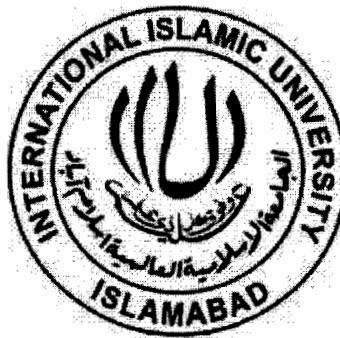


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International Islamic University  
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الجامعة الإسلامية العالمية  
إسلام آباد - باكستان  
كلية أصول الدين  
قسم مقارنة الأديان

**THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION  
IN TWENTIETH CENTURY INDONESIA  
(An Analytical Study)**

**A Thesis**

**Submitted to the Faculty of Islamic Studies (Usuluddin)**

**As a partial requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy degree**

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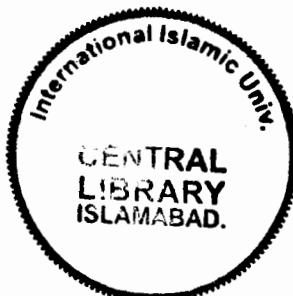
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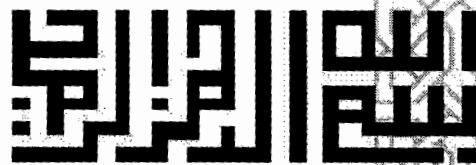
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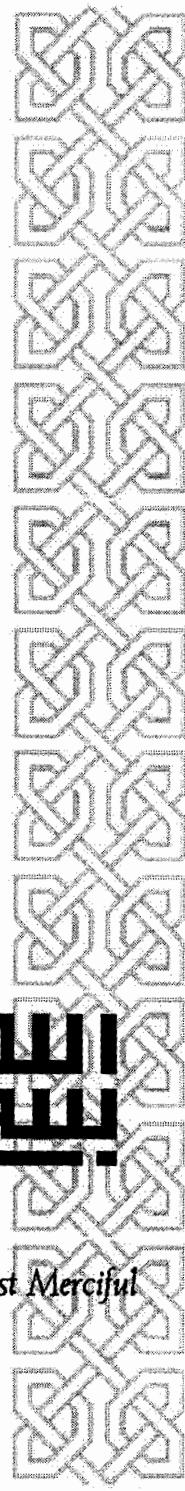
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2. Islam - Indonesia



*In the name of Allah  
the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful*



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## ملخص البحث:

عنوان البحث : دراسة مقارنة الأديان في القرن العشرين بإندونيسيا

إعداد : ألفينا هداية ملك

إشراف : الأستاذ محمد مدثر علي

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إشراف على اللغة : الأستاذ بلال أحمد قريشى

اختارت هذا الموضوع "دراسة مقارنة الأديان في القرن العشرين بإندونيسيا" نظرا لأهميته وضرورته لفهم الأديان والتقاليد المختلفة داخل البلد وخاصة للمسلمين في إندونيسيا، لأن هذا البلد يكُون من خمسة الأديان الرسمية: الإسلام، والكاثوليكية، والبروتستانتية، والهندوسية، والبوذية. فدراسة مقارنة الأديان تتكون وسيلة مماثلة للتسامح بين الأديان. ونعلم أن جمهورية إندونيسيا هي دولة ديمقراطية غير إسلامية، فقضية التسامح بين الأديان والتقاليد هي من أكثر الأمور إهتماما بين مجتمع إندونيسيا عامة وبين المسلمين خاصة. فأحاول لإنجاحية هذه الأسئلة عن جهود علماء المسلمين في هذا المجال؛ نتيجة للحركة الفكرية من جانب، والسياسية، والاجتماعية، والدينية من جانب آخر. هؤلاء الذين فحصوا بعض العوامل والأسباب التي تتكون منها دراسة الأديان جزءا من مشروع لبرلة تعاليم الإسلام (التعديدية الدينية) وخاصة في القرن العشرين. في هذا البحث كذلك سأحاول عن كشف مناهجهم في دراسة الأديان.

وبالتفصيل، أن هذا البحث هي دراسة تحليلية التي حاولت على بحث الجوانب التاريخية في إنتشار الأديان الخمسة في هذا البلد ونشأة الدراسة فيه من القرن السابع عشر الميلادي إلى اليوم. لهذا قسمت البحث إلى فترتين: أولا: علماء الأديان قبل القرن العشرين الميلادي، منهم نور الدين الرانيري (المتوفى ١٦٥٨ م) وله كتاب بعنوان "البيان في معرفة الأديان" وغيره كثيرة من أعماله في دراسة

الأديان. ثانياً: علماء الأديان في القرن العشرين، منهم محمود يونس الذي ألف كتاباً مشهوراً بعنوان "الأديان" ثم يليه زين العارفين عباس (المتوفى ١٩٧٠ م) و محمد راشدي (المتوفى ٢٠٠١ م) وكان أول وزير للشؤون الدينية سنة ١٩٤٠ الميلادي، وألف كتاباً بعنوان "فلسفة الدين". والآخر هو عبد المعطي علي، كان رئيساً لقسم مقارنة الأديان بالجامعة الإسلامية الحكومية بيوكياكarta، وهو الذي صمم المناهج لدراسة الأديان في هذه الجامعة. ولُقب بأبي مقارنة الأديان في إندونيسيا. وبعده هاون ناسوتيون، وله كتاب بعنوان "فلسفة الدين" (*Philosophy of Religion*). وغيرهم من علماء المسلمين الذين أسهموا جهودهم في تقدم دراسة الأديان بإندونيسيا.

وأما الفصل الثالث من هذا البحث، يتناول دراسة مقارنة الأديان في الجامعات والمدارس الدينية بإندونيسيا، ومن هذه الجامعات هي الجامعة الإسلامية الحكومية التي انتشرت في أنحاء جزر إندونيسيا، وجامعة دارالسلام الإسلامية، وأيضاً معهد دارالسلام للتربيـة الإسلامية الحديثة كونتـور بجاوى الشرقية .



**SPECIAL DEDICATION TO.**

*My lovely father and mother*

*(Abdul Malik - Sunarti)*

*&*

*My Husband*

*(Hamdan Maghribi)*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

*Alhamdulillahi Rabbi al-'Alamin...*

Let me take this opportunity to extend my deep appreciation to all those who have been instrumental in making this thesis possible, especially who have assisted me during my study in this university. First of all, I am deeply grateful to Sir Mohammad Modassir Ali as supervisor and Head of Department for the precious encouragements, advices and assistances for the accomplishment of this work. Secondly to Dr. Amatur Rafi for her supervision of this work, her generous guidance, scholarly advices and the precious time which she has presented for the better achievement and the completion of this work. As well as my gratitude to Mr. Bilal Qureshi as my language supervisor, for his kindness assistance, time and knowledge.

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Above all, my highest appreciation to my beloved father and mother (Abdul Malik and Sunarti) for their sincere patience, prayers, and for everything, *hope I can be your 'anak saleh'...* furthermore, I also wish to express my greatly gratitude to my father and mother in law (Drs. Shodiq and Rabi'atus Sa'adah) for their affection and encouragement, my sister (Anna Alya Indamala Malik) and my brothers in law (Hakam Ar-Rashada and Hakim As-Shidiqi) *I wish I will be home soon, my sis and bro...*

Overall, my intensely grateful to my very close friend, my brother, my partner, my teacher and my husband as well, Hamdan Maghribi. Thanks for all his assistances during my study in this university, especially in the completion of this work.

Finally, my thankfulness to all my friends in Pakistan and Indonesia, which I could not mention in this page personally, *I deeply thank you and thank you very much...*

*Alfina Hidayah Malik*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS:

### ملخص البحث

#### Acknowledgments

#### Table of contents

Introduction .....	i
--------------------	---

Preface .....	1
---------------	---

#### **Chapter one: INDONESIA AND THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS**

The Historical Development of Religions in Indonesia .....	9
--	---

The Emergence of Study of Religions in the Indonesia .....	27
--	----

#### **Chapter two: THE INDONESIAN MUSLIM SCHOLARS ENDEAVOURS AND CONTRIBUTION TOWARD STUDY OF RELIGION IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: METHODS AND APPROACHES**

The Development of Study in the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century .....	39
--	----

Methodology and Approaches in the Study of Religion .....	50
---	----

#### **Chapter three: THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION IN INDONESIA**

IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Studies) and UIN (State Islamic University) .....	68
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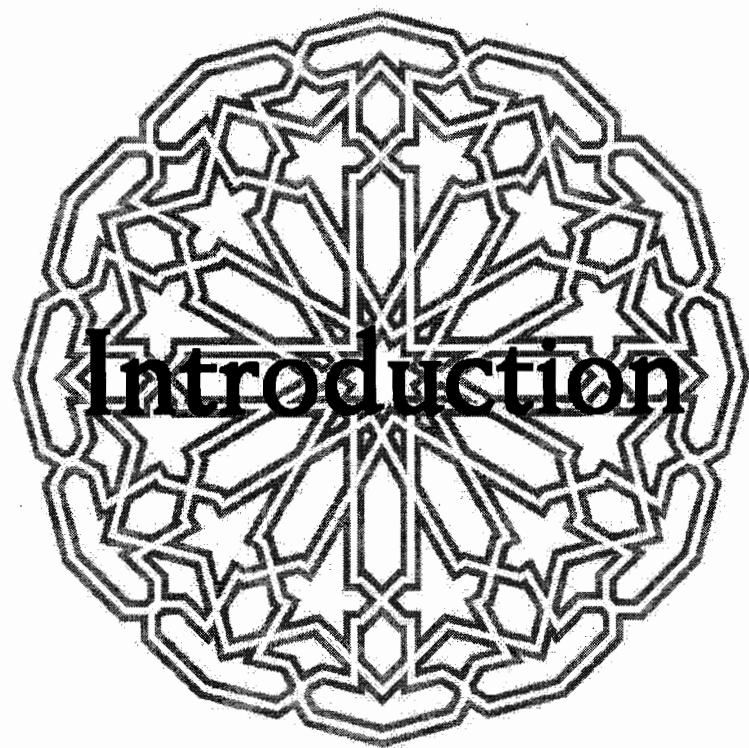
ICRS 'Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies' .....	78
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PMDG (Darussalam Modern Islamic Boarding School) .....	81
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ISID (Darussalam Institute of Islamic Studies) .....	84
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Conclusion .....	92
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Bibliography .....	99
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# Introduction

## INTRODUCTION

This humble work was an attempt in the study of comparative religion particularly within the twentieth century Indonesia. The study initially pervaded the historical background of the five religions found in Indonesia, including the contributions of their adherents in various aspects. In the beginning, the study of religions was a result of the Muslims civilization especially in the sphere of intellectual development, while further contributions of the scholars in the field were found in the twentieth century CE onwards, in the sense that the study of comparative religion has implemented into educational institutions subject and discipline.

The purposes behind was to find another way of communication between religions in Indonesia and highlight the inter-religious tolerance in the country. Since the Republic of Indonesia was a democratic state and not an Islamic one. Here then, the issue of tolerance between religions and traditions to avoid any conflicts was more important for the Indonesian scholars, whether by the Muslims or others, and thus the minister of religious affairs has sponsored and supported the study of comparative religion especially within educational institutions.

The introduction of this study will comprise the significance, statement of problems, literature review, methodology and description on contents as following:

### Significance of the Topic

The study is significant in the following terms:

1. The significance of 'religion' in Indonesia, since 'religion' was a part of the state ideology 'Pancasila' saying: '*Belief in the One Supreme God*'. As a result of that, everyone has to adhere to any of five official religions; Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism.
2. The significance of comparative religion study in Indonesia, since Indonesia is a multicultural state comprised of various ethnics, racial, linguistic and religious groups (at least the five official religions). As a consequence of that, there must be an endeavour in the study of religions, previously and within the contemporary Indonesia as well.
3. The significance of comparative religion study as one of the country demands; it is considered as a way of inter-religious communication and understanding to build life harmonious in the country. In which according to the third principle of 'Pancasila' saying:

‘Indonesian Unity’ and the Indonesia’s national motto ‘*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*’ means Unity in Diversity.

4. The significance of twentieth century CE in the development of comparative religion in Indonesia, particularly its implementation within educational institutions.
5. The significance of the department of religious affairs’ contributions to the development of the study of comparative religion, which was manifested through inter-faith conferences, seminars, educational programs and media publication as well.

### **Statement of the Problem:**

This topic contains the following reasons:

1. As an Indonesian student in the field of comparative religion, it is essential to know the development of the study in his/her own homeland (Indonesia), since the present studies on Indonesia and the study of religions in this country have been attempted a lot by the Western scholars such as Karel A. Steenbrink and/or by the Indonesian students in the Western universities such as Fauzan Saleh.
2. To figure out and recall some important figures in the study of religions in Indonesia along with their contributions, methodology and approaches.
3. To elaborate the role of educational institutions in the development of the discipline in Indonesia, as another way of its scientific implementation.

### **Literature Review**

Various works have been conducted the study of Indonesia and the study of religions in Indonesia. Somehow, the following works are to assist this topic:

1. ‘*Ilmu Perbandingan Agama di Indonesia*’ (Science of Comparative Religion in Indonesia), by Abdul Mukti Ali, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 1988.
2. ‘*The Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims; A Survey*’, by Karel A. Steenbrink, an article in *Numen*, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, 1990.

The article presented the Indonesian Muslims contribution to the study of comparative religion in brief, before and within twentieth century CE. As a survey work, Karel A. Steenbrink has tried to give some pictures of the Indonesian Muslim scholars in the discipline, while further

contributions such as educational institutions was not illustrated. Since, he perhaps wants to emphasize on the scholars and their works rather than other implementation of the study.

3. *'A Pillar of Social Harmony: the Study of Comparative Religion in Contemporary Indonesia'*, by Herman L. Beck, an article in the *'Modern Societies and the Science of Religions: Studies in Honour of Lammert Leertouwer'*, edited by Gerard Albert Wieger, Brill, Leiden.

This article was an effort on the study of comparative religion in contemporary Indonesia, which emphasized its division according to political orders; before and after the establishment of New Order regimes. While an author has given further explanation on Abdul Mukti Ali's contribution to the study, since he has very significant role especially during his profession as minister of religious affairs. Besides, the author's observation was more attentive to the political impact on the study of comparative religion than its development within intellectual insight.

### **Note on Methodology**

The present study of comparative religion in the twentieth century Indonesia methodologically will follow an analytical and descriptive study by explaining historical expansion of various religions in the country, the major contributions of Muslims in knowledge particularly in the study of religions before twentieth century CE and in the twentieth century CE as well their developments through educational institutions . Furthermore this work will be divided into three chapters and sub-chapters in sequence including introduction, conclusion and bibliography at the end.

### **The Description of Contents**

The first chapter of this work is *'Indonesia and the study of religions'* will elaborate the historical development of various religions in Indonesia and the emergence of study of religions in the country, the study will include the explanation of prior foreign religion 'Hinduism', Buddhism, Hindu-Buddhism and Confucian Buddhism, Islam and the establishment new civilization, the mass conversion to Christianity, as well the historical background of the native people who previously Animists at that time, while since the outer islands traders started coming to archipelago within centuries as result of that more than one new religions were introduced and expanded in ancient Indonesia. Basically the people did not take it for granted, although they integrated its cults and costumes thus they had such Hindu-Buddhism kingdoms. This component

may also expound the progress of these religions in the struggle against European colonialism and the state establishment in early twentieth century. Another part will also elucidate the emergence of the study of religions in Indonesia which contained the early Muslims scholars and their contribution to knowledge and the study of religions and its scholars before twentieth century Indonesia.

The Second chapter is entitled '*The Indonesian Muslim Scholars Endeavours and contribution toward Study of Religion in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Methods and Approaches*' which will consist two parts; the development of study in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and concerning methodology and approaches in the study of religion. This chapter will try to illustrate the prior developments of the Indonesian Muslims in the early twentieth century CE as well the explanation of the needs of comparative religion in Indonesia. While further it will give an introduction to the methodology and approaches intended for the study in Indonesia and its implication to the study of religions by Indonesian Muslim scholars. Here will try to elucidate how the scholars have developed the study of religion in the form of comparative religion discipline including their methods of study.

Several methods and approaches have been applied by certain scholars such as the psychological approach sometimes used by Mahmud Yunus (b. 1899 CE) particularly when he defined religion, Muhammad Rasyidi (1915-2001 CE) has also adopted the psychology and the sociology of religion. Zainal Arifin Abbas (d. 1970 CE) was another scholar who applied the sociological as well philosophical approaches. Again, the philosophy of religion will tag several men like Abdul Mukti Ali (1923-2004 CE) and Harun Nasution (1919-1998 CE) in which through them the field of study became popular latterly in Indonesia.

The Third chapter entitled '*the Role of Educational Institution in the Development of the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia*' which studied four institutions; IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Studies) and UIN (State Islamic University), ICRS 'Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies', PMDG (Darussalam Modern Islamic Boarding School), and ISID (Darussalam Institute of Islamic Studies).

## PREFACE

### An Introduction to Indonesia and the Advent of Foreign Religions in Archipelago

The term 'Indonesia' merely a shorter synonym of the Indian islands or the Indian archipelago, it has several interpretations mentioned from the mid-nineteenth century CE. As referred to Colin Brown in his book '*A Short History of Indonesia*', that the word 'Indonesia' began to be discussed in this period (mid-nineteenth century CE), in which it contained several meanings for its geographical, political and social implications.

Primarily, Colin Brown mentioned its geographical meaning as the controversial one, unlike its social and political implications.<sup>1</sup> James Richardson pointed that the word referred back to its various archipelagos called '*Nusantara*', the word used for the Indonesian territories before the establishment of the state in the early twentieth century CE. '*Nusantara*' the collective islands of Indonesia also used in the '*Nagarakrtagama*' (the lengthy panegyric poem in old Javanese language) for the outer islands of Java. By then, the word had revived in the twentieth century CE as a poetic name for the Indonesian archipelago.<sup>2</sup>

While literally, 'Indonesia' is combined words of 'India' and '*Nesos*' (the Greek language for 'Islands') which meant 'Indian Islands'. And thus, many European writers currently argued that Indonesian archipelago was an extension of the Indian Sub-Continent. This phenomenon can be seen in its cultural form, particularly Indonesians were historically Hindus and its transformation of cultures, customs and Sanskrit language are still present until today.<sup>3</sup>

Before the twentieth century CE, for instance the British also implied Indonesia as the 'further India', while the Dutch previously called Indonesia as the 'Indies', 'the East Indies', '*Insulinde*' (the islands of the Indies). Politically, they called it the 'Netherlands (East) Indies' means the 'Dutch India' or 'the tropical Netherlands', while the non-Dutch travellers called it 'the Eastern Seas', 'the Eastern islands', or 'the Indian archipelago'.<sup>4</sup>

The other implications of Colin Brown were about the political and social meanings, which started to be pointed out in the early twentieth century CE by the state nationalist to get

<sup>1</sup> See: *A Short History of Indonesia: the Unlikely Nation?*, Allen & Anwin, Australia, 2003, p: 2

<sup>2</sup> Cribb, Robert, Audrey Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, second edition, Scarecrow Press, INC, United States of America, 2004, p: 301

<sup>3</sup> See: Beatty, Andrew, *Varieties of Javanese Religion: an Anthropological Account*, Cambridge University Press, Australia, 2003, p: 212, 228.; Taylor, Jean Gelman, *Indonesia: Peoples and Histories*, Yale University Press, America, 2003, p: 21

<sup>4</sup> Elson, R. E, *The Idea of Indonesia*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2008 p: 1

independence nation from the Dutch colonialism. Hence Indonesian state or Republic of Indonesia started to exist around 1945 CE through proclamation of independence by Sukarno - Muhammad Hatta, as the first President and vice-President of Indonesian Republic. Whereas the implication of its social meaning, the term Indonesia implied for the Indonesians especially since the Independence Day as their identity for people belong to the archipelago, and for those who spoke Indonesian language as their tongue which officially modern style of the Malay language.<sup>5</sup>

The Indonesian civilization reached to its zenith from the first to the end of the fifteenth century CE, since the indigenous people began their contact to the other regions. As evidence recorded, China suggested some ports of Java's north coast to be used consistently for their trade with mainland Southeast Asia, south China, and the east coast of Indian peninsula since 500 BCE.<sup>6</sup> The intra-regional and international trading linkage was continued in the first century CE onward to the east coast of Africa, by evidence that during the time the people of Madagascar were speaking a language originated from the Southwest Kalimantan (Borneo), Indonesia.<sup>7</sup>

This period considered by the historians as the golden period of Indonesian civilization, whereas the two main forces; foreign religion and trade were introduced and spread in the country. It showed in its relics such as temple of *Borobudur* and *Prambanan* as the great temples in history and various works like the books written by the local people represented their achievement of knowledge, whether by the Indonesian Hindus, Buddhists or the Muslims.<sup>8</sup>

Another representation might appear in their political systems referred to three religions ruled in the history; the Hindu-Buddhism kingdom and the Islamic kingdom. It was an important time, especially for the Indonesian contribution in the development of their civilization.<sup>9</sup> In specific, this work will elaborate the Indonesian Muslim works, particularly on the study of religions pioneered by Nuruddin al-Raniry in the seventeenth century CE. Later on, it is popularized from the early twentieth century CE, by major contemporary Muslim scholars and through educational institutions in Indonesia until today.

In fact, Indonesia has Muslim population in majority along with the Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism adherents around the country, while the second largest

<sup>5</sup> Brown, Colin, *A Short History of Indonesia: the Unlikely Nation?*, Allen & Anwin, Australia, 2003, p: 3

<sup>6</sup> The Javanese export products at the time were such as rice, spices and the sandalwood from the Eastern Indonesia. See: *Ibid*, pp: 11-13

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p: 13

<sup>8</sup> See: Taylor, Jean Gelman, *Indonesia: Peoples and Histories*, Yale University Press, America, 2003, pp: 27-41

<sup>9</sup> See: Brown, Colin, *A Short History of Indonesia: the Unlikely Nation?*, Allen & Anwin, Australia, 2003, pp: 13-17

citizens belonged to Christianity (Catholicism and Protestantism).<sup>10</sup> Before the spread of Islam around fifteenth century CE and probably prior to that, Hinduism as well the Buddhism were the major religions of the people represented in the Hindu-Buddhism kingdoms ever ruled the archipelago such as *Majapahit* kingdom, etc. Then conquered by the Islamic kingdoms such as *Demak* kingdom, etc. Subsequently, the seventeenth and eighteenth century CE of Indonesia was the transition period between the Muslim empires role and the beginning of the European imperialism. It is noted that gradually the Muslims spread in the archipelago from place to place, Buddhism and Hinduism started substituted by the Islamic teachings brought by the Arabs and the Indian Muslim traders to the islands, and since the early thirteenth century CE the Muslims became politically dominant in some parts of the archipelago.<sup>11</sup> Since the sixteenth century CE, the Portuguese and Spanish started dealing with the Indonesian for the sake of trade and then followed by the British and Dutch. By the middle of seventeenth century CE, the Islamic kingdom of the archipelago weakened and the economic strength also declined, hence the European took over the power and imperialism arose in the end of eighteenth century CE to the early of twentieth century CE.<sup>12</sup>

As mentioned above at glance, somehow Hinduism was considered the first foreign religion appeared in ancient Indonesia. It's envisaged that Hinduism had introduced to the people of archipelago since 100 CE, when the rulers opened trade routes between China and India. As a result of that, the ancient Indians started spreading over the Sumatra, Java and Bali Islands during this period.<sup>13</sup> It is also noted that the first known inscription of south Indian '*Pallava*' script used for the announcement by King Mulawarman in East Kalimantan around fourth century CE. It indicated that the Indians and their religion have already developed and spread over indigenous kingdoms in ancient Indonesia.<sup>14</sup>

Definitely this religion expanded through a mutual trade relationship between these two different regions, especially when the Indian traders visited Indonesian initial empires.<sup>15</sup> The earliest kingdoms of Hinduism on the islands of Java and Sumatra not only adapted the Indian philosophy, but also integrated with the local beliefs of 'Animism'. Probably it might be the

<sup>10</sup> See: Mujiburrahman, *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order*, Amsterdam University Press, Leiden, 2006, p: 16

<sup>11</sup> See: Ropi, Ismatu, *Muslim Responses to Christianity in Modern Indonesia*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1998, pp: 6-10

<sup>12</sup> See: Ricklefs, M.C, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, p: 25

<sup>13</sup> See: Forshee, Jill, *Culture and Customs of Indonesia*, Greenwood Press, London, 2006, p: 33

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p: xv

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p: 29

reason why these kingdoms rapidly accepted Hinduism as their official religion, as similar to Animism as their prior faith and way of life.

Latterly, they began to stay in archipelago and married the local people of the islands, hence the Indian cultures spread over the people and they make an effort to find the Brahman priests to guide them in religious practices, rituals, and so on. These priests acknowledged their selves as descendants of the highest caste. Subsequently, they influenced the Indonesian rulers by belief that some of them were the incarnation of Hindu *Devas* as Vishnu and Siva, as well as their premiers were the kings of great *Devas*. Through this statement the kings had given the Hindu better position in the society. As a result of that, Sanskrit language and their writings started to be known by the people gradually, as compared to Hinduism in India that the Sanskrit could not teach to the lower class of people.<sup>16</sup>

The presence of Hindu kingdoms started around second century CE in the northern part of Java, which ruled by a Hindu king '*Kudunga*' and at the same period was also presented in the island of Borneo, it was reigned by Hindu king Asvavarman and Mulavarman. Later on, some other Hindu kingdoms constantly extended in the lands of Java. *Kudunga* was grandfather of *Asvavarman*, while *Mulavarman* was the son of *Asvavarman*. They were the kings of Kutai kingdom in northeast Borneo (Kalimantan) near the modern cities of Balikpapan and Samarinda (Borneo). Whereas the seven inscriptions found in this area, written in *Pallava* script dated to the early fifth century CE.<sup>17</sup> The kingdom in Bali ruled by Airlangga, a Hindu Raja already existed around fifteenth century CE and today Bali is the only Hindu island remained in Indonesia.<sup>18</sup>

Progressively, the Hindu cultures and religious traditions grew and developed into Hindu kingdoms around sixth up to the fourteenth centuries CE. While on sixth, seventh and eighth centuries CE Hinduism began influenced by the Buddhist religion and civilization.<sup>19</sup> As recorded by China, the arrival of Buddhism to ancient Indonesia since the seventh century CE, in which they founded international community of Buddhist in the *Srivijaya* kingdom of Sumatra. And afterwards, the people started merging ideas and deities of Hinduism and Buddhism what it was called the Hindu-Buddhism.<sup>20</sup> In the early kingdoms, these two religions were practised without evidence of conflict, such as noticed in the fourteenth century CE of *Majapahit* kingdom that the

<sup>16</sup> See: Brown, Colin, *A Short History of Indonesia: the Unlikely Nation?*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, 2003, p: 16

<sup>17</sup> See: Miksic, John N, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Southeast Asia*, the Scarecrow Press, Inc, United Kingdom, 2007, p: 203

<sup>18</sup> See: Pringle, Robert, *A Short History of Bali: Indonesia's Hindu Realm*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, 2004, Pp: 48-50

<sup>19</sup> See: Forshee, Jill, *Culture and Customs of Indonesia*, Greenwood Press, London, 2006, pp: 34-35

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p: 34

Buddhist and the Hindus ministers were equally in their status, they worked alongside each other peacefully.<sup>21</sup>

The Hindu Rajas introduced the monarchic system of governing and organizing of arm forces, literature, music and dances, architecture, method and ritual of worship, etc. Religiously, the Hindu interpretation of Vedas holy scriptures in the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics presented through the puppets shadow play (*wayang kulit*) as its visual media, this kind of performance was introduced and spread all over the country until today.

Later on, there is no certain evidence when Islam reached for the first time in archipelago. Indeed, there are some different theories regarding this issue but historians assume that Islam already spread over the local people of archipelago in the fifteenth century CE. Furthermore, the Muslim gravestone marking on 1082 CE also found recently in Java.<sup>22</sup> Marco polo also noted in his diary when he arrived at Sumatra in the late of thirteenth century CE (1292 CE) that the state of Perlak (Northeast Coast) was under the Muslim community. It is noted that Islam spread in Indonesia by the Arabs and Indians through their trade relationship with the people of archipelago, while the people at that time were Hindus, Buddhist and some of them were adhered to native beliefs. Constantly the Hindu Buddha kingdoms were also defeated by the Muslim kingdoms when Islam came to its peak and built their own kingdoms such as Demak kingdom, etc.<sup>23</sup> In the graveyard of Lamreh was also found the gravestone of Sultan named Sulaiman bin Abdullah bin al-Basir who died in 1211 CE. This evidence is also thought to be the first signal of the former Islamic kingdom in Indonesia.

Another indication has been made by the Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta that he found the people of *Samudra* were the followers of *Shafi'I* school of law, during his visit around 1345-1346 CE.<sup>24</sup> While in the island of Java, the Javanese vastly converted to Islam around 1478 CE recorded in the *Babad Tanah Jawi* thus in the late of fourteenth century CE was marked by the disintegration of *Majapahit* power.<sup>25</sup> Simply, the perpetual process of the spread of Islam in Java was handled by the famous nine saints called '*Wali Songo*', these saints are: *Sunan Ngampel*,

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> Hilmy, Masdar, *Islam and Javanese Acculturation: Textual and Contextual (Analysis of the Slametan Ritual)*, MA Thesis, McGill University, Canada, 1999, p: 9.; Saleh, Fauzan, *Modern Trends in Islamic Theological Discourse in Twentieth Century in Indonesia: A Critical Survey*, Brill, Leiden, 2001, p: 17.; Mulyati, Sri, *Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawi al-Banten's Salalim al-Fudala*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1992, p: 4

<sup>23</sup> See: Brown, Colin, *A Short History of Indonesia: the Unlikely Nation?*, Allen & Anwin, Australia, 2003, p: 31.

<sup>24</sup> Ricklefs, M.C, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, P: 4

<sup>25</sup> Hilmy, Masdar, *Islam and Javanese Acculturation: Textual and Contextual (Analysis of the Slametan Ritual)*, MA Thesis, McGill University, Canada, 1999, p: 19.

*Sunan Kudus, Sunan Murya, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Giri, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Siti Jenar, Sunan Gunung Jati, and Sunan Walilanang.* While the *Babad Tanah Jawi* has noted the tenth saint '*Sunan Bayat*' among them was also recorded.

One of the reasons for the Islamization in this period was the kingdom of *Majapahit* was fairly permissive in the spread of new faith among their people, even though there are several reasons why the people of archipelago rapidly converted to Islam, day by day. Another element can be included as an Islamic discourse and its spread in Indonesia was the contribution of the Muslim Sufis in Islamizing the region. It is said that the form of Islam introduced for the first time, mainly in Java and Sumatra Island was the variety of Sufi orders. Moreover, the type of teaching which the nine saints brought to the people was the mystical practices in the form of healing and extraordinary powers possessed by these '*Wali Songo*'.<sup>26</sup>

Another foreign religion spread in archipelago was Christianity through the European merchants. It's stated that the first Europeans came to the archipelago were the Portuguese and the Spanish around 1511 until 1700 CE in Moluccas Indonesia, while the Portuguese had already built their bases in India, Sri Lanka and Malacca<sup>27</sup>. Basically, there are two divisions of Christianity mainly embraced by the Indonesian Christians; the Catholicism which pioneered and spread through the missionary effort of the Portuguese, Spanish and British during their colonialism over the country. Secondly was the Protestantism brought by the Dutch colonialists' *Zending* mission within 350 years of colonialism in the country, even though we might find their endeavours over the country until today.

