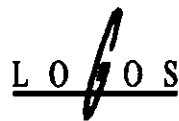# FRAGILE RELATION

Muslims and Christians in modern Indonesia

ISMATU ROPI

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Ismatu Ropi

L O $\int$ O S

TABLE OF CONTENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FOREWORD

In spite of the fact that Indonesia is the biggest Muslim country in the world, studies on Indonesian Islam are few in number and narrow in scope. Part of the reason for this is that, at least in the West, Islam has long been associated with the Middle East. The historical background of the West *vis-à-vis* the Middle East has been used to explain this paradox. France, Britain, Germany, and lately the US, countries where strong centers of Islamic studies are established, have been engaged, either for political or economic reasons, with the Middle East especially since the beginning of this century. This contact can be traced back to the long history of the relations between Islam and Christianity. At the time of the Prophet, Muslims had already made contact with the Byzantium Empire. From the 8th to the 15th centuries, moreover, Muslims settled in Spain and built a splendid civilization that was inclusive of Christians as well as Jews. Thus whether regarded as 'foe' or 'friend', the Middle East, its people and religion, has long been a part of the West's consciousness.

The identification of the Middle East and Islam is also influenced by the way in which Islamic history is perceived. The Prophet was, after all, an Arab; the Muslim scripture (the Quran) is in Arabic; the figures associated with religious authority like the first four Caliphs and the founders of the schools (*madhâhib*) lived in Arab land. This has led to the assumption that the Middle East is the heartland of Islam and the home of pure Islam. The further a region from the Middle East, the less pure its Islam. Islam in

Indonesia, like Islam in other countries in South East Asia, is therefore seen as a mixture between the pure Middle Eastern Islam and the "contaminants" of the local beliefs and cultures. Anyone who wants to know the real Islam will turn to the Middle East.

Indonesian Muslims are not immune to this exception. For centuries, centers of learning in the Middle East, especially Mecca, were magnet for hundreds Indonesian scholars, many of whom returned to Indonesia, though others decided to stay there to teach. Those who went back to Indonesia became the agents of Middle Eastern Islam in Indonesia. Indonesians respected them deeply and considered them to be symbols of religious authority. As far as bridging Indonesia with the richness of Middle Eastern Islamic traditions, this perception is positive.

However, in paying too much attention to the Middle East, Indonesian Muslims have tended to forget their own worth. They need to realize that they have so much to offer, that they can also become another center of study Islam, that they can share their own uniqueness with their Middle Eastern brothers. Interestingly, it seems that some of Western scholars of Islam can see this point clearly. John L. Esposito, Dale Eickelman and Michael Gilsenan, to mention only a few examples, now pay a great deal of attention to Indonesian Islam. They are aware that the association between Islam and the Middle East can distract one from achieving a full understanding of Islam. This is one reason why the center of gravity in Islamic studies has shifted from the Middle East to Western universities. And it is also a window of opportunity, for as the biggest Muslim country in the world, Indonesia has the most potential for Islamic studies in the future.

For Indonesians themselves, furthermore, the study on Indonesian Islam is extremely important. Anybody or any institution working to achieve a better future of this country should have a good understanding of the richness of Indonesian Islam. Failure to attain this would generate resistance and other unproductive attitudes on the part of the community.

This book presents some of the concepts and issues involved in the field of Islamic studies, in particular in the context of Indonesian culture and values, written by young Indonesian lecturers teaching, for the most part in IAIN (the State Institute of Islamic studies) system. Many of them benefited from a scholarship granted through a cooperation agreement between the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) of the Republic Indonesia and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) of the Government of Canada through to undertake his/her advanced studies at the Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University Montreal. It is the first in a series of books that will be offered to the international academic community showing how Islam in Indonesia has developed over time in a distinctive way. Works of this kind will make it clear that Islam in Indonesia, as well as in many other parts of the world, is multifaceted, and cannot be regarded as either monolithic or static.

It was a felicitous idea to publish these highly selected theses/ dissertations as they will give to world-wide English reading community a better insight into intellectual research and insights of the Indonesian Muslim scholars in the field of Indonesian Islamic studies, and in more general term, the nature of inter-ethnic and religious communication.

I am confident that this book will open up new dimensions in the study of Islam in the Indonesia and be welcomed by scholars of around the world.

Dr. Komaruddin Hidayat

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NOTES

All references in this thesis will be fully quoted the first time used in the footnote, followed by the page number. For example, Karel A. Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam: Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam: Rodopy, 1993), 12. Later references will use a shortened form of the work, followed by the page number such as, Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, 25.

Reference to works in languages other than English will also follow the above pattern. For example, a reference in *bahasa Indonesia* will follow this form: A. Hasjmy, *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Al-ma'arif, 1989), 50. The translation of the title for Indonesian works will be supplied in bibliography.

The Arabic transliteration in this thesis will follow the system used by the Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University. The table of transliteration is as follows:

b	= ١	dh	= ذ	ṭ	= ط	l	= ل
t	= ت	r	= ر	ẓ	= ظ	m	= م
th	= ث	z	= ز	ʻ	= ع	n	= ن
j	= ج	s	= س	gh	= غ	h	= ه
ḥ	= ح	sh	= ش	f	= ف	w	= و
kh	= خ	ṣ	= ص	q	= ق	y	= ي
d	= د	ḍ	= ض	k	= ك	ʾ	= ء

Short : a	= ◌َ ;	i	= ◌ِ ;	u	= ◌ُ
Long : ā	= ا ;	ī	= ي ;	ū	= و
Dipthong : ay	= ي١ ;	aw	= و		

INTRODUCTION

The relation between Islam and Christianity in Indonesia is a subject that has been little discussed by scholars. For the past about four centuries at least, the encounter between the two faith communities seems in some sense to have had a dynamic of its own which has been almost completely negative. The relation between the two Abrahamic religions, undoubtedly, has been predominantly one of long-lasting discord, and is more complex than just a contention between two communities or two systems of belief. Historically, this hostile atmosphere has stemmed from various motives: political, derived from centuries of colonization which inevitably shaped the attitudes of Muslims towards their Christian overlords; economic, born of commercial competition; and theological legitimization where questions of legitimacy were debated. For the latter, both religions consider their respective messages from God as being relevant for all people everywhere. Both are committed to proselytizing as a fundamental religious duty, and this kind of proselytization (*da'wah* in Islam and *mission* in Christianity) has long been a source of conflict between the two religions.

Although some scholars have given a considerable attention to the development of Islam in the archipelago, only a few studies on the topic of the Muslim depiction of Christianity in Indonesia have appeared. These studies, however, do not focus exclusively on the response by Indonesian Mus-

lims to Christian doctrine or to the existence of the Christian community in the archipelago. One of the few works that has touched briefly on this topic is Suminto's *Colonial Policy Towards Political Islam*[1], which describes the *Kantoor's* status, policy and duties in maintaining religious matters in Indonesia. He deals in general with colonial policies toward Islam, among them the policy of "religious neutrality" institutionalized in the principle *of "rust en orde"*. His research into the discrimination in terms of the financial supports given to the Muslim and Christian communities led him, not surprisingly, to the conclusion that there was a strong link between the colonial government and Christianity.[2]

Steenbrink's *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam*[3] also provides a detailed history of Dutch colonialism in the archipelago. He portrays particularly the major patterns of Dutch perception of Indonesian Muslims. However, since this book mainly attempted to portray the Dutch perception of Islam in Indonesia and only peripherally how early Indonesian Muslims perceived Christian Europeans, Steenbrink pays little attention to the works of Indonesian Muslims dealing with Christian communities, especially in modern times.

Shihab has made a considerable contribution to the topic in "The Muhammadiyah Movement and its Controversy with Christian Mission",[4] a dissertation submitted to Temple University. Shihab's main idea is to elucidate the underlying fac-

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[1]Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda: Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche zaken* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985).

[2]Suminto, *Politik Islam*, 15-37.

[3]Karel Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesia Islam: Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam: Rosopy, 1993).

[4]Alwi Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement and its Controversy with Christian Mission," (Ph.D dissertation, Temple University, 1995).

tors that prompted the emergence of the Muhammadiyah as one of the most influential reformist movements in modern Indonesia. One of the major factors behind its emergence, according to Shihab, was the deep penetration of Christian mission into the country. Nevertheless, as this work deals with the Muhammadiyah's responses to Christianity, it naturally doesn't consider positions or works dealing with depictions of Christian presented by such religious organizations as Persatuan Islam (PERSIS), *Majelis* Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masjumi) or Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or even of such individual Muslim scholars as O. Hashem and Sidi Gazalba.

In view of the paucity of studies on the Indonesian Muslim response to Christianity, this thesis attempts to survey the main concepts of some prominent Indonesian Muslim leaders regarding Christianity in modern times. Basing itself on the original Indonesian sources and focusing on the dynamic relations between Islam and Christianity in Indonesian, this thesis will examine Muslim attitudes towards Christians within the context of that particular historical period.

The aim of this study is to determine what those causes and circumstances were which led to the stereotypical perception of Christianity by Indonesian Muslims. This time period was selected since it represents a certain era in which, despite working together to develop the country in socio-cultural, economic and political spheres, Indonesian Muslims and Christians also intensified their respective missionary activities. This activity inevitably resulted in confrontations and conflicts in the name of religion.

Chapter one provides a background to the topic by briefly describing current theories on the coming of Islam and Christianity to the archipelago. Next, it will turn its attention to the early contacts and encounters of these communities and will include a brief example of an early Muslim depiction of Christianity as found in the works of the most prominent In-

donesian Muslim figure of the sixteenth century, Nuruddin al-Rānīrī.

In chapter two, this thesis will survey some of the colonial policies affecting religious life in Indonesian, especially that of Islam. It will also cover how Muslims responded to the policies and how they came to perceive missionary activities in Indonesia as·the effective arm of colonialism. Furthermore, it will provide some examples of Muslim responses to Christianity in the period of the Old Order under Soekarno. This will include some controversial exchanges between Hendrik Kraemer and A. Haanie or between F.L. Bakker and Hasbullah Bakry. It will also examine the writings of Natsir, A. Hasan and O. Hashem dealing with Christian doctrines which are regarded by some as representing as the new patterns of religious refutation in Indonesia.

The nature of the interaction between these two communities from 1966 to the 1990's may be seen as ranging from theological hatred and violent resistance to mutual respect, as evidenced under Soeharto's New Order. This will be the focus of chapter three. For the above reason, the area of exploration in this study will be limited to the examination of the events and publications, which were related to the chosen theme in 1966-1990's. In this part, the writings of Joesoef Sou'yb, Sidi Gazalba, Djarnawi Hadikusuma and Muhammad Rasjidi will be examined extensively. This chapter also tries to see how Indonesian Muslims' treatment of Christians was transformed from polemic and suspicion to dialogue and accommodation, thanks largely to political developments and the religio-political policies adopted particularly by the New Order of Soeharto. Government decrees establishing regulations for religious missions helped change the atmosphere from hatred and hostility to dialogue and mutual respect between these two communities. Another factor was the writings of Mukti Ali and Nurcholish Madjid who called for a

more "objective" and "positive" discussion and for practical cooperation and dialogue between Muslims and Christians, for they believed that in spite of a long history of suspicion, hostility and mutual contempt in the early modern era in Indonesia, there was nevertheless much potential for harmony and mutual respect. These too will be examined in the last part of chapter three. ·

Finally, this thesis will conclude with some recommendations for improved relations between the two communities in the future. Hopefully, some clear answers will emerge to questions dealing with the relations between Islam and Christianity in modern Indonesia.

MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
IN THE EARLY INDONESIA

A. Theories on the Coming of Islam
and Christianity to the Archipelago

Indonesia,[1] with its approximately seventeen thousand islands and four hundred or so ethnic and linguistic groups, is undoubtedly one of the most pluralist societies in the world.[2] Before the coming of Islam and Christianity to the archipelago, Hinduism, Buddhism and various *agama suku murba* (local animistic religions) were the dominant belief

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[1]The word "Indonesia" in this chapter does not mean as a political entity we find today as "Republik Indonesia", since this word was firstly introduced in about the beginning of twentieth century. Before that time, the word "Nusantara" ("archipelago") was more commonly used to point out the entity that consisted of Java, Madura, Sumatera, some part of Borneo (Kalimantan) and of Celebes (Sulawesi). In this chapter, therefore, the word "archipelago" may interchangeable with the word Indonesia.

[2]Nurcholish Madjid, "Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism: Indonesian Experiences," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1 (April-June 1994): 57.

systems, having established themselves centuries earlier. Indeed, Indonesia has always been receptive to foreign ideas and hospitable to foreign civilizations. It is, therefore, not surprising that in the case of Islam's arrival in the country it did not supplant the existing religions by military conquest, but by *pénétration pacifique* (peaceful penetration) mostly by traders who also doubled as missionaries.[3]

Scholars dealing with the history of the coming of Islam to the archipelago suggest different and various theories as to how this came about; indeed, the sources are of little help in arriving at a definite answer. Despite the fact that some believe that Indonesian Islam was brought directly from China, Egypt or Persia, nevertheless, the majority of scholars theorize an Indian origin, either Gujarat, Coromandel or Bengal, or an Arabic one.[4]

Some notable scholars who support the Gujarat theory are Brian Harrison,[5] J.P Moquette,[6] P.E. De Josselin De Jong,[7]

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[3]Madjid, "Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism," 59.

[4]Anthony H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions," *Indonesia* 19 (1975): 39.

[5]Brian Harrison, *South-East Asia: A Short History* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1972).

[6]J.P. Moquette, "De Grafsteenen te Passen Grisse," *Tijdshrift voon Indische Taal,- Land-en Volkenkunde vitgegeven door het kininklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* LIV (1912) as quoted by Amran Kasimin, *Religion and Social Change Among the Indigenous People of the Malay Peninsula* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1991), 146-148.

[7]P.E. De Josselin De Jong, *Agama-Agama di Gugusan Pulau-Pulau Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1965).

G.W.J. Drewes[8] and Husein Djajadiningrat.[9] In addition
to Harrison, who believed that the process of Islamization
on the east coast of Sumatra and the north coast of Java
was the work of Gujarati merchants engaged in overseas
trade between India and Southeast Asia, and that India,
particularly Gujarat, had been a cultural inspiration and
commercial prestige for the people in Southeast Asia,[10]
Moquette pointed to the fact that the gravestones of
Malikus Saleh (Malik al-Salih) dated 1297 in Pasai, North
Sumatra, and of other in Gresik, East Java, were of the
same type as those found in Cambay, Gujarat.[11] Thus the
possibility that these gravestones might have been brought
from Cambay and that Malikus Saleh himself might have
been a Gujarati, leads scholars to suggest that Gujarat hold
the key to a better understanding of the coming of Islam
to the archipelago.[12]

However, armed with a battery of facts and arguments,
Marrison has tried to prove that the Muslim gravestones
in the archipelago were not imported from Gujarat. He was
also led to doubt the theory of Gujarat origin by the his-
torical reality that Gujarat was not itself Islamized until

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[8]G.W.J. Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indone-
sia?" *Bijdragen tot de Taal,- en Volkenkunde* CXXIV, no. 4 (1968):
433-459.

[9]P.A. Husein Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," in *Islam the
Straight Path: Islam Interpreted by Muslims*, ed. Kenneth W. Morgan
(Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 375-402.

[10]Harrison, *South-East Asia: A Short History*, 43; 51.

[11]Kasimin, *Religion and Social Change*, 147.

[12]De Jong, *Agama-Agama*, 44; Kasimin, *Religion and Social
Change*, 147. Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam," 459.
Compare to Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," 375-376.

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1297.[13] Marrison also pointed out that as early as 1281, Islam was already well known in Sumatra, based on the fact that in the same year a mission to China was sent from Sumatra which included two Muslims ministers from eastern Sumatra, Sulayman and Shamsuddin.[14] His suggestion is that Islam was brought from Coromandel, and this theory later approved by Arnold who saw that certain aspects of theology, Islamic law (of the *Shafi'i madhhab*) and mysticism displayed by Muslims in the archipelago were exactly similar to those prevailing on in the Coromandel and Malabar coasts.[15]

However, after extensive research in Dutch and other archives into Chinese sources and local stories, S.Q. (Sayyid Qudratullah) Fatimi declared privious explanation to be untenable, and suggested instead that Islam was brought to the archipelago from Bengal. His philological evidence is worth examining as he pointed out, there ware many Bengal words had been adopted into the Malay language such as *ta-kur* from *thakkur*, *patih* from *fatih* and *sumatra* [samudra] from *samudra-kula*.[16]

Another prominent is that of Arab origin, as was first

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[13]G.E. Marrison, "The Coming of Islam to the East Indies," *Journal of the Malay Branch Royal Asiatic Society* XXIV, pt. 1 (1951): 28-37. See also Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 33.

[14]M.A. Rauf, *A Brief History of Islam with Special Reference to Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1964), 77. Kasimin, *Religion and Social Change*, 147-148.

[15]T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Asraf, 1965), 364. See also Kasimin, *Religion and Social Change*, 147-148.

[16]S. Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, 12-16.

proposed by Niemann[17] and then extended by Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas.[18] Al-Attas rejected all the theories mentioned above because, according to him, they were based on an interpretation of certain "external facts" such as trading activities, economics and politics, and on the spread of Islam in the archipelago.[19] He adduced that religious literature in the archipelago made no references to Indian scholars nor to any books written by them. Apart from this fact, he also noted that the Muslim preachers involved in disseminating Islamic values must have been Arabs judging from their names and titles.[20] He pointed out that the two most prominent figures, Sharif Sheik Ismail and Sultan Muhammad, who successfully converted the people of Pasai to Islam were Arabs descended from Abu Bakr, the first Islamic caliph.[21] And this theory, although featuring a different argument, is also held by some Muslim scholars such as A. Hasjmy.[22] The latter came to the conclusion that Islam was introduced into the archipelago for its first time in the first century of hijrah directly from the central Arab lands brought by the immigrants of 'Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's descents and companions who had rebelled against khalifah al-Ma'mūn Ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd.[23]

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[17]Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, 367

[18]Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah Kebudayaan Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Universitas Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1972).

[19]al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah Kebudayaan Melayu*, 32-36.

[20]al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah Kebudayaan Melayu*, 34.

[21]al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah Kebudayaan Melayu*, 45-48.

[22]A. Hasjmy, *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Alma'arif-1989), 143.

[23]Hasjmy, *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam*, 150-158.

It seems that whatever the origin or time period advanced to account for the coming of Islam to the archipelago, it cannot be separated from the maritime history of the Indian ocean where quite a number of Muslim were involved in trade and commerce. It is possible that Muslims had been present in the archipelago since the earliest centuries of Islam and had become stable through intermarriage with indigenous local women. This process of consolidation, however, must have been a slow one until finally Muslims became politically dominant in some parts of the archipelago in the thirteenth century.[24]

The influence of trade theory, however, cannot have been the sole factor in mass conversion to Islam in the archipelago. Fatimi and Johns, for example, believe that *sufi* wanderers played a very significant role in this process of Islamization.[25] Therefore, whatever the disputes over its origins, there is one point scholars can agree upon, which is that Islam was introduced either by traders or the *sufis*, or on many occasions by Muslim traders who were also members of Sufi orders.

As it is merely difficult to have a precise date for the introduction of Islam into the archipelago, there have been also several speculations as to when and who first brought Christianity to Indonesia. Some scholars believe that the wave of coming of Christianity may be categorized into three phases.

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[24]Anthony H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia," in *The Religious Tradition of Asia*, ed. Joseph M. Kitagawa (London: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989), 168-169.

[25]Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, 72-76; Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia," 39-41.

The first phase, as the earliest Christian presence in the archipelago, is the Nestorian Eastern Church that who established episcopal jurisdiction in Sibolga, North Sumatra in the second half of the seventh century.[26] Those Nestorians were probably from Ceylon, Indonesia, because, around the fifth century there was a church of Persian Christians with a Presbyter appointed from Persia.[27] This early Christian community, however, did not grow significantly and accordingly after this period, the history of Christianity, as Muller put it, remained in obscurity for a long time in the archipelago.[28]

The second phase of Christian arrival is the Roman Catholics in the sixteenth century by Portuguese and Spaniards as following the discovery of the trading route to Asia via South Africa. Like Muslims, the Portuguese and Spaniards were not interested in trade alone. From its motto "first pepper, then souls", it is obvious that trading and mission were such unseparated coin. Hence, not only were the priests and chaplains who accompanied in trade system fulfilling religious need for traders and administrators, the dedication for a serious determination for missionary works for indigenous people was also afforded.[29] Thus two important economic centers in Southeast Asia, Malacca

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[26]John Roxborough, "Context and Continuity: Regional Patterns in the History of Southeast Asian Christianity," *The Asia Journal of Theology* 9, no. 1 (1995): 33.

[27]Alwi Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement and its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia," (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1995), 28.

[28]Theodor Muller Kruger, *Sejarah Geredja di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Penerbit Kristen, 1959), 7-21.

[29]Roxborough, "Context and Continuity," 34.

and Moluccas (Maluku) were points of struggle for trade and mission. As soon as Goa in Maluku was conquered in 1510, the Portuguese also took over control of Malacca in 1511, and expanded their influence to the surrounding areas. The rise of Portuguese power in that region was followed with the emergence of Catholic churches mostly belonged to the Society of Jesus. The most prominent of which is Francis Xavier (1500-1552) who was well known as "apostle to the Indonesian".[30] In Ternate, a region in Maluku, the first public mass had been held in 1522 and a remarkable growth of church membership was also evident in Malacca, as it became a diocesan center in 1558.[31]

This tremendous growth of church membership did not long last, however. A sharp decline began to appear after the gradual diminution of Portuguese political power in some regions. This political decline was mainly caused by strong opposition and revolt against the Portuguese of some local Muslim Sultans, aimed at expelling them from the region. A case in point is the Ternate revolt which by 1575 had forced the Portuguese to leave.[32] As the Portuguese administration had withdrawn from that region, the work of missionaries was also dispersed. Haire's account on the decline of the church membership particularly in eastern region of Indonesia is worth quoting. To him, this was caused by some factors, mainly that:

First, evangelism was widespread but superficial. Second, evangelism was entirely related to political motivations. Therefore in

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[30]Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 29.

[31]Roxborough, "Context and Continuity," 34.

