

## THE STATE AND THE HOLY QURAN: POLITICS OF THE QURAN TRANSLATION BY THE MINISTRY OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

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**Abstract:** *The Quran Translation by the Ministry of Religious Affairs entitled ‘Al-Qur’an dan Terjemahannya’ which has been improved and refined for the third time shows the involvement of the state in providing the Quran translation for Muslims. This article aims to show how politics and state policies in the translation of the Quran in Indonesia as the power-knowledge, and how this power-knowledge is related to other power-knowledge. By analyzing all edition of ‘Al-Qur’an dan Terjemahannya’ published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs as well as a set of interviews, this article concluded that the Quran translation by the Ministry of Religious Affairs is an authoritative strategy of the state in accommodating Muslims interest to comprehend their holy Quran. At the same time, through this translation, the interest of the state in maintaining its stability of power is accommodated as well. The state power-knowledge in the form of the Quran translation by the Ministry of Religious Affairs is not only focused on the state (The Ministry of Religious Affairs), but also related to other translation of the Quran as the power-knowledge in the society.*

**Keywords:** *Politics on translation; Ministry of Religious Affairs; Power-knowledge relation*

**Abstrak:** *Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Kementerian Agama berjudul "Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya" yang sampai saat ini telah mengalami tiga kali perbaikan dan penyempurnaan menunjukkan bukti keterlibatan negara dalam penyediaan terjemahan Al-Qur'an bagi umat Islam. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menunjukkan bagaimana politik dan kebijakan negara dalam penerjemahan Al-Qur'an di Indonesia sebagai kuasa pengetahuan, dan bagaimana kuasa pengetahuan tersebut berelasi dengan kuasa-kuasa pengetahuan lain. Dengan menganalisis semua edisi "Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya" yang telah diterbitkan Kementerian Agama serta serangkaian wawancara, artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa terjemahan Al-Qur'an Kementerian Agama merupakan strategi kuasa negara dalam mengakomodir kepentingan umat Islam dalam memahami Al-Qur'an Pada saat yang sama, melalui terjemahan ini kepentingan negara dalam menjaga stabilitas kekuasaannya pun terakomodir. Kuasa pengetahuan negara dalam bentuk terjemahan Al-Qur'an Kementerian Agama tidak terpusat pada negara saja (Kementerian Agama), tetapi berelasi dengan terjemahan-terjemahan Al-Qur'an lain sebagai kuasa-kuasa pengetahuan yang ada di tengah-tengah masyarakat.*

**Kata kunci:** *Politik terjemah; Kemenag; Relasi Kuasa-Pengetahuan.*

## Introduction

The involvement of the Indonesian government (state) in terms of the Quran translation has been shown since the Old Regime. In the Temporary People's Consultative Assembly Decree (TAP MPRS) number XI/MPRS/1960 and Project Pattern I Classification AA 7 (department of the Holy Quran translation), the Quran translation is one of the priority projects. This TAP MPRS then was followed-up with the establishment *Jajasan Penjelenggara Penterdjemah/Pentafsir Al-Qur'āan* (the Quran Translator/Tafsir Foundation) in 1962. On 17<sup>th</sup> of August 1965, "this foundation published its the Quran translation entitled "*Al-Qur'āan dan Terdjemahnja*". The first edition was printed in 3 volumes and gradually published over four years (1965-1969): in 1965 (vol.1-10), in 1967 (vol. 11-20) in 1969 (vol. 21-30).<sup>1</sup> In 1971, these three volumes were compiled and printed into one volume (1.294 pages).

Based on the suggestion from the community, in 1989-1990, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (hereinafter referred to as MRA) made some improvements and refinements in the first edition of the Quran translation. It includes refinement in the introduction (*muqqadimah*), correction of wrong translation in verses, and improvement in the translation editor. The MRA in collaboration with Saudi government officially published this translation in 1990. This edition was printed by the government of Saudi Arabia through *Majma' Khādīm al-Haramayn al-Sharīfayn al-Malik Fahd li-al-Ṭibā'ah al-Maṣḥaf al-Sharīf* in Medina, and gave this edition as a gift

for Indonesian pilgrims and for the Indonesian government as well.<sup>2</sup>

In 1998-2002, the MRA collaborated with Iman Jama' Foundation to improve and refine the *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya* for the second time. It includes four main aspects: a language that is no longer relevant to the current development, consistency in choosing the right words or sentences, substantive related to the meaning and content of verses, and transliteration.<sup>3</sup>

Based on the recommendation of National Deliberation (Mukernas Ulama Al-Qur'an) in Bandung (18-21 August 2015) and the suggestion from the community regarding the refinement of the Quran translation, the Quranic Mushaf Correction Committee (Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an/LPMQ) conducted a review on the improvement and refinement of the Quran translation for the third time in 2016-2019. The improvement and refinement of this edition includes four aspects: language and word choice, consistency in translating verses and diction, substantive related to the content of verses, and format of compilation systematic.<sup>4</sup>

The dynamic and development of the Quran translation by the MRA which experiences some improvement and refinement in different scope of regimes has revealed about the state's power-knowledge through the MRA with the appointed institution. According to Foucault, the exercise of power always produces knowledge as the basis of power. In this study, the Quran translation by the MRA is understood as the state's power-knowledge. According to Foucault's view, the word *power* here refers to 'the totality of action structure' to direct the action of free individuals. Power is exercised to those who are in the position to vote, and it is addressed to influence their choice. Therefore, power involves the strategic games between liberties.<sup>5</sup>

The Quran translation published by the MRA is significant to review and study since it is the official translation which has a great extent of authority and it is part of the state (government) involvement in providing a reference of standard translation of the Quran for Indonesian Muslims.<sup>6</sup> So, this translation has a central and strategic position in constructing the religious idea and understanding of Indonesian Muslims.<sup>7</sup> However, besides the official translation of the MRA, there is a number of the Quran translation circulating among the community that is translated personally or by institutions.

It is based on the argument that translation -especially of the government- is hard to be separated from the state political aspect. It is because translation (*al-tarjamah*) is not merely "changing a textual material of source language

into equivalent textual material in the (target language)<sup>8</sup> but it involves many perspectives: linguistics, psychology, social, and culture.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, the translation of the Quran as an ethical practice involves not only semantic consideration, but also aesthetic, ideological, and political accountability.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, according to Elmarsafy, translation is the most political art.<sup>11</sup>

By utilizing Michel Foucault's theory of the relation of power-knowledge, this article examines the extent of state politics and policies (MRA) in the translation of the Quran and how the state's power-knowledge is related to other power-knowledge in producing discourse of the translations of the Quran. Observation on the politics of translation and power relations are important because they reveal how ideology plays its role.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, this review on the Quran translation by the MRA may contribute to a better understanding of state politics about Islam in Indonesia in a wider sense.