Looking at the history of Indonesia before declaration of its independence on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1945 CE, the indigenous people (the Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and Christians) have made a great effort to liberate their lands from the European imperialism, especially the Dutch since the down fall of the religious kingdoms in archipelago by the arrival of Portuguese, Spanish, British and the Dutch in the sixteenth century CE to the early twentieth century CE.<sup>28</sup> The struggle of Indonesians might have various depictions, which evidently recorded mainly in the twentieth century CE (as discussed in the first chapter of this study). Whereas almost pioneered by the

<sup>26</sup> See: Muthalib, Abdul, *the Mystical Thought of Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari: an Indonesian Sufi of the Eighteenth Century*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1995, p: 12.; Woodward, Mark R, *History of Religions ('Slametan': Textual Knowledge and Ritual Performance in Central Javanese Islam)*, Volume 28, No. 1, (August 1998), the University of Chicago Press, p: 76.; Batubara, Chuzaimah, *Islam and Mystical Movements in Post-Independence Indonesia: Susila Budhi Dharma (SUBUD) and Its Doctrines*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1999, pp: 1-2

<sup>27</sup> Aritonang, Jan S, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia*, Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 2006, p: 14

<sup>28</sup> Effendi, Bahtiar, *Islam and the State in Indonesia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2003, p: 15

Muslims elite community through established organization such as *Sarekat Dagang Islamiyah*<sup>29</sup> (Islamic Commercial Union) in 1910 CE at Batavia (Jakarta), while on 1912 CE its name turned into *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union), and other achievements in various aspects.

This preface of the advent of foreign religions in Indonesia is such endeavour, which brought us the idea on the survival of religious plurality. As a consequence of that, there must be an attempt for the study of religions in the country, and this work will figure out number of scholars who works on this, in the past and contemporary era.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p: 16.; Laffan, Michael Francis, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: the Umma below the Winds*, RoutledgeCurzon, New York, 2003, p: 167

# Chapter One

## Indonesia and the Study of Religions

### Part One: Historical Development of Religions in Indonesia

1. 1a. A Prior Foreign Religion of Hinduism in Indonesia
1. 1b. Buddhism, the Hindu-Buddhism and Confucian Buddhism in Indonesia
1. 1c. Islam and the Establishment of New Civilization
1. 1d. The Mass Conversion to Christianity

### Part Two: The Emergence of the Study of Religions in Indonesia

1. 2a. The Early Muslim Scholars and their Contribution to Knowledge
1. 2b. The Study of Religions and its Scholars before Twentieth Century Indonesia

## CHAPTER ONE:

### INDONESIA AND THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

#### Part One: Historical Development of Religions in Indonesia

The term 'religion' in Indonesia is simply known as the system of belief and worship as it existed before the advent of foreign religions in archipelago, its portrait was basically similar to the other primitive religions of the world called Paganism or Animism. Moreover as Raymond Kennedy stated: *"Despite later infusions of Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity, the base of Indonesian religion is still paganism, the traditional beliefs and practices of the ancestors. 'Conversion' usually means merely taking on new names for old things."*<sup>1</sup>

This statement gives another picture of religions in Indonesia today. Most of them are influenced by the ancient beliefs and practices, although it is not necessary to place the contemporary living religions on ancient belief of animism and paganism, even though the religious practices and worship are sometimes influenced by the old ones.

This part will elaborate the historical development of the foreign religions in Indonesian archipelago from the expansion of Hinduism to the spread of Christianity, including their contributions in the establishment of the state and in other aspects such as art and literature.

#### Hinduism in Indonesia

The first arrival of Hindus to ancient Indonesia was envisaged within the first century CE, nevertheless the evidence verified the Hindu kingdoms of *Tarumanegara* in West Java and *Kutai* in the East Kalimantan (Borneo) have already established in 400 CE.<sup>2</sup> That was another account of the relation between India and Indonesia which already set up in the past by the emergence of various kingdoms recently such as *Srivijaya*, *Mataram*, *Kediri*, *Singasari* and *Majapahit*. Those Indian Merchants, artists, and priests frequently settled in archipelago either as result of political conquest, trade or attending the local people invitations, and thus gradually Hinduism developed into great political kingdoms.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Contours of Culture in Indonesia*, The Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 1, November 1942, Association for Asian Studies, p: 13

<sup>2</sup> Cribb, Robert, Audrey Kahin, *Op. Cit*, p: xv

<sup>3</sup> M. Th., E. J. Brill's First Encyclopedia of Islam, 1913-1939, vol. 4, Brill, Leiden, 1993, p: 576

The indication of the Hindu's impact in archipelago have been found in the West Java and near the East Kalimantan (Borneo) coast in the form of stones with the *Pallava* script written on it. According to Indonesian historians, the kingdoms noted on the stones were initially Indonesian kingdoms which economically based on trade relationship with the South Indians.<sup>4</sup> The new religion of Hinduism attracted the indigenous people especially the elite, probably because it has some similarities with the local belief which contained several rituals and ceremonies devoted to the supernatural spirits.

Similarly the Hindus also worship *devas* (divine beings) and *devis* (goddesses) statues.<sup>5</sup> In early times the cultural and religious adoption started when the Indonesian kings invited the experts and the priests among Indian Hindus to consult and study on particular concepts, such as the structure of Hinduism and implemented religious ceremonies, the state organization, etc. Afterwards, Hinduism leisurely influenced the Indonesian elite.<sup>6</sup> This political impact led to the hierarchical system of state structure and the idea that the Kings were descents of *Deva*, a holy man to whom the state and the world centered,<sup>7</sup> possibly owing to this reason the local kings and the privileged instead converted to Hinduism.

At the beginning *Sivaism* was the dominant form of Hinduism but afterwards Buddhism became an aspect of Indonesian Hinduism, the Hindu priest (*pedanda*) generally conducted rituals, ceremonies and religious traditions, while the local belief emphasized the significance of dharma (destiny and duty). Notably there are about two-thirds *Siva* priests and one-third Buddha priests among the Balinese in particular, the Buddha priests were chosen from the Brahmans while the *Siva* priests may belong to any caste except the 'Sudras', the fourth caste within Hinduism.<sup>8</sup>

Both *Sivaism* and Buddhism were not contradicted a lot in this island while the rest of population was still animists, in the sense that they might blindly count to Hinduism through assimilation process.<sup>9</sup> Whereas the Indian caste system was weakly adopted in Indonesia, approximately ninety percent of the Balinese belong to *Sudras* called *Djaba* or outsiders, while the other three castes called *triwangsa* (three castes or dynasties), who claimed the descent of the

<sup>4</sup> Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*, Djambatan, Jakarta, 2004, p: 21

<sup>5</sup> Soekmono, R., *The Javanese Candi: Function and Meaning*, Brill, Leiden, 1995, p: 9.; Ramstedt, Martin, *Hinduism in Modern Indonesia: a Minority Religion between Local, National and Global Interests*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*, Djambatan, Jakarta, 2004, p: 21

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p: 22

<sup>8</sup> See: Kleen, Tyra di, "the Rituals of Bali", in *Folklore*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Taylor & Francis Ltd., 1923, p: 218

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p: 217

Hindu Javanese invaders of *Majapahit* kingdom which conquered Bali in the fourteenth century CE.<sup>10</sup> Albeit, the caste system was not much applicable in this country, for instance a man of higher caste can marry a woman of any lower caste. It is thought that with the diffusion of Islam, mainly the Balinese Hindus more stressed on the pre-Hindu local deities than the Indian philosophical thought,<sup>11</sup> for instance a custom that seems derived from the pagan fetishism is to bring stones as offerings to some *devas*.<sup>12</sup>

As a consequence to religious studies, the early Hindu kingdom started sending numerous subjects to learn at the famous Nalanda University in the Northwest India.<sup>13</sup> Soon after the indigenous people converted to Hinduism, on behalf of cultural transformation the local people adopted the Indian cultures, arts, language and religious literatures; the epics, legends, or many other customs. Consequently, we find today various Hindu statues and temples (*Candi*) in Indonesia as inheritance of the Hinduism history in Indonesia, for instance 'Dieng Plateau' a Hindu temple to Hindu gods of the Seventh and Eight centuries CE, whereas in the twentieth century CE it became '*masjid*' (mosque).<sup>14</sup>

Although the Hindu cultural impacts were sometimes different between islands, for instance the kingdom of *Srivijaya* at Sumatra was different from the Hindu kingdoms in Java, The Hindu Javanese kingdoms of the ninth to fifteenth centuries CE were economically dependent on agriculture because they were surrounded by the rivers, valleys and volcanoes which made their lands prosperous. These states are: *Mataram*, *Kediri*, *Singasari*, and *Majapahit*.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, *Srivijaya*'s economy was based on trade, and *Srivijaya* had no concept of the kings as god's descent unlike the kingdoms in Java, hence they had no need to build any glorious temples for the kings' grave. In contrast, the *Srivijaya* state gathered their people to build the armadas and the battle ships as defenders instead of constructing the magnificent temples.<sup>16</sup>

Another cultural adoption was found in the field of literature; the epics of *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* are very well known within Indonesian society even until the twentieth century

<sup>10</sup> Belo, Jane, "A Study of a Balinese Family", in *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 38, No. 1, Blackwell Publishing, 1936, p: 12

<sup>11</sup> Cribb, Robert, Audrey Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, second edition, Scarecrow Press, INC, United States of America, 2004, p: 175

<sup>12</sup> Kleen, Tyra di, Kleen, Tyra di, "the Rituals of Bali", in *Folklore*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Taylor & Francis Ltd., 1923, p: 222

<sup>13</sup> Garten, Jeffrey E, "Really Old School" in *New York Times*, December 9, 2006.

<sup>14</sup> Taylor, Jean Gelman, *Indonesia: Peoples and Histories*, Yale University Press, America, 2003, p: 38

<sup>15</sup> Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*, Djambatan, Jakarta, 2004, p: 23

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p: 23

CE, in particular among the Javanese and the Balinese. While Indonesian languages and their writing system previously varied from Sanskrit, Arabic and Latin, for example the Malay language earlier had been rendered in Indic, Arabic and Roman writing systems. Likewise, we may find the Javanese language written in the *Nagari* and *Pallava* writing systems of India.<sup>17</sup> The Hindus mainly Indians have influenced the local society and very much of them are still present.

The impact of Hinduism in different aspects of life is basically referred back to past approximately two thousand years, during period which the contact between Indonesia and India began as elaborated above, although the indigenous people didn't take it for granted but through assimilation and integration process.<sup>18</sup> Until today we might find Indonesian Hinduism distinct from the Hindus of other countries, it represented particularly in Bali, an Island where the majority of Indonesian Hindus lives today.

Bali entitled as the '*Pulau Dewata*' means the Island of the gods, in the sense that its major population comprised of Hindus with reference to 4.5 million people along with thousands of temples (*pura*) surrounding the island. They organized at least three temples in every village; the temple of death (*pura dalem*), the temple of origin (*pura puseh*) and the temple for the gods' council (*pura desa* or *pura bale agung*), though they also built temple in their house yards.<sup>19</sup> The major distinctions of the Balinese Hindus from the Hindus in other areas include: (i) the Balinese religious practices are based on *Veda Sruti*, *Veda Smerti Darsana*, *Tantra*, and local wisdom which pointed in '*lontar*' (manuscript of such palm leaves). (ii) Belief (*Sradha*) in god is based on *Siva Tatva* in the concept of Monotheism (*Eka Tva Sva Laksana Batara*). (iii) Worshiping god (*Sang Hyang Widhi*) or 'the Greatest One' especially called *Bhatara Siva*, *Deva-Devi* and *Hyang* ancestors. (iv) They have temple called *Sanggah/Pemerajan* and *Pura*. (v) Performing *Panca Yadnya* ceremony by using *banten* (special Bali sacrifices) with its *pekem* and lead by *Viku Huvus Kertha Diksita* and his functionary with special attributes. (vi) Indonesian Hinduism has made Socio-Cultural Bali as its implementer media to attract tourist's destination over their island.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Taylor, Jean Gelman, *Indonesia: Peoples and Histories*, Yale University Press, America, 2003, p: 29

<sup>18</sup> Notowidigdo, Moekarto, "the Confrontation of Influences in Indonesia", in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 324, Resolving the Russian-American Deadlock, 1959, p: 67

<sup>19</sup> Dibia, I Wayan, "Odalan of Hindu Bali: A Religious Festival, a Social Occasion, and a Theatrical Event", in *Asian Theatre Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1, University of Hawaii Press, 1985, p: 61

<sup>20</sup> See: Blusse, L, A. Booth et al., *Comparative History of India and Indonesia*, Vol. I, Brill, Leiden, 1987.; Robert Pringle, Op. Cit, pp: 24-27.; Picard, Michel, "Cultural Tourism in Bali: Cultural Performances as Tourist Attraction", in *Indonesia*, Vol. 49, Southeast Asia Program Publication, Comell University, 1990

The Balinese Hindus and their forefathers 'Indians' have similarities with Balinese who are the descendants of textual tradition of the ancient India, such as Sanskrit hymns and mantra, the text of magic, divination and healing, the Indian epics of Mahabharata and Ramayana and it was transferred through Java since thousands years ago. These textual traditions occurred in the writing of prescriptive and descriptive ritual texts such mentioned above, while the genre poems of the people's life were originally from the metrical tradition of the Javanese and the Balinese.<sup>21</sup>

Another characteristic of the Balinese Hindus was imaginative and artistic, despite the fact it made them very religious people because for them art and religion are the things that all peoples principally devote their lives to.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless the fundamental attitude presented by the Balinese art was considered as ritualistic and ceremonious, even though it was often performed in comedy and eroticism, here sometimes a syncretism between Hinduism, Buddhism and primitive animism segments took place.<sup>23</sup>

The Balinese Hindus made beauty within their rituals and ceremonial activities including any social activity, because beauty in the form of art and esthetic was a basic component of efficacy. Sometimes music and dance just like the Javanese *gamelan* instrument and the dances performed by the Balinese Hindus on many occasions were closely linked to religion and ritual, because they thought the music system will support the entire structure of belief.<sup>24</sup>

While the Balinese dances classified into three kinds; first is sacred or religious dances called the *wali* dances, it performed in the inner courtyard of the temple where the ceremony is held, these dances are *Pendet* dance, etc. Secondly, the ceremonial dances called the *bebali* dances generally performed in the middle courtyard of temple which are only the accompanists of the ceremony. Thirdly, the secular dances called the *balih-balihan* dances performed in the outer courtyard of temple as entertainment for the people.<sup>25</sup>

The dancers and the musicians were only the professionals who participated the performances, because for the Balinese an art is a service to the gods and community, thus among them the expert of dance called '*juru igel*' (skilled in dance) and the musicians called '*juru gambel*' (skilled in music). According to them the performances were not intended only for

<sup>21</sup> Vickers, Adrian, *Balinese Texts and Historiography: History and Theory*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Blackwell Publishing, Wesleyan university, 1990, p: 159

<sup>22</sup> Kleen, Tyra di, "The Rituals of Bali", in *Folklore*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Taylor & Francis, Ltd, 1923, p: 217

<sup>23</sup> Gralapp, Leland W, "Balinese Painting and the Wayang Tradition", in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 29, No. 2/3, Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1967, p: 239

<sup>24</sup> Herbst, Ed, "Intrinsic Aesthetics in Balinese Artistic and Spiritual Practice", in *Asian Music*, Vol. 13, No. 1, University of Texas Press, 1981, p: 43

<sup>25</sup> Picard, Michel, "Cultural Tourism in Bali: Cultural Performances as Tourist Attraction", in *Indonesia*, Vol. 49, Southeast Asia Program Publication, Comell University, 1990, p: 66

people but also for the invisible spectators like the ancestors, gods and the demons were also present. This performance was sometimes an offering to the gods and entertainment for the people as well.<sup>26</sup>

In the early twentieth century CE, Hinduism was not identified as the official religion of Indonesian Republic because it contradicted the first of five principles (*Pancasila*) 'belief in the One Supreme God'. Probably by this reason the Indonesian Hindus then declared their concept of monotheism in the form of *Sang Hyang Widi* (the Greatest One). As a result of that, in 1962 CE Hinduism was recognized as official religion by the ministry of religious affairs. Before the recognition, the Balinese Hindu community had already formed the PHDB '*Parisada Dharma Hindu Bali*' (highest administrative council of the Hindu-Bali religion) whereas in 1964 simply after the recognition, they changed its name to *Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia* (highest administrative council of Indonesian Hinduism), means explicitly for all the Indonesian Hindus.<sup>27</sup>

## Buddhism, Hindu Buddhism and Confucian Buddhism in Indonesia

Buddhism is one of the five official religions in Indonesia, while historically Buddhism was very well known and immense religion of ancient Indonesians. It is noted by the Chinese pilgrims that Buddhism already appeared in the seventh century CE, specifically at *Srivijaya* kingdom.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, there have been several Buddhist kingdoms which ruled the archipelago; the *Mataram*, *Kediri*, *Singasari* and *Majapahit* kingdom. The golden period of Buddhism kingdom was during the reign of Sailendra dynasty of *Mataram* from the mid-eight to mid ninth century CE, in which the Buddhist monument of *Borobudur* was built within this era and secondly during the *Majapahit* kingdom from thirteenth to fifteenth centuries CE was also the glorious period for the Indonesian Buddhists history.<sup>29</sup>

Al-Attas stated that since the sixth to eleventh centuries CE Buddhism have strengthened in Sumatra. In the sixth century CE, there have been one thousand Buddhist priests in the region where their theology and philosophy taught and developed. While in the eleventh century CE the

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p: 45

<sup>27</sup> See: Bakker, Frederik Lambertus, *The Struggle of the Hindu Balinese Intellectuals: Developments in Modern Hindu Thinking in Independent Indonesia*, VU University Press, Amsterdam, 1993, also see: Bakker, Frederik Lambertus, "Balinese Hinduism and the Indonesian State; Recent Developments" in *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde* 153, no: 1, Leiden, 1997, p: 12

<sup>28</sup> Munoz, Paul Michel, *Early Kingdoms of the Indonesian Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula*, Editions Didier Millet, Singapore, 2006, pp: 124-125

<sup>29</sup> Ramstedt, Martin (ed), *Hinduism in Modern Indonesia: A Minority Religion between Local, National, and Global Interests*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2004, p: 45

Buddhist priest Dharmakirti, a leader of the Sumatran Buddhism had a student named Atisha who was then renowned as a Buddhist reformist in Tibet.<sup>30</sup> Although Buddhism has no significant impact upon the Sumatran philosophically or intellectually. Al-Attas has pointed into several reasons: (i) possibly the Buddhist priests belong to the non-Sumatran who moved toward this island on behalf of peaceful ascetic life, (ii) secondly, there is no concept of religious conversion to the non-Buddhist and thus they have no ambition to spread any ideology of social life.

Despite the fact that they did not use any local language for religious teaching and writing, though they generally communicated in Sanskrit language as reported by Fa-Hsien and I-Tsing, who were also known as the Chinese travelers in the fifth and sixth centuries CE throughout Java and Sumatra, they assumed both Hinduism and Buddhism were confused religions in archipelago.<sup>31</sup>

In Java, the majority of archeologists pointed out that the Javanese religion during the *Singasari* and *Majapahit* kingdoms (1222-1520 CE) was a kind of syncretic combination between Hinduism and Buddhism, while the adherents believed that the rulers within these periods were considered as deities.<sup>32</sup> Sometimes this religious belief regarded as '*Tantric*' or a religious practice which put more emphasis on the use of rituals, meditation, and other instruments for the sake of direct salvation.<sup>33</sup> This practice was commonly followed by both Hindus and the Buddhists, perhaps by this reason Hinduism and Buddhism had integrated and assimilated into the new form that people called the Hindu-Buddhism, though the Buddhists also remained in Sumatra as major population within these eras.<sup>34</sup>

The early period of spread of Buddhism in archipelago was very much successful, in the sense that the kingdoms or states which officially embraced Buddhism were such developed empires in ancient Indonesia such as *Srivijaya* and *Mataram*. It means the expansion and the influence of Buddhism prevailed especially in Java and Sumatra, as in the fifth century CE, Theravada Buddhism was probably taught in the Southern Sumatra but was replaced by the Mahayana Buddhism.<sup>35</sup> While the Hindu Buddhism was somehow still dominant in the kingdom within centuries, such as the old Javanese literature mentioned the three stages of the Hindu-

<sup>30</sup> Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Islam dalam Peradaban Melayu* (unpublished article), p: 15

<sup>31</sup> Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Islam dalam Peradaban Melayu* (unpublished article), p: 16

<sup>32</sup> See: Chihara, Daigoro, *Hindu-Buddhist Architecture in Southeast Asia*, Brill, 1996, pp: 131,166,201

<sup>33</sup> See: White, David Gordon (ed.), *Tantra in Practice*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000, p: 9.; also see: Usha, Brahmacharini, *A Brief Dictionary of Hinduism*, Fifth Edition; Vedanta Press, California, 1990, p: 77

<sup>34</sup> See: Chihara, Daigoro, *Hindu-Buddhist Architecture in Southeast Asia*, Brill, 1996, p: 88

<sup>35</sup> See: Johnston, William M, *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, vol. 1, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, London, 2000, p: 222

Buddhism kings life; first of all is the stage of ascetic involvement and the power accumulation, secondly, the stage of conflict and violence to expand and sustain control of the empire, and last stage is the retirement and return to the ascetic life.<sup>36</sup>

Through this long history of both Hinduism and Buddhism in ancient Indonesia, the observers such as Natasha Reichle often used to say that in any way, they had been influenced by the Indic religions, though it is possible that the Indonesian Hinduism or Buddhism was deeply intertwined with the older indigenous practices.<sup>37</sup>

The ancient Hindu Buddhism is considered sometimes as single belief and practice which took place in the Hindu Buddhism states, apparently as result of the rulers and the elite' converting to Hinduism. Most probably for the reason that the kings were more attracted to Hinduism for the sake of their benefit since the kings were god's descent, as compared to the Buddhist conduct which was oriented to the ascetic life than worldly life.<sup>38</sup> In contrast, the majority of people still adopted the Buddhist dharma or custom, by then the state synchronized the two with addition to their old religions and considered as one state religion, the Hindu-Buddhism kingdoms.<sup>39</sup>

The contemporary Buddhist population in Indonesia is officially 1 percent of the country's 210 million people; this number is between 2 or 3 millions Buddhists. Unlike other religions, Buddhism was not concerned with religious expansion, as Iem Brown said that after all Buddhism is a non-missionary religion and thus it would not increase their numbers.<sup>40</sup> In another way, the majority of Indonesian Buddhists today are among the Chinese and few adherents of the Javanese, in the sense that they think Buddhism is the religion of their ancestors, linked to the victorious era of the ancient Buddhism kingdoms as mentioned above.<sup>41</sup> Despite the fact that within colonial period particularly before twentieth century CE, Buddhism was largely a religion of Chinese in Indonesia but in the 1930s Buddhism experienced a religious revival among Europeans under the influence of theosophy.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Reichle, Natasha, *Violence and Serenity: Late Buddhist Sculpture from Indonesia*, University of Hawaii Press, America, 2007, p: 10

<sup>37</sup> Reichle, Natasha, *Ibid*, p: 22

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p: 18

<sup>39</sup> See: Yumarma, Andreas, *Unity and Diversity: a Philosophical and Ethical Study of the Javanese Concept of Kaselarasan*, Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, Roma, 1996, p: 15

<sup>40</sup> Hasting, James, Selbie, John A. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Elibron Classics, Edinburgh, 2006, p: 699

<sup>41</sup> Yumarma, Andreas, *Ibid*, p: 53

<sup>42</sup> Cribb, Robert, Audrey Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, second edition, Scarecrow Press, INC, United States of America, 2004, p: 63

In case of the Chinese Buddhists, the Buddhists and Confucian adherents (mainly Chinese) were both occasionally identified as one single religion, either Buddhist or Confucian. This fact was based on political reason during the 1960s onwards, the Chinese which referred to their ancestor's belief, they were originally Confucians and their belief was not declared as official religion particularly under president Suharto in which any Chinese activities were prohibited.<sup>43</sup> As a result of that, they did not belong to any official religion, by then they converted either to Christianity or Buddhism and modified *Klenteng* (building used for public Confucian worship) into *Vihara* (Buddhist place of worship). After the fall down of President Suharto, the Confucians demanded for official recognition of Confucius in which by year 2000 President Abdurrahman Wahid removed any prohibition for religious freedom.<sup>44</sup>

The Buddhists and the Confucians or simply the Confucian Buddhist were scattered mostly in the urban areas and fewer in the rural regions such as Bangka and Belitung of the eastern Sumatra, the western Kalimantan (Borneo) and the east coast of Sumatra. Either Chinese Buddhist or Confucian was dominant in the urban cities like Central Java. By the mid twentieth century CE their number reached 4.5 percent as compared to 0.7 percent in rural areas.<sup>45</sup>

## Islam and the Establishment of a New Civilization

It is recorded that Islam had already spread over the archipelago in the fifteenth century CE as mentioned in the introduction of this work. The northern Sumatra and the coastal cities in northeastern Java were the islands where the Muslims first arrived. Trade was the main motive of religious spread to the indigenous peoples. Subsequently Islam became official religion of the ancient kingdoms as a substitute of the Hindu Buddhism kingdoms.<sup>46</sup> Islam expanded not only by its trade expansion but also through political forces,<sup>47</sup> in the sense that within fifteenth century CE initially after the decline of *Majapahit* kingdom. The first Islamic kingdom was found in Central Java followed by its political role in religious proselytizing. Outside Java, the Islamic

<sup>43</sup> Tan, Melly G, *Etnis Tionghoa di Indonesia: Kumpulan Tulisan*, Yayasan Obor, Jakarta, 2008, p: 201

<sup>44</sup> Suryadinata, Leo, Evi Nurvidya Arifin, Aris Ananta, *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape*, ISEAS, Singapore, 2007, pp: 131-132

<sup>45</sup> Jones, Gavin W, "Religion and Education in Indonesia", in *Indonesia*, Vol. 22, Southeast Asia Program Publication, Cornell University, 1976, pp: 35-36

<sup>46</sup> Aritonang, Jan S, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia*, Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 2006, P: 15

<sup>47</sup> See: Saidi, Zaim, *Ilusi Demokrasi: Kritik dan Otokritik Islam: Menyongsong Kembalinya Tatanan Kehidupan Islam Menurut Amal Madinah*, Republika, Jakarta, 2007, p: xvii

kingdoms were already found in the Northern Moluccas around 1470 CE, for instance the kingdom of Ternate, Tidore, Bacan and Jailolo.

The conversion of the Hindu Buddhism society to Islam was generally thought to have started from the Sumatra Island and Java, and subsequently to the other islands such as Celebes, Moluccas, etc. The new religion attracted the local people rapidly since it was preached sincerely for the sake of God, as compared to Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms in which only the rulers and priests possessed relationship with the Divine or God while the commoners did not, and some Hindu Buddhist kings exploited their masses to construct religious monuments, such as *Borobudur* a largest Buddhist monument and *Prambanan* a Hindu temple complex.<sup>48</sup> In this case, al-Attas agreed upon Van Leur's statement that the people of archipelago in fact were not Hindus, nevertheless only the kings and the elites who strictly practiced Hinduism although they merely adopted the Hindu rituals and ceremonies along with the concept of god's descent.<sup>49</sup>

The spread of Islam in Indonesia differed from its spread in other countries such as in South Asia and the Middle East countries. As the major sources recorded that through the Muslim traders Islam became first known and taught to the indigenous people of ancient Indonesia and not by political expansion in the early periods of its arrival.<sup>50</sup> Later on, the military expansion also took its chance due to political and economical reasons lead by the local Muslim kings (*Sultans*), then religious conversion occurred after the occupation.

One of the *raison d'être* of Islam first introduced by the foreign Muslim traders was because the contact between the Muslim Chinese from Canton and the other Islamic world was preserved mainly via the sea routes through Indonesian waters, at least since the ninth century CE.<sup>51</sup> As a result of that, the Muslim traders were frequently contacted the great Buddhist trading state of Indonesia '*Srivijaya*', located in Sumatra Island and it was found in the seventh century CE.<sup>52</sup> Islam was brought into this state but none of the local Islamic states had been built within these centuries, but it is said that *Srivijaya* state once has sent its emissaries to China with Arabic names between 904 CE and the mid-twelfth century CE, and other evidence found around 1282

<sup>48</sup> Forshee, Jill, *Culture and Customs of Indonesia*, Greenwood Press, London, 2006, p: 35

<sup>49</sup> Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Islam dalam Peradaban Melayu* (unpublished article), p: 12

<sup>50</sup> Eliraz, Giora, *Islam in Indonesia: Modernism, Radicalism, and the Middle East Dimension*, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton, 2004.; Azra, Azyumardi, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*, Mizan, Bandung, 1994.

<sup>51</sup> See: Verhoeven, F. R. J, *Islam: Its Origin and Spread in Words, Maps and Pictures*, St Martin's Press, 1962, p: 50.; Ubani, B. A, *Indonesian Struggle for Independence*, Aundh Publishing Trust, 1946.

<sup>52</sup> Ricklefs, M.C, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, p: 3

CE that the king of *Samudra* in the Northern Sumatra sent two emissaries with Arabic names to China.

The aspect of Islam which attracted the local people especially the commoners was basically the concept of brotherly love, equality of all men, forbearance, humility and honesty which superseded the concept of Hinduism caste system.<sup>53</sup> This was the basic reason of religious conversion, in the sense that Islam in the beginning was well-acceptable and attracted the commoners as well as the elite due to its idea on the equality of every person. Particularly, the first known Islamic teaching introduced to the archipelago was the mystical paths as an Islamic model of piousness, it was proved by data that the early spread of Islam was brought by the nine saints (*Wali Songo*), who were honored among the Indonesian Muslims until today.

Through the hard work of the foreign Muslim traders and the nine saints, Islam became largely embraced by the public, not only within the Javanese people but it was also expanded to the other islands of archipelago.<sup>54</sup> Tome Pires, an apothecary from Lisbon, during his visit from 1512-1515 CE, wrote that from Aceh in the north down the east coast as well as Palembang, their rulers were Muslims. Similarly the *Minangkabau* king and number of his followers were Muslims, so constantly Islam was embraced daily by the Sumatrans.<sup>55</sup>

The spread of Islam in the 'Spice Islands' of Moluccas in East Indonesia was brought especially by the Muslim Javanese and Malay merchants, established in the coast of Banda. Although Tome Pires recorded that only in Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan who had already Muslim kings, whereas Ternate adopted the title of Sultan and the king of Tidore was named al-Mansur. The major evidences were specifically envisaged that the progress of Islamisation generally took place from the early thirteenth to the early sixteenth century CE, it began from the Northern Sumatra as far as the space trading went to the Eastern Indonesia.<sup>56</sup>

The spread of Islam in archipelago had its impact on the society, in which the new civilization flourished as well as the new culture, language, various literary works and the new

<sup>53</sup> Notowidigdo, Moekarto, "The Confrontation of Influences in Indonesia", in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 324, Resolving the Russian-American Deadlock, 1959, p: 67

<sup>54</sup> Gin, Ooi Keat, *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia from Angkor Wat to East Timor*, ABC-CLIO, Inc, California, 2004, p: 1415

<sup>55</sup> See: Pires, Tome, Armando Cortesao, Fransisco Rodrigues, *Suma Oriental of Tome Pires an Account of the East from the Red Sea to China written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515 and the Book of Fransisco Rodrigues Pilot Major of the Armada that Discovered Banda and the Moluccas*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2005, pp: 135-164.; Ricklefs, M.C, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, p: 8

<sup>56</sup> Ricklefs, M.C, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, p: 10

way of life were also introduced.<sup>57</sup> Conceivably, the historians may have noted that the local Hindu performance in the form of puppet shadow (*wayang*) was transformed to Islamic performance which was often presented by the nine saints as another way of religious preaching.<sup>58</sup> Number of Islamic inheritances also remained until today such as Mosque of Demak, Mosque of Kudus, and the saints' gravestone, which are still visited by the peoples.<sup>59</sup>

The Arabic writing system was also used recently in Javanese or Indonesian language which is called the '*Jawi*' script, sometimes it was found as preface of the Holy Quran printed in the twentieth century CE and also found in some traditional books. Various Indonesian words have been derived from Arabic language such as: the word *masalah* from مسألة means problem, *dunia* from دنيا means world, *abadi* from أبدى means eternal, *zaman* from زمان means time or period, *istirahat* from إستراحة means rest/break, and so on.

