

## MYSTICAL-METAPHYSICS: THE TYPE OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY IN NUSANTARA IN THE 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

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### Abstract

*This article is aimed to analyze the geneology 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 disscussion material, the object of analyzes and debate. The history of Islamic entered in Nusantara more decribed 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 Fansurî, Syams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî, Nûr al-Dîn al-Ranirî, Muhammad Yûsuf al-Maqassarî, 'Abd al-Ra'ûf al-Sinkilî, '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

*Artikel ini bertujuan menganalisis geneologi asal usul pemikiran filosofis ilmuwan Nusantara, terutama yang berkembang pada abad ke-17 hingga ke-18, termasuk juga tema-tema yang berkembang pada masa-masa tersebut sebagai bahan diskusi, objek kajian, dan perdebatan. Sejarah masuknya Islam di Nusantara lebih banyak dideskripsikan dengan corak Islam yang berdimensi tasawuf. Tesis tersebut berdasarkan pada kemampuan Islam yang menyatu dengan tradisi dan kebudayaan Nusantara yang memiliki latar belakang yang sama dengan Islam tasawuf, terutama dalam tradisi Hindu dan Budha. Sedikit sekali yang menyebutkan bahwa Islam yang hadir di Indonesia memiliki corak rasional filosofis. Pandangan ini berimplikasi pada sedikitnya penelitian yang berkaitan dengan Islam yang berdimensi rasional filosofis. Berdasarkan pada hasil penelusuran penulis terhadap karya-karya para ilmuwan Muslim Nusantara seperti Hamzah Fansurî, Syams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî, Nûr al-Dîn al-Ranirî,*

*Muhammad Yûsuf al-Maqassarî, 'Abd al-Ra'ûf al-Sinkilî, 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbanî, dan Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari menunjukkan bahwa pemikiran dan argumen-argumennya sangat rasional. Karya-karyanya telah mewarnai corak pemikiran filsafat Islam di Nusantara yang sudah berkembang sejak abad ke-17- 8 M, bahkan sudah dimulai sejak abad ke-16 M.*

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

## Introduction

Other than al-Qur'ân, 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 Sînâ, Ibn Rusyd, Ibn Tufayl, Suhrawardî, Mullâ Shadrâ, Muradâ 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 appearance of western civilization either directly or indirectly. The influence can be seen in the works of William Montgomery Watt's,<sup>1</sup> Oliver Leaman,<sup>2</sup> Peter Adamson,<sup>3</sup> Herbert A Davidson,<sup>4</sup> Henry Corbin,<sup>5</sup> Charles

Butterworth,<sup>6</sup> John Walbridge,<sup>7</sup> T.J. De Boer,<sup>8</sup> 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 divided 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,<sup>9</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup>William Montgomery Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1972).

<sup>2</sup>Oliver Leaman, *An Introduction to Classical Islamic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>3</sup>Peter Adamson, *Great Medieval Thinkers: Al-Kindi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>4</sup>Herbert A. Davidson, *Al-Farabi, Avicenna, and Averros on Intellect: Their Cosmologies, Theories of the Active Intellect, and Theories of Human Intellect* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>5</sup>Henry Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy* (London: Kegan Paul International in Association with Islamic Publication for The Insitute of Ismaili Studies, 1993).

<sup>6</sup>Charles Butterworth (ed.), *The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

<sup>7</sup>John Walbridge, *God and Logic in Islam: The Caliphate of Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>8</sup>T. J. De Boer, *History of Islamic Philosophy in Islam* (New York: Dover Publication, Inc., 1967).

<sup>9</sup>Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy From Its Origin to The Present: Philosophy in The Land of Prophecy* (New York: State University Press, 2006.), 13.

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, relieves from the darkness which has been started since the sixteenth century. Before the Renaissance, Islam influenced the West while after the Renaissance the Islamic world was dominated by the West, not only in the system of politics, culture, economy, but also in the point of view and ideology.