[32]See Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 29 and Roxborough, "Context and Continuity," 34.

the periods of relatively good relations between the Sultans and the Portuguese (1520s and 1540s-1550s) evangelism advanced; when however there was strong opposition from the North Moluccan local power-centre (1535s and after 1570) then there was rapid falling away from the faith. Third, the murder of Sultan Hairun and the consequent backlash against Portuguese perfidy destroyed any trust in the missionaries. Fourth, Islam was increasingly the standards of national self-expression. In these circumstances it was not surprising that Christianity should die out once Portuguese influence began to disappear.[33]

The third phase of the introduction of Christian faith is those by the Dutch traders after the collapse of Portuguese in almost all regions in the archipelago. With the Dutch, particularly through the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC), came to power in economy, Protestant began to be established in the region and took over the Portuguese Catholic congregation and commissioned pastors to serve churches.[34]

Under the VOC's support, between 1622-1633 a new seminary is Leiden was initiated. This seminary trained twelve ministers for service whose primary responsibility were the spiritual care of the Dutch in the archipelago, and the conversion of the natives.[35] And also although the VOC officially promulgated the "neutrality" in term of religious matters for the fear of negative economic repercussions, after some delay it finally permitted the transla-

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[33]J. Haire, *The Character and Theological Struggle of the Church in Halmahera Indonesia* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1981), 103-107. Roxborough, "Context and Continuity," 34-36.

[34]Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 30-31.

[35]Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*(Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 450.

tions of the Gospel of Matthew in 1629 and the whole Bible in 1733.[36] From that time, Christian faith, particularly Protestant, began to consolidate its missionary works in some cities of Java.

B. Early Contacts and Encounters

Encounters between Muslims and Christians in the archipelago began roughly in the early sixteenth century, only to increase enormously in the seventeenth century when the Dutch began to consolidate their territorial gains in the region.[37] Rooted, according to Schumann, in the nature of European Protestant theology and in the Catholic maxim "*extra ecclesia nulla salus*" (there is no salvation outside the church), the hostile attitude of the Christian foreigners towards Indonesian Muslim contributed to a great extent in creating an atmosphere of suspicion, hostility and mutual contempt between these two religions.[38]

Karel Steenbrink detects four major patterns in early Christian perceptions of Muslims in the archipelago.[39] In the first pattern Muslim were regarded as *respected heretics* mainly held by the Dutch traders who visited Muslim ports. This pattern, according to Steenbrink, was characterized by

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[36]Roxborough, "Context and Continuity," 36.

[37]Tarmizi Taher, *Muslim-Christian Encounter: Past, Present and Future With Special Reference to Indonesia*, paper of public lecture presented at McGill University, Montreal, 21 October 1997, 3.

[38]Olaf Schumann, "Christian-Muslim Encounter in Indonesia," in *Christian-Muslim Encounters*, eds. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Wadi Z. Haddad (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1988), 285-287.

[39]Karel Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam: Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam: Rodopy, 1993).

a mixture of two conflicting feelings between curiosity and lack of respect, between selective admiration for and a wish to maintain a firm distance away from Muslims.[40]

The second pattern considered Muslims as *detestable heretics* and was developed particularly among the Dutch travelers and missionaries who were strongly influenced by the development of Christian theology in the Netherlands.[41] It was mainly colored by religious biases assessing Islam as a heretical religion, superstitious and even, in Voetius' notion, as a religion of evil having no moral system. It was for Christians of this persuasion "a complete denial of the true God and the covenant of the gospel, a denial of the theological doctrine of redemption and the doctrine of morality."[42]

The third pattern viewed them as the *natural enemy* of Christians, an attitude built upon Dutch political and economical ambitions in the archipelago. In this regard, Muslims were identified as people who could not be trusted, even as uncivilized fanatics, while Islam was feared as a potential catalyst for change and a threat to the very existence of the Dutch in the archipelago.[43]

The fourth pattern was to view Muslims as *the members of a backward religion*. This emerged at about the time that Dutch colonial rule had been firmly established. The Dutch saw their role in the archipelago as being to assist Muslims in bettering themselves, thought of themselves as "teachers" and "guardians" of an uncultured indigenous people.[44]

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[40]Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, 25-42.

[41]Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, 43-59.

[42]Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, 50.

[43]Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, 60-75.

[44]Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, 76-97.

By contrast, the stereotypical perception held by Indonesian Muslims of Christianity varied depending on the receptivity of particular areas. Indeed, this perception ranged from respect to accommodation and finally to violent resistance. Historically speaking, however, there is no clear record of specific theological responses to the initial arrival of Christians who came and made contact with the indigenous people.

At first the perception was entirely pragmatic in origin and almost not at all affected by a particular theological viewpoint. Any initial good will on the part of Indonesian Muslims began to evaporate, however, when Muslim traders found themselves competing with the Dutch in the area of trade. This proved to be economically unfair to Muslims and led to the bankruptcy of a number of indigenous traders. Thus the presence of the Dutch in the archipelago was still seen by many inhabitants as a cultural nuisance in which the Dutch were labeled as greedy competitors, were the subject of ribald mockery, and were called '*untrustworthy allies*'. Still, the response was directed at to the Dutch attitude not their religion.

Quoting one of Minangkabau leader's notion, Wolters in his *Early Indonesian Commercial* gave an interesting account on Indonesian Muslim's cynical attitude towards the Dutch at this time indicating their greedy behavior in the term of economy, that if "you give the one inch [of the earth], they [the Dutch] would take an ell *(lalu panjaik, lalu kulindan)*".[45] Also, a practical example can be found in the case of Sultan Agueng Tirtayasa, the sultan of

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[45]O.W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commercial* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1967).

Banten who strove vigorously to purify Banten of the Dutch who, according to Hoesein Djajadiningrat in his *Sejarah Banten* (Banten Annals), considered the presence of the Dutch as a 'cultural poison' for his own territory which had to immediately be eliminated before it proved fatal.[46]

At the time the Dutch embarked on political colonialization of the archipelago in the late sixteenth century, the perception to the Dutch was also dramatically shifted. It was also a period during which the established Islamic states in the archipelago, notably Aceh, Johor, Patani, Banten, Demak-Pajang-Mataram, and Ternate tried to extend their authority, both political and religious to the rural hinterlands of their territories;[47] thus clearly demarcating the boundaries of the house of Islam *(dār al-Islām)* and the house of war *(dār al-ḥarb)*.[48] As a result, the response shifted from the Dutch attitude to the Dutch religion, and accordingly, as far as Muslim-Christian encounters were concerned, the emphasis shifted to theological polemics and refutations in which the tenets of Christianity became the subject of tendentious analysis.[49]

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[46]Taufik Abdullah, "History, Political Images and Cultural Encounter: The Dutch in the Indonesia Archipelago," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 3 (1994): 9-12.

[47]Anthony Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650", in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era,* ed. Anthony Reid (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1993): 157-158.

[48]Anthony Reid, "Seventeenth Century Turkish Influence in Western Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 395-414.

[49]In this sense, although not only the Dutch introduce Christianity into the archipelago, it was, for centuries, considered identical

Supporting themselves with Qur'anic references, Muslims of this period faulted Christians for proclaiming false doctrines with special reference to Jesus as the Son of God, and centered their polemics especially on the corruption of the Holy Scriptures, and the belief that the Bible had been altered by Christians from its original version. An example of this attitude can be gleaned in the work of Nuruddin al-Rānīrī (d.1658)[50] on the nature of the Christian Holy Scriptures. The work, however, is admittedly extreme and in fact, controversial in comparison with the mainstream of Muslim scholarly thought. As is well known, most prominent Muslims scholars in the medieval period of Islam held an "intermediate position" in accepting the reliability of the Holy Scriptures. Ibn Taymiyyah, for instance, in his *Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ liman Baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ* believed that although the Holy Scriptures were histori-

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with the Dutch due to the centuries of Dutch colonialism. Islam, on the contrary, was used as an identity in their struggle against the Dutch colonialism. Therefore, the enmity against the Dutch shifted into enmity against the Christianity as the religion of the Dutch (*agama wong Londo*). It seems that the response to the Dutch in the same token is also the response to Christianity.

[50]Al-Rānīrī was born in Rānir (India) and the exact date of his birth is unknown. He came to Aceh after the death of Sultan Iskandar Muda (d. 1636). Although he was actually an adherent of the Rifā'iyah order, al-Rānīrī is best-known for his condemnation and refutation of the wujūdiyyah's Hamzah Fansuri (Hamza al-Fansūrī). He wrote a number of books on the rules of Islamic ritual of which one, *Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm*, is still being printed to the present day. His book on comparative religion, *al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyān*, is considered a standard work on religious studies on the model of Shahrastānī's *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*. For more information on his teachings. See, Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th Century Acheh* (Singapore: MBRAS, 1966).

cally proven to have been falsified, many of their teach-
ings are in their original form and have religious value.[51]
In accordance with this idea, al-Ghazāli also stated that
except for its interpretations, there is nothing wrong in
the text of the Bible. A similar viewpoint was found in Ibn
Ḥazm's *al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwā' wa al-Niḥl* although
he made some strong emphasizes on the chronological and
geographical inaccuracies of the Bible, theological impos-
sibilities such as the anthropomorphic God and the pre-
posterous behavior of the prophets.[52]

In contrast, al-Rānīrī maintained that the holy scriptures
of Christians, as well as those of Buddhists and Hindus, had
no religious value at all as a result of falsification and forg-
ery. Therefore, in his *Sirāt al-Mustaqīm*, when discussing
the issue of using pages from Bible for toilet paper, al-Rānīrī
profoundly stated that the paper from those scriptures could
be freely used for cleansing oneself, unless the name of God
was written on them.[53] As he explained:

> It is not permissible to use something for purification which
> under the terms of Islamic law *(shar')* is forbidden such as bonds

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[51]See, Thomas A. Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response to
Christianity* (New York: Caravan Books, 1984).

[52]Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, "Appendix A," *Studies in al-Ghazzali*
(Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University Press, 1975),
458-478. For Ibn Ḥazm's discussion has been well-written by same
author, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (New
Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1992), 30-34.

[53]Karel A. Steenbrink, "Jesus and the Holy Spirit in the Writings
of Nur al-Din al-Rānīrī," *Islam and Christian Muslim Relations* 1,
no. 2 (1990): 194. See his other writing, "The Study of Comparative
Religion by Indonesian Muslims: A Survey," *Numen* XXXVII, Fasc.
2 (1990-1991): 141-167.

and uncleaned animal skins, [but] it is allowed to use for cleans-
ing [oneself] the Old and New Testament as well as the other
scriptures such as the *Sri Rama* and *Inderaputra* and others which
have been changed from their original states, except if the name
of God is written on them.[54]

Al-Rānīrī's effort to describe the existence of Christian-
ity in the archipelago is a prototype model of early Indo-
nesian Muslim thought concerning a religion different from
their own. Having followed the Qur'an in limiting his criti-
cism to certain Christian doctrines and having relied
heavily on sources from medieval Islamic thought, al-Rānīrī
had, not surprisingly, a very restricted perspective on the
reliability of Christian doctrines. Furthermore, he also re-
flected the dominant model in the entire Islamic world with
regard to the historical description of Christianity and his
method, to some extent, followed the pattern found in
works by Muslim thinkers of an earlier age and forms part
of a continuing response and reaction based on a literal
interpretation of Qur'ānic verses. A case in point, is his
depiction of the doctrine of the deification of Jesus in his
al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyān which he believed was for-
mally promulgated by the so-called converted Jew, Saint
Paul.

