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Translation of al-Quran into the Malay Language in the Malay World

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Abstract

The spread of Islam in the Malay Archipelago contributed to al-Quran translation in Malay civilization. The society started to learn about Islam and the *Syariah* that encouraged them to be close to al-Quran and translate it into the local language. Al-Quran was translated into the Malay language in many ways. This study is a study of text aimed at identifying the translated works of al-Quran in the Malay language began from the 17th century to the 20th century, and to investigate its design and chronology. This qualitative study takes a descriptive approach and teaches the historical method involving heuristics, critique of sources, interpretation and historiography in data collection and data analysis. The research findings show that 22 al-Quran translations into the Malay language have been produced since the 17th century in the Malay World. Most of the al-Quran translated works were approached by interpretive translation rather than a literal translation. The design of al-Quran translation into the Malay language had developed in line with the times, beginning with classical Malay language using the *Jawi* (Arabic) script, until the modern Malay language using the Roman script. The concise translation style was seen to dominate the layout of al-Quran translations into the Malay language. The al-Quran translation activity was not without controversy until it led to several works being banned from publication. The rapid translation activity shows the enthusiastic efforts by society in the Malay World in transferring religious knowledge into guidance for daily life.
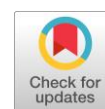
Introduction

Al-Quran is a book of guidance for the Muslims and was revealed in Arabic ('Abbās, 1999). The rapid and widespread of Islam among non-Arabic speakers prompted the activity of Quran translation to enable understanding of its meaning (Hanapi, 2003). It is estimated that 80% or 1.5

billion Muslims are of non-Arab descent and do not understand Arabic. Hence al-Quran translations are needed for understanding the content (Abbasian & Nazerian, 2016; Abdelaal & Md Rashid, 2016; Amjad & Farahani, 2013). According to Nassimi (2008), al-Quran translation activity happened since the time of Rasulullah SAW. The earliest Muslims who undertook *hijrah* to Ḥabsyah had recited al-Quran to the Negus before the hijrah of the Prophet Muhammad SAW to Madinah (Nassimi, 2008). Rasulullah SAW also had sent a letter containing verses of al-Quran to Persia, Rome and Egypt, who did not speak Arabic (Ahmadi, 2015).

In the Malay World, al-Quran translation into the Malay language has been identified as early as the 17th century, beginning with Abdul Rauf Singkel in Acheh, Indonesia (Ibrahim, 2013). The translated works on al-Quran in the Malay language were used as references in tafsir (exegesis) and expose the characteristics of language, thinking, and culture of the society in the Malay World (Syahni, 2019). According to Syahni (2019), from the 17th century till today, the method of translating al-Quran has developed from time to time, and this shows that studies on translation of al-Quran not only give understanding on the contents of al-Quran but also enlighten on aspects related to the method and process applied by the translator.

The characteristic of the Quranic language is that it is rich in vocabulary and untranslatable meaning in other languages (al-Badani et al., 2015), including the Malay language. The Arabic language stems from the Semitic language family, whereas the Malay language originates from the Nusantara and Sunda Malay families. Hence the system, structure of language for these two languages differ. According to Baker (2008), differences in grammar and vocabulary between the source and target language causes the meaning to change during translation. Hence, this study investigates the history of development of al-Quran translation in the Malay World and the methods applied in such activity.

Translation activity on al-Quran in the Malay World had a long history since the 17th-century al-Quran was identified as having been translated into Malay language (Ibrahim, 2013). Although the translation of al-Quran into a second language was difficult because al-Quran was full of language style open to many meanings (Abdul-Ghafour et al., 2017; Hassan, 2018; Nassimi, 2008), such activity continued until this era. The linguistic characteristics of al-Quran arising from the Semitic language family that differs from the Nusantara language family pose challenges to translators in exposing the hidden meanings in the text. Emphasized that translations of al-Quran do not clarify the contents of the holy text. Hence, many scholars such as Nassimi (2008), Abdelaal (2017) and Abdullah and Asghar (2017) emphasized that loss of meaning in the translated text of al-Quran is a regular phenomenon arising from differences in concepts, structures and culture of different languages. In contrast, al-Quran verses that touch a lot on natural wonders would require translation and interpretation by those experts in the specific field. The translation of the target

text aligns with scientific fact (Ahmad Hilmi et al., 2016).

