MYSTICAL-METAPHYSICS: THE TYPE OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY IN NUSANTARA IN THE 17th-18th CENTURY

Humaidi
Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Islam Sadra Jakarta, Indonesia
Humaidias97@gmail.com

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Abstract
This article is aimed to analyze the genealogy of the origin of philosophical thinking of scientists in Nusantara, especially the one which developed in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, also included the themes which developed in those periods as discussion material, the object of analyzes and debate. The history of Islamic entered in Nusantara more described with Islamic type which demansioned mysticism. This theses is based on the Islamic capacity which united the tradition and Nusantara culture which have the same background as Islamic mysticism, especially in Hindu and Budha. Only a few mentioned that Islam in Indonesia has the type of philosophical rational. The implication of this view is only a bit of the researches connected with Islam with rationally philosophical elemension. Based on the result of the writer’s investigation about the works of Islamic scientists in Nusantara like Hamzah Fansuri, Syams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî, Nûr al-Dîn al-Ranirî, Muhammad Yûsuf al-Maqqassarî, ‘Abd al-Ra’ûf al-Sinkîli, ‘Abd al-Samad al-Palimbanî, and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari indicates that their thinking and arguments are very rational. Their work have colorize the type of thinking of Islamic Philosophy in Nusantara which have developed since the seventeenth century even they have been started since the sixteenth century.

Keyword: The unity of being, neoplatonis, emanation, martabat tujuh, Nusantara

Abstrak

Kata Kunci: Kesatuan wujud, neo-Platonis, emanasi, martabat tujuh, Nusantara

Introduction

Other than al-Qur’ān, hadiths, science of kalam and mysticism the science of philosophy become one field of science which colorize and become part of the heart of history of Islam civilization since Islam was born until this time. In the literature of Islam, many Islamic scientists who concerned in this field such as al-Kindî, al-Fârâbî, Ibn Sinâ, Ibn Rusyd, Ibn Tufayl, Suhrawardi, Mullâ Shadrâ, Murtadâ Muthahharî, Moh Iqbal and other moeslem philosopher. They live in the centre of Islamic science like in Iraq, Iran, which are usually known Persia, Cordoba, Spain, Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt.

Those names with their works number in millions have decorated libraries in Islamic World either in Europes or in the continent of America. The researcher have read those works by either translating, commenting or republishing in their original language either in Arabic or Persian. Islamic Philosopher have given great influence to the appearence of western civilization either directly or indirectly. The influence can be seen in the works of William Mongomery Watt’s, Oliver Leaman, Peter Adamson, Herbert A Davidson, Henry Corbin, Charles Butterworth, John Walbridge, T.J. De Boer, and some other scientists. The names mentioned together with their works can become evident that Islamic philosophers have influenced the thinking discourse and also western civilization.

Sayyed Hossein Nasr in his book, “Islamic Philosophy From its Origin of The Present” has explained the course period of the study of Islamic Philosophy in west which has been started since the middle century, that was about the year of thousandth up to now with different types and characteristic. According to him, the study of Islamic philosophy in Europe can be devided into three parts. The first phase happened in the middle century by translating and analyzing texts in arabic. The translating of the work of Islamic scientists was going on to the second period which happened in the era of renaissance with the types and characteristic were critical while in the third period started in the nineteenth century and in this period the intensity of the study of Islamic philosophy was growing high, with the type and characteristics were dialogue and tried to find the meeting point.

Based on the above facts can be said that philosophy has had an important role in thinking out the form of new civilization not only in Islamic world but also in other continents like Europe and America. The thinking, discourse

5Henry Corbin, History of Islamic Philosophy (London: Kegan Paul International in Association with Islamic Publication for The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1993).

study and also philosophical research which has colorized the course of islam itself up to now.

With the influence of Islamic philosophy, the west undergoes enlightenment resurgence, relive from the darkness which has been started since the sixteenth century. Before the renaissance, Islam influenced west while after renaissance Islamic world was dominated by west, not only in the system of politic, culture, economy, but also in the point of view and ideology.

If west relived in the sixteenth century with its philosophical thinkings over the influence of Islamic philosophy, so can’t Islamic of Nusantara which can’t be released from the influence of the development of Islamic scientific. As mentioned by historian that Islam came to Nusantara through 4 gates: Arabic, Gujarat India, Persia and also China. Those places have given a great influence toward scientific development in Nusantara especially in the sixteenth century as seen in Hamzah Fansuri’s thinking and works. However, the scientific development in west and Nusantara have difference. If the development of science which developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and in the next centuries based on a place to stand on anthropomorphism which think out secularism, so that the scientific tradition in Nusantara is more colorized by mysticism, fiqh, kalam and tafsir which tends to be metaphysical transcendence.

The author of this article will elaborate about discourse of Islamic thinking in Nusantara especially on philosophical aspect which developed from the 16th century to the 18th century AD by mostly refering to the researches, John Bousfield, Naquib al-Attas and Azyumardi Azra. The method used in this reseach is a library research with historical and hermenutic analyses by referring to thinking and scientific Moslems’s works written in those periods. The research in this aspect has not yet been conducted although it was mentioned in certain parts with little portion only as inserted.