The Islamic way of life was very much practiced, yet some of these practices had been merged and integrated with the pre-Islamic customs, for instance when the child proposed to his parents' forgiveness especially during the *Eid* day; the child used to make '*Sungkem*' to show their respect by kneeling and pressing child's face to parent's knees. It was also sometimes done in the wedding's ritual but this was commonly practiced in Java or by the Javanese. The above phenomenon was some of the impacts of Islam on the society, today has became much vague that the people are more attentive to the form than its substance.<sup>60</sup>

Various historians such as Van Leur argued that Islam in the history of Indonesia has no essential contribution in the development of Indonesian civilization, while al-Attas pointed out that van Leur did not mention any criterion and standard of civilization. Generally, people like Van Leur viewed that an advanced civilization is the state where various cultural and artistic inheritances sited in the form of monuments, temples, relief stones, and any kind of puppet shadow (*wayang*), etc.<sup>61</sup>

In contrast to this idea of civilization, al-Attas stated that any ideology or worldview which is based on art basically reflected an aesthetic culture, a classic tradition, where there is no place for intellect nor reason as well as no value of scientific abilities. To him, Islam has brought people to the more civilized society, a new civilization which is more concerned about

<sup>57</sup> See: Poesponegoro, Marwati Djoened, Nugroho Notosusanto, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III: Jaman Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Indonesia*, PT Balai Pustaka, Indonesia, 1992

<sup>58</sup> See: Sugito, Bambang T. H, *Dakwah Islam Melalui Media Wayang Kulit*, Aneka, Indonesia, 1984.

<sup>59</sup> See: Zein, Abdul Baqir, *Masjid-Masjid Bersejarah di Indonesia*, Gema Insani Press, Indonesia, 1999.

<sup>60</sup> See: Maria (ed.), *Pergeseran Interpretasi terhadap Nilai-nilai Keagamaan di "Kawasan Industri" Kotagede, Yogyakarta*, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta, 1997

<sup>61</sup> Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Islam dalam Peradaban Melayu* (unpublished article), p: 18

intellectual and scientific knowledge illustrated in the language and writing forms, nothing to do with the physical features of temples, monuments, relief stones, dances, and the likes.<sup>62</sup>

The early Indonesian Muslims' contribution is found in several districts, their works were mostly characterized as *Sufistic* ones which contained metaphysical substances.<sup>63</sup> Sufism was indeed reasonable and logical as a part of Islamic philosophy, as compared to the Hindu Buddhism literatures along with their folklores and myths.<sup>64</sup> The evidence noted that Islam conveyed the message of God where humans are the highest creatures because of their mind and intellect, therefore a new civilization dawned as a result of the Muslim enthusiasm about rationalism and intellectualism within the elite and the common people as well.

Consequently, the kings (*Sultans*) encouraged the Muslim scholars of the time in favor of writing history, Islamic mysticism (*Sufism*), Islamic philosophy, theology, etc. The advent of Islam brought us various literary works which were not based on myths and folklore, but were more scientific, rational and systematic.<sup>65</sup> These efforts often written in Arabic language, Malay language and their native languages, some of the renowned Indonesian Muslim scholars particularly before the twentieth century CE were Hamzah Fansuri (d. 1527 CE), Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658 CE), Syamsuddin of Pasai (d. 1630 CE), 'Abd al-Rauf Singkil (1615-1693 CE), Sheikh Yusuf Makassar (1626-1699 CE) 'Abd al-Samad ibn 'Abd Allah (d. 1800 CE), Nafis ibn Idris ibn Husayn al-Banjari (eighteenth century CE), Abu 'Abd al-Mu'ti Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Arabi al-Tanari al-Bantani al-Jawi (b. 1813 CE), etc, and their contribution of knowledge will be elaborated in the second part of this chapter.

Muslims varied in Indonesia notably since the twentieth century CE during the pre-independence of the state as well after independence in 1945 CE. The majority of Indonesian Muslims today are considered as moderate Muslims, while Islam in this country is neither monolithic nor heterogeneous.<sup>66</sup> There are two major Islamic organizations such as the *Muhammadiyah* and the *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) found there, although there are some Indonesian Muslims who do not belong to any group of Islamic organizations. Definitely these two

<sup>62</sup> Ibid

<sup>63</sup> Bruinessen, Martin Van, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia: Survey Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis*, Mizan, Bandung, 1992, p: 15

<sup>64</sup> Al Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Op. Cit.*, p: 19

<sup>65</sup> See: Hadi, Amirul, *Islam and State in Sumatra: a Study of Seventeenth-Century Aceh*, Brill, Leiden, 2004

<sup>66</sup> Hasan, Zoya (ed), *Democracy in Muslim Societies (the Asian Experience)*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2007, p: 79

organizations are different from each other even though they are both followers of *Ahlu al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* and are also moderate.<sup>67</sup>

These two major Islamic organizations, there are minor other organizations such as *Persatuan Islam* (PERSIS) and *al-Irsyad* also exist in the country. Another division made in the early twentieth century CE for the Muslim group in Indonesia are the '*Abangan*' Muslim (literally means red or who do not strictly adhere to Islam), the '*Santri*' Muslim (strict adherent to Islam or religious and learned Muslim) and the '*Priyayi*' (the elites or upper class Muslim). While the terms '*Santri, Abangan, Priyayi*' were introduced to academic field for the first time by Clifford Geertz (1926-2006).<sup>68</sup>

Fauzan Saleh in his dissertation stated that the difference between '*Santri*' and '*Abangan*' is very apparent. Generally the '*Abangan*' is fascinated with ritual detail and the '*Santri*' is almost concerned with the doctrine. In another picture simply we can say that the '*Santris*' are viewed as 'orthodox' Muslims, while the '*Abangans*' represent 'heterodox' Muslims whereas the '*Priyayis*' are the aristocratic Muslims.<sup>69</sup> This division is challenged today because the people were divided according to their social status, like those who became official employees will be called the '*priyayis*' while the commoners as the '*wong cilik*' (small or poor people).<sup>70</sup> Somehow this is mostly applied in Java since the pre-Islamic customs and traditions are still practiced until today.

Indeed, Indonesia is the largest Muslim country although it has variety of adherents, while perpetually this number makes the Muslims as central players in Indonesian society and politics. Indonesian Muslims are neither monolithic ethnically nor united religiously as said by Geertz, and perhaps this reality will be known in its multi faced landscape and the characteristic of its peoples.<sup>71</sup>

## The Mass Conversion to Christianity

It's envisaged that the advent of Christianity emerged in the fifth century CE by the coming of Armenian and Persian Nestorians. There is no evidence of important conversion in

<sup>67</sup> Hasan, Zoya (ed), *Op. Cit*, p: 80.

<sup>68</sup> See: Geertz, Clifford, *The Religion of Java*, Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960.

<sup>69</sup> Saleh, Fauzan, *Modern Trends in Islamic Theological Discourse in Twentieth Century in Indonesia: A Critical Survey*, Brill, Leiden, 2001, p: 98

<sup>70</sup> Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*, Djambatan, Jakarta, 2004, p: 344

<sup>71</sup> Mutalib, Hussin, *Islam in Southeast Asia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2008, P: 15

ancient Indonesia, since the local people at the time were attracted to Hinduism and Buddhism. The first Christians came and spread in the archipelago before sixteenth century CE. Another version predicted that the Nestorian Christians came around seventh century CE in Indonesia, those people were originally Syrian or Persian<sup>72</sup>. At least the mission began after the arrival of Catholicism by the Portuguese for the first time at the Moluccas Island of ancient Indonesia in the 1512 CE, whereas the majority of indigenous peoples were already Muslims especially in the well-known Islamic kingdoms; *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Bacan* and *Jailolo* at the North Moluccas.

The Spanish arrived and settled down their trade fleet, gathered with the Portuguese and spread Christianity within 1511-1700 CE,<sup>73</sup> this movement also expanded in Java particularly when the Dutch started ruling the state.<sup>74</sup> The high point of the Portuguese mission arrived in 1546 CE with the coming of Francis Xavier<sup>75</sup> and he was known as a founder of the Jesuit order. He lived in the Moluccas Island and reported that there had been thousands of the local people who converted to Christianity in his hand, most of them belonged to '*Alifuru*', the non-Muslim tribes.

Xavier in the way of his preaching made explanations of Christian doctrine by translating its works into local language, such as in Tematan and Siau languages. Because of his missionary effort, it is recorded in history that thirty villages of Ambon were considered Christians by 1555 CE. The mission in Moluccas weakened after 1605 CE when the Dutch East India Company (VOC) took Ambon and drove the Portuguese from Ternate and Tidore.<sup>76</sup>

At the other islands such as Nusatenggara, the Dominican missionaries were the first Christians who spread over the region by building their fort in Solor (Eastern island of Indonesia) and persistently expanded throughout these areas, as reported at the end of the century the Catholics reached 100,000 adherents in the region. Europeans traders vastly expanded in ancient Indonesia started by the Portuguese and Spanish, followed on, in the seventeenth century CE the

<sup>72</sup> Cribb, Robert, Audry Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, second edition, Scarecrow Press, INC, United States of America, 2004, p: 79

<sup>73</sup> Ropi, Ismatu, *Muslim Responses to Christianity in Modern Indonesia*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1998, p: 13

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p: 14

<sup>75</sup> Francis Xavier (1500-1552 CE) was a prominent Catholic missionary who was known as '*the apostle to the Indonesians*'. He visited Maluku in 1546 CE, converting the wife of the Sultan of Ternate, worked in Ternate and Ambon (1546-1547 CE) and significant conversions were made in Ambon, Ternate, Flores, Timor, and the north coast of Java. By 1559 CE there were reputedly 8000 Catholics on Ternate and a similar number at Ambon. Ibid, p: 13.; Cribb, Robert, Audry Kahin, *Op. Cit*, p: 69, 79

<sup>76</sup> Tarling, Nicholas (ed), *Cambridge History of South East Asia, Volume one from Early Times to c. 1800*, Cambridge University Press, UK, 2008, Pp: 528-529

British came and established their port in Banten (in Java island) and centred in this area for over eighty years.

After few years, the British began their expansion in the other islands such as Ternate, Tidore, Ambon, Banda, while the Dutch also reined the land.<sup>77</sup> The Dutch were basically active for the Protestant missionary opposite to Portuguese and Spanish, hence the Catholicism confined to Flores and parts of Timor, while the Protestantism strengthened in Batak of the northern Sumatra, Minahasa and Celebes (Sulawesi).<sup>78</sup> Here the Portuguese, Spanish, British and the Dutch made their roots of the political expansion almost at the same time with the spread of their religion within centuries.

The vast conversion to Christianity took place after the massacres of 1965-1966 CE when almost 1.5 million of peoples among the communist converted to Christianity, while most of them lived in Central and East Java. The main reason of the mass conversion was the government pressure on all Indonesians to embrace any of the state official religion as mentioned in the five principles of Indonesian ideology (*Pancasila*). Thus in the late twentieth century CE, the number of Christians reached up to 15 millions adherents.<sup>79</sup>

The Chinese conversion into Christianity accelerated in the 1960s, whereas the number of Chinese Christians rose from 2 percent to 6 percent within 1957-1969 CE. The growth of the Christian population in the 1900 CE was only 1 percent that increased to 2.8 percent in 1933 CE, and 7.4 percent in 1971 CE. Gavin W. Jones stated the main increase in the Christian conversion was in the areas where the majority of people belong to the traditional religions such as those who lived in the hinterlands of Sumatra, Celebes, Borneo and eastern Indonesia islands,<sup>80</sup> while the mass conversion in Java was mostly among the Chinese and the Javanese ex-communists.

The division of Christianity into two important groups; Catholicism and Protestantism was recognized by the Indonesian government as two separate religions. The preaching of Catholicism in Java, Sumatra and Kalimantan (Borneo) efforts started since 1324 CE by the Franciscan Odoric of Pordonone, but the missionary began during Portuguese arrival at Moluccas in 1511 CE. Generally, the preaching of Catholicism is called the '*missie*'. The Catholic missionary started in the sixteenth century CE under the Portuguese and the Spanish colonialism,

<sup>77</sup> Lamoureux, Florence, *Indonesia: A Global Studies Handbook*, ABC-CLIO, Inc, California, 2003, Pp: 23-24

<sup>78</sup> Cribb, Robert, Audry Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, second edition, Scarecrow Press, INC, United States of America, 2004, p: 79

<sup>79</sup> Ibid

<sup>80</sup> "Religion and Education in Indonesia", in *Indonesia*, Vol. 22, Southeast Asia Program Publication, Cornell University, 1976, pp: 25-26

known during the Dutch arrival officially as the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) in northern Sulawesi (Celebes) and Moluccas. The people converted to the Dutch reformed Church. In the mid nineteenth century CE, the Dutch encouraged the Christian missionary activities because they had already strengthened their colonial power over the archipelago as a result they were able to support religious expansion.

Both the Catholic and Protestant missionaries intensified and extended to various regions in Java, North Sumatra, some parts of Kalimantan (Borneo), Central and South Sulawesi (Celebes). Presently the Catholic adherents are about 5 millions only within Flores, Timor and Central Java among the Chinese Indonesian. By the mid of 1990s they dominated the publishing industry in Indonesia, such as *Gramedia* press, *Kompas* newspaper and *Tempo* magazine.<sup>81</sup>

The Protestant mission started in the seventeenth century CE with the arrival of Dutch, whereas in 1623 to 1633 CE the Leiden held a seminary for the missionary training and the dominants were among Calvinism. By 1795 CE, the Protestant adherents reached 70,000 who were mostly the Javanese and the people of Moluccas. In the beginning of twentieth century CE, there were 30 missionary societies under missionary organization called 'Zending'<sup>82</sup> with majority German members and they were active in Toba of North Sumatra from 1861 CE, and later in Nias and Southern Kalimantan (Borneo). The greater part of Protestants were in Batak of Sumatra, Moluccas and Minahasa region, while the Indonesian Protestant Churches conducted their services in local languages and administratively they divided according to the people's ethnicity.<sup>83</sup>

The Christian missionaries have worked on the Indonesian churches at large since the colonial period. They kept developing the churches which were continued by the American evangelicalism from the mid twentieth century CE up to now.<sup>84</sup> In general, the missionaries have four priorities to do on their first arrival; first of all they became the students of the local language and cultures, hence they could easily transfer the gospel to the indigenous society by translating the gospel into their local languages. Afterwards, they build the education literacy

<sup>81</sup> Cribb, Robert, Audry Kahin,, *Op. Cit*, pp: 68-69

<sup>82</sup> Zending organization was actually the *Netherlandsch Zendelingsgenootschap*, it driven by the English Methodism and the German pietism as another action of European missionary from the late eighteenth century CE, basically established in 1797 CE. Ibid, pp: 357.; Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*, Djambatan, Jakarta, 2004, p: 29

<sup>83</sup> Cribb, Robert, Audry Kahin,, *Op. Cit*, pp: 357-358

<sup>84</sup> Mujiburrahman, *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order*, Amsterdam University Press, Leiden, 2006, p: 18

work, the medical and health care work and building projects.<sup>85</sup> These four are the components of the Christian missionary called CMA (the Christian and Missionary Alliance), since the most regions have converted into Christians by the Western missionaries particularly within the hinterlands and the highlands, and the mission often faced intricacy in the strong Islamized area.<sup>86</sup> Though the process of the Bible vernacularism was necessary for any missionaries thus they had to learn the local language and culture to transmit the mission, when the mission was over they would return along with the local myths and religious practices record, composition of grammars, dictionaries, and the primers as an endeavor to communicate the gospels.<sup>87</sup>

The contribution of the Christian missionaries to the development of society, particularly presented in the form of social services for instance they built various schools, universities, hospitals, orphanages in numerous cities likewise in the Muslim dominant regions. As noted by Mujiburrahman's dissertation referred to Gavin W. Jones stated that the Indonesian Christians around 1970s were much better educated than the majority of the Indonesian Muslims, roughly in the 1971 CE census data the uneducated Muslims attained forty-one percent as compared to twenty two percent uneducated Christians, especially in Moluccas and North Sulawesi (Celebes).<sup>88</sup> The Indonesian Christians were probably more advanced in education institutions than the Muslims on the whole since the total population in the year 1971 CE the Christians approximately 8,741,706 (7.39 %) members as compared to the Muslims 103,579,496 (87.51%) adherents.<sup>89</sup>

At the political stage, in the early twentieth century CE Christians associated themselves with the ethnic groups among the Ambonese, Batak, Toraja, Minahasa, Javanese, etc especially lead by many Protestant churches. During Independence Day of Indonesian Republic 1945 CE they established a national organization named *Partai Kristen Indonesia* (Parkindo) meaning the Indonesian Christian Party as the Protestant ambition in political role. In 1950 CE, they found another organization named *Dewan Gereja-Gereja Indonesia* (DGI) or Indonesian Council of Churches along with the establishment of *Majelis Agung Wali Gereja Indonesia* (MAWI) or High

<sup>85</sup> Farhadian, Charles E., *Christianity, Islam, and Nationalism in Indonesia*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, p: 15

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, p: 181

<sup>87</sup> Farhadian, Charles E., *Christianity, Islam, and Nationalism in Indonesia*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, p: 179

<sup>88</sup> See: "Religion and Education in Indonesia", in *Indonesia*, Vol. 22, Southeast Asia Program Publication, Cornell University, 1976, pp: 52-56.; Mujiburrahman, *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order*, Amsterdam University Press, Leiden, 2006, p: 18

<sup>89</sup> See: Suryadinata, Leo, *Penduduk Indonesia, Etnis dan Agama dalam Era Perubahan Politik*, LP3ES, Jakarta, 2003.; Jones, Gavin W, "Religion and Education in Indonesia", in *Indonesia*, Vol. 22, Southeast Asia Program Publication, Cornell University, 1976, p: 32

Council of Indonesian Bishops by the Catholics in 1955 CE, as a result of that Pope established the hierarchy of the Catholic church in Indonesia in 1961 CE. Furthermore, Indonesian Catholics also set up the Catholic Party (*Partai Katolik*) during the colonial era until 1970s.

Despite the new orders, Indonesia under President Suharto<sup>90</sup> made the fusion of these two political parties, the Catholic Party and the Indonesian Christian Party with the secular nationalist parties to figure out a single party named PDI (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*) or Indonesian Democratic Party in the 1970s, though MAWI (High Council of Indonesian Bishops) and DGI (Indonesian Council of Churches) both maintained their existence and remained active as religio-political organizations.<sup>91</sup>

At present, Christianity is a big minority religion in Indonesia amid the Muslim society. It has majority adherents in particular provinces such as East Nusatenggara, Papua, North Sulawesi (North Celebes) and Moluccas. The regions where large Christian minorities live are mostly outside Java as in North Sumatra, the western, central and eastern Kalimantan (Borneo), the southern and central Sulawesi (Celebes)<sup>92</sup>. About two-thirds of the Indonesian Christians belong to the Protestantism and the rest are the Catholicism, nonetheless religious, races and ethnical conflict are also present over the country.<sup>93</sup>

## Part Two: The Emergence of the Study of Religions in Indonesia

Before the twentieth century CE, Indonesia consisted of various kingdoms established in assorted places; Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), and the Eastern islands of Indonesia. The establishment of Islamic kingdoms emerged in the fifteenth century CE onwards. Whereas the Islamic teaching was also taught to the state by some particular Muslim scholars and mostly by the Sufis. Some of these people were considered noble men among the society such as the nine saints (*wali songo*), etc.

This part will discuss first of all the early Muslim scholars and their contribution to knowledge and secondly will elaborate the study of religions and its scholars before twentieth

<sup>90</sup> President Suharto (1921-2008) was the second President of Indonesia. He held the office from 1967 CE following Sukarno's removal up to his resignation in 1998 CE. His corrupt regime was famous as *Orde Baru* (The New Order). See: Elson, Robert, Suharto: A Political Biography, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom, 2001.

<sup>91</sup> Mujiburrahman, *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order*, Amsterdam University Press, Leiden, 2006, pp: 18-19

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, p: 16

<sup>93</sup> Wilson, Chris, *Ethno-Religious Violence in Indonesia: from Soil to God*, Routledge, New York, 2008, pp: 30-31

century CE Indonesia. As al-Attas stated that the Muslims introduced not only religious teachings to the local communities at archipelago but also introduced the rational thoughts in the form of philosophy, either the Islamic philosophy or the Greek philosophy like Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.<sup>94</sup> Secondly, it will carry out the discussion on well known scholars of the centuries and their intelligent works which notably started from the seventeenth century CE to nineteenth century CE, despite that the Muslim scholars in between fifteenth to sixteenth century CE were mostly among the nine saints and the Muslim Sultans.

## Early Muslim Scholars and their Contribution to Knowledge

The Indonesian Muslims have participated in political, social and intellectual activities, perhaps since the establishment of Islamic kingdoms in several corners of the country. As a result of that, the Muslims contributed and were involved in all aspects of life.<sup>95</sup> The Muslims role on intellectual contribution before twentieth century CE was referred back to the Muslim educational institutions around sixteenth century CE called '*Pesantren*', literally this word derived from '*Santri*' simply means devout Muslim, thus '*Pesantren*' means living place for the *santris*.<sup>96</sup> Commonly this word is used with addition of '*pondok*' apparently derived from Arabic language '*funduq*' means hotel although it probably indicated an establishment providing shelter including meals and place to stay.

The '*pondok pesantren*' consisted of firstly the domicile of Muslim scholar called '*kyai*' having at least some knowledge on theology, Islamic laws, and Sufism. The second component was the Mosque where *kyai* and the *santris*/students performed their prayers and some religious activities, the third condition was the place or any residential facility where the *santris* lived.<sup>97</sup> In the beginning, the *pesantrens* were built generally for the practice of Sufism by adult *santris*, although it does not necessarily follow any particular Sufis order but nowadays it is intended for performing gathering prayers, religious studies and more often to perform *Dzikir* and *Wirid*. The

<sup>94</sup> Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Islam dalam Peradaban Melayu*, (unpublished article), p: 31

<sup>95</sup> Nathan, K. S, Mohammad Hashim Kamali (ed.), *Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social, and Strategic Challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, ISEAS, Singapore, 2005, p: 15

<sup>96</sup> See: Lukens-Bull, Ronald, *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java*, Palgrave Macmillah, New York, 2005.; see also Dhofier, Zamakhsyari, *The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java*. Doctoral Thesis submitted to The Australian National University, 1980.

<sup>97</sup> See: Howell, Julia Day, *Sufism and the Indonesian: Islamic Revival*, The Journal of Asian Studies 60, no. 3 (August 2001), the Association for Asian Studies, 2001, p: 704

existence of religious educational institution such *pesantren* in the sixteenth century Indonesia has signified that the practice of knowledge transformation has already set up in archipelago<sup>98</sup>.

Another indication of knowledge and Intellectual achievement in the pre-Modern period Indonesia was the presence of great Muslim scholars who were supported by the Muslim sultans, either originally of Indonesian descent or outsiders. Intellectually, their contributions were mostly in the study of *Tasawuf* (Islamic mysticism) in which they expounded the ideas and thought through several literary works. In this regard, not every Muslim scholar might be studied in this work although several of them will be noted down here.

The first among them was Hamzah Pansuri or Fansuri (d. 1527 CE), he was known as a poet who was born in the West Sumatran camphor of Barus (Fansur) and died in Mecca. He lived for sometime in Ayodhya in Siam and he also joined the Islamic mysticism *tariqa* of *Wujudiyyah* in this city, he also ever spent his time in Baghdad. His famous poem was '*Sharab al-Ashiqin'* (the Lovers' Beverage) and '*Asrar al-'Arifin'* (the Secrets of the Gnostics) written in the reign of Iskandar Muda at Sumatra which latterly was criticized by Nuruddin al-Raniri by saying that this poem was dissent and heresy.<sup>99</sup>

While the other eminent Muslim scholars in Aceh after Fansuri were Syamsuddin of Pasai (d. 1630 CE) and 'Abd al-Rauf Singkil (1615-1693 CE), Syamsuddin was written on '*Nur ad-Daqa'iq*' (Light on the subtleties) and became a notable work in the history of Indonesian Muslims before twentieth century CE which is now translated into some ethnic Indonesian languages.<sup>100</sup> While 'Abd al-Rauf b. Ali al-Jawi al-Fansuri al-Singkili was born in 1615 CE, a major scholar in the Sultanate of Aceh, he wrote works of mysticism and *Shafi'I* jurisprudence, he left Aceh when Nuruddin al-Raniri had lost his favor in 1643 CE, then he spent eighteen years in Mecca and learnt from Ahmad Qushashi, then he returned back and introduced the *Shattariyya tariqa* to Aceh in 1679 CE.<sup>101</sup> During his return to Aceh, he completed the work of Nuruddin al-Raniri which was not complete yet when Nuruddin went back to India. This work entitled *Jawahir al-Ulam fi Kasfh al-Ma'lum* was completed in 1665 CE and then he became a religious

<sup>98</sup> Gibson, Thomas, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia: from the 16<sup>th</sup> Century to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, pp: 1-2

<sup>99</sup> Cribb, Robert, Audry Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, second edition, Scarecrow Press, INC, United States of America, 2004, p: 367

<sup>100</sup> Ricklefs, M.C, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, p: 60

<sup>101</sup> Mulyati, Sri, *Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawi al-Banten's Salalim al-Fudala*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1992, p: 15

figure in region as Sheikh al-Islam.<sup>102</sup> His major works were on the issue of law entitled *Mir'at al-Tullab* (the Mirror for the Seekers) finished in 1663 CE, he mainly talked about daily life affairs or *mu'amalat*.<sup>103</sup>

Sheikh Yusuf Makassar<sup>104</sup> was another Muslim scholar of this century, he was born probably in 1626 CE at Gowa of South Celebes (Sulawesi), who certified the *Qadiriyyah tariqa* by his teacher Nuruddin al-Raniri as written in his work *Safinat al-Najaat* (the ship of success), moreover he was also certified the *Naqshabandi tariqa* by his teacher Sayed Sheikh Abi Abdullah Muhammad Abdul Baqi bin Sheikh al-Kabir Mazjaji al-Yamani Zaidi al-Naqshabandi in Yemen. He again licensed *al-Baalawiyah tariqa* from his teacher Sheikh Maulana Sayed Ali, and then he went to Medina and was certified *Shattariya tariqa* by Sheikh Ibrahim Hasan bin Shihabuddin al-Kurdi al-Kaurani or known as Mulla Ibrahim. He was not satisfied and went to Damascus, there he learnt from Sheikh Abu al-Barakat Ayyub bin Ahmad bin Ayyub al-Khalwati al-Qurashi whereas he was certified by *Khalwatiyah tariqa* and his teacher titled him *Taj al-Khalwati Hadiyatullah*.

Other than these five *tariqas*, he also learnt the *tariqa* of *Dasuqiyya*, *Shaziliya*, *Hashtiya*, *Rifa'iya*, *al-Idrusiya*, *Ahmadiya*, *Suhrawardiya*, *Maulawiya*, *Kubrawiya*, *Madariya*, *Makhduniya*, etc.<sup>105</sup> Some of his notable works are: *Kaifiyat al-Munghi wa al-Isbath*, *Safinat al-Naja'at*, *Hablu al-Warid li Sa'adat al-Murid*, *al-Barakat al-Sailaniyah*, *al-Nafhati al-Sailaniyah*, *Mathalib al-Salikin*, *Risalat Ghayah al-Ikhtisar*, these texts were written during his life in Ceylon.<sup>106</sup> Owing to the fact that he was exiled to Ceylon and South Africa, he is also known as the early Muslim preacher in South Africa, he died there in 1699 CE in 73 years old, and was buried in this city from where his grave was shifted to Makassar in 1705 CE.<sup>107</sup> There are numerous writings of Sheikh Yusuf Makassar, and 29 of them were identified as his authentic works, while others were anonymous writings which were probably written by his followers as Sheikh's name was also sometimes mentioned perhaps as their source or reference.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Gibson, Thomas, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia: from the 16<sup>th</sup> Century to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, pp: 59-60

<sup>103</sup> Hadi, Amirul, *Islam and State in Seventeenth Century Aceh*, Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, McGill University, Canada, 1999, P: 205

<sup>104</sup> Abadin Tadia Tjoessoep (1626–1699 CE), more commonly known as Sheikh Yusuf of Makassar, was an Indonesian muslim of noble descent. In 1693 CE he was exiled to the Cape of Good Hope which resulted in his establishing Islam in the Cape. Makassar is the name after a town in Sulawesi of Indonesia.

<sup>105</sup> Hamid, Abu, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar: Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, 2005, pp: 91-93

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, p: 109

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, pp: 145-146

The *Sammaniyya* appeared in Sumatra in the eighteenth century CE through another well known Muslim scholar 'Abd al-Samad ibn 'Abd Allah (d. 1800 CE), he was known as al-Palembangi, a name of a city where he came from. He studied at Mecca from Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Samman (1719-1775 CE), founder of the *Sammaniyya* in Medina. 'Abd al-Samad of Palembang has various works on Islamic mysticism such as *Sayr al-Salikin*, a translation and commentary on parts of al-Ghazali's *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din*, *Zuhrat al-Murid fi Bayan Kalimat al-Tawhid*, *Nasihat al-Muslimin wa Tadkirat al-Mu'minin fi Fada'il al-Jihad fi Sabil Allah wa Karamat al-Mujahidin fi Sabil Allah* completed in 1765 CE which inspired against the Dutch colonialism at the time, *Tuhfat al-Raghabin fi Bayan Haqiqat Iman al-Mu'minin*, *al-'Urwa al-Mutqa wa Silsilat ulti al-Ittiqa*, *Hidayat al-Salikin fi Suluk Maslak al-Muttaqin*, and *Zad al-Muttaqin fi Tawhid Rabb al-'Alamin*.<sup>109</sup> He wrote these works almost certainly between 1765-1778 CE in Aceh, while among his popular endeavor for the peoples of Aceh was '*Ratib Samman*' this text cited *Dhikr*<sup>110</sup>.

Muhammad Nafis ibn Idris ibn Husayn al-Banjari known as Nafis al-Banjari was another scholar of the eighteenth century CE. He was an important Sufi who gave his influences to the South East Asian Muslims. He was born in Martapura of the Banjarmasin kingdom at South Kalimantan, the accurate date of his birth was unknown. His precious treatise *al-Durr al-Nafis* was written in 1786 CE.<sup>111</sup> His treatise was considered very precious writing on Sufism of the time which was popular among the Muslims in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippine, and Thailand. It was written in *Jawi* (Malay) in Arabic script and was published several times in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East as well.

Basically the work contained four chapters; *Tawhid al-Af'al* (the unity of actions), *Tawhid al-Asma'* (the unity of names), *Tawhid al-Sifat* (the unity of attributes), and *Tawhid al-Dhat* (the unity of essence) while in the conclusion he discussed on '*Ilm al-Ladunni* (the esoteric knowledge).<sup>112</sup> Apparently his idea was much influenced by the *Sammaniyya* Sufi masters 'Abd al-Karim al-Samman and Siddiq ibn 'Umar Khan and by other Sufi as Ibn 'Arabi.<sup>113</sup>

Abu 'Abd al-Mu'ti Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Arabi al-Tanari al-Bantani al-Jawi known as Nawawi al-Bantani was another scholar nineteenth century CE. Born in Banten of West Java

<sup>109</sup> Mulyati, Sri, *Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawi al-Bantani's Salalim al-Fudala*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1992, pp: 16-17

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, p: 16

<sup>111</sup> Muthalib, Abdul, *the Mystical Thought of Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari: an Indonesian Sufi of the Eighteenth Century*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1995, p: 9

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, pp: 4-5

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, p: 7

in 1813 CE. His major works were presented in various branches of Islamic studies. He has written more than one hundreds works as noted by Rafi'u al-Din Ramli and Chaidar.<sup>114</sup> In the field of *Tafsir*, his major work was *Marah Labid li Kashf Ma'na al-Qur'an al-Majid* also known as *al-Tafsir al-Munir li Ma'alim al-Tanzil al-Musfir 'an Wujuh Mahasin al-Ta'wil* published in Cairo 1305 H. in the field of Islamic Jurisprudence. He annotated the *Fath al-Qarib* of Muhammad ibn al-Qasim al-Ghazzi and he also given a commentary on Abu Shuja' al-Isfahani's work *al-Taqrib*, etc. in the field of *Aqeeda*, he worked on several commentaries such as *Dhari'i'at al-Yaqin*, *Nur al-Zalam*, *Tijan al-Darari*, etc.

