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The Religious Identity of Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia

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RISĀLAT AL-SHEIKH ASNAWĪ AL-QUDS AL-JĀWĪ:

REBUTTAL OF JAWI ULAMA

AGAINST FATWA OF THE MECCAN ULAMA

Jajang A. Rohmana

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Disability and Islamic Law in Indonesia: Beyond the *Rukhsah*

Abstract: In the past decade, Indonesia has witnessed a surge in interest in exploring the intersection of Islam and disabilities. This trend began with a seminar at UIN Sunan Kalijaga in 2011, leading to numerous research initiatives and publications, culminating in the publication of separate Fikih Difabel by three prominent Islamic institutions. However, these works often treat disabilities as exceptions, relying heavily on exceptions (rukhṣah) rather than developing comprehensive solutions that integrate people with disabilities as full and equal members of the community. This article examines the approaches and limitations of those three Fikih Difabel and proposes a more inclusive Fikih Difabel. It advocates adoption a holistic paradigm encompassing approach, definitions, methods, and accessibility, emphasizing the need to move beyond the rukhṣah. Employing a contextual discussion on ṭahārah to illustrate my proposed approach, this article aims to encourage a more practical and comprehensive framework for addressing disabilities within figh in Indonesia.

Keywords: Disabilities in Islamic Law, *Fikih Difabel, Rukhṣah, Ṭahārah* for the People with Disabilities, Indonesia.

Abstrak: Selama satu dekade terakhir, studi Islam di Indonesia diwarnai dengan lonjakan eksplorasi persinggungan antara Islam dan disabilitas. Tren ini dimulai dengan sebuah seminar di UIN Sunan Kalijaga pada 2011, yang kemudian melahirkan berbagai inisiatif penelitian dan publikasi, dan lahirnya tiga Fikih Difabel dari tiga institusi yang berbeda. Namun, buku-buku Fikih Difabel ini sering memperlakukan disabilitas sebagai "pengecualian" dan bergantung pada pendekatan rukhṣah sebagai solusi. Artikel ini akan membahas pendekatan dan keterbatasan-keterbatasan Fikih Difabel yang ada untuk mengusulkan Fikih Difabel yang lebih inklusif. Artikel ini mengusulkan paradigma holistik yang mencakup uṣūl al-ḥukm (pendekatan hukum), ta'ārīf (definisi), kayfiyāt (cara), dan aksesibilitas. Sebagai contoh, artikel akan membahas secara detil masalah ṭahārah. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mendorong paradigma yang lebih praktis dan komprehensif dalam membahas isu disabilitas dalam fiqh di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Disabilitas dalam Hukum Islam, Fikih Difabel, *Rukhṣah*, *Tahārah* untuk Penyandang Disabilitas, Indonesia.

ملخص: على مدى العقد الماضي، تميزت الدراسات الإسلامية في إندونيسيا بطفرة في استكشاف نقطة الالتقاء بين الإسلام والإعاقة. بدأ هذا الاتجاه بندوة في جامعة سونان كاليجاجا الإسلامية الحكومية – UIN Sunan Kalijaga – في عام ٢٠١١، ثما أدت إلى العديد من المبادرات البحثية والمنشورات، وبلغت ذروتما في نشر ثلاثة كتب الفقه للأشخاص ذوي الإعاقة من قبل ثلاث مؤسسات مختلفة. ومع ذلك، غالبًا ما تتعامل كتب فقه المعوقين مع الإعاقة على أنما «استثناء»، وتعتمد على منهج الرخصة كحل. ستناقش هذه المقالة التقارب والمحدودية الحالية في فقه المعوقين لاقتراح فقه أكثر شمولاً. تقترح هذه المقالة نموذجًا شموليًا يشمل أصول الحكم، والتعريف، والأساليب، وإمكانية الوصول مع التركيز على الحاجة إلى تجاوز الرخصة. من خلال استخدام مناقشة سياقية حول الطهارة لتوضيح نهجي المقترح، تحدف المقالة إلى تشجيع إطار أكثر عملية وشمولية لمعالجة قضايا الإعاقة في الفقه في إندونيسيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإعاقة في الشريعة الإسلامية، فقه المعوقين، الرخصة، الطهارة للأشخاص ذوى الإعاقة، إندونيسيا.

ttention to the intersection of Islam and disability in Indonesia has experienced significant growth in the past decade, both in Apractical and academic aspects. On a practical level, disability advocacy groups within Muslim communities have gained prominence and become instrumental in raising awareness about the rights and needs of individuals with disabilities (Madani 2019). Muslim organizations, like Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, now work to promote inclusivity, accessibility, and acceptance within Muslim communities (Ardianto 2021). On the academic level, there has been a notable increase in academic research and scholarship on Islam and disability (Maftuhin and Aisyah 2020). Researchers and scholars from various disciplines, including Islamic studies (Bazna and Hatab 2005; Ghaly 2009, 2016; Rispler-Chaim 2007), disability studies, and social sciences, have actively explored the nuanced aspects of disability within Islamic contexts (Abu-Habib 1997; Al-Aoufi, Al-Zyoud, and Shahminan 2012; Ghaly 2019).

Previous scholarly investigations into Islam and disability within the Indonesian context have been systematically grouped into two distinct categories. The first category examines literature across a broad spectrum of academic disciplines that perpetuates the classical Islamic tradition regarding disability. This includes a comprehensive exploration of key Islamic sources such as the Quran, Hadith (sayings and actions of Prophet Muhammad), and Figh (Islamic jurisprudence). For instance, scholars have undertaken rigorous inquiries aimed at unraveling the semantic connotations of disability in the context of Islam, as demonstrated by Muttaqin's seminal work in 2019 (Muttaqin 2019). Similarly, researchers like (Handayana 2016) and (Mukaromah 2012) have made substantial contributions by delving into the Quranic perspective on disability, shedding light on how these religious texts perceive and address this important aspect of human diversity. Furthermore, these scholarly endeavors have sought to amplify the discourse by examining the interpretations of prominent Indonesian scholars (ulama Nusantara) concerning Quranic verses related to disability, as demonstrated in the work of Anwari Nuril Huda (Anwari Nuril Huda 2020). In sum, these multifaceted inquiries have significantly enriched our understanding of the intersection between Islam and disability within the Indonesian context, making substantial strides toward fostering greater inclusivity and awareness within both religious and academic circles.

