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From the Editor

The fact that Indonesia is now the largest Muslim nation has become wellknown internationally in the last few years. Despite this, it must be admitted that Islam in Indonesia has only recently entered global discussion. There has been a tendency among scholars to exclude Islam in Indonesia from any discussion of Islam or Muslim society. Islam in Indonesia has been regarded by many Western scholars as "peripheral", not only in terms of its geographic location—vis-a-vis the centers of Islam in the Middle East—but also in terms of the kind of Islam that exists in this area.

Indonesian Muslims have long complained about this. But after all, who is to be blamed? Blaming Western scholars for misperceptions and misrepresentations of Islam in Indonesia is no longer very productive. It is time for Indonesian Muslim scholars to provide a more accurate picture of Islam in their region.

One of the most effective ways to present Islam in Indonesia is through publication, such as books and journals, using international languages, mainly English and Arabic. Studia Islamika is intended to fill the fact of credible journals, aimed at disseminating information and academic works on various aspects of Islam in Indonesia.

Publishing a journal in international languages in Indonesia is not an easy task. The hardest challenge in this respect is the relative lack of availability of articles or reports written in either English or Arabic. We have to be honest and admit that not many Indonesian Muslim scholars are accustomed to writing in either language. This is one of the chief factors responsible for the obscurity of the development of Islam and Islamic thought in this country.

Indonesian Muslim scholars have long claimed that there were (and are) several outstanding Indonesian Muslim thinkers whose Islamic thought deserve international attention. Again, the problem is that they have published their thoughts in the national language,
From the Editor

Bahasa Indonesia. So far there has been no serious effort to translate their works into English or Arabic. In this respect, our journal is a humble beginning to tread the path in that direction. 

*Studia Islamika* itself has been published by the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) in Jakarta for several years in Bahasa Indonesia. However, Dr. Tarmizi Taher, the newly-appointed Minister of Religious Affairs, wishes the IAIN in Jakarta to publish the journal in a new format, mainly using two international languages, English and Arabic, and partly in Indonesian.

It is our pleasure that in this first edition of the new Studia Islamika, we are able to present articles by several noted scholars, among others, Dr. Nurcholish Madjid, Dr. Quraish Shihab, Dr. Martin van Bruinessen and Dr. Azyumardi Azra. All of their articles are written in either English or Arabic.

In addition, we publish other articles and reports by own staff which, we hope, should give readers a more comprehensive view of the current developments of Islam in Indonesia. These articles and report are: first, an intellectual biography of Professor Harun Nasution, one of the most prominent figures in the discourse of Islamic reforms in today’s Indonesia; second, a long and deep interview with Professor Munawir Sjadjali, a former Minister of Religious Affairs, who completed his term of office last year; third, a report about the rise and development of ICMI (the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals) and about the Indonesian Intellectuals’ responses to the provoking idea of ”Clash of Civilization” written by Professor Samuel Huntington in *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993).

With all these articles and reports we are seriously attempting to present Islam in Indonesia in the many aspects of its development throughout history. We hope to maintain this variety of contents of *Studia Islamika* in the future editions whilst, of course, doing our best to improve it in all other possible ways.

Given this we invite all scholars of Islam in Indonesia to contribute to our journal. Your contribution is crucial not only for the continuing existence of this journal, but also for a better understanding of Islam in Indonesia.
Nurchoilih Madjid

Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism
Indonesian Experiences


Meskipun demikian, komunitas agama harus mampu menerima kenyataan pluralitas kehidupan modern. Dalam kasus Islam, pluralitas kehidupan dan toleransi jelas memiliki legitimasi keagamaan. Piagam Madinah merupakan benih yang kuat untuk dapat ditumbuhkan menjadi sistem kehidupan pluralistik bagi masyarakat kosmopolit. Landasan lain yang turut memperkokoh kehidupan pluralistik adalah ajaran Islam yang menganjurkan untuk berpegang pada kesamaan pandangan (kalimah sawâ') dengan komunitas agama yang lain. Semua ini mendorong terciptanya toleransi dan pluralitas kehidupan yang kokoh.

Indonesia merupakan contoh yang baik bagi pemecahan persoalan toleransi antarumat beragama. Meskipun mayoritas penduduknya Muslim, negara Indonesia tidak didasarkan pada sistem negara Islam tertentu. Sistem yang dipakai adalah Pancasila, yang dapat mengakomodasi kepentingan seluruh lapisan masyarakat Indonesia. Ia merupakan kesamaan pandangan dari masyarakat Indonesia yang memiliki latar belakang agama serta budaya yang beragam.
نور خالص مجيد

خلاصة

ان الحياة التعددية من الحقائق الواقعية في المجتمع العصري، حيث تقترب المسافات البعيدة بفضل وسائل التواصل الحديثة، فتتقارب الناس بعضهم ببعض بعد ان كانوا متفرقين وكانهم يعيشون في مكان واحد بدون خاصل. وهذا بالطبع يؤدي إلى ظهور مشاكل اجتماعية معقدة أكثر مما كانت عليه، مما ما يتعلق بالعلاقة فيما بينهم. وعلى هذا، فالتسامح أصبح قضية من القضايا التي لابد أن يفكر في معالجتها أفراد المجتمع.

ومع ذلك فإن الطوائف الدينية سواء كانت إسلامية، أو مسيحية، أو يهودية، ليست لها تجارب في مواجهة الحياة التعددية، لأن كل منها يعيش في انزلال، بل كثيرا ما يحدث ان طائفة دينية تسيطر على طائفة أخرى. وعلى هذان السياق الحياة التي تقوم على المساواة الحقيقية بين الطوائف الدينية لم تعرف كثيرا في تاريخ الإنسانية، حتى ان التسامح يعتبر من أعمد المشاكل.

ومن هنا نتساءل، هل لهذا التعدد مبرر ديني، أو هل هو مخالف للدين؟ أما التعدد والتسامح في نظر الإسلام فكل منهما مبرر ديني.