So far, studies about the Quran translation by the MRA conducted by researchers, such as Ismail Lubis, Moh. Mansyur, Syihabuddin, Al Farisi, Muhammad Thalib, and Abdul Muta'ali,<sup>13</sup> only focus on linguistics aspect and less explain about the political aspect of the translation. A study by Ichwan discusses the political and ideological aspects in the translation of the Quran by the MRA,<sup>14</sup> but it only studies the 1971 and 1990 edition. The last two refinement edition (2002 and 2019) is not included in the study. In contrast to the existing studies, this article analyzes the politics and state in the translation of the Quran by the MRA (1971 edition to 2019 refinement edition) using Foucault theory of power relation.

### **Politics and State Policies in the Quran Translation**

Since the beginning, the Indonesian government has paid great attention to preserve the the Quran, which is the mandate of the state constitution based on the Belief in the one and only God. One form of state involvement and attention to the Quran is the attempt to translate it into Indonesian which was first published in 1965. The development of the Quran translation published by the MRA until now which has undergone three improvement and refinement and the extent to which state politics and policies in the translation of the Quran is explained in the following paragraphs.

#### *Al-Qur'ān dan Terdjemahnja (1971 Edition)*

The first translation edition of the Quran is one of the projects prioritized in the First National Overall Development Plan. It is contained in MPRS Decree number XI/MPRS/1960, Chapter II, article 2 and Project Pattern I Classification AA 7 (department of the Holy Quran translation). On 13th

December 1960, MPRS gave its decision to the MPRS Mandatory for implementation. Furthermore, MPRS Mandatory appointed the Minister of Religious Affairs as his assistant. As the follow-up of the MPRS Decree, the Minister of Religious Affairs established Lembaga Penjelenggara Penterdjemah Kitab Suci Al-Qur'ään under the Decree No. 91 of 1962 and No. 53 of 1963.<sup>15</sup> This institution is led by R.H.A. Soenarjo S.H. (NU figure) with the members who are the traditionalist and modernist figures with the majority of experts from State Islamic Institute (IAIN) of Jakarta and Yogyakarta.<sup>16</sup> In completing its duties, this institution is divided into two; the Jakarta team and the Yogyakarta team. Each team has a specific task. For example, the Yogyakarta team prepared the translation of 10 volume, while the Jakarta team prepared the *muqqadimah*. After each team completed its task, the team submitted the work to the other team. And vice versa. After each team made corrections to the work of the other team, they held a plenary meeting to do the finishing touch. The final draft was then submitted to the Minister of Religious Affairs.<sup>17</sup>

After five years (1960-1965), this institution finally published the Quran translation entitled *Al-Qur'ään dan Terdjemahnja* first volume (volume 1- volume 10) for the first time on 17th August 1965, inaugurated by the Minister of Religious Affairs, KH. Saifuddin Zuhri. While the second volume (volume 11- volume 20) was published on 17th August 1967, and the third volume (volume 21- volume 30) was published on 1st January 1970.<sup>18</sup> In 1967, the status of Lembaga Penjelenggara Penterdjemah Al-Qur'ään was changed into Jajasan Penjelenggara Penterdjemah/Pentafsir Al-Qur'ään with the notarial deed by Soerodjo on 28/3-67.

This first edition (3 volumes) is often called as "Jamunu Edition", as it is published by Jamunu (Jajasan Mu'awanah Nahdlatul Ulama) Djakarta. The publication of Jamunu -an institution under Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)- indicates: the close relationship between the Department of Religious Affairs and NU during this period and it is related to the traditional religious understanding of NU. In addition, the first edition was written when the position of the Minister of Religious Affairs was filled by two NU figures, K.H. Wahid Hasyim (1959-1964) and K.H. Syaifuddin Zuhri (1964-1967) and it was first published during K.H. Syaifuddin Zuhri. Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 26 of 1967, on the Quran translation was also issued by the next Minister of Religious Affairs who was an NU figure; K.H. Muhammad Dahlan (1967-1971).<sup>19</sup>

In 1971, the first translation edition of the Quran was compiled and printed into one volume (1.294 pages) by Jajasan Penjelenggara Penterdjemah/Pentafsir Al-Qur'ään led by Prof. R.H.A. Soenarjo S.H.<sup>20</sup>

In 1974, the first edition had minor refinement in several parts. This edition was called “Mukti Ali Edition”, as A. Mukti Ali was the Minister of Religious Affairs at that time. The refinement of this edition was in the formal aspect, including spelling enhancement from the Republic or Soewandi version spelling system to the Enhanced Spelling System/EYD (*Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan*), the size was changed from 16 x 24 cm to 11 x 17 cm, and it became handier.

#### *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya (1990 Edition)*

In 1974, The Quran Procurement Project asked the Lajnah Pentashih Mushaf Al-Qur'an (LPMQ) to correct the Quran manuscripts that would be published by the Project, which included Al-Qur'an mushaf, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya*, and Al-Qur'an Juz Amma. At that time, the correction was still limited to the Quran text, not the translation. Given that the distribution of the Quran of the Department of Religious Affairs was spread widely and the readers became more critical in studying the translation of the Quran, there were some suggestions and input for correction to LPMQ. It was in line with the Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 1 of 1982 on LPMQ, the study and correction were not limited to the Quran text only, but also including the translation and interpretation of the Quran.<sup>21</sup>

Therefore, the Department of Research and Development for Religious Affairs formed a Study and Refinement of the Quran Translation Team based on the Decision Letter of the Head of Department of Research and Development for Religious Affairs No. P/15/1989, dated 4th July 1989. This team is led by Drs. H. A. Hafidz Dasuki, M.A. with members: K.H. Mughtar Nasir, K.H. Mughtar Lutfi al-Ansari, Dr. H. Agib Suminto, Dr. H. Muh. Quraish Shihab, and Dr. H. Satria Efendi Zein. The duties of this team is to: (1) Conduct studies and refinements of *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya* by the Department of Religious Affairs, (2) Conduct studies and refinements of correction inputs for the Quran translation from the community to LPMQ and inventoried by the Research and Development Center for Religious Literature and LPMQ, (3) Prepare a more perfect Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya of the MRA, and complete it with footnotes and indexes in the Quran.<sup>22</sup>