The second category of research explores the practical realization of the intersection between Islam and disability within the Indonesian Muslim community. This research comprehensively examines how issues related to religious practice and disability intersect and are manifest in tangible, real-world scenarios. For example, researchers have undertaken studies focused on the crucial matter of mosque accessibility to understand how mosques in Indonesia accommodate individuals with disabilities in terms of physical accessibility and the broader inclusivity of these sacred spaces (Maftuhin 2014a). Another scholar probed the implications of universal mosque design to examine how mosques' architectural and structural features can either facilitate or hinder the autonomy and full participation of individuals with disabilities in religious and communal activities (Keumala 2016). By scrutinizing these issues, these studies aim to shed light on the challenges and opportunities within the Indonesian Muslim community to enhance the integration and engagement of individuals with disabilities, ensuring their meaningful participation in religious and communal life.

My personal engagement with these issues has been shaped by my dual roles as an advocate for the rights of individuals with disabilities and a scholar specializing in Islamic jurisprudence. Approaching the subject from the perspective of a scholar-activist, I have contributed a series of studies focused on the nexus between Islamic law and disability. These studies reflect my growing appreciation for the multifaceted character of disability activism and a profound conviction that the subject of the intersection of Islam and disability is one of immense scholarly significance. These academic pursuits span a broad spectrum, encompassing activities such as crafting op-ed pieces for prominent newspapers and journals, authoring books and book chapters, and publishing articles in reputable academic journals. My latest scholarly pursuits encompass a comprehensive examination of Figih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas of Nahdlatul Ulama (Maftuhin 2021), Fikih Difabel of Muhammadiyah (Maftuhin and Muflihati 2022) and an examination of the intricate interplay between disability issues, gender considerations, and Figh within the Indonesian context (Maftuhin 2024).

This article adds a new dimension to research on Islam and disability by offering a critical examination of the literature on Fikih

Difabel published in Indonesia as reflected in three important texts. In my prior publications I have discussed two of these texts focusing on their historical, sociological, and content contexts. This article, in which I focus on the technical intricacies of Disability Jurisprudence and its approach to disability, represents a continuation of those efforts. I will also follow up on my critical findings with proposals for the development of a more satisfactory Fikih Difabel in Indonesia.

The article is organized into three parts. The first part will present a thorough summary of the ongoing scholarly conversations surrounding the convergence of Islam and disability in Indonesia. This section will provide readers who may not be familiar with the issues surrounding Islam and disability with a general understanding of the developments that form this article's context. The second part will recount the circumstances leading to the emergence of publications of Fikih Difabel. Here, the primary objective is to gain a comprehensive understanding of the approach these publications take toward disability and to pinpoint their inherent limitations. The third part will build upon the limitations identified in the Fikih Difabel approach discussed in the second section. In this part, the article will proffer recommendations for shaping future iterations of Fikih Difabel. These recommendations will emphasize the consideration of at least four critical factors: *Usūl al-hukm* (approach), ta 'ārīf (definitions), kayfiyāt (manner), and accessibility.

In Indonesia, Fikih Difabel is a term used to describe a body of work that addresses issues related to Islamic law and disabilities. Three prominent Islamic institutions in Indonesia have published three similar books on Islamic law and disabilities: Fikih (Ramah) Difabel by UIN Sunan Kalijaga (Ro'fah et al. 2015), Fiqih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas by Nahdlatul Ulama (LBM PBNU 2018), and Fikih Difabel by Muhammadiyah (Tim Penyusun Materi Munas Tarjih Muhammadiyah XXXI 2020). The latter two organizations— Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah--are frequently regarded as Indonesia's most prominent Islamic organizations, with millions of members nationwide. This article argues that what has hitherto been referred to as Fikih Difabel might more accurately be characterized as an ad hoc collection of religious rulings (al-masā'il al-dīniyyah) on disability-related matters, which has not yet attained the stature of a comprehensive, fully-fledged, Figh in its traditional meaning.1 The final section of this article demonstrate the importance of developing a

distinct *Fikih Difabel* framework tailored to the needs and concerns of disabled individuals.

Islam, Disability, and Disability Studies in Indonesia

I distinctly remember the moment during my initial exploration of disability-related subjects when I encountered a Quranic chapter that assumed significant prominence and ultimately evolved into a guiding tenet for proponents of disability rights: 'Abasa ('Abasa: 1-2) It is noteworthy that while this chapter centers around the narrative of Ibn Ummi Maktum, an individual with visual impairment, the revelation contained in the chapter has a significance that extends beyond the realm of disability per se. Rather, it serves as a prescriptive warning to the Prophet, urging him to refrain from exclusivity in his outreach to the diverse populace to whom he preached (al-Tabarī 1994, 460-61). In essence, the case is unique, but its message is universal. In the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (al-qawā'id al-fiqhiyya), this device is referred to as "al-'ibrah bi 'umum al-lafz la bi khusūs al-sabab," (al-Rāzī n.d., 125) meaning the lesson should be drawn from the general wording rather than the specific circumstance. Nonetheless, it is entirely valid for individuals to interpret Ibn Ummi Maktum's story as a motivation to advocate for the rights of people with disabilities. After all, the incident does involve a blind person, and the underlying message of the chapter remains consistent: ensuring equal rights for all, including individuals with disabilities, to uphold justice for humanity at large.

Previous studies have concluded that the Quran does not explicitly address individuals with disabilities as a distinct category, as the term "people with disabilities" or *al-mu 'awwaqūn* (in Arabic) or *dhawū al-iḥtiyājāt al-khāṣṣa* (people with special needs) (Ghaly 2016) did not exist in the historical context. The Quran's discussions regarding individuals with disabilities, exemplified in the case of Ibn Ummi Maktum, can only be identified within its discussions on various types of disabilities, such as blindness, speech impediments, mobility limitations, and frailty. Bazna and Hatab, scholars who conducted a dedicated examination of disabilities in the Quran, concluded that their findings suggest that physical conditions are not portrayed in the Quran as either a curse or a blessing; rather, they are simply recognized as integral aspects of the human condition (Bazna and Hatab 2005, 24)

How does the Figh conceptualize disability? One of the most significant and comprehensive research endeavors that can shed light on this query is the work authored by Vardit Rispler-Chaim, Disability in Islamic Law (Rispler-Chaim 2007). Rispler-Chaim, a professor at the University of Haifa in Israel, extensively examined Figh literature on issues concerning individuals with disabilities. Her findings suggest that, in general, Islam maintains a "neutral" stance towards disability. Within the Islamic perspective, disability is regarded as an integral part of God's divine plan, devoid of any connotations of curse. It is not a subject that is considered taboo for discussion. The discourse surrounding disability is approached in a manner analogous to the way Figh addresses illness-related matters.