فقد كان "ميثاق المدينة" دليلا واضحا يصالح لأن يكون اساسا لتنظيم الحياة التعددية الذي يقوم عليه العالم أو المجتمع الكوزموبوليتاني، غير أنه لم يطبقه المسلمون. إضافة إلى ذلك فان التعليم الإسلامي الذي يبحث الإمارات على المساواة وتبادل الأراء بين كل طائفة هو الأساس الآخر الذي يؤكد تحقيق التسامح والحياة التعددية.

ولذلك فإن اندونيسيا تصلح لأن تكون نموذجا في حل قضايا التسامح بين الافراد المدينين. وذلك لأنها لاتقوم على نظام أي دولة إسلامية، رغم ان الغالبية سكانها مسلمون، وإنما تقوم على أساس الانتشال التي تحتوي على المبادئ الخمسة، حيث تضمن مصالح جميع الشعب الأندونيسي. وهذه المبادئ تشترك فيها اتجاهاتهم على اختلاف خلفياتهم الدينية أو الحضارية. وفي هذا الصدد يعالج نور خالص مجيد هذا الموضوع.
Indonesia is one of the most pluralistic societies in the world. With its seventeen thousand islands, large and small, inhabited and uninhabited, Indonesia is the world’s largest archipelago, and is a country with heterogeneous features. With about four hundred ethnic and linguistic groups, Indonesia is also very culturally diverse.

In religious terms, Indonesia is the largest Muslim nation in the world. But religio-politically and ideologically, it is not an "Islamic State". It is a state based on a national, official ideology called Pancasila (Five Principles): (1) Belief in One Supreme God or Monotheism, (2) Just and Civilized Humanism, (3) the Unity of Indonesia, (4) Democracy and (5) Social Justice. Sukarno, the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, was commonly credited as the "inventor" of Pancasila. He proposed the five principles as a modus vivendi between the secular nationalism advocated by nationalists and the idea of an Islamic State demanded by the Islamic-oriented politicians. As a national ideology, Pancasila was accepted by all concerned only after long and tedious deliberations, and after some of the principles had been further "Islamized" in one way or another. Thus "Monotheism" as the first sila (principle) is the Islamization of Sukarno’s original concept of a more generalized "belief in God" (which may include polytheism). Also, whilst Sukarno proposed it as the fourth principle, the Muslims wanted it to be the first and most important one. "Unity of Indonesia", the third principle, was originally "Nationalism" and was changed to a more neutral but dynamic term as a solution to the Muslim’s objections to "Nationalism". For them, the term "nationalism" contradicted Islamic universalism and cosmopolitanism, and reminded them of the chauvinistic types of nationalism that have existed in Germany and Japan. "Democracy", the fourth principle, is short for a longer formulation, "democracy under the guidance of wisdom through the deliberation of the people’s representatives". "Wisdom through deliberation" is a paraphrase of an adage or hikmah ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad: Ra’s al-hikmah al-mashūrah ("The trunk of wisdom is deliberation"). Muhammad Hatta (the first Vice President of the Republic), Haji Agus Salim (a prominent Muslim intellectual of
revolutionary Indonesia), Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (head of the Muhammadiyah Islamic "modernist" movement), and 'Abd al-Wâhid Hâshim (head of the Nahdatul Ulama [Nahdat al-'Ulamâ'] Islamic "traditionalist" movement), were the heroes of national freedom who were most accredited with the "Islamization" of Pancasila which eventually made it acceptable to most Muslims.

The otherwise smooth acceptance of Pancasila was interrupted in 1955 when, as part of Indonesian experimentation with democracy and general elections, the door was opened to all political parties to discuss again the philosophical basis of the Republic. In the Constituent's Assembly, politicians were divided into adherents of three main ideologies: nationalism, communism or socialism, and Islamism. The nationalists wanted to keep Pancasila as the philosophical basis of the state, the communists aspired to a Marxist state modelled upon the example of Soviet Union, and the Islamists wanted to return to the idea of an Islamic state. Deliberations in the Assembly came to a deadlock, and Sukarno, the President, backed by the military, decreed that the Republic should return to the "1945 Constitution" with Pancasila as the permanent philosophical basis for the nation. In a gesture to accommodate the Muslims' aspirations for a state imbued with Islamic values, Sukarno also declared that the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila should be seen as the historical continuation of the Jakarta Charter. This document was originally drafted as the would-be Indonesian Declaration of Independence, including a provision that observation of the Shari'ah Law would be obligatory for Muslims.

However the Muslims were not very enthusiastic about accepting the Presidential decree, and another unfavorable development of Pancasila occurred when the communists, with the tacit support of Sukarno, dominated the political arena of the Republic, shortly after the Presidential decree of 1959, but in particular after 1963. This situation led to the political debacle of 1965 when the communists tried unsuccessfully to seize power by force. Suharto terminated the crisis and taking on the lessons of the dangerous ideological uncertainty of the previous years, he made efforts, through heavy-handed persuasion, to ensure that Pancasila would be accepted as the sole ideological basis for "Indonesia as a nation, a state and a society". In other words, Pancasila is the one and only

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ideology to guide Indonesian people in their activities at national, political and community levels. Yet individually they can, and are in fact encouraged to profess their personal world-outlooks as expressed in religions. This is very close to saying that adherence to a religion is a matter of individual conscience, and yet, in the Indonesian context, it is also a recognition that religions are, as Indonesian leaders like to say, "very important elements of a nation’s building". Five religions are given official recognition: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Each of these has their own office in the Department of Religious Affairs, in the form of general directorates, commensurate with their respective social and religious spheres of activities.

II

Although it is the largest Muslim nation, Indonesia is the least Arabized of the major Islamic countries, in addition to being geographically farthest from the Holy Lands. Thus, for example, the two most salient features of Islamic arts, arabesque and calligraphy, have been virtually simply unknown in Indonesian Islamic architecture until very recently, and even then in a rather superficial, rudimentary manner.