In performing its duties, the team is: (1) Improving the introduction (*muqadimah*), (2) Correcting errors in translating the verses, (3) Improving the editorial translation, and (4) Correcting various mistakes or things that were missed during translating the Quran verses. The results of the study and improvement were then reported to the Head of the

Department of Research and Development for Religious Affairs on July 11, 1989, and to the Director-General of Islamic Community Guidance and Hajj Affairs on July 26, 1989. The list of Corrections and Refinements to the Quran translation of the MRA produced by this team was then submitted to LPMQ as inputs in complete meeting of LPMQ held on August 23, 1989. LPMQ was under the supervision of the Department of Religious Affairs and the Central Institute for Research, Fatwa, Da'wa and Islamic Guidance in Riyad, represented by the Religious Attache of the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Jakarta.<sup>23</sup>

This revision resulted in 1,294 pages of the Quran translation, complemented by footnotes and a number of explanations related to the sciences of the Quran and the history of the translation of the Quran in the world. After validated (*taṣḥīḥ*) by the LPMQ of the MRA, the revised edition of *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya* was then published and printed as many as 1,000,000 copies at the expense of the Saudi Arabian government and officially released in 1990.<sup>24</sup>

This 1990 edition refers to several authoritative sources of interpretation and several other Islamic religious books. Interestingly, several interpretation sources of Ahmadiyah Lahore, which was used as references in the first edition, were removed, such as *The Holy Qur'an* by Maulana Muhammad Ali and *The Holy Qur'an* by Mirza Basiruddin Mahmud Ahmad. Instead, this edition included Marmaduke Pickthall's *the Glorious Koran*, which was not mentioned in previous editions. According to Ichwan, the replacement was most likely carried out based on the suggestion of the Saudi government, which considers Ahmadiyah as a group that deviates from orthodox Islamic teachings.<sup>25</sup>

Like the previous editions, this edition was not free from controversy and criticism. Muhammadiyah and al-Irsyad gave positive responses to the publication of this Saudi edition. Meanwhile, NU responded critically to the publication. Abdurrahman Wahid criticized the Saudi edition, saying that it should be re-examined because he found several errors in the translation and was deemed to have a 'reformist' and Wahabi bias. The strong reaction of the Nahdlatul Ulama to what they called as "Quran Translated by Wahabi" is an integral part of the struggle between the "traditionalist" and "reformist" forces that exist in Indonesia.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (2002 Edition)*

Based on many comments and criticisms on *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya* 1990 edition,<sup>27</sup> the Department of Religious Affairs then improved the translation of the Quran. One of them was a suggestion from the

Iman Jama Foundation which considered that translation should pay more attention to the interests of prospective readers whose religious knowledge is limited.<sup>28</sup> On that basis, the Lajnah Pentashih Mushaf Al-Qur'an (LPMQ) in collaboration with the Iman Jama' Foundation made comprehensive improvement and refinement for 4 years. (1998-2002). The experts involved in the refinement team of this edition were Prof. Dr. M. Quraish Shihab, M.A., Prof. Dr. Said Agil Husin al-Munawwar, M.A., Prof. Dr. A. Baiquni, Dr. KH. Ahsin Sakho Muhammad, M.A., Prof. Dr. KH. Ali Mustafa Yaqub, M.A., Dr. H. Ali Audah, Prof Dr. Rif'at Syauqi Nawawi, MA., and H. Junanda P. Syarfuan.<sup>29</sup>

The refinement process took a long time due to several reasons. *First*, there are differences of opinion among the expert team in determining the right choice of several existing interpretive ulamas' opinions. In fact, sometimes brackets (-) were put to accommodate the existing opinions. *Second*, there was a long debate due to difficulties in finding the right equivalent in Indonesian to the words (*lafal*) in certain verses. Even, some *lafal* do not exist in Indonesian, so they need to be explained in few words. *Third*, they expected to make the translation of the same *lafal* consistent in Indonesian, which was not possible.<sup>30</sup>

The improvement and refinement include four main aspects: language, which is deemed no longer suitable with the current development in Indonesia; consistency, related to the choice of words or sentences for certain words or verses; substantive, related to the meaning and content of the verse; and transliteration, referring to the Arabic-Latin transliteration guidelines based on the Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Education and Culture in 1987 which applicable at that time.<sup>31</sup>

In addition, the translation system in this edition is shorter by eliminating the introduction (*muqaddimah*) and minor titles of group verses. The omission of *muqaddimah* was because its contents were considered part of the *Ulum al-Qur'an*, so those who want to study it are required to study it specifically in the literature related to *Ulum al-Qur'an*. Footnotes were reduced, with only 930 footnotes (reduced by 680 footnotes). Another suggestion included the addition of bracket. The verse translation was made shorter and concise so that it was expected to be easy to learn. Those who want to understand it deeper, can refer to the tafsir books, including the Tafsir Al-Qur'an published by the MRA. Therefore, this edition is physically thinner than the 1990 edition (from 1294 pages to 924 pages, about 370 pages less), so it is more practical and handy.<sup>32</sup>



*Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (2019 Refinement Edition)*

Following up the recommendation of the Mukernas Ulama Al-Qur'an in Bandung (18-21 August 2015) and several suggestions from the community regarding the need to improve the translation of the Quran in response to language development and community dynamics,<sup>33</sup> the MRA through the Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an (LPMQ) conducted a study to improve and enhance the translation of the Quran in 2016-2019. The implementation of the refinement of the Quran translation was carried out in five steps. *First*, public consultation in 2016 and 2017 to various communities, such as universities, Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI), and Islamic boarding schools, to gather various constructive suggestions and input. *Second*, online public consultation through the portal of the MRA 2017 in Public Consultation on Revised Translation of the Quran. *Third*, field research in 2017 on the use of translation of the Quran of the MRA in society. *Fourth*, establishment of an expert team and regular expert team sessions. *Fifth*, validity test (public test) of the results of the study and improvement of the Quran translation.<sup>34</sup>