According to Susanto (2007), the approach taken in translating al-Quran among the scholars in Nusantara differs from one another. It stems from differences in background, factors of history, politics, thinking, and the condition of society in an area. As an example, in verse 184 from surah *al-Baqarah*:

$$\text{اَيَّامًا مَّعْدُوْدٰتٍ فَمَنْ كَانَ مِنْكُمْ مَّرِيْضًا اَوْ عَلٰى سَفَرٍ فَعِدَّةٌ مِّنْ اَيَّامٍ اُخَرَ...}$$

Malay Translation:

"Puasakan oleh kamu segala hari yang sedikit, maka sesiapa di antara kamu yang melihat bulan Ramadan itu, ia dalam keadaan sakit atau ia sedang berlayar lalu ia berbuka, maka diwajibkan atasnya mempuasakan sebilang hari yang telah ia bukakan itu sebagai ganti di hari yang lain..." (surah *al-Baqarah*, 2: 184).

English translation (not in the original translated work): "Fast for several days, and whosoever among you sight the moon of Ramadan, in illness or when sailing and break the fast, the same number of days (should be made up) from other days ..." (surah *al-Baqarah*, 2: 184).

The Malay language translation was taken from the book *Turjumān al-Mustafīd* by Abdul Rauf Singkel, who was the earliest to translate the Holy Quran into the Malay language in the Malay World. He translated the verb سَفَرٍ into */berlayar*/sail (Abdul Rauf Singkel, 1981). It is influenced by the society of that time favoured maritime activities, in line with the location of the Acheh Sultanate next to the Indian Ocean (Putra, 2014). In comparison, Abdullah Basmeih (1983translated the same word as */musafir*/ or traveller.

Some translators included elements of the local language in their translation works. For example, Muhammad Said Umar stated: "*hamba surat bagi mereka itu dengan bahasa Melayu Kedah akan Quran*" (Muhammad Said Umar, 1927). According to Abdul Halim (2019), this scholar used Kedah Malay dialect that is difficult to understand, such as the phrase */hambat keluar*/, */tiada sayugia*/ and */menyengehaja*/ in his translation. This phenomenon happened because he created his work the level of building Malay language as the national language was still low and was influenced by classical Malay language (Abdul Halim, 2019). Abdullah Basmeih translated al-Quran by adopting a concise and more easily understood style (Yusoff, 1995). He translated verses of al-Quran using easy, simple construction and associated them with language elements such as metaphor to clarify the meaning (Brahim, 2018). For example, in translating verse 58 of surah *al-A'rāf*:

$$\text{وَالْبَلَدُ الطَّيِّبُ يَخْرُجُ نَبَاتُهُ بِاِذْنِ رَبِّهٖ وَالَّذِي خَبُثَ لَا يَخْرُجُ اِلَّا نَكِدًا...}$$

Abdullah Basmeih translated the verse as *"Dan negeri yang baik (tanahnya), tanamannya*

tumbuh (subur) dengan izin Allah; dan negeri yang tidak baik (tanahnya), tidak tumbuh tanamannya melainkan dengan keadaan bantut…" (surah *al-Aʻrāf* 7: 58).

[As for the good land, its vegetation comes forth by the leave of its Lord; and the land that is not good will not grow any vegetation except the stunted]

In explaining the word /نَكِدٌ/ [*bantut*] in this verse, he used the saying "*kerakap tumbuh di batu, hidup segan mati tak mahu*" meaning a life of poverty and hardship (Brahim, 2018).

