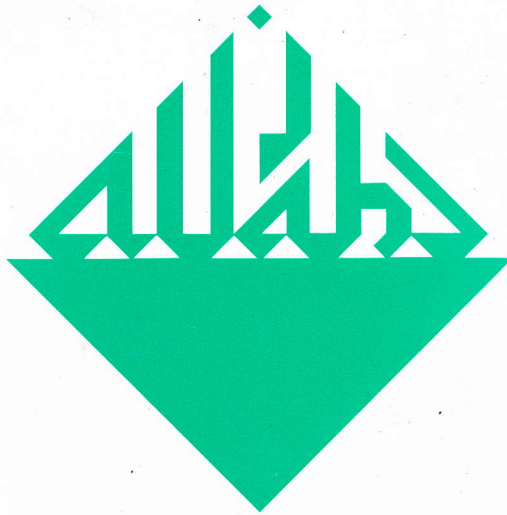


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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Akh. Muzakki

Cultivating Islamic Ideology: Print Islam in Post-independence Indonesia (A Preliminary Study)

Abstraksi. Penerbitan buku memiliki peran yang sangat penting dalam proses diseminasi penyadaran di kalangan masyarakat Muslim semenjak awal abad ke-20 di Indonesia. Sebagai genre dari print culture, ia merepresentasikan kecenderungan sejauhmana ideologi dan nilai agama, yang dibangun sebagai identitas komunal, dipercayai sebagai 'solusi' bagi penyelesaian persoalan-persoalan sosial politik dan ekonomi yang tengah terjadi di masyarakat. Karena itu, struktur bahasa dan tema yang diusung buku-buku yang beredar tersebut tentu berbeda antara satu generasi dengan yang lain.

Artikel ini berusaha memotret model dan proses ideologisasi yang berkembang dalam tradisi penulisan perbukuan secara khusus dan penerbitan Islam secara umum semenjak zaman kemerdekaan, dan utamanya setelah Era Reformasi akhir tahun 1990-an. Menurut penulis, ide penerbitan Islam menggambarkan sebuah proses kreatif yang sangat dinamis dalam rentang waktu yang cukup panjang. Bentuknya pun menjadi sangat beragam: dari sebatas pamflet, poster, buku-buku (baik teks, populer dan ilmiah), majalah, dan surat kabar sampai perangkat audio visual berupa CD, VCD dan DVD yang bisa diakses secara konvensional dalam media cetak maupun melalui website, blog ataupun perangkat virtual lainnya. Karena luasnya media yang bisa digunakan, artikel ini menitikberatkan pada penelaahan atas tradisi tertulis (written transmission) untuk melihat sejauhmana diseminasi ideologi disampaikan secara cermat dan terencana melalui media tersebut dan bagaimana hal tersebut mendapatkan penerimaan dari masyarakat.

Apakah memang penerbitan buku itu sejatinya sebagai media diseminasi ideologi tertentu? Ini yang juga diteliti dalam artikel ini. Betapapun terdapat korelasi yang signifikan antara proses kreatif dakwah agama dengan fenomena maraknya buku-buku Islam, hal ini tetap tidak menjadi satu-satunya faktor yang

mengindikasikan bahwa kemunculan tradisi buku ini memang disandarkan pada semangat keberagamaan yang kuat di kalangan aktivis penerbitan. Sebab, terlihat pula kecenderungan pragmatis penerbit yang didasarkan pada kemampuan untuk melihat pasar ketimbang keinginan untuk melakukan diseminasi ideologi agama tertentu. Karena itu, tidak bisa dipungkiri jika beberapa penerbit yang secara kasat mata memang tidak diasosiasikan sebagai lembaga penerbitan berlabel Islam (seperti Penerbit Gramedia atau Erlangga) juga secara intens memberikan porsi yang cukup besar bagi kemunculan buku-buku (atau produk-produk) yang bernuansa keislaman tersebut.

Namun hal ini bukan berarti bahwa logika penerbitan ini sepenuhnya murni berorientasi bisnis. Dari penelusuran penulis, terlihat pula segmentasi dan differensiasi model buku-buku yang memang 'sarat ideologi', baik yang cenderung ortodoks maupun heterodoks. Lebih jauh, artikel ini juga melihat bahwa faktor geografis juga berperan dalam pemilihan muatan ideologi. Karena itu jelas terdapat perbedaan nomenklatur ideologi yang ditampilkan antara buku-buku yang diterbitkan Gema Insani Press dan Salahuddin Press dengan Paramadina atau Penerbit Mizan. Hal yang sama juga terjadi dalam proses kreatif penerbitan majalah atau jurnal populer bernafaskan Islam. Sebagaimana yang terjadi dalam produksi buku, polarisasi motif bisnis dan ideologi juga terlihat mengemuka. Dinamika ini bisa dibuktikan dari beberapa kasus seperti Suara Hidayatullah yang diterbitkan oleh Pesantren Hidayatullah di Kalimantan dengan Ulumul Qur'an milik Lembaga Studi Agama dan Filsafat (LSAF) Jakarta. Keduanya mewakili cara pandang dan model pilihan artikulasi keagamaan dan tentu saja segmentasi pembaca yang berbeda dalam masyarakat Muslim Indonesia.

Dijelaskan pula dalam artikel ini bahwa selain mempublikasikan karya-karya Muslim Indonesia, para penerbit itu juga memberikan tempat bagi karya-karya terjemahan dalam berbagai dimensi, dari hal-hal praktis seperti bagaimana bersuci sebelum salat sampai artikulasi nizām yang berisikan pandangan hidup tentang tujuan, cita-cita dan program seorang Muslim dalam keseharian. Penerbit Bulan Bintang, Menara Kudus, dan Media Dakwah adalah contoh penting yang mencikali tradisi ini. Dan karena pada dasarnya apa yang dilakukan oleh para penerbit itu sedikit banyak sebatas komplementer (complementary) dan penerus (transmitter) dari ide-ide yang berkembang di dunia Islam secara umum, belum sebagai pengagas teori atau konsep itu sendiri secara otentik yang menekankan pada unsur kearifan lokal yang khas Indonesia, maka terlihat beberapa karya terjemahan cenderung ahistoris dan kehilangan konteksnya ketika ia menjadi rujukan di tanah air.

Betapapun begitu, penulis artikel ini mengindikasikan bahwa kemunculan ideologi Islam yang semenjak awal tidak homogen memang mendapat momentum di Indonesia, dan peranan penerbit-penerbit Islam merupakan bagian yang terpenting dalam transmisi itu sendiri.

Cultivating Islamic Ideology: Print Islam in Post-independence Indonesia (A Preliminary Study)

قد لعب نشر الكتب دورا هاما في عملية توعية داخل المجتمع المسلم منذ بداية القرن العشرين وكميزة في ثقافة طباعية تمثل نزعة في مدى أهمية ايديولوجى وقيم دينية قامت على هوية اجتماعية ويعتقد بأنها حل بمشاكل اجتماعية وسياسية واقتصادية في المجتمع. لذلك قد يختلف التركيب اللغوى والموضوعى الذى جاءت به الكتب المنتشرة بين الأجيال.

