

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

12727 - WORMSER, Paul. *Le Bustan al-Salatin de Nuruddin
Nuruddin Lami ar-Raniri: réflexions sur le rôle culturel d'un étranger
dans le monde malais au XVIIe siècle.* Paris: Maison
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12272 WORMSER, Paul. *Le Bustan al-Salatin de Nuriddin*
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140688

DIA

NÛREDDĪN er-RÂNĪRĪ

Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-

A commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, being an exposition of the salient points of distinction between the positions of the theologians, the philosophers, the Sūfīs and the pseudo-Sūfīs on the ontological relationship between God and the world and related questions .--
Ministry of Culture, Kuala Lumpur, 1986 :

Rānīrī, Nūr al-Dīn al-

NÛREDDÎN er-RÂNÎRÎ**Madde Yayınlandıktan Sonra Gelen Doküman****21.08.2017**

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A commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq of Nur al-Din al-Raniri, being an exposition of the salient points of distinction between the positions of the theologians, the philosophers, the Sufis and the pseudo-Sufis on the ontological relationship between God and the world and related questions .-- Ministry of Culture, Kuala Lumpur, 1986 :

Video | Art - modern; Raniri, Nur al-Din al-

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Fathurahman, Oman

The roots of the writing tradition of hadīth works in Nusantara: Hidāyāt al-habīb by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī .-- 2012 ISSN: 0215-0492 : Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies, vol. 19 i pp. 47-76, (2012)

; Rānīrī, Nūr al-Dīn al-

Nureddin er-Raniri (140688)

۲۹۰

تاریخ تولد او مشخص نیست، ولی محل تولد او رانیر (یا راندری^۱)، بندرگاهی در گجرات بود. مادرش مالایی و پدرش از قبایل عرب حَضْرَمِی بود که پیشتر به جنوب و جنوب شرق آسیا مهاجرت کرده بودند (عطاس^۲، ۱۹۶۶، ص ۱۲؛ ازرا^۳، ص ۵۴؛ نیز به تصوف^۴، بخش ۶: تصوف در جنوب شرقی آسیا).

رانیری تحصیلات مقدماتی را در رانیر گذراند و تحت تأثیر عمومش به تصوف گرایش یافت. سپس برای فراگیری علوم دینی عازم حضرموت شد و در ۱۰۳۰ یا ۱۰۳۱ به مکه و مدینه سفر کرد. آنگاه برای تکمیل تحصیلات خود در پاهانگ^۴ (از شهرهای مجمع الجزایر) سکونت گزید و در همین دوره به زبان مالایی تسلط یافت (ازرا، ص ۵۶؛ جنوب شرق آسیا^۵، ذیل «نورالدین الرانیری»؛ ریدل^۶، ۲۰۰۹، ص ۱۷۶-۱۷۷).

برجسته ترین استاد رانیری در گجرات، ابوحنیف عمرین عبداللّه باشبیان^۷ (متوفی ۱۰۶۶)، معروف به سید علم عیدروس، منسوب به عیدروسیه^۸ تَریم^۹ بود. او در انتقال علوم اسلامی از تَریم و مکه و مدینه به هند و مجمع الجزایر مالایی از طریق رانیری سهم عمده ای داشت. باشبیان او را به طریقه رفاعیه^{۱۰} وارد کرد و چندی بعد رانیری خلیفه او شد و مأموریت یافت تا این طریقت را در مجمع الجزایر تبلیغ کند. او همچون استادش به طریقت عیدروسیه، از شاخه های قادریه، نیز وارد شد و در این شاخه نیز به مقام خلافت رسید (عطاس، ۱۹۶۶، ص ۱۳؛ ازرا، ص ۵۶-۵۸). ازاین رو، باید رانیری را مهم ترین عالم عیدروسی در مجمع الجزایر دانست.

از سفر نخست رانیری به مجمع الجزایر اطلاعی در دست نیست، اما احتمالاً بین سالهای ۱۰۲۹ تا ۱۰۴۷ مدتی در آچه^{۱۱} یا پاهانگ یا در هر دو اقامت داشته است. انتصاب ناگهانی وی به مقام شیخ الاسلامی حکومت آچه در ۱۰۴۷ نشان می دهد که در جامعه مالایی اعتبار و شهرت داشته و با زبان و فرهنگ آنجا آشنا بوده است. آشنایی رانیری با فرهنگ و زبان ساکنان مجمع الجزایر به سبب آن بود که مادرش مالایی بود و تعداد درخور توجهی از مردم گجرات نیز مهاجران مجمع الجزایر بودند که نزد بازرگانان کارگری و خدمتکاری می کردند. به علاوه، رانیری در سفر به حجاز با اهالی جاوه ای آنجا مراد شده است. عمومی صوفی او، محمد جیلانی نیز بین سالهای ۹۸۸ تا ۹۹۱ در آچه زندگی کرده و اطلاعاتی از فضای علمی و اجتماعی و مذهبی آچه در اختیار رانیری قرار داده بود (عطاس، ۱۹۶۶، ص ۱۲؛ ریدل، ۲۰۰۱، ص ۱۱۶-۱۱۷؛ ازرا، ص ۵۵-۵۸).

پیش از ورود رانیری به آچه، مجمع الجزایر مالایی تحت

آقابزرگ طهرانی، ۱۴۰۳، ج ۳، ص ۳۸۷، ج ۲۱، ص ۱۱۰؛ همو، ۱۴۱۱، ص ۳۱۸؛ امین، ج ۷، ص ۴۷۱؛ حسینی اشکوری، ج ۱، ص ۲۸۹) که احتمالاً همان میرقاری کویکی گیلانی (زنده در ۱۰۱۶ و مؤلف آثار چون *زبدة الحقایق* - آقابزرگ طهرانی، ۱۴۰۳، ج ۱۲، ص ۲۵-۲۴، ج ۱۸، ص ۳۵۷-۳۵۶، ج ۲۱، ص ۱۳۹-۱۴۰، ج ۲۲، ص ۱۷۴) است. سال درگذشت عبدالرزاق نامعلوم است؛ همین قدر می دانیم که تا ۱۰۸۷ که شرح *مصباح الشریعة* (به ادامه مقاله) را نوشته، زنده بوده است.

رانکویی از سیدنیمی رکنی شیرازی، عبدعلی بن جمعه حَویزی^{۱۲} و صالح بحرانی اجازه روایت داشت و خود به محمدابراهیم بیواناتی اجازه روایت داد (حسینی اشکوری، همانجا). دو اثر برای رانکویی برشمرده اند: *تحریر القواعد الکلامیة* در شرح *قواعد العقاید*، اثر کلامی خواجه نصیرالدین طوسی؛ و شرح فارسی *مصباح الشریعة و مفتاح الحقیقة* (به افندی اصفهانی، ج ۳، ص ۱۱۵؛ آقابزرگ طهرانی، ۱۴۰۳، ج ۳، ص ۳۸۸-۳۸۷، ج ۲۱، ص ۱۱۰-۱۱۱). *مصباح الشریعة* کتابی اخلاقی و عرفانی منسوب به امام صادق علیه السلام درباره معارف و اخلاق و آداب است. برخی، از جمله رانکویی، گردآورنده این کتاب را به اشتباه شهید ثانی پنداشته اند (درباره این کتاب و نویسنده آن - *مصباح الشریعة*^{۱۳}). نوشتن شرح *قواعد العقاید* در ۱۰۷۷ و شرح *مصباح الشریعة* در ۱۰۸۷ به اتمام رسید (به آقابزرگ طهرانی، ۱۴۰۳، همانجاها؛ رانکویی گیلانی، ج ۱، مقدمه محدث ارموی، ص «از»، «مصح»). شرح *مصباح الشریعة*، که به فارسی روان نوشته شده، با مقدمه و تصحیح محدث ارموی در دو مجلد به چاپ رسیده است (تهران ۱۳۴۳-۱۳۴۴ ش).

منابع: محمدحسن آقابزرگ طهرانی، *الذریعة الی تصانیف الشیعة*، چاپ علی تقی منزوی و احمد منزوی، بیروت ۱۹۸۳/۱۴۰۳؛ همو، *طبقات اعلام الشیعة: الروضة النضرة فی علماء المائة الحادیة عشرة*، بیروت ۱۹۹۰/۱۴۱۱؛ عبداللّه بن عیسی افندی اصفهانی، *ریاض العلماء و حیاض الفضلاء*، چاپ احمد حسینی، قم ۱۴۰۱-۱۴۱۵؛ امین؛ احمد حسینی اشکوری، *تراجم الرجال*، قم ۱۴۱۴؛ عبدالرزاق بن محمد هاشم رانکویی گیلانی، *شرح فارسی مصباح الشریعة و مفتاح الحقیقة*، چاپ جلال الدین محدث ارموی، تهران ۱۳۴۳-۱۳۴۴ ش.

۱. مرضیه جدیدی /

رانیری، نورالدین بن علی، صوفی، فقیه، متکلم، مورخ و سیاستمدار مسلمان قرن یازدهم در مجمع الجزایر مالایا.

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Paul Wormser

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**La rencontre de l'Inde et de l'Égypte dans la vie
et l'œuvre du savant religieux d'expression malaise
Nûruddîn ar-Rânîrî (m. 1658)**

22 Mars 2015

LAADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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DANS les milieux soufis de Médine, le XVII^e siècle est caractérisé par des contacts intellectuels de plus en plus étroits entre les héritiers des soufis shafî'ites égyptiens et les traditions soufies indiennes¹. Des textes soufis écrits en Inde, comme la *Tuhfat al-mursala ilâ rûh al-nabî* de Muhammad ibn Fadl Allâh al-Burhânpûrî (m. 1620) ou les écrits d'Ahmad Sirhindî (m. 1624) sont discutés et commentés dans les Villes saintes, et nombreux sont ceux qui s'initient à des confréries soufies diffusées par des Indiens comme la Shattâriyya et la Naqshbandiyya. Plusieurs grands auteurs soufis illustrent cette rencontre de l'Inde et de l'Égypte à l'époque, notamment l'Égyptien Ahmad al-Shinnawî (m. 1619), Ahmad al-Qushshâshî (m. 1660), natif de Médine, et le Kurde Ibrâhîm al-Kûrânî (m. 1690).