The Researches of Islamic Philosophy in Nusantara

Only a few researches and writings have been conducted in Nusantara comprehensively and seriously especially before the nineteenth century. However, there are some work and articles connected with the thinking study and philosophical works written by Indonesian philosopher were published in Indonesia like Musa Asy’arie’s work.\(^\text{10}\)

In accordance with the title, this book explains the literatures of Islamic Philosophy, especially in the form of books which were published from 1998 up to 2013. Asy’arie classified those works which were published in those periodes into 4 parts. The literature of introdution of Islamic Philosophy, an analyses of Islamic Philosophers, the literature of tematic Islamic Philosopher, the thinking analyses of moslem philosopers. From the 4 main themes of Islamic philosophy, there were 20 books which become object of researches. The 20 literatures were not limited on the independent works of thinker and Indonesian philosophers, but they cover translation works either in Arabic language, Persia or English. One of the translation works of Islamic philosophy which become the part of research is Oliver Leaman’s work which entitled, “A Brief Introduction to Islamic Philosophy” which was translated into “Pengantar Filsafat Islam: Sebuah Pendekatan Tematik”. While the autonomous scientist and Indonesian philosophers are like Haidar Bagir, Mulyadhi Kartanegara and Musa Asy’arie.

Other researchers which explain about Islamic philosophy in Indonesia is Nanang Tahqiq works. This works mostly presented the works or literatures which are generated by Indonesian writers either original work or the translation which was published in 1961 up to the year 2012.\(^\text{11}\)


The cover of years of this work is larger compared from Asy’arie’s works. From the result of Nanang Tahqiq’s research more than half of the century, that was from 1961 up to 2012, there have been 27 literatures of Islamic philosophy which have been published in Indonesian language either written by Indonesian people number 17 books and 10 books in the form of translation. From those number, as long as 51 years, averagely one book was published two books about Islamic Philosophy in Indonesia.

The two researches above, periodically meddled in modern era or the era after the independence of Republic of Indonesia. The research which analyzed the development of Islamic philosophy in Nusantara or before the independece is the popular writing such as the article written by Ja’far Umar.12 This article consists of 5 pages, and because of only 5 pages, the explanation is very short, so it gives short explanation about the coming of Islamic philosophy in Aceh, its characteristics and then connected with the existence of Islamic kingdom in Aceh and compared from the development of Islamic Philosophy in Iran.

In the article written by Ja’far mentioned that, the philosophy in Indonesia has appeared and developed since the fifteenth century. The appearance was not released from the role of the kings who were in power at that time, who were open and support the thinking of Islamic philosophy. Besides, the external aspect of Islamic Philosophy in Aceh was no apart from the existence of ṣūfī in big scale in Indonesia Archipelago included in Aceh, who come from Islamic countries especially. The main characters (Pillars) of moslem philosopher in Serambi Mekkah (Aceh) is Hamzah Fansurî although he was more known as a ṣūfī than philosopher.

Meanwhile, the research which clarifies the development of Islamic philosophy in Southeast Asia which was larger and especially in Malay is John Bousfield entitled, *Islamic Philosophy in Southeast Asia*.13 This work is a collection of writings which was published in one book, *Islam in Southeast Asia*, which was edited by M.B. Hooker. In accordance with the title, this work doesn’t mention explicitly the development of Islamic Philosophy in Southeast Asia included in Malay. Baousfield mentioned that the course of philosophy. Started from Greek and developed in Islamic world with the new form, that was based on the view of unity of God (tauhid). According to him, the emphasis of that research is that trying to identify the general characteristics of Islamic teaching in Southeast Asia as performed by moslems in that place. The method used is a historical approach and also philological especially to the texts which become references.14

Meanwhile, Azyumardi Azra in his books like in “Jaringan Ulama Nusantara” and “The Origin of Islamic Reformation in Southeast Asia,” explicitly, it doesn’t discuss the development of Islamic Philosophy in Nusantara.15 In accordance with the title of the book using historical approach, so, the Islamic Philosophy is only mentioned as insertion and explanation about the scientist who influence the development of thinking in Nusantara especially in the field of mysticism on the theme of discussion of being. Although he doesn’t mention explicitly and made into a part of discussion, but Azra’s statement becomes confirmation and proof that the discourse of philosophical thinking in


14Ibid., 95.

Nusantara has become an inseparable part from scientific storage area for valuable objects in Nusantara since the sixteenth century especially it has been started by Hamzah Fansuri.

**Philosophical Debate in Nusantara**

Compared from other sciences like the science of “Kalam”, “Tafsir”, “Fiqh” and also “Nahwu” (norms of linguistics in Arabic language), Islamic Philosophy get less attention. Nevertheless, it doesn’t mean the thinking of Islamic Philosophy at all. Naquib al-Attas through his works, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, John Bousfield in his work, *Islamic Philosophy in Southeast Asia*, and also Azyumardi Azra in his work, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, has proved that existence of philosophy thinking which has been developed since the sixteenth century or the same age as the genesis of Rene Descartes (1596-1650) in tradition of western philosophy and also Mullâ Sadrâ (1572-1640) in the tradition of intelectual Islam in Persia, Iran.