However, notwithstanding Islam's doctrinal neutrality, in the practical application this neutrality is compromised due to what can be characterized as "normality biases." Normality bias refers to a cognitive bias wherein individuals, both within the academic realm and broader societal context, tend to perceive disability through the lens of societal norms and expectations. This bias often leads to an unconscious inclination to view disability as a deviation from the perceived norm, reinforcing prevailing societal standards regarding physical and cognitive abilities. This "overlooking" arises from a lack of awareness regarding the challenges individuals with disabilities may encounter within specific environmental contexts. These "normal" individuals, often possessing religious, political, social, or cultural authority, wield influence over various societal, political, or religious structures. For instance, a "normal" cleric may wield authority capable of shaping the religious framework. Still, because this individual does not possess a disability, their religious perspective may inadvertently overlook the unique experiences and needs of individuals with disabilities.

A tangible illustration of this phenomenon is evident in the design of ablution areas within mosques (Maftuhin 2014a). These arrangements, influenced by Figh authorities who may inadvertently overlook the needs of individuals with disabilities, involve the construction of a separating "pool" situated between the restroom facilities and the main prayer area. According to Figh, this design is considered conventional, intrinsic, and in accordance with established norms. Over time, this perspective, rooted in the Figh of tahārah (jurisprudence concerning

ritual purification), has permeated and shaped the broader architectural layout of mosque facilities.

Now, where does this conventional approach falter? The problem lies in its assumption of an inherent "normality," as it tends to disregard the presence of individuals within the congregation who may be put at risk or significantly hindered by the presence of this intervening pool. For instance, the elderly, already challenged by mobility constraints, face an increased risk of slipping while navigating this space. Visually impaired individuals will also encounter significant obstacles to their mobility, and those who rely on wheelchairs may find it impossible to traverse this pool. This example underscores the critical importance of reevaluating such "architectural norms" to ensure that the sanctity and accessibility of religious spaces are extended to all community members, regardless of their physical abilities.





Figure 1. A separating pool in a mosque's toilet in Indonesia.

Figure 2. A convenient ablution space in Masjid Nabawi, Madinah.

It is imperative to question the rationale behind the longstanding adoption of the pool structure in mosque design and its evolution into a cultural norm. This architectural convention has persisted over the years primarily because Fiqh, in its traditional interpretation, has inadvertently neglected the considerations of individuals with disabilities. This example shows how the practice of "neutral Islam" can inadvertently transform into an Islam "inhospitable" to people with disabilities. Some contend this bias is rooted in the relatively small population of individuals with disabilities. However, I argue that the numerical count does not matter. If Figh comprehensively acknowledged the needs of individuals with disabilities, then irrespective of their numbers, there would be no justification for not commencing mosque construction with wheelchair-accessible ablution facilities and amenities catering to the elderly.

Notably, many ablution areas in prominent mosques, such as the Grand Mosque of Mecca and the Nabawi Mosque of Madina, feature seating arrangements directly in front of the water tap, allowing individuals to perform ablution while seated (Maftuhin 2019). This provision of seating renders the ablution area inclusive and accommodating for all worshippers. It is evident that the comfort and practicality of such a design benefit not only people with disabilities but also the general population. Thus, the imperative for such a design transcends numerical considerations and is universally applicable for enhanced comfort during ablution.

My research has been focused on critically examining and, more importantly, seeking practical solutions to the interpretations of Islam that inadvertently overlook the needs of individuals with disabilities. One practical initiative I have been involved in since January 2014 is the introduction of sign language services during Friday sermons at the UIN Sunan Kalijaga Mosque (Mustarjudin 2017). This effort was initially prompted by the growing presence of deaf students at UIN Sunan Kalijaga (Maftuhin 2014b). One of the first Deaf students was Beni, a devout Deaf who regularly attended Friday prayers on campus, where we often prayed together. During one of these congregational prayers, when the preacher began delivering the sermon, I was suddenly struck by the realization that I had inadvertently "forgotten" that among the mosque's congregation were individuals who were deaf and unable to hear the sermon.

I decided to communicate with Beni through a text message on my cellphone screen, asking him, "You can't hear the sermon. What do you think?" Beni confirmed this and said, "It's okay, sir." Of course, his response was, "It's okay." Did he have a choice in the matter? According

to Fiqh, one of the fundamental components of Friday prayers is actively listening to the sermon. Thus, as a Muslim, Beni is technically obligated to listen to the sermon. But the question arises: how can a Deaf person effectively engage with a sermon when they cannot hear it? On that day, I attempted to assist Beni by adopting an approach akin to the services provided by the PLD volunteers during regular lecture classes at UIN Sunan Kalijaga. I took on the role of a note-taker for Beni during the Friday sermon.

I soon realized, however, that providing a note-taker is an inadequate solution because it does not provide the deaf individual with an equivalent experience to that of a person who can hear. Consequently, I began exploring the possibility of implementing sign language services. My quest for information led me to discover that such services were available at the Nabawi Mosque in Madina, although the details and legal framework surrounding these services remained elusive. It was not until a few years later, in 2018, during my field research in Saudi Arabia, that I gained a comprehensive understanding of the technicalities of sign language services. When we decided to introduce sign language services for Friday sermons at UIN Sunan Kalijaga, our sole intention was to better cater to the Deaf members of the congregation and ensure their inclusion in the religious experience.

What is the Fiqh perspective regarding the provision of sign language services? Initially, this question did not cross my mind, and our sign language interpreters (*juru bahasa isyarat* or *jubah* in Indonesian language), simply complied with requests for assistance at the mosque. It was only later in 2017 that I became aware of the legal-theological puzzle linked to this issue when Bahtsul Masā'il NU responded to an inquiry on the matter: "What is the religious ruling on individuals serving as sign language interpreters during Friday prayers? Does this practice disrupt the validity of the obligated sermon-listening?" (LBM PBNU 2018, 98). These are inquiries that we never contemplated. From our standpoint, such a practice seemed unquestionably permissible. After all, it is virtually impossible to convey the essence of a sermon without hearing the preacher's words. In fact, the sign interpreters likely had a more attentive ear to the sermon than most of the Friday congregation, many of whom could be seen dozing off during the proceedings.