Pour jeter un éclairage différent sur cette période d'échanges intellectuels, nous évoquerons ici la rencontre de l'Inde et de l'Égypte non pas chez un auteur de Médine, mais chez un auteur malais appelé Nûruddîn ar-Rânîrî (c. 1590-1658), ayant exercé à Aceh, sur l'île de Sumatra, à l'extrémité nord-ouest de l'Indonésie actuelle, au milieu du XVII^e siècle. Quand nous parlerons de traditions intellectuelles « indiennes » chez cet auteur, ce sera néanmoins dans un sens un peu particulier, puisqu'il ne s'agira ni de la tradition hindoue en langue sanskrite, ni de la tradition soufie en langue persane, mais d'auteurs soufis écrivant directement en arabe, le plus souvent d'origine arabe et ayant vécu en Inde, dans les provinces côtières du Gujarat et du Deccan. Pour étudier la transmission et l'adaptation de ces œuvres égyptiennes et indiennes dans le monde malais, nous découvrirons ce que deviennent ces œuvres une fois traduites en malais ainsi que leur influence et leur réception dans ce nouvel environnement. Dans un premier temps, nous présenterons brièvement la vie et l'œuvre de Nûruddîn ar-Rânîrî. Puis, nous mettrons en évidence les influences égyptiennes et indiennes dans son œuvre et dans sa démarche intellectuelle. Enfin, nous nous pencherons sur

1. S. Pagani, *Il rinnovamento mistico dell'Islam: Un commento di 'Abd al-Ganî al-Nâbulusî a Ahmad Sirhindî*, Naples, Università degli studi di Napoli «L'Orientale», 2003, p. 38.

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mūrtis. We are led in this direction by the early legends (of the *Citrakalākṣaṇa* of Nagnajit, with its complex textual transmission, and again the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāna*) on the origin of painting, which effectively these myths identify in what we might define as the portraits, respectively, of a young man and the nymph Urvaṣī.¹ Even the images of the gods are, ultimately, their "portraits"; the earliest images of the Buddha, according to the literary re-elaborations, stood in for him in his absence, while the portraits of human beings can be installed with a ceremony (*pratiṣṭhā*) similar to the procedure reserved for divine statues.

The dialectic between human portraits and divine images is developed in the penultimate chapter of the book, where the author advances—gingerly, as hypotheses—his most innovative but convincingly argued interpretations. The basic idea is that portraits and divine images share at least in part common origins or, rather, that at least some representations of superior beings are in a way derived from portraits. The argument focuses mainly on the statues known as *yakṣas*, with the corollary of close analysis of Bharhut, on the legends on the origins of Buddha and Mahāvīra images, and on the representations of the Vṛṣṇi Viras with the first images of Kṛṣṇa. Important for its far-reaching implications is the analysis of the *yakṣas*, where the textual sources the author lines up lead him to suspect that these "early" major divinities are essentially an Indological creation. The great statues of the last two centuries BC, at the beginnings of Indian art and iconography, could be interpreted as actually representing *vīras*/sovereigns. This theory had been advanced as early as 1919 by K.P. JAYASWAL, causing much immediate discussion and being rejected, while the concept of *yakṣa* would soon be canonised by A. K. COOMARASWAMY in his celebrated studies of 1928–1931 (cf. pp. 127–128). On these problems of the origins I feel I must endorse LEFÈVRE's overall, cautious but assertive conclusions: "portraiture is only one explanation for the elaboration and the development of religious iconography"; among other things, it "completely fails to explain Śaiva and Śakta iconography"; but it "should be taken into consideration when dealing with the origins of Indian art" (p. 147).

The book closes with an analysis of the portrait of the sovereign, in which can be seen the portrait par excellence, the model for all the others. Again, this is argued primarily on the evidence of normative texts, where the proportions to depict the human body appear, as in the early system expounded by the *Citrakalākṣaṇa*, to refer to the representation of the *cakravartin*, the universal Emperor. Khmer culture is aptly invoked in the analysis of the political purpose of the portrait. The last issue addressed at length is the portrait of the sovereign in allegorical terms, concentrating on the Gupta and Pallava sculpture. Here a particularly relevant topic in Indian art studies lies in the images subject to twofold (or manifold) interpretation: like the *śleṣa*, the twofold significance of *kāvya*, they are meant to represent diverse stories and personages, divine and royal, at the same time. This is the key to interpretation happily proposed by M. D. RABE on the Great Relief of Mahabalipuram,² and which in Gupta art had long been detected in the Varāha relief of Udayagiri. In what is a recent and impressive general reinterpretation of this site, MICHAEL WILLIS advances a multiple-meaning interpretation of this relief, although, as LEFÈVRE recognises, the results seem a bit far-fetched.³

¹ I have written on the subject: see C. PIERUCCINI: „Some Indian Myths on the Origin of Painting.“ In: J. VACEK (ed.): *Pandanus '05. Nature in Literature, Myth and Ritual*. Prague 2005, pp. 41–57.

² Fully developed in M. D. RABE: *The Great Penance at Māmallapuram. Deciphering a Visual Text*. Chennai 2001.

³ M. WILLIS: *The Archaeology of Hindu Ritual. Temples and the Establishment of the Gods*. Cambridge 2009.

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As we have seen, LEFÈVRE's study proves innovative primarily in approaching the topic of the portrait in specific terms and from all directions. It is also innovative in that the approach generates, both in general and on specific points, original and insightful ideas which will undoubtedly prompt many further researches. More basically, one of the great virtues of this study lies in pointing up objectively, with no wishful thinking, both the deficiencies in the evidence that conclusions have often been drawn from in the past, and the fact that certain data and conclusions have been considered established and repeated as such out of a sort of inertia. His is an approach that Indology is much in need of today in every respect.

CINZIA PIERUCCINI, Milano

by Edwin Vlieringa

PAUL WORMSER: *Le Bustan al-Salatin de Nuruddin ar-Raniri. Réflexions sur le rôle culturel d'un étranger dans le monde malais au XVII^e siècle*. Paris: Association Archipel 2012. 460 S. (Cahiers d'Archipel 41.) ISBN 978-2-910513-64-1. € 35,-.

Im Auftrag des Sultans Iskandar Thani (r. 1637–1641) von Aceh (Sumatra, Indonesien) begann der islamische Gelehrte Nuruddin al-Raniri (geboren in Rander, Gujarat, Indien) im Jahre 1638 mit der Anfertigung des malaiischen Werkes *Bustan al-Salatin* oder „Garten der Könige“. Als es im Jahre 1641 abgeschlossen wurde, lag das wohl umfangreichste Nachschlagewerk der prämodernen malaiischen Literatur vor. Es war zu einer monumentalen Arbeit ausgewachsen: Buch I und II stellen eine Universalgeschichte dar, während die Bücher III–VII zur Gattung des Fürstenspiegels gehören. Insgesamt würde eine Edition etwas mehr als tausend Seiten im Druck umfassen, bislang sind jedoch nur einige ausgewählte Teile publiziert worden und die philologische Grundarbeit muss noch erst geleistet werden. Eine kritische Textausgabe gibt es nicht, aber der Autor des vorliegenden Buches erwähnt, dass er eine Transliterierung des gesamten Werkes hat benutzen können, die von TEUKU ISKANDAR gemacht worden ist. Hoffentlich wird sie, wie angekündigt, bald in Malaysia erscheinen: Bis jetzt müssen Interessenten sich Textfragmente mühsam selbst aus Handschriften aneignen.

Bei dem hier zu rezensierenden Buch handelt es sich um eine Studie, die ursprünglich als Dissertation angefertigt¹ und mit dem „Prix Jeanne Cousinier 2011“ ausgezeichnet wurde. Wie im Untertitel angedeutet, befasst PAUL WORMSER sich hauptsächlich mit der kulturellen Rolle eines „Ausländers“ in der malaiischen Welt im 17. Jahrhundert. Wie WORMSER sehr gut deutlich macht, ist Arabien im *Bustan al-Salatin* geistig und geographisch unbestritten der Mittelpunkt der Welt und wollte der arabischstämmige „Inder“ Nuruddin al-Raniri während seines kurzen Aufenthaltes in Aceh (1637–1644) mit seiner umfassenden Darstellung der lokalen Bevölkerung die arabische Kultur und den „wahren“ Islam der Araber vermitteln. Der „Garten der Könige“ stellt ein Sammelsurium von Wissen dar, das aus vielen arabischen Quellen zusammengetragen und übersetzt worden ist. Praktische Ratschläge für die Tagespolitik sind nicht enthalten und die Moral mehrerer Erzählungen steht im krassen Widerspruch zum Alltagsleben im malaiischen Archipel: Die nahöstliche Misogynie ist ein auffallendes Beispiel, sowie die negative Haltung gegenüber Königen, die als Händler auftreten, obwohl das acehische Sultanat vom ertragreichen Pfefferhandel lebte. Anspielungen auf Südostasien kommen überhaupt nicht vor, außer in den Kapiteln 12 und 13 des zweiten Buches. Die These, dass gerade diese beiden Abschnitte nicht von Nuruddin al-Raniri stammen, hatte CATHERINE ANNE GRINTER

¹ École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. Paris 2010.

03 Mavis 2014

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RĀNĪRĪ'S MALEISCHE GESCHRIFT: EXPOSÉ DER RELIGIES.

DOOR

Dr. PH. S. VAN RONKEL.

Wie Rānīrī was en hoe hij gearbeid heeft buiten zijn Voor-Indisch vaderland, is voldoende bekend.

Reeds in 1866 gaf H. N. van der Tuuk in deze *Bijdragen*, 3e volgr. dl. I, p. 468, eene (bijna volledige) lijst zijner werken; in *De Atjèhers* van C. Snouck Hurgronje en de verhandeling van H. Djajadiningrat over het soeltanaat van Atjèh, in *Bijdragen*, dl. LVI, bl. 135—265 is het noodige over den geleerden auteur vermeld.