In the field of Islamic mysticism he wrote *Salalim al-Fudala*, *Qami' al-Tughyan*, *Misbah al-Zulam*, etc. Regarding the *Seerah* of Prophet Muhammad Peace be upon Him, he wrote *Mawlid al-Nabi*, *Bughyat al-'Awam fi Sharh Mawlid Sayyid al-Anam li ibn al-Jawzi*, etc. in the field of Arabic grammar, he wrote *Kashf al-Murutiya 'an Sitar al-Ajurrumiyya*, *al-Fusus al-Yaqutiyya*, etc. In the field of rhetoric, he wrote *Lubab al-Bayan fi 'Ilm al-Bayan*, and there are some other works done.<sup>115</sup>

Nawani al-Bantani was considered as the last commentator of the Quran of his generation, before the reformation brought by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abdurrahman, and Rashid Rida as stated by Martin van Bruinessen. He further said that Nawawi's works were still used in about 42 *pesantrens* (traditional Islamic schools) in Indonesia although it also taught in religious schools in Mindanao (Southern Philippines), Thailand and Malaysia. His writings covered every aspects of Islamic learning and most of them were the commentaries on standard works in the sense that he attempted to explain in the simplest forms.<sup>116</sup>

## The Study of Religions and its Scholars before Twentieth Century Indonesia

The study of religions before twentieth century CE in Indonesia was not much attractive to the local Muslim society, besides the major concern of the Muslim scholars was on religious preaching and Islamic teaching including Islamic law and Jurisprudence as well its mysticism was also taught. Since we identify the history of religious expansion, the Sufis were the

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, p: 43

<sup>115</sup> Muthalib, Abdul, *the Mystical Thought of Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari: an Indonesian Sufi of the Eighteenth Century*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1995, pp: 43-48

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, pp: 49-50

significant actors in the spread of Islam in Indonesia as mentioned above.<sup>117</sup> Some remarkable Indonesian Muslim scholars on the study of religions were apparently from the seventeenth century CE as soon as the Islamic teachings laid its roots between the local peoples primarily since the Islamic kingdoms emerged over the archipelago.

Steenbrink noted that no work had been written on the comparative religion before twentieth century CE other than the noteworthy work of Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658 CE) of the seventeenth century CE, while others such as Ahmad Rijal al-Din and Munshi Abdullah were not considered as the scientific contribution in the study of religions since they were translators and informants for the British Government in Malay archipelago. Basically, these two scholars were mentioned the Muslims and the Hindus as their objects of study during their visits to Calcutta, while it did not give significant information other than the bathing resort and brothels. Again Steenbrink argued that the Indonesian Muslims did a lot of traveling, despite that they did not write much particularly in the field of comparative religion as compared to the works of al-Biruni or Ibn Batuta when they afforded on the history of different religions and cultures.<sup>118</sup>

Among the Muslim scholars who worked on the study of Religions before twentieth century Indonesia was Nuruddin Muhammad b. Ali b. Hasanji b. Muhammad Hamid al-Raniri, a Hadrami descent born in the city of Gujarat and according to some author he was probably belongs to a Malay mother.<sup>119</sup> Within 1637-1644 CE he traveled to Islamic world and thus he came to Aceh during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani (1637-1641 CE), whereas the area was surrounded by the mystical ideas of Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin of Pasai. Soon after, Nuruddin al-Raniri won the heart of Sultan Iskandar Thani who gave him a position of Sheikh al-Islam in the Sultanate of Aceh between 1637-1643 CE, then rapidly he banned and persecuted the followers of heresy brought by Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin of Pasai as he thought their idea on pantheistic interpretation of *Wahdat al-Wujud* was sort of heresy. He ordered to burn any heretical books.<sup>120</sup>

The life of Nuruddin al-Raniri was obviously qualified for the Islamic preaching particularly in the East Indies. He learnt at Mecca then traveled to some other Muslim countries

<sup>117</sup> Mulyati, Sri, *Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawi al-Banten's Salalim al-Fudala*, MA Thesis, McGill University Montreal, Canada, 1992, pp: 1, 5-6

<sup>118</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A, "the Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: A Survey", in *Numen* vol. 37, Fasc. 2 (December 1990), Brill, Leiden, 1990, pp: 145-146

<sup>119</sup> Gibson, Thomas, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia: from the 16<sup>th</sup> Century to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, pp: 55

<sup>120</sup> See: Ricklefs, M.C, *Op. Cit.*, p: 51.; Dahlan, Abdul Aziz, *Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, 1992

for religious studies as well as preaching the Islamic laws according to *Quran* and *Sunnah*. While he arrived at Aceh around 1637 CE, that was a period of pantheistic mystical idea of Fansuri and Syamsuddin which taught in the region, thus he wrote '*the Proof of the Truthful in the Refutation of the Heretics*' a polemical attack on the works of Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin of Pasai.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, he made a great endeavor to guide the kingdom to Islamic monarchy and he compiled on instructional materials in Malay of several issues, especially regarding the *Sharia* or Islamic law he wrote matters on Fasting, Muslim dietary laws, alms giving, the pilgrimage, and Jihad for the Acehnese students.<sup>122</sup>

In the favor of Sultan Iskandar Thani, Nuruddin wrote an encyclopedic work of *Bustan al-Salatin* (the Garden of the Kings). The work contained seven books including the story of creation, the prophets of Islam, the early Muslim Kings in the Middle East and the Malay kingdoms, the great and pious rulers, and the noble companions of the Prophet Muhammad Peace be upon Him. He also expounded the aptitude and several sciences for instance the Physiognomy and Medical science.<sup>123</sup>

According to al-Attas this book was the longest work ever written in Malay<sup>124</sup>, while the first two books of the *Bustan al-Salatin* carried the history of the world, for instance the first mentioned the history of the Prophets including the story of the pen creation, the tablet, the light of Prophet Muhammad Peace be upon Him, etc. whereas the second book was written about the history of Persian, Greek, Arabian society before the coming of Islam, then history of Islam at length, year by year, which he ended his writing in the execution of al-Hallaj in 309 AH. This second book followed the tradition written by Tabari '*Annals*' with addition of the Kings history of Indonesia/Malay and India. The third book basically followed the work of al-Ghazali '*Nasihat al-Muluk*'<sup>125</sup> as guidance for the kings.<sup>126</sup>

His contribution in the study of religions was partly written in *Bustan al-Salatin* which talked regarding the tracts against Jews and Christians, some arguments on Torah and Bible that

<sup>121</sup> Gibson, Thomas, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia: from the 16<sup>th</sup> Century to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, pp: 55-56

<sup>122</sup> See: Hadi, Amirul, *Islam and State in Sumatra: a Study of Seventeenth-Century Aceh*, Brill, Leiden, 2004, p: 147-149

<sup>123</sup> Ricklefs, M.C, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, p: 60-61

<sup>124</sup> Gibson, Thomas, *Op. Cit*, p: 59

<sup>125</sup> Al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid, *Nasihat al-Mulk* (Advice for Kings), F. Bagley (trans), London, 1964.

<sup>126</sup> See: Al-Raniri, Nur al-Din, *Bustanu's-Salatin*. Bab 2, Fasal 13. T. Iskandar (ed.), Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, 1966.

both were considered as forgeries.<sup>127</sup> In the second paragraph of the second book the death of *Sabaa* was discussed, child of *Kiyamurti* or *Gayomart*, according to Persian tradition he was the first man, in which Tabari envisaged a son of Adam. In the Tabari's historical harmonization of the Semitic Quranic and the Old Persian tradition, *Kiyamurti/Gayomart* was buried the corpse and put a light or probably a kind of candle beside the grave, perhaps this one of the reason that *Majus* worshipped fire.

In the explanation of Judaism, he did not mention any division of Jewish sects but he only brought the stories of the Prophets in very brief. Though he also mentioned the translation of Bible and the Septuagint in the Greek, while the story about Ezra and the way he found Torah was not mentioned. In spite of discussion on Christianity, he talked about Jesus as a prophet of Islam, the story about Zachariah who became the father of John, the story of John's execution, the story of God sending Jesus back to console his mother, and followed by the story of the sacking of Jerusalem by Titus.<sup>128</sup>

While essentially the study of religions has been elaborated to a great extent in his book *Tibyan fi Ma'rifat al-Adyan*, which has been written earlier by a great Muslim scholar al-Shahrastani in the book entitled *Kitab al-Milal wa al-Nihal*<sup>129</sup>, the other source Nuruddin has taken from *Kitab al-Tamhid*<sup>130</sup> by Abu Shakur al-Salimi. Nuruddin pursued the paths of al-Shahrastani in presenting the ideas of various religions other than Islam, first of all he discussed the world religions; the non revealed ones and the revealed one (Judaism and Christianity), in which he described Nestorians, Jacobinians and Melchionites as the three sects of Christianity founded by the three students of someone (*fulan*), a Jewish scholar, who was probably Paul, nevertheless his name was not mentioned. This work noted that Jesus was able to compile the whole contents of Torah through direct revelation from God, since the people did not believe him thus the prophet Ezra appeared and confirmed the text of Jesus. By then the devil said that both Ezra and Jesus were sons of God, as result the heresy flourished among the Christians.<sup>131</sup> In the second part of the book, he elaborated the 72 sects of the Muslim *Ummah*, all of them deviated from the right path of the Sunni belief.

<sup>127</sup> Taylor, Jean Gelman, *Indonesia: Peoples and Histories*, Yale University Press, America, 2003, p: 110

<sup>128</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A., "the Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: A Survey", in *Numen* vol. 37, Fasc. 2 (December 1990), Brill, Leiden, 1990, p: 143

<sup>129</sup> See: Al Shahrastani, Muhammad ibn Abd Al Karim, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, Dar al Ma'rifah, Beirut, 1993.

<sup>130</sup> See: Al Salimi, Abu Shakur ibn al-Shu'ayb al Kasi, "al-Tamhid fi Bayan al-Tawhid wa-Hidayah li-Kull Mustarshid wa-Rashid" in Voorhoeve, P, *Twee Maleise geschriften van Nuruddin ar-Raniri*, Leiden, 1955, pp: 9-13

<sup>131</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A., "the Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: A Survey", in *Numen* vol. 37, Fasc. 2 (December 1990), Brill, Leiden, 1990, p: 144

This book was unlike the work of Shahristani because Nuruddin has given a much simple description of the messages, although it was valuable for the Muslims of Aceh at the time in understanding religious history. The other work of Nuruddin was *Asrar al-Insan fi Ma'rifat al-Ruh wa al-Rahman*, talks about the idea of spirit which he discussed in more theologically on the meaning of the title spirit, *Ruh*, for Jesus as well as the meaning of other magnificent attributes for him; word of God or *kalima*, Messias and the light or *nur*.<sup>132</sup>

The rest of Nuruddin al-Raniri's life was spent in his home town Gujarat and he died in Rander 1658 CE. The major problem he faced in Aceh after the death of Sultan Iskandar Thani in February 1641 CE, the Sultan's wife succeed the position that was a time when Nuruddin should return to Gujarat. In the beginning of the Sultana's order, Nuruddin remained as the Muslim scholar of the time hence he was able to write *Akbar al-Akhirah fi Ahwal al-Qiyamah* (the Afterlife and the Day of Judgment) this work was also translated into many Indonesian languages.<sup>133</sup>

In 1643 CE, a Minangkabau scholar Saif al-Riyal has returned from his study at Surat, he was also known as a student of Sheikh Jamal al-Din who executed by Nuruddin's behest during the patronage of Sultan Iskandar Thani. Finally Saif al-Riyal gained the position of Sheikh al-Islam substituted of Nuruddin al-Raniri. He left Aceh with the unfinished work on Islamic Mysticism *Jawahir al-Ulam fi Kasfh al-Ma'lum* which latterly was completed by his student Abdurrauf Singkil who was also replaced Saif al-Riyal as Sheikh al-Islam in 1661 CE.<sup>134</sup>

There was another work presented in the Sultanate of Aceh which in addition to the work of Nuruddin al-Raniri or inspired by *Bustan al-Salatin*, some of them was translated into local languages such as *Taj al-Salatin* (the Crown of the Kings), it was adapted from Persian sources during 1602-1603 CE. The passage contained an orthodox teaching of man and God, including various advices on various aspects of statecraft. The other religious texts were also written in the Indonesian versions, for instance the Quranic commentaries and works of Jurisprudence, some Islamic stories like '*Hikayat Iskandar Dzulkarnain*' (the Story of Alexander the Two-horned) and the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (the Story of Amir Hamzah) was a romantic story based on Persian legends concerning the uncle of Prophet Muhammad Peace be upon Him.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Gibson, Thomas, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia: from the 16<sup>th</sup> Century to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, p: 59

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, p: 59-60

<sup>135</sup> Ricklefs, M.C, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, pp: 60-61

'*Serat Centhini*' (the message of Centhini) was another outstanding work in the nineteenth century CE Indonesia, it was also fascinating from the viewpoint of comparative religions. It was a longest poem written in Javanese language by a small team instructed by the crown prince of *Surakarta* kingdom evidently in the beginning of nineteenth century CE. It contained 150,000 lines or 12 huge volumes, the text emphasized on the internal varieties and even conflicts within the Muslim community, moreover it also mentioned the last Buddhist and Hindu heremites in region.<sup>136</sup>

Another work of nineteenth century CE was endeavored by Haji Hasan Mustafa, a religious scholar of West Java and a local companion of Snouck Hurgronje<sup>137</sup> during his research on Islam in Java from 1889 to 1893 CE. Haji Hasan Mustafa who probably was requested by the Dutch, he wrote an extensive work about Islam, customs, and tradition in West Java which was published in 1913 CE in *Sundanese* language of West Java. It was translated into Dutch entitled *Gewoonten and Gebruiken der Soendaneezzen* published in 1966 CE.<sup>138</sup>

This evidence gives us some picture on the study of religions before twentieth century CE, introduced apparently by Nuruddin al-Raniri in the seventeenth century CE. By the contemporary scholars, there are other contributions, however, they are not considered as satisfactory efforts for the study. Even though these works were such an overture for the twentieth century CE Indonesian Muslims to sincerely endeavor in the study of comparative religion which later on became popular among the Muslim students.

<sup>136</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A., "the Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: A Survey", in *Numen* vol. 37, Fasc. 2 (December 1990), Brill, Leiden, 1990, p: 146

<sup>137</sup> Christian Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936 CE) was a Dutch scholar of Oriental cultures and languages and Advisor on Native Affairs to the colonial government of the Netherlands East Indies, he was very famous among Indonesian scholars for his ideas concern on Islam especially in Aceh. See his works e.g.: *The Achehnese*, 2 vol., W. S. O'Sullivan (trans.), Martino Publishing, 2007.; *Mekka in the Latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, Brill, Leiden, 2001.; *Muhammedanism: Lectures on Its Origin, Its Religious and Political Growth, and Its Present State*, Bibliobazaar, Charleston, 2008.; also see his intellectual biography: Pedersen, Johannes, *The Scientific Work of Snouck Hurgronje*, Brill, Leiden, 1957.

<sup>138</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A., *Op, Cit*, p: 164

## Chapter Two

### **The Indonesian Muslim Scholars Endeavors and Contribution toward Study of Religion in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Methods and Approaches**

#### **Part One: the Development of Study in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

- 2. 1a. Prior Developments of the Indonesian Muslims in the Early Twentieth Century
- 2. 1b. The Need of Study of Religions in Indonesia

#### **Part Two: Methodology and Approaches in the Study of Religion**

- 2. 2a. An introduction to the Methodology and Approaches intended for the Study in Indonesia
- 2. 2b. Its Implication to the Study of Religions by Indonesian Muslim Scholars

## Chapter Two:

### The Indonesian Muslim Scholars Endeavors and Contribution Toward Study of Religion in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Methods and Approaches

#### Part One: The Development of Study in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

##### Prior Developments of the Indonesian Muslims in the Early Twentieth Century

The development of Indonesian Muslims in the twentieth century (CE) varied into various major fields, such as in politics, economics, education and religious achievements elaborated below. The comparative religion as a field of study was also popularized by the Muslims in Indonesia during this period. The twentieth century (CE) was considered as the period of the anti colonial era and the era of reform movements in Indonesia, during which the Indonesians were influenced by various factors in the development of education, economics, political, cultural and religious matters.<sup>1</sup>

Several scholars initiated the establishment of numerous organizations and they flourished largely in this century, as a result of their eagerness which then endorsed to the struggle for the state independence in 17 August 1945. The new idea of organization and definition of identity was somehow a key development in this century, as noted by M.C. Ricklefs that the era brought us the new forms of leadership which were involved in various environments.<sup>2</sup>

In 1902 CE, a journal named *Bintang Hindia* (Star of the Indies) was published in the Netherlands and it was considered as an encouragement of the Dutch to the elite Indonesians in education. It brought the idea of Indonesian emancipation in this field and it was edited by Indonesian scholar Abd al-Rivai.<sup>3</sup> Later on, the first student organization was founded by Wahidin Sudirohusodo in 1908 CE named *Budi Utomo* (the beautiful endeavor or superior intellect). It was regarded as a modern organization for Javanese *priyayi* (the elite) whereas the

<sup>1</sup> See: Porter, Donald J, *Managing Politic and Islam in Indonesia*, Routledge Curzon, USA, 2002.; Laffan, Michael Francis, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds*, Routledge Curzon, 2003

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, p: 206.; see also: Azra, Azyumardi, *Indonesia, Islam and democracy: Dynamics in Global Context*, Solstice Publishing, Jakarta, 2006

<sup>3</sup> See: Adam, Ahmat B, *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855-1913)*, Studies on Southeast Asia SEAP no. 17, Cornell, 1995, pp: 101-103.; Sneddon, James, *The Indonesian Language: Its History and Role in Modern Society*, UNSW Press, Australia, 2003, pp: 99-100

teacher training, agriculture and veterinary schools were represented, and subsequently it developed into Javanese lesser *priyayi* party.<sup>4</sup>

Economically, in the early twentieth century CE, Javanese were in commercial competition with the Chinese who domiciled in Indonesia. As a consequence of that by 1911 CE, Kyai Samanhudi founded *Sarekat Dagang Islamiyah* (Islamic Commercial Union). The initial aim of this organization was to combat Chinese penetration of the Batik industry which later on turned into *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union) and adopted a broader political program challenging the colonial government.<sup>5</sup> Another trade organization was established in 1905 CE for the European employees of the state railways and the Indonesians started joined in 1910 CE, while in 1908 CE founded *Vereeniging voor Spoor- en Tramweg Personeel* (Union for Railway and Tram Workers).<sup>6</sup> In the West Java, *Hajat al-Qulub* was founded by Abd al-Hamid in 1911 CE as both educational and economic association, where religious lectures were delivered and such weaving enterprise established to compete the Chinese community, by 1915 CE this union was banned by the Dutch administration.<sup>7</sup>

Some other unions emerged for the government schools teachers, customs officers, government pawnshop employees, public works employees as well the union for peasants was also founded. For instance, as initiated by illiterate Surantiko Samin who gathered peasants in Blora (region in Central Java) to reject any form of authority brought by outsiders to this region.<sup>8</sup> Several organizations were also established as a result of the ethnic and communal identity strengths, such as *Tri Koro Dharmo* organization found in 1915 CE which three years later turned into *Jong Java* (Young Java) in 1918 CE, *Jong Sumatranen Bond* (Young Sumatrans Union) in 1917 CE, *the Studerenden Vereeniging Minahasa* (Minahasa Study Union) in 1918 CE, *Jong Ambon* (Young Ambon) in 1918 CE, *Kaum Betawi* (the People of Batavia) in 1923 CE, etc.<sup>9</sup>

The twentieth century CE was a period of Islamic resurgence also. Muslims tried to return to the basic teaching of Islam, which is based on revelation, the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. The resurgence was considered as an effort to purify religion from any heresies and superstitions

<sup>4</sup> See: Lev, Daniel S, *Legal Evolution and Political Authority in Indonesia: Selected Essays*, Kluwer Law International, Cambridge, 2000, pp: 276-277

<sup>5</sup> Ricklefs, M.C, *Op. Cit.*, pp: 209-210.; Cribb, Robert, Audry Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, second edition, Scarecrow Press, INC, United States of America, 2004, p: 383

<sup>6</sup> See: Abdullah, Taufik, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)*, Equinox Publishing, Singapore, 2009, p: 131

<sup>7</sup> Noer, Deliar, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*, LP3ES, Jakarta, 1996, pp: 80-84

<sup>8</sup> See: Romly, Asep Muhammad, *Agama Menentang Komunisme*, Bina Rena Pariwara, Jakarta, 1998, p: 15

<sup>9</sup> See: Abas, Husen, *Indonesian as a Unifying Language of Wider Communication: a Historical and Sociolinguistic Perspective*, ANU Press, Australia, 1987, p: 35.

including every aspect of life, such as the economic, social, politic, and cultural concerns.<sup>10</sup> Before the declaration of state independence in 1945 CE, Indonesian Muslims gave their great endeavors in struggle against the colonial control of both Japanese and Dutch, though some organizations were established by the Muslims either for political, economic or religious requirements.<sup>11</sup>

Indonesian Muslim organizations based on religious movement set up since the early twentieth century CE and present until today are *Muhammadiyah* in 1912 CE, *al-Irsyad* in 1915 CE, *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) in 1920 CE and *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) in 1926 CE. The religious movements were basically as a result of the foreign influence especially the international Islamic movements, such as pioneered by the Iranian, Egyptian, Afghani and Pakistani reformists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century CE.<sup>12</sup> It spread most possibly through their writings which found in Indonesia or direct personal influence by learning their thought from their countries where these scholars lived. As recorded that since numerous Indonesian Muslims were gone to Mecca not only for religious pilgrimage, though in extent they lived there or traveled to other Muslim countries and learnt Islamic teachings and then returned to Indonesia and taught Islam. The number of Indonesian pilgrims increased since the nineteenth century CE, whereas in between 1850s and 1860s CE the Muslims number of who went for religious pilgrimage approximately reached 1600 people every year. In 1870s CE, it increased to 2600 pilgrims and at the end of the nineteenth century their number reached 7000 people. Among them have been great teacher in Mecca such as Sheikh Muhammad Nawawi al-Bantany (1813-1897 CE).<sup>13</sup>

The most popular movement in the early twentieth century CE was reform movement by the modernist Muslims, which was influenced by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897 CE), Muhammad Rasyid Rida (1865-1935 CE), and Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905 CE).<sup>14</sup> Their aim was to return to the holy revelation of *Quran* and *Sunnah* directly, fundamentalism in the Islamic concept. Secondly, the use of the modern scientific advancements in science and technology which combined with the purified Islam, in the sense that modernism means a combination of the

<sup>10</sup> Rosyad, Rifki, *a Quest for True Islam: a Study of the Islamic Resurgence Movement among the Youth in Bandung Indonesia*, ANU E Press, Australia, 1995, p: 77

<sup>11</sup> See: Steenbrink, Karel A, *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam: Contacts and Conflicts: 1596-1950*, Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2006, p: 141.

<sup>12</sup> See: Azra, Azyumardi, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Network of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ASAA, Allen & Unwin Australia, 2004.

<sup>13</sup> See: Ricklefs, M.C, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, Third Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2001, p: 169

<sup>14</sup> See: Gregorian, Vartan, *Islam: a Mosaic not a Monolith*, Brokings, New York, 2004, p: 96.; Eliraz, Giora, *Islam in Indonesia*, Op. Cit., p: 3.; Hamka, *Pengaruh Muhammad Abduh di Indonesia*, Tintamas, Djakarta, 1958.; Tanja, Victor Immanuel, *Spiritualitas, Pluralitas dan Pembangunan di Indonesia*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1994, p: 66.

progressive and the conservative.<sup>15</sup> This impact apparently referred to the Indonesian Muslims contact with the Muslims of Singapore in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries CE resulted various religious impacts. Numerous religious and literary books which were published earlier, brought the idea of modernism. For instance, by 1906 CE a Malay newspaper named *al-Imam* first published in Singapore by Minangkabau Muslims like Sheikh Tahir bin Jalal al-Din (1869-1956 CE). The newspaper presented the first analysis of Islamic modernism in social, religious and economic issues which often quoted the sayings of Muhammad 'Abduh from the *al-Manar* magazine in Egypt. *Al-Imam* magazine was written in Malay language with Arabic-Malay scripts and spread through Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, East Java, Kalimantan (Borneo) and Sulawesi (Celebes).<sup>16</sup>

Tahir Jalal al-Din was essentially known as Modernist, since he studied in Egypt for four years in which he was influenced by Muhammad 'Abduh idea of modernism and became close friend of Rasyid Rida. Later on, he wrote three treatises which criticized the practices of *Naqsyabandiyah tariqa* as heresy.<sup>17</sup> Another Muslim figure of the century was a cousin of Tahir Jalal al-Din named Sheikh Ahmad Khatib (1852-1915 CE), who became imam of *Shafi'I* school of thought in Mecca and thus many Indonesian reform scholars learnt from him during their study in Mecca.<sup>18</sup>

Some of Tahir Jalal al-Din's students are Sheikh Muhammad Jamil Jambek (1860-1947 CE) and Abd al-Karim Amr Allah known as Haji Rasul (1879-1945 CE). They were also known as Indonesian modernist Muslims. In 1913 CE, Sheikh Muhammad Jamil Jambek found social organization named *Tsamarat al-Ikhwan* in Bukittinggi and he published free regular brochures and booklets on religious teachings. By 1918 CE, he established a foundation named *Surau Inyik Jambek* where he taught religious teachings and where various Islamic organizations used to assemble in this place. Besides, he was expert in astronomy and arranged the prayers time table for Indonesian community since 1911 CE.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See: Kamal, Tamrin, *Purifikasi Ajaran Islam pada Masyarakat Minangkabau: Konsep Pemberaruan H. Abd. Karim Amrullah Awal Abad ke-20*, Angkasa Raya, Padang, 2005, p: 32

<sup>16</sup> See: Hamzah, Abu Bakar, *Al-Imam: Its Role in Malay Society 1905-1908*, Pustaka Antara, Kuala Lumpur, 1991.; Marajo, Sjafir DT. Kando, *Gerakan Pemberaruan Pemikiran Islam di Minangkabau*, unpublished article, p: 15.

<sup>17</sup> See: Laffan, Michael Francis, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2003, p: 130.

<sup>18</sup> See: Rais, Zaim, *Against Islamic Modernism: the Minangkabau Traditionalists Responses to the Modernist Movement*, Center for Information and Development Studies, Jakarta, 2001, p: 81.

<sup>19</sup> See: Azhari, Susiknan, *Pemberaruan Pemikiran Hisab di Indonesia: Studi atas Pemikiran Saadoe'ddin Djambek*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, 2002.; Islamic Centre Sumatra Barat, *Riwayat Hidup Ulama Sumatera Barat dan Perjuangannya*, ICS Sumbar, 2001.

While Haji Abd al-Karim Amr Allah (Haji Rasul) was an activist Muslim against the traditionalist (*adat*) of Minangkabau, besides he was very strict and straightforward in action. He traveled a lot and by 1925 CE he introduced *Muhammadiyah* in Minangkabau. His preaching was very much influential within the community. And thus his communal building (*surau*) later on, turned into *Sumatran Thawalib*, which found a political party in the early 1930s named '*Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia*' (Permi) or Indonesian Muslims union.<sup>20</sup>

Haji Abdullah Ahmad (1878- 1933 CE) was another figure of the period and a modernist Muslim. He was active at religious teachings and became a local agency of *al-Imam* magazine of Singapore and *al-Ittihad* of Cairo magazines. By 1909 CE, he established *Adabiyah* School besides he was vigorous in writing. In 1914 CE, he became leader of the journalist Union in Padang and he found *al-Munir* (the Illuminative) an Islamic fortnightly paper in 1911 CE at Padang, which now is considered as the first modernist journal in Indonesia magazine between 1911 CE up to 1916 CE. Further, he found *al-Akhbar* news magazine in 1913 CE and became an editor of *al-Islam* magazine in 1916 CE. His capability of knowledge has been admitted by the Middle East scholars in the *Khilafat* conference at Cairo, in which he got an honor title of Doctor *fi al-Din* (Doctor of religion).<sup>21</sup>

The first modernist school was established in Padang of West Sumatra in 1909 CE, named the *Adabiyah* School. In 1915 CE, it fell outside the religious reform movement because the school has been supplied and reined under the Dutch.<sup>22</sup> Another school of modernist educational reform was also opened by Haji Rasul and others as mentioned above, 'the *Thawalib School of Padangpanjang*'. Arabic language was taught so that the students might understand the basic sources of Islam, the students of this school learnt geography and history besides the Egyptian textbooks for religious learning. In 1915 CE, the *Diniyah School* of Islamic women's education was also started in this region besides the first weaving school for women was also established in 1909 CE by Datuk Sutan Maharaja, as reflecting the high status of women in Minangkabau

<sup>20</sup> Marajo, Sjafnir DT. Kando, *Gerakan Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Minangkabau*, unpublished article, p: 20.; Effendy, Bahtiar, *Islam and the State in Indonesia*, ISEAS, Singapore, 2003, p: ix.; Watson, C. W, *Of Self and Injustice: Autobiography and Repression in Modern Indonesia*, KITLV Press, Leiden, 2006, p: xiii

<sup>21</sup> See: Holt, P. M. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, p: 189.; Abdullah, Taufik, *Mohammad Hatta: Hati Nurani Bangsa (1902-1980)*, Djambatan, Jakarta, 2002, p: 15.; Hamzah, Abu Bakar, *Al-Imam: Its Role in Malay Society 1905-1908*, Pustaka Antara, Kuala Lumpur, 1991, p: 147.

<sup>22</sup> See: Hefner, Robert W, Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Schooling Islam: the Culture and Politics of Modern Indonesia*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2007.

culture. By 1911 CE, he also set up the first newspaper for women in Indonesia entitled *Soenting Melajoe* (the Malay Ornament)<sup>23</sup>.

Religious reform movement spread in Java since the establishment of '*Jam'iyyat Khair*' (the Benevolent Society) in 1905 CE by the Arab community in Batavia (Jakarta). They built school and they have Sheikh Ahmad Surkati (1872-1943 CE) a modernist teacher from Sudan who later on found *al-Irshad or Jam'iyyat al-Islah wa al-Irshad* (Union for reformation and Guidance). Whereas the subjects of study in this school were taught in Malay, Arabic and Dutch languages. They also applied the co-educational school system.<sup>24</sup>

Another advanced development in Java showed by various publications and modern religious schools was brought by the Muslims. For instance as the monthly paper founded by Haji Muhammad Misbah titled '*Medan Muslimin*' at Surakarta of the central Java in 1915 CE and '*Islam Bergerak*'. He also built modern institutions, bookstores, hotel for traveling activists<sup>25</sup> and in 1905 CE Sultan Pakubuwono X of Surakarta established the first modern style of *madrasa* (Islamic school) in Java named '*Manba' al- 'Ulum*'.<sup>26</sup>

The evidences mentioned above were some of the Muslims resurgences especially in the beginning of the twentieth century CE, which indicated the emergence of the Muslims reform movement in various aspects. Particularly, as a result of their achievement of knowledge either from the Middle East countries or from the West. This attempt intended to elucidate the prior emergence of the resurgence since it was considered as the starting point for the emergence of the study of religions in the twentieth century CE.

## The Need of Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia

Indonesian population varied racially, linguistically, geographically, and in their beliefs and religions which sometimes brought them into conflict. Particularly, the inter-religious conflict was recurrent within multi-religious regions such as in Poso, Ambon, etc.<sup>27</sup> Several endeavors

<sup>23</sup> See: Daya, Burhanuddin, *Gerakan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam*, Tiara Wacana, Yogyakarta, 1990, p: 342.; Kahin, Audrey R, *Dari Pemberontakan ke Integrasi: Sumatra Barat dan Politik Indonesia*, Yasasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, 2005, p: 29.; Yunus, Mahmud, *Sedjarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, Mutiara, Jakarta, 1960, p: 134.

<sup>24</sup> See: Affandi, Bisri, *Shaykh Ahmad Surkati: Pemikiran Pembaharuan Islam dan Pemurnian Islam dalam Masyarakat Arab Hadrami di Indonesia*, P.hd Dissertation, 1991.