While UIN Sunan Kalijaga actively engages in tangible actions through its Disability Service Center (PLD) to provide support, service,

and advocacy for the rights of individuals with disabilities within and beyond the university, PLD activists are also actively engaged in rigorous academic exploration of disability-related issues. The particular focus on the intersection of Islam and Disability led to organizing the seminar "Islam and Disability" in 2011, a milestone in the history of disability studies in Indonesia as the first seminar to delve into this subject. Beyond the perspective of Figh, as mentioned previously, the seminar also explored the historical portrayal of disabilities within Islam and the representation of individuals with disabilities in the Quran. Dr. Nurul Hak (Hak 2019) presented the first topic while Dr. Waryono addressed the second (Waryono 2012).

Since that seminal event, studies related to individuals with disabilities have continued to flourish at UIN Sunan Kalijaga, yielding numerous research contributions ranging from undergraduate theses to doctoral dissertations (Maftuhin and Aisyah 2020). Our commitment to a social inclusion approach underscores that issues concerning individuals with disabilities are not confined to specific academic programs within UIN Sunan Kalijaga. I frequently encounter inquiries such as, "Does UIN have a disability studies program?" or "Do individuals with disabilities have specialized academic programs similar to those in some universities?" The unequivocal response to such queries is in the negative. This stance is grounded in our perspective that disability is a product of societal, cultural, and religious constructs that transcend specialized academic domains. Any discipline that neglects the needs and experiences of individuals with disabilities can inadvertently perpetuate biased knowledge that discriminates against them. Therefore, all fields of study must engage in self-reflection to assess their inclusivity and accommodation of individuals with disabilities.

Fikih Difabel: The Development and Approach

Scholarly publications on Islam and disabilities quickly proliferated at UIN Sunan Kalijaga. The outcomes of the 2011 seminar and several other pertinent works have been compiled and published in the comprehensive volume titled Islam dan Disabilitas: Dari Teks ke Konteks (Maftuhin et al. 2020). As the book's title implies, exploring disability-related matters surpasses the boundaries of Quranic, Hadith, or Figh investigations and extends into practical realms. For my part, I undertook a diverse range of field inquiries, including evaluating mosques in Yogyakarta, conducting cross-national comparative examinations involving the United States, and engaging in research activities in Saudi Arabia. The culmination of these extensive endeavors is encapsulated in my publication titled *Masjid Ramah Difabel* (Friendly Mosque for the Persons with disabilities) (Maftuhin 2019).

UIN Sunan Kalijaga consistently provides a fertile ground for exploring and disseminating progressive ideas in Islamic studies. Following the 2011 seminar on Islam and Disability, faculty members in the Sharia Faculty proactively compiled a book on disability within Islamic jurisprudence in 2015. While this publication may not be the inaugural Fiqh on a global scale, it is the first Indonesian book to comprehensively address diverse facets concerning Islamic law and individuals with disabilities.

The book, titled *Fikih* (*Ramah*) *Difabel* or Fiqh (Friendly) to Persons with Disabilities, is a collaborative work authored by six accomplished lecturers. This comprehensive volume delves into the intricate intersection of Islamic law and disabilities, encompassing both foundational principles and pragmatic considerations. The first two articles undertake a critical exploration of Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) through the lens of disability studies. They meticulously dissect the existing Fiqh framework, shedding light on its strengths and shortcomings when applied to individuals with disabilities. These articles go beyond critique, however, as they also offer valuable recommendations aimed at enhancing and expanding Fiqh to be more inclusive and responsive to the unique needs of individuals with disabilities.

The remaining four in the book articles delve into the practical application of Islamic law in the context of people with disabilities. They grapple with diverse topics, including the legal status of individuals with disabilities, the intricacies of prayer recitation for individuals with disabilities, the sanctity attributed to wheelchairs in religious practice, and the use of diapers during prayers. While it is important to note that the book provides relatively limited practical solutions to the complex challenges faced by individuals with disabilities within the realm of Islamic law, *Fikih* (*Ramah*) *Difabel* stands as a pioneering effort. It serves as a catalyst for future publications of a similar nature, laying the foundation for a more comprehensive exploration of this critical intersection between Islamic law and disability. This groundbreaking

work contributes significantly to the ongoing dialogue surrounding inclusivity and accessibility within Islamic jurisprudence, marking a pivotal step forward in addressing the spiritual and legal needs of individuals with disabilities.

These discussions saw a remarkable expansion in depth and breadth with the release in 2018 of Figih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas (Figh for Strengthening People with Disabilities) of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). NU is fortunate to have dedicated activists among its ranks who promptly and effectively promoted discourse on this subject across a variety of platforms. Their efforts culminated in elevating disabilityrelated issues to the National Conference (MUNAS) of Alim Ulama 2017. The discussions held within the Bahtsul Masail forum at the National Conference as well as the more specialized dialogues within Bahtsul Masail, gave rise to a comprehensive compendium of Figh dedicated to individuals with disabilities in Figih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas. This resource adeptly addresses numerous practical problems related to individuals with disabilities within the framework of Islamic law, spanning topics from ritual purification (tahārah) to the pilgrimage (hajj) and from overarching issues related to Islamic perspectives on disabilities to nuanced deliberations concerning talfia (inter-school jurisprudential blending) aimed at facilitating matters for individuals with disabilities.

Scholarly efforts and expertise on Islam and disability within UIN Sunan Kalijaga have also been integral to the creation of Fikih Difabel promoted by Muhammadiyah. (Maftuhin and Muflihati 2022) It is noteworthy because the chairman and several team members responsible for this initiative are affiliated with UIN Sunan Kalijaga as lecturers. I was also invited to be a resource person in the workshop to prepare the draft of Fikih Difabel (Ribas 2018). Like the NU text, Muhammadiyah's Fikih Difabel offers comprehensive perspectives on Islam and disability. However, its treatment of practical guidance for individuals with disabilities may not be as exhaustive as that provided by NU. Nevertheless, Fikih Difabel significantly contributes by emphasizing the participation and attention given to women with disabilities (Maftuhin 2024). As a result, the contributions from these two influential mass organizations, in conjunction with the research endeavors conducted at Sunan Kalijaga, enrich the multifaceted advancements in Islamic and disability studies in Indonesia.