While H. B. Jassin translated al-Quran using a literary style. This style can be seen when he translated verse 1 till 7 of surah *al-Raḥmān*:

الرَّحْمَنُ (1) عَلَّمَ الْقُرْآنَ (2) خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ (3) عَلَّمَهُ الْبَيَانَ (4) الشَّمْسُ وَالْقَمَرُ بِحُسْبَانٍ (5) وَالنَّجْمُ وَالشَّجَرُ

يَسْجُدَانِ (6) وَالسَّمَاءَ رَفَعَهَا وَوَضَعَ الْمِيزَانَ (7)

Malay Translation:

"(Tuhan) yang Maha pemurah (1) Mengajari (Muhammad) al-Quran (2) Menciptakan Insan (3) DiajariNya fasih perkataan (4) Matahari dan bulan (beredari) dengan perhitungan (5) Tanaman merambat dan pohon keduanya sujud kepada Tuhan (6) Langit ia tinggikan dan diadakanNya Neraca (keadilan) (7)" (surah *al-Raḥmān*, 55: 1-7)

English Translation (not in original work by H. B. Jassin):

[The Most Compassionate (1) Who taught (Muhammad SAW) al-Quran (2) Who created Man (3) Who taught him eloquence of speech (4) The sun and the moon are upon a reckoning (5) The spreading plants (or stars) and trees both do prostrate to their Lord (6) The sky is raised and the Balance (justice) is set (7)" (surah *al-Raḥmān*, 55: 1-7)

The Malay language translation was taken from *Bacaan Mulia* written by H. B. Jassin. According to Nasrulloh (2003) and Aswar (2018), H. B. Jassin produced his translation of al-Quran in the form of poetry, and he translated verses from surah al-*Raḥmān* end with the same rhyme, namely /an/. It is because he was a literary figure in Indonesia. Nevertheless, the translation by H.B. Jassin in many places did not expose the actual meaning contained in al-Quran (Sauqi & Hasan, 1992). For example, the word قَاصِرتٌ in verse 56 surah *al-Raḥmān* was translated as /gadis-gadis/ virgins. In contrast, the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia translated it as bidadari/ (houris) that differs from the concept of *gadis* (Nasrulloh, 2003). Similarly, with the word تَبَارَكَ in verse 78 of surah *al-Raḥmān* that was translated by H. B. Jassin into /*terpujilah*/ most praised/be praised whereas the real meaning is *Maha Luhur*/Blessed/ (Nasrulloh, 2003). Because of this, the work by H. B. Jassin titled *al-Quran Berwajah Puisi* was banned from publication by the

Ministry of Religion and the Ulama Council of Indonesia (Aswar, 2018).

Hence, Al-Quran's translation in the Malay world went through a long history and used multiple strategies. The varied approaches were used to deliver the meaning of the Holy Quran in the Malay language as the target language was from a different family than the source language. Because of this, it is essential to investigate the history of al-Quran translation into the Malay language. The history of translation is a study related to a survey on the action and agent who produced the translation, effect, and translation theory. Hence, looking at this reality, this study focused on identifying translated works on al-Quran in Malay language until the 20th century and the design and method used to produce the work in question.

This research is a qualitative study explained descriptively. The researcher uses a history method because the investigation is focused on the history of translating al-Quran into the Malay language. The historiography method is based on reconstructing the past systematically by compiling, evaluating and synthesizing evidence and heritage of the past aimed at upholding facts and drawing valid conclusions (Gottschalk, 1969; Notosusanto, 1984). According to Ibrahim (1997), the sources related to history studies are materials kept in specific sites such as museums, archives, libraries, or repositories of official records.

The researcher uses written sources, and these are categorized into two, namely primary and secondary sources (Gottschalk, 1969). Primary sources in this study are books, documents, newspapers, magazines, and journals related to the translation of al-Quran into the Malay language. Because the sources are original, they have not yet been interpreted and are found in certain institutions (Ibrahim, 1997). Secondary sources in this study are translations and summaries related to the translation of al-Quran into the Malay language written by previous scholars based on primary sources. This is because secondary sources are studies or writings on some event or personality based on primary sources (Ibrahim, 1997). Notosusanto (1984) and Sjamsuddin (2007) emphasized that there are four stages in studies based on the history method, namely: *first*, heuristics: the process of finding and collecting historical sources; *second*, critique of sources: the act of investigating and evaluating historical sources in terms of authenticity and quality; *third*, interpretation: interpreting and analyzing explanation related to the facts in chronology with points that have undergone stages of criticism; *fourth*, historiography: display writings in the form of academic studies.