يحاول هذا البحث على تناول المنهج وعملية لزرع الاعتقاد المنتشرة في تأليف الكتب الإسلامية خاصة وطباعتها ونشرها عامة منذ عصر الاستقلال، خاصة بعد عصر الإصلاح في التسعينات الآخيرة. ويرى الباحث أن فكرة النشر الإسلامى تصور لنا طريقة الابداع أكثر حيوية في فترة زمنية طويلة. قد تنوعت أشكالها ابتداء من المنشورات والملصقات والكتب (علمية وشعبية) والمجلات والجرائد حتى في شكل الصوت والصورة في الاسطوانات المختلفة (CD, VCD and DVD) التى تمكن اشتغالها بطريقة عادية من خلال الوسائل الطباعية والموقع الاليكترونى وغيره من الوسائل المتعددة. لكثرة الوسائل الإعلامية المستعملة، فيركز البحث على دراسة المكتوبات للنظر في تفعيل توعية ايديولوجية من خلال الوسائل المذكورة وكيفية قبول المجتمع عليها.

هل نشر الكتب المذكور كان ملتزما كوسيلة لتوعية ايديولوجية؟ هذا أيضا من أهداف البحث. رغم من وجود صلة قوية بين حركة الدعوة الدينية وظاهرة انتشار الكتب الإسلامية، فهذا الأمر لم يكن عاملا واحدا يدل على أن ظاهرة انتشار الكتب مبنية على روح دينية قوية يملكها الناشرون. لكن هناك نزعة منفعة لهم لاستفادة من طلب

السوق أكثر من رغبتهم في القيام بتوعية دينية معينة. لذلك لا يستطيع أحد أن ينكر وجود بعض الناشرين لم يتسماوا ظاهرة النشر الإسلامي مثل جراميديا أو أيرلانجا الذين لهم جرعة كبيرة في طباعة الكتب الإسلامية المختلفة.

لكن هذا الأمر لم يعن أن منطق النشر يتجه كلياً إلى كسب الأرباح. في دراسة الباحث يتبين أن تنوع الكتب وتصنيفها يتسم بمضمون أيديولوجي سواء كان أصولياً أم غير أصولي. بالإضافة إلى أن الباحث يرى عاملاً جغرافياً يلعب دوراً في اختيار مضمون أيديولوجي مما يؤدي إلى الفرق في العناوين الأيديولوجية بين الكتب التي نشرها جيما إنساني للنشر وصلاح الدين للنشر وبين الكتب التي نشرها بارامادينا للنشر أو الميزان للنشر. يظهر نفس الأمر في مجال نشر المجلات الإسلامية. ويحدث غالباً في صناعة الكتب، ظهور التوفيق بين نزعة الكسب ونزعة أيديولوجية. والدليل على ذلك الفرق بين المجلة "صوت هداية الله" التي نشرتها مدرسة "هداية الله" الدينية في كاليمنتان والمجلة "علوم القرآن" التي نشرها مركز الدراسة الدينية والفلسفية في جاكرتا. وهذه المؤسسات تمثلتان وجهة النظر واختيار الموضوعات الدينية المعينة ولكل منهما قراء في المجتمع الإسلامي في إندونيسيا.

يرى الباحث أن أعمال الناشرين لم تقتصر على نشر المؤلفات من تأليف المسلمين الإندونيسيين، بل تتيح فرصة للأعمال المترجمة في الموضوعات المختلفة ابتداءً من كيفية الطهارة قبل الصلاة حتى في معنى النظام الذي يشمل على غاية المسلم وأمنيته وبرنامجه اليومية، وعلى سبيل المثال، الناشر "بولان بينتاج" و"مينارا كدوس" و"ميديا دعوة" الذين لهم فضل فيها. إلا أن أعمال هؤلاء الناشرين تقتصر على مجرد التعليقات وتوصيل الفكر المنتشرة في العالم الإسلامي ولم تكن مبدعا نظرية وفكرة تتكون من نمط إندونيسي أصيل، لذلك نجد في بعض الكتب خالية من التاريخ وفاقد موضوعية كمراجع في إندونيسيا.

رغم ذلك، يشير الباحث إلى أن ظهور أيديولوجي الإسلام الذي لم يكن نوعاً موحداً منذ البداية، حدث في توقيت مناسب بإندونيسيا ولعب الناشر دوراً مهماً في توصيل الأفكار نفسها.

Introduction

The post-independence period in Indonesia has witnessed an overwhelming increase in the public manifestation of Islam. As the religion of the vast majority of the population, Islam colors the dynamic of the nation in a wide range of sectors: social, cultural, political, and economic. Concomitant with this dynamic is the increase in the publications about Islamic ideas and expressions reporting on and disseminating concepts and practices about a variety of issues concerned with Muslim activities. This development has consequently caused the transmission of Islamic teachings, and the cultivation of certain Islamic ideologies, to grow in more fertile soil and to have become more easily accessible to Indonesian consumers.

Islamic publication refers to publications concerned with Islam from either normative (theological-doctrinal-legal) or historical (patterns of practice and influence) perspective. Normative Islamic publications deal with Islamic doctrines, as expressed in the sacred text of the Qur'ān and in the Ḥadīth, and commentaries on these texts given by Muslim scholars. I consider Harun Nasution's work entitled *Islam Rasional* [Rational Islam],¹ which provides an account of Islamic theological debates, and Sahal Mahfudh's book on Islamic jurisprudential debates entitled *Nuansa Fiqh Sosial* [Perspectives of Social Islamic Jurisprudence],² as examples of this category of Islamic publication.

Islamic publications under the second category include studies of Islamic ideas presented, and practices conducted, by Muslims in response to their belief in Islamic doctrines, in political, economic, and socio-cultural matters. For this reason I consider Amien Rais' work on one of the largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah, entitled *Moralitas Politik Muhammadiyah* [Political Morality of Muhammadiyah]³ as an Islamic publication, since its main concern is with Muslim expressions of political ideas and ideals associated with this organization. By contrast, I do not regard the book entitled *Partai-partai Politik Indonesia* [Indonesian Political Parties]⁴ as an Islamic publication. The main concern of this book is the political ideas and platforms of Indonesian political parties in general, and not the specific Muslim expressions of party politics, even though Muslim ideas are indeed partly addressed in its discussion.

Much has been written about Islamic print publication in Indonesia, but less attention has been focused on the trends developed in Islamic publishing houses, both in terms of agency and of their products, or in terms of the Islamic ideology that is developed in the publications produced. Works written by Roff,⁵ van Bruinessen,⁶ Proudfoot,⁷ Maier,⁸ Adam,⁹ and Matheson and Hooker,¹⁰ for example, are concerned with Islamic print publication at the end of the 19th and the early 20th century, but do not offer any analysis of the trends developed in Islamic publishing houses or on the ideologies they adhere to. Other scholarly works such as those by Federspiel,¹¹ Liddle,¹² Hefner,¹³ Azra,¹⁴ Halid and Zubair,¹⁵ and Watson,¹⁶ however do provide analyses of the more recent context of Islamic publication in Indonesia. They specifically examine the political ideology of the print media and recent developments in Islamic transmission within printed publications in the country.

This article examines the development of Islamic print publication in post-independence Indonesia. Particular attention will be given to the trends prevalent among Islamic publishing houses, both in terms of agency and their products, and to Islamic print publication's role in the cultivation and dissemination of certain Islamic ideologies. I will begin with an analyses of the development of Islamic print and non-print publication. Central to this analysis is the delineation of the strength of Islamic print publication compared to that of non-print efforts.