Upon closer examination of *Fikih Difabel*, it becomes evident that the viewpoints expressed there are grounded in a set of principles and theories deeply rooted in the Fiqh tradition. These principles, in essence, aim to alleviate the challenges faced by individuals with disabilities. Khudari Bik (Bik 1960) has identified three fundamental *tasyrī* 'principles within Fiqh: 'adam al-ḥaraj (the removal of hardship), *taqlīl al-takālif* (the reduction of burdens), and al-tadrīj fi al-tasyrī '(the gradual implementation of laws). *Fikih Difabel* expressly adopts these three concepts as the basis for addressing issues concerning disabilities. In practice, however, it is the first two principles—removing hardship and reducing burdens—that serve as the basis for most of the legal solutions in presented *Fikih Difabel* (Tim Penyusun Materi Munas Tarjih Muhammadiyah XXXI 2020, 161–64).

As a more practical illustration, let us consider the legal opinions provided by NU in Figih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas on matters related to methods of istinja' (cleansing after defecation), purification procedures, and the testimony for those with speech impairments. In these cases, NU's standpoint is rooted in the fundamental principle encapsulated in the statement, lā yukallif Allāh nafsan illā wus ahā (Allah does not impose burdens on individuals beyond their capacity), which, as Bik articulated, is termed taqlīl al-takālif (the reduction of burdens). Furthermore, when addressing scenarios like performing prayers while using a catheter or contemplating a change in religious schools of thought, the NU fatwa invokes the principle of "permissible in cases of necessity." Additionally, it provides the ma'fū legal framework, which is essentially based on the principle of 'adam alharaj (the absence of hardship in implementing Islamic law). These measures are implemented with the overarching goal of simplifying religious practices for individuals with disabilities (LBM PBNU 2018, 72-102).

The adoption of the principle of simplification to address issues related to disability is rooted in the perspective that the physical or cognitive challenges borne by individuals with disabilities preclude them from bearing burdens equivalent to those of "normal" individuals. As they are deemed "abnormal," there is a perceived necessity to grant them exemptions. For instance, in the scenario involving individuals with dual disabilities, specifically blindness and deafness, *Fiqih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas* asserts that they should be exempted

from obligations. Quoting Kāšifah al-Sajā fi Šarh Safīnah al-Najā of al-Nawawī al-Bantanī, NU argues:

Selain itu, terdapat perkecualian diantaranya bagi orang penyandang disabilitas netra dan rungu sekaligus. Ia tidak diwajibkan shalat karena diantara syarat wajib solat adalah mendengar dan melihat (LBM PBNU 2018, 85). [Additionally, there are exceptions, particularly for individuals who are both visually and auditorily impaired. They are not obliged to perform the prayer because one of the mandatory prerequisites for prayer is the ability to hear and see.]

Hence, the approach adopted in addressing disability issues adheres strictly to a Figh framework, following the established Figh principles and procedures. Our examination of disability jurisprudence, espoused by both NU and Muhammadiyah, fundamentally mirrors the principles of the classical Figh tradition, particularly in its rukhsah (dispensational approach). In another article, I have emphasized the potential drawbacks of this dispensational tendency, advocating for developing an "advocacy Figh" that centers on and prioritizes aspects related to upholding the rights of individuals with disabilities (Maftuhin 2020).

However, it is essential to note that what has been presented as *Fikih* Difabel thus far does not strictly conform to the traditional concept of Figh materials. What is referred to, so far, as Fikih Difabel comprises merely a compilation of religious legal verdicts related to ritual and non-ritual matters stemming from the experiences of individuals with disabilities. To gain a clearer perspective, one may peruse the content of Figih (Ramah) Difabel, Figih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas, or Fikih Difabel and subsequently compare them with standard Figh texts. Upon such a comparison, the differences between these recent works and standard Figh treatises is readily apparent.

In a conventional Figh book, readers typically encounter chapters discussing of a broad range of topics from tahārah (ritual purity) to mu 'āmalah (contracts, economics, and business) and jināyah (criminal law). However, the three Fikih Difabel texts do not encompass such breadth. In conventional Islamic legal scholarship, these three works might more aptly be classified as masa'il dīnīyyah3 texts rather than the traditional Figh treatises. While Figih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas may appear to address a wide array of topics akin to those found in conventional Figh texts, it is more narrowly focused on answering specific questions. In addition, Muhammadiyah has

introduced its own conception of Fiqh, delineating it as a "theology of the disabled" rather than adhering to the traditional Fiqh paradigm.

In addressing the multifaceted needs of individuals with disabilities, it becomes imperative to envision a more comprehensive and holistic rendition of Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) that extends far beyond the confines of purely religious issues. This evolved perspective, which I have arrived at through an extensive journey of research, immersive readings, practical field experiences, and extensive dialogue with individuals living with disabilities, underscores the necessity for reimagining the framework that guides their daily lives. Within the conventional *masā'il dīnīyyah* model, designed to address religious issues for people with disabilities, I have identified at least three significant shortcomings that warrant our attention and contemplation.

The Perception of Rukhsah as "Discounted Religiosity"

To put it differently, individuals with disabilities may feel that they are somehow practicing their faith in a lesser or compromised manner when they rely on these allowances. This perception can inadvertently lead to feelings of inadequacy or exclusion within the religious community. The "discounted religiosity" issue came to light during my interviews with individuals with disabilities regarding the published *Fikih Difabel*. One knowledgeable source expressed a sense of spiritual incompleteness in their worship, perceiving their actions as being undertaken with a sense of "spiritual" discount.

This sentiment stems from the overarching perspective within *rukhṣah*, leading to feelings of discrimination (even when positive), which can diminish satisfaction with worship. The challenge here lies not within the Fiqh but rather within the psychological realm of religiosity. The sense of discounted religiosity experienced by persons with disabilities resembles the experience of an old-style Muslim who felt that performing *istinjā* (cleaning the anus after defecating) with toilet paper while traveling was somehow "invalid" because it felt differently compared to the use of water. Legally (according to Fiqh), it is permissible to use toilet paper (Dār al-Iftā al-Miṣriyyah n.d.), but emotionally, for many old-style Muslims, it was viewed as lacking purity until water was employed.

The Passive Approach to Advocacy.