Noeraddīn ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasandjī ibn Moehammad Ḥamīd ar-Rānīrī, een voorganger uit Rād̄jputtana herkomstig, vestigde zich in Atjèh en schreef, deels op last van Atjèhsche vorsten, verschillende boeken alsmede strijdschriften tegen de heterodoxe godsdienstleeraren in Noord-Sumatra. Zijn grootste, min of meer encyclopaedische, werk is de *Boestān as-salātīn* (Lusthof der Vorsten), bestaande uit zeven „boeken”, waarvan twee door R. J. Wilkinson (op eigen kosten) uitgegeven zijn.

Wellicht wordt aan deze merkwaardige figuur een studie gewijd, gelijk geschied is ten aanzien van de groote voorgangers, in welke dissertaties, nl. Pangéran Bonang, ʿAbdoerraʿoef van Singkel en Ḥamzah Fānṣoeri, en naar wij hopen eerlang zal geschieden in een proefschrift over Ḥasanoeddīn van Pasai.

Zooals in een volgend opstel in deze *Bijdragen* wordt medegedeeld, bezit ons Instituut één Atjèhsch handschrift, in drie dikke cahiers, dat eene vrije en zeer uitvoerige bewerking bleek te zijn van een Maleisch geschrift van Rānīrī, waarvan het eenig bekende manuscript in H. H. Juynboll's *Catalogus*, bl. 282, wordt beschreven. Het bevat twee geschriften, nl. 1° de *tabjān fī maʿrifat al-adjān* d.i. de kennis der, vóór-Mohammedaansche, godsdiensten¹⁾; 2° de *ichtilāf*

¹⁾ Den titel die twee (eigenlijk vier) Arabische woorden bevat, meenden wij met twee „Fremdwörter” te mogen weergeven, dus niet met: overzicht der godsdiensten, maar exposé der religies.

AL-RANIRI, Nur al-Din (d. 1068/1658)

Nur al-Din al-Raniri was born, date unknown, in Ranir, a famous old port in Gujarat, India, which had a sizable community of Muslims from the various parts of the Islamic world. He died there on 22 Dhu'l-Hijja 1068/September 21, 1658. He was a Sufi, an Ash'arite theologian, a historian, and a zealous missionary who exerted a tremendous influence on the Islamic life and thought of the Malay world, particularly in the kingdom of Aceh, which was a major intellectual and trading center in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

Of Hadhrami descent (and probably mixed with Indian ancestry) from the noble Hamid clan in Ranir, al-Raniri received his early Islamic education in his birthplace in India. Since it was a common practice among his community to visit and maintain close contact with their place of origin, most scholars believe that when al-Raniri made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina in 1030/1621, he also traveled to Hadhramaut and in all likelihood stayed there for a certain period of time to continue his Islamic education. In addition to this, it is also believed that he traveled to the Malay world, to Pahang in the Malay peninsula and to Aceh in north Sumatra, since his family had close contacts with these two places. Al-Raniri was initiated into the Rifa'iyya Order by Sayyid Abu Hafs 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allah Ba Shayban (d. 1066/1656), a Hadhrami born in India, whose spiritual genealogy may be traced back to Sayyid Abu Bakr al-'Aydarus (d. 919/1509), the great saint of Aden: hence, al-Raniri's reference to himself as "belonging to the school of al-'Aydarus."

On the issue of al-Raniri's connection with the Malay world, some scholars contend that his mother may have been a Malay, although there is no conclusive evidence to support it. However, his uncle Muhammad Jaylani Hamid visited Aceh in the 1580s, with the intention of instructing the local Muslim

population in Islamic law and theology, only to discover that the Malays were more interested in Sufism. It should be noted that the Hadhramis of India were active missionaries who played an important role in the Islamization of the Malays.

In 1047/1637 when Iskandar Thani ascended to the throne and became the sultan of Aceh, al-Raniri arrived in Aceh on 6 Muharam/May 31 of the same year. Almost immediately upon his arrival, al-Raniri was appointed to the highest office of *shaykh al-islam* by the new sultan. Al-Raniri's proficiency in the Malay language and excellent standing with the sultan, which led to his rapid rise and influence at the sultan's court, have led many scholars to believe that al-Raniri had a previous close relation with the sultan and had visited and stayed in Aceh and other parts of the Malay world, specifically Pahang in the Malay peninsula, prior to 1047/1637. This view finds support in the fact that al-Raniri had started writing books in Malay, such as the well-known *al-Sirat al-mustaqim* (The Straight Path) which he began in 1044/1633; and he also possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the sultans of Pahang as demonstrated in his major work, *Bustan al-salatin* (Garden of Kings). Furthermore, Iskandar Thani belonged to the Pahang royal family.

The first task al-Raniri undertook as the *shaykh al-islam* of Aceh was to refute the metaphysical and spiritual or *wujud-iyya* teachings of Hamzah FANSURI (d. c. 1000/1600) and Shams al-Din al-Sumatra'i SUMATRANI (d. 1039/1630) which were popular and widespread among the local Malays. In debates held at the sultan's palace, al-Raniri succeeded in proving the heretical nature of their teachings and had their writings burnt and many of their followers persecuted. Al-Raniri's polemics with the *wujud-iyya* school are documented in several of his works, the most important among them being the *Hujjat al-siddiq li daf' al-zindiq* (Proofs of the Truthful in

JESUS AND THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE WRITINGS OF NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RANĪRĪ

By KAREL A. STEENBRINK

In the 17th century Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī was one of the most prominent scholars of the Sultanate of Aceh (now a province of the Indonesian Republic). In a book on Islamic law he commented critically on Hindus, Jews and Christians. In other works he contributed more positively to the Muslim debate on the significance of Jesus and the Holy Spirit. Al-Ranīrī sometimes deviates from the mainstream of Muslim scholarship, especially in stating his theory of the Spirit as a mediate and independent substance between God and man. Thus, he can hardly be accepted as representing orthodox Muslim thought.

The Indian scholar Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī holds a very respectable position in the history of Malay literature and Islamic studies in the Malay and Indonesian archipelago. The catalogues of Malay manuscripts enumerate about 800 titles, 30 of which are works by al-Ranīrī, and these are certainly not among the shorter ones. His historical work, the *Bustān al-salāṭīn*, partly written in the genre of the mirror for princes, is probably the longest work in this literary corpus.

Al-Ranīrī was born in Gujerat, the peninsula in the north-west of India. The date of his birth is unknown, but it was probably towards the end of the 16th century. In the multi-racial society of Gujerat, al-Ranīrī was part of the network of emigrants from Hadramaut in south Arabia, who settled in the harbours of all major towns on the coast of the Indian ocean. He received a classical type of education, partly in India and partly in Arabia, both in Mecca and in Hadramaut. He then sought a career as a religious scholar in the Malay world. It has been suggested that he lived in the Malay area before 1637, and even that his mother was Malay. His mastery of the Malay language, literature and history suggests a longer period in the Malay world than the seven years of his stay in Aceh, 1637–1644, the best known period of his life. Whatever the precise details of his life-story, he was certainly not the first to have this kind of career in his environment. He followed in the footsteps of his uncle, who between 1580

JESUS IN THE WRITINGS OF AL-RANĪRĪ

and 1600 had a modest career as a visiting scholar in Aceh, the Kingdom in the north of the island of Sumatra. When al-Ranīrī arrived (again?) in Aceh in 1637 he was more successful. He was nominated to the very important position of *shaykh al-islām*, one of the major posts in the Sultanate, probably even more influential than the other two major officials, the Qāḍī Mālik al-ʿAdil and the Orangkaya Maharaja Srimaharaja. His function was partly religious, but not purely so. The Dutch called him bishop, but also made clear that his position was quite important in political affairs. He was surely much more of a scholar than Rasputin and more religious than Richelieu, but aspects of both can be found in his career as a politician and master of intrigue at the court of Aceh. Economically he was one of the returning Gujerati traders, who were allowed to come back to Aceh after the death of Sultan Iskandar Muda¹ in 1636. Ideologically he was the great-inquisitor, who condemned the ideas of his predecessor, Shams al-Dīn of Pasi, as well as the ideas of the poet and mystic Ḥamza Faṅṣūrī. He had their works burnt on the big square in front of the mosque of Banda Aceh and several adherents of their doctrines condemned to death. He held his position under Iskandar Thānī (1636–1641) and also during the first years of the first woman sultan in Aceh, Ṣafīyyat al-Dīn. In August 1643, however, an adherent of the doctrines of Shams al-Dīn came back from his studies in Arabia and started a campaign against al-Ranīrī. This campaign no doubt also had its economic and political aspects. Al-Ranīrī fell into disgrace, had to leave Aceh quite abruptly in 1644 and returned to Gujerat, where he died as a respected scholar in 1658.²

Al-Ranīrī is well-known up to the present time in Indonesia and Malaysia for his *Ṣirāt al-mustaqīm*, a book on the rules of Islamic ritual (*fiḥ ʿibāda*) still printed and studied in traditional Islamic schools and mosques. In the academic world he is known for his *Bustān al-salāṭīn*, a lengthy and complex work, starting with a cosmological part, followed by a summary of al-Ṭabarī's *History of the Kings and the Prophets* and completed with a mirror for princes. Al-Ranīrī also wrote a work on "comparative religion" in the tradition of the work by al-Shahrastānī, called *Tibyān fī maʿrifat al-adyān*. Most of his works, however, concentrate on mysticism. In this field al-Ranīrī accused some of his predecessors in Aceh of pantheism. Al-Ranīrī himself still adhered to the doctrines of Ibn ʿArabī and al-Jīlī in what is often called a "moderate" interpretation. The Institute of Islamic Studies of the Indonesian province of Aceh accepted the name of this scholar on its official sign: Al-Jāmi'a al-

„The struggle of the *Irshad*”? (p. 157). Een uitgebreider verklarend commentaar is voortaan gewenst.