Furthermore, Indonesia is one of the few countries where Islam did not supplant the existing religion purely by military conquest, because the process of Islamization in Indonesia has been what is termed pénétration pacifique (peaceful penetration), mostly by traders cum missionaries. The result is the widely known Indonesian practice of syncretism. Epitomizing this tendency is the Javanese calendar which maintains its Hindu origin as a Shaka calendar but was changed from the solar to the lunar system, using the Arabic names of the twelve months with some adjustment for Javanism: (1) Suro (the Javenese conversion of the Arabic ‘āshūrā), for Muharram; (2) Sapor for Safar; (3) Mulud (converted from the Arabic Mawlid, the Prophet’s Birthday festival), for Rabi‘ al-Awwal; (4) Bakdo Mulud (converted from the Arabic “ba‘da al-mawlid”, —"after mawlid"), for Rabi‘ al-Thānī; (5) Jumadilawal, for Jumādā al-‘ulā; (6) Jumadilakhir, for Jumādā al-Thāniyah; (7) Rejeb, for Rajab; (8) Ruwah (converted from the Arabic "arwâh" —the souls— because of the popular belief that in the eighth month
of the calendar, the souls of the dead are awaken from their graves to welcome the arrival of the holy month of Ramadán), for Sha'bân; (9) Poso (a Javanese word meaning "fasting"), for Ramadân; (10) Sawal, for Shawwâl; (11) Selo (a Javanese word meaning "in between", that is, between the two festivals of 'Id al-Fitr in Shawwâl and 'Id al-Adhâ in Dhû al-Hijjah), for Dhû al-Qa‘dah; and finally, (12) Besar (a Javanese word meaning "great", that is, the month of the great festival of 'Id al-Adhâ), for Dhû al-Hijjah. The Javanese calender is currently in the year 1925 (instead of 1414 AH). The importance of the Javanese Islamic calendar can not be overestimated. President Suharto considers that birthday commemorations in the Javanese Islamic calendar are more important and spiritually more meaningful than they are in Western calendar. Thus he commemorated his "Tumbuk Besar" (Great Event) of reaching 64 years of age according to the Javanese Islamic calendar, on the 1st of Sawal, 1915, coinciding with the 13th of July, 1983.¹

The development of Islamic culture in Indonesia is therefore very much the result of a dialogue between universal Islam and the cultural characteristics of the archipelago. Clifford Geertz, an American Anthropologist, "discovered" three variants of Islam, in Java in particular and in Indonesia in general, these being Priyayi, Santri and Abangan. All of these three variants are, according to Geertz, more or less Islamic inasmuch as they verbally state that they are Muslims, and that, in his judgment, only the Santri variant, with its heavy orientation towards the Middle Eastern cultural pattern, is the real Islam, members of this variant are numerically few amongst the population. For Geertz, the Priyayi variant is too Indic in its outlook, and the Abangan too indigenous and even animistic. Geertz thus comes very close to saying that the majority of Javanese or Indonesian people are not Muslims, and Islam is the religion of a small fraction of the population. However, Marshall Hodgson, a prominent expert on Islamic civilizations from the University of Chicago, criticized Geertz stating that he made systematic errors, in addition to having a colonial bias, and that

¹See Clifford Geertz’s classic, Religion of Java (Glencoe : the Free Press 1960).

he did not know Islam except from the Muslim modernists’ viewpoint:

The most important study of Islam in Malaysia (i.a., Malay archipelago-NM) is Clifford Geertz’ Religion of Java (Glencoe, 1960); it deals with the twentieth century, and with inner Java in particular, but much in it throws light on what happened earlier and is relevant to other parts of the archipelago. Unfortunately, its general high excellence is marred by a major systematic error: influenced by the polemics of a certain school of modern sharī‘ah-minded Muslims, Geertz identifies ‘Islam’ only with what that school of modernists happens to approve, and ascribes everything else to an aboriginal or a Hindu-Buddhist background, gratuitously labeling much of the Muslim religious life in Java ‘Hindu’. He identifies a long series of phenomena, virtually universal to Islam and sometimes found even in the Qur‘ān itself, as un-Islamic; and hence his interpretation of the Islamic past as well as of some recent anti-Islamic reactions is highly misleading. His error has at least three roots. When he refers to the archipelago having long been cut off from ‘the centers of orthodoxy at Mecca and Cairo’, the irrelevant inclusion of Cairo betrays a modern source of Geertz’ bias. We must suspect also the urge of many colonialists to minimize their subjects’ ties with a disturbingly worldwide Islam (a tendency found also among French colonialists in the Maghrib); and finally his anthropological techniques of investigation, looking to a functional analysis of a culture in momentary cross-section without serious regard to the historical dimension. Other writers have recognized better the Islamic character even in inner-Javenese religion: CAO. van Nieuwrenhuijze, Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia (The Hague: 1959), but Geertz stands out in the field. For one who knows Islam, his comprehensive data—despite his intention—show how very little has survived from the Hindu past even in inner Java and raise the question why the triumph of Islam was so complete.³

Robert Hefner from Boston University supported Hodgson with his findings that even amongst populations such as the Hindu Tenggerese enclave in mountainous areas of East Java, Islamic features in their daily lives are quite obvious.⁴ Also Mark Woodward from Arizona State University found that the Javanese court of Yogyakarta is not so much Indic in its overall cultural orientation as it is Islamic.⁵ All of this leads us to conclude that