While the *masā'il dīnīyyah* approach may provide accommodations within religious contexts, it often falls short of actively championing the broader rights and needs of this community. This passive stance can hinder progress in achieving greater inclusivity and equity for people with disabilities. In some instances, the masa'il dīnīyyah model, due to its ad-hoc nature, can inadvertently neglect the promotion of the rights of persons with disabilities. This ad-hoc approach is particularly evident in resolving issues related to tahārah (ritual purity) and najas (impurity). While there exists an opportunity to redefine the concepts of tahārah and najs, the Figih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas opts to address casuistic issues concerning blind people, the sanctity of canes, the sanctity of wheelchairs, and similar matters on a case-by-case basis. By approaching these matters in an eclectic manner, often drawing from different schools of thought, and by offering a variety of legal concessions, including rukhṣah (dispensation) and ma fū (permissibility due to difficulty), it even suggests that individuals with disabilities "exercise ijtihad" (independent legal reasoning) in certain situations.

Failure to Realize an Inclusive Interpretation of Religion.

Perhaps the most critical shortcoming of the traditional model is that it falls short of realizing a truly inclusive interpretation of religion. Such an approach may accommodate individuals with disabilities to a certain extent but not fully integrate them into the spiritual and social fabric of the religious community. This limitation is particularly significant as it hinders the rich diversity of perspectives and contributions that individuals with disabilities can bring to religious discourse and practice. Due to its emphasis on an individual's disability, which often leads to categorizing them as "abnormal" or "unusual," this exclusionary approach may overlook the religious aspects as fundamental "human rights" that should be honored. Within this approach and methods, the idea that a government or a Muslim institution can provide accessibility and assistive technology is missing from these legal opinions.

Toward A Comprehensive Fikih Difabel

Considering these identified shortcomings, there is a compelling need to reevaluate and revitalize the way we approach Figh for individuals with disabilities. By recognizing the limitations of the current approaches and actively working towards a more inclusive and responsive framework, we can take significant strides towards ensuring that every individual, regardless of their physical or cognitive abilities, can fully participate and enrich their religious experiences and their broader lives. In the pursuit of a more comprehensive approach, it is imperative to address the issue in four key dimensions: uṣūl al-ḥukm (approach), taʿārīf (definitions), kayfiyāt (methods), and accessibility. In this section, I illustrate the use of my proposed approach in the context of the ṭahārah chapter, which forms the inaugural chapter within traditional Fiqh literature, hoping it may pave the way for a reexamination of the following chapters of Fiqh in the future.

Usūl al-Hukm: From Rukhsah to 'Azīmah

Maintaining the current approach of *rukhṣah* without adaptation impedes efforts to formulating *Fikih Difabel* that would fully accommodate the rights and needs of people with disabilities. As previously expounded, one of the psychological barriers that people with disabilities encounter when engaging with *Fikih Difabel* is a sense of discontentment resulting from being granted an exemption from "normal" rulings. This exemption (*rukhṣah*) approach often leads to a feeling of exclusion.

One viable alternative to the current reliance on *rukhṣah* is an approach that treats the "original rulings" ('azīmah) as presenting an array of legal alternatives. This concept is not entirely novel, as Fiqh doctrines acknowledge that *al-ḥukm yadūr ma;a al-ʾillah wujūdan wa ʿadaman* (legal ruling is contingent upon the presence or absence of *a* legal cause). For instance, the legal cause behind action A being penalized with outcome A may shift to outcome B if the underlying legal cause ceases to exist. A person characterized by *nifaq* (hypocrisy) cannot act as a witness due to his inherent nature. However, this disqualification is rescinded when the said characteristic no longer applies.

Similarly, the original ruling that pertains to a given action varies depending on the circumstances. Marriage, for instance, is obligatory (wajib) for individuals who possess the physical and mental capacity and harbor concerns about falling into adultery if they remain unmarried. However, this obligation may shift to a mere recommendation (sunnah) for those who are physically and mentally capable but do not share

the same concerns. Consequently, the legal judgment attaching to the action of marrying may fluctuate between mubāh (permissible), makrūh (disliked), and harām (forbidden) contingent on the conditions of the mukallaf (person subject to Islamic legal capacity).

The context-dependent character of those rulings regarding marriage offers an example of a different approach to the development of a comprehensive Fikih Difabel. Alterations in legal rulings for individuals with disabilities should not be attributed to rukhṣah (dispensation) but rather to changing conditions of the *mukallaf*. Similarly, this adaptability can be extrapolated from within the *khitāb* of *shari'a* (Islamic discourse) by interpreting the legal text as a "range of alternative possibilities" rather than an unalterable point applicable universally and unconditionally. By adopting the notion of an "upper limit" (al-had al-a 'la) and a "lower limit" (al-had al-adnā), as advanced by the late Muhammad Syahrur, for example, the prospect of a flexible approach to Islamic law becomes more discernible (Muḥammad Syahrūr 1992, 453-67).

According to Syahrur's perspective, each Figh provision should not be universally applied or regarded as the exclusive Shariah-desired regulation. A case in point is the performance of the ritual of wudu. Scholars, drawing from Al-Maidah verse 6, derived two primary conclusions: firstly, that wudu mandates - as the primary rule or 'azīmah - the use of water and involves six essential components or arkān—intent (niyyah), washing of the face and hands to the elbows, wiping the head, washing of the feet, and observance of sequence (tartīb). Secondly, owing to this verse, scholars inferred the allowance of tayammum (dry ablution) as an alternative ritual (rukhṣah) in the absence of water. Notably, the Qur'an does not explicitly demarcate these azīmah and rukhṣah categories.

By adopting the alternative approach advocated by Syahrur, a different interpretation of this verse emerges. Rather than framing it in terms of 'azīmah and rukhsah, it can be construed as establishing two thresholds: the upper limit (al-had al-a'lā) applies in the presence of water and the lower limit (al-had al-adnā) in its absence. These Quranic delineations correspond to distinct conditions, transcending the mere notions of 'azīmah and rukhṣah. Consequently, individuals with access to water would adhere to the higher requirement (al-had al-alā), while those without would comply with the lower (al-had al-adnā). This rationale extends to the previously mentioned ritual components —individuals

with the ability to perform the prescribed actions will do so, while those with limitations (such as the disabled) are exempted from certain actions. Thus, a shift in this approach yields a more inclusive Figh that avoids specific discrimination against the people with disability.