En dan moet nog, helaas, opgemerkt worden, dat verscheidene passages vrijwel onbegrijpelijk zijn geworden door de erbarmelijk slechte Engelse vertaling.

Het begin is al afschrikwekkend slecht: de hele inleiding op p. 3 en 4 is slechts begrijpelijk als men de moeite neemt deze quasi-Engelse tekst te ontwarren op de manier waarop een gymnasiast een lange zin van Livius ontleedt. De lezer neemt echter het boek ter hand om de inhoud, en niet om zijn tijd te verdoen aan taalkundige legpuzzles. En deze bladzijden laten zich althans tenslotte ontraadselen, maar wat moet iemand denken van de abracadabra op p. 41? (That circumstance . . . with a rival).

Stuntelige vertalingen zijn er te veel om op te noemen: „regents who had orders to place” (p. 78), „The heads”, i.p.v. „headmen” of „chieftains” (p. 135), enz. „Troups” wordt gebruikt i.p.v. „troops” (p. 146), „guardianship” i.p.v. „tutelage” (p. 131). Wat zijn in hemelsnaam „inviolables”? (p. 60). Waarom groteske Neubildungen als „ethnographica” (p. 3) en „intra-mondane”? (p. 129). „Self-consciousness” (p. 131) betekent niet zelfbewustheid, maar verlegenheid, dus precies het tegengestelde — en zo kan men doorgaan.

Het zij de Redactie van deze serie aangeraden, de vertaling van het aangekondigde tweede deel van Schriekes geschriften eerst grondig te laten keuren voordat tot publicatie wordt overgegaan. Zij heeft de verantwoordelijkheid ervoor te zorgen, dat Nederlandse wetenschappelijke geschriften niet in volkomen ridicule vorm de wereld ingaan.

P. E. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG.

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TWEE MALEISE GESCHRIFTEN VAN NURUDDIN AR-RANIRI, in facsimile uitgegeven met aantekeningen door P. Voorhoeve. Uitgaven van de Stichting De Goeje no. 16, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1955. 43, 128, 27 blz. kl. 4°, ingen. f 9,—.

Over Nūruddin ar-Rāniri is in de laatste jaargangen van dit tijdschrift herhaaldelijk geschreven (dl. 102, 104, 107, 111). Daarbij is aan het eerste der thans door Voorhoeve uitgegeven geschriften, het “Exposé der Religies” (*Tibyān al-adyān*, niet Tabyān, zoals men tot dusverre placht te schrijven), door Van Ronkel reeds een geheel artikel gewijd, dat evenwel, de omstandigheden in acht genomen, toen nog allerminst definitief kon zijn. Een gedeelte van de tekst van de *Tibyān* was reeds in facsimile afgedrukt bij een tweede artikel. Dit fragment zowel als de volledige, nu door Voorhoeve uitgegeven tekst zijn ontleend aan het enige complete handschrift, de Leidse Cod. Or. 3291 uit het legaat Van der Tuuk, een „niet zeer zorgvuldige copie, waarschijnlijk omstreeks 1855 . . . gemaakt naar een goed oud exemplaar, dat uit Atjèh afkomstig was”. De tweede, veel kleinere verhandeling, die hier is afgedrukt, is de *Hudjdjat as-siddik li-daf' az-zindik*, het „Argument van den vrome ter weerlegging van den ketter”. Deze tekst is gereproduceerd naar het enige hs. dat ervan bekend is: no. 93 van de collectie Maxwell in de bibliotheek van de Royal Asiatic Society te Londen, bl. 119-145. Daarbij kon een reeds door Van der Tuuk in 1866 vermeld hs. van de verzameling van het Batav. Genootschap, dat geruime tijd onvindbaar is geweest doch kort geleden toch aanwezig bleek, ter vergelijking worden benut, zij het dan dat het alleen maar de Arabische woorden en zinsneden van de *Hudjdjat* bevat.

De uitgever heeft niet volstaan met een reproductie van de foto's van het handschrift zonder meer. Hij heeft retouches aangebracht, die hij „vrij ingrijpend” noemt (bl. 24). Zij komen grotendeels hierop neer, dat foutiefelijk dubbel geschreven woorden of passages zijn verwijderd — waardoor soms witte plekken zijn ontstaan die men niet voor lacunes in de tekst moet houden —, terwijl evidente omissies van een of enkele letters werden aangevuld, voor zover daarvoor plaats was. Door deze bewerking, zegt de uitgever, „is echter nog lang geen feilloze tekst ontstaan”. In de apparatus criticus heeft hij evenwel zich veel moeite gegeven de resterende onvolkomenheden van de tekst te signaleren. Dat hij daarbij hier en daar nog iets over het hoofd heeft gezien en dat nog niet alle vergissingen en verwarringen zijn ontrafeld, doet niet af aan het feit dat de lezer de aantekeningen met veel vrucht ter hand zal nemen. Door zijn nauwgezette collatie der hss. en zijn beoordeling der gevonden varianten heeft de uitgever de lezers veel moeite bespaard.

Het aantal drukfouten in de compres gezette Inleiding is zeer gering; ik merkte op: p. 5 nt. 3 Hujerat, lees Gujerat; p. 9 nt. 1 r. 3 G. Ritter, I. H. Ritter; p. 15 r. 26 Rāniri l. Rāniri; p. 29 r. 6 v.o. 12 l. 11; p. 31 r. 8: na p. 65 is r. 2 vergeten; r. 13 *tikrār* l. *takrār*; p. 34 r. 7 *Mulāhidah*, l. *Malāhidah* (pl. v. *mulhid*); p. 35 r. 14 v.o.: na het 4de woord geen; maar::; p. 43 r. 10 v.o. *denfan* l. *dengan*. Voorts zou in de eerste tekst bl. 46 r. 4 het storende *s-k* voor *barang sekehendak*, dat kennelijk een verschrijving is, wel geschrapt hebben kunnen worden, terwijl ik mij afvraag, of op bl. 23 r. 7 v.o. het laatste woord (*tiap*²) niet als een verschrijving voor *tiada* had moeten worden aangemerkt, dat dan met het voorafgaande *dan* (als vertaling van Arab. *walā*) een ontkennende omstandigheidszin inleidt, waardoor een betere aansluiting met het *maka* van de volgende regel wordt verkregen. Dan ware dus te lezen (1e verh. p. 23, r. 6): *Amat njata kesalahan mereka itu karena ditamhilkkan mereka itu hakk ta'ala dengan machluk seperti matahari dan panas jang hadith keduanja; maka dihubungkannya machluk dengan hakk ta'ala seperti perhubungan panas dengan matahari dan tiada sesuatu daripada keduanja berhubung maka mithal jang demikian itu muhal sekali-kali tiada diperoleh pada hakk ta'ala*, d.w.z.: „Hun dwaling is zeer evident, daar zij God de verhevene en het geschapene vergelijken met de zon en de hitte — die beide geschapen zijn; zij nemen dus tussen het geschapene en God de verhevene dezelfde relatie aan als er bestaat tussen hitte en zon, terwijl zulk een relatie geenszins voorhanden is, zodat een dusdanige vergelijking absurd is en volstrekt onaanvaardbaar (*memperoleh* = Arab. *adraka*) ten aanzien van God de verhevene”.

De onverklaarbare woorden in regel 1 en 2 op blz. 25 van de tweede verhandeling lees ik als *laworah* en *idami*; vgl. voor *laworah* Sund. *lalawora*, zorgeloos, onverschillig, lichtzinnig. Wanneer men aanneemt, dat er staat: *serta terlantjar lisan jang laworah tatkala mabuknja dan jang mengigau tatkala tidur dan idami dengan sesuatu pekerdjaan* . . . „doorslaan doet de tong van een frivoool iemand in dronkenschap en van iemand die ijlt wanneer hij in de slaap naar iets hunkert . . .”, dan past dit heel goed in het verband van de uiteenzetting der *sjaḥiyyāt*, waarmee de schrijver deze korte verhandeling besluit.

Sjaḥiyyāt heten de in geestesverrukking gedane uitspraken der Sufi's welke op het eerste gehoor de perken van hetgeen het schepsel voegt te buiten gaan. Zeer van pas is de bespreking hiervan aan het einde van deze brochure, waarin het netelige, in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw in Atjèh zeer actuele vraagstuk van de verhouding tussen het Zijn Gods en het zijn der wereld aan de orde is. Ter inleiding schetst ar-Rāniri eerst de onderscheidene posities die de discursieve theologen, de mystici en de filosofen te dien aanzien innemen; de leer van deze laatsten, dat de wereld een eeuwige emanatie uit het goddelijke Zijn, niet schepping Gods zou zijn, wordt natuurlijk afgewezen. Daarop overgaande tot het eigenlijke doel van zijn geschrift, het aan de kaak stellen van de ketterse Wudjūdiyya, toetst hij de zijnsleer