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Islam does indeed form a basic layer in Indonesian culture. This is even more the case after the inauguration of the Malay language of the Riau province to the status of a national and official language of the Republic. More egalitarian and cosmopolitan than the otherwise much richer Javanese language, Malay is the language of the Islam culture of Southeast Asia, with a position more or less comparable to that of Arabic in the Arab world and Persian in the Muslim world of continental Asia. As a national language for the Indonesian state—known as Indonesian or Babasa Indonesia—Malay contributes enormously to the Islamic coloring of Indonesian modern political culture. This nomenclature is vested with Malay borrowings of Arabic words, for example, the words "rakyat" (ra‘iyyah) for people or subject, "majelis" (majlis) for House of representatives, "dewan" (diwân) for council, "musyawarah" (mushâwarah) for deliberation, "musafakat" (muwâfaqah) for consensus, "wajib" (wâjib) for duty, "bina" (binâ) for building or development, "hukum" (hukm) for law, "hakim" (hâkim) for judge, "wujud" (wuğûd) for existence or creation, "amal" (‘amal) for work or implementation, "mahkamah" (mahkamah) for judicial court, "adil" (‘adi) for justice, "aman" (amân) for security, "tertib" (tartib) for order, "makmur" (ma‘mûr) for prosperous, "wakil" (wakil) for representative, "daerah" (dâ‘irah) for region or province, "wilayah" (wilâyah) for territory, "amar" (amr) for legal decision or verdict, "makkum" (ma‘lûmât) for political announcement, "resmi" (rasmi) for official, and so forth. Thus a common phrase to describe the whole concept of Indonesian politics would read as follows: "para wakil rakyat dalam dewan dan majelis berkewajiban mengamalkan musyawarah dan musafakat untuk membina ketertiban, keamanan dan hukum guna mewujudkan masyarakat adil makmur dengan ridla Allâh subhanahû wa ta‘âlâ" (the people’s representatives in the House and the Council have the duty of carrying out deliberation leading to consensus to promote order, security and law for the sake of developing a just and prosperous society with the blessing of God the Almighty). The phrase is syntactically Indonesian but all the main words, except prepositions and conjunctions, are borrowed from Arabic. The Indonesian language is indeed full of vocabulary and even phraseologies, borrowed from Arabic, either directly or indirectly through Persian. Islam is not to
be identified with any particular culture or language, not even with Arabic ones. However the fact that Arabic language is the main vehicle for taking Islam and Islamic culture around the world, it is quite expected that language borrowed from Arabic more or less implies the acceptance of Islamic values.

III

Although Arabic is not the only source of borrowed language for the Indonesian political culture (Sanskrit, through Javanese culture, is also very important), Indonesia is ultimately a Muslim nation as indicated by Hodgson’s judgement of Geertz’ three variants. Therefore, for the majority of the Indonesian population, much of the cultural source of political legitimacy is based on Islamic considerations. Thus for many Muslims, Pancasila is, from the Qur‘anic perspective, a common term between different religious factions that God commands to seek and find. It is stated in the Qur‘án addressed to the prophet: “Say: 'O People of the Book! come to common terms as between us and you; that we worship none but God; that we associate not partners with him; that we erect not, from among ourselves, lords and patrons, other than God ...”.

Thus monotheism, or more precisely according to Max Weber "strict monotheism", is the common term of all divinely-inspired religions. Yet it is always possible that the adherents of different religions could agree on a set of common terms that includes more

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6Holy Qur‘án, 3:64. Translation by A. Yusuf Ali, The Holy Qur‘án, Translation and Commentary (Jeddah: Dar al-Qibla, 1413 AH), p. 139. On this verse Maulana Muhammad Ali makes this comment: "These are the very words occurring in a letter which the Prophet wrote to Heraclius in the year 6 AH ... Similar letters were written to several other potentates among whom was Muqauqis, the king of Egypt, and the discovery of the letter written to him furnishes proof of the reliability of the report relating to the Prophet in general, for the manuscript letter contains the very words given in the Hadith. In this verse the Jews and the Christians were called upon to accept the broad principles of the faith of Abraham, which were also the basic principles of the faith of Islam". (Maulana Muhammad Ali, Holy Qur‘án (Lahore: The Ahmadiyah Anjuman Isha’at Islam), p. 150.

values than the one of monotheism alone. Further the more values that the adherents of different religions agree to be common terms, the better. In the Islamic Principles of Jurisprudence (Usúl al-Fiqh) it is said, "The more good thing are to do, the more they have the virtue". To have not one but five subjects as common terms between different religions or factions, as is the case with Pancasila for Indonesian people, is better than to have just one subject.

Thus Pancasila becomes a firm basis for the development of religious tolerance and pluralism in Indonesia. Adam Malik, who was then Vice President of the Republic, saw Pancasila as similar in spirit to the political document created by the Prophet for the people of Madinah soon after he arrived at the town in hijra (migration) from Mecca. The Madinese document is widely known as "The Constitution of Madinah", and it includes a provision that all Madinese factions, including Jews, were one nation (ummah) together with Muslims, and that they have the same rights and duties as the Muslims. Adam Malik interprets the document as a formula for a state based of the idea of social and religious pluralism. Malik's remark was quoted with appreciation and admiration by Dr TB. Simatupang, a prominent Christian leader of Indonesia, and chair of the Indonesian Council of Churches.

As is well-known, the particular attitude of Muslims towards Jews and Christians is the basic for the unique Islamic concept of "People of the Book" (Ahl al-Kitāb), those whom the Qur'ān cites as having received revealed scriptures. Twice within the Qur'ān, there are assertions that salvation accrues to the followers of any revelation who believe in God and in the Hereafter, and who do good works:

Those who believe (in the Qur'ān), and those who follow the Jewish (scriptures), and the Christians, and the Sabians, anyone who believes in God

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9See Dr. TB. Simatupang, Dari Revolusi ke Pembangunan (Jakarta: BP Gunung Mulia, 1987), pp. 491-504.

and the last Day, and work righteousness, shall have their reward with their Lord: on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve.\textsuperscript{11}

It is stated that the fact that one Revelation should name others as authentic is an extraordinary event in the history of religions. However, "It is almost too much to ask that a man holds other people's religion as equal to his own. In the actual beliefs of the overwhelming majority of Muslims, Christianity has lost its truth and is simply 'tolerated' by heaven. Thus, some Muslims believe as a matter of course that Christians do not attain to heaven, while others concede that Christians achieve salvation".\textsuperscript{12}

IV

Such an assessment is especially true with regard to how the majority of Muslims perceive the idea of religious tolerance and pluralism in a modern sense. Until this time, Muslim nations, with the exception of Turkey, have not undergone thorough modernization of their social and political systems. This means that Muslims have never experienced efforts towards the realization of the ideas of modern tolerance and pluralism as understood and followed in modern western nations. We have to bear this fact in mind because, as indicated by Bernard Lewis:

For Christians and Muslims alike, tolerance is a new virtue, and intolerance a new crime. For the greater part of the history of both communities, tolerance was not valued nor was intolerance condemned. Until comparatively modern times, Christian Europe neither prized nor practiced tolerance itself, and was not greatly offended by its doctrines which were imposed by force -something seen as normal and natural- but its doctrines are false. Similarly on the Muslim side, the claim to tolerance, now much heard from Muslim apologists and more especially from apologists for Islam, is always a new and alien origin.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11}Holy Qur'\textasciiacute{n}, 2:62. Similar verse is found at 5:69.