Hence, based on the stages in the study guided by the history method, analysis of research data will undergo four levels: First, Heuristics: The researcher collects data in the form of facts and related literature on the research problem outlined objectives. At the heuristic level, the researcher focuses on the literature related to the history of al-Quran translation into the Malay language. Specifically, this research focuses on the Quranic translation development into the

Malay language in the Malay world from the 17th century till the 20th century. The researcher only collects works on the translation of al-Quran containing 30 juzuk using classical Malay or modern Malay language and not dialect. Second, Critique of sources: At this stage or level of source critique, evaluation analysis was carried out on the sources collected. In this matter, criticism is divided into two approaches, namely external and internal criticism. External criticism means evaluation of the originality of a particular historical source. Meanwhile, internal critique is aimed at evaluating the content and data of the research (Sjamsuddin, 2007).

Third, Interpretation: In this stage, the acquired data were interpreted and arranged until it becomes an arrangement of events. According to Ismaun (2005), the level of interpretation in the history method means to collect information on history that explains the past phenomena in question. In carrying out understanding of sources, the researcher also takes an interdisciplinary approach by using other academic disciplines such as knowledge of translation and knowledge of *tafsir* (exegesis). This is because translation knowledge and *tafsir* knowledge clarify the concept of al-Quran translation into the Malay language among scholars.

Fourth, Historiography: After data collection has been done, critique and interpretation were carried out, so the last level or stage is to arrange the content of the study, namely the history of al-Quran translation into the Malay language in the form of academic writing. Many definitions have been given for the term translation. According to Nida (1964), translation involves the process of finding dynamic similarity. Dynamic similarity means re-writing facts from the source material into the target language in the form of nearest similarity and informally, from the aspect of meaning and language style (Hassan & Muhammad, 2001). Hartmann and Stork (1972) emphasized that the target text is correct from the language aspect and is equivalent to the source language. Still, it needs to be exact in meaning and be clearly understood in the target language. Newmark (1988) set the definition of translation activity as an activity in translating the importance of the text into the target language based on the need of the source writer. According to Catford (1996), translation means to replace the materials in the source text with text materials that fit the target language. Venuti (1995) believed that translation is related to the network of symbols that shaped the source text being replaced by a network of characters in the targeted text produced by the translator based on interpretation ability. Even-Zohar (1978) and Lefevere (1992) stated that translation is *acculturation* [self-adaptation] and negotiation between two cultures. Molina and Albir (2002) distinguished between translation techniques, methods, and strategies.

Hence translation is the process of transferring information into another language. This process involves interpretation, clarification, and explanation from the source language to the target language by considering language style and culture between the source language and target language and efforts to find the matching or exact translation.

Translating al-Quran means to explain al-Quran in another language other than the Arabic language (al-Ṣābūniy, 1988). According to al-Dhahabiy (2000), translation of al-Quran occurs at two levels: to transfer the message of al-Quran into another language without expanding on the meaning of the original verse being translated, or interpreting a message by explaining the meaning in the content using the target language. The translation of al-Quran is carried out in two significant ways. The two methods for translating al-Quran are *harfiah* /literal/ translation and the *tafsīriyyah* or interpretive translation (Hakim, 2015).

Harfiah translation is also known as *lafẓiyyah*, *musāwiyah*, word for word or literal translation (al-Zarqāniy, 1995; Chirzin, 2016). This technique means the act of transferring a word from one language to another by ensuring the appropriateness and suitability of the grammatical structure and preserving the overall meaning of the source text (al-Zarqāniy, 1995; Hakim, 2015). According to al-Dhahabiy (2000), *harfiah* translation is of two types: constrained *harfiah* translation and free *harfiah* translation. Constrained or restricted *harfiah* translation refers to a translation restricted to the arrangement or structure of the source language. In contrast, free *harfiah* translation means the translation is not limited to any language style of the source in absolute terms (al-Dhahabiy, 2000).