Ta 'rīf: Redefinition of Tahārah

Ritual purity, known as *ṭahārah* in Islam, holds immense significance as it is a prerequisite for performing prayers. Since Muslims engage in five daily prayers, the concept of *ṭahārah* becomes a constant requirement transcending time and place. For instance, practicing Muslims cannot carelessly urinate because, when prayer time arrives, they must ensure they possess clean attire and an appropriate location for performing their prayers. Even activities like urination must be conducted in a manner that does not result in impurity affecting oneself or one's garments.

However, the true essence of *ṭahārah* may warrant further exploration. Examining the existing discourse on Ṭahārah, one could gather the impression that Ṭahārah signifies "a state achieved through purification activities." This impression can be gleaned from Fiqh chapters that initiate their discussions by categorizing different types of water for purification, as exemplified by the phrase *al-miyāh al-latī yajūzu al-taṭhīr bihā* (the water permissible for purification)('Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh Bajummah al-'Amūdī 2005, 25; Syams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī 2005, 24). The implication from this is that the initial or default condition of humans is one of impurity that necessitates action to achieve purification. This is not correct. The innate state is one of purity. Humans are inherently pure from major *ḥadats* (ritual impurities) until they experience occurrences such as wet dreams, menstruation, or apostasy (*kufī*) after reaching the age of maturity (*balīgh*).

Is it crucial to alter our perspectives in this manner? Such a shift in perspective can significantly influence our approach to purification practices. When we regard purity as the inherent state, we are open to interpretations on what conditions capable of nullifying it, not the more technical way of purification. It underscores that *ṭahārah* serves as a "tool" to revert to the original state rather than being the primary objective.

Much like how traditional Fiqh texts commence with the chapter on purifying waters, NU's Fiqih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas

initiates its discussion on tahārah by addressing issues related to istinjā' (ritual cleansing) for individuals with disabilities (LBM PBNU 2018, 72). Similar to my analysis of classical Figh literature, Figih Penguatan Penyandang Disabilitas also appears to accept the notion of "impurity" as the starting point, subsequently exploring methods of purification (through istinja'). However, the perspective can shift when we consider that humans are inherently pure unless specific circumstances arise to invalidate this purity.

For instance, an individual with paraplegia is initially regarded as ritually pure unless there is evidence to challenge this status. Therefore, instead of delving into discussions concerning rituals necessary for the individual's purification, the initial query would be whether the involuntary release of urine and feces is sufficient to nullify their ritual purity. Should their incapacity to manage these bodily functions be accepted as a rationale for not abrogating their purity, the obligation to perform wudu (ritual ablution) is obviated. Furthermore, suppose the urine or excrement can be managed in a manner, such as by using a catheter or collection bag, to prevent contamination of other body parts. In that case, there is no imperative need for *istinjā* '(ritual cleansing).

Considering this scenario, it appears imperative to reevaluate our definition of tahārah. The individual with paraplegia should not be categorized as having "received Rukhṣah" (dispensation), for their status essentially "remains" within the bounds of tahārah. Their exemption from the requirement for purification does not stem from the urgency of their physical condition; rather, it arises from the understanding that the involuntary excretion of feces constitutes a "normal" occurrence for them. Consequently, the legal characterization does not entail "acquiring dispensation within the context of tahārah" but instead underscores that "the 'azīmah (pertaining to bodily purity) endures."

Reiterating the significance of this 'azīmah (original law) assumes particular importance when addressing the ritual purity of assistive devices like wheelchairs and canes. An incident transpired in which a wheelchair user was denied access to a mosque (Kustiani 2019) due to the perception that his wheelchair was najis (ritually impure). In contrast to this perception, the intrinsic legal status of wheelchairs is one of purity. If there is no visible, discernible, or malodorous evidence of impurity, the wheelchair retains its state of ritual purity ('azīmah). The presumption that "it could potentially become ritually impure" remains merely an "assumption," or zan, which, within the framework of Fiqh, cannot supplant what is established as certain (al-yaqīn)—namely, the indisputable fact that the original legal status of wheelchairs is ritually pure.

Kayfiya: Reinterpreting the Methods

Our approach to the practical aspects of Fiqh, particularly the "howto" aspects, often seems confined to procedures rooted in the past. This tendency may be attributed to the fact that, especially in matters of prayer and <code>hajj</code>, we are obligated to follow the rituals exactly as the Prophet taught, as per the sayings <code>sallū kamā ra'aitumūnī 'uṣallī</code> (pray as you have seen me praying) and <code>khudu 'annī manāsikakum</code> (take your <code>hajj</code> rituals from me). Consequently, this same mindset often extends to ritual practices, such as purification from ritual impurities and uncleanness. It's worth noting, however, that the Prophet himself never explicitly stated that the methods he demonstrated, particularly those related to taharah, were standardized, and should remain unchanged.

I had an amusing experience related to the matter of purification method during an Umrah pilgrimage some years ago. Despite having prior Umrah experience, I turned to YouTube to stay informed about the most recent updates and information. In one of the videos, I came across an Islamic scholar sharing advice about what items to pack in the carry-on bag for Umrah travelers. "Ladies and gentlemen," he began, "it's a good idea to have tissues with you." He displayed some tissues and said, "I usually carry this medium-sized pack." The reason? He explained, "Occasionally, the toilet paper in the airplane restroom can run out. So, having your own can make the journey more comfortable."

I could not help but burst into laughter upon hearing this suggestion. Drawing from numerous experiences of international flights, I had never encountered a situation where the toilet paper in the airplane restroom ran out. However, my amusement did not last long. As soon as we boarded a plane filled entirely with Umrah pilgrims, not only did the toilet paper supply run out, but there was also a shortage of water on the aircraft. Why don't incidents like these occur on regular commercial flights? It is because Umrah pilgrims' consumption of water and toilet paper surpasses what is typical for airplane passengers, primarily due to the *kayfiyah al-ṭahārah* (purification method), which has not adapted to modern practices.

The imperative to adapt and modernize the methods of tahārah (ritual purification) arises from a unique scenario. Notably, the pilot found it necessary to caution passengers repeatedly against splashing water on the restroom floor, an occurrence he appeared well-acquainted with, likely due to his extensive experience with Umrah pilgrims and their practices of consuming excessive amounts of water. Notably, the congregation on board adhered to the traditional practice of purifying themselves with water, even in an airplane flying 10,000 meters above the earth. Adding to the complexity of the situation, the captain found it necessary, when prayer time arrived, to remind the congregation to perform tayammum (ritual dry ablution) instead of using restroom water for wudu (ritual washing). Although Islamic jurisprudence provides alternative methods such as tayammum, which are inherently more water-efficient and suitable for airplane use, Umrah pilgrims appeared reluctant to embrace these alternatives.