According to al-Rānīrī, Christianity had departed from
its original doctrines from its earliest history and was al-
ready divided into three groups: the Malikites who were
the followers of Mālik, the Jacobites, adherents of Mār
Ya'qub; and the Nestorians, the followers of Nasṭūr. Con-

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[54]Karel A. Steenbrink, *Kitab Suci atau Kertas Toilet? Nuruddin ar-
Rānīrī dan Agama Kristen* (Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press,
1988), 89.

cerning the secret deification of Jesus, al-Rānīrī strongly believed that Paul himself taught each of these three important figures, and to al-Rānīrī, it was due to their presence that differences of opinion and sects began to appear in Christianity. Steenbrink put al-Rānīrī's account on the relationship between Paul and these three leading Christian figures as follow:

> He [Paul] attracted a large number of disciples and from among them selected three to be his intimates. One day he took one of these, Mālik, apart and asked him, "Mālik, do you know who Jesus is?" "Surely," Mālik said, "Jesus is God's prophet, his envoy and his spirit." The Jewish divine (Paul) answered, "That is wrong! Did you ever see a prophet who could resurrect the dead? Or who could make birds from clay? Jesus is the Son of God, who descended from heaven. He performed several miracles and then he returned to heaven. But be cautious and do not tell anything of this to anyone else." More or less the same, but with a number of differences in formulations, was said to Mār Ya'qūb and Nasṭūr and this was the origin of the three Christian sects of Malikites, Jacobites and Nestorians.[55]

However, in spite of his utter rejection of the holy scriptures and the deification of Jesus, al-Rānīrī however followed a viewpoint promulgated by the majority of Muslim thinkers for he believed that Jesus would nevertheless play an important role in the period leading up to the Day of Judgment. He quoted the story dealing with Jesus' role together with the Mahdī in fighting against the Dajjāl (Anti-Christ) in the days preceding the Day of Judgment. And at that time, according to al-Rānīrī:

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[55]Steenbrink, "Jesus and the Holy Spirit," 199.

> After the [morning] prayer Jesus goes to the town hall and asks the Mahdī to attend. They speak together and then Jesus commands the Mahdī to open the gates of the town. Al-Dajjāl sees Jesus and immediately fades away "as tin melts on the fire." The 70,000 members of al-Dajjāl's army also vanish. This begins a period of 40 years of peace and happiness during which Jesus, the Son of Mary rules the earth in justice. He kills all pigs and destroys the golden and silver idols. He avenges the troubles of the destitute and brings prosperity to mankind.[56]

Elsewhere, he also shown his great veneration to Jesus and considers him to have been a special prophet of Islam. Basing himself on verses from the Qur'an, he ascribed in his *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifat al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān*, four special attributes to Jesus, namely: light (*nūr*) through which he performed some miracles[57], spirit (*rūḥ*), God's word *(kalimah minhu)* and messiah (*al-masīḥ*).[58]

Al-Rānīrī's usage of the very traditional sources from within the Islamic repertoire is quite logical given the fact that his effort was intended to answer the needs of the Islamic community, and that his books were used and read by a Muslim public. It should be said that al-Rānīrī's discussion of Christianity should to be seen in the context of a persistent reaction against intrusive colonialism in the archipelago; one which was undoubtedly colored by reli-

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[56]Edward Djamaris, "Nuruddin ar-Rānīrī, Khabar Akhirat dalam Hal Kiamat," in *Bahasa, Sastra, Budaya*, ed. Sulastin Sutrisno (Yogyakarta: n.p. 1985), 131-146. See, Steenbrink, "Jesus and the Holy Spirit," 201.

[57]Steenbrink, *Kitab Suci atau Kertas Toilet*, 8-9.

[58]Steenbrink, "Jesus and the Holy Spirit," 195. See Nuruddin al-Rānīrī, *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifat al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān*, ed. Turdjimah (Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas, 1960).

gious fervor and symbols. Thus, his depiction of Christianity was a combination of ideas of the mainstream of Muslim scholarly thought in the middle ages, the literal interpretation of the Qur'an and the experience of daily contacts and encounters between the two communities in the archipelago.

Later, in about the seventeenth century, after many areas of the archipelago had been subjugated by the Dutch, and Muslim society itself had became a symbol of victimization and suffering as a consequence of the loss of its political and economic power, the themes of the polemics started to shift. If in the earlier phase of contacts, Christians had been depicted as corrupters of the Holy Scriptures, in this phase they were perceived as infidels. Therefore, the dispute over Christianity changed, to borrow Haddad's notion, from issues of "doctrinal truth and suppression to declaration of infidel, and the need for eradication through submission, conversion or war."[59]

A notable example of this can be traced in the collection of local history known as the *Syair Perang Mengkasar* (poem of the Maccasar war). In this poem, the Dutch are often described by such epithets as *syaitan, la'nat Allah, iblis, murtad,* or *kuffar* and the war against the *kafirs* naturally sacralized as a holy war between good and evil.

There are numerous cases in this period where the choice of religious conversion or death was offered to captured Dutch people and Dutch soldiers. A case in point is

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[59]Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, "Islamist Depictions of Christianity in the Twentieth Century: The Pluralism Debate and the Depiction of the Other," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7, no. 1 (1996): 78-79.

Frederick de Houtman, one of the leaders of the first Dutch expedition to the archipelago, who was captured in Aceh. After some months of captivity, he was told that the Sultan would grant him a high position in the royal court if he would embrace Islam, but that if he refused it, he would be punished severely.[60] As de Houtman repeatedly refused the conversion, the efforts at religious persuasion shifted into a debate on Christian doctrine, particularly on the Trinity, on the comparison between Jesus and Muhammad, and also on circumcision.[61] Similar situations also arose in Java and West Sumatra. As Abdullah stated, Sultan Agung of Mataram, who was well known for his ability to foment riots against the colonial government, showed a lenient attitude toward captured "infidel" soldiers in trying to persuade them to convert Islam.[62] Teungku Chik di Tiro and several Padri leaders also showed a similar attitude in that they were prepared to listen to or make peace agreements with the colonizers, so long as the Dutch embraced Islam. They firmly believed that all of the cultural barriers between them could be dissolved if the Christians would only convert to their own faith.[63]

It is important to note that the above actions had no theological justification since there is nothing in Islamic *shari'ah* that encourages such acts against Christians. However, in terms of political consolidation the label of "infidel" applied to Christians was to some extent a means by which Muslims built their own self-image and formed an

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[60]Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia," 173.
[61]Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, 12-17.
[62]Abdullah, "History, Political Images and Cultural Encounter," 10.
[63]Abdullah, "History, Political Images and Cultural Encounter," 11.

ideology of opposition that in turn stimulated numerous "holy wars" against the Dutch.[64]

This religio-political ideology in the beginning might have sufficed for the needs of their imaginary victory. Muslims built a symbolic system through which they tried to console themselves, to cope with their unavoidable fate and to solve the discrepancy between the dream of Islamic victory and the empirical fact of being a subjugated people.[65] It was soon, however, felt to be far from adequate. In Java for example, after the entire area had been subjugated, the use of the term 'infidels' was increasingly avoided and the emphasis placed on rejecting their presence in the region transformed. Local stories began to express an explicit acceptance of Christian Dutch and to regard their presence in Indonesia as the fate of Muslims. Some went so far as to fully recognize them as the partners and as occupying an important position in the newly created mythological world. Some were even included in the legitimate royal Javanese genealogy. *Serat Surya Raja,* for instance, gives an account that describes Yogyakarta as being the center of a unified Java, in a cordial relationship with an Islamized Dutch East Indies company. In many mythologies, such as *Serat Baron Sakendar,* they were always described as the rulers who embraced Islam.[66]

To sum up, it can be said that the early Indonesian discussion of Christianity reflected the dominant model in

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[64]Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia," 174-176.

[65]Abdullah, "History, Political Images and Cultural Encounter," 12.

[66]Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam,* 130-131.

the entire Islamic world. To some extent, their depiction of Christianity followed the pattern found in works by Muslim thinkers of the middle age and formed part of a continuing response and reaction based on a literal interpretation of Qur'anic verses. However, in the late seventeenth century, it also formed part of the persistent reaction against intrusive colonialism in the archipelago, colored by religious interpretation and religious symbols. Thus, it is not out of place to point out that the depiction of Christianity in early Indonesian period was a combination between the literal interpretation of the Qur'an and the experience of daily contacts and encounters between the two communities. In this sense, having followed the Qur'an in limiting their criticism to certain Christian doctrines and having relied heavily on sources from medieval Islamic thought, early Indonesian Muslim had a very restricted perspective on the reliability of Christian doctrines. However, this use of the traditional sources from within the Islamic community can clearly be understood. As these efforts were intended to answer the needs of the Islamic community, the works were written for Muslim public. This vision in its very essence suggests a certain standard differentiating between those who are inside and those outside of the Islamic "salvation." In such setting, one can assume that early Indonesian Muslims' motive in describing the doctrine of Christianity was no more than to reinforce their own religious public beliefs and to consolidate internal political strength rather than to assure the non-Muslim audiences of the authenticity and perfection of Islam or to make them really embrace it.

CHAPTER II

MUSLIM RESPONSES TO CHRISTIANITY IN THE PERIODS OF COLONIAL, POST-COLONIAL AND THE OLD ORDER INDONESIA

A. The Ethical Policy, Evangelization and Muslim Responses in 1860-1945

The demise of the Cultural Policy, or what came to be known as *cultuurstelsel* in the mid of nineteenth century inevitably changed the narrative history of Indonesia. Initially, this policy was originally designed on a voluntary basis in which it set aside part agrarian land particularly in Java from every village for the plantation farming of certain crops. In this sense, the villages were divided in four groups; one to grow the crop, one to reap it, one to transport the factory and other to labor in the factory. All payments were made for all labors and the work of European officers in this economical chain was to ensure that cultivation was on time and suitable.[1]

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[1] J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 117-118.

However, after the Netherlands went to serious difficulties in economic field that lost part of its income after 1830, the application of the Cultural Policy was slightly changed. It no longer rested on a purely voluntary basis but introduced "compulsory cultivation" for the state in which local produce was then sold to the colonial government at fixed low prices by way of monopoly.[2] In this manner, Java was gradually transformed into a state-owned plantation in which certain cash crops were cultivated through forced labor.[3] It was obvious that for the Dutch colonial, this policy generated immense profits, allowing them to pay all their debts and to balance the budget. However, for the indigenous population, except those who served the colonial agents, the *cultuurstelsel* meant exploitation and impoverishment.

Thanks to internal corruption and strong pressure from liberals in the Netherlands, by the early 1860s the authorities had inaugurated a new policy which came to be known as the Liberal Policy, which gave private enterprises an opportunity to enter and to do business in Indonesia. This accordingly stimulated Europeans to come to Indonesia in large numbers to pursue economic gain. Not only did the Europeans bring with them an enthusiasm for trade but they also brought their way of life including their religious belief and practices. The consequence of this was that to meet their children's educational and their own religious needs the number of churches and schools increased dramatically.

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[2]Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 118-119.

[3]M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), 114-119.