The *tafsīriyyah* translation is also known as the *ma'nawiyyah,* or free translation (Syafrawi, 2015). This method means the process is done by placing importance on meaning contained in the source text without being constrained by the arrangement or the structure of the language style of the source (al-Dhahabiy, 2000). Nevertheless, al-Qattān (2000) emphasized that a difference is found between the concept of *tafsīriyyah* and *ma'nawiyyah* translation. It is because *ma'nawiyyah* translation means the translation of al-Quran contains the evident and hidden meaning (al-Qaṭṭān, 2000). The direct meaning in a Quranic verse is easily understood. Still, the hidden meaning is difficult to grasp because it requires mastery of many skills and knowledge such as the Arabic language, the reason for the revelation of the verse, methodology of al-Quran exegesis and so forth (al-Qattān, 2000). Nevertheless, Al-Quran's translation based on the direct meaning may confuse meaning (al-Qattān, 2000).

Because the translation of the hidden meaning in al-Quran gives rise to the ambiguity of meaning and translation of the hidden meaning invites difficulty in the translation process, the best step is the al-Quran translation by interpretation (tafsir), and this is called *tafsīriyyah* translation (al-Qattān, 2000). For example, in verse 29 surah *al-Isrā'*: وَلَا تَجْعَلْ يَدَكَ مَغْلُولَةً إِلَى عُنُقِكَ وَلَا تَبْسُطْهَا كُلَّ البَسْطِ. According to al-Zarqāniy (1995) and al-Dhahabiy (2000), if the verse is translated in literal, it is translated as meaning not to tie one's hands to the neck extend one's hands. In essence, the meaning as desired by Allah SWT for the phrase a وَلَا تَجْعَلْ يَدَكَ لَا تَبْسُطْهَا كُلَّ البَسْطِ means not to be miserly while the phrase مَغْلُولَةً إِلَى عُنُقِكَ means not to be

wasteful or extravagant. Hence, if this kind of explanation accompanies the translation, the translation method is in the form of *tafsīriyyah* (al-Dhahabiy 2000; al-Zarqāniy,1995).

The first objective of the research was to identify the works involving translations of al-Quran into the Malay language in the Malay World from the earliest translation until the 20th century. The relevant results are displayed in table 1. Table 1 shows that 22 Quranic translations into the Malay language have been produced since the 17th - 20th century in the Malay World. The earliest work identified was created by Abdul Rauf Singkel titled *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* written in 1675 in Acheh. Since the 17th-century, al-Quran has been translated totally into the Malay language, showing how far the local population worked on studying al-Quran in-depth and transferring the core teachings in al-Quran into the social life of the community in the Malay World.

Discussion

Phases of al-Quran translation into the Malay Language

Based on table 1, the translation of al-Quran into Malay language underwent three phases: the 17th century, 18th century and 20th century. The earliest al-Quran translation into Malay in the Malay World appeared in the 17th century and was written by Abdul Rauf Singkel in 1675 (Fang, 1993). According to Riddell (1989), translating al-Quran into the Malay language began as early as 1600. But the translation involved only surah *al-Kahf* and was in oral form without knowing the identity of the translator involved. The spread of Islam in Nusantara in the early stage was by oral means, and only later was it spread in written form (Zailani & Razali, 2015). Abdul Rauf Singkel, who came from Singkili in Acheh, was the first scholar to translate al-Quran into the Malay language. Acheh was the earliest part of the Malay World to receive Islam around the first century of hijrah. The first Islamic government in the Malay Archipelago was in Acheh and used the Malay language as the official language of government (Hassan et al., 2017; Putra, 2014). The activity of al-Quran translation resumed in the 20th century when 18 translations of al-Quran into Malay were produced worldwide, encompassing Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Patani (Putra, 2014).

The findings also show that Tok Pulau Manis was the first scholar to translate al-Quran into the Malay language in the Malay peninsula, besides being the only scholar to translate al-Quran into Malay the 18th century (Hassan, 1984; Haji Abdullah, 1997). He is regarded as the pioneer in al-Quran translation in Malaya (now Malaysia) (Ibrahim, 2013). When he was in Acheh, he translated his teacher Abdul Rauf Singkel titled *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* into the Malay language. This translated work was brought to Terengganu and became the reference for the Malays in the field of *tafsir* al-Quran (Ibrahim, 2013).