If the West revived in the sixteenth century with its philosophical thoughts 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 science. As mentioned by historians 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 the West and Nusantara have differences. If the development of science which developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 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 aspects which developed from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the 18<sup>th</sup> century AD by mostly referring to the researches, John Bousfield, Naquib al-Attas and Azyumardi Azra. The method used in this research is a library research with historical and hermeneutic analyses by referring to thinking and scientific Muslims' 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 works and articles connected with the thinking study and philosophical works written by Indonesian philosophers were published in Indonesia like Musa Asy'arie's work.<sup>10</sup>

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 periods into 4 parts. The literature of introduction of Islamic Philosophy, an analysis of Islamic Philosophers, the literature of thematic Islamic Philosophers, the thinking analysis of Muslim philosophers. From the 4 main themes of Islamic philosophy, there were 20 books which become objects of researches. The 20 literatures were not limited on the independent works of thinkers 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 work 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.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Musa Asy'arie, *Perkembangan Filsafat Islam di Indonesia: Studi atas Literatur Filsafat Islam Berbahasa Indonesia tahun 1998-2013* (Yogyakarta: Universitas Islam Sunan Kalijaga, 2013).

<sup>11</sup>Nanang Tahqiq, "Literatur Falsafah Islam di Indonesia Buah Karya Para Penulis Indonesia", *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 13, no. 2 (2015): 313-340.

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 independence is the popular writing such as the article written by Ja'far Umar.<sup>12</sup> 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 existency 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 *şufi* 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 Fansurī although he was more known as a *şufi* than philosopher.

<sup>12</sup>Ja'far Umar, "Jejak Kampung Filsafat di Serambi Mekkah Abad XVI-XVII M," dalam <http://liputanislam.com/kajian-islam/sejarah/jejak-kampung-filsafat-di-serambi-mekkah-abad-xvi-xvii-m>, accessed, March 11, 2016.

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*.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> In accordance with the tittle 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 the 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

<sup>13</sup>John Bousfield, "Islamic Philosophy in South-East Asia", In M. B. Hooker (ed.), *Islam in South-East Asia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 92.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 95.

<sup>15</sup>Azumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2005); Azyumardi Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Network of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in The Seventeenth and Eghteenth Centuries* (Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press and Crows Nest NSW: Allen and Unwin, 2004).

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

### 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 intellectual 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).<sup>16</sup> The definition in the structure of Islamic Philosophy also called as the scope and branches of philosophy which comprises metaphysics (ontology) epistemology and axiology.

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

philosophy, we will be disappointed. To understand Islamic Philosophy in the tradition of Islamic Nusantara can’t really see one field of science, but must also see all fields of science and the tradition of Islamic Science which develops in Nusantara. We must see how moslem understand and interpret al-Qur’ân, to analyze Hadith, pay attention and consider *Fiqh*, *Kalam*, and also *Tasawuf*.<sup>18</sup> Those fields can’t be saporable from one another to see the development of Islamic Philosophy in Nusantara. This means, Islamic Philosophy can’t only teach to explain being rationally but it also undergoes the presence of being itself existensially or directly.

Refering to Ikhwân al-Safâ’s thinking, the construction of philosophy thinking in tradition of Islam in Nusantara becomes Islamic unity between philosophy and *al-syarâ’ah al-nubuwiyyah* (religion) both whose names become two aspects *Ilâhiyyah* which agree in their purposes and only different in: *furû’* (branch). The highest purpose of philosophy is what can be said “(esemble) reach God” becoming God like, in accordance with man’s capacity. The foundation of philosophy is connected with four things: *First*, to know the essence of all which exist. *Second*, confidence of the right view. *Third*, behave with good character and behaviour and fourth, intelegently inteligent action and, good deed.<sup>19</sup>

The purpose of good behaviour is the education of spirit and improvement from weakness become perfectness, get out from the borders of capacity becomes real act, actualization from potentiality and achieve persistence, constancy and durability of comfort together with angel. This is the purpose of devine revelation and *nubuwwah* that is, the education of human spirit, improve and purity from the hell of material nature and denise, bring it into the heaven and comfort for the occupants, on the extention of nature

<sup>16</sup>See John Bousfield, 95.