<sup>25</sup> Feener, R. Michael, *Muslim Legal Thought in Modern Indonesia*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2007, p: 12

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p: 13

<sup>27</sup> See: Hedman, Eva-Lotta E. (ed.), *Conflict, Violence and Displacement in Indonesia*, Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, New York, 2008, p: 53-54.; Rabasa, Angel (ed.) *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia*:

have been attempted by the government to lessen religious conflict, for instance through the establishment of the ministry of religious affairs. Somehow it intended to control and administer different world religions which existed in the country; Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism, including sub-organizations within religions.<sup>28</sup>

To encounter these problems, some efforts have been made. Such as the arrangement of inter-faiths dialogue, as well the official establishment of comparative religion discipline which offered in the State Islamic Universities under coordination of religious affairs ministry. It was significant endeavor to understand other's religion since Indonesia consisted of different world religions and thus religious conflict may possibly be diminished and avoided. This view has also been stated by Herman L. Beck (b. 1953 CE) that: *"The study of comparative religion is considered to be one of the possible approached which can contribute to remove or, at least, to ease the tension between the different religious communities."*<sup>29</sup>

The work of comparative religion has already started before the state independence in the seventeenth to nineteenth century CE and the early twentieth century CE. The early discipline was a kind of individual effort in the study of different religions which manifested through their writings, whether it was taught to students or not. While contemporary study represent in the modern scientific curriculum for university students.<sup>30</sup>

Steenbrink viewed the Indonesian traditional system of education such 'Pesantren' has never been taught as a subject of comparative religion before twentieth century CE,<sup>31</sup> it indicated the very small number of people's attention to this study previously, since the early Muslims were more attentive to the study of religious teachings such as Islamic belief ('Aqida), Islamic law (*Shari'a*), and Islamic mysticism (Sufism) rather than the study of other religions.<sup>32</sup>

The inter-religious conflicts which frequently appeared between the Indonesian Muslims and the Christians in some areas provoked the establishment of conferences lately in the end of twentieth century CE by ministry of religious affairs; *'the International Conference on Muslim-*

*Challengers, Politic and Power*, RAND, Arlington, 2002, p: 94.; Sanitwongse, Kusuma, W. Scott Thompson (ed.), *Ethnic Conflicts in Southeast Asia*, ISEAS, Singapore, 2005, p: 5.

<sup>28</sup> See: Meuleman, Johan H. (ed.), *Islam in the Era of Globalization: Muslim Attitudes towards Modernity and Identity*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2002, p: 307.; Boland, B. J., *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1971, p: 105.

<sup>29</sup> "A Pillar of Social Harmony: The Study of Comparative Religion in Contemporary Indonesia", in Gerard Albert Wieger (ed.), *Modern Societies and the Science of Religions: Studies in Honour of Lammert Leertouwer*, Brill, Leiden, p: 397

<sup>30</sup> See: Jabali, Fuad, Jamhari (ed.), *IAIN dan Modernisasi Islam di Indonesia*, Logos Wacana Ilmu, Jakarta, 2002.

<sup>31</sup> "The Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: a Survey", in *Numen*, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, 1990, p: 147

<sup>32</sup> Bruinessen, Martin Van, *Tarekat Naqshabandiyah di Indonesia: Survey Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis*, Mizan, Bandung, 1992, p: 150.

*Christian Relations: Past, Present and Future Dialogue and Cooperation*'.<sup>33</sup> This conference was held in Jakarta from 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> August 1997, its program was sponsored by State Islamic University of Jakarta and Yogyakarta, Department of Religion of Temple University-USA and Hartford Theological Seminary of USA. As a result of that, Hartford made official cooperation with Indonesian ministry of religious affairs. In response they held religious seminary which was lead by Dr. Barbara Zikmund Brown and invited some Indonesian scholars such as Dr. Alwi Shihab (b. 1946 CE).

The conference discussed several issues divided into four sessions; the first session was lead by Dr. Karel Steenbrink<sup>34</sup> on the issue of '*theological resources for understanding Islam and Christianity*', the second meeting discussed '*Religio-socio-political dimensions of medieval Muslim-Christian encounters*' a presentation delivered by Dr. Taufik Abdullah (b. 1936 CE) entitled '*An Intellectual Embarrassment on the Problem of (an) Historical Encounter*'. The third session was about '*Economic, Political, and Cultural Impacts of Colonial Period on Muslim-Christian Relations and Human Rights in Muslim Christian Perspectives*' and the topic was delivered by Dr. Bambang Sudibyo (b. 1952 CE) from University of Gajah Mada – Yogyakarta. The last session was discussed human rights, there were two African Muslim scholars who gave their presentations in this session; Dr. Mutombo Nkulu-N'Sengha from Democratic Republic of Congo (Kinshasa) and Dr. Farid Esack (b. 1959 CE) from South Africa.

Another seminar was held between the Indonesian scholars of different religions on '*Kerukunan Umat Beragama dan Studi Agama-agama di Perguruan Tinggi*' (Religious Community Harmony and the Study of Religions in High Institution). This seminar was organized by *Lembaga Pengkajian Umat Beragama* (LPKUB) or research organization of religious community, the program was opened by the Minister of religious affairs Tarmizi Taher. In his opening speech, he acknowledged that the disharmony between different religions in the country was a result of truth claim among the adherents, in fact Indonesia is a country of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) including religious plurality and therefore the state encouraged its peoples to understand each other, as well to admit this diversity as divine decree.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Singgih, E.G, "Tema Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Dalam Diskusi Pakar Agama", in *Agama Dalam Dialog: Pencerahan, Pendamaian dan Masa Depan: Punjung Tulis 60 tahun Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann*, by Panitia Penerbitan Buku Kenangan Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann (ed), BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 2003, pp: 33-34

<sup>34</sup> Karel Steenbrink, a Dutch scholar, he is professor emeritus of Intercultural Theology at Utrecht University.

<sup>35</sup> Singgih, E.G, "Tema Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Dalam Diskusi Pakar Agama", in *Agama Dalam Dialog: Pencerahan, Pendamaian dan Masa Depan: Punjung Tulis 60 tahun Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann*, by Panitia Penerbitan Buku Kenangan Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann (ed), BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 2003, p: 46

Dr. Burhanuddin Daya as president of LPKUB (research organization of religious community) delivered the presentation on relations between the study of religions and inter-religious harmony. He stated that the study of religions will enable them to bring harmony within inter-religious society through understanding of each other. He further agreed upon Tarmizi Taher on the diversity of Indonesian people, which was needed for the study of religions center as accessible in several high institutions in the west.<sup>36</sup> He referred to his book '*Perbandingan Agama di Indonesia dan Belanda*' (comparative religion in Indonesia and Dutch), that there were various Islamic schools in the West Sumatra which taught their students the subject of comparative religion in the beginning of twentieth century CE. He perhaps intended to support the continuation of the department of comparative religion in State Islamic Universities with all its course subjects and approaches.<sup>37</sup>

The next discussion was about discipline methodology delivered by Dr. Komaruddin Hidayat (b. 1953 CE). He argued that inter-religious harmony can be achieved when there was no feeling of "*supersessionism*", an assumption that a religion has to give correction and guidance over prior religions, for instance Christianity appeared as correction on Judaism, Islam as correction on Christianity, Buddhism as correction on Hinduism, and so-on.<sup>38</sup> In this regard, there should be methodology either comparative or phenomenology of religion. According to Komaruddin Hidayat, however the study should have been started by comparative approach, although it is followed by question of how it will be applied in the study since Hinduism and Buddhism were generally considered as 'escapists' due to their favor of meditations.<sup>39</sup> Prof. Dr. Ngurah Nale then elaborated the study of religions in high institution of Hindus, in which he offered the term '*Ilmu Pengenalan Agama*' (the science of Introduction to religion) instead of '*Ilmu Perbandingan Agama*' (the science of comparative religion), for the reason that perhaps he did not agree to compare religions among each other.<sup>40</sup>

Another session was elaboration on the meaning of study of religion by Dr. J.B. Banawiratma S.J. (Bono), in this occasion he explained the significance and meanings of the study through socio-empiric approaches. The comparative study of religion differed from theological study, since everyone could be able to study religion whether they adhered to one

<sup>36</sup> Singgih, E.G, *Op. Cit*, pp: 46-47

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p: 47

<sup>38</sup> See: Hidayat, Komarudin, *Agama Masa Depan: Perspektif filsafat Perennial*, Gramedia, Jakarta, 2003, p: 31, 36

<sup>39</sup> Hidayat, Komarudin, *Op.Cit.*; Singgih, E.G, "Tema Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Dalam Diskusi Pakar Agama", in *Agama Dalam Dialog: Pencerahan, Pendamaian dan Masa Depan: Punjung Tulis 60 tahun Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann*, by Panitia Penerbitan Buku Kenangan Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann (ed), BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 2003, pp: 48-49

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p: 50

particular religion or not (*atheist*) while theological study did not. Another example he gave from the work of Amin Abdullah (b. 1953 CE) '*Studi Agama*' (the study of religion), whereas Amin Abdullah stated that theological study was willy-nilly dealt with the claim of truth and thus it was impossible to be used for inter-religious relations, therefore the study of religions was an appropriate one.<sup>41</sup> Dr. J.B. Banawiratma S.J. (Bono) emphasized on the significance of scientific approaches and methodology, in which he gave an example in the concept of revelation; in the Islamic context '*al-Quran*' is the revelation of God, while in Christianity '*Jesus*' was the revelation of God, thus he concluded that the value of Bible differed from value of *al-Qur'an* and Jesus. In other words, *al-Qur'an* is the word of God in Islam and Jesus is the word of God in Christianity, although there were some objections on his example.<sup>42</sup> According to E.G. Singgih (b. 1949 CE) commented on this seminar, that the study of religion was still considered as endeavor to deepen our own religion on be half of religious defense. To him, comparative religion means to seek something similar including the idea of '*agree in disagreement*' and to avoid differences and sensitive aspects which could cause conflict between each other.<sup>43</sup>

The religious affairs ministry had another effort in building inter-religious harmony through media publication. A book entitled '*Bingkai Teologi Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama di Indonesia*' (the theological frame of harmonious life of religious communities in Indonesia) was published in 1997 CE, as collaboration writings of five religions concerning the significance of inter-religious harmony according to their theological views, and this work was edited by eight editors from religious affairs ministry lead by Drs. Mustoha, M.A.<sup>44</sup>

The book consisted of five main chapters; (i) *Pedoman Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama Menurut Ajaran Islam* (Direction towards harmonious life of religious communities according to Islamic teaching), (ii) *Bingkai Teologi Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama Menurut Pandangan Kristen Protestan* (the theological frame of harmonious life of religious communities according to Christian-Protestant), (iii) *Integritas yang Terbuka Landasan Teologis Gereja Katolik*

<sup>41</sup> See: Abdullah, Amin, *Study Agama: Normativitas atau Historisitas?*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, 1996.; *Pendidikan Agama Era Multikultural-Multireligius*, PSAP Muhammadiyah, 2005.; *Metodologi Penelitian Agama: Pendekatan Multidisipliner*, Lembaga Penelitian UIN SuKa, Yogyakarta, 2009.; *Islamic Studies di Perguruan Tinggi: Pendekatan Integratif-Interkoneksi*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Singgih, "Tema Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Dalam Diskusi Pakar Agama", in *Agama Dalam Dialog: Pencerahan, Pendamaian dan Masa Depan: Purjung Tulis 60 tahun Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann*, by Panitia Penerbitan Buku Kenangan Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann (ed), BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 2003, p: 51

<sup>43</sup> Singgih, E.G, *Op. Cit*, pp: 53-54

<sup>44</sup> Yewangoe, A.A, "Kerukunan Umat Beragama sebagai Tantangan dan Persoalan: Menyimak Bingkai Teologi Kerukunan Departemen Agama R.I.", in *Agama Dalam Dialog: Pencerahan, Pendamaian dan Masa Depan: Purjung Tulis 60 tahun Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann*, by Panitia Penerbitan Buku Kenangan Prof. Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann (ed.), BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 2003, p: 59

*Mengenai Hubungan Antar-Umat Beriman* (open integrity as theological base of Catholic church concerning inter-believers communities relations), (iv) *Membangun Kerukunan Melalui Kedalaman Jiwa dari Sudut Pandang Ajaran Hindu* (to build the harmony through profound soul from the Hindus teaching perspective), (v) *Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama Menurut Ajaran Buddha* (Harmonious life of religious communities according to Buddhist teaching).<sup>45</sup>

The attempt of study of religions within Indonesian context is intensely needed for the complex society, not only in favor of scientific achievement but also to build the understanding among different religion adherents, and bring harmony among them. although inter-religious conflict was not compulsory as a result of the misunderstanding between different religions, yet probably it occurred due to misunderstanding of their own religious teachings.

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<sup>45</sup> Yewangoe, A.A, *Op. Cit*, p: 60

## Part Two: Concerning Methodology and Approaches in the Study of Religion

The scientific study of religions perhaps alluded to the emergence of the western methodology, which basically referred to the development of modern sciences and technology as a result of the western scientific revolution in the seventeenth century CE. Various subjects of science flourished, for instance the social sciences which further developed into some major study such as sociology, anthropology, etc.<sup>46</sup> The study of religions in the west, it is stated has been started since the life of Herodotus (484-425 BCE) and Euheremerus (330-264 BCE), although their studies were considered as unscientific study.

The scientific study of religions in the west started by Max Muller (1823-1900 CE) who developed the field of comparative religion especially in the West, which then influenced the Eastern countries.<sup>47</sup> As noticed by Ninian Smart saying: *"Religious studies was created out of a blend of historical studies, comparative expertise, and the social sciences with a topping of philosophy of religion and the like"*<sup>48</sup>

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries CE, the western theories of religions expanded not only within European and United States scholars but also toward the Muslim world in particular, just like influenced the Turkish and Indonesian Muslim scholars in the study of religions. It is noted that a Turkish scholar Ahmet Midhat Efendi (1844-1912 CE) wrote the lectures of Chantepie de la Saussaye's (b. 1848 CE) *'History of Religions'* when he was in Amsterdam which were published in 1912 CE, and his writings were considered as the first work on the history of religions in Ottoman Turkish. Ahmet further said that the history of religions scientifically started by European scholars as led by Chantepie de la Saussaye, while the Muslim's writings on other religions, for example done by al-Shahrastani's (1086-1153 CE) *'Kitab al-Milal wa al-Nihal'* were not systematic work, except for his theological reasons as compared to the European writings.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See: Turner, Bryan S, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology*, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 2006. Also see: Scott, John, *Sociology: The Key Concepts*, Routledge, New York, 2006.; Ritzer, George (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Wiley-Blackwell, England, 2007.

<sup>47</sup> See: Muller, Friedrich Max, *The Life and Letters of the Right Hon. F. Max Muller*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2005. Also see: Smart, Ninian, John Clayton and Patrick Sherry (eds.), *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought in the West*, vol. 3, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p: 179

<sup>48</sup> Connolly, Peter (ed.), *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, Continuum, London, 2004, p: ix

<sup>49</sup> Senay, Bulent, *"the Study of Religion, the History of Religions and Islamic Studies in Turkey: Approaches from Phenomenological Theology to Contextualism"*, in *New Approaches to the Study of Religion Volume One: Regional, Critical, and Historical Approaches* edited by Peter Antes, Armin W. Geertz, Randi R. Warne, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2004, p: 74

Likewise within twentieth century CE Indonesia, where major study of religions was much more influenced by the Western methodology and approaches, such as sociological approach, psychological approach, philosophical approach, phenomenological approach, etc. This impact was basically as a result of various Muslim scholars who studied in the West and in response they brought many western ideas, either in the study of religions or in the subjects concerning Islamic teachings.<sup>50</sup> Their impacts were pointed out through their translations of any western scholars' writings and their implication within Muslims works.<sup>51</sup>

The early Muslims scholars such as Ibn Hazm (994- 1064 CE), al-Biruni (973-1048 CE), al-Shahrastani (1086-1153 CE), abu al-Ma'ali (1028-1085 CE), etc have no much influence upon the contemporary Muslim scholars in the study of religions. Although their brilliant efforts were essential references which inspired the early Western scholars, besides they were pioneers of the study. For instance E. J. Sharp stated: *"The honour of writing the first history of religion in the world literature seems in fact to belong to the Muslim Shahrastani."*<sup>52</sup> Further Henri Laoust said: *"The Comparative history of religions is a Muslim creation."*<sup>53</sup>

There were various western scholars who studied from the Muslims works, such as done by J. C. Vadet, Kazi and Flynn who analyzed al-Shahrastani's *'Kitab al-Milal wa al-Nihal'*. J. C. Vadet provided on 84 page introduction and attached 287 notes, while Kazi and Flynn gave seven pages introduction and virtually no annotation. The work also has benefited recent years, particularly among French scholars who associated with the *'École Pratique des Hautes Études'* (Practical School for Higher Studies) is a university in Paris, France.<sup>54</sup>

During the development of comparative religion study in the west and the political downfall of various Muslim countries by the spread of western colonialism, hence the Muslim scholars began to adopt and to adapt the new educational institution systems. It was popularized within the colonial period including the methodological study of religions.<sup>55</sup> The systematic study of comparative religion flourished in the twentieth century CE Indonesia, which resulted in the establishment of this department for university level by ministry of religious affairs and within non-government universities.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See: Gort, Jerald D, Henry Jansen, H. M. Vroom, *Op. Cit.*, p: 217., also see: Latif , Yudi, *Op. Cit.*, p: 384

<sup>51</sup> See for example: *Journal Ulumul Qur'an*, vol. 4, LSAF, Jakarta, 1993, p: 23

<sup>52</sup> *Comparative Religion: a History*, Duckworth, London, 1975, p: 11

<sup>53</sup> *"Comment Definir le Sunnisme et le Chiisme"* in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 47, 1979, 1-7, esp. 4.

<sup>54</sup> See: Kazi, A. K, J. G. Flynn (trans.), *Muslim Sects and Divisions: The Section on Muslim Sects in Kitab al Milal wa'l Nihal by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Shahrastani*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.

<sup>55</sup> See: Hinnels, John R. (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, Routledge, New York, 2005, p: 285

<sup>56</sup> Leertouwer, Lammert et. al, *Op. Cit.*, p: 332

## An Introduction to the Methodology and Approaches intended for the Study in Indonesia

In this regard, four approaches are applied in the study of religions by several Indonesian Muslim scholars in the twentieth century, the following approaches are:

### (1) *The Psychology of religion or the psychological approach*

It is one of western theories in the study of religions, which tried to understand religion by focusing on individual's mind, perception, experience, and their religious consciousness. Their main leading figures of the psychology discipline were William James (1842-1910 CE), Sigmund Freud (1856-1939 CE) and Carl Jung (1875-1961 CE) who latterly formulated the psychological approaches in the study of religions.<sup>57</sup> While further well-known psychologists of religion are Erik Erikson (1902-1994 CE), Abraham Maslow (1908-1970 CE) and René Girard (b. 1923 CE).

According to William James and his eminent work in the subject entitled '*the Variety of Religious Experience*', it was tried to emphasize the continuity that existed between feelings evoked by non religious objects as well feelings evoked by religion in which religion was a matter for individuals rather than for institutions. And thus, he tried to draw rational conclusions from his exploration of religious experience.<sup>58</sup> While Freud's ideas on religion was no more than wishful thinking, projection, illusion and neurosis, which it stated in his early article on the psychology of religion because to him the truth in the form of reliable knowledge can only be perceived in science and religion could not give people the rationality, therefore he used to call science as god.<sup>59</sup>

Carl Jung viewed religion as an attitude of human mind in the sense that the men who named its dynamic factors such as spirits, demons, gods, etc which he considered as either powerful dangerous or powerful helpful. To him, as he noted in his '*Modern Man in Search of a Soul*' that both men and women were naturally religious. He further emphasized that consciousness was given crucial in the process of achieving the truth knowledge about human beings and their life in this world because mental and emotional activity which mostly

<sup>57</sup> Rodrigues, Hillary, John S. Harding, *Introduction to the Study of Religion*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2009, pp: 83-84

<sup>58</sup> Thrower, James, *Religion: the Classical Theories*, Edinburgh University Press, Britain, 1999, pp: 61-62

<sup>59</sup> Belzen, Jacob A. (ed), *Changing the Scientific Study of Religion: Beyond Freud?: Theoretical, Empirical and Clinical Studies from Psychoanalytic Perspectives*, Springer, London, 2009, pp: 4-5

unconscious have influenced the everyday life of human beings, including their action and belief.<sup>60</sup>

Overall, the psychology of religion is a field of psychology which attempted to investigate and examine any psychological causes and features of religious attitudes or religious experience, as well study of various individual phenomena which appeared within its attitude and experience.<sup>61</sup>

## (2) *The sociology of religion*

Its main aim was to discover the prototype and model of individual and social live which allied with religion in all its various forms, and this discipline was also not concerned with the competing any truth-claims of religions.<sup>62</sup> In general, sociological approach in the study of religion has three classical paradigms which very much influential to the discipline. Whereas popularized by the approaches of Karl Marx (1818-1883 CE), Émile Durkheim (1858-1917 CE) and Max Weber (1864-1920 CE). Simply Karl Marx viewed that religions were reflected the structures of social relations and the economic, class distinctions are the main factor of society because he thought that religion was the opium for the people which gave them illusory and temporary happiness.<sup>63</sup>

While Durkheim assumed that human beings have two components of body and soul, the bodily needs often followed their egoistic natural desires, while the soul qualified social and moral. His observation on religion was basically referred to his study of the 'Totemism', as the simplest form of religion within the aboriginal religion in Australia. In which he perceived that every society have unifying system of thought and symbols, norms and values, and hence he identified the nationalism as the new civic religion.<sup>64</sup> Max Weber viewed religion as rational and consistent in their respective societies because religion has strong social component, in the sense that it able to produce changes in society. He further given an example of the spread of capitalism especially in the modern West, and according to Weber it happened due to the Protestant worldly ascetic morale. Here he dealt more in the study of relation between society and religion and the vice-versa.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Thrower, James, *Religion: the Classical Theories*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1999, pp: 143, 153-154

<sup>61</sup> Dhavamony, Mariasusai, *Fenomenologi Agama*, Kanisius, Yogyakarta, 1995, p: 23

<sup>62</sup> Segal, Robert A. (ed), *the Blackwell Companion to the Study of Religion*, Blackwell Publishing, Australia, 2006, p: 171

<sup>63</sup> Hinnels, John R. (ed), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, p: 126

<sup>64</sup> Hinnels, John R. (ed), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, p: 127

<sup>65</sup> See: Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Scribner, New York, 1958.

On this regard he made three points; first of all, we have to understand that the relation between religion and the world is contingent and variable, because the context sometimes varied in accordance to time and place. Secondly, this relationship demanded to have some research upon it and could not assume in the simple manner, while finally the relationship between religion and the world is gradually weakening in modern society and to Weber religion has ceased to be an effective force in the society.<sup>66</sup>

### (3) Anthropology of religion

It is a subject of study flourished in the nineteenth century CE on purpose of the searching and study of humankind's origin including investigation on remained fossil, the primitive human forms, etc and thus, the idea of '*evolution*' was also gathered this subject. It is noted that the early anthropologists were at once considered as evolutionists within nineteenth century CE, which evidently stated that all societies to be in process of evolution from the basic to the more complex and rational phase of life.<sup>67</sup> In the study of religion, there are two early important works of Sir James George Frazer's (1854–1941 CE) '*the Golden Bough: a Study of Magic and Religion*' and Émile Durkheim's '*the Elementary Forms of Religious Life*'. While '*the Golden Bough*' was published for the first time in 1890, altogether it provided some examples of rituals and magic taken from the classical texts in all over the world, furthermore Frazer viewed that all religions as a kind of fertility magic. Even though he said just like Jesus Christ was a kind of god-king who died in order to ensure the fertility of his people.<sup>68</sup>

While Durkheim's opinion that no religions which are false and they all are true, but they have different ways and fashions according to human's existence. Although religion is fundamental and permanent aspect which existed in men's life, therefore he sensed that through analysis of the origin of religion shall he or she could revealed the origin of human's thought, because every societies have different way of human thinking which consisted of different space, time, cause and effect and these categories for Durkheim considered as essential religious.<sup>69</sup> Other figures of anthropology of religion were Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917 CE), Malinowski (1884-1942 CE), Clifford Geertz (1926–2006 CE), etc.

Burnett Tylor and his work '*Belief in Spiritual Beings*' was brought the idea of development in all religious ideas by exemplified the primitive belief of 'animism'. To him, all

<sup>66</sup> Segal, Robert A. (ed), *the Blackwell Companion to the Study of Religion*, Blackwell Publishing, Australia, 2006, p:174

<sup>67</sup> Connolly, Peter (ed), *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, Continuum, London, 2004, p: 10

<sup>68</sup> Connolly, Peter (ed), *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, Continuum, London, 2004, 2004, p: 11

<sup>69</sup> Connolly, Peter (ed), *Op. Cit*, p: 12-13

religion is mistaken attempt to make sense of the physical world, as rational as science but simply erroneous.<sup>70</sup> Malinowski viewed that religion arose as result of the emotional stress which he did his work in the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea in the early years of the twentieth century CE. He thought when people unsatisfied with the technical knowledge, as a consequence of that they will come to magic and religion in order to achieve their goals, in which sometimes it need of ritual arrangements.<sup>71</sup> While Clifford Geertz has combined the ideas of Durkheim and Max Weber of defining religion as collective social act as well as system for ordering the world. In extent, he classified into five meanings of religion; (i) religion is a system of symbols which acts to (ii) establish powerful, pervasive and long lasting moods and motivations in men by (iii) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (iv) clothing these conceptions with such as aura of factuality that (v) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.<sup>72</sup>

#### (4) *Philosophy of religion*

It is considered as philosophical reflection concerning religion, which applied the philosophical methods systematically. While critical observation was also required in seek of truth values within religio-history of myths, symbols, and ceremonies. Basically this field tried to achieve some certain rational authenticity within spontaneous and existential religious movement by analyzing the important elements of religion, for instance the concept of God, worship, sacrifice, prayer, ceremony, symbol, etc as endeavor to attain the truth of religion besides religious experience and appearance or expression<sup>73</sup>.

According to Ninian Smart, the philosophy of religion has a place in the study of religions for various reasons; (i) the philosophers can contribute insights into the methodology of the discipline, (ii) the philosophical questions arose over systems of ideas such as the Freudian theory, Marxian theory, etc which were used for the study of religion, (iii) basically the traditional Western philosophy can be expanded to cover the world's religion and to learn from the fact that certain key Western terms such as 'the will' may have no counterpart in other cultures.

There are numerous major scholars in philosophy of religion which developed in the West some discussions about the existence of God and His attributes, such as elaborated by Christian theologian Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109 CE) by saying that God is something greater

<sup>70</sup> Segal, Robert A. (ed), *the Blackwell Companion to the Study of Religion*, Blackwell Publishing, Australia, 2006, p:4

<sup>71</sup> Segal, Robert A. (ed), *Op. Cit*, p: 5

<sup>72</sup> Connolly, Peter (ed), *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, Continuum, London, 2004, p: 35.; Segal, Robert A. (ed), *Op. Cit*, p: 5

<sup>73</sup> Dhavamony, Mariasusai, *Fenomenologi Agama*, Kanisius, Yogyakarta, 1995, pp: 23-24

beyond our thought but through imagination we can prove that God exist. Even though latterly criticized by Kant (1724-1804 CE) who argued that something exists in our minds does not mean really exists. His idea of 'argument from design' which signified that everything in this world was result of some conscious power as great designer in the everyday workings of the cosmos. While this statement was then refuted by philosopher David Hume (1711-1776 CE), he stated that the cosmic order was not necessary referred to divine cause since it easily could be explained by laws of nature.

Another influential scholar was Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900 CE) and his work '*The Antichrist*', in which he pointed out the weakness of conventional concepts of God to provide any basis for morality in the modern world, whereas he was known for his dictum 'God is dead'. A further philosophical argument against the Christian beliefs was made by Bertrand Russell (1872-1970 CE) and his book '*Why I am not a Christian*'. The theological orientation but still within philosophical approach exemplified by John Hick (b. 1922 CE) with his idea on religious pluralism, and one more modern metaphysical philosopher of religion was Alvin Plantinga (b. 1932 CE) considered as Christian apologist where he quested many atheistic arguments that claim theism is irrational.<sup>74</sup>

## Its Application to the Study of Religions by Indonesian Muslim Scholars

The Indonesian Muslim scholars in general were influenced either by the Western and/or the Islamic thought, as a consequence of their educational attempt which appeared in various organization, institutions, publications, etc that represented the diversity of its people. Some of the classical study of comparative religion in the early twentieth century CE was somehow founded in the work of Mahmud Yunus (b. 1899 CE)<sup>75</sup> entitled *al-Adyan* (the religions). After his arrival from Cairo, he taught religious teaching and general sciences in his homeland, he also taught history of the world and Islamic history. In 1932 CE, he offered history of religions

<sup>74</sup> See: Rodrigues, Hillary, John S. Harding, *Introduction to the Study of Religion*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2009, pp: 31-33

<sup>75</sup> Mahmud Yunus was born in West Sumatra 10<sup>th</sup> February 1899 CE which in 1924 CE he studied in al-Azhar and Dar al-Ulum Cairo, when he returned to his city he built two foundations named *al-Jami'ah al-Islamiyah* and Normal Islam in Padang around 1931 CE. While his writings were included various subjects of study such as concerning on science of education, Arabic language, Islamic law, Tafsir of Qur'an, ethics, history, comparative religion, Dakwah, Islamic jurisprudence, *Tawheed*, Psychology, Arabic-Indonesia dictionary, prayers collection, al-Qur'an translation, al-Qur'an dictionary, etc which approximately more than 43 works while other source said about 82 works. See: Srimulyani, Eka, *Mahmud Yunus' Islamic Educational Thought: Tracing and Contextualizing the Islamic Educational Reform in Indonesia*, Ar-Raniry Press, Aceh, 2008.

subject (*riwayat-riwayat agama*) there, and the book *al-Adyan* was trained for the qualified students of highest grades of the school.<sup>76</sup>

This work contained seventy seven pages written in Arabic, which begun with his definition of religion and being religiousness (*tadayyun*). He explained the history of various religions from different eras since there have been religions in every parts of the world. Some of religions expounded in this work were the Zoroastrians, Sabaenas, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, and Fetishism of the West Africa, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The longest description of this book was about Islam within twelve pages, in which he mentioned some sects of Islam and though the *Ahmadiyah* sect was also elaborated more than other Islamic sects. Further discussion was concerning Christianity and its two major divisions; the Catholicism and Protestantism were differed from the division which was stated by al-Raniri (d. 1658 CE) and al-Shahrastani (1086–1153 CE).

Methodologically, his study adopted some psychological approach which appeared in his eminent work '*al-Adyan*' (the religions) on the definition of religiousness (*tadayyun*), and it is considered as psychological statement by saying: "*Religiousness is the natural inclination of man to accept the existence of a Being, more powerful than himself or other human beings.*"<sup>77</sup>

An observer author such as Steenbrink commented on the work of Mahmud Yunus that his explanation in particular of religiousness definition was quite evolutionistic outlook. In the sense that every human have natural tendency of religiousness since beginning of men because they formerly believed of many gods, which later on, by the scientific progress and knowledge they recognized that there could be only one God and He is the cause of all causes.<sup>78</sup>

Another endeavor of the discipline appeared in the work of Haji Zain al-'Arifin 'Abbas<sup>79</sup>, especially through his writing on *Perkembangan Fikiran terhadap Agama* (the development of ideas concerning religion) which consisted of various volumes.<sup>80</sup> Like the work of Mahmud Yunus, this book formerly talked about the definition of religion and the realm of the spiritual, some chapter was elucidated on the study of religions and its development in the West.

<sup>76</sup> See: Yunus, Mahmud, *Riwayat Hidup Prof. Dr. H. Mahmud Yunus: 10 Pebruari 1899-16 Januari 1982*, Hidakarya Agung, Jakarta, 1982.

<sup>77</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A, *the Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: a Survey*, Numen, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, 1990, p: 148

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Zainal Arifin Haji Abbas, was the author of religious books included in significant amounts. Among his books are about *Sirah* (history) of Prophet Muhammad, the most complete study of the prophet in Indonesian. He was well-known figures such as Hamka, Mahmud Yunus, Haji Abu Bakar Aceh, Kiayi Haji Sirajuddin Abbas and others. See: Abbas, Zainal Arifin, *Peri Hidup Muhammad Rasulullah saw.*,

<sup>80</sup> See: Abbas, Zainal Arifin, *Perkembangan Fikiran terhadap Agama*, Rahmat, Medan, 1965.