The meaning of Islamic Philosophy in the tradition of Nusantara Islamic thinking as mentioned by Bousfield is the deep study about the reality of being (methaphysics and cosmology), the probability and the basic characteristic of human knowledge (epistemology) and implication of the science in life (in ethics).16 The definition in the structure of Islamic Philosophy also called as the scope and branches of philosophy which comprises metaphisics (ontology) epistemology and axiology.

Meanwhile, philosophy in western countries explained as rational method which is connected with human mentality.17 Therefore, Bousfield argued that if we want to understand Islamic Philosophy by using standard, meaning, understanding and the tradition of western

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16See John Bousfield, 95.
17See John Bousfield, 95.
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and sky with no border and change becomes actual mind with all competencies he/she has. Both of the above purposes become way of the science of philosophy and syariah nabawiyyah simultaneously.20

This characteristic was recognized by John Bousfield and al-Attas by mentioning that there is no separation between theory and spiritual practice of mysticism because practice become manifestation from the theories. That’s why, he gives the title to his writing “Islamic Philosophy in Southeast Asia” which tries to explain the principles and theory of philosophy which develop in Southeast Asia generally and in the world of Malay specifically through its characters like Hamzah Fansuri and al-Râni. According to him although the characters who were mentioned in that writing often considered as ṣufi but he is more interested to expose the reflexion of natural autonomous philosophy from their works.21

In harmony with Bousfield and al-Attas, Azyumardi Azra mentioned that Hamzah Fansuri and Syams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî have the same type of thinking, that is, mystical philosophy especially connected with philosophical interpretation about the theme of wahdah al-wujûd. Both are the supporters from the concept wahdah al-wujûd through philosophical interpretation which is mostly influenced by specially the thinking of Ibn ‘Arabi and al-Jilli. Even both of them follows wujûdiyyah system by Ibn ‘Arabi and al-Jilli strictly and complicatedly. One of the examples is when they explain the universe in the series of “emanasi neo-Platonik” and consider each “emanasi” as direct manifestation from God.22 Naquib al-Attas mentioned that although the thinking of moslem which reaches the thinking of Malay or Nusantara isn’t always written in the vocabulary of philosophy and more seen in the vocabulary of theology than rational mutakallim and mystical vocabulary from ṣufi. However, the structure of their writings and thinking are very influenced by the term of, analyses and philosophical argumented.23

If using the classification of philosophical ideology which develop in moslem tradition, that is peripatetic, illumination, irfani, the hikmah muta’aliyah, so, the type of philosophical thinking in Nusantara is close to the ideology of illumination-irfani. Henry Corbin says that this ideology with the term, metaphysic of sufism that is speculative mysticism or it is also mentioned as love mysticism. This ideology is initiated by ṣufi community like Ruzbihan Baqlî al-Shirâzî, Farîd al-Dîn al-Attâr, ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi and the point of its culmination is Ibn ‘Arabi. According to Corbin, sufism always involves the whole system of metaphysics and the fact shows that metaphysics itself can’t be separated from philosophy.24 Therefore, with the meeting point so philosophy, kalam, asceticism of ṣufi becomes one unity in the frame and speculative metaphysic system. The unity becomes new synthesis and also become new point view which unite in the system of Islamic thinking.25 This period is called as golden era from the ideology of philosophical mysticism which are the combination from theosophy thinking of Ibn ‘Arabi and Suhrawardi’s east philosophy and Ibn Sîna’s peripatetical rasionalism.

The central theme from this ideology is to expose the cover which tamper men in knowing hidden treasure. In the tradition of ṣufi, mentioned as hidden treasure is the world of Allah, as signaled in hadîth qudsi, “kuntu kahzan mahfiyyan,” I am a hidden treasure. According to Henri Corbin, the process of exposing toward the hidden world of Allah through 3 ways: First, through the manifestation of the essence of

20Ibid., 30.
21See John Bousfield, 100; Naquib al-Attas, 194.
22Azyumardi Azra, The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia, 204.
23See Naquib al-Attas, 149.
24Henry Corbin, 283-285; Sufism is a way to uncover metaphysical truths, whereas philosophy is an explanation of experiences gained through the path of sufism.
25Ibid., 292.
God itself which can only be exposed through allegory and metaphor. Second, through the expose of world manifestation of the world of Allah through mediators of his names and those names are manifested in every creating in the universe. This way can be given through various methods like empirical and also rational. Third, the expose of the manifestation of Ilahi in individuals concrete as a part from manifestation from names of Lord (Allah). Those names exist and come from the essence itself. They become manifestation which are visible in variation of existence.