\textsuperscript{12}Cryl Glass\textasciiacute{e}, \textit{The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam} (San Francisco: Harper, 1991), s.v. "Ahl al-Kit\textasciiacute{a}b".

Bernard Lewis also indicates that, despite the concept of *Ahl al-Kitāb* which, in Glasse’s words as quoted above, is “an extraordinary event in the history of religions”, relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the classical times of Islam did not take the form of tolerance nor either intolerance. Examples of Islamic intolerance to other religions abound. There were occasions when Muslim authorities launched measures to curb intellectual freedoms and creativities even amongst their fellow Muslims, in ways which were not much different from the much condemned Christian Inquisitions of the Middle Ages. This persecution was not always by conservatives against liberals, but sometimes also arose from liberals, e.g. the ‘Abbâsid Caliph al-Ma’mûn the Mu’tazilite, against conservatives such as Ahmad ibn Hanbal the traditionalist (Ahl al-Hadîth).

Nevertheless, instance of Islamic tolerance are also widely known and recognized. The case of Islamic Spain is relevant and interesting to note here. According to Max I. Dimont, a scholar on the history of the Jewish people:

The Arab conquest of Spain in 711 had put an end to the forcible conversion of Jews to Christianity begun by King Reccared in the sixth century. Under the subsequent 500 year rule of the Moslems emerged the Spain of three religions and “one bedroom”. Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews shared the same brilliant civilization, an intermingling that affected “bloodlines” even more than religious affiliations.\(^4\)

Bernard Lewis also discovered that the closer an Islamic community is to the centers of Islam in the Near East, the more tolerant it is to the adherents of other religions, with the exception of Muslim Spain (farthest from the heartland but very tolerant) and Hijâz (heartland itself but no religion other than Islam is allowed to exist). Lewis also indicated that the Islam of earlier times seems to be more tolerant than that of later times. He says:

In earlier times a good deal of easy social intercourse amongst Muslims, Christians, and Jews who, while professing differences, formed a single society, in which personal friendships, business partnerships, intellectual discipleships, and other forms of shared activity were normal and, indeed, common. This cultural cooperation is attested in many ways. We have, for

example, biographical dictionaries of famous physicians. Their works, though written by Muslims, include Muslim, Christian, and Jewish physicians without distinction. From these large numbers of biographies it is even possible to construct a kind of prosopography of the medical profession – to trace the life curves of some hundreds of practitioners in the Islamic world. From these sources we get a very clear impression of a common effort. As partners or as assistants, reading each other’s books and accepting one another as pupils. There was nothing resembling the kind separation that was normal in Western Christendom at that time or in the Islamic world at a later time.\(^\text{15}\)

The problem of Islam vis-a-vis pluralism is, therefore, the problem of how Muslims adapt themselves to the modern age. This, in its turn, involves problems of how they see and assess the history of Islam, and how they see and assess problems of change and the necessity of bringing universal and normative Islam into a dialogue with temporal and spatial realities.

In connection to this, it is apparently necessary for Muslims to look again at the basic tenets of Islam concerning history itself. Given the fact that bloody political crisis and turmoil happened only about two decades after the Prophet, Muslims should find it possible to see that the early Islamic history of all communities always had the potential to make mistakes or to err from the right path. Aside from the simple truism that "to err is human" all histories are indeed human, and nothing human is sacred or holy. Although in the Qur’an it is said that man is created in the fitrah (natural disposition and men’s inborn, intuitive abilities to discern between right and wrong, true and false) and therefore has a natural inclination toward the good, the true, and the sacred (hanifiyyah),\(^\text{16}\) it is also said that man is creature.\(^\text{17}\) One of the weaknesses of man, and the most important one, is said to be his prevalent failure to see the long term consequences of his own acts due to the lure of short-term expediencies.\(^\text{18}\) In short, man is basically good, but he is weak. Related to his weaknesses, man has the potential of turning himself into a tyrant whenever he sees himself self-sufficient and not in

\(^{15}\)Lewis, op. cit., p. 56.

\(^{16}\)Holy Qur’an, 30:30.

\(^{17}\)Holy Qur’an, 4:28.

\(^{18}\)Holy Qur’an, 75:20 and 76:27.

*Studia Islamika* 1 (1) (April-June 1994).
need of his fellow human beings. Therefore every one has the right to express himself and to be listened to because, as the creature of fitrah and hanīfiyyah, he always has the potential to be true and good in his thoughts, intentions, and actions. However, due to his own innate weaknesses, he also has a duty to listen to other people’s ideas and to examine those ideas critically in order to determine which is the best to follow. All of this should be added to the well-known Islamic doctrine of the original oneness of humanity and of the basic equality of all people.

From the positive perspective, it is always possible that the classical Muslims fully internalized such a positive and optimistic conception of humanity, a conception which then made them such a cosmopolitan and universalist community that they were ready to learn and adopt anything valuable from the experiences of other communities. Thus the role of early Muslims as one of the first communities to internationalize sciences:

In every civilization certain men have sought the causes of phenomenal change in nature itself rather than in human or superhuman volition. But until the Arabs inherited Greek natural philosophy and Chinese alchemy and transmitted them to the West, there was no single body of natural knowledge that passed from one civilization to other. On the contrary, in every civilization the study of nature took its own path. Greek and Chinese philosophers explained much the same physical world very differently... Most of these achievements were first absorbed by Islam, which from 750 A.D. to the late Middle Ages stretched from Spain to Turkestan. The Arabs unified this vast body of knowledge and added to it.