The expert team for this refinement edition consists of experts in the Quran and Arabic interpretation as well as a team of Indonesian language experts. This team is led by Dr. H. Muchlis Muhammad Hanafi, M.A. (Head of LPMQ) with the members: Prof. Dr. Huzaemah T. Yanggo, M.A., Prof. Dr. H. Muhammad Chirzin, M.A., Prof. Dr. Rosihon Anwar, M.A., Dr. Ahsin Sakho Muhammad, M.A., Dr. Abdul Ghafur Maimun, M.A., Dr. Malik Madani, M.A., Dr. Amir Faishol, M.A., Dr. Abbas Mansur Tamam, M.A., Dr. Lilik Ummi Kaltsum, M.A., Junanda Putje Syarfuan, Dr. Dora Amalia, Drs. Abdul Ghaffar Ruskhan, M.Hum., Drs. Sriyanto, M.Hum., dan Drs. A. Purba, M.Hum.<sup>35</sup>

The expert team of the Quran and Arabic interpretation is in charge of translating and examining the substance of the translation from Arabic into Indonesian. Meanwhile, the duty of the language expert team is to edit the translation results carried out by the Quran expert team by referring to the Grammar of the Indonesian Language (TBBI), General Guidelines for Indonesian Spelling (PUEBI), General Guidelines for the Formation of Terms (PUPI), and the Great Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) which includes: (a) spelling: use of letters; word writing; use of punctuation marks; and writing of loanword elements, (b) grammar, and (c) word choice (diction).<sup>36</sup>

In terms of social identity,<sup>37</sup> the expert team of tafsir and Arabic interpretation represents various components of society with different backgrounds; some represent the social identity of *ulama* (*pesantren*)

and academic scholars (university), including two representative women (Prof. Dr. Huzaemah T. Yanggo, M.A. and Dr. Lilik Umami Kaltsum, M.A.) Besides dedicating themselves to the world of pesantren/Islamic boarding school and academics, they also play social and religious roles in a number of social institutions and organizations. From the social identity of the expert team, they are generally experts in the field of the Quran and Arabic interpretation, besides there are also those who are experts in sharia, comparative schools of thought, philosophical creeds, and professionals who are concerned with the translation of the Quran. Besides formal educational backgrounds, they also have educational backgrounds in Islamic boarding schools. The language expert team comes from the Ministry of Education and Culture for Language Development and Cultivation Agency, where institutionally, LPMQ collaborates with the Agency.

In carrying out its duties, the expert team conducted regular sessions from 2016 to 2019. On average, they conducted ten (10) sessions annually. After all the improvements to the translation were completed, at the end of 2019, an alignment team was formed to compile and align the results of the agreement in the sessions.<sup>38</sup> These improvements and refinements were carried out comprehensively, covering several aspects. *First*, language aspect and word choice, by referring to the General Guidelines for Indonesian Spelling (PUEBI). Grammar is adjusted to the Indonesian language standard while paying attention to the source language (the Quran). *Second*, the consistency aspect, especially in the translation of verses and diction. *Third*, the substantive aspect, dealing with the meaning and content of the verse. *Fourth*, the systematic format aspect, where the translation is complemented with *muqadimah* containing the systematics and methods of translation. There are fewer footnotes than in previous editions, as some additional information was included directly in the translation, written in parentheses. In addition, the translation of this edition is also equipped with subtitles and translation of the name of the chapter.<sup>39</sup>

The results of the improved edition of the Quran translation were then tested its validity through *Mukernas Ulama Al-Quran* in 2018 which discussed volume 1-volume 20 and National Ijtimak Ulama Quran in Bandung, 8-10th July 2019, which discussed volume 21- volume 30.<sup>40</sup> Translation of the Quran of the MRA entitled *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (2019 Refinement Edition)* was officially released at the end of the leadership of the Minister of Religious Affairs, H. Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, on Monday 14th October 2019 at Bayt Quran Building and Istiqlal Museum, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, Jakarta.

## Power Relations of the Quran Translation of the MRA

The involvement and policies of the government in translating the Quran as described above are parts of the state's power over society in the development of the religious aspect. *Al-Qur'ān dan Terdjemahnja* first volume (volume 1-volume 10) published in 1965 was a product of Soekarno's Old Order and Guided Democracy (1959-1965) which could be said to represent the discourse of "the fire of revolutionary Islam".<sup>41</sup> The power of the state to realize the Old Order discourse and ideology through the translation of the Quran is seen in the introduction of the first edition of *Al-Qur'ān dan Terdjemahnja*:

"The modernization at this time is to unearth the fire of Islam which has almost died out, defending Islam from the attacks of Western scholars. In an effort to defend Islam from Western attack, Muslims learn knowledge, advancement, even the Western traditions to be used as a means of repelling these attacks"<sup>42</sup>

The term "fire of Islam" clearly represents the discourse developed by Soekarno. This term describes the spirit of the substance of Islam which is in line with modernity, revolution, and nation-building. Although this paragraph does not explicitly state the term neo-colonialism-imperialism (*Nekolim*), it does describe the discourse. The phrase 'Western scholar's attacks' clearly shows this meaning. The use of various instruments by the West as a deterrent to this attack was also a typical tactic of Soekarno.<sup>43</sup>

While the second volume (volume 11-volume 20), third volume (volume 21- volume 30), and refinement edition 1990 were the product of the New Order (1966-1988) showing the spirit of the discourse of developmental Islam as State Islam which was the government's slogan at that time.<sup>44</sup> The New Order developed a development ideology by making Pancasila its sole principle. Within the framework of Islamic development, religious institutionalization is an understanding and practice of Islam that is built and functionalized into institutions to support the development. So, the Department of Religious Affairs and the Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an (LPMQ), whose one of the duties was translating the Quran during the New Order era, could not be separated from the Islamic context of development. Bruinessen said that institutionalization is part of the politicization of Islam by the state (Soeharto regime).<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, Hefner called it 'Islam regime' to signify Islam that supports the existing regime, which continues from one regime to another.<sup>46</sup>

Within the framework of Islamic development, the translation of the Quran during the New Order era was part of the development discourse in the psychological-spiritual field. It appears from the various introductory

statements of the officials on the publication of several editions of the translation of the Quran. In his remarks on the publication of the second volume (volume 11- volume 20) released on 17th August 1967, President Soeharto, emphasized that this publication was coincided with the 22nd anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia and was published during the consolidation of the New Order, so that it was intended to strengthen the psychological-spiritual-religious foundations that were almost destroyed by the Old Order and the G-30 S/PKI atheists.<sup>47</sup> In line with that, Dr. A.H. Nasution, the Head of the Temporary People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia, stated that psychological-spiritual development can uphold the ideals of the New Order and Pancasila.<sup>48</sup> Hence, during the speech of the release of the third volume (volume 21- volume 30) on 1st January 1970, Dr. K.H. Idham Chalid (the State Minister for People's Welfare) and K.H.M. Dachlan (the Minister of Religious Affairs) explained that the publication of this edition is part of the implementation of the Five-Year Development Plan (*Repelita*) in which the psychological and spiritual development is a major project.<sup>49</sup>