<sup>17</sup>Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason*, by Steve Thomas for the University of Adelaide Library, Electronic Text Version, 1998.

<sup>18</sup>See John Bousfield, 95.

<sup>19</sup>Ikhwân al-Safâ’, *Rasâ’il Ikhwân al-Safâ’*, Jil. 3 (Qum: Maktab al-I’lâm al-Islâmî, 2000), 30.

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.<sup>20</sup>

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 Fansurî and al-Rânirî. According to him although the characters who were mentioned in that writing often considered as *şufi* but he is more interested to expose the reflexion of natural autonomous philosophy from their works.<sup>21</sup>

In harmony with Bousfield and al-Attas, Azyumardi Azra mentioned that Hamzah Fansurî 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 'Arabî and al-Jillî. Even both of them follows *wujûdiyyah* system by Ibn 'Arabî and al-Jillî 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.<sup>22</sup> 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 *şufi*. However, the structure of their writings and thinking are very influenced by the term of, analyses and philosophical argued.<sup>23</sup>

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 *şufi* community like Ruzbihan Baqlî al-Shirâzî, Farîd al-Dîn al-Attâr, 'Umar al-Suhrawardî and the point of its culmination is Ibn 'Arabî. According to Corbin, sufism always involves the whole system of metaphysics and the fact shows that metaphysics itself can't be separated from philosophy.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, with the meeting point so philosophy, *kalam*, asceticism of *şufi* 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.<sup>25</sup> This period is called as golden era from the ideology of philosophical mysticism which are the combination from theosophy thinking of Ibn 'Arabî and Suhrawardî's east philosophy and Ibn Sîna's peripatetical rasonalism.

The central theme from this ideology is to expose the cover which tamper men in knowing hidden treasure. In the tradition of *şufi*, mentioned as hidden treasure is the world of Allah, as signaled in *hadith 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

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 30.

<sup>21</sup>See John Bousfield, 100; Naquib al-Attas, 194.

<sup>22</sup>Azyumardi Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 204.

<sup>23</sup>See Naquib al-Attas, 149.

<sup>24</sup>Henry Corbin, 283-285; Sufism is a way to uncover metaphysical truths, whereas philosophy is an explanation of experiences gained through the path of sufism.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 292.

God itself which can only be exposed through allegory and methafor. *Second*, through the expose of world manifestation of the world of Allah through mediators of his names and those names are menifestated 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).<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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 *ṣufi*, great philosopher born in Tunisia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD, that was Ibn ‘Arabî (1165-1240) who has the theory of the unity of being or *wahdah al-wujûd*.<sup>28</sup> 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 ‘Arabî’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 *mawdû’* is about being itself. That is, being qua being or *wujûd bimâ hiya mawjûdah*. 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.<sup>29</sup> In Hamzah Fansurî’s works and thinking expecially, 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 Fansurî’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 *ṣufi* or mysticism intelektual tradition. The view focuses on the theme of the concept of being, *this world view centered around the conception of being (wujûd)*.<sup>30</sup> So do the names of *ṣufi* mentioned and quated by Hamzah Fansurî is also connected with the theme and concept *wahdah al-wujûd* (Oneness of Being).<sup>31</sup> That’s why, all of series of spiritual and intelektual 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 *Ṣufi* who came

<sup>26</sup>See Henry Corbin, 293.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Kautsar Azhari Noer, *Ibn ‘Arabi: Wahdat al-Wujud dalam Perdebatan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995).

<sup>29</sup>Seyyed Hossein Nasr dan Oliver Leaman, *History of Isamic Philosophy*, Part 1 (Qum: Ansariyan Publication, 2001), 22.

