثم ينام مبكرا ويستيقظ في الثلث الأخير فيعكف على التأليف حتى قرب الفجر فينزل المسجد ويستأنف سيرته المعتادة. وهكذا قضى حياته في طاعة الله ونشر دينه.

وقد بلغت مؤلفاته 46 كتابا، منها؛

1. حاشية النفحات على شرح الورقات، طبع عام 1306 هـ.
2. الجواهر النقية في الأعمال الجيية.
3. الداعي المسموع في الرد على من يورث الأخوة والأخوات.
4. روضة الحساب في علم الحساب، طبع عام 1310 هـ.
5. معلم الحساب في علم الحساب (باللغة الجاوية - الملايو) طبع أيضا عام 1310 هـ.
6. الرياض الوردية في الفقه الشافعي (باللغة الجاوية)، طبع عدة مرات.

7. المنهج المشروع في الموارث (باللغة الجاوية).
8. صلح الجماعتين في جواز تعدد الجمعتين (باللغة الجاوية).
9. معين الجائز في تحقيق معنى الجائز.
10. ضوء السراج في كيفية المعراج (باللغة الجاوية).
11. الجواهر الفردية في الأجوبة المفيدة فيما إذا عم الحرام في قطر الأقطار (باللغة الجاوية).
12. السيوف والخناجر على رقاب من يدعو للكافر.
13. القول المفيد شرح مطلع السعيد في علم الزيغ.
14. النتيجة المرضية في تحقيق السنة الشمسية والقمرية.
15. فتح المبين لمن سلك طريق الواصلين (باللغة الجاوية).
16. الدرّة البهية في كيفية زكاة الدرّة الحبشية.
17. فتح الخبير في بسملة التفسير.
18. العمد في منع القصر في مسافة جدة.
19. كشف الران في حكم وضع اليد بعد تطاول الزمان.
20. حل العقدة في تصحيح العمدة.
21. الأقوال الواضحات في حكم من عليه قضاء الصلوات (باللغة الجاوية).
22. حسن الدفاع في النهي عن الابتداء (باللغة الجاوية).

23. الصارم المفري لوساوس كل كاذي ومفتري (باللغة الجاوية).
24. مسلك الراغبين في طريقة سيد المرسلين (باللغة الجاوية).
25. اظهار زعل الكاذبين في تشبههم بالصادقين.
26. كشف العين في استقلال كل من قوى الجبهة والعين.
27. اظهار زعل الكاذبين (باللغة الجاوية).
28. الآيات البيئات في رفع الخرافات (باللغة الجاوية).
29. السيف البتار في محق كلمات بعض الأغرار.
30. الجاوي في النحو (باللغة الجاوية).
31. سلم النحو (باللغة الجاوية).
32. المواعظ الحسنة لمن يرغب من العمل أحسنه.
33. الخطط المرضية في حكم التلفظ بالنية (باللغة الجاوية).
34. الشموس اللامعة في الرد على أهل المراتب السبعة الذين يقتدون ظواهر معاني ألفاظها (باللغة الجاوية).
35. رفع الالتباس عن حكم الأنوات المتعامل بها بين الناس.
36. اقناع النفوس بالحاق الأنوات بعملة الفلوس.
37. تنبيه الغافل بسلوك طريقة الأوائل فيما يتعلق بطريقة النقشبندية.

38. سل الحسام لقطع طرف تنبيه الأنام في الرد على أرباب الطرق (باللغة الجاوية).

39. القول المصدق بالحق الولد المطلق.

40. البهجة في الأعمال الجيبية (باللغة الجاوية).

41. تنبيه الأنام في الرد على رسالة كف العوام عن الخوض في شركة الإسلام.

42. إرشاد الحياي في إزالة شبه النصارى في سبع مسائل. انكار وجود الله وتعدد الزوجات والطلاق واقامة الدين الاكراه والجهاد والاسترقاق والتسري (باللغة الجاوية).

43. حاشية فتح الجواد خمسة مجلدات يحتوي كل مجلد على خمسين كراسة. وقد بلغ الى أواخر محرمات الاحرام. ولم يطبع بعد.

44. فتاوي الخطيب على ما ورد عليه من الأسئلة (باللغة العربية والجاوية).

45. القول الحصيف في ترجمة أحمد الخطيب بن عبد اللطيف. وقد وضعه خاصا بأبنائه في نهاية عمره.

توفي في 9 جمادي الأول سن 1334 هـ. رحمه الله تعالى وأثابه رضاه.