In the publication of the first edition of the Quran translation, the Old Order associated the publication of the Quran translation in order to strengthen the discourse and spirit of "the fire of Islamic revolutionary". Meanwhile during the New Order –along with the transfer of power – the developed discourse was "Islamic development" in maintaining national stability, which was one of the characteristics of the New Order political engineering.<sup>50</sup> Unlike the previous editions, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (2002 edition)* and *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (2019 Refinement Edition)* which was a product of the Reformation Order, did not really show the dominance of the state in accentuating its development slogan, but rather the state's efforts to fulfill the people's need for translation of its holy scripture. This was understandable because, during the Reformation Order (1998 -...), the face of Islam underwent a change: from developmental Islam to a much more expressive Islam. Islam is increasingly showing its vitality as a symbolic system and collective identity that shapes the social and political dynamics of society.<sup>51</sup> Islamic motives are generally combined with other reasons and motives, which are cultural, social, economic, or political.<sup>52</sup>

This shows that the use of discourse in the form of language and slogan is a marker of an era and regime as well as a marker of its power. Every regime often uses the language of power it speaks. Power produces language as an operational machine for itself to work.<sup>53</sup> So, as Foucault said, in

order to understand human behavior at a certain place and time, we must find the discourses that dominate it. It means, the slogan “fire of Islamic revolutionary” and “Islam development” can be interpreted as dominant texts or great narratives since they have the power to regulate the subject.<sup>54</sup> Following Foucault’s idea, there has been a game of language as well as a game of power-knowledge relations at an unconscious level.

In the relations between the state and religion context, the translation of the Quran from the MRA also shows what Bahtiar Effendy calls a form of state cultural accommodation for the interests of Muslims.<sup>55</sup> In its early history, this translation is a concrete step in practicing the mandate of the 1945 Constitution, article 29 in which the state is obliged to pay attention to the efforts to improve the quality of religious life. This article is described in various laws and regulations, including the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2010, which states that the focus on improving religious life includes improving the quality of religious understanding and practice. So, in order to achieve these goals, it is necessary to provide translations and interpretations of the Quran.

The purpose and intention are reflected in all translation editions of the Quran from the MRA since the beginning. The purpose of the first edition of *Al-Qurāan dan Terdjemahnja* publication is: (1) to implement MPRS Decree No. XI/MPRS/1960, the First National Overall Development Plan period 1961-1969; (2) that all Indonesians, especially Muslims, must be able to understand the contents of the Quran, especially those who do not know Arabic; and (3) that this publication is expected to be of great benefit to those who know Arabic but do not really understand Indonesian well and its beautiful language style.<sup>56</sup> In addition, it is to accelerate the realization of a society that believes in the God Almighty as the first precept of Pancasila, which is a society that is just and prosperous and is blessed by Allah.<sup>57</sup>

In his remarks on the publication of the second volume of the Quran translation (1967), Saifuddin Zuhri, the former Minister of Religious Affairs said:

“This publication is entirely borne by the state and approved by the President because this is a project set by the highest institution in the state, the People’s Consultative Assembly. One evidence, that in religious affairs, the Republic of Indonesia provides guidance and assistance towards the development of the religious life of the people, which is the realization of the foundation of the State based on the Belief in the God Almighty.”<sup>58</sup>

In his remarks on the publication of *Al-Qur’an dan Terjemahannya* 2002 edition, the Minister of Religious Affairs at that time, Prof. Dr.

H. Said Agil Husin Al Munawar, MA, stated that the publication of the translation was based on the fact that the Quran in Arabic-language was not easily understood by all Indonesian Muslims. Therefore, a translation in Indonesian is needed, so that the meaning and its content can be understood by Indonesian Muslims and then it is lived and practiced in their everyday life<sup>59</sup> The above objectives are also the objectives of the publication of *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (2019 Refinement Edition)*, which is to realize one of the missions of the MRA in 2015-2019, to increase the understanding and practice of religious teachings. For Muslims, this mission can be realized through the provision of the Holy Quran and its translations.<sup>60</sup>

Sociologically, state accommodation in the form of the Quran translation reflects what Richard L. Wood called as structural symbiotic relations where the interests of the state and society are both accommodated; it is different from structural parasitism which only accommodates the interests of the state, while for the people it seems only symbolic.<sup>61</sup> The state and Muslims seem to have fulfilled their interests. The state has an interest in maintaining stability through good relations with Muslims. While the community has fulfilled their needs through the state by publishing the translation of the Quran which can help people to understand their holy book.

In the publication of *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya*, the MRA, which has undergone several improvements and refinements since the Old Order to the Reform Order, has revealed the existence of the power-knowledge of the state (the MRA) through its appointed institution, that is the Quran Translator/Interpreter Foundation (*Jajasan Penjelenggara Penterjemah/Pentafsir Al-Qur'ān*) and Quranic Mushaf Corrections Committee (*Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an/LPMQ*). Even though the MRA (government) has great authority in exercising the translation power, its power is not hegemonic and dominant. In the process of translating the Quran, the MRA collaborated and involved other parties since the beginning. The translation expert team that was formed involved scholars and experts in interpretation and Arabic from various backgrounds in social organizations (such as NU and Muhammadiyah) and institutions (universities, Islamic boarding schools, professionals, etc.). Even in the refinement edition in 2019, LPMQ officially collaborated with the Language Development and Cultivation Agency of the Ministry of Education and Culture to involve language experts. In publishing the translation of the Quran, the MRA also collaborated with other parties (the Jamunu Foundation, the Saudi Arabian government, and the Iman

Jama' Foundation). The society, especially competent academicians and scholars, were given the opportunity to provide input and criticism on the translation of the Quran of the MRA which has been circulating for continuous improvement and refinement from time to time through public consultations.