Epistemologically, said Corbin, men can know the names of God (Allah) only through experience and self knowledge. The Lord (Allah) pictures himself to man through oneself or herself. In other words, the presence of Lord (Allah) through the presence of his names. In fact, depends on the creature who own that name because they can find out and undergo inside through their own ways and in one’s self. The concept of the knowledge becomes explanation from one of hadith qudsi, “man ‘arafa nafsah faqad ‘arafa rabba.” Philosophically, knowledge in one self and through self is called as knowledge by presence, that is the knowledge without mediator and connected directly with its resource.

The origin and family tree of this type ontologically comes from the thinking of šufi, great philosopher born in Tunisia in the 13th century AD, that was Ibn ‘Arabi (1165-1240) who has the theory of the unity of being or wahdah al-wujūd. The influence was not only in the theme and the material of discussion but also geneologically signifies that the course of Islamic Philosophy which reached Nusantara dominated by the type, system and frame of by Ibn ‘Arabi’s type, system and frame of thinking. Connected with genealogy of philosophical thinking in Nusantara will be explained in following subchapter.

The theme of debate from this ideology and also in Nusantara is about being. Therefore, if refer to the definition and the scope of philosophical discussion. So, the main object, the fundamental problem or mawdū’ is about being itself. That is, being qua being or wujūd bimā hiya mawjūdah. Seyyed Hossein Nasr when encompassing five philosophical definition which develop in tradition of Islamic Philosophy, so that the definition placed in the first order compared from other definitions. In Hamzah Fansuri’s works and thinking especially, the theme of being becomes the major object or becomes the theme of prime discussion. Naquib al-Attas by using semantic approach has written one specific subchapter and explain the theme of being according to Hamzah Fansuri’s thinking.

Al-Attas mentioned that from the result of his research shows that there is fundamental change in transformation process of point of view of Malay Islamic thinking or Nusantara which tends to be mystic philosophical discourse as can be found in šufi or mysticism intelectual tradition. The view focuses on the theme of the concept of being, this world view centered around the conception of being (wujūd). So do the names of šufi mentioned and quoted by Hamzah Fansuri is also connected with the theme and concept wahdah al-wujūd (Oneness of Being). That’s why, all of series of spiritual and intelectual activities which have been started since the beginning of the fifteenth century and continued to the seventeenth century have influenced the type of thinking of modern scientist in Nusantara which were manifested in their great works.

Methodologically, by using semantic approach, according to Naquib al-Attas, the authors and translators of Malay Šufi who came

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26See Henry Corbin, 293.
27Ibid.
30Naquib al-Attas, 186
31Ibid., 176-177.
in great number in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries connected with works of religion and other moslem scholars, didn’t change the root of words or didn’t translate the word like the word “being”. They have adopted to the vocabulary of Malay and become part of academic language of Malay. According to al-Attas, the adoption and all at the receiver of Arabic Language into Malay language connected with the philosophical concept of being can be said as the form of the cultural development and advanced civilization.

From the result of Jamal D. Rahman’s research, the discourse and the debate about being and wahdah al-wujud philosophically wasn’t only dominated by moslem scholars in the sixteenth until the eighteenth century. So far, in the twenty first century in modern Indonesian context, that theme still exist, grow well and developed in Indonesian scientific tradition. The doctrine of wahdah al-wujud continously articulated, even in such a way supported, negotiated and almost no controvertion anymore. Even if it was not accepted or fully agreed, at least the doctrine can be understood. The discourse wahdah al-wujud in modern Indonesian intelectual tradition appear in the form of prose and poetry of Indonesian men of letters like Donarto (in the works of Abdul Hadi WM (1.1946) and more clearly in Emha Ainun Nadjib’s poems (1.1953) the younger poet compared from Denarto and Abdul Hadi WM.

Based on the explanation above can be said that philosophy with the theme “being” becomes an unseparable part from the development of science in Nusantara. The theme of being as an object of discussion and study included the explanation, interpretation and explanation about it become pure philosophy area. In theology or either “Ilmu Kalam” especially or mysticism doesn’t discuss being directly because theology is more concerned on “kalamullah” with the method “jadali” while mysticism focuses more on the process of human’s inner experience through the expose of covers which borders between creature with the Lord (Allah). Therefore, since the beginning of its appearence, philosophy is always made identical with the study of being as one’s self of being, “wujûd bimâ huwa mawjûd” by using “burhani” method, authentication is rationally discoursive. Although methodologically different, the three of them can’t be separated connected with the expose of being and absolute truth, that is Lord (Allah).

If at the beginning of discourse development the thinking of Islamic Philosophy focuss more on the problem of the philosophy of being ontological cosmologically and practically as developed by Hamzah Fansurî, Syams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî, al-Rânirî and al-Sinkilî, so in the next development, the discourse of Islamic Philosopy tends to be ontology-epistemology by showing up the theme wahdah al-syu'ûhûd, unity in testimony as developed by Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassarî (w. 1699 M) who also became student from Ibrâhim al-Kuranî. “Syuhud” lexically means to wisness, which is in epistemology hudûrî mentioned as knowledge based on the testimony directly through presence of knowledge without mediator and without conception. One of the specific characteristic of the science of hudûrî is that there is a unity between subject and object which is known, ittihâd al-'âlim wa al-ma'lûm. This knowledge is also called existential knowledge which is differed from the science husûlî, knowledge by correspondence, that is, the knowledge through the mediator of concepts.