It is to the credit of the Arabs that although they were the victors military and politically, they did not regard the civilization of the vanquished land with contempt. The riches of Syrian, Persian, Hindu cultures were no sooner discovered than they were adapted into Arabic. Caliphs, governors, and other patronized scholars who did the work of translation, so that a vast body of non-Islamic learning became accessible in Arabic. During the ninth and tenth centuries, a steady flow of works on Greek medicine, physics, astronomy,

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21Holy Qur’an, 2:213.


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mathematics, and philosophy, Persian belles-lettres, and Hindu mathematics and astronomy poured into Arabic.23

The following quotation comparing the adherents of the three Abrahamic religions, Jews, Christians and Muslims, gives us further ideas about the implication of conception of man:

For theological and historical reasons, Christian ethical and political doctrines were distinct from those of Judaism and Islam. One difference was determined by different conceptions of man. For Christian thinkers, man was fallen and hence required the grace of God for his salvation. So no matter how much Christian philosophers admired the temporal results of ethical and political doctrines, they considered such doctrines and results insufficient for man’s salvation. By contrast, a number of Muslim and Jewish thinkers, especially those of Aristotelian leanings, described the good life as consisting in the development of moral and intellectual virtues ... for Jews and Muslims, the teaching of moral and political philosophy were not too far from those of religion.24

In examining the values that underlay the structures and processes of the development of ancient Islamic civilizations, it seems that one of the most decisive factors is belief in humanity. Supported by reasonable self-confidence because of political and military superiority, positive and optimistic views of humanity should have underpinned the genuine tolerance and pluralism of early Muslims. It is therefore fitting to say that present day Muslims should re-enact the experiences and practices of their ancients, whilst allowing for the fact that the social and psychological situations are now quite different from those in classical times. It is therefore ironic that when tolerance and pluralism are among the values most needed in globalized human interactions, the tolerance and pluralism of classical Islam has almost disappeared, much to the chagrin of such a concerned scholar as Bernard Lewis (particularly in its relation to Jewish experiences in history):

There have been many chapters in the long history of the Jewish people. Greek Alexandria was the home of philo, Babylonia of the Talmud, medieval (Islamic) Spain of a rich Hebrew literature; the Jews of Germany and Poland


wrote major chapters in modern Jewish history. They have all gone, and only their monuments and their memory remain. The Judeo-Islamic symbiosis was a great period of Jewish life and creativity, a long, rich, and vital chapter in Jewish history. It has now come to an end.

V

It has been said that, in accordance with Bernard Lewis’s account, tolerance and, as its corollary, pluralism, are new to all religions. These are modern values, and they form a part of the challenges of modernity. Therefore it seems that one of the strategic questions here is whether Islam permits some changes in its religious and cultural orientation as a response to the challenges of time and place, and as an adaptation to different temporal and spatial milieu. In relation to this, it is interesting how Muslims interpret the insistence in the Qur’ân that "We sent not an apostle except (to teach) in the language of his own people, in order to make (things) clear to them". An interesting and relevant commentary to this verse is given by Yusuf Ali:

If the object of a Message is to make things clear, it must be delivered in the language current among the people to whom the apostle is sent. Through them it can reach all mankind. There is even a wider meaning for "language". It is not merely a question of alphabets, letters, or words. Each age or people – or world in a psychological sense – casts its thoughts in a certain mould or form. God’s Message – being universal – can be expressed in all moulds and forms, and is equally valid and necessary for all grades of humanity, and must therefore be explained to each according to his or her capacity or receptivity. In this respect the Qur’ân is marvelous. It is for the simplest as well as the most advanced.

In this way the Qur’ân indicates that the Islamic message, because of its universality, is adaptable to any cultural environment, as it has been adapted to the imperatives of the Arabian Peninsula cultures. Therefore it must also be adaptable to the environment of any culture of its adherents, any where and at any time.

If a cultural dimension is involved in delivering the Divine Message –as is clearly attested by the fact that there have been many

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25Lewis, op. cit., p. 191.

26Holy Qur’ân, 14:4.

Messengers of God and that there was a Messenger for every nation—\textsuperscript{28} the Divine Message itself, not in its essence, but in its response to the demands of times and places, is historical and, therefore, subject to change whenever necessary. And if ancient Islamic communities were only historical community which are nothing sacred or holy about them (thus, according to Ibn Taymiyyah, nobody is infallible, even the Prophet himself except in his deliverance of the Message –\textit{tabligh al-risalah})\textsuperscript{29}, Muslims should not then consider their own age as sacred and unchangeable, nor should they see other people’s historical experiences as sacred in a reversed sense (i.e. taboo). All human experience in history is subject to the operation of the \textit{Sunnat Allâh} (the Law of God) which is immutable and objective, independent of human wishes.

Therefore a certainty of historical relativism is needed here, a value that leads people to a readiness for change in a positive and constructive way. In this respect, Marshall Hodgson makes the following statement:

But perhaps the greatest potential asset of Islam is the frank sense of history that from the beginning has had so large a place in its dialogue. For a willingness to admit seriously that the religious tradition was formed in time and has always had a historical dimension makes it possible to assimilate whatever new insights, into the reality of the heritage and its creation of origin, may come through either scholarly research or new spiritual experience. Al-Shâfi‘î was carrying forward a tendency already latent in Muhammad’s own work when he insisted on understanding the Qur’ân quite concretely in its historical interaction with the life of Muhammad and his community. He did this at the expense of historical accuracy, indeed, but this was not his intention; and though later Muslims went still further in substituting a stereotyped ironic image of the Islamic past for a candid study of the actuality, yet they never denied the principle that historical accuracy was the foundation of all religious knowledge.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{28}See Holy Qur’ân, 16:36, 35:24, 13:7 and 10:47.