The MRA also provides space for freedom for other parties to publish different translations of the Quran, whether done individually or by an institution. Therefore, in the history of the Quran translation in Indonesia, there were a number of translations of the Quran outside the MRA, such as *Tafsir al-Bayan* by Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy (1966), *Al-Qur'an Bacaan Mulia* by H.B Jassin (1977), *Tafsir Rahmat* by Oemar Bakry (1984), *Al-Qur'an Karim dan Terjemahan* by Zaini Dahlan (2004), *Al-Qur'an & Maknanya* by M. Quraish Shihab (2010), *Al-Qur'an Tarjamah Tafsiriyah* by Muhammad Thalib (2011), *Al-Qur'an Al-Mu'asir: Terjemah Kontemporer* by Aam Amiruddin and other translations (2012).<sup>62</sup> Even though the translation of the MRA is seen as the official translation, the public does not have to follow this version, but they are free to refer to various translations in circulation.

Therefore, the power-knowledge of the state in the translation of the Quran of the MRA is not to be contested, but to be related to other power-knowledge in order to get the best results as part of productivity. It is in accordance with Foucault's opinion who does not view power negatively and repressively through oppression, but in a positive and productive way through normalization and regulation.<sup>63</sup> For Foucault, power is not property, but strategy. Power is a matter of practice that occurs in a certain scope – where within that scope there are many positions that are strategically related to one another in all social relations. Power does not only exist in the state, as Marx argued but exists everywhere. Power operates and is not owned by any person in relation to knowledge, science, and institutions. This knowledge relations become a power relation which is one part of the power strategy.<sup>64</sup>

## Conclusion

The involvement and attention of the state in educating the religious life of Muslims through the Quran translation project published by the MRA is a form of state power in strengthening the legitimacy of its power and embodying its programs. On the other hand, this project of Quran translation is also a form of accommodation (cultural) of the state for the benefit of Muslims that is the availability of the Quran translation so that they can understand their holy book. Therefore, a structural symbiotic

relation happens, rather than structural parasitism. As proposed by Foucault's theory of power relations, the translation of the Quran by the MRA is a strategy for the power-knowledge of the state in accommodating the interests of Muslims. The power-knowledge of the state is not dominant but is related to other powers, which is the translations of the Quran published by other parties.

Apart from the political aspect of translation, further research is needed to examine the ideology behind the translation of the Quran by the MRA. Through this study, the interests and ideology of the state in the translation can be revealed, for translation does not only concerned about linguistic aspects but also involves non-linguistic aspects. The development of the Quran translation by the MRA has inspired a lot of studies. However, generally, it studies more linguistic aspects related to translation method and mistranslation using a translation theory approach. There are only a few that examine the political and ideological aspects behind the translation using social theories. Finally, the attempts to study politics and ideology of translation are highly recommended.[]

## Endnotes

1. Preface by K.H.M Dachlan, the Minister of Religious Affairs, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Terjemahannya (Djuz 21 - Djuz 30)* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan dan Offset Jamunu, 1969).
2. Ismail Lubis, *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Departemen Agama Edisi 1990*, ed. Imron Rosyidi, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana, 2001), 142–143.
3. Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (Juz 1—Juz 30)* (Jombang: Lintas Media, 2006), iv–vi; "Interview with Junanda P. Syarfuan, Head of the Iman Jama' Foundation and Translation Team for the 2002 and 2019 Editions," Zoom, October 12, 2020.
4. Preface by Dr. H. Muchlis Muhammad Hanafi, MA, Head of Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in Kementerian Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (Edisi Penyempurnaan 2019)* (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, 2019), iii.
5. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); Barry Hindess, *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).
6. R. Michael Feener, "Notes Towards the History of Qur'anic Exegesis in Southeast Asia," *Studia Islamika* 5, no. 3 (1998): 47–76; Anthony H. Johns, "Qur'anic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile," in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an*, ed. Andrew Rippin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 279.
7. Jonni Syatri et al., "Sikap dan Pandangan Masyarakat terhadap Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Kementerian Agama," *Subuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya* 10, no. 2 (2017): 227–262.
8. J. C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), 20.
9. Douglas Robinson, *Becoming a Translator: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Translation*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 3.



10. Gillian Lane-Mercier, "Translating the Untranslatable: The Translator's Aesthetic, Ideological and Political Responsibility," *Target International Journal of Translation Studies* 9, no. 1 (January 1997): 43–68.
11. Ziad Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an: The Politics of Translation and the Construction of Islam* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2009).
12. Teun A. Van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 1998), 5–6.
13. Abdul Muta'ali, *Kritik Linguistik terhadap Terjemah Al-Qur'an Berbahasa Indonesia*, 1st ed. (Depok: Rajawali Pers, 2018); Ismail Lubis, *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Departemen Agama Edisi 1990*, ed. Imron Rosyidi, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana, 2001); Moh. Mansyur, "Studi Kritis terhadap Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia" (Disertasi, Fakultas Pasca Sarjana IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1998); Syihabuddin, "Prosedur Penerjemahan Nas Keagamaan dan Keterpahaman: Telaah Ihwal Teknik, Kualitas Terjemahan, Hukum, dan Pengajaran" (Disertasi, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2000); Mochamad Zaka Al Farisi, "Analisis Terjemahan Ayat-Ayat Imperatif Alquran (Telaah Komparatif Terjemah Depag & Terjemah UMT)" (Disertasi, Program Studi Linguistik Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2016); Mochamad Zaka Al Farisi, "Keterjemahan Ungkapan Kinayah dalam Bahasa Arab ke Bahasa Indonesia: Telaah Ihwal Keterjemahan Ungkapan-Ungkapan Kinayah dalam Al-Quran dan Terjemahnya" (Tesis, Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2010); Muhammad Thalib, *Koreksi Tarjamah Harfiyah Al-Qur'an Kemenag RI: Tinjauan Aqidah, Syari'ah, Mu'amalah, Iqtishadiyah*, ed. Irfan Suryahardi 'Awwas, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Ma'had An-Nabawy, 2011).
14. Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur'an di Indonesia," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan Di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG-EFEO-Pusat Bahasa Unpad, 2009), 417–433.
15. Preface by Prof. R.H.A. Soenarjo S.H., Head of Lembaga Penjelenggara Penterjemah Kitab Suci Al-Qur'aan, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'aan Dan Terjemahnja (Djuz 1 - Djuz 10)* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan dan Offset Jamunu, 1965).
16. The committee of *Lembaga Penjelenggara Kitab Suci Al-Qur'aan* are Prof. R.H.A. Soenarjo S.H. (Chairman), Prof. T.M. Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy (Vice Chairman), Drs. Kamal Muchtar (Secretary), Busjairi Madjidi (Vice Secretary), and Sarjono Siswopranoto (Treasurer). The members are Prof. H. Muchtar Jahja, K.H. Anwar Musaddad, K.H. Ali Maksom, Dr. H.A. Mukti Ali, Prof. H. Bustami A. Gani, Prof. H. M. Toha Jahya Omar, Mas'uddin Noor, H. Gazali Thaib, dan Drs. Asrul Sani.
17. Preface by Prof. R.H.A. Soenarjo S.H., Head of *Lembaga Penjelenggara Penterjemah Kitab Suci Al-Qur'aan*, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'aan dan Terjemahnja (Djuz 1 - Djuz 10)* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan dan Offset Jamunu, 1965).
18. Preface by K.H.M. Dachlan, the Minister of Religious Affairs, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'aan dan Terjemahnja (Djuz 21 - Djuz 30)* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan dan Offset Jamunu, 1969).
19. Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur'an di Indonesia," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG-EFEO-Pusat Bahasa Unpad, 2009), 421, 432.
20. Preface by Prof. Dr. H. Said Agil Husin Al Munawar, MA., the Minister of Religious Affairs, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (Juz 1—Juz 30)* (Jombang: Lintas Media, 2006), 3.
21. Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 1 of 1982 states that the duties of LMPQ are (1) examining and maintaining the purity of Quran manuscripts, recordings, readings, translations, and interpretations of Quran in a preventive and repressive manner; (2) studying and researching the truth of the Quran manuscripts for common people (normal) and for the blind (Quran Braille), recordings the recitation of the Quran on cassettes,