Islamic Publication: Between Print and Non-print

The Islamic publication industry is not only concentrated in the arena of print. There is a wide range of products on the market in ever growing quantities. Apart from books, journals, magazines, pamphlets, and newspapers, they also include audio and video cassettes as well as CDs, VCDs, and DVDs. These products have flooded the market in such a stunning way that Islamic publication needs to be perceived as having deeply colored the Indonesian public domain.

With "Publication" is meant "the issuing, or offering to the public, of a book, map, engraving, photograph, piece of music, or other work of which copies are multiplied by writing, printing, or any other process; also, the work or business of producing and issuing copies of such works."¹⁷ Examples of books, magazines, news-

papers, pamphlets, and journals are represented in this article by *Dinamika Pesantren dan Madrasah* [The Dynamics of Pesantren and Madrasah],¹⁸ *Al-Muslimun*,¹⁹ *Republika*,²⁰ *Lisan Alam*,²¹ and *Ulumul Qur'an*.²² Audio and video cassettes, CDs, VCDs, and DVDs are exemplified by those composed by Hadad Alwi with his series of albums *Cinta Rasul* [Love of the Prophet] volumes 1 to 5, and by Opick with his successful albums *Astaghfirullah* [We Seek God's Forgiveness] and *Semesta Bertasbih* [The Universe's Praising of God].

The market has readily responded to Islamic music albums released by Islamic-oriented singers (broadly defined as Muslim singers who specialize in Islamic songs). Albums *Cinta Rasul* 1 and 2 composed by Alwi (both produced in 1999), for example, have each sold as many as 1.3 million copies.²³ The commercial turnover of Opick's album *Astaghfirullah* (produced in 2005, six years later than Alwi's) has amounted to more than 850,000 cassettes. As a result of this album's high sales, Opick has been awarded five golden and platinum cassettes²⁴ which are the highest award for musicians for the marketability of their albums. Kristina Santi, the producer of this album, describes it as "an excellent achievement in the genre of religious music."²⁵ Opick went on to publish a book about his historical background and the journey of his career as an Islamic-oriented singer brought him.²⁶

In recent years in Indonesia there is also an increase of non-Islamic oriented groups of musicians releasing Islamic albums, such as the pop music group Ungu with its album *Surgamu* [Your Heaven], the group Radja with its album *1001 Malam* [1001 Nights], and the rock music group Gigi with its album *Pintu Surga* [Heaven's Gate]. The fact that non-Islamic oriented groups of musicians have turned, to some extent, to the release of Islamic albums suggests that Islamic non-printed materials are perceived as a publication commodity with good prospects because of their high sales. The commercial turnover of the album *Surgamu* by Ungu, for example, amounted to 250,000 cassettes within two weeks of its release in September 2006 and more than 400,000 over the next several months.²⁷

More recent technologies such as the World Wide Web and the Internet along with their online facilities of electronic mail, chatting, and blogging also needs to be added to these non-printed materials. The growing Islamic publication industry in the form of websites and the Internet is represented here by Islamic business and infor-

mation-oriented websites such as the Ateng Kusnadi-led Ahad-Net²⁸ and the KH. Abdullah Gymanstiar-owned CyberMQ.com.²⁹ Indeed, non-printed materials have enlivened Islamic publication activities in recent years in Indonesia.

Considering the growing and diverse products of the Islamic publication industry it is clear that it represents an important arena for economic activity with excellent business prospects. Islamic publication has now become an expanding service as well as a significant means for influencing public, and private, features of Islam in Indonesia. The fact that it contains printed and non-printed forms, and has academic and popular types, further indicates how promising the industry is.

This paper, however, will further limit itself to a discussion of printed materials and focuses on books and magazines, and will no longer be concerned with non-printed ones and electronic media. Without wishing to deny the fact that these days the Internet and music are both just as significant as vectors for disseminating ideas and articulating emotional aspects of Islam, books and magazines attract the most interest by consumers because the products of the print media reach almost all levels of society, from the wealthy to the poor, and from the high class to the middle and even the lower classes. As a result, the consumer base for printed materials is more diverse and much wider. Although growing quickly, electronic media—the Internet—is still rather new and a very costly medium for the majority of Indonesians. As a consequence, the number of users is still restricted compared to that of print media, which enjoys easy access and comparatively low costs.

Likewise, print media has specific qualities that demand closer attention. First, although Islamic albums have achieved higher sales than Islamic books and magazines, the publication of the latter affects the ideology of Muslims much more deeply. Islam is a legalistic and doctrinal religion, comprising not only emotional aspects of religious life but also dogmatic teachings. Everything pertaining to believers' lives has to be appreciated through, and brought in line with, its doctrines.³⁰ Not surprisingly, therefore, many Muslims perceive Islam as a didactic-doctrinal teaching. In the case of Indonesian Islam, music can only articulate, represent, and more or less change the emotional aspects of Islamic religiosity emanating from Islamic debates. It has far less capacity than printed materials (such as books

and magazines) to articulate, represent, and even change legalistic, doctrinal, and dogmatic aspects of Islam.

Books and magazines can convey both the emotional and the doctrinal-dogmatic aspects of Islam. Within printed materials, all debates about Islamic teachings can be presented in full. Likewise, books and magazines can transmit, distribute, and articulate every emotional aspect of Islamic religiosity in much more detail than music is ever able to. This means that the written word is a much more effective media than music for transmitting Islamic teachings and for developing all kinds of Islamic ideology. In the Indonesian case, there is a rising phenomenon of what is referred to as “song lit”, a kind of printed book publication aimed at developing ideas or emotions emanating from certain songs. The best examples of this genre is the publication of the books entitled *Lelaki Buaya Darat* [The Womanizer]³¹ and *Ruang Rindu* [Room for Yearning],³² both adapted and developed from ideas and emotional remarks from songs composed respectively by the pop music groups Ratu and Letto bearing the same titles.³³

Second, music is usually ephemeral. It plays a much less significant role than books and magazines especially in relation to social education. Attempts to improve Muslims’ understanding of their religion need to be structured and systematized. Printed materials can provide this kind of structure and systematization. The transmission of Islamic teachings as well as the cultivation of certain Islamic ideologies can therefore most easily be realized through books and magazines rather than through Islamic music.

Trends Prevalent among Islamic Publishing Houses and in Book Publications

Islamic books and magazines play the largest role in the Islamic publication industry. This is not only because of they are being produced in ever increasing numbers, but is also due to the long printing experience of some of their publishers. Moreover, they are distributed not only through chains of specifically Islamic-oriented bookshop (broadly defined as bookshops which specialize in selling Islamic printing matter) such as Walisongo and Maarif, but also through chains of general bookshops such as Gramedia, Karisma, and Gunung Agung, which reserve extensive amounts of shelf space and separate book displays for Islamic materials.

Islamic books and magazines are not only sold through large national chains such as the five bookshops just mentioned, but also through small local bookshops, and by street vendors. Further, they are displayed on the veranda of mosques or on the pavement of the streets where mosques are located. They are even displayed and on sale at the entrance of venues of special events such as seminars and conferences. In short, Islamic books and magazines continuously inundate the print media markets, both nationally and locally, in modern and traditional types of outlet.