The implementation of the Liberal Policy in its turn also encouraged European liberals and humanists in theirs call for improvements to the economic and educational life of the indigenous peoples, as seen in the case of Douwes Dekker, also known as Multatuli, the author of *Max Havelaar*. This policy inevitably had the double aspects, practical and humanitarian. The former represented an interest in economical aspect while the latter, inspired by liberal humanitarian ideas, showed lively interests in welfare of the people. Furthermore, they had no longer to be quasi-mercantile agents but as far as possible they also tried to protect the indigenous people on moral ground from oppression by the Europeans engaged in enterprise and the native chieftains acting as agents of the planters.[4]

The widespread dissatisfaction expressed with the plight of the local population by these individuals gained momentum with the inauguration of the Ethical Policy. Theoretically, this new policy was aimed at the betterment of the lives of the indigenous population through the two-fold aspects, economic and social reform. On the economic side it aimed at promoting development with a view to providing financial assistance and to allot the extension of health, education and agricultural services to the population at large for the enhancement of welfare.[5] On the social side, this meant to promote social welfare of the villages, to strengthen and promote democratic self-

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[4]J.S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), 223-224.

[5]Robert van Neil, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1960), 32; 36-38. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice*, 227.

government as inherited from the liberal tradition. It also introduced the liberal doctrine of equal law for all people from which some Ethical leaders advocated a unified system of administration, with Europeans and natives all in one combined service administering uniform law.[6]

In spite of the fact that the Ethical Policy was designed to promote the guardianship system, emancipation and equality, it was unfortunately often unable to fulfill its noble objective in the field.[7] Education remained the privilege of a particular indigenous elite while the number of illiterates among the poor remained static. This policy also proved fragile in withstanding unprecedented religio-political developments in the Netherlands. It is worth noting, however, that at the time it was officially promulgated, there was a sudden shifting in the Netherlands in terms of religious attitude from the established church *(hervormde kerk)* which shown more tolerance towards the breakaway church *(gereformeerde kerk)* which was radical, less tolerant and more orthodox.[8] This shift, in its turn, greatly influenced the application of certain colonial policies, including that of the Ethical Policy, due to the fact that some breakaway church members became politically dominant in the Dutch parliament. The result was that in the case of Indonesia, the promulgation of the Ethical Policy was to some extent reshaped and colored by Christian interests, particularly that of the breakaway church.

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[6]Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice*, 228.

[7]Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice*, 225.

[8]E.G. Singgih, "Contextualisation and Inter-Religious Relationship in Java: Past and Present," *The Asia Journal of Theology* 11, no. 2 (October 1997): 250-252.

The breakaway church gained increased political power by winning a majority position in the parliamentary election of 1901. This enabled them to put Abraham Kuyper into the prime ministership and Alexander Idenburg into the governor general's office. Some have seen this as a main factor in the increased support given to missionary works in Indonesia. It was manifested in generous subsidies to Christian institutions. And accordingly, Idenburg once ever stated that "as a Christian nation the Netherlands have a duty to improve the condition of the native Christian in the archipelago, to give Christian missionary activity more aid and to inform the entire administration that the Netherlands have moral obligations to fulfill as regards the population of those regions."[9]

It can be said, therefore, that in spite of the fact that the preaching of the Gospel was initially meant to serve the religious needs of the European residents, missionary activists from the breakaway church began a more active campaign to convert the indigenous people to Christianity. Traditionally, however, the endeavor to convert people in predominantly Muslim areas has always been arduous and slow, and the Indonesian archipelago proved no exception to this rule. Efforts to convert the Muslim community, particularly in Java, were met with fierce political resistance engendered by theological as well as cultural reasons.[10]

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[9]Deliar Noer, Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1945*(London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 165; Alwi Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 52.

[10]An extensive historical description of missionaries activities in Java can be found in Th. Sumartana's book, *Mission at the Crossroads: Indigenous Churches, European Missionaries, Islamic Association and Socio-Religious Change in Java 1812-1936* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1993).

This resistance acquired an anti-foreign hue and was portrayed as an indigenous effort to preserve the native cultural identity from the onslaught of foreign influences. As Kraemer pointed out, the public opinion still considered converts to Christianity to be converts to the service of Dutch culture and interests. This, according to him, was reinforced by the fact that almost all of the evangelists who came to the archipelago were European in origin.[11] Moreover, Neill echoed this observation, noting how a conversion to Christianity was always seen as equivalent to the loss of one's cultural identity. Consequently, some Javanese were never baptized in order to preserve their true Javanese character.[12]

To that point the Dutch government had officially advocated "neutrality" in its religious policies. The government clearly maintained that some areas were closed to missionary works, or at least restricted. Experiences had proven that missions to Muslim areas mostly caused upheaval that was very bad for trade.[13] The breakaway church's challenge to this policy is worth mentioning. Knowing that missionaries could not freely work in Muslim areas, they often maintained that Java in particular was not a Muslim area but a center of *kejawen* (a mixture belief of animism, Buddhism-Hinduism and local customs). Therefore, because *kejawen* was not included in the policy, the government should al-

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[11]Hendrik Kraemer, "Sending di Hindia Belanda," in *Politik Etis dan Revolusi Kemerdekaan*, eds. H. Boudet and I.J. Brugmans (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1987), 335.

[12]Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 192.

[13]Singgih, "Contextualisation and Inter-Religious Relationship in Java," 254.

low them to work in Java. To forbid such activities, they argued, would be to abuse intentionally religious freedom.[14] The government's subsequent acquiescence, therefore, at least in Muslim eyes, showed a clear bias in favor of Christian interests. A case in point was the amounts of subsidies given to the Christian missionary and to Muslim activities, respectively. Moenawar Chalil, a prominent member of the *Muhammadiyah* movement in Semarang, Central Java, listed the fee differences in amount given to religious communities as follows: in 1936 the subsidies given to Protestants amounted to f. 686,100, to Catholics f. 286,500, and to Muslims only f. 7,500. In the following years, subsidies to Protestants and Catholics abruptly increased to f. 844,000 and f. 335, 700, respectively, and remained at f. 7,600 for Muslims.[15]

In addition, the way in which civil servants were recruited and the different salaries paid to Europeans and

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[14]Singgih, "Contextualisation and Inter-Religious Relationship in Java", 254.

[15]Moenawar Chalil, "Pemandangan Sepintas Laloe," *Sinar Baroe*, (July 1943), n.p., as is quoted by A. Mukti Ali ['Abdu-l Mu'ti 'Afi], "The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction," (M.A. thesis McGill University, 1957), 56; 80-81. Sidjabat did not at all agree with Chalil because, according to him, the large sums of money the Christians received were collected by churches abroad and not from the Dutch government. On the contrary, Neill admitted that since "in most cases the village teacher served also as a catechist, the rapid expansion of the work of the church was to be a large extent made possible by government money". See Bonar Sidjabat, *Religious Tolerance and the Christian Faith: A Study Concerning the Concept of Divine Omnipotence in the Indonesian Constitute in the Light of Islam and Christianity* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1965), 61-62; compare to Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 322-396.

Indonesians for the same profession further raised the ire of the Muslim community. Of the one thousand prospective employees accepted not a single Muslim was among them.[16] Moreover, the salary that of a European clergyman was ten times higher that that of a Muslim *penghulu* (judge).[17]

For the Muslim community, the conditions became even more stringent as decrees were issued one after another. This can be seen from the issuance of a decree requiring Muslim teachers to obtain a special government teaching license and to submit the names of all their students as well as their curriculum. Although this decree, known as the *guru ordinantie*, was designed to improve the quality of Islamic education as defined by the European system, for some Muslims this was tool for the colonial government to curtail the movement of teachers, to hamper the progress of Islam and to control the activities of Muslim teachers, many of whom had been educated in the Middle East and had long been suspected of coming under the influence of reformists ideas from Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries.[18]

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[16]Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 27-28.

[17]Suminto noted that the former's annual salary was f. 6000 while for the latter was only f. 582. See *Politik Islam*, 26.

[18]Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia*, 165-175; Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 53; Suminto, *Politik Islam*, 35. The best analytical description of the ideas which motivated the Islamic reformation is to be found in Azra's work. See Azyumardi Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1992). According to a government report issued in 1911, after performing the

In light of the above, for some Muslim leaders, the argument of Fred R. von den Mehden,[19] Zwemer[20] and Sidjabat[21] that the colonial government remained neutral in the religious sphere and that it had never been sympathetic toward Christian missionary activity are debatable. They admit however that, while the VOC *(Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie)* policy did not favor the expansion of churches for fear of negative economic repercussions, it nevertheless paved the way for the establishment of the first local churches in the archipelago through publication of an Indonesian version of the Bible. It was however after the collapse of the VOC and the shift in control to the Dutch colonial authorities in 1799 that a more openly pro-Christian policy began to be pursued by the government. Some also believed, as Shihab noted, that even before the coalition of rightists and religious politicians became the dominant voice in the Netherlands, several Royal decrees were issues

pilgrimage most of the *hajis* returned to their daily work with no special attention to that of the reformation ideas. This report was seemingly designed to counter Hurgronje's advice to the colonial government to control the *hajis'* activities in the archipelago. See G.F. Pipjer, "Politik Islam Pemerintah Belanda," in *Politik Etis dan Revolusi Kemerdekaan*, 240-241.

[19]See Fred von der Mehden, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1963), 172.

[20]Samuel M. Zwemer, *Across the World of Islam* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1929), 269; and his book, *The Law of Apostasy in Islam* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1924), 15-17.

[21]Sidjabat's reason for rejecting this intimacy is worth outlining. To him, the missionary movement was never a means of colonialism in Indonesia because the early evangelists in Indonesia were not Dutch! See Walter Bonar Sidjabat, *Panggilan Kita di Indonesia Dewasa Ini* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1964), 24-25.

confirmingthis symbolic relationship between the Church and the state. For instance, in 1810, King William I of Holland issued a decree sponsoring missionary activities by the government. In 1835, another decree placing church administration under the supervision of the governor general was issued. Moreover, in 1854, another decree appeared confirming the interdependence of church and state, in that it promoted the disseminating of Christian doctrines by missionary groups while the government provided support in the form of facilities, subsidies, and tax exemptions.[22]

In Muslim's eyes, the evidence clearly pointed, therefore, to the fact that mutual cooperation marked the relationship between the colonial government and the church. Accordingly, the intimate relationship between missionaries,[23] and official Dutch representatives, led to the former becoming an effective arm of colonialism and of the unequivocal Dutch proclamation that government officials in the East Netherlands Indies [Indonesia] were representatives of a "Christian nation".[24] Both missionaries and the colonial government gained reciprocal benefits from this religio-political cooperation. The colonial powers, as Shihab put it, saw the colony as an arena for financial profit while the missionaries saw it as a place bestowed upon them by God in their campaign to enlarge the domains of Christendom.[25] Given this milieu of cooperation, therefore, one can understand

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[22]Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement and its Controversy with Christian Mission," (Ph.D dissertation, Temple University, 1995), 53.

[23]William Montgomery Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters* (London: Routledge, 1991), 104-105.

[24]Robert van Neil, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, 83-84.

[25]Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 45-46.