- vinyl records, and other electronic inventions in Indonesia; and (3) stop the circulation of the Mushaf that have not yet been validated (*tashih*) by LPMQ.
22. Lubis, *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Departemen Agama Edisi 1990*, 141–144.
  23. Lubis, *Falsifikasi*, 142–146.
  24. Therefore, this edition is also called as “Saudi Edition”, since it is published based on the collaboration of the Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and the Center for Research, Fatwa, Da’wa and Islamic Guidance in Riyadh, through the Religious Affairs Division of the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Jakarta and published in Medina by the official Printing Office of the Saudi Arabian Government (*Mujamma’ Khādim al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn al-Malik Fahd li-al-Tibā’ah al-Mashaf al-Sharif*) Medina in 1990.
  25. Moch. Nur Ichwan, “Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur’an di Indonesia,” in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG-EFEO-Pusat Bahasa Unpad, 2009), 421.
  26. Moch. Nur Ichwan, “Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur’an di Indonesia,” in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG-EFEO-Pusat Bahasa Unpad, 2009), 427–428.
  27. Ismail Lubis, for example in his dissertation found inaccuracies in translating the many verses and various errors seen from the point of view of Indonesian grammar in the form of ineffective arrangement of sentences in the target language. See Lubis, *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Departemen Agama Edisi 1990*.
  28. Some of the suggestion by the Iman Jama’ Foundation included: adjusting the language style according to the current condition and in understandable language; reducing the use of Arabic terms; avoiding the use of footnotes; omitting history, *muqadimah*, closing of each chapter, and the subtitles in each chapter. See Junanda P. Syarfuan, “Surat Yayasan Iman Jama kepada Puslitbang Lektur Agama Departemen Agama RI tentang Perbaikan Terjemahan Al-Qur’an,” October 9, 1998.
  29. Preface by Drs. H. Fadhal AR Bafadal, M.Sc, Head of Lajnah Pentashih Mushaf Al-Qur’an, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur’an dan Terjemahannya (Juz 1—Juz 30)* (Jombang: Lintas Media, 2006), v; “Interview with Junanda P. Syarfuan, Head of the Iman Jama’ Foundation and Translation Team for the 2002 and 2019 Editions,” Zoom, October 12, 2020.
  30. Preface by Drs. H. Fadhal AR Bafadal, M.Sc, Head of Lajnah Pentashih Mushaf Al-Qur’an, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur’an dan Terjemahannya (Juz 1—Juz 30)* (Jombang: Lintas Media, 2006), v.
  31. Preface by Drs. H. Fadhal AR Bafadal, M.Sc, Head of Lajnah Pentashih Mushaf Al-Qur’an, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur’an dan Terjemahannya (Juz 1—Juz 30)* (Jombang: Lintas Media, 2006), vi.
  32. Preface by Drs. H. Fadhal AR Bafadal, M.Sc, Head of Lajnah Pentashih Mushaf Al-Qur’an, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur’an dan Terjemahannya (Juz 1—Juz 30)* (Jombang: Lintas Media, 2006), vi.
  33. The sharp criticism on the translation of 2002 edition of the Ministry of Religious Affairs were expressed by Muhammad Thalib in 2011. The head of the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI) considers the translation of the Ministry of Religious Affairs tends to be literal, so it can create confusion for the reader. Talib found 3,229 errors in the translation of the Quran and the number increased in the revised edition due to the choice of translation method, so that it increased to 3,400 errors. In fact, he stated that these mistakes had triggered and encouraged the growth of heretical ideology, liberalism, radicalism, terrorism and hostility, and immoral behavior. Thalib sharply criticized the translation in his work entitled *Koreksi Tarjamah Harfiah Al-Qur'an Kemenag RI: Tinjauan Aqidah, Syari'ah, Mu'amalah, Iqtishadiyah*. Moreover, he also wrote a translation of the Quran entitled *Al-Qur'an Tarjamah Tafsiriyah: Memahami Makna Al-Qur'an Lebih Mudah, Tepat dan Mencer-*

ahkan.