According to al-Maqassarî if a servant of God has reached on the highest level of the degree of spirituality, the perishable of the servant of God, so, he/she will be sunk in absolute testimony, that is direct testimony through unity of being so that

\[\text{Ibid., 148.}\]

the right of Allah can be seen in his greatness and beauty. 

Other moslem scholars also clarify about wahdah al-syu’ud is Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari in his work “al-Dur al-Nâfis”. Unity in testimony or wahdah al-syu’ud in Nafis al-Banjari’s opinion is the centralization of attention view and focus only at Allah either on the aspects of essence, name and the characteristic also Allah’s action. The unity of testimony is based on the principles of unity of God, themself meaning one, single. Therefore, the Lord (Allah) based on the principle of unity God is one his essence, name and characteristic in his action. Muhammad Nafis mentioned that between sun and its light is inseparable and not different being. Between light and its flow becomes one essence. Example sun and it’s light becomes parable between God (Allah) and his creation. That’s why, testimony “syuhud” must be based on the view of unity between sun and its light, that is the universe which becomes manifestation from God (Allah) through mediator name and his characteristics.

Based on the example and the argument above it can be said that looking at nature with our own eyes basicly seeing the presence of Allah in the universe, “when the lord has manifested Himself to His servants through mediator of His names, man will see His action in the universe.” The universe which can be seen visually is actually the Lord’s madzhar, the appearance of Lord in his creation.

Thinking Root of Islamic Philosophy in Nusantara

Worldly and the growth of the thinking Islamic Philosophy in Nusantara in the sixteenth up to the eighteenth century can’t be rid from direct contact through the relation between teachers and students, between the Islamic scholars of Nusantara with scientists who are in other Islamic Centers like Persia, India, Egypt, Mekkah and Madinah or known with Haramayn. Other than direct contact transmission of Islamic Philosophy in Nusantara is through the works of Islam scientist who become the references in the writing of moslems scientists work in Nusantara.

One of the works which can be related to the discourses and the study of Islamic Philosophy in the tradition of scientist in Nusantara as one of references and references is ‘Abd al-Karim al-Jilli’s work entitled “al-Insân al-Kâmî”. This al-Jilli’s work becomes a work which presents systematically about metaphysics wahdah al-wujûd of Ibn ‘Arabi, which later on has become one of the main topics which was discussed by moslem scholars of Nusantara started from Aceh, Sumatra, Kalimantan as far as Java Island.

Another work which also has a great influence is Tuhfah al-Mursalah ilâ Rûh al-Nâbi, Muhammad Ibn Fadlullâh Burhanpuri’s work (1546-1620) and Idhaf al-Dzâki, Ibrâhim al-Kuranî’s work. A.H Johns mentioned that the book “Tuhfah” becomes the work of moslem scholar who come from India and becomes representation from orthodox sufism tradition. This book becomes one of important document in the thinking history of Nusantara mysticism which was the most popular in Sumatra and Java Island in the seventeenth century. The theory about seven rank explained massively by Shams al-Dîn al-Sumatrânî, Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî and ‘Abd Ra’uf al-Sînkilî based on this book Tuhfah Burhanpuri.

Meanwhile, Ibrâhim al-Kuranî becomes central character in distributing sciences in Nusantara through his students like ‘Abd Ra’uf al-Sînkîlî and Muhammad Yûsuf al-Maqassarî. Azyumardi Azra mentioned al-Kuranî as a

great Islamic scholar. He was mentioned as a mountain among the mountains, as sea among irfan ocean (The Science of Spiritual). He has been successful in making reconciliation unity and synthesis between syari’at and sufism based on the rational-philosophical arguments. The successfulness, according to Azra as quoted from Hamawi, because al-Kuranî was close with variations of sciences and intelectual discurse, started from Mu’tazilah and Asy’arism up to philosophical mysticism by Ibn ‘Arabî and the greek philosophy of Plato and Aristoteles.

According to al-Kuranî, syari’at can’t be rid of sufism and rationalism because the three kind of philosophy becomes the whole series or combination from Islam. According to him that view, thinking and action of a sufism may not be in contrast with syari’at (Islam Law) and obligations in other religion. It is right that ahl al-kasyf, people have intuitive knowledge and the opening of his covered heart and get direct knowledge from God (Allah) have their own understanding about the meaning of al-Qur’ân and the prophet’s hadith. For example, about the meaning of “esoteric”, spiritual, the verses of al-Qur’ân or “hadiths”. However, it must be also well-understood or text of hadith, doesn’t only have the meaning of esoteric, but also the meaning of esoteric. That’s why, according to al-Kuranî, a sufî doesn’t place their understanding about al-Qur’ân on contrary to ahl al-syari’ah. As one of examples is when meaning and interpreting the word fanâ’ (anihilation) in holy verses of al-Qur’ân, in which esoterically that word can be interpreted as death, but according to the exoterical meaning, the word fanâ’ clearly doesn’t mean not natural death.