Sometimes he mentioned number of Western scholar's ideas in relation to the topic.<sup>81</sup> He started elaboration on various world religions, he begun with the ancient Egyptian religions, Indian religion, Buddhism, Chaldaean, Hebrew and Persian religions. By the mid twentieth century CE, this work became a textbook for the teachers of religion as asserted by the ministry of religious affairs.<sup>82</sup>

Sidi Gazalba<sup>83</sup> was the other well known scholar of this field, who wrote a textbook on the subject of comparative religion entitled '*An Introduction to Anthropology*',<sup>84</sup> '*Dialog antara Kristen Advent dan Islam*'<sup>85</sup> (Dialogue between Christian Advent and Islam), '*Dialog antara Propogandis Kristen dan Logika*'<sup>86</sup> (Dialogue between Christian Propagandist and Logic). He attempted to combine the Islamic tradition ideas and the modern anthropology ideas through which he brought the idea of integration between Islam and sciences, such as written in his other books '*Islam, the integration of Science and Culture*'<sup>87</sup> and his thesis '*the Mosque as the Center of Worship and Culture*'.<sup>88</sup>

Methodologically, Sidi Gazalba was one of those who attempted to adapt the psychology as well sociology of religion through his major works. One of them was his thesis entitled '*the Mosque as the Center of Worship and Culture*' during his study on literature in the *Universitas Indonesia* (University of Indonesia) in Jakarta within 1950s.<sup>89</sup> The thesis presented a picture of Islam as guidance and the way of life for every creature in this world and the life of hereafter that Islam does not merely concern with one stage of life but the whole stages of human's life, including how human should conduct in this world for their rewards in the hereafter.<sup>90</sup>

In this regard, he has further written a book titled '*Islam, the Integration of Science and Culture*', in which he tried to elaborate the concept of science that religious sciences will be integrated into all other sciences. In some of his books, we might find various summaries on social sciences, whereas sometimes he called it as the science of culture. The works also expounded what the social sciences have taught in Europe and America, and defined culture in

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> See: Anshari, Saifuddin, *Wawasan Islam: Pokok-pokok Pikiran tentang Paradigma dan Sistem Islam*, GIP, Jakarta, 2004.

<sup>83</sup> Sidi Gazalba Indonesian Philosopher of *Kebudayaan* (tradition and culture)

<sup>84</sup> Gazalba, Sidi, *Pengantar Kebudayaan sebagai Ilmu*, Pustaka Antara, Jakarta, 1966.

<sup>85</sup> Gazalba, Sidi, *Dialog antara Kristen Advent dan Islam*, Bulan Bintang, Djakarta, 1978.

<sup>86</sup> Gazalba, Sidi, *Dialog antara Propagandis Kristen dan Logika*, Bulan Bintang Djakarta, 1971.

<sup>87</sup> Gazalba Sidi, *Islam Integrasi Ilmu dan Kebudayaan: Mendjawab Masalah-masalah Pokok dalam Rangka Islam Menghadapi Dunia Modern*, Tintamas, Djakarta, 1967.

<sup>88</sup> Gazalba, Sidi, *Masjid Pusat Pembinaan Umat*, Pustaka Antara, Jakarta, 1975.

<sup>89</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A, *the Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: a Survey*, *Numen*, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, 1990, p: 152

<sup>90</sup> See: Gazalba, Sidi, *Masjid Pusat Pembinaan Umat*, ibid.

abroad meaning including sociology and anthropology. He also wrote '*an Introduction to Anthropology*' later on, whilst some parts were adapted from Ralph Beals and Harry Hoyer.<sup>91</sup> He combined the ideas in the Islamic tradition and the ideas of modern anthropology, for instance the concept of acculturation with the perception of *bid'ah* (heresy or innovation) in Islamic term.<sup>92</sup>

A similar effort was done by Muhammad Rasjidi (Rasyidi) (1915-2001 CE)<sup>93</sup>, in which he translated a book of David Trueblood entitled '*Philosophy of Religion*'<sup>94</sup> in 1965 CE. Steenbrink found some distinctions from its original book, for instance he exemplified the translation of '*challenges to faith*' into '*keragu-raguan terhadap agama*' (*doubts toward religion*). In extent, he made adaptations to the Islamic and Indonesian situation and perhaps was not considered as original translation of the book, even though this book has become an important textbook on the subject in various Indonesian universities.<sup>95</sup> To him, religion is unchanged and unalterable issue, because it was dissimilar to anything like house or clothes which anytime we need we can change. Belief on particular religion could not be separated from its believers, due to this reason it was difficult for any adherents of religion to study religion or religiousness objectively because they were involved in the object of study (religion). Furthermore in the study of other religions he did not give any theological criticism, because he thought people have to adjust their own selves along with other beliefs within complex society or religious plurality. He drew his attention upon social criticism, for instance he criticized the practices of '*Zending*' or Christian missionary rather than its theological issue.<sup>96</sup>

An additional effort, Rasjidi has written some books concerning *aliran kebatinan* or *Kejawen* (Javanese Belief) have principles embodying a "search for inner self" but at the core is the concept of "peace of mind". The book entitled '*Islam dan Kebatinan*'<sup>97</sup> (*Islam and Kebatinan*) and '*Di Sekitar Kebatinan*'<sup>98</sup> (*In Relation to Kebatinan*). These works are response to the Muslims

<sup>91</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A, *the Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: a Survey*, Numen, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, 1990, p: 152

<sup>92</sup> Ibid

<sup>93</sup> Muhammad Rasjidi was born in Yogyakarta 20<sup>th</sup> May 1915 and died in 30<sup>th</sup> January 2001, he became Minister of state for Muslims affairs around 1945-1946, Minister of religious affairs in 1946 and he was Indonesian ambassador for Saudi and Egypt in 1950-1951 then as Indonesian ambassador for Pakistan in 1956-1958, etc. He completed his PhD dissertation and degree in university of Sorbonne Paris under supervision of Prof. Louis Massignon when he was a member of United Nations in 1950s which centered in Paris. See: Ananda, Endang Basri (ed.), *70 Tahun Prof. Dr. H. M. Rasjidi*, Harian Umum Pelita, Jakarta, 1985.

<sup>94</sup> Rasjidi, M, *Filsafat Agama*, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1970.

<sup>95</sup> *The Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: a Survey*, Numen, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, 1990, p: 151

<sup>96</sup> Abas, Zainul, *Hubungan antar Agama di Indonesia: Tantangan dan Harapan*, unpublished article.

<sup>97</sup> See: Rasjidi, M, *Aliran Kebatinan*, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1987.

Rasjidi, M, *Aliran Kebatinan*, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1987.

<sup>98</sup> Warsito, S, M. Rasjidi and Hasbullah Bakry, *Di Sekitar Kebatinan*, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1973.

spiritual movement especially the Javanese Muslims who apparently adopted the Hindus and mystical Javanese practices, such as provide offerings for the tutelary spirits of certain mosques and graveyard, etc for the sake of wealth, good fortune, political position, mate, and so on.<sup>99</sup> He was invited to deliver a lecture on '*Mencari Pegangan Hidup untuk Individu dan Masyarakat*' (to find basis of life for individual and society) in mass organizations of *kebatinan*, psychological (*kejiwaan*), and spiritual (*kerohanian*) assembly coordinated by PAKEM (*Pengawas Aliran-aliran Kepercayaan Masyarakat*) in 1967 CE, His article was further compiled into a book entitled '*Islam dan Kebatinan*'(Islam and *Kebatinan*).<sup>100</sup>

Regarding religious thought, he wrote some books as reaction and critics for the work of Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid entitled '*Koreksi terhadap Dr. Harun Nasution tentang Islam ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya*' (Correction towards Dr. Harun Nasution on Islam Reviewed from its Various Aspects) and '*Koreksi terhadap Drs. Nurcholish(h) Madjid tentang Sekularisasi*' (Correction towards Drs. Nurcholish(h) Madjid on Secularization).<sup>101</sup>

In favor of academic attempt, the discipline of comparative religion was first offered within the university class in 1960 CE and Abdul Mukti Ali (1923-2004 CE)<sup>102</sup> was the first dean as well as the curriculum designer of the department in IAIN (*Institut Agama Islam Negri*) or State Institute for Islamic Studies located in Yogyakarta. In this regard, Abdul Mukti Ali aimed to promote the study of various religions, linked to the idea of inter-religious dialogue. His works concerning this field are like as an article on '*the Origins of Religion*',<sup>103</sup> a booklet titled '*On the Study of Comparative Religion*',<sup>104</sup> '*On the Unity of God in the Qur'an*',<sup>105</sup> and he published nine books during the period he became a Minister of Religious Affairs in 1971 CE entitled '*Agama*

<sup>99</sup> See: Rasjidi, M. et. al., *Di Sekitar Kebatinan*, ibid.

<sup>100</sup> See: Rajidi, M, *Aliran Kebatinan*, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1987

<sup>101</sup> Rasjidi, M, *Koreksi terhadap Drs. Nurcholish Madjid tentang Sekularisasi*, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1072.; Rasjidi, M, *Koreksi terhadap Dr. Harun Nasution tentang 'Islam di Tinjau dari berbagai Aspeknya'*, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1977.

<sup>102</sup> Abdul Mukti Ali (born in Cepu, Blora, Central Java, August 23, 1923 - died in Yogyakarta, May 5, 2004 CE at age 80 years) was a former Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia on the Pembangunan (Development) Cabinet. See: Azra, Azyumardi, Saiful Umam (ed.), *Menteri-menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik*, Badan Litbang Agama, DEPAG RI, Jakarta, 1998, p: 280.; Abdurrahman, Burhanuddin Daya and Djam'annuri (eds.), *Agama dan Masyarakat: 70 Tahun H. A. Mukti Ali*, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, Yoyakarta, 1993.

<sup>103</sup> Ali, A. Mukti, *Asal Usul Agama*, Jajasan Nida, Jogjakarta, 1970.

<sup>104</sup> Ali, A. Mukti, *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama*, Jajasan Nida, Jogjakarta, 1971.

<sup>105</sup> Ali, A. Mukti, *Ke-esaan Tuhan dalam al Qur'an*, Nida, Jogjakarta, 1970.

dan Pembangunan di Indonesia<sup>106</sup> (Religion and the Development in Indonesia), further work was 'Science of Comparative Religion in Indonesia'.<sup>107</sup>

Through academic programs he promoted his idea of 'agree in disagreement', as a central manner for any students of comparative religion that they ought to acknowledge the truth of Islam. They have to respect others, to reach the harmony within multi religious society because only through this attitude the students will be able to identify the differences and similarities between religions. As a result of that, inter-religious dialogue can be achieved. He viewed that respect and tolerance are the main conditions for harmonious coexistence, since the third *Sila* of *Pancasila* was the Indonesian unity. Consequently, an agenda such as inter-religious dialogue was also the concept of 'agree in disagreement' popular within Indonesia especially at the transitions period of the Old Order to the New Order Indonesia in which religious tension was increased.<sup>108</sup> In this regard, he wrote an article on '*Hubungan antar Agama dan Masalah-masalahnya*' (Inter-religious relationship and its problems), at the end he concluded on the importance of inter-religious harmony because the country's development can only be achieved when its people are harmonious, indeed inter-religious harmony is considered one of the country development purpose.<sup>109</sup>

His definition of religion was consisted three aspects; creed, ritual and ethics. He considered the creed as religious faith and belief as the basic element of religion, the creed is developed and manifested into ritual, and finally the ethic was a result of both creed and ritual.<sup>110</sup> The philosophical attempt of Abdul Mukti Ali introduced the Joachim Wach's (1898 – 1955 CE) book '*the Comparative Study of Religion*' as the textbook for the students of comparative religion department under his rule. The book was translated into Indonesian language for twice due to its complex style and dissatisfaction of students.

He tried to bring Western ideas in the science of religion often referred to Joachim Wach, Father Schmidt (1868-1954 CE), Samuel Zwemer (1867-1952 CE), etc which Steenbrink noticed was very close to Christian theology. Methodologically, he used to transfer the work of Joachim

<sup>106</sup> Ali, A. Mukti, *Agama dan Pembangunan di Indonesia*, Direktorat Djenderal Bimbingan Masjarakat Islam, Jakarta, 1972.

<sup>107</sup> Ali, A. Mukti, *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama di Indonesia*, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 1988

<sup>108</sup> See: Wilson, Chris, *Ethno-Religious Violence in Indonesia: from Soil to God*, Routledge, London, 2008, p: 69.; Nordholt, Henk Schulte (ed.), *Renegotiating Boundaries: Local and Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia*, KITLV Press, Leiden, 2007, p: 320-1

<sup>109</sup> Ali, A. Mukti, "Hubungan antar Agama dan Masalah-Masalahnya (Inter-religious relationship and its problems)", Eka Darmaputra (ed.), *Konteks Berteologi di Indonesia: Penghormatan untuk HUT ke-70 Prof. Dr. P. D. Latuhihamallo*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1988, pp: 128-129

<sup>110</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A, *the Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: a Survey*, Numen, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, Leiden, 1990, p: 157

Wach 'the Comparative Study of Religion' as a textbook in IAIN Yogyakarta in the study of religions, and it was noted down in his work 'Science of Comparative Religion in Indonesia'.

Abdul Mukti Ali mentioned some differences in the field of terminology, such as difference between History of Religion, Comparative Religion and Philosophy of Religion. The first mentioned the collection of facts and realities, whereas second type was considered as deeper understanding through comparison between religions and Philosophy of Religion was to seek for the final truth but not in apologetic manner. In fact the question of truth will be further discussed in this discipline.<sup>111</sup> The philosophical approach used for popularizing the field of study by Abdul Mukti Ali, he suggested that the study of comparative religion has to be multi-disciplinary with major role played by the social sciences. Although he criticized the weakness of the social sciences in Indonesia which was summarized by Selo Sumarjan following four factors, are; the poor libraries, so many teachings with no research, no scientific discussion, and know less of foreign language.<sup>112</sup>

According to Mukti Ali among the duties of comparative religion study was to construct intellectual concepts and analysis, in which any scholar could understand various religious traditions and hence it will provide information, either on particular religion or several religions which are acceptable for their adherents.<sup>113</sup> He further explained the concept of knowledge, to him, knowledge is for the benefit of nation, religion and all mankind for the sake of Allah SWT because our life is only devoted to serve and worship God. To deal with the study of religions the students of comparative religion should provide any hypothesis which academically was acceptable since the study was intended to seek the intellectual truth.<sup>114</sup>

On methodology of the discipline, he almost pursued the ideas of Joachim Wach on three basic principles for the study of comparative religion; firstly, he or she has to acknowledge the apologetic element in each religion but this interest could not influence on the discipline. Secondly, to admit that all religions are universal choice and did not turn upon cultural determinism, and thirdly the people could not quit on the various quantities of religion and thus this study will be supposed to understand any philosophical and theological problems as result of its general perspectives.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>111</sup> See: Leertouwer, Lammert et. al., *Modern Societies and the Science of Religion*, Brill, Leiden, 2002, p: 346

<sup>112</sup> Steenbrink, Karel A, *the Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: a Survey*, Numen, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, Leiden, 1990, p: 157

<sup>113</sup> Darmaputera, Eka (ed.), *Konteks berteologi di Indonesia*, ibid, p: 115

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> Gort, Jerald D, Henry Jansen and H. M. Vroom, *Religion, Conflict and Reconciliation: Multifaith Ideals and Realities*, Rodopi, New York, 2002, p: 227

There are two phases of understanding other religions; partial and integral, whereas the first was considered incomplete comprehension and the second have numbers of component, such as (i) intellectual or rational information of religions, (ii) someone should has 'feeling' and '*metexis*' or participation in order to understand other religions, the participation occurred in the form of dealing and association with them besides reading materials of books concerning their religion, (iii) the constructive will of learning other religions, someone should have the motivation or will which oriented to constructive and productive goal, (iv) experience, to him experience of understanding other's character could give an extra qualification in the study other's religion as done by the scholars of psychology and sociology of religion.

His view on religious plurality was similar to the idea of M. Rasjidi (1915-2001 CE), in the sense that he acknowledged the existence of various religions surrounding the country, he was also strict on theological concerns. He stated that there are different views and teachings regarding similar particular subject of theology in every religion, for instance the Islamic and Christian ideas on the concept of God, sacred books of al-Qur'an and the Bible, Prophet Muhammad and Jesus, etc differed from each other.<sup>116</sup> He considered religious belief was uncompromised theological issue, whereas every adherents of certain religion has his own teachings, while the matter of truth was religious discussion within each religion.<sup>117</sup>

He discussed on the following ideas to achieve the truth; (i) syncretism, an idea that all religions are alike to each other which latterly developed into religious pluralism, (ii) re-conception means to review and reexamine our religion in confrontation of others, (iii) synthesis or to create new religion as combination of various elements from different religions, (iv) religious substitution, an effort to advocate others adhered into particular religion as result of their claim of truth within religion, (v) agree in disagreement (*setuju dalam perbedaan* or difference), this idea was adopted by Abdul Mukti Ali that he believed on his righteous religion and he respected other beliefs. and thus the study of comparative religion was not only searching the differences between religions but their similarities as well.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>116</sup> See: Subkhan, Imam, *Hiruk Pikuk Wacana Pluralisme di Yogyakarta: City of Tolerance*, Kanisius, Jogja, 2007, p: 71, compare with Husaini, Adian, *Hegemoni Kristen-Barat dalam Studi Islam di Perguruan Tinggi*, GIP, Jakarta, 2006, p: 298.

<sup>117</sup> See: Subkhan, Imam, *Hiruk Pikuk Wacana Pluralisme di Yogyakarta: City of Tolerance*, Kanisius, Jogja, 2007

<sup>118</sup> See: Subkhan, Imam, *Hiruk Pikuk Wacana Pluralisme di Yogyakarta: City of Tolerance*, Kanisius, Jogja, 2007

Hasbullah Bakry (b. 1926 CE)<sup>119</sup> was another figure, a lecture of Islamic studies subjects and became a professor of Islamic Law and the study of comparative religion in Islamic University at Jakarta by 1977 CE.<sup>120</sup> His view characteristic in the study of religions was somehow apologetic, he attempted to endorse the superiority of Islam among others and the Muslims need this study to criticize other religions through their shortcomings.<sup>121</sup> His enthusiastic was apparently because of the Christian missionary expansion during his time, especially after the declaration of state independence in which numbers of Muslims were converted to Christianity. As a consequence of that, Hasbullah Bakry encouraged the Muslims to study other religions, then they will study and compare every world religions and hence understand the truth of Islam, besides the Muslims are supposed to respect others. The great part of his contribution was emphasized on Christianity, particularly in accordance to Islam whereas he mentioned that Christianity belongs to the people of the book (*Ahlu al-Kitab*).

Further contribution was dedicated by Harun Nasution<sup>122</sup> on his '*Philosophy of Religion*',<sup>123</sup> a collection of his speech regarding philosophy which related to religion for instance he expounded the essence of spirit, God's will and the man's free will, and some philosophical proof of God's existence. In his discussion in the field of comparative religion, he mentioned in the second chapter of this book principally elaboration on the concept of God such as animism, polytheism, henotheism, monotheism, deism, pantheism, theism, naturalism, atheism, and agnosticism.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Hasbullah Bakry is a member of the modernist Muhammadiyah Movement and was a lecture at various Islamic Institutes of Higher Learning. He wrote books concerning on Islamic law, philosophy and comparative religion. See: Bakry, Habullah, *Systematik Filsafat*, AB. Siti Sjamsiah, Sala, 1964.; *Pendekatan Dunia Islam dan Kristen*, Grafindo Utama, Jakarta, 1985.; *Jesus dalam Pandangan Islam dan Kristen*, Japi, Surabaja, 1965.; *Perbandingan Agama*, Jakarta, 1973.

<sup>120</sup> See; Gort, Jerald D, Henry Jansen and H. M. Vroom, *Religion, Conflict and Reconciliation: Multifaith Ideals and Realities*, Rodopi, New York, 2002, p: 217

<sup>121</sup> See: Antes, Peter et. al., *New Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ibid, p: 103.; see also: Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia*, ibid, p: 357

<sup>122</sup> Harun Nasution (1919-1998 CE) was an Indonesian scholar who described himself as a neo-Mutazilite, a modern follower of the medieval movement of the Mutazila. His work was part of a small but significant trend within Islamic thought to champion rationalist and humanist principles. Nasution spent much of his youth outside of Indonesia, living in Arabia and Egypt before moving to Europe and eventually Canada. His father had been a traditional religious scholar, who despite his own immersion in Arabic and Islamic culture sent his son to a Dutch primary school. Nasution did, however, attend an Islamic secondary school, although one that taught secular as well as religious subjects. After an unhappy period of further study in Mecca, he went to Egypt, where he attended lectures at al-Azhar University in Cairo. In 1962 he began studying at the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University in Montreal. See: LSAF, *70 tahun Harun Nasution*, LSAF, Jakarta, 1987

<sup>123</sup> Nasution, Harun, *Filsafat Agama: Kuliah-kuliah dan Terjemah-terjemah yang di Berikan di IAIN dan IKIP Jakarta*, IAIN Press, Djakarta, 1972.

<sup>124</sup> See: Ibid.; see also his *Islam di Tinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya*, 2 volumes, UI Press, Jakarta, 1985.

Dawam Rahardjo (b. 1942)<sup>125</sup> was any more notable scholar, who wrote several articles on anthropology of religion and a number of meditations on the Qur'an, he tried to combine between social sciences and the Qur'anic verses.<sup>126</sup> Other contributions to the philosophical thought were made by following scholars such as Abu Hanifah (1906-1981 CE)<sup>127</sup>, a medical doctor who has written a history of western philosophy and Sutan Takdir Alishahbana (1908-1994 CE)<sup>128</sup>, a professor of Indonesian literature was also has written some philosophical works. In which Sutan Takdir Alishahbana's summary on western philosophy was published in 1946 CE, in the 1980s he became professor of philosophy at the postgraduate department of the Islamic Studies Institute in Jakarta. Furthermore, Steenbrink said regarding Zain al-'Arifin 'Abbas, Abu Hanifah and Sutan Takdir Alishahbana by saying: "...through their writings, ideas about philosophy and sociology of religion came into the 'collective memory' of Indonesian Muslims."<sup>129</sup>

Another work in philosophy has written by the first Vice-President of Indonesian Republic during internment by the Dutch colonial power (1934-1942 CE) Muhammad Hatta (1902-1980 CE), an economist who graduated from Rotterdam-Holland. He became an activist of the nationalist movement. His major works on philosophy were obtainable in the three booklets concerning history of Greek philosophy and during his life in the camp of detention he also started a course on philosophy. His other books are three works by Windelband and several books written on philosophy in Dutch.<sup>130</sup>

According to Zainul Abas, there are three aspects required in the study of religion; firstly investigate the history of inter-religions relations in which there was inter-religious dialogue occurred in the history of the early Muslims as the model for the contemporary circumstance, secondly investigate the inter-religions relations of the present-day, for instance on its

<sup>125</sup> Prof. Drs. Dawam Rahardjo (solo, Central Java, 1942- ) is Indonesian economist. He hold his BA from Gadjah Mada University (1969). Although he is economist but most of his writing are concerning Islamic thought and religious toleration.

<sup>126</sup> See his articles on Journal Ulumul Qur'an.

<sup>127</sup> Abu Hanifah (1906-1981 CE) was a religious socialist and was known also as a medical practitioner. He served as minister for Education and Culture in the Hatta Cabinet (1949 CE) and wrote several books on politics and religious issues. See: Assyaukani, Luthfi, *Islam and the Secular State*, ibid, p: 61

<sup>128</sup> Takdir Alishahbana (1908-1994 CE) one of Indonesia's most distinguished intellectuals and writers, himself played a key role in Indonesia's cultural and social revolution before the Second World War. See: Christie, Clive J, *Southeast Asia in the Twentieth Century: a Reader*, I. B. Tauris, London, 1998, p: 37.; see also: Raffel, Burton, *Anthology of Modern Indonesian Poetry*, SUNY, New York, 1964, p: 33

<sup>129</sup> *The Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: a Survey*, Numen, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, 1990, p: 150

<sup>130</sup> Suseno, Franz Magnis, I. Wibowo, *Sesudah Filsafat: Esai-esai untuk Franz Magnis-Suseno*, Kanisius, Yogyakarta, 2006, p: 201.; see also: Darmodiharjo, Darji, *Pokok-pokok Filsafat Hukum: Apa dan Bagaimana Filsafat Hukum Indonesia*, Gramedia, Jakarta, 1995, p: 63

developments and implications among their relations, thirdly investigate the roots of inter-religions conflict and find solution for the problems which arose within society, He suggested to draw the study of social sciences and humanity to avoid the similar conflict in the future.<sup>131</sup>

The discipline has taken its form in the country either as a result of the political and religious need, both have very significant role in the establishment of the comparative religion department in the universities. Its development showed from their scholars works which were influenced especially by the Western sources in their methodology, arrangement, classification, etc contemporary. The names above were some of major Indonesian Muslim scholars in the twentieth century (CE) who dealt with this field of study as Steenbrink commented regarding their contribution as: *"Perhaps there is no Muslim community more open to this kind of study than the Indonesian Muslim community..."*<sup>132</sup>

Despite the fact, they have numbers of weakness to be evaluated and criticized especially concerning their sources which roughly as noticed by Stenbrink that they did not bring something new to the study of comparative religion<sup>133</sup>. In contrast, they convey the prior ideas and teachings. Some works such as Abdul Mukti Ali's *'the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia'* and the similar works were endeavors to introduce the history of this study in Indonesia including its methodology, even though the author has pursued the Western eminent scholars for instance Joachim Wach, Allport, etc.<sup>134</sup>

In brief, the study of comparative religion by the Indonesian Muslims was an endeavor and contribution for the scientific attainment, as well as to build the life harmonious of inter-religious society in the country. The study was also developed from the individual efforts such as made by Mahmud Yunus (b. 1899 CE), Muhammad Rasjidi (1915-2001 CE), Abdul Mukti Ali (1923 - 2004 CE), Harun Nasution (1919-1998 CE), etc. The field has taught and popularized within educational institutions as a subject of study or a discipline offered for the university students which will be elaborated further.

<sup>131</sup> Abas, Zainul, *Hubungan antar Agama di Indonesia: Tantangan dan Harapan*, unpublished article.

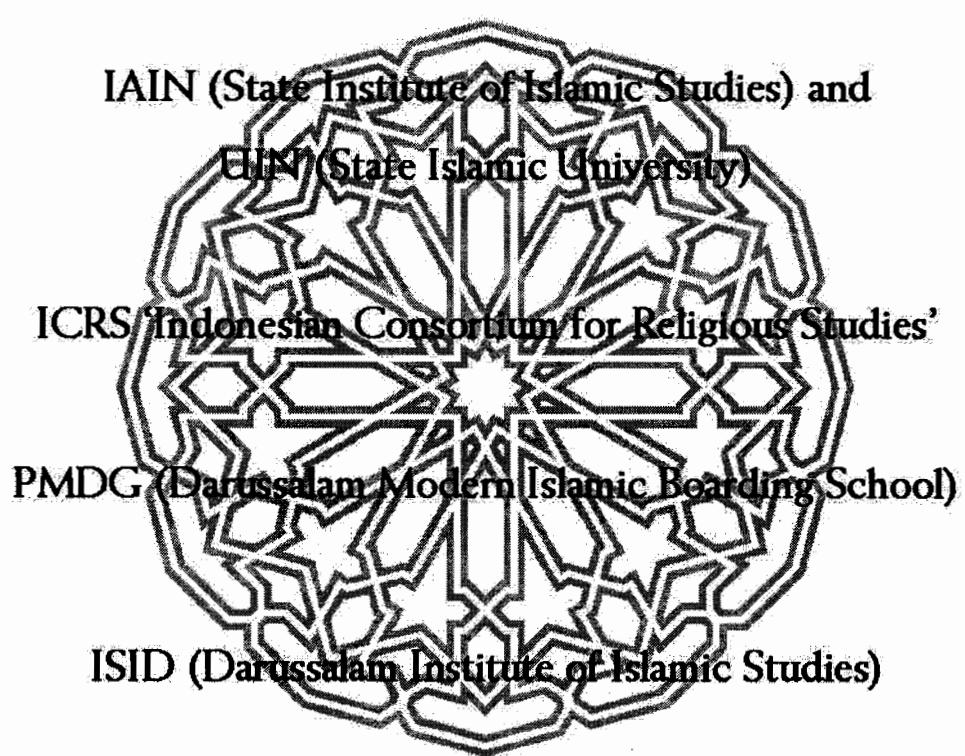
<sup>132</sup> *The Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: a Survey*, *Numen*, Vol. 37, Fasc. 2, Brill, 1990

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

## **Chapter Three:**

### **The Role of Educational Institution in the Development of the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia**



## CHAPTER THREE:

### The Role of Educational Institution

#### In the Development of the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia

#### **IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Studies) and UIN (State Islamic University)**

The state Islamic high institution in Indonesia was fundamentally structured by the department of religious affairs of Indonesian republic, while academic and technical institution was controlled by the department of national education. For the time being, the state Islamic high Institution in Indonesia comprised three kinds; IAIN '*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*' (State Institute of Islamic Studies), UIN '*Universitas Islam Negeri*' (State Islamic University)<sup>1</sup>, and STAIN '*Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri*' (State High College of Islamic Studies).

The historical background of the establishment of state Islamic high institution started since the Dutch-Indies administration. Dr. Satiman Wirjosandjoyo reviewed on the importance of high education for Indonesian Muslims, in order to raise the Muslims' dignity in their own homeland which was under colonial suppression. His idea was subsequently manifested by the establishment of STI '*Sekolah Tinggi Islam*' (Islamic High College) in 8 July 1946 CE at Jakarta. This college led by Prof. Abdul Kahar Muzakkir, as a recognition of Islamic High College foundation organization which was led by Drs. Muhammad Hatta (known as the first vice-President of Indonesian Republic) and his secretary Muhammad Natsir (d. 1993 CE). In November 1947 CE, the reformation committee of STI (Islamic High College) decided to establish UII '*Universitas Islam Indonesia*' (Indonesia Islamic University) in 10 March 1948 CE, along with four faculties: Religion (Islamic Studies), *Hukum* (Law), Economy and Education. Whereas in 20 February 1951 CE, another institution named PTII '*Perguruan Tinggi Islam Indonesia*' (Indonesia Islamic High Institution) was merged UII (Indonesia Islamic University) and located in Yogyakarta.

After the state independence revolution, the government established PTAIN '*Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Negri*' (State High Institution of Islamic Studies)<sup>2</sup> and officially opened in 26 September 1951 CE. PTAIN was taken from the faculty of Religion (Islamic Studies) of UII

<sup>1</sup> See: Hefner, Robert W., Zaman, Muhammad Qasim, *Schooling Islam: the Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2007, p: 189-192

<sup>2</sup> See: Jabali, Fuad, Jamhari (ed), *IAIN & Modernisasi Islam di Indonesia*, Logos Wacana Ilmu, Ciputat, 2002, pp: 11-13.; Latif, Yudi, *Indonesian Muslim Intelligentsia and Power*, ISEAS, Singapore, 2008, p: 261

(Indonesia Islamic University). The faculties offered in PTAIN included department of *Dakwah* (later on turned into *Ushuluddin*), department of *Qodlo'* (later on turned into *Shari'ah*) and department of Education (*Tarbiyah*). In same decade, another institution named ADIA 'Akademi Dinas Ilmu Agama' (State Academy of Religious Sciences)<sup>3</sup> was also established in Jakarta in 14 August 1657 CE. Likewise these two institutions (PTAIN and ADIA) were the inspiration for the establishment of IAIN later on.

IAIN 'Institut Agama Islam Negri' or '*al-Jami'ah al-Islamiyah al-Hukumiyah*' (State Institute of Islamic Studies) was officially opened in 24 August 1960 CE by Minister of religious affairs K.H. Wahid Wahab. As affirmed by presidential regulation of Indonesian Republic stated that in accordance to Jakarta charter<sup>4</sup> dated 22 June 1945 CE, it was needed to establish a state institute for Islamic studies, in order to develop the experts of Islamic studies education in favor of the government and society requirement.<sup>5</sup>

The establishment of IAIN was very significant since the Muslims are major population in Indonesia, to develop the quality of nation means to educate its people whose majority belonged to the Muslims, through educational development in religious or spiritual as well as their intellectual matters. In fact IAIN was basically a synthesis of the two institutions; PTAIN '*Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Negri*' (State High Institution of Islamic Studies) in Yogyakarta and ADIA 'Akademi Dinas Ilmu Agama' (State Academy of Religious Sciences) in Jakarta, which was already developed till 1940s and 1950s because of the enhancement of the Muslim educational quality.

These two institutions were turned into 'IAIN' centred in Yogyakarta, and Prof. Mr. R.H.A. Soenarjo was recommended to be its rector with the help of Prof. T.M. Hasby Ash-Shiddieqy<sup>6</sup> as dean of *Shari'ah* (Islamic law) faculty, and Dr. Muchtar Yahya as dean of *Ushuluddin* (Islamic Studies) faculty were located in IAIN Yogyakarta. While the faculty of *Tarbiyah* (education) and the faculty of *Adab* were opened in IAIN Jakarta along with Prof. Dr. Mahmud Yunus and Prof. Bustami A. Gani as their faculty deans.