<sup>30</sup>Naquib al-Attas, 186

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 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.<sup>32</sup>

From the result of Jamal D. Rahman's research, the discourse and the debate about being and *wahdah al-wujûd* 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-wujûd* continuously 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-wujûd* in modern Indonesian intellectual tradition appear in the form of proze 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.<sup>33</sup>

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 appearance, 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 discursive. 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-Sumatanî, al-Rânirî and al-Sinkilî, so in the next development, the discourse of Islamic Philosophy tends to be ontology-epistemology by showing up the theme *wahdah al-syuhûd*, unity in testimony as developed by Muhammad Yûsuf al-Maqassarî (w. 1699 M) who also became student from Ibrâhim al-Kuranî. "*Syuhud*" lexically means to witness, 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.<sup>34</sup> 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

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 148.

<sup>33</sup>Jamal D. Rahman, "Wahdatul Wujud dalam Puisi-Puisi Indonesia Modern: Mendiskusikan Puisi-Puisi Emha Ainun Nadjib," *Dialektika: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia* 3, no. 2 (2016): 120-152.

<sup>34</sup>Mehdi Hairî Yazdi, *The Principle of Epistemology in Islamic Philosophy: Knowledge by Presence* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992).

the right of Allah can be seen in his greatness and beauty.<sup>35</sup>

Other muslim scholars also clarify about *wahdah al-syuhūd* is Muhammad Nâfis al-Banjari in his work “*al-Dur al-Nâfis*”. Unity in testimony or *wahdah al-syuhūd* 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, themselves 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 Nâfis mentioned that between sun and its light is inseparable and not different being. Between light and its flow becomes one essence. Example sun and its light becomes parable between God (Allah) and his creation. That’s why, testimony “*syuhūd*” 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 basically 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.”<sup>36</sup> 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 muslims 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-Karîm al-Jillî’s work entitled “*al-Insân al-Kâmil*”.<sup>37</sup> This al-Jillî’s work becomes a work which presents systematically about metaphysics *wahdah al-wujûd* of Ibn ‘Arabî, which later on has become one of the main topics which was discussed by muslim scholars of Nusantara started from Aceh, Sumatra, Kalimantan as far as Java Island.

Another work which also has a great influence is *Tuhfah al-Mursalâh ilâ Rûh al-Nabî*, Muhammad Ibn Fadlullâh Burhanpurî’s work (1546-1620) and *Idhaf al-Dzâkî*, Ibrâhim al-Kuranî’s work. A.H Johns mentioned that the book “*Tuhfah*” becomes the work of muslim 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.<sup>38</sup> The theory about seven rank explained massively by Shams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî, Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânirî and ‘Abd Ra’uf al-Sinkilî based on this book *Tuhfah* Burhanpurî.<sup>39</sup>

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

<sup>35</sup>Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar: Riwayat dan Ajarannya* (Jakarta: Penerbit UI Press, 2005), 136.

<sup>36</sup>Syekh M. Nafis bin Idris al-Banjari, *Ilmu Ketuhanan: Pertama Yang Indah (al-Dur al-Nâfis)*, translated by Haderanie (Jakarta: Pustaka Media Ilmu, t.th), 50-53.

<sup>37</sup>Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 29.

<sup>38</sup>A. H. Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of The Prophet* (Oriental Monograph Series, No. 1, Centre of Oriental Studies, The Australian National University, t.th), 7-8.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 9.

great Islamic scholar. He was mentioned as a mountain among the mountains, as sea among *irfan* ocean (The Science of Spiritual).<sup>40</sup> 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 Hamawî, because al-Kuranî was close with variations of sciences and intellectual discourse, started from *Mu'tazilah* and *Asy'arism* up to philosophical mysticism by Ibn 'Arabî and the greek philosophy of Plato and Aristoteles.<sup>41</sup>

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 *şufi* 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'* (annihilation) 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.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, mentioned that the word *Idhaf al-Dzâkî*, al-Kuranî's works becomes repounded,

critisized and all at once review toward the work of Fadl Allâh Burhanpurî "*Tuhfah al-Mursalâh 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 Burhanpurî's work.<sup>43</sup> 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 Burhanpurî's works.<sup>44</sup>, the book *Tuhfah al-Mursalâh* 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-Sinkilî, al-Maqassarî, al-Palimbanî, and Muhammad Nâfis al-Banjari.<sup>45</sup>

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-Dzâkî*, Ibrâhim al-Kuranî's work. Historically, it can be traced that Muhammad Ibn Fadlullâh al-Burhanpurî 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 *şufi* in the twelfth century, who was born in Murcia, Spain, Ibn 'Arabî.