Meanwhile, mentioned that the word Idhaf al-Dzâki, al-Kuranî’s works becomes reponded, criticized and all at once review toward the work of Fadl Allâh Burhanpuri “Tuhfah al-Mursalah ilâ Rûh al-Nabî”. Drewes has shown that such thing that Ibrâhim al-Kuranî (w.1689) wrote the comment addressed to the moslems of Nusantara ordered by Ahmad al-Khushassi in the process of giving the right understanding especially the concept of essence seven which can be found in Burhanpuri’s work. As said by Azra that explicitly mentioned in the introduction notes of the background of that work, that was his students’ request who are from Nusantara (Jawi) in which before al-Kuranî, Nusantara moslem community have been used to reading the works about the reality of Ilahi (Lord) and the knowledge about Him through Burhanpuri’s works, the book Tuhfah al-Mursalah itself has been used as important reference by almost all scholars of great Malay-Indonesian as long as the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century like Shams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî (w.1039/1630), al-Rânirî, al-Sinkîlî, al-Maqassarî, al-Palimbanî, and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari.

Based on al-Kuranî’s explanation, it can be said that the book Burhanpuri in which there is the explanation about wahdah al-wujûd” by Ibn ‘Arabî and the essence seven has been early circulated in the circle of moslems in Nusantara compared from the book Idhaf al-Dzâki, Ibrâhim al-Kuranî’s work. Historically, it can be traced that Muhammad Ibn Fadlullah al-Burhanpuri lived from 1546 to 1620 M while al-Kuranî lived from 1610 to 1690. However their works have become meeting point and transmission link of Islamic Philsophy scholarly to Nusantara especially through the theme of wahdah al-wujûd which was developed first by philosophers and all at once a sufî in the twelfth century, who was born in Murcia, Spain, Ibn ‘Arabî.
Other than those works above which can be proof that Islamic Philosophy has been known and developed since the sixteenth century in Nusantara is by reading Hamzah Fansuri’s thinking which are written in his works, like Asyraw al-‘Āsyiqin Wa Zinah al-Muwahhidin, Asrâr al-‘Ārifin fi ‘Ilm al-Sulûk wa al-Tawhîd, al-Muntahi, and Ruba’i Hamzah Fansuri. According to historian, Hamzah lived in the period of government of Sultan Alaudin Ri’ayat Syah (1588-1604) until the beginning of Sultan Iskandar Mudah’s government (1607-1636) while Naquib al-Attas presumes that Hamzah Fansuri died before the year 1607 M. If it is true that Hamzah Fansuri lived in the sixteenth century, historically, the time of his living the same as Muhammad ibn Fadl Allâh al-Burhanpurî and earlier compared from Ibrâhim al-Kurani.

Therefore, greatly possible that Hamzah Fansuri has read either Burhanpurî’s work or al-Jillî and that possibility was convinced by ‘Abd Ra’uf al-Sinkili, who mentioned that some of Moslem scholars’ works which influenced Hamzah’s thinking were Fusûs al-Hikam, Muhyi al-Din Ibn ‘Arabi, Syarh al-Miskât al-Futuhât and al-Insân al-Kâmîl by Abd al-Karim al-Jilli, and Muhammad Fadl Allâh al-Burhanpurî’s writings, Tuhfah al-Mursalah. Other than that, methodologically, some of Hamzah Fansuri’s thinking’s are very influenced firmly and followed the system of wujudiyyah Ibn ‘Arabi and al-Jillî’s thinking.46


47Haji Mohamad Bohari Haji Ahmad, “The Idea of Wahdat al-Wujud in the Poetry of ‘Abd al-Qadir Bidi (Persian), Ibrahim Hakki Erzurumlu (Ottoman Turkish), and Hamzah Fansuri (Malay)” (Disertasi unpublished, University of California at Berkeley, 1989), 319-320.

between a teacher and a student. From his contextual thinking of ontological philosophy, Shams al-Din al-Sumatranis has the similarity with Hamzah Fansuri where both of them profess the concept of wujudiyyah. The difference is on the principles if it’s cosmological or emanation, that is, beings which radiate from the first being al-Haq. If according to Hamzah Fansuri the nature has 5 levels, so in al-Sumatranis’s, there are 7 levels of nature. These levels are later known as seven essence. The theory of seven essences then next on gives influence toward the Islamic scholars in Nusantara, then as it can be seen in Syaikh Shams al-Din al-Sumatranis’s thinking, Syaikh ‘Abd al-Mutalib, Dangding Haji Hasan Mustapa, Syaikh Muhyi Pamijahan (1650-1730) and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari, and ‘Abd Samad al-Palimbani.