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why many of the churches were sponsored either by the central government in Holland or by the representatives of the colonial government, which incidentally granted ministers a cash bonus for every convert.[26]

Missionaries, furthermore, hoped to beat Islam into the regions where Islam had not yet penetrated. They challenged Muslims by creating Christian buffer zones in Tengger (East Java) and Batak (North Sumatra) against the Muslim zones in East Java and Aceh, respectively.[27] By the tactics of consolidating their hold on remote areas, missionaries had a great success in converting the animistic adherents there to the religion of Christ. However, the number of Muslims who converted to Christianity was still minimal. This slow growth indeed resulted from the hostile attitude of Muslim zeal and the fierce political resistance. It also led some prominent missionaries to assume a more aggressive, often offensive, approach to Muslim communities by making depreciatory statements against Muhammad, the Qur'an and the Muslim community in Indonesia. Examples of these include the works of Kraemer and Ten Berge.

In fact, Kraemer's early works, as well as those of medieval western orientalists, are prototypical of the bias and totalitarian attitudes that have characterized ideological confrontation with Islam in a period of political change.[28] Is-

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[26]See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 290-191; 224. Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 162-166.

[27]Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 41-44. More extensive information on missionaries activities in the Batak land is found in Kipp's anthropological field research. See Rita Smith Kipp, *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission: The Karo Field* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1990), 25-26.

[28]Carl F. Hallencreutz, *Kraemer Towards Tambaram* (Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksells, 1966), 160.

lam is depicted in such works as a religion of evil or at least as inimical to Christian values, and the Qur'an described as a man-made production. The common pattern of denunciation depicts Muhammad as a selfish liar possessed of several evil characteristics.[29] Kraemer especially portrayed Islam as a religion lacking respect for other forms of spiritual life, particularly Christianity, and as lacking a spiritual dimension. It follows, therefore, that reformation in Islam does not at all imply "a deepening of its spiritual life but, political and social reform."[30] Hence, Islam, Kraemer believed, was a "medieval and radically religious form of that national-socialism with which we are familiar in Europe at present in its pseudo-religious form."[31] Insofar as missionary efforts were concerned, his paradoxical expressions of hatred and admiration for Islam are noteworthy:

> Islam is a mission problem: there is no religion for which mission has worked itself to the bone with less result and on which it has scratched its fingers till they were bloody and torn than Islam... The riddle of Islam is that, though as religion it is shallow and poor in regard to content. It surpasses all religions of the world in the power of which it holds those who profess it.[32]

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[29] An excellent analysis of the West's view of Islam is found in Norman Daniel's, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960; reprint, Oxford: One World, 1997).

[30] Carl F. Hallencreutz, *Kraemer Towards Tambaram*, 161. See also Mikha Joedhiswara, "Hendrik Kraemer and Inter-religious Relations in Indonesia," *Asia Journal of Theology* 9, no. 1 (1995): 92.

[31] Hendrik Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1938), 353. See B.J. Boland and I. Farjon, *Islam in Indonesia: A Bibliographical Survey 1600-1942 with Post-1945 Addenda* (Dordrecht The Netherlands: Foris Publication Holland, 1983), 46.

[32] Kraemer, *The Christian Message*, 220; Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 41.

He then depicted non-Christian opposition to Christian prosetylization as follows:

> Everywhere –Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Sikhism, etc– there is manifest in the Eastern world today, along with the general national realisation a movement towards the heightening of religious consciousness embodying itself in movements for reform, reorganisation, propaganda, consolidation and concerted opposition to Christian mission.[33]

This hostile attitude towards Islam is also manifest in Kramer's *The Religion of Islam* published in 1928, a book designed as an instructional manual for Christian teachers and claimed to enhance Christian knowledge of Islam.[34] Although the goal seems to have been meritorious, the work was criticized by Muslims since it pronounced on some contentious issues in Islam such as its claim that Muhammad had instituted a small religious sect[35]; its conclusion on Muhammad's human weakness[36]; its contention that it was his change in sentiment toward the Jews that persuaded Muhammad to alter the direction of prayers from Jerusalem to Mecca, not God's command.[37] Not surprisingly, Muslims reacted with swift anger at the publication of this book. Huge demonstrations were held and some rebuttals offered by urban Muslims who had mostly been educated in modern schools and were familiar with west-

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[33]Kraemer, *The Christian Message*, 46.

[34]Hendrik Kraemer, *Agama Islam*, 1ˢᵗ ed. (Bandung: N.V. u/h A.C. Nix & Co, 1928; 3d ed. reprint, Jakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1952).

[35]Kraemer, *Agama Islam*, 41.

[36]Kraemer, *Agama Islam*, 43.

[37]Kraemer, *Agama Islam*, 31.

[38]Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads*, 329-330.

ern literature.[38]

Nevertheless, for Indonesian Muslims at that time, no other subjects are treated as fully as these two fundamental issues: the relation between state and Islam and the *gharanic* (sataniv verses), both of which are accordingly seen as an insult and humiliation to Islam. A skillful response was made by A.D. Haanie, a prominent Muhammadiyah leader, who in 1929 published a book entitled *Islam Against Kraemer.*[39]

In relation to the first issue, Kraemer held the opinion that the unification of religion and politics in Islam was an ordinary phenomenon for all ancient religions, which regarded religion as their basic way of life. However, the development of modern politics, according to him, demanded that the two should be separated; and for the state to operate on a secular basis. To achieve a modern life style, Kraemer seemed to suggest, Muslims should, therefore, discard the traditional unity between Islam and politics.[40]

Hannie's response to Kraemer's position is a lucid and intelligent defense of Islamic religious doctrine. His sharp and simple answer is, as Sumartana puts, an example of polemic which avoids emotionalism. His intellectual maturity in evaluating Kraemer's ideas without anger is, indeed, typical of the nature of polemical literature in modern Indonesia. Islam, he replied, is a union of the political and religious; and what might be called Islamic politics it

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[39]A.D. Haanie, *Islam Menentang Kraemer* (Yogyakarta: Penyiaran Islam, 1929).

[40]Kraemer, *Agama Islam*, 48; Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads*, 329; 348.

would be conceptually unsound to equate it with theocracy in Christian tradition. Islam, he explains, does not carry religion into the temporal realm but carries religious law into political life and determines the structural form of the state. There is no evidence to suggest that Islam demands the reign of a caliph. To Hannie, an Islamic state could be ruled either by a caliph or a president as long as it safeguarded religion, respected all other religious adherents and oversaw the implementation of the religious law. Hence, being mutually interdependent, religion and politics are strongly inclined to compliment another. He states:

> The power of the state, in this light, may not be called religious power, but rather reliance on religion; the government does not have the power to intrude in private religious affairs, rather it stands on the foundation of religion, nothing more. Thus people can understand that while Islam combines the power of religion and the law, it does not combine the power of religion and the state. Instead the government stands above religion; there is no religious power in Islam.[41]

Haanie then concludes that Kraemer's challenge to Indonesian Muslims to separate their religion from their political life heralded nothing less than to defeat for Muslim civilization and an attempt to weaken the Islamic community after which Christian could defeat Muslim with ease.[42]

The second matter that Haanie takes issue with is Kraemer's analysis of the "satanic verses" affair, better known as the *gharanic* affair. This refers to the episode during which Muhammad was reportedly deceived to into

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[41] Haanie, *Islam Menentang Kraemer*, 85.

[42] Haanie, *Islam Menentang Kraemer*, 82; see Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads*, 329.

accepting three Meccan' idols as deities next to Allah, a notion he later rejected.[43] To Haanie, Kraemer's purpose in raising the issue was to shed doubt on the authority and honor of the Prophet. Haanie's rebuttal denies that the story circulated in Muslim circles and attributed it to the *zindiks* who aimed to mock the Prophet. Haanie hypothesized that the pagans had knelt in prayer with the Prophet, not because the altter had acknowledged their gods, but because he had read a chapter of the Qur'an. It was, Haanie argued, the virtue of the Prophet that made them bow in worship and not because the Prophet had named and bowed to the three idols of Mecca. And it was unthinkable, to Haanie, that God who had protected the Prophet from sins could abandon him to Satan's temptations.[44]

Another case in point which triggered Muslim hostility towards Christianity has come to be known as the Ten Berge affair, a Jesuit priest who published two articles which appeared in 1931. In these articles, following of the Qur'anic verses containing the prophecy of Christ. After quoting the Qur'anic verses (5: 75), Berge said:

> One can see that according to Muhammad, Christians conceive of a father and a mother and a son in a sexual sense. How would it have been possible for him, the anthropomorphist, the ignorant Arab, the gross sensualist who was in the habit of sleeping with women, to conceive of a different and more elevated conception of Fatherhood.[45]

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[43]Kraemer, *Agama Islam*, 26.

[44]Haanie, *Islam Menentang Kraemer*, 82; and Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads*, 331.

[45]As cited by Karel Steenbrink in *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam* (Amsterdam: Rodopy B.V., 1993), 118-119.

In response, more demonstrations were held and a number of articles written.[46] Among of those who responded bitterly to Berge was Muhammad Natsir, a prominent member of the Persatuan Islam in Bandung, a former Prime Minister of Indonesia and the chairman of the Islamic political party, Masjumi.

In reply to Berge, Natsir wrote *Islam, Catholicism and the Colonial Government,* which expressed his contempt for Berge's treatment of the prophet Muhammad and called on other Muslims to defend their religion againts slander. Written in a consice popular style, it provides general information on the issue, trying to convey to Muslims the dangers of evangelization, which he termed 'the strange way of propagation' employed by these missionaries.[47] In Natsir's view, the articles represented nothing more than a crude conspiracy and a systematic assault on Islam either by a lenient or an aggressive way.[48] In this article, Natsir also called on the government to review its policy if it wished to promote religious harmony. Moreover, he criticized the double standard whereby Muslims were being punished for hate literature while the likes of Berge were protected from a formal trial. Official 'neutrality', he charged, was an excuse for government inaction when Islam was the object of slander. He denounced the government's inconsistency in enacting the policy by comparing it to what would happen in Netherlands law. Ac-

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[46]Steenbrink in *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam,* 118.

[47]Muhammad Natsir, "Islam, Katholiek, Pemerintah," *Pembela Islam* 33 (1931): 7. Reprinted edition in Natsir, *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia* (Bandung: CV Bulan Sabit & CV Peladjar, 1969), 43.

[48]Natsir, "Islam, Katholiek, Pemerintah," 2; Natsir, *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia,* 37.

cording to Natsir, in the Netherlands, a religious slander of this type would be subject to legal sanction.[49]

Apart from his rebuttal of Berge, Natsir wrote other articles between 1930 and 1940 which appeared in some magazines and journals. These were intended to defend Islam not only from the Christian missionary's offensive but also that of secular-nationalists and Javanese mysticism.[50] His articles entitled *Qur'an en Evangelie* and *Moehammad als Profeet*[51] for instance, appeared in response to the writings of Domingus Christoffel whose attacks on Islam and the biography of the Prophet had injured Muslim feeling.

Natsir went further in outlining Christianity in term of religious doctrines. In his article entitled the *Holy Spirit*,[52] published in *Pembela Islam*, he explained how hat he called the modifications and alterations in the Bible had resulted in contradiction and gainsaying between one verse and another. For example, in dealing particularly with Jesus' crucifixion, Natsir compared John 19: 17 stating that he was bearing his cross himself with Mark 15:21 citing that someone else bearing Jesus' cross. In the same manner he ana-

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[49]Natsir, *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia*, 41.