<sup>40</sup>Azyumardi Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in South East Asia*, 18.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 40.

<sup>42</sup>See Azyumardi Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in South East Asia*, 40.

<sup>43</sup>A. H Johns, 8.

<sup>44</sup>Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, 133-134.

<sup>45</sup>See Azyumardi Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in South East Asia*, 42.

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 Fansurî's thinking which are written in his works, like *Asyrab al-'Âsyiqîn Wa Zînah al-Muwahhidîn*, *Asrâr al-'Ârifîn fî 'Ilm al-Sulûk wa al-Tawhîd*, *al-Muntahî*, and *Ruba'î Hamzah Fansurî*. According to historian, Hamzah lived in the period of government of Sultan Alaudin Ri'ayat Syah (1588-1604) until the beginning of Sultan Iskandar Muda's government (1607-1636) while Naquib al-Attas presumes that Hamzah Fansurî died before the year 1607 M. If it is true that Hamzah Fansurî 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-Kuranî.

Therefore, greatly possible that Hamzah Fansurî has read either Burhanpurî's work or al-Jillî and that possibility was convinced by 'Abd Ra'uf al-Sinkilî, who mentioned that some of Moslem scholars' works which influenced Hamzah's thinking were *Fusûs al-Hikam*, Muhyi al-Dîn Ibn 'Arabî, *Syarh al-Miskât al-Futihât* and *al-Insân al-Kâmil* by Abd al-Karim al-Jillî, and Muhammad Fadl Allâh al-Burhanpuri's writings, *Tuhfah al-Mursalâh*. Other than that, methodologically, some of Hamzah Fansurî's thinkings are very influenced firmly and followed the system of *wujudîyyah* Ibn 'Arabî and al-Jillî's thinking.<sup>46</sup>

Even according to Paul Wheatky which was quoted by Faud zinaim Hj. Badaruddin, al-Jillî's work has spread in malhacca in the period of Sultan Mansur Syah's government who was in power from 1456 to 1477 M. That fact can be seen from theological issues which developed in Malacca about someone's constancy who

<sup>46</sup>Peter Riddell, *Islam and Malay-Indonesia World: Transmission and Responses* (London: Hurst & Company, 2001), 122-123; Mira Fauziah, "Pemikiran Tasawuf Hamzah Fansurî", *Jurnal Substantiva* 15, no. 2 (2013): 289-304; Azumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, 200.

become heaven or hell accupant. The answer to the problem is both are everlasting and the answer based on al-Jillî's thinking. This becomes proof that al-Jillî's thinking has developed since the 15<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>47</sup>

If we refer to the process of Hamzah Fansurî's education, geneology of mystical- philosophical thinking can be traced as far as Persia, Baghdad and Mekkah. The circulation of Hamzah Fansurî can be identified from his poems. Even, mentioned that he mastered two languages other than Malay, that is Arabic and Persian. By making a trip to the centers of science which are in the center of Islamic cultural town, so the way to get the source of science through the books as mentioned before very easy to carry out.<sup>48</sup> In addition to master Arabic which becomes universal language at that time, he also masters Persian Language, and also, and Urdu language which becomes local language from the places he visited. Other ways which made Hamzah Fansurî easier to get those works are because of his affiliation with *tarekat qadiriyyah* in which it was centered in Kurdistan, Iraq at that time.<sup>49</sup>

Hamzah Fansurî's thinking ontological philosophy especially philosophy of being was also followed by Shams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî where according to some of historians the relation between them as friends all at once the relation

<sup>47</sup>Faudzinaim Hj. Badaruddin, "Menelusuri Akar Martabat Tujuh: Sebuah Ajaran Tasawuf Falsafi Nusantara", dalam *International Seminar on Islamic Thoughts Proceedings*, 7-9 Desember 2004, *Islam: Past, Present and Future* (ed.) Ahmad Sunawari Long, Jaffary Awang, dan Kamaruddin Salleh (Selangor: Departement of Theology and Philosophy, Faculty of Islamic Studies, Unversity Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2004), 200.