34. Preface by Dr. H. Muchlis Muhammad Hanafi, MA, Head of Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in Kementerian Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (Edisi Penyempurnaan 2019)* (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, 2019), iii.
35. Preface by Dr. H. Muchlis Muhammad Hanafi, MA, Head of Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in Kementerian Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (Edisi Penyempurnaan 2019)* (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, 2019), iv.
36. Dora Amalia, "Peran Badan Bahasa dalam Penyempurnaan Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Kementerian Agama" Presented at the Webinar "Bedah Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Edisi Penyempurnaan 2019", collaboration between LPMQ the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Al-Anwar Sarang Rembang, Jakarta, July 29, 2020).
37. The meaning of social identity here refers to self-definition in relation to other people in society. Self-definition arises due to the social agreement based on the social bases attached to and possessed by a person related to the role in society, both in the academic, socio-cultural, and political aspects. (Islah Gusmian, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an dan Kekuasaan di Indonesia: Peneguhan, Kontestasi, dan Pertarungan Wacana*, ed. Ummi Sava, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Salwa, 2019), 111–112.
38. "Interview with Reflita, Head of Quran Development and Study Section, LPMQ, the Ministry of Religious Affairs," Zoom, October 10, 2020.
39. Preface by Dr. H. Muchlis Muhammad Hanafi, MA, Head of Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in Kementerian Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (Edisi Penyempurnaan 2019)* (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, 2019), iii.
40. Bagus Purnomo, "Ijtimak Ulama Al-Qur'an, Forum Uji Sahih Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Kemenag," last modified July 8, 2019, accessed May 5, 2020, <https://lajnah.kemenag.go.id/berita/452-ijtimak-ulama-al-qur-an-forum-uji-sahih-terjemahan-al-qur-an-kemenag>.
41. Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur'an di Indonesia," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG-EFEO-Pusat Bahasa Unpad, 2009), 422; Johanna Pink, "Tradition, Authority and Innovation in Contemporary Sunni Tafsir: Towards a Typology of Qur'an Commentaries from the Arab World, Indonesia and Turkey," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 12, no. 1–2 (October 1, 2010): 59.
42. Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur'an di Indonesia," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG-EFEO-Pusat Bahasa Unpad, 2009), 422–423.
43. Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur'an di Indonesia," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG-EFEO-Pusat Bahasa Unpad, 2009), 423.
44. Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Official Reform of Islam: State Islam and the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Contemporary Indonesia, 1966-2004" (Dissertation, Tilburg University, 2006), 2–3.
45. Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur'an di Indonesia," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG-EFEO-Pusat Bahasa Unpad, 2009), 131.
46. Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton studies in Muslim politics (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 19.
47. Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Terjemahnja (Djuz 11 - Djuz 20)* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan dan Offset Jamunu, 1967).
48. Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Terjemahnja (Djuz 11 - Djuz 20)* (Djakarta: Pertje-

- takan dan Offset Jamunu, 1967). According to Federspiel, the general objectives of publishing the translation (and interpretation) by the Ministry of Religious Affairs through the Al-Qur'ān Translator/Interpreter Committee in 1967 include: (1) part of government development plan considered by Muslims as an evidence of involvement in the dissemination of Islamic values ; (2) the involvement of Muslim scholars from IAIN (now UIN) shows their maturity and abilities as interpreters; (3) the government creates a standard in publishing the translation and interpretation; (4) the Nationalist Muslim groups outside the government expected that their ideology to be used in these publications (Howard M. Federspiel, *Kajian Al-Quran di Indonesia: Dari Mahmud Yunus Hingga Quraish Shihab*, ed. Rachmat Taufik Hidayat, trans. Tajul Arifin, Cetakan II. (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1996), 143–144.
49. Departemen Agama, *Al-Qurān dan Terdjemahnja (Djuz 21 - Djuz 30)* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan dan Offset Jamunu, 1969).
  50. Masykur Hakim, "The New Order and Indonesian Islam Politics," *Ilmu Ushuluddin* 3, no. 1 (January 10, 2016): 25.
  51. Greg Fealy and Sally White, eds., *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008), 3.
  52. Hakim, "The New Order and Indonesian Islam Politics," 29.
  53. Dadang S. Anshori, *Bahasa Rezim: Cermin Bahasa dalam Kekuasaan*, Cetakan Pertama. (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2020), 5.
  54. Suharnadji, "Arkeologi Pengetahuan Michel Foucault," in *Anatomi dan Perkembangan Teori-Teori Sosial*, ed. Bagong Suyanto and M. Khusna Amal, Cetakan Pertama. (Malang: Aditya Media Publishing, 2010), 376.
  55. Bahtiar Effendy mentions four forms of state accommodation towards the interests of Muslims, especially during the New Order era, which are structural, legislative, infrastructure and cultural accommodation. The structural accommodation, for example, is the recruitment of a number of Muslim intellectuals into strategic positions in the executive, legislative and political institutions. The legislative accommodation is the validation of various laws and regulations related to Islam. The infrastructure accommodation is the provision of various facilities and infrastructure that support Muslims in carrying out their religious teachings. Meanwhile, the cultural accommodation is the accommodation of various religious activities which are cultural expressions of Muslims and religious festivals (Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Gagasan dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*, trans. Ihsan Ali-Fauzi and Rudy Harisyah Alam, Edisi Digital. (Jakarta: Democracy Project Yayasan Abad Demokrasi, 2011), 316–364.
  56. Departemen Agama, *Al-Qurān dan Terdjemahnja (Djuz 1 - Djuz 10)* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan dan Offset Jamunu, 1965).
  57. Preface by K.H.M. Dachlan, the Minister of Religious Affairs, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qurān dan Terdjemahnja (Djuz 11 - Djuz 20)* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan dan Offset Jamunu, 1967)..
  58. Preface by Saifuddin Zuhri, the former Minister of Religious Affairs, in Departemen Agama, *Al-Qurān dan Terdjemahnja (Djuz 11 - Djuz 20)* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan dan Offset Jamunu, 1967).
  59. Departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (Juz 1—Juz 30)* (Jombang: Lintas Media, 2006), iii.
  60. Menteri Agama Republik Indonesia, *Lampiran 1 Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 39 Tahun 2015 Tentang Rencana Strategis Kementerian Agama Tahun 2015-2019*, 2015, 60–61; Preface by Dr. H. Muchlis Muhammad Hanafi, MA, Head of Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in Kementerian Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (Edisi Penyempurnaan 2019)* (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, 2019), iii.

61. Syahrullah Iskandar, "MTQ dan Negara: Sebuah Tinjauan Hegemonik," in *Dialektika Teks Suci Agama: Strukturasi Makna Agama dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat*, ed. Irwan Abdullah, Ferry M. Siregar, and Muhammad Zain (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar & Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM, 2008), 257.
62. In the development of the publication of the Mushaf and translation of Quran in Indonesia, since the 2000s until now, there has been a tendency for word-by-word translations by many publishers. This tendency is due to the high demand from the readers (market) who want to understand the meaning of the words from the Quran text (Eva Nugraha, "Tren Penerbitan Mushaf dalam Komodifikasi Al-Qur'an di Indonesia," *Ilmu Ushuluddin* 2, no. 3 (2015): 312–313.
63. Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, ed. Nurul Huda S.A. (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2015), 67.
64. Alexander Aur, "Pascastrukturalisme Michel Foucault dan Gerbang Menuju Dialog Antarperadaban," in *Teori-Teori Kebudayaan*, ed. Mudji Sutrisno and Hendar Putranto (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005), 150–154.

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