In Indonesia, the Islamic publication industry has presented itself in recent years as a developing business. M.U. Salman, the executive editor of *Sabili*, a Jakarta-based popular Islamist magazine, encapsulates this sense of growth as follows:

...is it true that so-called Islamic business cannot develop in this country? The increasing publication of Islamic books from the early 1990s up to now clearly contradicts this view. [In addition to this,] The booming production of cassettes of *nasyid* [a breed of Islamic music] and [other] Islamic songs in recent times [also] offers sufficient factual data to answer this question. The dominance of Islamic books in every large book fair visited by huge numbers of costumers is an indication of the interesting prospects for the business of Islamic media.³⁴

The number of Islamic publishing houses has increased dramatically in terms of the number of agencies and products. In the case of agency, according to the Ikatan Penerbit Indonesia (IKAPI/ Indonesian Association of Publishing Houses), there were only 13 publishers affiliated with the association at its inception on 17 May 1950 but, by the end of 2006, there were 766.³⁵ Of these 766 members, almost half specialize in the production of Islamic books.³⁶ Since several Islamic publishing houses are independent, in the sense that they are not formally affiliated with the IKAPI, the number of Islamic publishing houses is likely to be somewhat greater. Its number has grown further in the *reformasi* era, when the restrictive control of the regime over publishing activities, as over many socio-economic and political activities, has greatly decreased.³⁷ These independent publishing houses, as well as the affiliated ones, are spread all over Indonesia, especially across densely populated Java.

The number of products produced by the Islamic publication industry has also increased rapidly. In his speech at the opening ceremony of the "Indonesian Book Week" in Jakarta in 1954, Tjio Wie Tay, the head of the organizing committee, remarked that in

the first decade since Indonesian independence (1945-1954), the entire book production of Indonesian publishing houses amounted to 10,000 titles.³⁸ At present, however, 10,000 titles do not represent the total production of one decade, but of only a single year and Islamic books, in particular non-school text books, have started to dominate publication output.³⁹

In the first five years of the 21st century, Islamic books outsold all other types of books. Their relatively low price has contributed greatly to the huge numbers of books sold.⁴⁰ As a consequence an annual national Islamic Book Fair (IBF) has been established in Jakarta since 2001 by the association of Islamic publishing houses. The idea behind these book fairs is not only that publishers can sell their Islamic books directly to the public, without first distributing them through chains of bookshops, but also to provide a venue of representation for the increasingly large sphere of Islamic publication.⁴¹

To provide a better understanding of the increasing public manifestation of the Islamic publication industry, some features of Islamic publishing houses such as their location, size or scale, intellectual focus, and level of readership need to be presented. Because of the large number of Islamic publishing houses in modern Indonesia, the following table shows some representatives of those which focus on publishing Islamic books. The rationale of this selection is based on the high reputation these publishing houses enjoy within the Islamic publication industry and on their location; all but one are located in Java.

Table 1: Examples of Islamic Publishing Houses⁴²

No	Name of the Publishing House	Location	Scale	Intellectual Focus	Level of Readership (in Relation to Familiarity with Islam)
1.	Mizan Group	Bandung	Large	Intellectual (+Popular)	Intermediate, Advanced Elementary
2.	Gema Insani Press	Jakarta	Large	Popular (+Intellectual)	Elementary, Intermediate, Advanced
3.	Paramadina	Jakarta	Medium	Intellectual	Intermediate, Advanced
4.	LKiS	Yogyakarta	Large	Intellectual	Intermediate, Advanced

No	Name of the Publishing House	Location	Scale	Intellectual Focus	Level of Readership (in Relation to Familiarity with Islam)
5.	Toha Putera	Semarang	Large	Intellectual+ Popular	Intermediate, Advanced Elementary
6.	Pustaka Progresif	Surabaya	Medium	Popular	Elementary, Intermediate
7.	Aneka	Solo	Medium	Popular	Elementary, Intermediate
8.	Hayfa Press	Padang	Small	Intellectual	Intermediate, Advanced

Key: (+...) = expanding toward
 ...+... = developing simultaneously

The increasing manifestation of Islamic books combined with their excellent market prospects has stimulated large non-Islamic publishing houses also to turn to Islamic printed materials. The Gramedia Group and Erlangga, based in Jakarta as the two sizeable and non-Islamic publishing houses, which have since turned their business interests to the publication of Islamic books. From the 1950s to the 1980s, they published virtually no Islamic books or other Islamic printed materials. Since the beginning of the 1990s, however, they have started to publish Islamic books and printed materials and to distribute them through their bookshop chains across Indonesia.⁴³

The Gramedia Group and Erlangga have a specific approach in dealing with Islamic book publication, especially in terms of their contents. The Gramedia Group focuses on Islamic books which are concerned with issues such as politics, pluralism, Sufism, and gender. Examples of the books the Gramedia Group publishes include those written by Hendro Prasetyo et al. on the relationship between Islam, state politics, and civil society,⁴⁴ by Nurcholish Madjid et al. on inter-religious relationships,⁴⁵ by Suryana Sudrajat on the role of religiosity in daily life,⁴⁶ and by Ali Munhanif (ed.) on the positioning of women in the classic books of Islam.⁴⁷ Theoretically they represent the liberal and non-Islamist ideology of Islam.⁴⁸ The Gramedia Group is more concerned with a liberal approach to Islam.

The background of the Gramedia Group is instrumental to its approach. The group is owned by Roman Catholic figures, and falls under the large economic-business corporation of the *Kompas*

Company, which publishes the large popular daily newspaper *Kompas*, itself criticized by some Muslim groups as promoting Christian propaganda (they term the paper *komando pastor* or “the command of the Catholic priest”). Gramedia’s connection to *Kompas* has forced it to narrow its focus as a consequence of the criticism vented against the daily *Kompas*. Their rationale seems to be to secure and maintain *Kompas*’s business interests, since its liberal approach does not touch upon fundamental doctrinal aspects of Islam sensitive to Muslim communities in general, such as the foundations of Islamic theology.

The Erlangga publishing house, however, allows the Islamic books it publishes to have a wider range of themes, covering not only the issues developed by the Gramedia Group⁴⁹ but also such issues as fundamentalism⁵⁰ or radicalism,⁵¹ and even materials such as Islamic text books for use in schools,⁵² including courses on Arabic grammar and reading Arabic script, Qur’anic exegesis, and Hadīth interpretation. Erlangga is also owned by Christian figures, but it does not publish a daily newspaper and is therefore not frequently accused by Muslim communities that it is a Christian propaganda-related print industry. This background allows Erlangga to be able to cover a wider range of themes, including Islamism-cum-radicalism. In short, compared to Gramedia, Erlangga has a more accommodative and wider approach in dealing with Islamic book publication.

Islamic Magazines

As with Islamic book publication, the number of Islamic magazines has also increased along with its profitability in terms of the amount of agencies and products. In the first decade of Indonesian independence, there were three Islamic magazines distributed across Indonesian communities: the state-run magazine *Mimbar Agama* [Platform of Religion], established in the early 1950s and published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, *Al-Muslimun* [Islamic Believers], published in the mid-1950s by the Muslim organization, *Persatuan Islam* (Persis/Union of Islam), and the Islamic newsweekly *Panji Masyarakat* [Banner of Society], also established in the mid-1950s by the prominent Muslim scholar, Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik bin Abdul Karim Amrullah) the leader of the Yayasan Nurul Islam (Nurul Islam Foundation).