- 1938 Naschrift (op Nauta's verweer). K.T. 27, 1938, b. 378—381.
 1938 De executie van Teukoe Tjhi' Toenong te Lhō Seumawè in 1905. K.T. 27, 1938, b. 490—492.
 1938 Een roman over Bali. K.T. 27, 1938, b. 585—590.
 1938 Ibn Sa'oe'd, het Chalifaat en de Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant. K.T. 27, 1938, b. 680—683.
 1938 Naschrift K.T. 27, 1938, b. 685 (op verdediging van L. van Vuuren).
 1938 Litteratuur. H. C. Zentgraaff: Atjèh. K.T. 27, 1938, b. 716—726.
 1939 Verduisteringsproeven in de Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant. K.T. 28, 1939, b. 188—190.
 1939 Een verbazingwekkende dissertatie. K.T. 28, 1939, b. 387—398.
 1939 De snoode aap, de arme schildpad en de bedrogen tijger. Cultureel Indië, 1, 1939, b. 4—6.
 1939 De legende van de heilige zeven slapers in het Atjèhsch. B.K.I. 98, 1939, b. 407—488. Ook verschenen als overdruk, zowel van het geheel als van den Atjèhschen tekst afzonderlijk. 's Gravenhage 1939. Hikajat Eëlia Toedjöh (Atjèhsche tekst).
 1941 Islām en Sirihpoean te Bima (Soembawa). Atjèhsche invloeden? B.K.I. 100, 1941, b. 55—70.
 1941 Atjèhsche handel in liefde en goud. Cultureel Indië 3, 1941, b. 17—19.
 1942 Nadere Sirihpoean-gegevens. B.K.I. 101, 1942, b. 113—115.
 1942 Nog iets over de zeven slapers (in het Atjèhsch). B.K.I. 101, 1942, b. 403—404.
 1946 Balisch Hindoeïsme in „Onder palmen en waringins”, samengesteld door Jan Poortenaar en Dr W. Ph. Coolhaas, Naarden, 1946, b. 79—155.
 1947 Atjèhse Varia in „Letterkunde van de Indische Archipel” verzameld en ingeleid door prof. dr J. Gonda, Amsterdam, 1947, b. 66—68.
 1948 Hikajat Kisah Oelat. Wormstekige stenen op Atjèh (en in Minangkabau?). B.K.I. 104, 1948, b. 515—539. Ook als afzonderlijke uitgave verkrijgbaar (1948).
 1948 In „Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjèh-oorlog” door generaal K. van der Maaten. 2 dln. 1948. „Portret van den Auteur” vooraan in dl. I, 3 blad.
 1950 De man in de put, door alle eeuwen heen en in vele landen, ook op Atjèh, in „Bingkisan Budi, een bundel opstellen aan Dr Ph. S. van Ronkel aangeboden op zijn 80e verjaardag 1 Augustus 1950”, b. 95—103.
 1952 Boekbespreking W. A. Braasem en R. Nieuwenhuys. Volkspoezie uit Indonesië. B.K.I. 108, 1952, b. 381—387.
 1953 De slang in de steen en de twee Cornelia's Valentijn. B.K.I. 109, 1953, b. 164—179.

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BKI III (1955) s. 137-151

DE HERKOMST VAN NURUDDIN AR-RANIRI

De uit India naar Atjèh gekomen geleerde Nuruddin ar-Raniri — voluit geheten Nūr al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. Ḥasandjī b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd —, die na de dood van Sultan Iskandar Muda gedurende zeven jaren (1637—1644) in Atjèh de ketterse mystiek heeft bestreden, voert achter zijn naam de aanduiding al-Rānīrī, d.w.z.: de uit Rānīr herkomstige. Nederlandse auteurs spellen dikwijls Raniri; Voorhoeve heeft er kortgeleden op gewezen dat deze hardnekkige onjuistheid teruggaat op een spelfout in Snouck Hurgronjes *De Atjèhers* (II, 13 nt.2)¹⁾. Deze fout staat ook in de Engelse vertaling van dit werk, en zij is later eveneens door anderen (Kraemer, Van Nieuwenhuyze) nagevolgd. Dat er inderdaad van een spelfout sprake is, blijkt wanneer men Niemanns *Bloemlezing*, waarnaar Snouck Hurgronje verwijst, opslaat. In het aldaar opgenomen, aan de *Bustanussalatin* ontleende stuk over de geschiedenis van Atjèh (blz. 124 v.d. 2^e druk) staat van Nuruddins oom Muhammad Djailani: *Rānīr nama negerinja*, en met lange a spellen de Maleise geschriften ook wanneer zij van Nuruddin gewag maken. Waar ligt nu dit Rānīr?

Snouck Hurgronje spreekt t.a.p. (blz. 13, 14) van „de beroemde Raniri uit Goedjrat”, en de herkomst van deze Moslimse godgeleerde uit dit door levendige handelsbetrekkingen met Atjèh verbonden land werd wel als vaststaande beschouwd, totdat Rouffaer in 1921 met een andere mening voor de dag kwam.

Rouffaer hield het ervoor dat Nuruddin afkomstig was uit „het dorp „Raner” in den staat Bikanir... recht N. van de hoofdstad van dien naam, in Rajputana”. Hij zou dus zijn „een sterk vermaleischte Radjpoet-Arabier, niet een Guzerat-Arabier, zooals men nog altijd meent”²⁾.

Van Ronkel nam Rouffaers opvatting over (Bijdr. K.I. 102, bl. 461),

¹⁾ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* Vol. XIV (1952), p. 341 nt. 2. Voorhoeve verwijst naar *The Achehnese* Vol. II p. 12 nt.

²⁾ *Bijdragen Kon. Inst.* dl. 77 (1921), blz. 464 nt. 3.

'spiralling movement' or 'arabesque' or 'orchestration', however appropriate these may be to the unity of effect where the Qur'ān is being directly chanted aloud or indirectly chanted in stone-work and calligraphy. Rather, the criteria will be such as mankind knows in experience but cannot itself control or predict – a likeness as in a family of occasions where there is a conspicuously recognizable belonging together, along with an obvious diversity in feature, mood, gait. Undoubtedly the chapters of the Qur'ān share a common focus on a diversity of matters unified by that very attention to them – by the need for guidance about them in that relation together, with an absolute conviction that the guidance is from God, and must be so or it cannot meet the need which it has made self-conscious. This is an aspect of *tafsīr* which has not received such attention as would satisfy a Western non-Muslim interest in the Qur'ān, an interest seriously ill at ease with form that remains on the edge of its deliberate grasp.

Oxford

Jamil Qureshi

A COMMENTARY ON THE ḤUJJAT AL-ṢIDDĪQ OF NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ. By Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas. Ministry of Culture: Kuala Lumpur, 1986. Pp.536. \$70 (Malaysian).

With the exception of *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān, the tradition of commentary writing has all but vanished from the core of the modern Muslim intellectual repertoire. But even in the Qur'ānic *tafsīr*, the qualitative gap between the modern and 'classical' work is very clear. The constant and steady criticisms, by Orientalists such as Bayard Dodge, and modern Muslim scholars like the late Fazlur Rahman, of the lack of originality of commentaries and super-commentaries in vogue during the so-called dark ages of Islam, may perhaps have discouraged many modern Muslim scholars from reviving this unique Islamic intellectual practice. Certainly the criticisms concerning the lack of originality are justified, though not wholly so, nor need be limited to only the area of commentary work. The intellectual contributions of Muslim scholars, generally speaking, even in non-commentary works are wanting in creativity or originality, even when creativity and originality are defined within the parameters of Islamic norms.

A good commentary work requires many and diverse intellectual talents and serves as an indispensable tool of education. It was utilized throughout Islamic history. The Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet need to be commented upon in order to preserve their original linguistic meanings, and the meanings understood by the Prophet and his contemporaries, and their socio-historical circumstances. Commentaries especially of important works make their traditions and ideas continually relevant to subsequent generations. Similarly, and perhaps with different emphasis, Muslim scholars have been making long commentaries upon originally brief great works in order to elucidate and elaborate their full and wider meanings. A modern Muslim critic of commentary work may cite the great Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (d. 1763) who advised students to approach the study of the Qur'ān without any commentary.

But Shāh Walī Allāh only recommended such freedom as a *first step*, and not as the whole approach to the understanding of the Qur'ān. Even great minds, such as that of Ibn Sīnā (d. 1038), needed commentary to enable him to understand a certain discipline or work properly. He, in his autobiography, tells us that he could not understand Aristotle's *Metaphysics* even after reading it forty times and memorizing it until he read al-Fārābī's commentary on it, i.e. *Maqālāt fī Aghrād mā ba'd a-tabī'ah* (Treatise on the Aims of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*).

It is in this context that the present work of Prof. al-Attas occupies a unique place in modern Muslim intellectual development. The book was written by Prof. al-Attas as the first holder of the Tun Abdul Razak distinguished chair of Southeast Asian Studies at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. Perhaps it is the only book so far produced by any holder of that prestigious chair. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658) was certainly a major figure in the Islamization of the Malay world. The subtitle of the book summarizes the content very accurately: 'Being an exposition of the salient points of distinction between the positions of the theologians, the philosophers, the sufis and the pseudo-sufis on the ontological relationship between God and the world and related questions.' Like the Professor's previous work, as well as his latest on the first extant Malay manuscript, the Malay translation of the theological tract, '*Aqā'id* of Nasafī (University of Malaya Press, 1988), *A Commentary* reflects his meticulous scholarship as well as his comprehensive involvement in the production of a book: from the conception stage to choosing the paper and type font – indeed even the calligraphy which appears on the half-title page, and especially the three-page poem praising God and prayers on the Prophet in beautiful, poetic 'classical' Malay.

The book contains a forty-seven page introduction, which examines in great detail the biography of al-Rānīrī, his sources on sufi doctrines and metaphysics, a list of his writings mostly in Malay and Arabic, a summary of his school of thought, his tremendous influence on the Islamization of the Malay world, particularly Indonesia and Peninsular Malaysia, and finally a description of the text of *Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddiq* itself. The text, which is presented immediately after the introduction, is only twenty-six pages long, followed by a lucid and clear translation with numerous footnotes identifying the exact Qur'ānic verses, collections of *ḥadīth*, and (perhaps what is historically more important), the exact sources of the authors or names of books cited by al-Rānīrī, who on many occasions only mentioned either the author or the book, but not both. The authors and their books directly cited by al-Rānīrī for this particular work, and others that influenced his sufi and metaphysical ideas have been, with a few exceptions, painstakingly identified by Prof. al-Attas (pp.15–24). The list reflects al-Rānīrī's wide scholarship who utilized almost all of the major theological and sufi writings on Islam, which is amply vindicated by his concise yet subtle elucidation of major theological-intellectual currents in Islam. The fact that the work was done to satisfy requests by the ruler and many notables in the first half of 17th Century Aceh (p.54 original, p.84 trans.) indicates that the intellectual atmosphere of that time, at least among the ruling elites – relative to ours – was serious and profound. It also reflects their deep personal

NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ'S
 HUJJAT AL-ŞIDDĪQ LI-DAF' AL-ZINDĪQ
 re-examined

by
 G. W. J. DREWES

Introduction

Nūr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥasanjī b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd, surnamed al-Rānīrī, a scholar of Indo-Arab stock, was born in an Arab family whose founder had settled down in Rānīr, *i.e.*, present-day Rander in Gujarat. He came to Aceh in 1637, after the death of the famous ruler Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) and lived here till 1644, when he returned to India.¹ Short though his sojourn was, he has not fallen into oblivion in Aceh: the present State Theological Institute (Institut Agama Islam Negeri) in Bandar Aceh bears his name. What with his mordant public stigmatization of current mystical doctrine, what with his numerous polemic and paraenetic writings, and last but not least by his encyclopaedic *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* he won himself an abiding place in Indonesian cultural history.