دراسة كتاب "روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب"

في مقدمة كتابه، قام المؤلف بتحديد علم الحساب، من تعريفه وموضوعه وفوائده وغرضه وحكم تعلمه وما الى ذلك. فأولا عرف المؤلف علم الحساب بأنه "علم يعرف به استخراج المجهولات العددية من معلومات مفروضة". أما موضوع علم

الحساب حسب ما كتبه المؤلف فهو "العدد من حيث تركيبه بالجمع والضرب مثلا، ومن حيث تحليله بالطرح والقسمة". وثمرة دراسة علم الحساب كما عبرها المؤلف هي "معرفة المجهولات العددية" (انظر: الجاوي: مخطوط ق 1).

ثم كتب المؤلف عن حكم الشرع في تعلم علم الحساب ومسائله وقضاياها، بأن "حكم الشارع فيه الفرض الكفائي ومسائله قضاياها ككل عدد يضرب في صفر بصفر ونسبته لعلم الهندسة الفرعية ولبقيّة العلوم المباينة". ثم نقل المؤلف كلام الإمام الشافعي في شأن علم الحساب بأن "من تعلم علم الحساب جزل رأيه"، كما نقل كلام ابن هبذور الذي قال بأن "علم الحساب ركن من الدين وبه تؤخذ القبلة وأوقات الصلوات وبه حساب الأعوام والشهور والأيام وجري الشمس في البروج وحركات الكواكب وحلول القمر في المنازل ومعرفة الساعات النهارية والليلية" (المرجع السابق).

لم يقم المؤلف بوضع نظام فهرسة معينة لكتابه. فكان المخطوط على شكل تقليدي، حيث لم يكن أي فاصل يفصل بين باب عن باب آخر، أو عن فصل عن فصل آخر، أو مبحث عن مبحث آخر. فعلامة الفصل بين كل ذلك هو لون الخط، حيث أن الفكرة الجديدة من باب أو فصل أن مسألة أو فائدة أو غير ذلك تُكتب بلون أحمر، والباقي بأسود، سوى لون الأعداد الحسابية ومثلها الموجودة في كثير من صفحات المخطوط، فإنها تكتب بلون أحمر أيضا.

لذلك نحاول أن نقوم بوضع المختصر فيما يأتي في تبويب الكتاب وتفصيله حسب ما كتبه المؤلف، حيث قسم المؤلف كتابه على أبواب. لكل باب فصول. ولكل

فصل بحوث مفصلة ومدققة في علم الحساب من جميع نواحيه، مما يدل على فهم المؤلف الدقيق على هذا الفن. وهذا أيضا ما يجعل المؤلف في مكانته الخاصة بين صفوف علماء بلاد جاوي، حيث أن من أتقن منهم علم الحساب والرياضيات (سوى علم الفلك) قليل جدا.

لكن مع الأسف، لا نستطيع أن نقدم دراسة مفصلة عن جميع مضمون الفصول في هذا الكتاب، ذلك لأننا اطلعنا الكتاب وهو في شكله المخطوط، ولم يحقق بعد. لذلك نكتفي هنا بذكر تبويب الكتاب وتفصيله فقط. على الأقل، نتمنى أن يساعد ما قمنا به من هذا العمل البسيط الباحثين فيمن بعدنا لمعرفة فهرسة الكتاب بشكل إجمالي، قبل أن يقوموا بدراسته بشكل مفصل ومدقق.

يبين المؤلف في الباب الأول "الحساب الصحيح"، حيث يبين المعلومات والقواعد الأساسية في علم الحساب. وقسم المؤلف هذا الباب الى تسعة (9) فصول، وهي: الأول في الجمع، والثاني في التضعيف، والثالث في الطرح، والرابع في التصنيف، والخامس في الضرب، والسادس في القسمة، والسابع في التجدير، والثامن في استخراج جذر الكعب، والتاسع في استخراج جذر الرابع (انظر: المخطوط ق 3 حتى 22).

والباب الثاني لهذا الكتاب يبحث عن "أعمال الكسور"، وينقسم الى اثنا عشر (12) فصلا، وهي: الأول فيما يتعلق بالكسور، والثاني في الرفع، والثالث في تحويل الكسور، والرابع في الاختزال، والخامس أخذ جزء معين من مقدار معلوم أو زيادة جزء معين، والسادس الجبر والخط، والسابع في معرفة ما فوق الكسر وما تحته،

والثامن في جمع الكسور، والتاسع في تضعيف الكسور وتصنيفها، والعاشر طرح الكسور، والحادي عشر في ضرب الكسور، والثاني عشر في قسمة الكسور (انظر: المخطوط ق 22 حتى 43).