Besides getting positive reception, Hamzah Fansuri and Nür al-Dīn al-Râniри thinking they get hard challenge from Nür al-Dīn al-Râniри (w. 1658). Al-Rânirī accused Hamzah and Syams al-Dīn with their philosophical being as unbeliever and polytheist because they believe many lords. According to Abdullah’s note, there are 5 points which are accused to Hamzah Fansuri so that Hamzah Fansuri is considered “unbeliever”. The points are first, the concept about God, nature, man, the relation among the three and the concept reality which is considered identical and the concept of philosophers, Zoroaster, incarnation and Brahma. The second, Hamzah Fansuri’s belief which is pantheistic meaning that the essence of Lord is immanent in the universe or Lord is the universe itself. Third, Lord is penetrated to all realities seen. Fourth, the Lord is a simple being and fifth, Hamzah Fansuri is considered having belief like philosophers mentioning that the universe is eternity (the eternity of the world).

Although Hamzah is challenged and rejected by those who don’t agree, according to Bohari Haji Ahmad it must be recognized that he is the first person who introduced the concepts of philosophical mysticism to the world of Malay. Hamzah Fansuri doesn’t only give great influence to the importance of the use of historiography of literary works in Nusantara, but he also introduced the term and the concept of new technique into the literature of Malay generally and the works of letters specifically. Of course, Fansuri’s influence is not only in the field of letters but also in theology, metaphysics and philosophy.

Al-Rânirī didn’t only criticize Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatranis through his works, but, with his position as Syaikh as Islam and his closeness to Sultan Iskandar Tsani who was in power at that time, requested to burn all Fansuri and Sumatranis’s works and kill their followers of wujudiyyah. Al-Rânirī’s theological criticism toward the philosophical thinking of Hamzah and Sumatranis has been immortalized in Islamic history and has given the less positive impact in the course of Islamic intellectual history in Nusantara.
Long term negative impact which was done by al-Râni r reminded a great Islamic scholar in the twelfth century, al-Ghazâlî who critisized Ibn Sinâ and al-Fârâbî through his works Tahâfut al-Falâsifah connected with the concepts of divinity and the problem of metaphysics.\(^60\) As if the history repeated when al-Ghazâlî critisized Ibn Sinâ and al-Fârâbî so that worldly Ibn Rusyd, who tried to streighten the problem connected with al-Ghazâlî’s critism. So did when al-Râni r critisized Hamzah and Syams al-Dîn Sumatrani’s philosophical thinking, so, other Islamic scholar was an externally aspect, that was ‘ Abd Ra’uf al-Sinkil (1615-1693) who tried to make the problem clear connected with the philosophy of being, the existence of lord and the relation wit nature although al-Sinkil was not the same as Ibn Rusyd explicitely face directly with al-Ghazâlî through his work, Tahâfut al-Tahâfut.\(^61\)

According to Azra, al-Sinkil tried to get rid of controversial among Hamzah Fansuri, Shams al-Dîn al-Sumatran and al-Râni r. Al-Sinkil also tried to show the differences among Hamzah dan Shams al-Dîn and all at once critisized al-Râni r’s ways in doing improvement.\(^62\) When using the theories of thesis, anti-thesis and synthese, al-Sinkil becomes the third position, that is synthese. According to Oman Fathurrahman, al-Sinkil tries to be in the middle as the agent of peace.\(^63\) He tries to synthesize between thinking of Hamzah Fansuri with that of Nur al-Dîn al-Râni r.

In his book, Tambih al-Mâsîyi, al-Sinkil clarifies that the nature and man is the reflection of the real being, that is al-Haq. As a reflection, nature always depends on the origin of the reflection, that is absolute being or Wâjib al-Wujûd according to the philosophical thinking of Ibn Sinâ. Between reflection and the origin of reflection are different and the real being is the source of the reflection. Although they are different, it doesn’t mean that nature and man are really separated from the reflection and the source of reflection always follows the reflection started from the beginning up to the end. The reflection as al-Sinkili continued, appear and created through the process of emanation flow. That’s why between the light and its flow can’t be separated, becomes one in unity.\(^64\)

Al-Sinkili’s explanation about the relation of the origin if reflection with the reflection or the light with its flow by using the principles of emanation and illumination, indirectly, they have been influenced by the thinking or borrowing the terms of Islamic Philosophy. The principle of emanation in Islam first developed by al-Fârâbî in his book Mahâdî’ Arâ ‘ Alâ Ahl al-Madinah al-Fâdilah,\(^65\) and also Ibn Sinâ in one of his works, Al-Isyârât wa al-Tambihât.\(^66\) While the principle of illumination was developed by Suhrawardî al-Maqtûl, in his book, Hickmah al-Isyra’q.\(^67\) Either emanation al-Fârâbî or Ibn Sinâ was influenced from Plotinus’s thinking or usually known as Neo-Platonism which was then developed in the frame and the principles of Islam, unity of God.