Table 1. Works Involving Translations of al-Quran into the Malay language in Nusantara Until the 20th Century

No.	Year	Title	Translator	Translation Method	Origin
1.	1675	*Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*	Abdul Rauf Singkel	*harfiah*	Indonesia
2.	1686	Tafsir al-Hasyimi	Kerani Muhammad Hasyim	*harfiah*	Malaysia
3.	1730	Tafsir *al-Bayḍāwiy*	Tok Pulau Manis	*harfiah* from Tafsir al-Bayḍāwiy	Malaysia
4.	1927	Tafsir *Nūr al-Iḥsān*	Muhammad Said Umar	*tafsīriyyah*	Malaysia
5.	1928	Tafsir *al-Furqān*	Ahmad Hasan	*tafsīriyyah*	Singapura
6.	1934	Tafsir of al-Quran al-Karim: *Anwār al-Hudā wa Amṭār al-Nadā*	Uthman Jalaluddin	*harfiah* based on *Tafsīr Al-Jalālyn* by al-Maḥalliy dan al-Suyūṭiy	Malaysia
7.	1937	Kitab tafsir al-Quran	Halim Hasan, Zainal Ariffin Abbas dan Abdul Rahim Haitami	*tafsīriyyah*	Indonesia
8.	1938	Tafsir al-Marbawi	al-Marbawi	*tafsīriyyah*	Arab Saudi
9.	1938	Tafsir Qur'an Karim	Mahmud Yunus	*tafsīriyyah*	Indonesia
10.	1940	Qur'an based on meaning in Jawi for daily reading by Children	Abbas Nasution	*harfiah*	Indonesia
11.	1956	Tafsir *al-Qur'ān al-Majīd al-Nūr*	Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy	*tafsīriyyah*	Indonesia
12.	1959	Tafsir Quran	Zainuddin and Fachruddin	*tafsīriyyah*	Indonesia
13.	1960	Tafsir *'abr al-Athīr*	Ahmad Sonhadji	*tafsīriyyah*	Indonesia
14.	1962	Tafsir al-Azhar	Hamka	*tafsīriyyah*	Indonesia
15.	1965	al-Quran dan terjemahannya	Jabatan Agama Republik Indonesia	*harfiah*	Indonesia
16.	1968	Tafsir Pimpinan Ar-Rahman Kepada Pengertian al-Quran	Abdullah Basmeih	*tafsīriyyah*	Arab Saudi
17.	1968	Tafsir Darussalam	Kementerian Hal Ehwal Agama Brunei	*tafsīriyyah*	Brunei
18.	1977	Bacaan Mulia	H. B. Jassin	*tafsīriyyah*	Indonesia
19.	1978	Correction of Translation Bacaan Mulia H. B. Jassin	Nazwar Syamsu	*tafsīriyyah*	Indonesia
20.	1983	Tafsir Rahmat	Oemar Bakry	*tafsīriyyah*	Indonesia
21.	1995	Bacaan	Othman Ali	*tafsīriyyah*	Malaysia
22.	2000	Terjemahan *tafsīr Fī ẓilāl al-Qur'ān*	Yusoff Zaky	*harfiah*	Malaysia

Logistics of Translation of al-Quran into the Malay Language

From the logistics aspect, al-Quran translation activity had occurred all over the Malay World, encompassing Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Patani and Brunei. Nevertheless, this activity was concentrated in Indonesia compared to other countries. It was probable that Islam first entered and spread in this region through Acheh, and the language is spoken there was the Malay language (Hassan et al., 2017; Putra, 2014). Besides that, Malaysia has produced the second-highest number of al-Quran translations into the Malay language. The effort was begun by Tok Pulau Manis who translated the *tafsir* al-Quran written by Abdul Rauf Singkel (Abu Bakar, 1989; Haji Abdullah, 1997; Hassan, 1984).