أما الباب الثالث لهذا الكتاب فيبحث عن "الكسور العشرية"، وينقسم الى احد عشر (11) فصلا، وهي: الأول في اصطلاحات الكسور العشرية، والثاني في تحويل الكسور العشرية، والثالث في تحويل الكسور الدارحة الى الكسور العشرية، الرابع في تحويل عدد صحيح الى كسر عشري، والخامس في تحويل أعداد مختلفة من أشياء مختلفة، والسادس في تحويل كسر عشري الى صحيح، والسابع في جمع الكسور العشرية، والثامن في طرح الكسور العشرية، والتاسع في ضرب الكسور العشرية، والعاشر في قسمة الكسور العشرية، والحادي عشر في استخراج جذر الكسور العشرية (انظر: المخطوط ق 43 حتى 49).

ويأتي الباب الرابع الذي يبحث عن "أعمال الأعداد المركبات"، وينقسم الى ستة (6) فصول، وهي: الأول في الاصطلاحات التي تتعلق بها، والثاني في تحويل الأعداد المركبة، والثالث في جمع الأعداد المركبة، والرابع في طرح الأعداد المركبة، والخامس في ضرب الأعداد المركبة، والسادس في قسمة الأعداد المركبة (انظر: المخطوط ق 49 حتى 58).

ثم جاء الباب الخامس يبحث فيه المؤلف عن شئ مختلف تماما، ليس فقط عن القواعد الحسابية الأساسية كما قد بحث المؤلف في أربعة الأبواب السابقة. ففي

الباب الخامس، يبحث المؤلف عن "المعاملات" بما فيما قضايا الشركة في العمل وأيضا قضايا الميراث. وينقسم هذا الباب على ستة (6) فصول، هي: الأول في الفائدة البسيطة، والثاني في الفائدة المركبة، والثالث في تعديل الوفاء، الرابع في الشركة، والخامس في عمل المناصحة، وفيه يتكلم المؤلف عن قضايا الميراث مطولا، والسادس في التعديل المتوسط (انظر: المخطوط ق 58 حتى 75).

ويتلو ذلك الباب السادس الذي يبحث المؤلف فيه عن "استخراج المجهولات العددية". وينقسم هذا الباب الى أربعة (4) فصول، وهي: الأول في الأربعة المتناسبة، والثاني في العمل بالخطائين، والثالث في العمل بالعكس، والرابع في العمل بالجبر. قام المؤلف في الفصل الأخير يبحث الجبر وقواعده بحثا دقيقا مطولا ومفصلا، وشرح بعض مسأله شرحا وفيها (انظر المخطوط ق 75 حتى 95).

وفي الباب السابع، يتكلم المؤلف بشكل مفصل عن "المساحات". وفيه يبحث المؤلف عن أشكال الرموز الهندسية وأنواعها. قسم المؤلف هذا الباب الى عشر (10) أبواب، وهي: الأول في الشكل المربع وأقسامه ومساحته، والثاني في أقسام المثلثات وطريق مساحته، والثالث في المدور وأقسامه، والرابع في القوس وأنواعه، والخامس في الاضلاع، والسادس في الفروع وأنواعه، والسابع في الأسطوانة، والثامن في المخروطة، التاسع في مساحة الكرة وكيفية قياسها، والعاشر في قطع الأجسام وكيفياته (انظر: المخطوط ق 95 حتى 115).

ثم يأتي مباحث تالية دون ذكر الباب التالي (أي الباب بعد السابع أو الثامن). أما رقم الصحيفة لهذه المباحث فهو من صحيفة 232 حتى 234 (ورقة 116-117). يتكلم المؤلف خلالها مباشرة عن حساب المقادير في معرفة كمية المرتفعات والأعماق والعرض، وذلك مع ذكر تفصيل الفصول، حيث الفصل الأول في معرفة كمية المرتفعات كالجبال والقلاع والمنارات، والثاني في معرفة أعماق الآبار والبركة، والثالث في معرفة عرض الأنهار (انظر: المخطوط ق 115 حتى 117).

هذه المباحث تأتي كشيء خاص جدا، إذ يبحث المؤلف فيه عن كيفية قياس المرتفعات والأعماق والأعراض، مثل قياس ارتفاع الجبل أو المنارة، أو قياس عمق البئر، وكذلك قياس عرض النهر أو البحيرة. كل ذلك بمقدار معين يحصل من قام بعمل القياسة على قياس ومقدار مضبوط.