The case of Umrah pilgrims is relevant to the broader discourse surrounding purification methods, with a particular focus on individuals with disabilities. It underscores the necessity for a flexible and adaptive approach when discussing these methods. It underlines that what may have been suitable in a particular historical context may not necessarily be applicable today due to technological advancements and changing conditions. Such an approach facilitates the development of purification methods that can cater effectively to the diverse needs of individuals with disabilities.

Traditionally, three primary materials were employed for purification: water, sand dust, and stones. Water was central in these materials, while sand and stones were complementary or alternative options. Notably, there has been limited historical, socio-cultural, and scientific inquiry into the rationale behind the selection of sand as the substitute for water in tayammum. This reliance on sand may carry more symbolic significance than practicality, representing a ceremonial act rather than a true cleaning practice.

Engaging in thorough research encompassing historical, cultural, and scientific dimensions is crucial to reinterpret this method. This comprehensive examination aims to ensure that the Figh solutions provided align effectively with the objective of tayammum teachings at the time they were originally imparted and the practical purposes they sought to address. The goal is to develop practical solutions that incorporate contemporary materials, potentially offering improvements in hygiene, efficiency (thereby preventing situations like water wastage on airplanes), and modern *ṭahārah* practices. Simultaneously, these solutions should be considerate of the needs of individuals with disabilities.

Accessibility: Considering Public Responsibility

The paramount consideration that should underpin all deliberations regarding jurisprudence for individuals with disabilities is the unequivocal importance of accessibility across all facets of jurisprudential discourse. Within the context of the *ṭahārah* chapter, the issue of accessibility for individuals with disabilities frequently goes unaddressed, and it is evident that the architectural design of *ṭahārah* facilities within mosques is heavily influenced by the traditional definitions of sanctity established in classical Figh.

In my prior scholarship, I have noted instances where this aspect of accessibility has been overlooked in mosques (Maftuhin 2019). For example, ablution areas and restroom facilities were not designed to accommodate individuals using wheelchairs. Additionally, the design of purification pools posed safety concerns for the elderly and visually impaired individuals, as it was primarily tailored to the needs of non-disabled individuals. Consequently, any future book or discourse on Fiqh about *ṭahārah* must consider accessibility and the inclusion of individuals with disabilities within its legal framework.

Practical examples of implementing accessibility within the *ṭahārah* chapter can be achieved by providing ablution facilities that cater to a diverse range of disabilities and age groups, akin to the facilities established at the Nabawi Mosque. Furthermore, the provision of wheelchair-accessible parking facilities seamlessly connected to the ablution areas and the main worship space within the mosque can be construed as integral components of realizing accessibility within the realm of *ṭahārah*.

Here, our efforts are directed toward recognizing the issues of religion and disabilities as fundamental civil rights that the government must uphold. When we encounter a member of the Friday prayer congregation who is Deaf, it is not acceptable to use *rukhṣah* as a legal solution to withhold the support we provide. Instead, it becomes the responsibility of the state to furnish access to information and sign language services.

Likewise, in the case of a visually impaired individual unable to attend the mosque, it becomes incumbent upon the state to establish an accessible pathway instead of a fatwa that exempts the individual from the obligation to attend Friday prayers. Before discussing exemptions, each section of Fikih Difabel must consider the state's duty to provide access, assistive technology, and other facilities. The exemption approach should be regarded as a last resort after the state has fulfilled or failed to fulfill its obligation.

Conclusion Remarks

This article provides an overview of the evolving landscape of Islamic and disability studies in Indonesia over the past decade. The discourse of Fikih Difabel highlights a transformative journey that seeks to expand the horizons of individuals with disabilities. At its core, this journey is about ensuring equal rights, participation, and dignity within the framework of Islamic law and religious practices. This exploration began with a surge in scholarly publications addressing Islam and disabilities in Indonesia. The country's commitment to comprehensively addressing the challenges faced by individuals with disabilities in their religious lives is demonstrated by such notable contributions as Fikih (Ramah) Difabel. Mass organizations like Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah enriched this discourse by offering diverse perspectives and practical solutions. NU's comprehensive compendium and Muhammadiyah's emphasis on women with disabilities broadened the scope of inquiry.

Examining these three Fikih Difabel texts reveals that their approach largely adheres to classical Figh traditions. Fundamental principles rooted in Figh, such as "the removal of hardship" and "the reduction of burdens," guided these efforts. They employ an approach includes extensive use of concessions (rukhṣah) when addressing issues at the intersection of jurisprudence and disabilities. Content-wise, these three jurisprudential works primarily represent what can be characterized as al-masā'il al-dīniyyah rather than adhering to the classical sense of Figh. Consequently, Fikih Difabel appears as a fragmented solution and falls short of meeting the expectations of individuals with disabilities.

As a forward-looking suggestion, this article presents aspirations and alternatives for approaching Figh. I propose a comprehensive approach that redefines traditional concepts, adapts methodologies and ensures accessibility. Our discussion of *ṭahārah* is a more detailed example of how this proposal can be concretely implemented. In conclusion, this journey represents a commitment to justice and dignity, ensuring that individuals with disabilities can fully participate in their religious communities and exercise their civil rights.

Endnotes

- This article has been translated and developed with modifications from my professor's inaugural speech at the State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga of Yogyakarta in August 2023 (Maftuhin 2023a). I would like to express my gratitude to the reviewers who provided valuable feedback for this article, and especially to Mark Cammack who assisted in reviewing the English language of the final draft of this article. Any errors remaining in this text are entirely my responsibility.
- Figh refers to Muslim jurisprudence, which involves the study of determining the exact principles (dalīl) of the Sharī'ah, or Islamic law. While the Sharī'ah is regarded as divinely ordained and unchanging, Figh, the human endeavor to comprehend the Shari'ah, is inherently flawed and subject to change. See figh (Figh | Definition | Britannica n.d.)
- 2. My video recording of a sign interpreter in Masjid al-Haram, Mecca can be accessed here https://youtu.be/OG39GAZzpF8?t=286
- 3. Similar to the NU compilation of legal opinions (bahtsul masail) book. See Masyhuri (A. Aziz Masyhuri 2004).

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- 5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
- 6. Ms. Undhang-Undhang Banten, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
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