In 1967, Following the socio-political chaos which arose in consequence of the 1965 communist coup which resulted in the transfer of power from Soekarno to the Soeharto regime, ex-Masyumi activists led by Mohammad Natsir, organizing themselves into a *da`wah* (Islamic proselytization)-based social organization called the Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII/Indonesian Council for Islamic Proselytizing), established *Serial Media Dakwah*, later to become *Media Dakwah* [Religious Proselytizing Medium].⁵³ In its early stages, *Media Dakwah* was not published as a monthly DDII magazine, but as an irregular stenciled offprint series.

In the 1970s, two Islamic magazines, *Mimbar Ulama* [Pulpit of Muslim Scholars], published by Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI/ Indonesian Council of Muslim Scholars), and *Aula*, published by the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU, literally "the awakening of Muslim scholars") livened up the publication activities of Islamic printed magazines. In this decade, the Muhammadiyah, which had long been engaged in publishing Islamic journals and newspapers since the early 20th century published an Islamic magazine entitled *Suara Muhammadiyah* [Voice of Muhammadiyah]. The organization of female Muhammadiyah members, Aisyiyah, established its own magazine called *Suara Aisyiyah* [Voice of Aisyiyah].

The publication activities of Islamic magazines became even more diverse in the 1980s. While all the aforementioned Islamic magazines remained active, two Islamic magazines emerged which contributed to the dynamism of Islamic intellectualism in Indonesia because they promoted intellectual thinking about Islam: *Ulumul Qur'an* [Sciences of the Qur'an] and *Suara Hidayatullah* [Voice of Hidayatullah]. The first was published by a Jakarta-based Lembaga Studi Agama dan Filsafat (LSAF/Institute for the Study of Religion and Philosophy), while the second was a magazine, first published in 1988, of the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) Hidayatullah, based in East Kalimantan.⁵⁴ *Ulumul Qur'an* promoted an open-adaptive approach to Islam (meaning that covers re-understanding and re-interpretation of Islamic doctrines to fit specific problems faced by Muslims in current situations) and tended to be an academic magazine, while *Suara Hidayatullah* developed strict-conservative thinking about Islam (meaning it was much less prone to adopt and re-interpret Islamic doctrines to fit specific problems) and became a news magazine.

The 1990s turned out to be a special decade in the development of the publication of Islamic magazines. In this period, the New Order regime started collaborating harmoniously with various Islamic groups following fractured political cohesion within the military, and the restrictive control of the regime over Islamic publication, as over other socio-political activities, progressively decreased. This situation paved the way for Islamic magazines with all kinds of ideological approaches to Islam to flourish. Similar to *Panji Masyarakat* and *Suara Hidayatullah*, a new Islamic newsweekly magazine, *Ummat* [Muslim Community], with an open-adaptive approach to Islam, was established and grew into one of the most prominent Islamic magazines.⁵⁷

The emergence of *Sabili* in 1988 added a new phenomenon to existing Islamic print publication. *Sabili* represented the earliest popular Islamic magazine which publicly manifested a strict-conservative ideology. This inspired the emergence of other Islamic magazines promoting a similar ideology in later periods. In the 1990s, at least two such Islamic magazines were started: *As-Sunnah* (The Prophetic Tradition, founded in 1994 by the As-Sunnah Foundation led by Abu Nida),⁵⁸ and *Salafiy* [Early Generation] founded in 1996 by the Ja'far Umar Thalib-led Forum Komunikasi Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah (FKAWJ/Communicating Forum of the *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah*).⁵⁹ These two magazines promoted the ideology of Wahhabism (a conservative Islamic ideology first developed by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb).

The *reformasi* period since 1998 presented even more opportunity for Islamic magazines to emerge and develop.⁶⁰ Along with the decreasing control of the state over various socio-political and economic activities, new and different Islamic magazines developed, including *Saksi* (Witness, founded in 1998), *Jurnal Islam* (Islamic Journal, 1999), *Nur Islam* (Islamic Illumination, 1999), *Tarbawi* (Educational Value, 2000), *Nurani* (Inner Self, 2000), and *Al-Izzah* (The Majesty, 2001). Moreover, the Islamic magazine *Al-Wa'ie* (The Conscious, first published by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia or Indonesian Liberty Party in 2000), which promoted the transnational Islam-based ideology of *khilafah Islamiyah* (Islamic caliphate), added further life and vigor to the publication of Islamic magazines.

All Islamic magazines have their own readership, which have expanded rapidly.⁶¹ *Media Dakwah*, for example, was first produced with a run of 2,500 copies, and distributed among limited groups

of Muslims, such as *da'is* (preachers) and *pengurus masjid* (mosque committee members) who became DDII's social basis, and some medium and small-scale businessmen in several areas, such as Tanah Abang and Matraman in Central Jakarta.⁶² This magazine increased its circulation to 3,000 copies in the 1980s, and even to 6,000 in the *reformasi* period.⁶³

Suara Hidayatullah, *Ummat*, and *Sabili* are examples of magazines showing growth. At the outset less than ten thousand copies of *Suara Hidayatullah* were printed, but in 2004 its circulation reached over 53,000.⁶⁴ From no more than 20,000 copies at its inception, *Ummat* sold more than 40,000 copies at the end of the Soeharto period.⁶⁵ *Sabili* sold only 2,000 copies at its establishment in 1988 but a mere 12 years later, in 2000, its circulation reached more than 100,000 copies.⁶⁶ Due to its high sales, *Sabili* has been recognized as the largest-selling Islamic magazine in Indonesia. This salability came about partly because of its use of popular content such as the column "*Menggapai Sakinah*" ["Attaining a Harmonious Family"] which provides guidance for day-to-day family issues⁶⁷ and the column *ibroh* [moral lessons] which presents Islamic moral teachings through story telling.⁶⁸ It also attracted Indonesian Muslims' solidarity by conveying sympathy for the Afghan and Palestinian peoples as victims of non-Muslim political and military forces.⁶⁹

Transmitting and Consuming Islam through Print Publication

The increasing literacy rate of the Indonesian community in the post-independence period, from 61 per cent in 1971 to 92.5 per cent in 2004,⁷⁰ has also allowed for an increasing penetration of Islamic books and magazines. Not surprisingly, therefore, the development of Islamic book and magazine publication has deeply affected the way Islamic teachings are transmitted to wider audiences in Indonesia. Islamic teachings have not only been transmitted in the so-called *shafahī* (oral) way, a pattern of Islamic transmission using sermons and speeches as the main instruments, but have increasingly been conveyed through the so-called *kitābī* way, a mode of transmitting Islamic teaching using printed media as its major mechanism.

Even though the Internet or virtual technology with its facility for email, chatting, and blogging should be added to the list of instruments for the transmission of Islamic teachings in recent years, the so-called *kitābī* way represents the most popular one as it is

more accessible to a larger number of Indonesian communities than the Internet which, up to the present, was mostly accessible to the high-class segments of Indonesian society. In 2007, The Indonesian Minister of Information and Communication, Mohammad Nuh, stated that the Internet was accessed by no more than 8 per cent of consumers in Indonesia, mostly from the upper middle class, because of its high cost.⁷¹

What is important here is the increasing capacity to disseminate Islamic teachings and various kinds of understanding of these teachings to wider Indonesian Muslim communities. One of the indicators is the increasingly broader range of printed materials. A closer look suggests that both original works of Indonesian scholars and translated works of foreign (Muslim) scholars have been published by Islamic publishing houses. With the exception of non-Islamic publishing houses such as Gramedia and Erlangga, there is an increasing tendency in a number of Islamic publishing houses to prioritize translated works, and to some degree works written in Arabic, by foreign (Muslim) scholars as their main commodity.