ويختتم المؤلف مباحث علم الحساب في كتابه بخاتمة يبحث فيها عن النسبة المتصلة بالهندسة والتبادل والتركيب في 7 ورقات (ق) و 13 صفحة (ص) (انظر: المخطوط ق 117 حتى 123). ثم يختتم المؤلف كلمة الختام بذكر اسمه كمؤلف الكتاب (الشيخ أحمد الخطيب بن عبد اللطيف الخطيب الجاوي)، واسم الكتاب (روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب)، وتاريخ انتهاء تأليفه مسودا (يوم الأحد 19 ذي القعدة سنة 1307 الهجرية).

خاتمة

كان الشيخ أحمد الخطيب المنكباوي الجاوي ثم المكي من أحد أكبر علماء بلاد جاوي، بل أيضا من علماء الشافعية في القرن الرابع عشر الهجري (أواخر القرن التاسع عشر وأوائل القرن العشرين الميلادي). ترك مؤلفاته التي بلغت ما يزيد من 40 مؤلفا والتي كتبت باللغتين العربية والجاوية الملايوية موروثا فكريا وتراثا أدبيا غنيا جدا، تغني المكتبات الإسلامية العربية عامة والجاوية الجنوب شرق آسيوية خاصة.

لم يكن الشيخ أحمد الخطيب المنكباوي الجاوي ثم المكي متبحرا في العلوم الدينية فحسب، بل أيضا متقن في مجال علم الرياضيات. ويبدوا تبحره في هذه الفنون من خلال مؤلفاته الرياضية، وهي الجواهر النقية في الأعمال الجيبية (بالعربية)، و البهجة في الأعمال الجيبية (بالجاوية الملايوية)، و النتيجة المرضية في تحقيق السنة الشمسية والقمرية (بالعربية)، والقول المفيد شرح مطلع العميد في علم الزيج (بالعربية)، ومعلم الحساب في علم الحساب (بالجاوية الملايوية)، وأيضا روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب (العربية).

إن كتاب "روضة الحساب في أعمال الحساب" يُعتبر من أهم مؤلفات الشيخ الخطيب المنكباوي، بل يعتبر كعمل فريد نفيس في تاريخ التراث الفكري الإسلامي الجاوي، حيث أن مثل هذا العمل في هذا الفن العلمي، وهو علم الحساب، ندير ما نجده لدي مؤلفات علماء بلاد جاوي. وكان مخطوط هذا الكتاب محفوظ بمكتبة مكة المكرمة، ضمن مجموعة الحساب والفلك، تحت رقم 8.

من خلال هذه الدراسة المتواضعة، نقوم بوصف مخطوط الكتاب، وأيضا نسرد ترجمة مؤلف الكتاب، كما نبين تبويب الكتاب وتفصيله حتى نعرف في شكل اجمالي مضمون الكتاب من خلال هذه الدراسة. نتمنى أن تقدم هذه الدراسة معلومة تمهيدية حول الكتاب لتكون زادا نافعا للقراء والباحثين بعدنا.

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The article submitted should be original based on academic works. The article submitted is never published before in any journal or is being reviewed for possible publication. All the articles submitted will be reviewed by certain editors, editorial board as well as blind reviewers appointed by the journal. Any article does not meet the requirement of the guidelines will not be considered and will be declined.

The number of the words is between 10000 to 15.000 words. References, tables, figures, appendices and notes are included in those

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Reference to an article in a journal (author, year, title, volume and part number as well as page number

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مجلة دولية لبحث المؤلفات والتراث الديني

السنة السادسة، العدد 2، ديسمبر 2017

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خير الفؤاد يوسف

مدير التحرير:

فخرياتي

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أدوين ويرينجا (جامعة كولونيا)

أنابيل تيه جالوب (المكتبة البريطانية، المملكة المتحدة)

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كوسناتنو

صوفي احمد

الصورة في الغلاف الأمامي مأخوذة من الصورة في المقالة

“Islam Nusantara: A Semantic and Symbolic Analysis”

محور هذه المجلة هو تزويد القراء بمعلومات حول خطة إندونيسية ودولية في تطوير المؤلفات والتراث الديني من خلال نشر المقالات والتقارير البحثية ومراجعات الكتب.

تركزت هريتيج اوف نوسانتارا للبحث في المؤلفات الدينية سواء كانت معاصرة أو قديمة، والتراث الديني الواقع في جنوب شرق آسيا، وترحب بمساهمات المثقفين والعلماء المتخصصين في هذا المجال.

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