<sup>48</sup>Haji Mohamad Bohari Haji Ahmad, "The Idea of Wahdat al-Wujud in the Poetry of 'Abd al-Qadir Bidil (Persian), Ibrahim Hakki Erzurumlu (Ottoman Turkish), and Hamzah Fansurî (Malay)" (Disertasi unpublished, Unversity of California at Berkeley, 1989), 319-320.

<sup>49</sup>Syamsul A. B dan Azmi Aziz, "Colonial Knowledge and the Reshaping of Islam, The Muslim and Islamic Education in Malaysia", in *Islamic Studies and Islamic Education in Contemporary Southeast Asia* (ed.) Kamaruzzaman Bustaman-Ahmad dan Patrick Jory (Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Ilmuwan, 2011), 117; Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dab XVIII*, 198.

between a teacher and a student.<sup>50</sup> From his contextual thinking of ontological philosophy, Shams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî has the similarity with Hamzah Fansurî where both of them profess the concept of *wujûdiyyah*. 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 Fansurî the nature has 5 levels, so in al-Sumatranî's, there are 7 levels of nature. These levels are later known as seven essence.<sup>51</sup> 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-Dîn al-Sumatranî's thinking,<sup>52</sup> Syaikh 'Abd al-Mutalib,<sup>53</sup> Dangding Haji Hasan Mustapa,<sup>54</sup> Syaikh Muhyi Pamijahan (1650-1730) and Muhammad Nâfis al-Banjarî,<sup>55</sup> and 'Abd Samad al-Palimbanî.<sup>56</sup>

Besides getting positive reception, Hamzah Fansurî and Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânirî thinking they get hard challenge from Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânirî (w.1658). Al-Rânirî accused Hamzah and Syams al-Dîn 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 Fansurî so that Hamzah Fansurî 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, Zoroastrer, incarnation and Brahma. The *second*, Hamzah Fansurî'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 Fansurî is considered having belief like philosophers mentioning that the universe is eternity (the eternity of the world).<sup>57</sup>

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 Fansurî 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.<sup>58</sup> Of course, Fansurî's influence is not only in the field of letters but also in theology, metaphysics and philosophy.

Al-Rânirî didn't only criticize Hamzah Fansurî and Shams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî 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 Fansurî and Sumatranî's works and kill their followers of *wujûdiyyah*.<sup>59</sup> Al-Rânirî's theological criticism toward the philosophical thinking of Hamzah and Sumatranî has been immortalized in Islamic history and has given the less positive impact in the course of Islamic intellectual history in Nusantara.

<sup>50</sup>See Azumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, 197-198.

<sup>51</sup>"Syamsuddin As-Sumatrani," dalam <http://melayuonline.com/ind/personage/dig/343/syamsuddin-as-sumatrani>, accessed, January 8, 2018.

<sup>52</sup>'Abd Wahâb al-Kamâl, "Sisi-sisi Teori Martabat Tujuh Syaikh Syamsuddin As-Sumatrani pada Emanasi Ibn Sina" (Skripsi S1 unpublished, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2015).

<sup>53</sup>Masmedia Pinem, "Ajaran Martabat Tujuh dalam Naskah Asrar al-Khafi Karya Syaikh 'Abd al-Mutalib", *Jurnal Manuskripta* 2, no. 1 (2012): 33-52.

<sup>54</sup>Jajang A Rohmana, "Tasawuf Sunda dan Warisan Islam Nusantara: Martabat Tujuh dalam Dangding Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1950)", *al-Turas* XX, no. 2. (2013).