From the research conducted by ‘ Abd Wahâb al-Kamâl concluded that there are similarity and the meeting point between Syams al-Dîn al-Sumatran’s the essence 7 specifically with Ibn

\(^{60}\) Al-Ghazâlî, The Incoherence of the Philosophers (Tahâfut al-Falâsifah), A Parallel Text Enlish-Arabi, Translated, Introduced, and Anotted by Michael E Marmura (Utah: Bringham Young University Press, 2000).


\(^{62}\) Azyumardi Azra, Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII, 231-232.

\(^{63}\) Oman Fathurrahman, Tambih al-Masyi, Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud: Kassus Abdurrauf Sinkel di Aceh abd 17 (Bandung: Mizan bekerjasama dengan Ecole Francaise D’Extreme-Orient Center De Jakarta, 1999), 23.

\(^{64}\) Ibid., 92-96.


\(^{66}\) Ibn Sinâ, Al-Isyârât wa al-Tambihât (Qum: Bustân Kitâb, 1423 H), 316-318.

Sinā’s emanation system.68 Geneologically the thinking of the martabat Tujuh of al-Sumatrani influenced by Hamzah Fansuri’s thinking and Hamzah Fansuri was influenced by the thoughts of Arab and Persian Sufis, like Abū Yazīd al-Bustamī, al-Hallāj, Farīd al-Dīn Attār, Junayd al-Baghdādī and ibn ‘Arabī. Meanwhile, ibn ‘Arabī’s thinking in its emanation system can’t be rid of from Neo-Platonism’s thinking,69 and the influence of Hellenistic and neo-Platonic is more seen in the process of Islamisation in Nusantara included in its thinking compared from the influence of Hindu.70

Al-Sinkili’s elaboration and argumentation above as an answer to al-Rānīrī who criticized Hamzah Fansuri. By positioning himself as a person who always tries to avoid conflict, so, al-Sinkili’s argumentation can be said as solution of polemic concepts Hamzah Fansuri’s wahdah wujūd which is considered pantheist and polytheists which mentioned between lord and nature are the same. To al-Sinkili, between Lord and nature are different although the nature which is mentioned as reflection, can’t be rid of from the source of reflection. Al-Sinkili’s argument as clarifying between the position of Lord which is transcender, tanzih and all at once his presence in the nature immanently, tasybih.

According to Ade Fakih Kurniawan the type of philosophical thinking and the theme of the study which happened in Aceh have the similarity with the development of thinking in Java Island especially when we read the works of ‘Abdullâh Ibn ‘Abd al-Qahhar al-Bantanî, who lived the period of Sultanage of Banten which was led by Abū al-Nasr Muhammad ‘Ārif Syifā Zyan ‘Āsyiqin (1753-1773). In the book which entitled Masyâhid al-Nâsîk fī Maqâmât al-Sâlik and Fath al-Mulk, mentioned that the real being is Wujūd al-Haq, other than Him is only the reflection. This reflection, included Nature becomes tajalli from al-Haq. Tajalli is graded which can be devided into 5 parts: the nature of ‘ālam al-Ilâhî, ālam al-jabarût, ālam al-malakût, and ālam násût.71

The type of Islamic thinking of philosophical rational develop in Nusantara, according to al-Attas didn’t have the relation with religious tradition which developed in Nusantara before the arrival of Islam which was full of myths.72 Philosophical rational spirit in Islam motivated by Islamic instruction which emphasizes the importance of using mind in seeing, knowing and finding out the truth included the one connected with the highest truth al-Haq or being as one self of being, that is the Lord (Allah) the one God. This spirit which colorize the type of the thinking of Islamic scholars of Nusantara which was inspired by Hamzah Fansuri in the 16th century AD.

Conclusion

Historically, the debate about epistemological ontology among Islamic scholars above happened between the 16th and 18th centuries AD. In that period there were so many moslem scientists in Nusantara appeared and colorized the discourse of Islamic thinking in Nusantara included in the field of Islamic Philosophy. By external aspect for Islamic scientists with their all works with the philosophical characteristic is a kind of big contribution toward the advance of Islamic civilization and science in Nusantara. Certainly, the advance can’t be rid of the great influence of moslem scientists like Burhanpurī, Ibn ‘Arabī, al-Jillī and al-Kurbanī who were in the centers of Islamic civilization such as Mekkah and Madinah, Baghdād, Spain, India and other places. Although there were friction and the thinking criticism among those Islamic scholars like the one done by al-Rānīrī to Hamzah Fansuri and al-Sumatrani, but this didn’t hamper the Islamic

68 Abd Wahāb al-Kamāl, 161-161.
70 Naquib al-Attas, 190.
72 Naquib al-Attas, 190-191.
scholars in producing works, writing and research included in the field of Islamic Philosophy.

The characteristics of the thinking of Islamic Philosophy in Nusantara is mystical metaphysics or onto-mystic, that is unification in undergoing directly toward the objects of metaphysics, later on known as sufism way with abstraction, narration, explanation and rational speculative clarification to the experience of objects experienced. This type colorizes the works of Islamic scholar of Nusantara in the 17th to 18th centuries.

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