[50]According to Ihza, Natsir felt such a religious responsibility to put Islam proportionally from its original sources since too many deprecative works on Islam launched by his Indonesia fellows. See Yusril Ihza, "Combining Activism and Intellectualism: The Biography of Muhammad Natsir," *Studia Islamika* 2, no. 1 (1995): 132.

[51]Natsir, *Moehammad als Profeet*, reprinted by Persatuan Islam (Bandung: Penerbit Persatuan Islam, 1930). See Ihza, "Combining Activism," 133.

[52]See Natsir, "Ruh Suci," *Pembela Islam* 13 (1930): 5-10. Reprinted in *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia*, 18-23.

lyzed the resurrection of Jesus in Luke 24:4 stating that there were two men stood by them in shining garment and Matthew 27: 56 saying that there were three people at that events, respectively.[53]

Following Ten Berge's essay, in late April of 1931, Oei Bee Thay wrote an article in the periodical of *Hoakien* reviling Muhammad as an aspirant murder, insane and robber.[54] In 1937 another equally slanderous work was published in the periodical of *Bangun* by Siti Sumandari and Soeroto. In that article, the writers attributed Islamic views on polygamy and marriage to the prophet's wanton sexual desires and jealous.[55] Among noteworthy responses made to the above article was A. Hassan's, a prominent modernist Muslim who belonged to the Persatuan Islam.[56]

Hassan's book, *The Divinity of Jesus According to the Bible*[57], was written at the behest of the MIAI (Majelis A'la Islam Indonesia, or Indonesian Muslim Supreme Council), and presented what Federspiel has called "scholarly

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[53]Natsir, *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia,* 21-23.

[54]As cited by Howard M. Federspiel in *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, 1970), 107-108.

[55]Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam,* 108.

[56]The *Persatuan Islam* was a modernist organization established in 1923 in Bandung West Java. Among of its most prominent leaders was A. Hassan, a Singaporean in origin who born in 1887, and was a former journalist in the *Utusan Melayu* newspaper in Singapore. For an account of his life and his modern *ijtihād,* see Tamar Djaya, *Riwayat Hidup A. Hassan* (Jakarta: Mutiara, 1980) and Akh. Minhaji, "Ahmad Hassan and Islamic Legal Reform in Indonesia, 1887-1958" (Ph.D dissertation, McGill University, 1997).

[57]A. Hassan, *Ketoehanan Jesoes Menoeroet Bijbel* (Bandung: Persatuan Islam, 1940).

and logical arguments" with easily understandable terms in refuting the divinity of Jesus.[58] In doing so, he based his entire logical and lexical argument on the Bible, without never referring to the verses of the Qur'an.

Hassan's objective was to draw a simple comparison between Jesus and Muhammad. However, his own biases became apparent in the conclusion. Hassan claimed that Christians had, throughout the centuries, misunderstood the position of their own doctrine on the mission of Jesus. To him, Jesus, like other prophets in the Semitic tradition would not have been abandoned to crucifixion by his God for saving humankind from the sin, nor would there have ever be a personified God in a purely monotheist tradition. If he truly was His son, he asks, "does God not know any other way to save mankind except by the sacrifice of flesh and blood?" "Would it not have been easier for Him [God] to forgive mankind [its sins] without shedding the blood of His son?"[59]

There is, of course, nothing very new in his arguments as they only follow a blue- print borrowed from age-old Muslim polemics against Christianity. Thus, his belief that "we [Muslims] do not believe in Jesus as God, nor as part of the divine, nor as the son of God, nor as a form combining God and man"[60] was an old proclamation. However, some of his arguments are original, such as the claim that the notion of "the son of God" which is attributed to Jesus was, according to Hassan, a title of respect not exclusively referred to Jesus.

[58]Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 108.

[59]Hassan, *Ketoehanan Jesoes*, 34-35. See Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 110.

[60]Hassan, *Ketoehanan Jesoes*, 5. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 109.

This argument, which is also found in his *Jesus and his Religion: an Answer to the Book of Jesus in the Qur'an*,[61] has been adopted and elaborated by O. Hashem, whose book will also be discussed at some length in the forthcoming sections.

The questions which arise from Haanie's rebuttal, and that of other Muslims, are numerous. Why was Haanie so offended by the idea of separating Islam from politics? Why did Haanie concerntrate on the *gharanic* affair (satanic verses) to the exclusion of other issues which appeared in Kraemer's book? And, why did Natsir and Hassan respond so vehemently to dispersions on Muhammad character? The answers are not simple. For one, the Indonesian debate over state ideology has always disputed the size of the role Islam should play in the makeup of the state. Later, the tireless endeavor of Islamists bore fruit with the establishment of the Majelis Konstituante (Constituent Assembly) in which the debate on the state ideology could finally be channeled. The assembly was inevitably deadlocked and a final compromise between the Islamic parties and the secular nationalists who sponsored the *Pancasila* as a national ideology was unattainable.[62] In light of the ideological demands most

[61]Hassan, *Iesa dan Agamanja: Djawaban Terhadap Buku 'Isa didalam Alquran'* (Bangil: Persatuan Islam, 1958). This book was a response to that of an adventist Rifai Boerhanoe'ddin, *Isa didalam Alquran* (Bandung: Indonesia Publishing House, 1956).

[62]For more discussion see B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal, - Land- en Volkenkunde, 1982), 15-39; 90-99. See also Endang Saifuddin Ashari, "Islam atau Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara" in *Islam di Asia Tenggara*, ed. Ahmad Ibrahim, et al. (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990). Herbert Feith, "Dynamic of Guided Democracy", in *Indonesia*, ed. Ruth T. McVey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

Muslim activists and their commitment to the creation of an Islamic state, Kraemer's challenge to the idea of political Islam was a challenge to their very ethos. In this religio-political struggle, Kraemer's call for secularism was a blow to Islam's integrity as a social order.

The second issue to concern Haanie, i.e., the satanic verses, and Natsir's rebuttal of Berge's slanderous comment regarding Muhammad, may be explained differently. For the Muslim community, an attack directed at the prophet Muhammad is deeply injurious. It is not only intolerable but it also requires an immediate response. Islamic teachings clearly recognize Muhammad as the model *par excellence* whose life *(sīrah)*, sayings *(hadīth)* and practices *(sunnah)* stand as the ultimate paradigm for them to follow. Hence, Haanie and Natsir's responses were understandably driven by the urge to protect the honor of the prophet Muhammad against disparagement by non-Muslims. As well, considering the longstanding theological differences between Islam and Christianity, their rebuttal should be contextualized in terms of the protection of 'monotheistic' Islam against its purposeful misdirection toward 'polytheistic' ways. If the implications of the *gharanic* affair are accepted, the theological consequence of the infallibility *('ismah)* of Muhammad, a strongly-held belief among Muslims, is brought into question, and it well implies that Muhammad attempted to set up a polytheistic religion that associated certain idols alongside Allah.[63]

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[63]For more information on the issue see W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 101-109. See also Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1996), 108-133.

Thus, with respect to Haanie and Natsir, the issue is not one of apologetics, but rather, whether they have responded according to the established academic and intellectual dictates of their own religious beliefs.

Although the extreme interpretation that puts missionaries into the effective arms of colonialism may hold some truth, a closer and more careful examination into the issue is still needed to unfold what really happened in Indonesian history. Muslim views regarding the Christian presence in Indonesia cannot after all be dealt with in complete isolation from the common pattern in other parts of the Muslim world. As Ayoub has said, this period marked the time after which Muslims believed that missionaries were identical with colonialists.[64] There may indeed have been relations between missionaries and colonial government since they came from same civilization and the same religion. But it seems that this relationship was not as strong as Muslims thought it was, and it was not solely based on religious zeal. There might be other reasons, either economic or political. The Indonesian Muslim perception of them as the agents of colonialism may not have been in fact strictly accurate since there were many of them who actively advocated nationalist sentiment within the Indonesian community.

It is important also to note that if some Muslims questioned the neutrality of the colonial government in matters of religion because it had a negative effects on Islam, by the same token some Christians regarded themselves as victims of the same policy, for it restricted their reli-

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[64]Mahmoud Ayoub, "Roots of Muslim-Christian Conflict," *Muslim World.*

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gious activities by declaring some regions to be off-limits to missionary work.[65] One may find that these two fundamentally different viewpoints result from two different interpretations. It depends heavily on who interprets it and what side the interpreter might take.

B. Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Old Order Era, 1945-1965

The political orientation of modern Indonesia in the last days of the Dutch colonialism, e.i., in late 1940's and in the years of Japanese occupation can be seen as bifurcated. On one side were the so-called secular nationalists comprising some prominent Christians and nominal Muslims promoting the *Pancasila* as state ideology.[66] On the other were Muslim nationalists who urged the establishment of a so-called Islamic state in Indonesia. Thus, the question of whether a secular or Islamic state should come into being, defined and widened the rift between these two groups. However, a considerable effort to reconcile the two led the latter group to agree to omit seven words (*"dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-*

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[65]von Wendelin Wawer, *Muslime und Christien in der Republik Indonesia* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974), 323.

[66]It is worth noting that a number of devout Muslims also belonged to this first group for they believed that Islam is a religion for basic human personal beliefs and not an ideological system. See, Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*, 8. Like Boland, Noer believed that these devout religious politicians' idea of the separation of religion and state resulted from the educational system introduced by the Dutch which produced secularly oriented intellectuals. See Deliar Noer, "Islam as a Political Force in Indonesia," *Mizan* 1, no. 4 (1984): 35-36.

pemeluknya" or ("with the obligation of adherents of Islam to practice [Islamic] law") from the draft of the proposed constitution.[67] In spite of the compromise, some Christian politicians, like Latuharhary, apparently dissociated themselves from the deal. This dissenting group held that not only aws the issue of "the seven words" important, but that the draft of the constitution itself, which mentioned Islam specially, had to be rephrased.[68] The debate went on for another two months until another compromise was reached. The delegates finally agreed that, in the interest of unity, the constitution should exclude any mention of Islam. Thus, articles referring to Islam as the official religion of the state or stating that the president should be a Muslim were deleted. Although Muslims were the majority, the new nation of Indonesian was not to have an Islamic constitution, but rather one which accepted common spiritual values expressed in the *Pancasila* with its first principle expressing a belief in One God.[69]

Not only did the Pancasila debate create division among Indonesians, but so did the proposal by Achmad Subardjo to establish a Ministry of Religious Affairs at the meeting of the Committee for the Preparation of Indonesia's Inde-

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[67]An extensive study of this gentleman's agreement, to which was later to be called the Jakarta Charter is that of Ashari. See [Endang] Saifuddin Ashari, "The Jakarta Charter of June 1945: A History of the Gentleman's Agreement between the Islamic and the Secular Nationalists in Modern Indonesia," (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1976).

[68]Azyumardi Azra, "The Long Struggle of Islam's Largest Nation," *Mizan* 1, no. 1 (January 1984): 74-75.