Translation Methodology

From the translation methodology aspect, 16 out of 22 works on Quranic translation into Malay language were in favour of tafsīriyyah instead of *harfiah* translation. Watson (2007) emphasized that al-Quran, which has characteristics of "untranslatability", caused most al-Quran translations not to be named translations. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that al-Quran translators also adopted the harfiah translation method in the Malay World. Examples include translations by Abdul Rauf Singkel (1675), Tok Pulau Manis (1730), Oemar Bakry (1983) and Yusoff Zaky (1998).

The works produced on a translation of al-Quran into the Malay language were found to use *Jawi* script as the medium. *Jawi* script is an adaptation of the Arabic alphabet used by the Malays (Kosran et al., 2017). Examination of Table 1 shows that using *Jawi* script began since the first al-Quran translation into the Malay language published in Acheh. According to Kosran et al. (2017), the use of *Jawi* was parallel to the spread of Islam in the Malay World, which was around the 17th and 18th century. Yusoff (1998) emphasized that *Jawi* script began in the Malay World in line with the Malay sultanate based on the remnants of a royal Malay-Islamic burial ground in Acheh Besar that used gravestones of *batu pualam* inscribed with *Jawi* script (Yusoff, 1998).

Table 1 shows that a total of 13 translations of al-Quran into the Malay language were original works not adapted from *tafsir* by certain scholars. Only three (3) manuscripts came from translations based on existing *tafsir* al-Quran, namely the translation by Tok Pulau Manis (1730), Uthman Jalaluddin (1934) and Yusoff Zaky (2000). Tafsir *al-Jalālayn* was popular in the Malay World since the 17th century, and this was evidenced by the finding of the related manuscript in the National Museum in Jakarta, Indonesia (Rosyidah, 2018). Hence, it was not surprising that Putra (2014) emphasized that early translations of al-Quran in the Malay World used tafsir *al-Jalālayn* as their primary source.

Translators of al-Quran into the Malay language were found to adopt the method of *tafsir ijmāliy* or clarification of meaning by concise explanation without long discourse (Suma, 2001). In

truth, the technique of tafsir *ijmāliy* was used by Rasulullah SAW so that the hidden meaning contained in al-Quran was easily understood by the general public (Murtadha & Mutawali, 2017). Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the method of interpreting al-Quran expanded in line with the times (Abdul Ghafir, 2016). Hence, in the 20th century, the translation by Abdullah Nasution and Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy favoured the method *tafsir ādāb ijtimāʻiy*. Interpretation of al-Quran by *ādāb ijtimāʻiy* means the interpretation is associated with the local community in alignment with their level of social development (al-Dhahabiy, 2000).

According to Abdullah (2009), Abdullah Nasution, who lived in Kedah, was one of the Independence fighters in Malaya. His translation aimed at facilitating Malay understanding of the Holy Quran content besides raising the spirit of Independence from the British colonial government of the time. Abdullah Nasution also explained social issues related to the Malays of his era in his translation, such as issues related to *riba* or usury, selecting non-Muslims as administrators and the attitude of making light of laws in al-Quran (Abdul Kadir & Ibrahim, 2009).

In Indonesia, the translation by Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqiy also related to Indonesian culture development (Miswar, 2015). For example, his interpretation of verse 59 surah *al-Aḥzāb* that is related to the use of *jilbab* among Muslim women. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqiy (1956) stated that *jilbab* meant in the relevant verse is the garment covering the head until the chest. In essence, the Indonesians of the 20th century were involved in agricultural activities (Feith & Castel, 1988). Suppose wearing jilbab as stipulated in al-Quran is interpreted as covering all parts of the body except the face and hands. In that case, this will cause difficulties for Indonesian women. Hence, he claimed the act of covering "*aurat*" in this manner is not compulsory in Islam (Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, 1956). The translation by Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy celebrated the Indonesians. The interpretation related to the norms of the Indonesians was also prominent when Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy emphasized the act of asking permission before entering a person's house. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy (1956) stated that a person must give wishes of peace before asking permission to enter from the house owner. The act of asking permission can be done by knocking on the door, calling those in the house, clearing the throat (*berdehem*), glorifying, or praising Allah. This shows that Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, especially on al-Quran verses related to *fiqh* issues, was influenced by the local community's culture in Indonesia.