\textsuperscript{29}An interesting and extensive discussion by Ibn Taymiyyah about the problems of the doctrine of the infallibility of the prophets (“\textit{ismat al-anbiyâ’}”) can be read in his work, \textit{Minhâj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah} (Riyâd: Maktabat al-Riyâd al-Hadîthîah, n.d.), Vol. 1, 174-5. In his discussion, Ibn Taymiyyah says that it is always possible for a prophet to make mistakes, this fact being attested for him by several incidents involving many prophets prior to prophet Muhammad. Prophets are infallible (\textit{ma’ṣûm}) only in missions to deliver the Divine Message (\textit{tabligh al-risâlah}) because otherwise their positions as Messengers of God would be absurd.

\textsuperscript{30}Hodgson, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol.3, p. 437.
Al-Shâfi‘î (d. 204 AH/819 CE), the jurist, and one of the founders of the Islamic schools of legal thoughts (madhhab), was famous for his theory of the abrogator and the abrogated (al-nâskh wa al-mansûkh) in the Islamic legal system. He was also well-known for the change of his legal views from those that he held whilst in Baghdad (al-qawl al-qadim) and those he held later as new doctrines when he was in Egypt (al-qawl al-jadîd). When al-Shâfi‘î was questioned about this change, he replied: "It is the same principle, except that the environment here is different". 31

The capacity for Islam to be adapted to the demands of modern culture is also recognized by some social scientists, such as Ernest Gellner. He maintains that this "Great Tradition" of Islam is modernizable, and that the modernization could go together be carried out at the same time as the purification of the faith. A modernization of Islam, that is, its adaptation to the environment of the modern age, should occur without disturbing its genuineness and authenticity as a revealed religion.

VI

If indeed the case is as stated by Gellner, 32 the Muslims then have to find, in the authentic source of Islamic teaching, the elements and seeds that can be nurtured as the basis for modern religious tolerance and pluralism. This involves development of the ethos that Ibn Taymiyyah forcefully argued should be reenacted about seven centuries ago. 33 Ijtihâd is said to have been closed since nine hundred years ago because of Muslims’ traumatic experiences of the exhaustive and politically dangerous controversies and polemics about the minutiae of religious doctrines, especially regarding legal aspects (fiqh). The result of this closure is that Muslims, as Muhammad Iqbal puts it, "read the Qur‘ān with dead

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person's eyes."  

It seems that, according to the Qur'ân, plurality is the order of human communities, a kind of Law of God or Sunnat Allâh, and that it is God's prerogative to know and explain in the Next Life, why people are so different from each other. The Qur'ân says:

...To each among you have We prescribed a Law (shir'ah, shari'ah) and an Open Way (minhaj). If God had so willed, he would have made you a single people, but (His plan is) to test you in what He hath given you: so strive as in a race in all virtues. The goal of you all is to God; it is He that will show you the truth of the matters in which ye dispute.

Muhammad Asad, a modern interpreter of the Qur'ân, makes the following commentary on the verse:

The expression "every one of you" (in Ali's translation quoted above, "the each among you"-NM) denotes the various communities of which mankind is composed. The term shir'ah (or shari'ah) signifies, literally, "the way a watering place" (from which men and animals derive the elements indispensable to their lives), and is used in the Qur'ân to denote a system of law necessary for a community's social and spiritual welfare. The term minhaj, on the other hand, denotes an "open road", usually in an abstract sense: that is, "a way of life". The terms shir'ah and minhaj are more restricted in their meaning than the term din, which comprises not merely the laws relating to a particular religion but also the basic, unchanging spiritual truths which, according to the Qur'ân, have been preached by every one of God's apostles, while the particular body of laws (shir'ah or shari'ah) promulgated through them, and the way of life (minhaj) recommended by them, varied in accordance with the exigencies of the time and of each community's cultural development. This "unity in diversity" is frequently stressed in the Qur'ân (e.g., in the first sentence of 2:148, in 21:92-93, or in 23:52 ff.). Because of the universal applicability and textual incorruptibility of its teachings as well as of the fact that the Prophet Muhammad is "the seal of all prophets", i.e., the last of them (see 33:40) the Qur'ân represents the culminating point of all revelation and offers the final, perfect way to spiritual fulfillment. This uniqueness of the Qur'ânic message does not, however, preclude all adherents of earlier faiths from attaining to God's grace: for - as the Qur'ân so often points out - those among them who believe uncompromisingly in the One God and the Day of Judgment (i.e., individual moral responsibility) and live righteously "need have no fear, and neither shall they grieve.

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34Garaudy, op. cit., p. 97.


It is directly related to this principle that God strongly reprimanded the Prophet when he showed a desire and willingness to force his people to accept and follow his religion:

If it had thy Lord’s Will, they would all have believed,— all who are on earth! Wilt thou then compel mankind, against their will, to believe?  

Yusuf Ali makes the following commentary on the verse:

If it been God’s plan of will not to grant the limited Free will that he has granted to man, His omnipotence could have made all mankind alike: all would then have had Faith, but that Faith would have reflected no merit on them. In the actual world as it is, man has been endowed with various faculties and capacities, so that he should strive and explore, and bring himself into harmony with God’s Will. Hence Faith becomes a moral achievement, and to resist Faith becomes a sin. As a complementary proposition, men of Faith must not be impatient or angry if they have to contend against Unfaith, and most important of all, they must guard against the temptation of forcing Faith, i.e., imposing it on others by physical compulsion, or any other forms of compulsion such as social pressure, or inducements held out by wealth or position, or other adventitious advantages. Forced faith is no faith. They should strive spiritually and let God’s Plan work as He wills.

Such are some of the basic principles in the Qur’ān related to tolerance and pluralism. These principles should then be combined with the principles already discussed in the earlier section of this paper, especially that of the meeting of a set of common terms or kalimah sawā’ between religion, evolving around belief in God and worshipping Him alone, not associating any partner with Him, and not taking from fellow human beings as lords or patrons other than God Himself.