This has been the case, for example, with several Jakarta-based Islamic publishing houses such as Gema Insani Press, Darul Falah, Robbani Press, and Lentera. One of Halid and Zubair's findings is that, unlike Bulan Bintang which is more oriented to local political and ideological expressions of Masyumi⁷² activists, the number of translated works published by these Jakarta-based Islamic publishing houses during the first four years (1998-2002) of the *reformasi* period has surpassed that of original Indonesian ones:⁷³

Table 2: Range of Books Published by some Jakarta-based Islamic Publishing Houses from 1998 to 2002

No.	Publishing House	Translated Titles of Foreign Authorship	Original Titles of Indonesian Authors
1.	Bulan Bintang	77	220
2.	Gema Insani Press	339	75
3.	Darul Falah	103	30
4.	Robbani Press	78	16
5.	Lentera	86	20

Source: Halid and Zubair, "Peranan Penerbit dalam Transformasi Intelektualisme," 50-1.

The most published by almost all Islamic publishing houses are translated works by Arab Muslim scholars apparently a consequence

of the marketability of those books for Muslim readers in Indonesia. This is a new development in Islamic publication in Indonesia in an era when the Indonesian language is used much more than Arabic, a fact that should facilitate the publication of indigenous works by local Muslim scholars. The works of Islamist Muslim scholars, such as key ideologues of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (including Hasan al-Bannā, Sayyid Qutb and Yūsūf al-Qardāwī) seem to gain a more ready response from the public compared to books by non-Muslim Brotherhood ideologues, including scholars such as Abdullahi Ahmed an-Naim⁷⁴ Muhammad A. Khalafullah⁷⁵, and Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid. Halid and Zubair describe the translated works of these key Brotherhood ideologues as “*laris seperti kacang goreng*” (“as highly saleable as fried peanuts”).⁷⁷

Among Muslim Brotherhood ideologues, al-Qardāwī appears to be the most popular thinker. Islamic publishing houses such as Gema Insani Press, Robbani Press, and Al-Kautsar have published his works in Indonesian translation. Halid and Zubair even suggest that apart from his translated works published by these two printing houses, al-Qardāwī’s translated works published by Gema Insani Press alone amount to 25 titles.⁷⁸ The popularity of al-Qardāwī’s translated works is not only because he addresses global politics, as do other Muslim Brotherhood ideologues, but he also discusses everyday life issues such as the legal status of singing in Islam.⁷⁹ Muslims in Indonesia perceive al-Qardāwī’s ideas as fitting their local contexts, even though he is not an Indonesian but an Egyptian by birth.

This is not to say, however, that the transmission of Islam in Indonesia has been predominantly oriented to Islamism (broadly defined as an ideology which places Islam not only as the basis of religious beliefs but also as the basis of political doctrines). There is certainly another kind of Islamic book publication which promotes ideas such as liberalism in Islamic thought (as already noted above with regard to Gramedia) and the localized ideology of Islam better known as indigenous Islam. Broadly defined, liberalism is an ideology which calls for religious reform within Islamic teachings by means of secularizing processes, with the West as one of its main points of reference. The localized ideology of Islam emphasizes local understandings of Islam by adopting local knowledge and cultural values to interpret and comprehend Islamic teaching. It promotes

Islam of a Sufi and mystical nature. Unlike Islamism, neither liberalism nor indiginization place Islam as the basis of political ideology.

The promotion of liberalism in Islamic thought is best represented by Nurcholish Madjid in his book *Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam* [Renewing Islamic Thinking] in 1970.⁸⁰ One chapter in his book is entitled "Keharusan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam dan Masalah Integrasi Ummat" ["The Necessity of Renewing Islamic Thought and the Problem of Muslim Integration"],⁸¹ where he introduced the statement "Islam Yes, Islamic Parties No", and promoted liberalism in Islamic teachings, the need for secularization (the separation between religious and mundane matters), and the urgent need to create liberal intellectuals for the sake of the implementation of Islamic renewal. Such liberal ideas have been developed further since their first public promotion in the 1970s. In another of his works, *Islam, Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan* [Islam, Modernity and Indonesianness], especially the chapter entitled "Menyegarkan Paham Keagamaan di Kalangan Umat Islam Indonesia" ["Refreshing the Religious Understanding of Indonesian Muslims"],⁸² and a chapter in another of his books entitled "Beberapa Renungan tentang Kehidupan Keagamaan di Indonesia untuk Generasi Mendatang" ["Some Reflections on Religious Life in Indonesia for the Coming Generation"],⁸³ published by a Jakarta-based publishing house, Madjid further developed his liberal ideas which generated responses from the wider Indonesian Muslim community, sometimes of a highly critical kind. Madjid's Paramadina Foundation has continuously developed the promotion of liberal ideas. In addition, with the rise of the Jaringan Islam Liberal (JIL, Liberal Islam Network) in 2002 by young Muslim intellectuals, first coordinated by Ulil Abshar-Abdalla, the promotion of liberal ideas of Islam escalated.

One of the significant features of the promotion of liberal Islamic ideas by the Paramadina Foundation and JIL in the printed media is that they not only published the original works by both Paramadina and JIL activists but also translated works by foreign scholars. Among the best examples of indigenous works published by Paramadina are *Islam, Doktrin, dan Peradaban* [Islam, Doctrine and Civilization],⁸⁴ *Islam Pluralis* [Pluralist Islam],⁸⁵ and *Fiqih Lintas Agama* [Fiqh Across Religion].⁸⁶ Books published by JIL include works such as *Wajah Liberal Islam di Indonesia* [The Face of Liberal Islam in Indonesia]⁸⁷ and *Syariat Islam Pandangan Islam Liberal* [The Shari'ah in the Eyes of Liberal Islam].⁸⁸ Translated works by foreign scholars published by

Paramadina include *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia* [The Idea of Liberal Islam in Indonesia] by Greg Barton (an Australian Scholar)⁸⁹ and a book edited by American scholar, Charles Kurzman, entitled *Wacana Islam Liberal* [Liberal Islam Discourse].⁹⁰ A translated book published by JIL through one of its connections, the Freedom Institute, is entitled *Pemikiran Liberal di Dunia Arab* [Liberal Thought in the Arab World].⁹¹

Apart from Islamism and liberalism as described above, there are also books that promote a localized ideology of Islam. Works written by Indonesian Muslim scholars include *Seh Siti Jenar dan Ajaran Wihdatul Wujud: Dialog Budaya dan Pemikiran Jawa-Islam* [Shaykh Siti Jenar and the Teaching of Wihdatul Wujud: A Dialogue of Culture and Thinking of Javanese Islam],⁹² *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam ke Mistik Jawa* [Javanese Sufism: the Transformation of Islamic Sufism to Javanese Mysticism],⁹³ *Islam Pribumi: Mendialogkan Agama, Membaca Realitas* [Indigenous Islam: Discussing Religion, Reading Reality],⁹⁴ *Merumuskan Kembali Interelasi Islam-Jawa* [Reformulating the Interrelationship between Java and Islam],⁹⁵ and *Islam Jawa* [Javanese Islam]⁹⁶ represent this kind of thinking. Sufism and mysticism dominate books which promote local understandings of Islam.