His works were widely read, also in later times,² as is evidenced by the number of copies preserved in various libraries;³ moreover, some of these were translated into other Indonesian languages and two even into Tamil, and through this intermediary into Arabic.⁴ The major part of these writings is not available in print. Parts of the *Bustān* have been edited by various hands, but the editors confined themselves mainly to the first and the second Book of this comprehensive work. But now that the third Book, long considered lost, has been recovered,⁵ a complete critical edition of al-Rānīrī's *magnum opus* should be taken in hand. The *Şirāṭ al-mustaqīm*⁶ and the *Hidāyat al-ḥabīb*⁷ were published in Mecca about 80 years ago. Dr. Van Nieuwenhuijze reproduced in facsimile two short *risālahs*, *viz.* *Ḥall al-ẓill*

¹ See my paper "De herkomst van Nuruddin arRaniri" ('What place did Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī come from?'), in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 111 (1955), pp. 137-151.

² See, for instance, Van Ronkel, *Cat. of the Malay MSS. in the library of the (former) Batavia Society*, p. 373, where it is told that, because of the difficulties presented by ms. copies of al-Rānīrī's *Şirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, in 1193/1779 the Sultan of Banjar charged the Banjar scholar Muhammad Arshad with furnishing a recast of this work. This recast, called *Sabīl al-muhtadīn li'l-tafaqquh fi amr al-dīn*, was printed in Mecca in 1310/1892 with the *Şirāṭ al-mustaqīm* in the margin, and reprinted several times.

³ See the list of al-Rānīrī's works by Dr. P. Voorhoeve in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 111 and the additional MSS. registered in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 115, p. 90; reprinted in Indonesian translation by Tudjimah, *Asrār al-insān*, thesis Jakarta 1961, pp. 9-22.

⁴ *B.K.I.*, Vol. 117 (1961), p. 482. Some of al-Rānīrī's works were originally written in Arabic or exist in both languages.

⁵ See *B.K.I.*, Vol. 117 (1961), p. 482.

⁶ See note 2.

⁷ Printed in Mecca in 1311/1893, in the margin of Da'ud b. 'Abdallah al-Patani's *Jam' al-fawā'id*, under the title *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya*.

aumakua-figures with its multitude of hats makes only sense if it is derived from an original little hut with a multitude of roofs — in the *aumakua*-figures in pl. I fig. 4 even the four poles of the hut have been indicated — and this in turn is typical for Indonesia, especially for Sumatra (Batak, Minangkabau).

It was suggested in my first paper, that part of the polynesian migration went along the south coast of New Guinea, as indonesian influences seem to be stronger in the eastern than in the western part of this island. I might mention here as will be shown in a forthcoming paper, that the stone axes of the Mt. Hagen Region in South East New Guinea are of a purely indonesian type, and related to the bronze axes of Eastern Indonesia.

Utrecht,

G. H. R. VON KOENIGSWALD.

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BKI 107 (1951)
S. 353-368

VAN EN OVER NŪRUDDĪN AR-RĀNĪRĪ

1. Biografische feiten en veronderstellingen.

Aan het slot van ar-Rānīrī's werk *Djawāhir al-'ulūm fi kasf al-ma'fūm* vinden wij, zoals Van Ronkel reeds bij de beschrijving van een der Bataviase handschriften heeft opgemerkt, een biografische aantekening over de auteur. Deze luidt als volgt:

وهذا اخر ما اشار اليه المؤلف في صدر الكتاب بفضل الله العلي وتوفيقه
 الجلي فله الحمد لا يعك العادون والشكر لا يحصره المحاصرون وكان الفراغ من
 تسويد خاتمة هذا الكتاب يوم الاثنين وقت الظهر قد مضت ثمانية
 وعشرون من شهر ذي الحجة المباركة سنة ست وسبعين بعد الالف
 من تلك الهجرة العلية والدهر الفضلية علي صاحبها افضل الصلوة
 والناميات والتحيات الزاكيات هـ تنبيه هـ ايها الناظر لهذا الكتاب
 والفايري لهذا الخطاب ان هذا الكتاب قد الف مؤلفه
 رحمه الله تعالي ورضى عنه من اوله الي اخر باب الخامسة
 فلما انتهى اليه التأليف جاء التقدير وعجز التدبير فسافر
 الي بلخ الرايز سنة اربع وخمسين بعد الالف فامر
 لاحد تلامذته ان يتبه فيفضل الله وعنايته
 أمتسك امره العالي وخطابه العالي
 بعد ما مضى الزمان
 وبعد العصر

ان

ترجم الخاتمة من كتب العربية الي لسان الجاوي كما هو المشار اليه

KORTE MEDEDELINGEN

FUKAMI SUMIO

OVER HET VERSLAG COMMISSIE UMBGROVE

Over het verslag van de Commissie Umbgrove heeft de heer C. Fasseur in zijn artikel in deze *Bijdragen* (deel 133, no. 2/3) als volgt geschreven (blz. 264):

Het onderzoek van de commissie heeft daardoor, ook in de literatuur over het cultuurstelsel, niet de aandacht gekregen die het verdiende. Eerst Burger heeft in zijn proefschrift "De ontsluiting van Java's binnenland voor het wereldverkeer" op de betekenis van dit onderzoek gewezen. De beschrijvingen van de suikerfabrieken heeft hij echter niet geraadpleegd. Voor zover ik kon nagaan was Van der Mandere de enige die (in 1925) uit deze beschrijvingen gegevens heeft gepubliceerd [H. Ch. G. J. van der Mandere, *De Cultuurmaatschappij Wonolangan (1895-1925)* in: "Indië". *Geïllustreerd tijdschrift voor Nederland en Koloniën*, 9de jaargang, no. 19, blz. 306-340. Haarlem 1925].

Het verslag Umbgrove is echter niet zo verwaarloosd gebleven. Voorzover ik weet werd de waarde van het verslag reeds erkend in het Verslag Suiker-Enquête-Commissie 1921, Surabaya 1921, blz. 100 e.v. (zie ook blz. 297) en wel over de invloed van het cultuurstelsel op de vormen van grondbezit. Dit verslag S.E.C. 1921 werd dan ook door Burger geraadpleegd.

Verder werd het verslag Umbgrove ook in de volgende werken als belangrijke bouwstof gebruikt:

1. Van der Mandere, 'De suikerindustrie op Java, haar geschiedenis en ontwikkeling', in: *Indië* enz., 5e j.g., blz. 279 e.v. en 293 e.v., Haarlem 1921.
2. [Van der Mandere?], 'De suikerfabriek "Tjomal"', in: *Indië* enz., 7e j.g., blz. 617 e.v., Haarlem 1923.
3. Van der Mandere, *De Javasuikerindustrie in heden en verleden*, Amsterdam 1928, blz. 12 e.v.
4. Ph. Levert, *Inheemsche arbeid in de Java-suikerindustrie*, proefschrift Wageningen 1934, blz. 76 e.v.

TAKESHI ITO

WHY DID NURUDDIN AR-RANIRI LEAVE ACEH
IN 1054 A.H.?¹

As is well-known, in 1637, shortly after the death of Sultan Iskandar Muda (died 1636), a Muslim scholar of Indo-Arab origin, Nuruddin ar-Raniri by name, came to Aceh. Having found favour with Sultan Iskandar Thani (1636-1641), he launched a fierce heresy-hunt against the followers of Hamzah and Shamsuddin, who were patronized by Iskandar Muda, but were now branded as adherents of the heretical Wujudiya. During the first years of the rule of the Sultana Taj al-^cAlam Safiyatuddin he retained his prominent position at Court, until 1054 A.H./1643-44 A.D., when he left Aceh abruptly and returned to his native town of Ranir (= mod. Rander) in Gujerat (cf. Drewes 1955: 137-144).

Dr. Van Ronkel, Dr. Hoessein Djajadiningrat and Dr. Voorhoeve have stated that a reference to this abrupt return to Ranir is found in the colophon of ar-Raniri's *Jawāhir al-^culūm fī kashf al-ma^clūm* (cf. Djajadiningrat 1929: 109-111; Voorhoeve 1951: 353-354), where one reads, "... and when he had thus far completed this work it came about by (God's) decree that he was prevented (from completing it altogether), whereat he set out for his native town of Ranir" (cf. Voorhoeve 1951: 353-354). The reason for this sudden departure is not mentioned.

However, in the diary of the 'opperkoopman' Pieter Sourij, who in 1643 was sent by the V.O.C. as a commissioner to Jambi and Aceh, we read (Koloniaal Archief no. 1052, fol. 667v.-668r., dated 8 Aug. 1643, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague):

"Dagelijck valt door een Moorschen aencomenden Bisschop, uyt Surate, extreem veel te pitchiaren, alsoo den presentlijcken, Sigh Noordin genaemt, voor een ongelooftigh haer wet verclaert heeft, ende ten waer, ter insichte Morrom darom Salam, hare May^{ta} man met deselve hadde in't stuck van haer vervloecte weth gecommuniceert geweest, alsoo den nieuwen veel aenhanck heeft, voornamentlyck onder de Capado, te meer een Maleyer van geboort is, al lange sints levenseijnde soude hebben geweest." *I.e.:*

"Daily a Moorish Bishop newly arrived from Suratte is causing no end of discussion, because the present (Bishop), Shaikh Nuruddin by name, has branded his doctrine as heretical, and, as regards Marhum Daru'l-Salām, had not the latter, Her Majesty's Consort, shared his

¹ My great thanks are due to my mentor, Professor Dr. G. W. J. Drewes, who generously instructed me in the field of Indonesian and Islamic studies for more than two years at Leiden.