<sup>55</sup>Amin Che Ahmat, Che Zarrina Saarif, Nurul Hidayah Aziz, and Shyaril Nizam Zulkipli, "An Analysis on Doctrin of Nur Muhammad in Bahr al-Lahut: A Corelation to Martabat Tujuh (Seven Echolen)", *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Science* 7, no. 11 (2017).

<sup>56</sup>Khalif Muammar A. Harris, "Faham Wahdat al-Wujud dan Martabat Tujuh dalam Karya Shaykh Abd al-Samad al-Fallimbanî", *Tafhim* 8 (2018): 97-131.

<sup>57</sup>Abdollah Vakily, "Sufism, Power Politics, and reform: Al-Rânirî's Opposition to Hamzah Fansurî's Teachings Reconsidered", *Studi Islamika, Indonesia Journal for Islamic Studies* 4, no. 1 (1997): 113-135.

<sup>58</sup>Haji Mohamad Bohari Haji Ahmad, *The Idea of Wahda al-Wujûd*, 326-327; Ismail, "Falsafah Wujudiyyah Hamzah Fansurî: Pemikiran dan Pengaruhnya di Dunia Melayu Nusantara", *Manhaj* 4, no. 3 (2016): 239-252.

<sup>59</sup>Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, 218-219.

Long term negative impact which was done by al-Rânirî reminded a great Islamic scholar in the twelfth century, al-Ghazâlî who criticized Ibn Sînâ and al-Fârâbî through his works *Tahâfut al-Falâsifah* connected with the concepts of devinity and the problem of metaphysics.<sup>60</sup> As if the history repeated when al-Ghazâlî criticized Ibn Sînâ and al-Fârâbî so that worldly Ibn Rusyd, who tried to streighten the problem connected with al-Ghazâlî's criticism. So did when al-Rânirî criticized Hamzah and Syams al-Dîn Sumatranî's philosophical thinking, so, other Islamic scholar was an externally aspect, that was 'Abd Ra'uf al-Sinkilî (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-Sinkilî was not the same as Ibn Rusyd explicitly face directly with al-Ghazâlî through his work, *Tahâfut al-Tahâfut*.<sup>61</sup>

According to Azra, al-Sinkilî tried to get rid of controversial among Hamzah Fansurî, Shams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî and al-Rânirî. Al-Sinkilî also tried to show the differences among Hamzah dan Shams al-Dîn and all at once criticized al-Rânirî's ways in doing improvement.<sup>62</sup> When using the theories of thesis, anti-thesis and synthese, al-Sinkilî becomes the third position, that is synthese. According to Oman Fathurrahman, al-Sinkilî tries to be in the middle as the agent of peace.<sup>63</sup> He tries to synthesize between thinking of Hamzah Fansurî with that of Nur al-Din al-Rânirî.

In his book, *Tanbih al-Mâsyî*, al-Sinkilî 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 Sînâ. 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-Sinkilî 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.<sup>64</sup>

Al-Sinkilî'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 *Mabâdi' Arâ' Alâ Ahl al-Madînah al-Fâdilâh*,<sup>65</sup> and also Ibn Sînâ in one of his works, *Al-Isyârât wa al-Tambihât*.<sup>66</sup> While the principle of illumination was developed by Suhrawardî al-Maqtûl, in his book, *Hikmah al-Isyrâq*.<sup>67</sup> Either emanation al-Fârâbî or Ibn Sînâ 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-Sumatranî's the essence 7 specifically with Ibn

<sup>60</sup>Al-Ghazâlî, *The Incoherence of the Philosophers (Tahâfut al-Falâsifah)*, A Parallel Text Englis-Arabic, Translated, Introduced, and Anoted by Michael E Marmura (Utah: Bringham Young University Press, 2000).

<sup>61</sup>Ibn Rusyd, *Tahâfut at-Tahâfut, Sanggahan terhadap Tahâfut al-Falâsifah*, translated by Khalifurrahman Fath (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004).