There are also various translated works written by foreign and non-Arab scholars published by publishing houses in Indonesia on this subject. Most are concerned with Sufism and mysticism. These works have not only been published by Islamic publishing houses but also by non-Islamic ones. The Yogyakarta-based Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial (LKIS/Centre for Islam and Social Studies) has presented itself as the key Islamic publishing house for translated works on indigenized understandings of Islam, such as *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan* [Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism] written by American scholar, Mark R. Woodward.⁹⁷ Non-Islamic publishing houses which also publish translated works of this kind are Tiara Wacana⁹⁸ and Gramedia Pustaka Utama.⁹⁹

Conclusion

Post-independence Indonesia has shown a significant growth in the number of Islamic publishing houses. This development manifested itself both in terms of the number of agencies and their products. As a large variety of Islamic publishing houses emerged in the post-independence period of Indonesia, the publication of Islamic

books and magazines increased enormously. Islamic print publication and media have proven themselves to be increasingly important vectors for transmitting Islamic teachings.

Both transnational and local ideologies of Islam have simultaneously been presented through, and were developed within, print media in recent years. While the transnational ideologies borrowed heavily from those found in other parts of the world and can broadly be classified into Middle Eastern-oriented Islamism and Western-oriented liberalism, local ideologies have developed based on local Indonesian beliefs, principles, and contexts. Ideological tenets of Middle Eastern-oriented Islamism are presented in translated works of key ideologues of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, just as that of Western-oriented liberalism is represented by the works of Indonesian liberal Muslim scholars. The local ideology of Islam, as described earlier, is represented by and presented in those original works of Indonesian Muslim scholars which promote the local Javanese understanding of Islam, particularly relating to Sufism or mysticism.

These multiple Islamic ideas, transmitted through print media have led to the rise of a so-called "ideological supermarket" where a choice of "products" is being marketed to Indonesian Muslim communities. There are two implications of this growing, and competitive, ideological supermarket. First, it indicates that Islam in Indonesia is far from homogenous. There are variants within Indonesian Islam, as expressed in a wide range of Islamic ideologies adopted by different individuals and groups of Muslims. Second, in Indonesia this variety of Islamic expression does not only follow patterns of local understandings of Islam but also includes transnational ones.

These two features lead to the following implication: attempts to understand Islam in Indonesia must address both varieties of Muslim expression. The heterogeneous nature of Indonesian Islam necessitates the use of a variety of approaches in order to understand it. Central to this kind of understanding is a thorough knowledge of the way Islam is transmitted to Muslim communities in Indonesia. Islamic publication as a vector of transmitting Islamic teachings is therefore a significant subject of study. Islamic publication may serve as material evidence of both the method of transmission of Islamic teachings in certain periods (as well as in certain locations) and of the distributed contents of doctrinal as well as ideological aspects of Islam.

Endnotes

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- 18 Ismail S.M. et al. (eds), *Dinamika Pesantren dan Madrasah* (Yogyakarta: Fakultas Tarbiyah IAIN Sunan Kalidjaga & Pustaka Pelajar, 2002).

- 19 For more information about the Islamic magazine "Al-Muslimun," see Federspiel, "The Political and Social Language of Indonesian Muslims."
- 20 See the online version of *Republika*: <http://www.republika.co.id/>.
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- 44 Hendro Prasetyo et al., *Islam & Civil Society: Pandangan Muslim Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama and PPIM-IAIN Jakarta, 2002).
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- 46 A. Suryana Sudrajat, *Tasawuf dan Politik: Menerjemahkan Religiusitas dalam Hidup Sehari-hari* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2000).
- 47 Ali Munhanif (ed.), *Mutiara Terpendam: Perempuan dalam Literatur Islam Klasik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama and PPIM IAIN Jakarta, 2002).
- 48 A detailed discussion of issues relating to liberal and non-Islamist ideology of Islam can be found in Charles Kurzman (ed.), *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
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- 50 See, for example, Ahmad Baso, *NU Studies: Pergolakan Pemikiran antara Fundamentalisme Islam & Fundamentalisme Neo-liberal* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2006).
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- 52 See "Tentang Agama," *Erlangga Website*: <http://www.erlangga.co.id/index.php?Itemid=90> (Accessed 16 June 2007).
- 53 This story was related by Ramlan Marjoned in a personal interview in the office of *Media Dakwah* Bookshop in the DDII building, Jakarta, on 29 December 2003. See also Hefner, "Print Islam," 81-2. DDII was set up by Natsir and his followers focusing on *da'wah* geared towards Indonesian Muslims in order for them to become "better Muslims". See Martin van Bruinessen, "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *South East Asia Research*, no. 2, vol. 10 (July 2002), 122-3. For DDII, *da'wah* was not only confined to religious activities but also political ones. See Hefner, "Print Islam," 82.
- 54 Agus Muhammad, "Quo Vadis Media Islam Moderat?" *Islamlib.com*, 21 March 2005: <http://islamlib.com/id/index.php?page=article&id=h779> (Accessed 29 July 2007).
- 57 Muhammad, "Quo Vadis Media Islam Moderat?"
- 58 For more information, see Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia* (Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006), 54-55.
- 59 For more details, see Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad*, 84.
- 60 See Muhammad, "Jihad Lewat Tulisan."
- 61 Muhammad, "Quo Vadis Media Islam Moderat?"
- 62 See Akh. Muzakki, "Contestation within Contemporary Indonesian Islamic Thought: Liberalism and Anti-liberalism" (Unpublished MPhil Thesis, The Faculty of Asian Studies, The Australian National University (ANU), Canberra, 2005), 33-34.
- 63 The explanation of this increasing number of *Media Dakwah* publication is based on a personal interview with Ramlan Marjoned, a former personal secretary of Natsir, in the office of *Media Dakwah* Bookshop in the DDII compound building, Jakarta, on 29 December 2003.
- 64 See also Santi W.E. Soekanto, "Islamic Media and the Slow Dance to Death," *The Jakarta Post*, 2 October 2004.
- 65 See also Muhammad, "Quo Vadis Media Islam Moderat?"
- 66 Muhammad, "Quo Vadis Media Islam Moderat?"
- 67 The magazine publishes a guidance-based article, for example, on how to deal with a spouse who does not perform *shala>h* (prayer) regularly yet. See "Calon Isteri Belum Shalat," *Sabili*, no. 10, year XII (3 December 2004), 82-3.
- 68 See, for example, "Peranan Cita-cita," *Sabili*, no. 10, year XII (3 December 2004), 10-1.
- 69 See also Soekanto, "Islamic Media and the Slow Dance to Death."
- 70 A more detailed account of the increasing literacy rate in Indonesia shows the following increase: from 61 per cent in 1971 to 84 per cent in 1997, 87.9 per cent in 2002, and 92.5 per cent in 2004. For more details, see "A Demographic Profile of Indonesia," available in Population Resource Center Website: <http://www.prcdc.org/summaries/indonesia/indonesia.html> (Accessed 10 June 2007); "Adult Literacy Rates in Five High-Population Countries by Gender, 1990-1994 and 2000-2004," available in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) website: <http://>