At the beginning, the alumnus of al-Azhar University-Cairo have significant role in the development of the institutions, especially for those who took in department of religious affairs.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Ibid*, pp: 13-14.; Sumardi, Mulyanto, *Islamic Education in Indonesia: a Bibliography*, ISEAS, Singapore, 1983

<sup>4</sup> See: Ansari, Saifuddin, *The Jakarta Charter of June 1945*, MA Thesis, McGill University, Canada, 1976.; Cribb, Robert, Audrey Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, second edition, Scarecrow Press, INC, United States of America, 2004

<sup>5</sup> Husaini. Adian, "*IAIN Dulu dan Sekarang*", in *ISLAMIA* vol. III, no. 3, 2008, p: 54

<sup>6</sup> See: Wahyudi, Yudian, *Hasbi's Theory of Ijtihad in the Context of Indonesian Fiqh*, MA Thesis, McGill University, 1993

As a result of that, IAIN has seemingly followed the systems of al-Azhar University of Cairo, for instance there were three faculties of *Shari'ah*, *Ushuluddin* and *Adab* which were adopted from the faculties of al-Azhar University and also the annual system of examination. The system has changed into credit semester system, while there were other faculties such as faculty of *Tarbiyah* and *Dakwah* which initially emerged to fulfil the social demands.<sup>7</sup>

By 1963 CE, IAIN expanded its divisions into 18 faculties in several regions over the country; (i) the faculty of *Tarbiyah* (education) was established in Jakarta, Yogyakarta (in Central Java), Malang (in East Java) and Aceh (in Sumatra Island). (ii) The faculty of *Adab* was established in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. (iii) The faculty of *Shari'ah* (Islamic law) had established in Yogyakarta, Aceh (in Sumatra Island), Banjarmasin (South Borneo/Kalimantan), Palembang (South Sumatra), Surabaya (in East Java), Serang (in Banten), Ujung Pandang (in South Celebes/Sulawesi).

Another development of IAIN in 1963 CE was the direction of IAIN Yogyakarta entitled IAIN of '*Sunan Kalijaga*'<sup>8</sup> and IAIN Jakarta entitled IAIN of '*Syarif Hidayatullah*'.<sup>9</sup> At that moment, both became self-governing institutions as well coordinators of other minor IAINs in country; (i) IAIN of *Sunan Kalijaga* Yogyakarta coordinated with all the faculties within Central Java, East Java, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), Nusa Tenggara, Maluku (Moluccas) and Irian Jaya. (ii) While IAIN of *Syarif Hidayatullah* Jakarta coordinated with the faculties around Jakarta, West Java and Sumatra. But then, according to governmental regulation in the year 1963 CE stated that several IAINs will potentially become independent institutions, along with minimum of three faculties in each as a requirement. A few years later after the statement there were various faculties turned into IAIN in different regions. These faculties which later on became independent institutions are IAIN *Ar-Raniry* Aceh in 5 October 1963 CE, IAIN of *Raden Patah* Palembang in 22 October 1964 CE, IAIN of *Antasari* South Kalimantan/Borneo in 22 November 1964 CE, IAIN of *Sunan Ampel* Surabaya in 6 July 1965 CE, IAIN of *Alauddin* Ujung Pandang in 28 October 1965 CE, IAIN of *Imam Bonjol* Padang in 21 November 1966 CE, and IAIN of *Sultan Taha Saefuddin* Jambi in 1967 CE.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See: Feener, Michael, *Muslim Legal Thought in Modern Indonesia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, p: 61

<sup>8</sup> See: Chodjim, Achmad, *Mistik dan Makrifat Sunan Kalijaga*, Serambi, Jakarta, 2003.

<sup>9</sup> See: Muhamimin, Abdul Ghoffir, *The Islamic Tradition of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslim*, ANU E Press, Australia, 2006, 168-169

<sup>10</sup> See: Jabali, Fuad, Jamhari (ed), *IAIN & Modernisasi Islam di Indonesia*, Logos Wacana Ilmu, Ciputat, 2002, pp: 14-15

Within 'New Order' regime of Suharto (1967-1971 CE), the faculties in several areas have developed into IAIN. The faculties are: IAIN of *Sunan Gunung Jati* Bandung in 28 March 1968 CE, IAIN of *Raden Intan* Lampung in 28 October 1968 CE, IAIN of *Wali Songo* Semarang in 1 April 1970 CE, IAIN of *Syarif Qasim* Pekanbaru in September 1970 CE and IAIN of *Sumatra Utara* (North Sumatra) Medan in 19 November 1973 CE.<sup>11</sup> By 1970 CE, there were 13 IAIN including 104 faculties, and by 1973 CE it reached approximately to 112 IAIN over the country. In 1975 CE, under Abdul Mukti Ali coordination as a Minister of religious affairs closed numbers of IAIN, particularly in the rural cities and it maintained 13 IAIN in the provincial areas. He intended to enhance maximally the quality of IAIN through centralized institutional education in the urban areas, as well as he dispatched several teachers to obtain higher education of Master and Doctoral programs in McGill University of Canada. By 1972 CE, there were 55 Indonesian students among IAIN lecturers and department of religious affairs employees who attended the study in McGill University of Canada. Many other students were dispatched by religious affairs ministry to several universities abroad within 1973-1978 CE. For instance 6 students to Australia, 2 students to England, 7 students to Egypt, 2 students to Sudan, 9 students to Canada, 1 student to Singapore and 8 students to Dutch.

The relations between IAIN and Indonesian Republic of religious affairs department with the McGill University had manifested through ICIHEP program (Indonesia Canada Islamic Higher Education Project). It was an effort of religious affairs department to cooperate with the CIDA 'Canadian International Development Agency' through dispatch various IAIN students to McGill University. By 2001 CE, there have been 58 male students and 24 female students who graduated Master program, 3 students among them continued their doctoral program and 5 students got diploma degree in McGill University. Another relation was in the development of IAIN library by sending numbers of librarians from IAIN Jakarta and Yogyakarta to McGill Islamic Studies library, teachers' exchange, providing medium and infrastructure for the study process in IAIN and through publishing anthology on Islamic studies.<sup>12</sup> This program dispatched various students to learn the same major of studies in Institute of Islamic Studies in McGill University Canada. There are several reasons why McGill University was major destination for study by IAIN students; (i) the emotional-historic relations between a founder of Institute of Islamic Studies (IIS) Wilfred Cantwell Smith and several Indonesian scholars such as M. Rasjidi

<sup>11</sup> See: *Ibid*, p: 15

<sup>12</sup> See: Nata, Abudin, Nasuhi, Hamid, *Membangun Pusat Keunggulan Studi Islam: Sejarah dan Profil Pimpinan IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta 1957-2002*, IAIN Jakarta Press, Jakarta, 2002

who became first Professor guest in IIS within 5 years from 1958 CE to deliver lecture on the development of modern Islam in Indonesia. (ii) the study in IIS differed from the study in other Western countries, in which the study was under department of Middle Eastern studies, department of near eastern studies, or faculty of religious studies. IIS was autonomous institute under faculty of graduated studies and research.<sup>13</sup> As a consequence, they studied Islam from eminent Western scholars such as Charles J. Adam and Wilfred Cantwell Smith. Their influences upon Indonesian high institutions for Islamic studies were apparently brought by two intellectual Muslims; Abdul Mukti Ali through his modernization process of IAIN especially during his role as a Minister of religious affairs, and Harun Nasution through Islamic intellectual modernisation along with his pluralistic approach in the study of Islam and the rational theology of *Mu'tazilah* ideas.

Abdul Mukti Ali was considered as the first Indonesian student who achieved his Master of Arts along with his thesis entitled '*the Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction*' in McGill University. Harun Nasution was also considered the first Indonesian student who finished his Ph.D program at the same university within 1969 CE, along with his dissertation concerning Muhammad 'Abduh and theology of *Mu'tazilah*'. There had been hundreds of Indonesian students who received their education from McGill University and were mostly back to IAIN and department of religious affairs. For instance: Kafrawi Ridwan (formerly as a Director General in directorate general of Islamic organizational administrative), Zaini Muchtarom (formerly as a Director of Islamic high institution), Murni Jamal (formerly as an assistant of minister of religious affairs for foreign relations).<sup>14</sup>

The development of IAIN seemed to flourish since Abdul Mukti Ali and Harun Nasution transferred new curriculum and methodology of study in IAIN. For instance, Mukti Ali introduced a new discipline of comparative religion in 1960 CE and by 1971 CE it became one of post graduate program, introduction to the study of Islam including all Islamic aspects such as philosophy, Sufism, theology, sociology, research methodology which was proposed by Harun Nasution in 1973 CE, while subject on Orientalism and Occidentalism were introduced in the 1990s CE.<sup>15</sup>

Another progress, IAIN has made new methodology in the study of Islam, whereas the students will be taught different ideas of various ideologies, sources and criticism. This

<sup>13</sup> See: *Panji Masyarakat*, vol. 36, issues 751-759, 1993, p: 29

<sup>14</sup> See: Jabali, Fuad, Jamhari (ed), *IAIN & Modernisasi Islam di Indonesia*, Logos Wacana Ilmu, Ciputat, 2002, pp: 24-25

<sup>15</sup> See: Husaini, Adian, *Hegemoni Kristen-Barat dalam Studi Islam di Perguruan Tinggi*, GIP, Jakarta, 2006, p: 81

methodology differed from previous methodology, and they were taught according to particular dogmas. As a result of that, the students might get involved to response the contemporary society problems especially in Indonesia. Such as issues on gender, human rights, democracy, etc whereas it perceived particularly through their writings in media publication. The IAIN students have contributed a lot in the writing of various issues for local and foreign publications, for instance within international journal such as Islamic studies (Karachi), Hamdard Islamicus (Islamabad), Journal of Islamic Studies (Oxford), Islam Muslim-Christian Relations (Birmingham), Qur'anic Studies (London). Within Indonesian publication between 1995-2000 CE there were at least 222 articles written by IAIN lecturers and students in different newspapers including various topics such as religion, ethics and spirituality, religion and politics, religious and cultural pluralism, religion and social justice, etc. While up to 2000 CE, there were 143 books written by IAIN lecturers and students from total 418 books in well known Indonesian publishers such as Paramadina-Jakarta, Mizan-Bandung, Logos-Jakarta, Pustaka Hidayah-Bandung, Djambatan-Jakarta, UI Press-Jakarta, Gramedia-Jakarta.<sup>16</sup>

The study programs in IAIN had followed to academic tradition of Dutch. The first programs of study were accomplished within 5 years; 3 years for BA (*Baccalaureus*) program and 2 years for Drs (*Doctorandus*) program. The student would be able to continue for doctoral program. According to the curriculum of study 1997 CE, the faculties of IAIN (faculty of *Adab*, *Tarbiyah*, *Shari'ah*, *Ushuluddin* and *Dakwah*) would have general course subjects of 24 credit hours including *Pancasila* (Indonesian State Ideology), *Kewiraan* (manliness), English language, Arabic language, Indonesian language, basic natural sciences, basic social sciences, basic cultural sciences, and methodology of Islamic studies subject. While the course subjects of vocational basic, total 30 credit hours carried out Islamic jurisprudence, the sciences of *Hadith*, the sciences of *Qur'an*, Islamic theology, Islamic mysticism, general philosophy, research methodology, Islamic laws, *Hadith*, *Tafsir*, Islamic history and civilization.<sup>17</sup>

In order to integrate general sciences and religious sciences, IAIN has initiated its development into UIN '*Universitas Islam Negri*' (State Islamic University) in various regions. For this purpose, several IAIN started offering general fields of study, such as department of psychology, department of mathematics, department of economics, etc. By then, the state Islamic institutions now (year 2010 CE) consisted of 6 UIN (State Islamic University), 12 IAIN '*Institut Agama Islam Negri*' (State Institute of Islamic Studies) which contained at least three faculties

<sup>16</sup> See: Jabali, Fuad, Jamhari (ed), *Op. Cit*, pp: 33, 153-159

<sup>17</sup> Jabali, Fuad, Jamhari (ed), *IAIN & Modernisasi Islam di Indonesia*, Logos Wacana Ilmu, Ciputat, 2002.

each, and 33 STAIN '*Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negri*' (State High College of Islamic Studies) each contained one or two faculties all over the country.

The following IAIN or STAIN which now have turned into UIN are: UIN *Syarif Hidayatullah* Jakarta. It is the most well known among other UIN was UIN *Syarif Hidayatullah* Jakarta which since 2002/2003 CE it carried out faculty of education and teaching, *Adab* and humanity, *Ushuluddin* and philosophy, *Shari'ah* and law, *Dakwah* and communication, *Dirasat Islamiyah* (Islamic Studies), Psychology, Economy and Social Sciences, Sciences and Technology, Medical and its Sciences, and the Post graduate programs. The alumnus of UIN *Syarif Hidayatullah* Jakarta until 2008 CE amounted 36.099 persons, consisted of 19.174 under graduated alumnus, 1.273 Masters and 426 Doctors, while the present regular teachers in this university about 289 lecturers including 59 Doctors and 29 Professors. Some well known Indonesian scholars from this university are: Prof. Dr. Nurcholis Madjid, Prof. Dr. Harun Nasution, Prof. Dr. Azyumardi Azra, Prof. Dr. Quraish Shihab, Prof. Dr. Komaruddin Hidayat, Prof. Dr. Muhammad Ridwan al-Jufrie, etc.<sup>18</sup> UIN *Sunan Kalijaga* Yogyakarta (in Central Java), it is considered as centre of excellence in the field of Islamic studies during its existence, it was also known as the feeder for other UIN and IAIN. For the time being the university contained 7 faculties; faculty of *Adab*, *Dakwah*, *Shari'ah*, *Tarbiyah*, *Ushuluddin*, Science and technology, Social sciences and humanity, the Post Graduate programs, as well it consisted of 24 study programs and curriculum.<sup>19</sup> UIN *Sulthan Syarif Qasim* Pekanbaru-Riau (Sumatra), UIN *Maulana Malik Ibrahim* Malang (in East Java), it was formerly established as faculty of *Tarbiyah*, a branch of IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya built in 1961 CE and by 1997 it turned into STAIN, whereas at 2004 CE it officially became UIN *Syeh Maulana Malik Ibrahim*.<sup>20</sup> UIN *Alauddin* Makassar (South Celebes), and UIN *Sunan Gunung Djati* Bandung (in West Java), it was formerly IAIN *Sunan Gunung Djati* which turned into UIN in 10 October 2005 CE, the faculties offered in this university following faculty of literature; Arabic, English and Islamic history and civilization, faculty of *Dakwah* and Communication consisted of 6 departments, faculty of *Shari'ah* and Law consisted of 8 departments, faculty of *Tarbiyah* and teaching consisted of 10 departments, faculty of *Ushuluddin* consisted of 6 departments, faculty of psychology carried out 5 departments, faculty of science and technology following 6 departments, faculty of social sciences, politics and economy consisted of 3 departments, Post-Graduate programs following 10 departments and PhD

<sup>18</sup> See: <http://www.uinjkt.ac.id>

<sup>19</sup> See: <http://www.uin-suka.ac.id>

<sup>20</sup> See: <http://www.uin-malang.ac.id>

programs contained 2 specializations, as well other programs offered for diploma degree.<sup>21</sup> While the twelve IAIN were offered in Aceh, Banten, Padang (West Sumatra), Jambi, Palembang, Bandar Lampung, Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan/Borneo), Surabaya (East Java), Semarang (Central Java), Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara), Medan (North Sumatra). These IAIN named: IAIN Ar-Raniry, IAIN Banten, IAIN Imam Bonjol, IAIN Sultan Thaha Saefuddin, IAIN Raden Fatah, IAIN Raden Intan, IAIN Antasari, IAIN Sunan Ampel, IAIN Walisongo, IAIN Mataram, IAIN Sumatra Utara.

The study of comparative religion, academically taught within high institutions in Indonesia started since the arrival of Abdul Mukti Ali from his study in McGill University. After he joined IAIN *Sunan Kalijaga* Yogyakarta, he introduced and opened the discipline of comparative religion in 1961 CE under faculty of *Ushuluddin* at IAIN *Sunan Kalijaga* Yogyakarta, in which he became a former vice-rector of the institute (1968-1971 CE) also the head of comparative religion department.<sup>22</sup>

Abdul Mukti Ali was an important figure in the field of study, besides he was known as '*Bapak Perbandingan Agama Indonesia*' (a father of comparative religion in Indonesia). He became well-known scholar in the discipline through his academic works, including his writing on '*Ilmu Perbandingan Agama: Sebuah Pembahasan tentang Methodos dan Sisteme*' (the science of comparative religion: a study on methods and systems) published in 1964 CE, and by 1986 CE he wrote a book entitled '*Ilmu Perbandingan Agama di Indonesia*' (the science of comparative religion in Indonesia). Likewise, his books gave very significant contribution in the development of the discipline in Indonesia, particularly for the students of comparative religion in IAIN all over the country.<sup>23</sup> The present books written by other Indonesian authors have given more apologetic statements and unscientific works in accordance to IAIN curriculum, in the sense those other books were considered as theological efforts rather than scientific (in the Western point of view).

Further development of the discipline in this institute was a kind of western scientific rapprochement. Abdul Mukti Ali advocated the use of socio-historical methods in combination

<sup>21</sup> See: <http://www.uinsgd.ac.id>

<sup>22</sup> See: Abdurrahman, Daya, Burhanuddin, Djam'annuri (eds.), *Agama dan Masyarakat: 70 Tahun H. A. Mukti Ali*, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 1993.; see also: Daya, Burhanuddin, Beck, H. L., *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama di Indonesia dan Belanda: Kumpulan Makalah Seminar*, INIS, Jakarta, 1992, p: 51

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

with the philosophical methods for the study of religion including Islam in this institution.<sup>24</sup> To him, the formation process of the Islamic doctrines in the subject of history can be reconstructed, and the connection to historical events and problems can be retraced through socio-historical methods. To understand the essence of Islam can only be attained through philosophical method. He stated that the study of Islam should be *scientific cum doctrinaire*, in this regard he intended to study Islam scientifically in order to provide it with sociological and historical foundation, and finally the result of study should be made as religious guidance for Muslims.<sup>25</sup>

The comparative religion discipline in other IAIN or UIN, for instance which presented at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, the study was under the faculty of 'Ushuluddin and philosophy' along with other departments of theology and philosophy, sociology of religion, *Tafsir* and *Hadith*, and Islamic political thought. It is represented in UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta as the most imperative UIN among other UIN and IAIN over the country. The faculty generally intended to prepare its students as professionals who will understand the fundamental of Islamic sciences, and aimed to become a center for the study of Islamic thought. The vision of comparative religion in this university was to generate the experts and professionals in the field of study who will be able to compare various religions, along with their similarities and dissimilarities, able to analyze inter-religious conflicts as well as able to solve them.<sup>26</sup>

The similar field of study founded in IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, it was considered as high education intended for interaction of the media with the potency of religious society and culture in Indonesia. The students of comparative religion supposed to be critical in the study of different religions (the diversity of religion) including Islam. In this regard, the IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya has prepared their students to be critical scholars, pluralists in the frame of Islamic values, in which their central themes were written in the HELTS '*Higher Education Long Term Strategy*'. It followed the issues which are strategic, rational, competitiveness, autonomy and organizational health, he graduated students could bear the three basic components called ASK '*attitude, skill and knowledge*'. In the sense, this institution proposed to generate the pluralist Muslim scholars, who able to understand others without apologetic statements.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Machasin, Muhammad, "Academic Freedom in Islamic Studies and the Surveillance by Muslim Activists in Indonesia". in *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe*, edited by Dress, Willem B., Leiden University Press, Leiden, 2008

<sup>25</sup> See: Machasin, Muhammad, "Academic Freedom in Islamic Studies and the Surveillance by Muslim Activists in Indonesia". in *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe*, edited by Dress, Willem B., Leiden University Press, Leiden, 2008, p: 179-190

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.uinjkt.ac.id>

<sup>27</sup> It is represented in IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya (East Java). See: <http://www.sunan-ampel.ac.id>

According to almost IAIN and/or UIN, the study of religions (*Religionswissenschaft*) carried out two types of Islamic study; first type is substantive (doctrinaire) including the sciences of *Qur'an*, the sciences of *Hadith*, and Islamic jurisprudence. The second type of Islamic study is functional (historic-empiric) through integration of social and history research methodology. As long the study of religions in Indonesia was emphasized on doctrinaire and normative, they introduced the historic-empiric study in this discipline. They implied the rapprochement between Islamic sciences, social sciences and humanities as a complement for the study in this university, besides the subject of philosophy was also included.<sup>28</sup>

The subjects of study may be different from one IAIN or UIN with each others according to their own autonomy decrees. Their curriculum included (i) MPK 'Matakuliah Pengembangan Kepribadian' (subject on personality development), (ii) MKK 'Matakuliah Keilmuan dan Ketrampilan' (scientific and skill subjects), (iii) MKB 'Matakuliah Keahlian Berkarya' (subjects on work expertise or specialization), (iv) MPB 'Matakuliah Perilaku Berkarya' (subjects on work behavior) and (v) MBB 'Matakuliah Berkehidupan Masyarakat' (subjects on social life).

The pattern model of the course subjects of UIN *Sultan Syarif Qasim* at Pekanbaru; first category was concerning personality development, it contained 32 credit hours following the subject of *Pancasila* (Indonesian state ideology), civics education, methodology of Islamic study, study of al-Qur'an, study of *Hadith*, *Aqidah* (the study of Islamic belief), the ethics of Sufism, *fiqh Ibadah*, *fiqh Mu'amalah*, history of Islamic civilization, history of Islam in South East Asia, Islam and Malay civilization, sociology, Islamic jurisprudence, general philosophy. The second category regarding scientific and skill subjects, it contained 23 credit hours following Indonesian language, Arabic language I, II & III, English language I, II & III, research methodology, computer application, project on popular scientific work, Islamic theology.

Thirdly, concerning work expertise or specialization which contained 68 credit hours following world religion I, II, III, IV, world religion V (Hinduism), world religion VI (Judaism), world religion VII (Buddhism), world religion VIII (Confucius), sociology of religion, anthropology of religion, psychology of religion, phenomenology of religion, Christianity I, II, III and Christianity IV (Indonesian Christianity), development of modern Islamic theology, research methodology in the study of religion, Orientalism, Occidentalism, the sects of belief, Hinduism in Indonesia, Buddhism in Indonesia, religious fundamentalism, new religious movements, inter-

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<sup>28</sup> See: Husaini, Adian, *Hegemoni Kristen-Barat dalam Studi Islam di Perguruan Tinggi*, GIP, Jakarta, 2006

religious relations, inter-ethnics relations, religious ethics, seminar of proposal, comprehensive exam, *skripsi* writing (under graduate thesis).

Fourth category was concerning the work behaviour subjects, which contained 21 credit hours following Quranic texts, philosophy of religion, modern thought in Islam, social psychology, introduction to social statistic, philosophy of sciences, thematic *Tafsir*, thematic *Hadith*, and Sufism. Fifth category was on social life, it contained 4 credit hours following KKN 'Kuliah Kerja Nyata' (Applied Social Services), as a compulsory subject for every student. In which the students dispatched to particular villages and live with the society, in order to give social services in the form of arranged activities within one month, the programs might be varied for different villages such as massive cleaning, religious teaching, etc.

The subjects taught in UIN *Sultan Syarif Qasim* in Pekanbaru was somehow has no significant difference with the following core subjects of comparative religion in UIN *Syarif Hidayatullah* Jakarta. Such as *Qur'anic* text, philosophy of religion, world religions, inter-religious relations, sociology of religion, anthropology of religion, psychology of religion, phenomenology of religion, research methodology of comparative religion, study of ethics (*Ilmu Akhlaq*), sect of beliefs, Orientalism, philosophy of science, logics, Islamic philosophy, Islam in Indonesia, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, etc. The study program including discussion, examination, project, seminar, guidance, etc.<sup>29</sup> Their view highlight, textbooks, methodology of teaching, the lecturers and students quality may be different from each others. Principally, these distinctions can be measured from the objectivity, vision and mission of study in different IAIN and UIN over Indonesia as mentioned some of them above.<sup>30</sup>

### **ICRS 'Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies'**

ICRS 'Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies' was considered as the new institution in favor of 'Inter-Religious International PhD Program'. It was found only for PhD students in the study of comparative religion, which was located in Yogyakarta (Central Java). ICRS was officially opened by Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwana of Yogyakarta in 2007 CE at Yogyakarta Palace. The opening program was also attended by Prof. Dr. Sofian Effendi as a Rector of UGM 'Universitas Gajah Mada' (University of Gajah Mada), Prof. Dr. Amin Abdullah as a Rector of UIN *Sunan Kalijaga* (State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijaga), and priest Dr.

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.uinjkt.ac.id>

<sup>30</sup> Husaini, Adian, *Hegemoni Kristen-Barat dalam Studi Islam di Perguruan Tinggi*, GIP, Jakarta, 2006

Budyanto as a Rector of UKDW ‘*Universitas Kristen Duta Wacana*’ (Christian University of Duta Wacana).<sup>31</sup>

The program of study was another effort for the implication of the Western particularly the Orientalists methodology among Indonesian scholars in the study of religions. ICRS was established and organized by three universities in Yogyakarta; UGM ‘*Universitas Gajah Mada*’ (University of Gajah Mada) Yogyakarta, UIN *Sunan Kalijaga* (State Islamic University of *Sunan Kalijaga*) Yogyakarta, and UKDW ‘*Universitas Kristen Duta Wacana*’ (Christian University of Duta Wacana). In other words, it was the collaboration of the Indonesian Islamic university, national (secular) university and the Christian university in Indonesia, which was led by Prof. Dr. Bernard Adeney – Risakotta, a Christian from United States of America as its present Director. ICRS was considered as the first, and thus the institution will incorporate with other universities in the world.<sup>32</sup>

The aims of the program as stated by Prof. Dr. Bernard Adeney are to deepen the understanding of religious plurality in Indonesia, and secondly to profound the Indonesian society in order to not be fenced in a strict fanaticism. ICRS was also well thought as the first consortium in Indonesia, where it was integrated with the universities along with their different backgrounds to be sincere for the sake of scientific study. Its forms can vary into dialog, social sciences-secular approaches, integration between the study of religions according to the Islamic perspective, science tradition of Christian theology, as well as different perspectives and approaches of other religions through inter-faiths dialog frequently.<sup>33</sup>

Yogyakarta was thought to be a location for ICRS because of some reasons, as affirmed by Prof. Dr. Amin Abdullah that the process of acculturation existed since long time in this region and it did not cause any problem. Secondly, there is no fanaticism in any education and hospital in Yogyakarta, for instance anyone from different religions would be able to come into the same education institution or hospital, although it was belonged to some particular religion. Thirdly, there is no exclusive zone of inter-religions in Yogyakarta which was able to maintain the milieu of study.<sup>34</sup>

The areas of study in ICRS contained three specializations; (i) the cultural and historical studies of religion, (ii) Religion, social theory and contemporary issues, and (iii) comparative interpretation of sacred texts. Their programs basically emphasized on the historical point of view

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.icrs.ugm.ac.id>

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.icrs.ugm.ac.id>

<sup>33</sup> *Prospectus IRCS Universitas Gadjah Mada*, UGM, Yogyakarta, 2007.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*

of Indonesian religions, in particular '*Indonesian Islam*' along with strong resources of indigenous local religions, including the forgotten voices and the forgotten groups in Indonesia. Likewise, ICRS intended the students to have '*religious neutral*' perspective, in which they should not perceive any religion through the assumption of '*mukmin-kafir*' (believer-infidel), '*tauhid-mushrik*' (monotheism-polytheist), '*hak-bathil*' (righteous-false), etc. Their main objection was to transmit the idea of all religion is essentially the product of cultural phenomenon, historical phenomenon and spiritual experience.<sup>35</sup>

The visiting professors of ICRS including Prof. Dr. Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid (Utrecht ISIM), Prof. Dr. Abdullahi A. An Na'im, Dr. Khaled M Abou El-Fadl (UCLA). While their regular lecturers following Prof. Dr. Amin Abdullah (a follower of Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd thought), Dr. Nurcholis Setiawan (a student of Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd and written dissertation on '*Al-Qur'an: A Greatest Literature Book*'), Prof. Dr. Machasin (he has written dissertation on '*al-Qaddi Abd al-Jabbar, Mutashabih al-Qur'an: Rationality Pretext of al-Qur'an*'), Dr. Fatimah Husein (completed her PhD in Melbourne University and written dissertation on '*Islam-Christian Relations in Indonesia within Inclusive and Exclusive Muslim Perspective*'), Dr. Sahiron Syamsuddin (often written on liberal scholar of Syria 'Muhammad Syahrour'), Prof. Dr. Iskandar Zulkarnain (his dissertation on '*Ahmadiyah Movement in Indonesia*').<sup>36</sup>

Adian Husaini in his article regarding the progress of this institution demanded to the Professors and Doctors of Islamic thought, especially who have the authority in UIN *Sunan Kalijaga* Yogyakarta and University of Gajah Mada Yogyakarta, to preserve their '*amanah*' or responsibility as Muslim intellectuals and Muslim scholars. They were obliged to carry on the messages of Prophet Muhammad Peace be Upon Him in preservation and convey the Islamic belief. In contrast, they have fused between belief and infidel, monotheism and polytheism, righteous and false etc. Adian Husaini further stated that the condition now is similar to the Jews deeds, as Qur'an mentioned in 2: 42. He said that no need of sacrificing our belief on righteousness of Islam, in favor of build the harmonious of inter-religious community.<sup>37</sup>

## **PMDG, Darussalam Modern Islamic Boarding School**

<sup>35</sup> Ibid

<sup>36</sup> See: Husaini, Adian, *Hegemoni Kristen-Barat dalam Studi Islam di Perguruan Tinggi*, Op. Cit., esp. pp: 133-260

<sup>37</sup> Husaini, Adian, *ibid.*

PMDG '*Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*' (Darussalam Modern Islamic Boarding School) known as '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' was an Islamic educational institution for students of Junior High School and Senior High School levels. It was officially opened in 12 *Rabi'ul Awal* 1345 H / 20 September 1926 CE, by three brothers of K.H. Ahmad Sahal (1901-1977 CE), K.H. Zainuddin Fannani (1908-1967 CE), K.H. Imam Zarkasyi (1910-1985 CE) whose father was their principal of '*Pondok Gontor Lama*' or the old *Gontor* boarding school. It was located in Gontor village of Ponorogo regency, whereas now (year 2010 CE) has developed into 10 divisions both of male and female boarding schools in different areas and provinces which centered to '*Pondok Modern Gontor I*' of Gontor village. Mainly the institutions were led by three principals of Dr. (HC) K.H. Abdullah Syukri Zarkasyi, M.A (b. 1942 CE), K.H. Hassan Abdullah Sahal (b. 1947 CE), and K.H. Syamsul Hadi Abdan.

The highest institute in structure of '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' organization was under responsibility of '*Badan Wakaf*' (as a legislative organization), by fifteen members led by K.H. Kafrawi Ridwan, M.A (b. 1932 CE) who were responsible for the implementation and development of education and teaching in '*Pondok Modern Gontor*'. While the three Principals of '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' were considered as the '*Badan Wakaf*' mandatory, to be responsible for all programs or agendas of '*Badan Wakaf*' and '*Pondok Modern Gontor*'. Their accountability including these below responsibility:

(i) KMI '*Kulliyatul Mu'allimin al-Islamiyah*' (Islamic Teachers Training College), it was an institution to organize the educational and academic programs of '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' which founded in 19 December 1936 CE, it proposed to construct the personality and mentality of the students, as well to deepen the knowledge of Islam. The first director of KMI was K.H. Imam Zarkasyi (d. 1985 CE), while its program contained two types; regular program (for the students of Junior High School and Senior High School levels within 6 years of study programs) and intensive program (for the students of Senior High School level within 4 years of study program).