<sup>62</sup>Azymardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, 231-232.

<sup>63</sup>Oman Fathurrahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi, Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud: Kasus Abdurrauf Sinkel di Aceh abd 17* (Bandung: Mizan bekerjasama dengan Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient Center De Jakarta, 1999), 23.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 92-96.

<sup>65</sup>Al-Fârâbî, *Al-Fârabi on the Perfect State (Mabâdi' Arâ' Ahl al-Madînah al-Fâdilâh)*, A Revised Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Richard Walzer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 100-106.

<sup>66</sup>Ibn Sînâ, *Al-Isyârât wa al-Tambihât* (Qum: Bustân Kitâb, 1423 H), 316-318.

<sup>67</sup>Suhrawardî, *The Philosophy of Illumination (Hikmah al-Isyrâq)*, A New Critical Edition of the Text of Hikmah al-Isyrâq with English Translation, Notes, Commentary, and Introduced by John Wallbridge and Hossein Ziai, Utah: Bringham Young University Press, 1999.

Sînâ's emanation system.<sup>68</sup> Geneologically the thinking of the *martabat Tujuh* of al-Sumatranî influenced by Hamzah Fansurî's thinking and Hamzah Fansurî was influenced by the thoughts of Arab and Persian Sufis, like Abû Yazîd al-Bustamî, al-Hallâj, Farîd al-Dîn Attâr, Junayd al-Baghdâdî and ibn 'Arabî. Meanwhile, ibn 'Arabî's thinking in its emanation system can't be rid of from Neo-Platonism's thinking,<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

Al-Sinkilî's elaboration and argumentation above as an answer to al-Rânirî who criticized Hamzah Fansurî. By positioning himself as a person who always tries to avoid conflict, so, al-Sinkilî's argumentation can be said as solution of polemic concepts Hamzah Fansurî's *wahdah wujûd* which is considered pantheist and polytheists which mentioned between lord and nature are the same. To al-Sinkilî, 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-Sinkilî's argument as clarifying between the position of Lord which is transcender, *tanzîh* and all at once his presence in the nature immanently, *tasybîh*.

According to Ade Fakhri 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 Abû al-Nasr Muhammad 'Ârif Syifâ Zyan 'Âsyiqîn (1753-1773). In the book which entitled *Masyâhid al-Nâsik fî Maqâmât al-Sâlik* and *Fath al-Mulk*, mentioned that the real being is *Wujûd al-Haq*, other than Him is only the reflection. This

reflection, included Nature becomes *tajalli* from *al-Haq*. *Tajalli* is graded which can be divided into 5 parts: the nature of 'âlam al-Ilâhî, *âlam al-jabarût*, 'âlam al-malakût, and 'âlam nâsût.<sup>71</sup>

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.<sup>72</sup> 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 Fansurî in the 16<sup>th</sup> century AD.

## Conclusion

Historically, the debate about epistemological ontology among Islamic scholars above happened between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. In that period there were so many muslim 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 muslim scientists like Burhanpurî, Ibn 'Arabi, al-Jillî and al-Kuranî who were in the centers of Islamic civilization such as Mekkah and Madinah, Baghdâd, Spain, India and other places. Although there were friction and the thinking criticism among those Islamic scholars like the one done by al-Rânirî to Hamzah Fansurî and al-Sumatrani, but this didn't hamper the Islamic

<sup>68</sup>'Abd Wahâb al-Kamâl, 161-161.

<sup>69</sup>Umi Masfiah, *Kajian Naskah Kitab Tahqiq di Kalimantan Selatan* (Yogyakarta, cv. Arti Bumi Intaran, 2010), 151.

<sup>70</sup>Naquib al-Attas, 190.

<sup>71</sup>Ade Fakhri Kurniawan, "Konsep Tajalli Abdullah Ibn Abd al-Qahhâr al-Bantanî dan Posisinya dalam Diskursus Wujûdiyyah di Nusantara", *Ulumuna* 17, no. 2 (2013): 275-302.

<sup>72</sup>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 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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