- portal.unesco.org/education/en/file_download.php/71aab5ac68977a2d997446bc8256bea3table3.8.pdf (Accessed 10 June 2007).
- 71 His statement is quoted in "Pelopori Hapus Buta Internet," *Jawa Pos*, 6 August 2007. For comparison, see "2007, Pengguna Internet Indonesia Bertambah 5 Juta," *Detikinet.com*, 16 December 2006: <http://www.detikinet.com/index.php/detik.read/tahun/2006/bulan/12/tgl/16/time/155524/idnews/720923/idkanal/328> (Accessed 02 August 2007); "Nilai Ekonomi Internet Indonesia," *Kompas*, 7 April 2003; "Jumlah Home User Internet Indonesia Menurun Selama 2002," *IKATASA Online* website: <http://www.ikatasa.org/news/news.asp?id=1000315> (Accessed 10 June 2007).
 - 72 Masyumi was a large Islamic political party founded on 7 November 1945 under the leadership of Natsir but banned by the Soekarno regime on 17 August 1960.
 - 73 See Halid and Zubair, "Peranan Penerbit dalam Transformasi Intelektualisme Islam," 50-1.
 - 74 See, for example, one of his translated works in Abdullahi Ahmed an-Naim, *Dekonstruksi Syari'ah*, transl. by A. Suaedy and Amiruddin Arrani (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1994). This book is a translation from an English version. See Abdullahi Ahmed an-Naim, *Toward an Islamic Reformation: Civil Liberties, Human Rights and International Law* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1990). Another example is Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, *Islam dan Negara Sekular; Menegosiasikan Masa Depan Syariah* translated by Sri Murniati (Bandung: Mizan, 2007). This book is published in Indonesian even before the English version saw the light. The English version is to be published by Harvard University Press in 2008.
 - 75 One of his translated works can be found in Muhammad Ahmad Khalafullah, *Al-Qur'an Bukan "Kitab Sejarah": Seni, Sastra dan Moralitas dalam Kisah-kisah Al-Qur'an*, transl. by Anis Maftukhin and Zuhairi Misrawi (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2002). This book is a translation from an Arabic version. See Muhammad Ahmad Khalafullah, *Al-Fann al-Qasāṣī fī al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (Beirut: Ṣinā' li al-Naṣr, 1999).
 - 77 Halid and Zubair, "Peranan Penerbit dalam Transformasi Intelektualisme," 50-1.
 - 78 Halid and Zubair, "Peranan Penerbit dalam Transformasi Intelektualisme," 50-1, especially footnote 44.
 - 79 See Bubalo and Fealy, *Joining the Caravan?* 37 and 62.
 - 80 Nurcholish Madjid et al., *Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam* (Djakarta: Islamic Research Centre, 1970).
 - 81 See Nurcholish Madjid, "Keharusan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam dan Masalah Integrasi Ummat," in Madjid et al., *Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam*, 1-12. This book chapter was originally a paper delivered by Madjid during the event of *halal bi halal* (literally meaning "mutual forgiving") in Jakarta on 2 January 1970, organized by several Islamic organizations, including *Pelajar Islam Indonesia* (PII/Indonesian Muslim Students), *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (HMI/Indonesian Muslim Student Association), *Persatuan Sarjana Muslim Indonesia* (Persami/Association of Indonesian Muslim Scholars), and *Gerakan Pemuda Islam* (GPI/Muslim Youth Movement). This paper or book chapter has marked Madjid's initial publicizing of liberalism

- in Indonesian Islamic thought. Asna Husin even considers it as the best evidence of a major shift in Madjid's thinking on Islamic liberalism. See Asna Husin, "Philosophical and Sociological Aspects of *Da'wah*: A Study of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, 1998), 239.
- 82 See Nurcholish Madjid, "Menyegarkan Paham Keagamaan di Kalangan Umat Islam Indonesia," in *Islam, Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan* (Bandung: Mizan, 1987), 239-56.
 - 83 Nurcholish Madjid, "Beberapa Renungan tentang Kehidupan Keagamaan di Indonesia untuk Generasi Mendatang," in Lukman Hakim (ed.), *Menggugat Gerakan Pembaruan Keagamaan: Debat Besar "Pembaruan Islam"* (Jakarta: Lembaga Studi Informasi Pembangunan/LSIP, 1995), 30-90. This book chapter was later republished in a book on the dynamic of Islamic thought in Ciputat, Jakarta, where the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN, recently transformed into the State Islamic University/UIN, Syarif Hidayatullah), Madjid's *alma mater*, is located. See Nurcholish Madjid, "Beberapa Renungan Kehidupan Keagamaan untuk Generasi Mendatang," in Edy A. Effendy (ed.), *Dekonstruksi Islam Mazhab Ciputat* (Bandung: Zaman Wacana Mulia, 1999), 9-58.
 - 84 See Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin, dan Peradaban* (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992).
 - 85 See Budhy Munawar-Rachman, *Islam Pluralis: Wacana Kesetaraan Kaum Beriman* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001).
 - 86 See Zainun Kamal et al., *Fiqih Lintas Agama: Membangun Masyarakat Inklusif-Pluralis*, ed. by Mun'im A. Sirry (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina and The Asia Foundation, 2004).
 - 87 See Luthfi Assyaukanie (ed.), *Wajah Liberal Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Jaringan Islam Liberal and Teater Utan Kayu, 2002).
 - 88 See Burhanuddin (ed.), *Syariat Islam Pandangan Islam Liberal* (Jakarta: Jaringan Islam Liberal and The Asia Foundation, 2003).
 - 89 Greg Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia: Pemikiran Neo-modernisme Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib dan Abdurrahman Wahid, 1968-1980* (Jakarta: Pustaka Antara-Paramadina, 1999).
 - 90 Charles Kurzman (ed.), *Wacana Islam Liberal: Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer tentang Isu-isu Global* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001). This book is a translation from his English version. See Kurzman (ed.), *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook*.
 - 91 Albert Hourani, *Pemikiran Liberal di Dunia Arab* (Jakarta: Freedom Institute, 2004). This book is a translation from his English version *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).
 - 92 Abdul Munir Mul Khan (ed.), *Seh Siti Jenar dan Ajaran Wihdatul Wujud: Dialog Budaya dan Pemikiran Jawa-Islam* (Yogyakarta: Percetakan Persatuan, 1985).
 - 93 Simuh, *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam ke Mistik Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Benteng Budaya, 1995).
 - 94 M. Imdadun Rahmat et al., *Islam Pribumi: Mendialogkan Agama, Membaca Realitas* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2003).

- 95 Ridin Sofwan et al., *Merumuskan Kembali Interelasi Islam-Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2004).
- 96 Ibtihadj Musyarof (ed.), *Islam Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Tugu, 2006)
- 97 See Mark R. Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001). This book is a translation from his English version *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).
- 98 See John Ryan Bartholomew, *Alif Lam Mim, Kearifan Masyarakat Sasak* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2001).
- 99 See for example, Niels Mulder, *Kebatinan dan Hidup Sehari-hari Orang Jawa: Kelangsungan dan Perubahan Kulturil* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1984).

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