3

Seventeenth Century Malay-Indonesian Networks I: Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī

Nureddin er-Raniri

Two of the three major chains of networks in the Malay-Indonesian world, those stemming from al-Rānīrī and al-Sinkīlī, flourished in the Sultanate of Aceh, while the originator of the other, al-Maqassārī, was born in Sulawesi (Celebes) and established his career in Banten, West Java. In this chapter we will deal with al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), discussing particularly his role in transmitting the reformism of the networks to this part of the Muslim world.

The importance of Aceh or North Sumatra as a whole in the early history of Islam in the region is unquestionable. However, in order to understand the proper socio-historical context of al-Rānīrī's reforms specifically, it is appropriate to give a brief account of the dominant Muslim intellectual discourse in Aceh prior to al-Rānīrī's time. This in turn leads us to two major scholars, Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Samatrānī, who played a crucial role in shaping the religious thought and practice of the Malay-Indonesian Muslims in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Despite their prominence, many things about the life of Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn are still obscure. There is still disagreement on the birthplace of Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī as well as his life span, as his dates of birth and death are unknown. However, there is evidence that he lived and flourished in the period preceding and during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh (r. 997–1011/1589–1602); it has been suggested that he died before 1016/1607.¹ Apart from this it is clear that Ḥamzah was a Malay of Fanṣūr, an old centre of Islamic learning in southwest Aceh.²

Ḥamzah was obviously a great scholar. He is reported to have travelled to the Middle East, visiting some important centres of Islamic learning, including Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Baghdad, where he was initiated into the Qādiriyyah *ṭariqah*. He also travelled to Pahang, Kedah and Java,³ where he preached his teachings. Ḥamzah mastered Arabic, Persian and possibly also Urdu. He was a prolific writer, producing not only religious

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THE ORIGINS OF ISLAMIC REFORMISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern
'*Ulamā*' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

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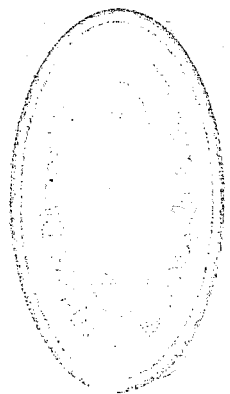
Commemorative volume on the conferment of the
al-Ghazali Chair of Islamic Thought on
Prof. Dr. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas,

(Tuesday 14th. December 1993 / 1 Rejab 1414) / Kuala Lumpur-1994.

S.4, DW: 50809

coveted Canada Council Fellowship for an unprecedented three consecutive years to study at the Institute of Islamic Studies founded by Wilfred Cantwell Smith at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. There he became acquainted with several notable scholars such as Sir Hamilton Gibb from England, Fazlur Rahman from Pakistan, Toshihiko Izutsu from Japan and Seyyed Hossein Nasr from Iran. Based on his thesis entitled *Raniri and the Wujudiyah of 17th Century Aceh*, he was awarded the M.A. degree with distinction in Islamic philosophy (*tasawwuf*) in 1962. A year later, with the encouragement of eminent scholars and orientalists such as Professor A. J. Arberry of Cambridge, Sir Mortimer Wheeler of the British Academy and Sir Richard Winstedt also of the British Academy, al-Attas transferred his doctoral studies to the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. There he worked with Professor Arberry and Dr. Martin Lings. His two-volume doctoral thesis on *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, which is the most important and comprehensive work to date on one of the greatest and perhaps the most controversial Sufi scholars in the Malay world earned him the Ph.D degree with distinction from that institution in 1965. Even in his student days particularly at McGill and London, al-Attas was already very active in correcting the misrepresentations of Islam and spreading its genuine messages such that, with the grace and guidance of God, several people had embraced Islam.

On his return to Malaysia in 1966, as among the first few Malaysians to hold the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy, and the first from the University of London, Dr. al-Attas was appointed Head of the Division of Literature in the Department of Malay Studies at the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. From 1968 to 1970, he became Dean of the Faculty of Arts at that University where he reformed the academic structure of the Faculty, requiring each department to plan and organize its academic activities in consultation with each other, rather than independently, as had been the practice hitherto. His was also the leading voice that was directly responsible for the implementation of Malay as the language of instruction in the Faculty and the University despite intense opposition from the majority of lecturers, then mostly expatriates.⁴ In 1970 Prof. al-Attas was also one of the senior founders of the National University of Malaysia which sought to replace the English language with the Malay language as the medium of instruction at the tertiary level of education. He was also responsible for the conceptualization of the original philosophical basis of the University as well as the establishment of the Faculties of Science and Islamic studies. In 1971, as the Head of the Department of Malay Language and Literature he proposed



⁴ See his exclusive interview with Hamzah Sulaiman in *Mingguan Malaysia* 28th Dec. 1969. See also *Universiti Malaya. Laporan Tabunan ke 21, 1969-1970*. Faculty of Arts, pp. 33-35.

NUR MUHAMMAD

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buat pertama kali dalam diri Adam, kemudian dalam diri nabi-nabi lain, tetapi belum mencapai kesempurnaan. Kesempurnaannya tercapai barulah dalam diri Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. Maka Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. dalam istilah sufi adalah *Al-Insan Al-kamil*, Manusia Sempurna. Tidak ada manusia lebih sempurna dan lebih mulia dari beliau. Falsafah Nur Muhammad dicetuskan buat pertama kali oleh seorang sufi bernama Sahl-Abdullah Al-Tustari (abad ke-10 Masehi) dan selanjutnya diperkembangkan oleh Al-Hallaj, Ibnu Arabi, dan Abdul/Karim Al-Jili.

Nur Muhammad, Hikayat. Salah sebuah hikayat Nabi yang cukup terkenal dalam kesusastraan Melayu. Perpustakaan Museum Pusat Jakarta menyimpan tujuh naskahnya; sebuah dari naskah itu (v.d.W. 76) menyebut bahwa Ahmad Syamsuddin al-Banjari telah menyalinnya dari bahasa Parsi dalam tahun 1688 atas perintah Sultan Tajul Alam Safiyyat ud-Din.

Nurnaningsih. Bintang film Indonesia yang cepat terkenal setelah pertama kali main dalam *Krisis*. Setelah membuat beberapa film dia menghilang untuk beberapa tahun dan muncul kembali untuk peranan-peranan pembantu.

Nursjamsu (Lintau, Sumatera Barat, 6 Okt 1921). Pengarang, penulis sajak dan cerita pendek di jaman Jepang kemudian lebih banyak menulis cerita kanak-kanak, antara lain *Usmono* (1951); *Si Penyayang Binatang* (1951); *Si Malang Untung* (1952); *Lembah Hijau* (1974); dan lain-lain. Menjadi anggota *Dewan Kesenian Jakarta (1973 - 1976, 1977 - 1979).

Nur Sutan Iskandar *Iskandar, Nur Sutan.

Nuruddin Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Hasanji Bin Muhammad Hamid Ar-Raniri, Syekh (? - 1658). Terkenal dengan nama Nuruddin ar-Ranir, ulama, mubaliq, pengarang produktif dan terkenal pada masa perkembangan sastra lama di Nusantara. Berasal dari Ranir Gujarat, India. Pernah bermukim di Aceh dalam tahun 1637 - 1644, dalam masa pemerintahan Sultan Iskandar Muda. Pengetahuan bahasa Melayunya mungkin dipelajarinya di Gujarat, mungkin pula di Mekah waktu ia menunaikan rukun haji dalam tahun 1621; menulis dalam bahasa Arab dan Melayu; karangannya yang telah diketahui lebih dari dua puluh buah semuanya. Di antaranya yang paling terkenal ialah **Bustan Us-Salatin*; *Surat ul-Mustakim* (1944), mengenai hukum fikih yang berhubungan dengan ibadat; *Akhbar al-akhirah fi ahwal ul-Kivanah* (1642), mengenai hari kiamat. Di antara karangannya yang lain: *Hikayat ul-Habib fi'l-tarhib wa'l-tartib* (1936), merupakan kumpulan hadis dalam bahasa Melayu dan Arab; *Asrar ul-Insan fi Ma'arif ar-Ruh wa'r-Rahman* (1640), tentang mistik dalam bahasa Melayu dan Arab; *Hill al-Zill* dalam bahasa Arab dan Melayu; *Jawahir ul-Ulum fi kasyaf al-Ma'lum* (1944), mengenai penentangannya terhadap ajaran *Syamsuddin

As-Samatarai dan Hamzah *Fansuri.

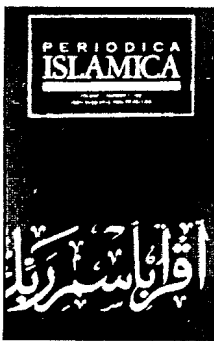
Nusa Barung. Pulau, bagian dari wiayah Kabupaten Jember, Provinsi Jawa Timur; terletak di selatan pantai P. Jawa, di kawasan Samudera Indonesia. Deretan perbukitan mendominasi bagian tengah pulau; hasil bumi: kelapa; mayoritas penduduk hidup sebagai nelayan.

Nusa Indah (Lat.: *Musaenda philippica* L.). Tanaman perdu berasal dari Filipina. Termasuk suku *Rubiaceae* (Lat.). Tinggi mencapai 4 m. Tajuknya rimbun. Daun tunggal, berhadap-hadapan, berbentuk bundar telur, berbulu halus. Perbungaan di ujung ranting. Mahkota berbentuk terompet dengan bagian atas seperti bintang, kecil, dan kuning. Bagian bunga yang menyolok adalah daun kelopak yang berwarna putih, berbentuk bundar telur, berbulu halus dan bertangkai pendek. Buah jarang dijumpai. Menyukai tempat terbuka. Perbanyakkan dengan cangkokan, setek batang atau pucuk. Banyak ditanam sebagai tanaman hias. Di hutan basah Indonesia terdapat kerabat liarnya yang disebut *kingkilahan* dengan daun kelopak yang menyolok hanya 1 atau 2 helai.