The translations by Hamka (1962), H. B. Jassin (1977) and Yusoff Zaky (2000) were found to favour a poetic style. Rahman et al. (2014) emphasized that Hamka was one of Indonesia's 33 most influential literary figures. He had published literary works since the Dutch colonial era (Hakim, 2015). H. B. Jassin had a background in literature education (Nasrulloh, 2003). He was nicknamed "Pope of Indonesian Literature"; this nickname showed that H. B. Jassin was a crucial figure in the Indonesian literary scene (Subhan, 2012). Yusoff Zaky, on the other hand, had a background in

psychology education in Egypt (Yakob, 2002).

Controversies in the translation of al-Quran into the Malay language

The activity of al-Quran translation into *Bahasa Melayu* was not free from controversy. Three translations of al-Quran into Malay sparked controversy. The three are H. B. Jassin and Nazwar Syamsur in Indonesia and one by Othman Ali in Malaysia. Bakry (1979) suggested that publication of the translation by H. B. Jassin titled *Bacaan Mulia* be banned. H. B. Jassin refers to translation works by Orientalists such as Arberry and Kramers, who do not believe in Islam (Bakry, 1979). H. B. Jassin was full of poetic language that allegedly confused the reader (Nasrulloh, 2003). For example, the phrase كُلَّ يَوْمٍ هُوَ فِي شَأْنٍ in verse 29 surah *al-Raḥmān* was translated by H.B. Jassin as /He is always busy/ whereas the true meaning for the verse is Allah SWT is always creating, giving life, protecting, giving sustenance and so forth (Nasrulloh, 2003). So also for the term جَنَّتَانِ in verse 46 from surah *al-Raḥmān* that H. B. Jassin translated in a literal way, namely /two heavens/. In contrast, the accurate translation is heaven awarded to two groups, namely humankind and the jinn (Nasrulloh, 2003).

Besides that, Hanapi (2001) opined that the translation by Nazwar Syamsur aimed at improving the translation by H. B. Jassin. The translation by Nazwar Syamsur was also criticized by scholars such as Sahil (2007), who emphasized that many mistakes were found in it. For example, the word الطُّورِ was translated by Nazwar Syamsur as /aurora/ when its real meaning is /*gunung*/or mountain; the word الطِّين was translated as /meteor/ whereas its true meaning is /*tanah*/ earth. So, it came as no surprise when Bakry (1979) stated that the main aim of the translation by Nazwar Syamsur was not to improve the translation work by H. B. Jassin but to disseminate teachings deviating from the truth (Bakry, 1979). Thus, the permit for publication of the translation by Nazwar Syamsur was cancelled (Hanapi, 2001).

In Malaysia, the translation of al-Quran into Malay that raised controversy was the translation by Othman Ali that the Home Ministry banned. This was because Othman Ali referred to the translation by H. B. Jassin (Hanapi, 2001); besides that, he did not refer to the authoritative tafsir al-Quran and did not append the text of al-Quran sources in his translation work (Hanapi, 2001).

Conclusion

Translation of al-Quran into the Malay language in the Malay world began in the 17th Century. Until the 20th century, 22 al-Quran translations have been produced in Malay, covering the complete 30 juzuk. Indonesian translators predominate in the activity of translating al-Quran into

the Malay language. Nevertheless, in the 19th century, no translations of al-Quran were carried out in the Malay world. Next, from the 17th till the mid-20th century, most of the translations of al-Quran in Malay used classical Malay language, and *Jawi* script, caused by the spread of Islam in the Malay world, encouraged the use of *Jawi* in the region. After that, modern Malay with a Romanized script (*Rumi*) was used in translating al-Quran into Malay. The technique of *tafsīriyyah* translation and *ijmāliy* translation was found to dominate the pattern of al-Quran translation into the Malay language. The activity of al-Quran translation was not devoid of controversy when three translated works were found to deviate from the real meaning in the holy text of al-Quran, and these works were banned from distribution to the broader community.

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