The curriculum of study following these categories; Arabic language, English language, Islamic Studies, education and teachings, exact sciences, natural sciences, social sciences, civics sciences. The teachers of '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' were the selected alumnus of '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' who also became university students of ISID (Darussalam Institute of Islamic Studies), while the students were from all around Indonesian islands, provinces and districts, along with the foreign students such as from Malaysia, Thailand, Australia, Singapore, America,

Saudi Arabia, Suriname, Somalia, Japan and Dutch.<sup>38</sup> for academic or school activities of junior high school and senior high school within 4 or 6 years of study programs.

(ii) ISID '*Institut Studi Islam Darussalam*' (Darussalam Institute of Islamic Studies) as high institution of '*Pondok Modern Gontor*', (iii) '*Pengasuhan Santri*' (student guidance and counseling) who organized the student activities especially non-academic (extra-curricular) programs, which carried out three organizations; OPPM or student organization and Scout movement coordinator, both were under leadership of class 5 and 6 KMI students, and DEMA '*Dewan Mahasiswa*' (the university union organization of ISID). (iv) YPPWPM (foundation of *Waqf* maintenance and enlargement of *Pondok Modern*) was one of the 'Badan Wakaf' institution to maintain, to complete, and to add any properties of *Pondok Modern Gontor* and this foundation was also responsible for the expenses and maintenance its all properties including lands, etc.

In the year 2007-2008 CE it purchased palm-oil field at Jambi regency (Sumatra) in two different sites, 300 ha for treasury of *Pondok Modern Gontor*, and 250 ha belonged to senior teachers of *Pondok Modern Gontor*. As well at the same period it enlarged the lands of *Pondok Modern Gontor* became 538.972 m<sup>2</sup> (537.852 m<sup>2</sup> of *waqf* and 1.120 m<sup>2</sup> or purchased land).<sup>39</sup> as the foundation for maintenance and *Waqf* enlargement, (v) IKPM (Family Association of *Pondok Modern Gontor*) was an institution to handle the alumnus of *Pondok Modern Gontor* which spread all over the country as well who lived in foreign countries. One of its aims was to strengthen the *silaturrahim* (Islamic brotherhood) among the alumnus and the *Pondok Modern Gontor* as well between the alumnus themselves, while IKPM was centered in *Pondok Modern Gontor* and has its branches all over the globe, by year 2006 CE the institution has more than 90 branches which consisted of 57 in Java Island, and others at Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), Southeast Nusa and Bali, as well it branches in foreign countries such as in Brunei Darussalam, Western Europe, Jeddah, Cairo - Egypt, Medina, Malaysia, Mecca, Pakistan, Riyadh, Thailand, Damascus - Syria.<sup>40</sup> or '*Pondok Gontor*' family association, including '*Gontor*' alumni and their branches all over the world,

(vi) PLMPM (the center for training on management and community development) as the center for training on management and community development, (vii) the construction of the maintenance of building, (viii) '*La-Tansa*', economic enterprises which now handled 29

<sup>38</sup> See: *Profil Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*, Darussalam Press, Ponorogo, 2006, pp: 31-34

<sup>39</sup> Ibid

<sup>40</sup> Ibid; *Wardun: A Brief Information on Darussalam Modern Islamic Boarding School Gontor*, An Annual Journal, Edition 61, Darussalam Press, Ponorogo, 2008

enterprises managed under '*La-Tansa*' economic corporation, (ix) BKSM or student and public clinic.<sup>41</sup>

The study program of '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' included Islamic sciences as well general sciences, almost taught in Arabic and English language, with the exception of following subjects delivered in Indonesian language such as psychology of education, arithmetic, mathematic, physics, biology, world and national history, geography, sociology, general psychology, Indonesian language and state structure. Subjects taught in Arabic language are; *al-Imla'* (Arabic dictation), *al-Insha'* (Arabic composition), *Tamrin al-Lughah* (Arabic language exercise), *al-Muthala'ah* (Arabic reading and comprehension), *al-Nahwu* (Arabic grammar), *al-Sharf*, *al-Balaghah*, *Tarikh al-Adab*, *al-Khat al-'Araby* (Arabic calligraphy), *al-Qur'an*, *al-Tajwid*, *al-Tawhid* (Islamic theology), *al-Tafsir* (Qur'an interpretation), *al-Hadith* (Prophetic tradition), *Musthalah al-Hadith* (the science of *Hadith*), *al-Fiqh* (Islamic law), *Ushul al-Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *al-Fara'idh* (Islamic law of inheritance), *al-Din al-Islamy* (religion of Islam), *Muqaranat al-Adyan* (Comparative Religion), *Tarikh al-Islam* (Islamic history), *al-Mantiq* (logics), *al-Tarjamah* (translation), *al-Tarbiyah wa al-Ta'lim* (education and teaching).

The subjects delivered in English language are: English reading and comprehension, English grammar, English composition, English dictation. The students of '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' were constantly obliged to communicate in Arabic and English languages either in the classroom as well outside the classroom, because they were not allowed to speak any foreign or native languages and/or Indonesian language in any circumstances. Besides, they lived in the boarding school system and that was an important rule to obey in their daily life in '*Pondok Modern Gontor*', otherwise there will be punishment for every infractions including disobedience of language regulations.<sup>42</sup>

Regarding the study of comparative religion, the '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' was probably the only boarding school in Indonesia including its divisions and '*Pondok-pondok Alumni*' (its alumnus boarding schools), which taught its students the subject on study of comparative religion. Basically this subject was offered for the students of class 5 of *Pondok Modern Gontor* (equal to class 2 of Senior High School). The course following the introduction to the study of comparative religion, brief explanation regarding the world religions such as Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, etc. It included the description of their

<sup>41</sup>See: <http://gontor.ac.id>

<sup>42</sup> For further reading see: Zarkasyi, Abdullah Syukri, *Manajemen Pesantren: Pengalaman Pondok Modern Gontor*, Trimurti Press, Ponorogo, 2005.; *Gontor & Pembaharuan Pendidikan Pesantren*, Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2005

concepts of god, revelations, prophets, and so on. The aim of this study was certainly to increase the knowledge on different religions in the world and thus the students able to know, at least its explanations at glance in proportion to their level of study. Besides, it may provide the basic elements of comparative religion as their provision after graduation from *Pondok Modern Gontor* and join the university level.<sup>43</sup>

## ISID, Darussalam Institute of Islamic Studies

In order to develop the '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' institution and the students quality, a high institution named ISID '*Institut Studi Islam Darussalam*' (Darussalam Institute of Islamic Studies) was recently established on 1st Ramadan 1383 H / 17<sup>th</sup> November 1963 CE. At the first time, it named PTD '*Perguruan Tinggi Darussalam*' (Darussalam High Institution) and later on it changed into IPD '*Institut Pendidikan Darussalam*' (Education Institute of Darussalam), then now it known as ISID '*Institut Studi Islam Darussalam*' (Darussalam Institute of Islamic Studies).

ISID was considered as the first Islamic University based on the boarding system in Indonesia, it organized its academic activities within the classrooms or campus as well as in the living areas of hostels. This university was an attempt of the founding fathers of '*Pondok Modern Gontor*'; K.H. Ahmad Sahal (1901-1977 CE), K.H. Zainuddin Fannani (1908-1967 CE), and K.H. Imam Zarkasyi (1910-1985 CE) in order to build Darussalam Islamic University as excellent centre of Islamic education.<sup>44</sup>

The constancy and stability of ISID was under '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' management and role, since the establishment of ISID was considered an endeavor of the '*Pondok Modern Gontor*'s founding fathers as potential realization of Darussalam Islamic University. Systematically, ISID has similar boarding scheme as '*Pondok Modern Gontor*', in which the students were organized in very solid system inside the campus including their living in hostels.<sup>45</sup> Their basic principle was '*all in one*' or called an integrated campus system, which intended all the students' activities controlled by campus. In this regard, some facilities are provided such as mosque, library, computer laboratory, hostels, language laboratory, sport facilities, arts culture including music instruments, art gallery, student organizations, and the likes. The students will

<sup>43</sup> See: Zarkasyi, Abdullah Syukri, *Manajemen Pesantren: Pengalaman Pondok Modern Gontor*, Trimurti Press, Ponorogo, 2005.; *Gontor & Pembaharuan Pendidikan Pesantren*, Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2005

<sup>44</sup> *Profil Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*, Darussalam Press, Ponorogo, 2006, p: 35

<sup>45</sup> <http://wardun.tripod.com/isid.htm>

able to improve their creativities inside the campus, besides the process of learning and teaching were possibly controlled by the lecturers, since the lecturer's houses were also nearby campus.<sup>46</sup>

There are three basic visions of the institute establishment; (i) as source of Islamic knowledge, Qur'anic language and general sciences, as well carried out the five spirits of Darussalam Modern Islamic Boarding School '*Pondok Modern Gontor*'. These spirits are; sincerity, simplicity, self-sufficient, Islamic brotherhood, and freedom. (ii) To raise the students to be ideal Muslim scholars (*Mu'min, Muhsin, Muslim*) who have noble character, sound body, broad knowledge, independent mind and able to perform and preserve the Islamic *Shari'ah* (law), submission toward religion and state, capable and self sufficient to maintain and deepen the teaching of Islam and the scientific knowledge for the sake of the prosperity of *Ummah*, outer and inner (*lahir-batin*), in the world and hereafter. (iii) To manifest these visions, Darussalam Institute of Islamic Studies implemented the *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* (the three programs of high institution) according to statute and ordinance acquired.<sup>47</sup>

The first program of '*Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi*' is education and teaching, to accomplish this program ISID has observed its students either for academic and non-academic activities during 24 hours daily. The educational program of every faculty was based on under-graduate program of credit system within eight semesters. The total credit of the program is 154 credit hours, including its scientific research and it all have been accredited by the National Accreditation Board.

Every faculty has two departments; first is the faculty of education and it carried out the department of Islamic education and department of Arabic teaching. Secondly, the faculty of *Ushuluddin* carried out the department of comparative religion and department of '*Aqidah dan Pemikiran Islam*' (Islamic theology and Islamic thought). Thirdly, the faculty of *Shari'ah* (Islamic Law) undertakes the department of comparative study of Islamic law and department of management of Islamic finance. The medium teaching of ISID was used Arabic and English languages, particularly for the subject of Islamic studies. This rule including the writing of academic assignments either thesis work and projects. For its education and teaching, this institute has covered following major components; class activity, seminar, practicum, research,

<sup>46</sup> *Wardun: A Brief Information on Darussalam Modern Islamic Boarding School Gontor*, An Annual Journal, Edition 61, Darussalam Press, Ponorogo, 2008, p: 17

<sup>47</sup> *Profil Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*, Darussalam Press, Ponorogo, 2006, pp: 35-36

social services/applied social services, and under-graduate thesis writing in Arabic or English language.<sup>48</sup>

The second program of the '*Tri Dharma*' of high institution is research and development, in which the research will be prepared by the students and teachers, either individually and collectively. For instance, its teachers have contributed various programs regarding research and development such as research training, etc. For students it is compulsory to write a thesis either in Arabic or English language according to their field of study, and the thesis viva-voce will be held to complete the students final requirement to get the academic degree.

In addition to develop its quality and to measure the language skill of students, they were required to partake in the comprehensive exam of language for the students of seventh and eighth semester as requirement for the thesis writing. As soon as they pass the test, subsequently they will allow submitting their thesis proposal as well to hold a seminar on his or her topic within their faculty members. In addition to develop the Arabic and English languages, some following programs also held for the student regularly, such as language courses every morning at *Siman* campus, scientific discussion in Arabic and English every Tuesday morning, and speech presentation at the mosque as an activity of student religious consciousness.<sup>49</sup>

The third program is social services and dedication. In this regard, ISID offered various activities for instance '*Bhakti Sosial*' (social services), this program held annually in order to be attentive to the society such as massive cleaning and social aid like food, etc within particular villages. Another social activity is KKN '*Kuliah Kerja Nyata*' (Applied Social Services) considered as a compulsory subject for every students of sixth semester within one month. In which the students dispatched to particular villages in order to give social services in the form of arranged activities, especially concerned for '*Dakwah Islamiyyah*' (Islamic propagation) to build religious and spiritual mentality among the society. Further program for the social services is '*Pendidikan Masyarakat*' (education upon the society) in the form of supervision on particular villages nearby campus through teaching activities, such as *Qur'anic* teaching by certain students to various preschool institutions, etc.<sup>50</sup>

Concerning teaching staffs, ISID comprised permanent and part time lecturers. In which, to improve the teaching quality the university offered some programs, such as recommends certain lecturers to get higher level of education in various universities in Indonesia as well in

<sup>48</sup> See: *Prospectus ISID (Institute Studi Islam Darussalam)*, Darussalam Press, 2008.

<sup>49</sup> *Prospectus ISID*, Darussalam Press, Ponorogo, 2008

<sup>50</sup> See: *Ibid*

abroad. Another was participated in national and international seminar and workshop in different subjects. Whereas the students consisted of two categories; '*mahasiswa murni*' (pure students) and '*mahasiswa guru*' (teacher- students). The pure students (*mahasiswa murni*) are those who graduated from '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' and do not teaching in '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' and the non-*Gontor* graduates who joined ISID through test.

The test including subjects as recitation of Qur'an, Arabic and English languages test, '*Ibadah 'Amaliyah*' (practical worship), '*Ibadah Qouliyah*' (oral worship) and Islamic studies following *Tafsir*, *Hadist*, *Fiqh* (Islamic Law), *Aqidah* (Islamic theology), *Sejarah* (history). The first category was those who lived in central ISID areas or in hostels nearby campus. While the second category (teacher-students) was the students who lived in the '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' I, II, III and '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' for girls I, II, III along with their campus facilities, since they considered as university students and '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' teachers as well.

The student's activities including the non-academic activities were organized by DEMA '*Dewan Mahasiswa*' (the Student Union) of ISID, which covered every campus sectors or divisions; at ISID campus, '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' I, II, III, and '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' for girls. Their activities frequently differed from each campus, though it centered in ISID campus where the university facilities such as central library, CIOS '*Center for Islamic and Occidental Studies*' under direction of Dr. Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi and Dr. Dihyatun Masqon, computer department, language department, etc were more intensive and effective provided for the university students.<sup>51</sup>

The curriculum of study in this institute was based on the competence for each area of study, in which it combined between national curriculum of 40 % and institutional curriculum of 60 %, although it will develop periodically.<sup>52</sup> The numbers of the teaching staffs in the year 2008 CE of this institute assigned 94 persons as the permanent lecturers and 29 persons as the part time lecturers. While the university students' amount 1245 students, it contained five campus divisions.<sup>53</sup>

The equivalence of its degree has been qualified nationally and internationally, especially through the MOU (Matter of Understanding) which taken place between *Pondok Modern Gontor* and ISID with other universities in Indonesia and abroad, such as *Dar al-Ulum* Cairo University, al-Azhar University of Egypt, University of the Punjab Pakistan, International Islamic University

<sup>51</sup> See: *Prospectus ISID*, Darussalam Press, Ponorogo, 2008

<sup>52</sup> *Wardun: A Brief Information on Darussalam Modern Islamic Boarding School Gontor*, An Annual Journal, Edition 61, Darussalam Press, Ponorogo, 2008, p: 17

<sup>53</sup> *ibid*, p: 17-19

Islamabad Pakistan, Quai-i-Azam University Islamabad Pakistan, al-Fatih University Istanbul Turkey, Aligharh Muslim University India, National University of Malaysia, Academy of Banking Kazakhstan, *Dar El-Hadits El-Hassania* Morocco, Istanbul Foundation for Science and Culture, Selangor International Islamic University College Malaysia, Islamic University of Europe in Istanbul Turkey, *al-Jami'ah al-Islamiyah bi al-Madinah al-Munawwaroh* - Medina, etc.<sup>54</sup>

The department of comparative religion, this institute was carried by *Ushuluddin* faculty which was presently organized by Drs. Nur Hadi Ihsan, M.A as a dean of faculty and Muhammad Badrun Syahir, M.A as a head of comparative religion department. The mission of the study program in this department was to propose the education and development of its human resources in comparative religion, who able to possess the Islamic commitment, integrity of knowledge and personality, social consideration and environmental insight.

Its vision was to manifest the ideal '*Mukmin - Muslim*' academicians in the field of comparative religion, who will possess the capability of optimal life (in thinking, personal, social, academic and vocational), and those who are ready to serve the prosperity of *Ummah* (society) materially and spiritually through several activities including the following components; (i) the governance and its organization structures arranged efficiently and realistic, as well as the job description clearly settled, its mechanism implemented according to decision letter of Dean of faculty in which chief will be responsible for management of the study program and will report openly to dean of faculty and rector.

(ii) Institutional management (formal and informal), including it's formulation of planning draft and development program (iii) Selection of students divided into two categories through test and non-test, the second category are the students graduated from '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' who qualified as *mumtaz* (cum laude), *jayyid jiddan* (very good) and *jayyid* (good) about 19 to 25 years old students.<sup>55</sup> (iv) The human resources effectively and professionally managed, in which all activities have clearly arranged according to ethic code (statute of ISID), (v) financially managed by central financial system and '*Pondok Modern Gontor*' subsidy with good accountability, (vi) the infrastructure is well managed including all areas, (vii) the curriculum is according to vision, mission, object and purpose of study program; be able to produce teachers in comparative religion who are personality competence, social and professional.

<sup>54</sup> See: *Majalah Gontor*, Januari, 2010, p: 40

<sup>55</sup> See: *Prospectus ISID*, Darussalam Press, Ponorogo, 2008

Its structure and contents including enlargement, deepen, coherence and organization carried out 66 course subjects within 158 credit hours in five following components; personality development subject in 40 credit hours (25.3 %), course subject on knowledge and skill in 50 credit hours (31.6 %), course subject on work expertise in 44 credit hours (27.8 %), course subject on work ethic and behavior in 14 credit hours (8.9 %), course subject on social life in 10 credit hours (6.3 %) and all within 8 semesters. (viii) Academic atmosphere was formed by conducive and cooperative relations among teachers and students '*all in one campus*' or integrated campus system.

(ix) Strategy and methodology, the time table for eminence subject either within 2 credit hours (100 minutes) or 3 credit hours (150 minutes) each following direct lecture, structural and personal project, attendance percentage minimum is 75 % within 16 class participation. (x) Research and publication in accordance to its necessity (xi) the social services will regard to accuracy of aspect relevancy and target based on agenda, (xii) quality upgrading will arrange internally, (xiii) information system in the form of software via internet and intranet, (xiv) sustainability of study program assured from financial factor, infrastructure and staff members.<sup>56</sup>

The subjects studied in department of comparative religion ISID following Arabic grammar I, II & III, science of *Tafsir*, Christology, science of *Dakwah*, *Bid'ah Khurafat* (superstition heresy), science of *Kalam* (Islamic theology), English I, II, orientalism, Islamic mysticism I & II, *Dakwah* communication, research methodology I & II, anthropology of religion, Hinduism, philosophy of ethics, logics, sociology of religion, psychology of religion, science of education, Islamic contemporary issues, statistic, Judaism, inter-religious relations, methodology of religious research, comprehensive, *skripsi* (under graduate thesis), etc.<sup>57</sup>

According to M. Darojat Ariyanto, as an observer of the study of comparative religion in Indonesia, stated that basically the discipline of comparative religion was not vastly developed in this country due to some fundamental causes. He further mentioned these causes for illustration; (i) the Indonesian Muslim scholars emphasized on the field of *Fiqh* (Islamic law) which is normative in the study of Islam, (ii) since the rebellion of PKI '*Partai Komunis Indonesia*' (Indonesian Communist Party), the Indonesian Muslims were more concerned about the spirit of *Dakwah* (Islamic proselytizing) and hence the science of *Dakwah* was greatly emphasized. (iii) In general, the Muslims thought that the science of comparative religion originally emerged in the West, and as a consequence it leads to misinterpretation and suspicions among the Muslims. (iv)

<sup>56</sup> See: Ibid

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

The students of comparative religion were less qualified in the study of history, sociology, anthropology, archaeology, and the likes as well as they were not expert in the foreign languages.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ariyanto, M. Daroijat, "Ilmu Perbandingan Agama: Isi, Perkembangan dan Manfaatnya bagi seorang Muslim", in *SUHUF*, Jurnal Fakultas Agama Islam, vol. 19, no. 1, 2006, p: 59-60



## CONCLUSION

This humble work was very significant, in the sense that the study has covered certain aspects in the study of comparative religion. First of all, regarding the historical development of religions in Indonesia including Hinduism as former foreign religion which already existed amid the indigenous peoples, along with their traditional beliefs. Buddhism seemed to have its assimilation with the Hindus (Hindu-Buddhism), as well as later on assimilated with the Chinese belief of Confucianism (Confucian-Buddhism).

Islam was another advent of foreign religion, which already spread in the fifteenth century CE. This new religion brought the local people to the new civilization, in the sense that 'knowledge' was very much encouraged during the Islamic kingdoms in archipelago. The Muslim scholars (*Ulama*) played a very important role in political, social and religious developments. For instance '*Sheikh al-Islam*' was a prominent figure whom the Sultans used to ask for advises during the Sultanate of Aceh, and some *Walis* (Muslim saints) as well ruled the kingdom such as the Sultan of Demak, *Sunan Gunung Djati* (Syarif Hidayatullah), etc. During the period of Islam, number of scholars raised as a result of the Muslims endeavours in knowledge. These prominent scholars such as Hamzah Fansuri (d. 1527 CE), Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658 CE), Syamsuddin of Pasai (d. 1630 CE), 'Abd al-Rauf Singkil (1615-1693 CE), Sheikh Yusuf Makassar (1626-1699 CE), 'Abd al-Samad ibn 'Abd Allah (d. 1800 CE), Nafis ibn Idris ibn Husayn al-Banjari (eighteenth century CE), Abu 'Abd al-Mu'ti Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Arabi al-Tanari al-Bantani al-Jawi (b. 1813 CE) contributed a lot through their glorious works.

Another foreign religion of Christianity was also spread as another religion in archipelago, it was brought by the European imperialists; the Portuguese, Spanish, British and Dutch. It vastly developed especially in the twentieth century CE, whereas the Catholics missionary and Protestants *Zending* attempted for the mass conversion into Christianity in this century. The country now has recognized these five religions above as the official religions of Indonesian Republic.

The emergence of study of religions in Indonesia was a further observation in this work. It was started with the Muslims' contribution in knowledge including their works in various fields of study, such as Islamic mysticism, Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic law, and *Tafsir*, etc. The contributions on the study of comparative religion which were pioneered by Nuruddin al-Raniry's (d. 1658 CE) include '*Tibyan fi Ma'rifat al-Adyan*' and his encyclopedic work entitled

*Bustan al-Salatin* (the Garden of the Kings) was also found in this period. The work of Nuruddin al-Raniry contained seven books, whereas the second book was written about the history of Persian, Greek, Arab society before the advent of Islam, then history of Islam at length, year by year. He ended his writing in the execution of al-Hallaj in 309 H. This second book followed the tradition established by Tabari 'Annals', with addition of the Kings history of Indonesia/Malay and India. Somehow this work was probably considered as the first endeavor in the study of religions in Indonesia, as stated by al-Attas, that it was the longest work ever written in Malay. Even though there was another contribution on the study in the nineteenth century CE, such as *Serat Centhini* (the message of *centhini*), it was written in the Javanese language and in the form of poem writing.

The main concern of the topic was elucidated in the second and third chapter of this work, in which the analysis of comparative religion was mentioned in the twentieth century CE through the Indonesian scholars and its implementation in educational institutions. The first part was expounded the endeavours and contributions of Indonesian Muslims scholars in the twentieth century CE, along with its development and methodology, including elaboration on the progress of Muslims education and their achievement of knowledge which was implemented in various aspects of life.

The achievements are as following: (i) political, economic and student organizations such as *Budi Utomo* (the beautiful endeavor or superior intellect) in 1908 CE, *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union) in 1911 CE by name *Sarekat Dagang Islamiyah* (Islamic Commercial Union), *Vereeniging voor Spoor- en Tramweg Personeel* (Union for Railway and Tram Workers) in 1908 CE, *Jong Java* (Young Java) in 1918 CE, *Jong Sumatranen Bond* (Young Sumatrans Union) in 1917 CE, *the Studerenden Vereeniging Minahasa* (Minahasa Study Union) in 1918 CE, *Jong Ambon* (Young Ambon) in 1918 CE, *Kaum Betawi* (the People of Batavia) in 1923 CE, etc. (ii) Religious movements such as *Muhammadiyah* in 1912 CE, *al-Irsyad* in 1915 CE, *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) in 1920 CE and *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) in 1926 CE, and so on. (iii) Media publications such as journal named *Bintang Hindia* (Star of the Indies) in 1902 CE, a Malay newspaper named *al-Imam* in 1906 CE, an Islamic fortnightly paper *al-Munir* (the Illuminative) in 1911, news magazine *al-Akhbar* in 1913 CE, newspaper for women in Indonesia entitled *Soenting Melajoe* (the Malay Ornament), etc.

The observation continued to explore the need of study of comparative religion in the twentieth century CE, in which it is present because inter-religious conflict was often seen within multi-religious regions such as in Poso, Ambon, etc. It resulted in the establishment of the

ministry of religious affairs intended to control and administer the five official religions in the country.

Various programs were arranged especially to diminish and avoid the inter-religious misunderstanding and conflicts for instance '*the International Conference on Muslim-Christian Relations: Past, Present and Future Dialogue and Cooperation*' which was held in Jakarta from 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> August 1997 CE, a seminar between Indonesian scholars from different religions on '*Kerukunan Umat Beragama dan Studi Agama-agama di Perguruan Tinggi*' (Religious Community Harmony and the Study of Religions in High Institution).

The department of religious affairs published a book in 1997 CE through media publication entitled '*Bingkai Teologi Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama di Indonesia*' (the theological frame of harmonious life of religious communities in Indonesia), etc. A very significance effort was made through educational institutions which were found in order to understand other religions, it is represented in the establishment of comparative religion department in IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Studies) and UIN (State Islamic University). Where these institutions were under the responsibility of ministry of religious affairs, as well as ministry of education.

Further account was concerning methodology and approaches of study, here a brief introduction of four western approaches and their major scholars were also illustrated; psychology of religion, sociology of religion, anthropology of religion, and philosophy of religion. This was in favor of provision to understand its implication to the study of comparative religion in twentieth century CE Indonesia. For instance, Mahmud Yunus (b. 1899 CE) and the psychological approach particularly in his definition of religion and being religiousness (*tadayyun*) written in his book '*al-Adyan*'.

Haji Zain al-'Arifin 'Abbas's writing on *Perkembangan Fikiran terhadap Agama* (the development of ideas concerning religion), it consisted of various volumes including his definition of religion and the realm of spiritual view. Sidi Gazalba was another figure of comparative religion, he adapted the psychology, anthropology and sociology of religion through his major works, such as '*an Introduction to Anthropology*', '*Mosque as the Center of Worship and Culture*', etc. Muhammad Rasjidi (1915-2001 CE) has translated work on '*Philosophy of Religion*' of David Trueblood and he wrote some books regarding *Aliran Kebatinan* (spiritual sects) in Indonesia; *Islam dan Kebatinan* (Islam and Kebatinan), *Di Sekitar kebatinan* (In Relation to Kebatinan). Regarding religious thought he wrote reaction on the work of Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid entitled '*Koreksi terhadap Dr. Harun Nasution tentang Islam*

*ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya' (Correction towards Dr. Harun Nasution on Islam Reviewed from its Various Aspects) and 'Koreksi terhadap Drs. Nurcholis(h) Madjid tentang Sekularisasi' (Correction towards Drs. Nurcholis(h) Madjid on Secularization).*

Abdul Mukti Ali was the most prominent figure in the field of comparative religion (1923-2004 CE) known as a father of comparative religion in Indonesia, along with his works on '*the Origins of Religion*', a booklet titled '*On the Study of Comparative Religion*', '*On the Unity of God in the Qur'an*', '*Agama dan Pembangunan di Indonesia*' (Religion and the Development in Indonesia), '*the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia*', '*Hubungan antar Agama dan Masalah-masalahnya*' (Inter-religious relationship and its problems), etc. In this regard, he promoted the idea of *agree and disagreement* in the study of other religions, as well as he advocated the use of socio-historical methods in combination with philosophical methods for the study of religion including the study of Islam.

Finally, the study elucidated the role of educational institutions in the development of study of comparative religion in Indonesia. The third chapter of this work has figured out four institutions where the study has taken place. The first among them was IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Studies) and UIN (State Islamic University), these two institutions were fundamentally structured by the department of religious affairs of Indonesian republic and academic technical institution was controlled by the department of national education.

The institutions are established in many regions and have their own policies, but overall the department of comparative religion was under faculty of Usuluddin (Islamic Studies). While such as in UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, the faculty was named Usuluddin and Philosophy. The subjects may vary according to their institutions curriculum, but generally their core syllabus encompasses subjects on personality development, scientific and skill subjects, subjects on work expertise or specialization, subjects on work behavior, and subjects on social life.

The subjects on particular religions were also included in this study within Indonesian context. For instance, subject on *Kristologi* (study of Christianity) in general, as well subject of Christianity in Indonesia. Methodologically, the institutions somehow have adopted a kind of Western scientific rapprochement in the study of religions also in the study of Islam, such as socio-historical methods in combination with philosophical methods which was promoted by Abdul Mukti Ali. Furthermore, in the study of Islam he endorsed to use *scientific cum doctrinaire*, a synthetic method in which a scientific approach is linked to a particular religious dogmatic approach.

The study in IAIN and UIN has very much influenced the Indonesian Muslims today, especially in the discipline of comparative religion. Recently, they have established another Western style of religious studies named ICRS '*International Consortium for Religious Studies*' as collaboration of three universities UIN Yogyakarta, UGM (University of Gajah Mada) and UKDW (Christian University of *Duta Wacana*).

This program of study was apparently another effort for the implication of the Western particularly the Orientalists methodology among Indonesian scholars in the study of religions. Three specializations of the study included; (i) the cultural and historical studies of religion, (ii) Religion, social theory and contemporary issues, and (iii) comparative interpretation of sacred texts. These programs basically emphasized on the historical point of view of Indonesian religions in particular '*Indonesian Islam*'. Furthermore, ICRS intended the students to have '*religious neutral*' perspective, they should not perceive any religion through the assumption of '*mukmin-kafir*' (believer-infidel), '*tauhid-mushrik*' (monotheism-polytheist), '*hak-bathil*' (righteous-false), etc. Their current principle now is Prof. Dr. Bernard Adeney – Risakotta, a Christian from United States of America.

The PMDG (Darussalam Modern Islamic Boarding School) known as *Pondok Modern Gontor* was another institution where subject of comparative religion taught. This boarding school was probably the first boarding school in Indonesia including its divisions and '*Pondok-pondok Alumni*' (its alumnus boarding schools) which taught its students the subject of comparative religion at the school level.

ISID (Darussalam Institute of Islamic Studies) was high institution of *Pondok Modern Gontor*, it is also considered as the first Islamic University based on the boarding system in Indonesia. The faculty of Usuluddin (Islamic Studies) has offered the department of comparative religion, in which basically the studies carried out some western approaches as 'a subject of study' and 'a subject to be criticized' as compared to the study in IAIN, UIN and ICRS in which 'religion' was a central subject to be studied and criticized.

The study of comparative religion in twentieth century CE Indonesia is a field of study where it is significant to be studied not only for the scientific reasons, but also required due to its social and political needs. It is not enough to build inter-religious harmony only through the study of other religions, while the most important is first of all to deepen understanding of the adherents about their own religion because no religious tradition has order its adherents to fight others.

This work concluded on the following points: (i) the study of religions (comparative religion) in Indonesia has already emerged during the Islamic kingdoms (Islamic civilization)

before the establishment of Indonesian Republic, (ii) the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century are considered a period of the Muslim resurgence in politic, economic and academic achievements mainly after the state independence, (iii) the contemporary scholars in the field of comparative religion have been influenced by the Western way of thinking (such as methods and approaches in the study of religions), since they accomplished their education from the West, (iv) the discipline implemented and popularized within educational institutions, (v) this endeavour has supported and sponsored by the government, especially the department of religious affairs and the department of education, (vi) various international or national conferences, dialogues and symposiums have been held concerning inter-religious tolerance, (vii) critic: this over-permissiveness may lead the society to implement the idea of religious pluralism that all religions are alike each other, (viii) solution: it is the responsibility of every Muslims and its scholars to understand the *Islamic worldview* and implement it in their life, hence they able to carry out the study of comparative religion (or any other fields) in the frame of *Islamic worldview*, in accordance to Qur'an and *Sunnah*. (*Wallahu A'lam bis-Shawab*)



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