Nusa Kambangan. Pulau di Indonesia, di selatan P. Jawa, merupakan pulau "khusus"; administratif di bawah naungan Kabupaten Cilacap, Provinsi Jawa Tengah. Dengan daratan P. Jawa di-sekat oleh perairan sejauh 2 km lebarnya; jarak dari pelabuhan Wijayapura di pesisir kota Cilacap ke P. Nusa Kambangan dapat ditempuh selama 5 menit dengan perahu motor. Di bagian tengah pulau medannya berbukit-bukit; paparan dataran rendah terbentang di pesisir utara pulau. Luas seluruhnya: 12.400 ha, terdiri dari kebun karet, persawahan, kebun kelapa, hutan jati, hutan campuran, hutan bakau; selebihnya berupa semak-belukar, rawa-rawa, dan padang alang-

Nusa indah.





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Abdollah Vakily

Sufism, Power Politics, and Reform:
Al-Rânîrî's Opposition to Hamzah al-Fansûrî's
Teachings Reconsidered

Abstraksi: Pertengahan abad ketujuh belas masyarakat Aceh menyaksikan horor kehidupan sosial-keagamaan yang tidak dapat dibayangkan sebelumnya. Peristiwa tersebut lazim disebut sebagai fatwa pelarangan pengikut ajaran keagamaan yang dinisbatkan pada tokoh besar Hamzah Fansuri. Buku-buku yang dijadikan pegangan pengikut Hamzah dikumpulkan oleh aparat kerajaan, ditumpuk lalu dibakar di depan umum. Para pengikutnya sendiri harus menanggung tindak kekerasan aparat yang berwenang, karena dikejar-kejar dan dipaksa 'bertobat' untuk tidak lagi mengikuti keyakinan yang kemudian dikenal dengan sebutan pengikut aliran Wujûdiyah.

Peristiwa ini terjadi pada masa pemerintahan Sultan Iskandar Thâni, penerus Sultan Iskandar Muda yang meninggal pada 1636. Adapun perintah untuk mengikis praktek sufi Wujûdiyah sendiri datang dari seorang 'ulamâ' yang berpengaruh saat itu, Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî. Hubungan antara al-Rânîrî dan Sultan Iskandar Thâni sangat dekat; terbukti langkah al-Rânîrî tersebut sepenuhnya didukung Iskandar Thâni. Meskipun demikian, kedekatan antara penguasa dan 'ulamâ' seperti ini tidaklah aneh, karena Raja sebelumnya, Iskandar Muda, juga sangat dekat dengan Hamzah Fansûrî.

Sebagai seorang 'ulamâ' ortodoks yang lebih mementingkan pengamalan syari'ah, al-Rânîrî tidak dapat menerima praktek keagamaan sufi yang menurut dia bersifat heterodoks. Sikap ini membawanya untuk tidak segan-segan memerangi masyarakat Aceh yang saat itu cenderung pada praktek sufi ini bahkan dengan cara radikal. Ia bertindak lebih jauh, yaitu dengan menghancurkan karya dan ajaran Hamzah Fansûrî yang dipandang menjadi sumber penyelewengan aqidah rakyat.

Di kemudian hari tindakan al-Rânîrî yang kontroversial ini menjadi objek kajian yang menarik, dan pada saat yang sama juga memunculkan pelbagai analisis maupun spekulasi. Hampir semuanya mempertanyakan motivasi dan sebab-sebab yang mendorong al-Rânîrî melakukan tindakan tersebut. Sebagian analisis cenderung melihatnya secara personal, dengan meletakkan al-Rânîrî selaku aktor tunggal. Sedangkan analisis

1991 JUL 22

LATĀ'IF AL-ASRĀR LI-AHL ALLĀH AL-ĀTYĀR
KARANGAN NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ:
SATU TINJAUAN EPISTEMOLOGI DAN
FALSAFAH ILMUNYA

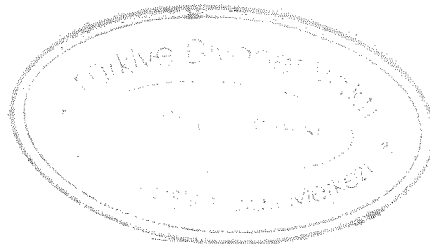
Muhammad Zainiy Uthman

AL-SHAJARAH, vol: III/1 (1998) Kuala Lumpur,

s. 119-147.

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Works by major Sufi thinkers on the doctrines of taṣawwuf are often associated with the intensification of Islamic rituals. Just as rituals are thought of as lacking in intellectual basis, so are the doctrines of the Sufis. Hence taṣawwuf, more often than not, is considered as a discipline with an intense ritualistic bent and stands apart from other intellectual disciplines such as philosophy and theology.

*In this paper we look into the epistemological basis of some of the doctrines of the Sufis as treated by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in his *Latā'if al-Asrār li-Ahl Allāh al-Ātyār*. A comparison is made between his treatment on the issue with K. 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī, a major doctrinal reference for the Ahl al-Sunnah wa'l-Jamā'ah. The discussion centers around his division between 'ilm and ma'rifah, and the sources of knowledge. His epistemology as reflected in his *Durrat al-Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* is compared with an earlier translation into Malay of K. 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī.*

Pengenalan

Kajian makhtutat/manuskrip Melayu haruslah beranjak dari penumpuan pada aspek-aspek luarannya (seperti mengkaji sejarah penulisan dan bahan-bahan utama penulisan) ke arah penumpuan pada aspek-aspek akhlah, dan ilmiah. Yang kita maksudkan dengan penumpuan ilmiah ialah penekanan dan renungan yang mendalam pada faham-faham yang dikandungnya dan persejarahannya termasuklah asal-usul faham-faham ini, pertaliannya dengan faham-faham semasa dalam dunia Islam ketika itu dan kepentingan faham-faham tersebut kepada Alam

function as transmitters was not to protect them from scathing polemical attacks, as we shall see.

Nur al-Din al-Raniri

The death of Iskandar Muda in 1636 led to an about face in the religious and doctrinal orientation of the Sultanate. Shortly after Iskandar Thani's succession to power, Nur al-Din al-Raniri, an Islamic scholar originating from Gujerat in India, arrived in Aceh. He was appointed as *shaykh al-islam* under the patronage of the new Sultan, and during the next seven years, he devoted his energies to writing works aimed at refuting what he considered to be the heretical teachings of Hamzah and Shams al-Din.

Al-Raniri's full name was Nur al-Din Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Hamid al-Shafi'i al-Ash'ari al-'Aydarusi al-Raniri al-Surati. Though the details of his early life are sketchy, much can be gleaned from his name. He was born into a diaspora Hadhrami family of the Hamid clan in Ranir (present day Rander) in Gujerat, India. He received training in Islamic mysticism from Sayyid 'Umar b. 'Abd Allah Ba Shayban al-'Aydarusi,³⁴ a scholar living in India who had originated from Terim in the Hadhramaut and who was versed in the 'Aydarusiyya Sufi order. Sayyid 'Umar had himself studied with Muhammad al-'Aydarus (b. 1562), who like al-Raniri and Sayyid 'Umar, was the offspring of a mixed Hadhrami/Indian family.³⁵ Thus al-Raniri represented a link in the strong relationship between Hadhrami initiates of the 'Aydarusiyya Order and India.³⁶

Al-Raniri's early study of Islam in India may have been accompanied by a study of Malay with the significant Malay community resident in Gujerat.³⁷ Various suggestions have been made regarding al-Raniri's early contacts with the Malay world; it has also been suggested that his mother was a Malay,³⁸ though the evidence for this is inconclusive. It is, however, well established that al-Raniri's uncle, Muhammad Jailani Hamid, visited Aceh during the 1580s for the purpose of teaching the

³⁴ Voorhoeve 1959:90.

³⁵ Tudjimah 1961:2.

³⁶ Drewes 1955:150.

³⁷ Iskandar 1966:2.

³⁸ Al-Attas 1966:12.

Islamic sciences. Initially, his intention was to teach theology and Islamic law, but after encountering limited interest in these fields, he travelled to Mecca to study Islamic mysticism, a field which attracted greater interest in Aceh at the time. After detailed studies in this field, Muhammad Jailani Hamid returned to Aceh to teach Sufism to a substantial number of students.³⁹

In 1620/1, al-Raniri made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, which perhaps afforded the opportunity to further perfect his Malay through contact with the Malay community established in Mecca.⁴⁰ Al-Raniri in all likelihood took advantage of his presence in the Arabian peninsula to pay a visit to the place of origin of his ancestors, the Hadhramaut; this would be consistent with the custom among members of diaspora Hadhrami sayyid families to keep contact with their country of origin.⁴¹ He may even have studied in the Hadhramaut during this period.

His whereabouts over the next fifteen years are uncertain, though scholars have suggested that he spent some time during this period in various parts of the Malay peninsula, including Pahang. Various factors suggest this:

1. His extensive knowledge of the *Sejarah Melayu* which acts as a source for his work *Bustan al-Salatin*.
2. His detailed knowledge of the kings of Pahang, referred to in *Bustan al-Salatin*.
3. His excellent relationship with Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh, who originated from Pahang, and who welcomed him warmly when al-Raniri arrived later in Aceh, which suggests that the relationship had existed some time prior to his arrival in that state.⁴²

It has also been suggested that al-Raniri visited Aceh during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Muda prior to 1636, but because of his discomfort with the predominance of the highly speculative approach to Sufism within the kingdom at the time, he left

³⁹ Tudjimah 1961:3.

⁴⁰ Voorhoeve 1951:357.

⁴¹ Al-Attas 1986:4.

⁴² Iskandar 1966:3; al-Attas 1986:7.

Peter G. Riddell
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