Extending this principle further so that it is not limited to the traditional Ahl al-kitāb comprising only of Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and, later, Hindus and Buddhists, some prominent Indonesian ‘ulamā’ include also the followers of Chinese and Japanese religions. Thus Hamka, the great ‘ālim of Indonesia, the founder of MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, the Council of the Indonesian ‘Ulamā’) and its first and most influential chair, says that the teaching of Chinese Taoism is a true monotheism or

37Holy Qur’ān, 10:99.

tawhīd.\textsuperscript{39} Event stronger is an argument made by ‘Abd al-Hamīd Hakīm, the leader of the Sumatra Tawālīb, an influential Islamic movement in Sumatra, Indonesia, refuting the views held by some Muslims that the Ahl al-kitāb are like the polytheists or the mushrik with whom Muslims are not supposed to collaborate. The following is quoted from his elaboration:

In short,...the polytheists are those between whom and yourself (the Muslim) there is a great difference and distinction in belief, such that you are not allowed to get in touch with them through marital relationships ... As for the women of Ahl al-kitāb, there is no big difference between her and the believer (Muslim): she believes in God and worships Him, believes in the Prophets, in the Day of Judgment and in the existence of the (Divine) reward on the Day of Judgment, in that doing good things is obligatory and that doing bad things is forbidden...and that the Zoroastrians, the Sabians, the idolaters of India, China and Japan are followers of holy books containing tawhīd (monotheism) until today...and that their books are heavenly (revealed by God) that suffer from corruption just as the holy books of the Jews and the Christians, which are later in existence, suffer from corruption.\textsuperscript{40}

Along the same lines, Ibn Taimiyyah argues that the previous holy books still contain divine wisdom, and that this wisdom is still binding to the followers of those books themselves and Muslims. Ibn Taimiyyah even insists that the way of the majority of the salaf and the imāms was to hold that the šara‘ of the people before Islam – as long the šara‘ of Islam itself does not supply any new thing that would abrogate it – is also the šara‘ of the Muslim. According to Ibn Taimiyyah, most of the contents of the Old and New Testaments, as far as laws are concerned, are still authentic. A small part of the Bible was altered and this comprises only a small fraction of the original, such as some news or predictions (like those of the coming of the prophet Muhammad) and some prohibitions (e.g against the eating pork).\textsuperscript{41}

Not all Indonesian Muslims, even the ‘ulama’, have access to such optimistic and positivistic discussion about other religions and

\textsuperscript{39}Yunus Yahya, Muslim Tiongboa.


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their adherent. But a good number of them are aware of such discussion, especially among the younger generations who have backgrounds of modern Islamic education. Tensions are the order of every social interaction, either within the community of one’s own faith or outside it in inter-faith relationships. However, many Indonesian Muslims are aware that, as is stated in the Qur’ân, it is wrong to make generalizations about other communities, and that it is imperative to seek cooperation with likeminded people or with people with the same commitment to the betterment of human life. Thus Muslims are reminded in the Qur’ân:

Not all of them are alike: of the people of the Book are a portion that stand (for the Right); they rehearse the Signs of God and the Last Day; they enjoin what is right, and forbid what is wrong; and they hasten (in emulation) in all good works; they are in the ranks of the righteous. Of the good that they do, nothing will be rejected of them; for God knoweth well those that do right.42

O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) a male and female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other. Verily the most honored of you in the sight of God is he who is the most righteous of you. And God has full knowledge and is well acquainted with all things.43

God forbids you not, with regard to those who fight you not for (your) Faith nor drive you out of your homes, from dealing kindly and justly with them: for God loveth those who are just.44

And, finally:

And among His Signs in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the variations in your languages and your colors: verily those are Signs for those who know.45

The Indonesian experience may not be an example to be copied by other Muslim nations, and yet, being the largest among Muslim nations, Indonesia could offer itself as a laboratory for developing modern religious tolerance and pluralism. With approximately 90

45Holy Qur’ân, 30:22.

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percent of a population of about 180 million people being Muslims, Indonesia provides a good opportunity to experiment with the bringing of Islam into a positive and constructive dialogue with the demands of this age. This in itself an interesting matter to observe.

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مجلة إسلاميكا
مجلة أندونيسيا للدراسات الإسلامية
السنة: 1، العدد: 1 (أبريل-يونيو) 1994 م

هيئة الإشراف على التحرير:
عبدالعزيز دحلان
محمد ساتريا أفندي
فرقلادين هديات
مصطفى
واهب محمود
هارون ناسوتين
مسلم ناسوتين
محمد قريش شهاب
دين شمس الدين
محمد يورن بوسفن

رئيس التحرير:
أزيماردين أزرا
المحررون:
نوار الجهر
يوهان هيندريك مولمان
سيمون مزاتي
هيندرو براسينيو
بدري بننام

سكرتير التحرير:
عمر سبان
مختص في الرقائق

تصميم الفيلم:
س. برينكا
على أكبر

استدوميا إسلاميكا (1984-1994) هو مجلة تصدر أربع مرات في العام عن جامعة
(STT/DEPPEN No. 129/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976)
شرليف هدایة الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاکرتا(1976) وتحت
برعاية وزارة الشؤون الدينية بجمهورية إندونيسيا، وتخصص للدراسات الإسلامية في
إندونيسيا. يصمد التوليد من نتائج البحوث والمقالات التي تبحث في القضايا الأخيرة
 المتعلقة بالوضوع. وتدعو الجلالة العلماء والثقافيين الذين يبحثوا فيها مقاطعهم العلمية التي
تتعلق برسالة الجلة.

تصدر الجلة جاکرتا، إندونيسيا.

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تظهر إندونيسيا 1943، كالبان يارو/جامعة شريف هدایة الله الإسلامية الحكومية، جاکرتا
قيمة القسط السنوي في إندونيسيا: سنة واحدة (4 أعداد): 200000000 روبية (20 دولارًا
آمريكا)، سنين (8 أعداد): 1000000000 روبية (100 دولارًا آمريكا)، قيمة العدد الواحد: 125000000
روبية (125 دولارًا آمريكا) وتسد رسوم المقدمة. وفي البلدان الأخرى يضاف إلى قيمة السعر
هذا المبلغ 400000000 روبية (40 دولارًا آمريكا) للرسائل بالبريد العادي. أما الرسائل بوسائل خاصة
فيجب قبل ذلك الاتصال بالجلالة.