[69]Azra, "The Long Struggle", 75. See also Nurcholish Madjid, "Islam in Indonesia: Challenges and Opportunities," *Mizan* 1, no. 3 (1984): 74-75. The same article was first published in *Islam in the Contemporary World*, ed. Cyriac K. Pullapilly (Indiana: Cross Roads Books, 1980).

pendence on August 19, 1945.[70] Although the proposal was rejected at the meeting, strong pressure mostly, from traditional 'ulamā', had persuaded the government to found such a ministry on January 3, 1946, in accordance with a proposal to the central Komite Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Committee) on November 11, 1945.[71] Its existence, however, was viewed with mixed feelings by Christian politicians as well as by some Muslims. The latter Muslims, mostly urban politicians, believed that the establishment of the ministry was no more than an attempt by the government to win the full support from Islamic groups, which had been disappointed that the stipulation concerning the Islamic sharī'ah had been dropped from the Jakarta Charter, and that the ideal of a state based on Islam was no longer possible.[72] For Christian leaders, on the contrary, this institution was seen as a way for Muslims to recall their dream of Islamic state in Indonesia. It was suspected to be a means the Muslims, as the largest religious group, to promote Islam as the state's sole religion, which accordingly would threaten the freedom of religion and religious tolerance.[73] It was therefore seen as important for the government to establish the boundaries between state authority and religion.[74] Latuharhary, for instance, declared that the ministry would only create "uneasy feelings" and "disunity" among the people. To him, if the minister were a Christian, the Muslims would natu-

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[70]Deliar Noer, *Administration of Islam in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, 1978), 11.

[71]Noer, *Administration of Islam*, 8-9.

[72]Noer, *Administration of Islam*, 12-13.

[73]Wawer, *Muslime und Christien*, 144-145.

[74]Wawer, *Muslime und Christien*, 144.

rally be dissatisfied. Conversely, if the minister were a Muslim, the Christian community would be unhappy.[75] Moreover, Christians already felt that their needs were served by similar institution, e.g., the Indonesian Council of Protestant Churches and the Indonesian Supreme Council of Catholic Churches, which were financially sound and well organized,[76] while others believed that the establishment of the ministry would indeed contradict the noble idea of Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa (God's Divine Omnipotence), as is stated in the first principle of the Pancasila.

Closer examination shows that the contradiction is in the application of Divine Omnipotence. As the establishment of the Ministry of Religious Affairs is an attempt to apply this principle of Divine Omnipotence, a valid question may be raised, namely, whether the establishment of the Ministry of Religious Affairs basically is not a deviation from the general concept of Deity as contained in the Constitution of the Indonesian Republic. Knowing that the proportional majority of the population having a religious affiliation will exert a prevailing influence in the most areas of the national life, is it not contradictory for freedom among the inhabitants of the country, to create any scheme in the government that will endanger the application of the principle of Divine Omnipotence? Any administrative organ which gives room in the society for the prevailing influence of one single social group will ultimately be a tool that helps foster a social pressure upon other groups in the society. Therefore, if the government itself helps to create an atmosphere of this kind through a government scheme, this way of working - that is, the way of applying the principle of Divine Omnipotence in the society through a

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[75]Muhammad Yamin, *Naskah Persiapan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*, vol. 1 (Jakarta: Jajasa Prapantja, 1959), 457 as is quoted by Noer, *Administration of Islam*, 11.

[76]Noer, *Administration of Islam*, 14.

> government organ - will eventually be a definite scheme to con-
> tradict the religious tolerance that government wants to preserve
> as the main pillar of the state... These facts lead us to an observa-
> tion that the establishment of the Ministry of Religious Affairs
> conditions the majority of the people on Indonesia to a way of
> life in which Islam is considered to be the religion of the state,
> even if it is not specifically mentioned in the Constitution.[77]

As far as practical Muslim-Christian relations are con-
cerned, political development brought the two communi-
ties to espouse a common cause, i.e., the struggle for in-
dependence. Despite the Muslim activists' dream of an Is-
lamic state and indigenous Christian concerns about their
place in a new Indonesia, both Muslim and Christian com-
munities joined the diplomatic and military struggle for
Indonesian independence. Muslim-Christian antagonisms
were transformed into a feeling of unity due to the ur-
gency of the task and the fact that both groups saw their
cause as a struggle for the country and for religion.[78] At
this juncture, therefore, the relations between the two com-
munities turned in a more cordial direction.

However, as soon as the situation was more stable, reli-
gious polemics and debates, which had been muted to that
point, were re-ignited. This time, however, the principal
Muslim protagonists were not from the traditional *'ulamā'*
class but were mostly urban-based Muslims educated in
modern schools and familiar with Dutch, Germany and En-
glish literature. These urban-educated Muslims were, ironi-

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[77]Sidjabat, *Religious Tolerance*, 60.

[78]Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Is-
lam under the Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945* (The Hague: Van Hoeve,
1958), 176.

cally, indirect products of the Ethical Policy that improved educational opportunities for some Indonesians. Consequently, those who gained access to this system and stayed with the system through higher education, emerged as a modern Indonesia elite. Among them were a number of devout Muslims such as M. Natsir and Agus Salim.

Insofar as Muslim-Christian relations were concerned, their education allowed this new group of scholars familiarize themselves the course of Christian theology over the previous century. Needless to say that since the nineteenth century and onward, despite the strong spirit of evangelization that had started to gain ground in Christianity, religious doctrine had become the subject of much analysis and criticism. During that century, Biblical criticism and the emphasis on the rational analysis of religion, influenced by the spirit of the Enlightenment, had been vigorously adopted in European universities and churches.[79]

Hence, Christian scholars and theologians at the time began had began examining the stories of miracles and historical events in the Bible, and investigating all the historical evidence provided by the Holy Scriptures concerning the trinity, the divinity of Jesus Christ, his crucifixion and the resurrection in the light of rational scientific thought. As a result, many Christian doctrines were labeled as obsolete, dubious or even superstitious. Furthermore, a number of Christian authors were willing to admit to the

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[79]Christine Schirrmacher, "Muslim Apologetics and The Agra Debates of 1854: A Nineteenth Century Turning Point," *The Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies* 13, no. 1 (1) (January-June 1994): 78-79.

imperfections of some of their religious teachings. Some even went so far as to reject the Christian faith in its entirety or, at least, to view its dogma in a skeptical light. Davidson outlines the results of the Biblical Criticism as follows:

> The story of Adam and Eve, upon which most people believe the Christian doctrine of original sin to depend, could no longer be regarded as historical. The early chapters of Genesis, which were generally taken to be an authentic account of the origin of the human race, and of civilization, and of the activities of some outstanding personalities early in the history of the Jewish people, were dissolved into a medley of legends, folk-myths, primitive sagas and remnants of early cults comparable to similar material observable in other cultures.... It became impossible to believe in the miracles recorded in the Old Testament. The prophets were transformed from being mysterious predictors of the life of Jesus Christ and the early Church into political commentators upon the events of their own day.... The theology of the epistles of the New Testament, and especially those of Paul, was rigorously scrutinized and the question was raised sharply as to whether the great classical dogmas of the Church –the doctrine of the Trinity, of the Incarnation and of the Atonement– could honestly be based upon the witness of the New Testament... In short, the whole question of the authority of the Bible was raised anew and forced upon the attention of thinking people in the most radical fashion.[80]

Not surprisingly, some Muslims took advantage of this critical trend, and enthusiastically welcomed these doubts concerning Christian dogma. They used these doubts to affirm that Islam was the true interpretation of God's mes-

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[80]Robert Davidson and Leaney, *Biblical Criticism*, ed. R.P.C. Hanson (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1970), 11-12.

sage and that Christianity had been corrupted over the course of time. Consequently, from that time on, Muslims no longer bothered to defend Islam simply by evaluating Christian doctrine in the traditional way, as had been the practice of earlier scholars like al-Ghazālī or Ibn Ḥazm, but took advantage of the recent developments in Biblical criticism which had introduced a more open and historical approach to the study of Christianity. A glaring example of this trend is to be found in the writings of a prominent Indian apologist, al-Kairānāwī, in his *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*.[81] Similar strategies were later adopted by the Egyptians Muḥammad 'Abduh and Sayyid Qutb.[82]

Indeed, the influence of erudite Muslim writers, from all parts of the Muslim world, can be blatantly discerned in the arguments of fellow Indonesian Muslims concerning the presence of Christianity in the archipelago. Feeling threarened by he consolidation of the Christian community, Indonesian Muslims welcomed the results of Biblical criticism. Geared to a Muslim audience, these works aimed at preventing Indonesian Muslims from abandoning their own religion and at convincing some Christians of the 'error' of their doctrines. For Indonesians, the possibly of easy access to such works, written either by Muslim scholars or Christian theologians, represented a new tool with which to combat missionary activity

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[81]Raḥmat Allah al-Hindī al-Kairanawi, *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*, ed. Aḥmad Hijazī al-Saqqa (Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Turāth, 1977).

[82]Muḥammad 'Abduh, "Al-Islām wa al-Naṣrāniyya" in *Al-A 'māl al-Kāmila li al-Imām Muḥammad 'Abduh*, ed. Muḥammad 'Imāra (Beirut, n.p., 1972). See also, Sayyid Qutb, *Fī Zilāl al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Ma'had al-Buḥūth al-Islāmī, 1980).

The new attitude towards the use of Biblical criticism is well represented in the works of Hasbullah Bakry and O. Hashem. One of Bakry's works, *Jesus Christ in the Qur'an Muhammad in the Bible,*[83] first published in 1959, was a rebuttal to F.L. Bakker, a prominent native-Dutch scholar, who wrote *Lord Jesus in the Religion of Islam,* which appeared in 1957.[84] Bakker's work, according to Muslim circles, was intended to convince Indonesian readers of the influence of Christian doctrines upon Muhammad when Islam came into being in the seventh century; and that Muhammad's imagination had led him to believe that he was a messenger to Arabs, as Moses had been for the Jews and Jesus had been for all humankind.[85] This publication opened wide the gates of academic polemic between Indonesian Muslims and Christians in the post colonial era and provoked Bakry, who was a former lecturer on comparative religions at the Sekolah Pendidikan Hakim Islam Negeri (National Islamic Judicial School) of Jogjakarta, to respond.[86]

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[83]Hasbullah Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an Muhammad dalam Bible* (Solo: Siti Syamsiah, 1959). An English translation was recently printed in Malaysia: *Jesus Christ in the Qur'an Muhammad in Bible* (Kuala Lumpur: S. Abdul Majeed & Co., 1990).

[84]F.L. Bakker, *Tuhan Yesus dalam Agama Islam* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1957).

[85]Bakker, *Tuhan Yesus,* 4; 15; 17.

[86]There is scant information regarding Bakry's biographical record except for the fact that he was born in Palembang on the 25th of July 1926 into an educated religious family. His father, K.H. Muhammad Bakry, was a prominent *'alim* who owned *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) in Muaradua Palembang, South Sumatra. He received a classical education in his father's *pesantren* before attending a junior high school in 1944. From there, he went on to become a student of the Islamic law department at the State Center for Higher Education in

Like Haanie before him, Bakry's response was typical
of a new intellectual genre in Muslim-Christian polemics.
His reply to Bakker is a good exemple of the new methods
of refuting Christian doctrine on the basis of biblical criti-
cism and critical literature. To modern Muslim apologists
like Bakry, the counterattack was necessary to refute
charges made by Christian writers and to cushion their
impact, particularly on nominal Muslims. As well, it was
meant to draw the attention of Muslim families who were
about to adopt the Christian faith and remind them the
"errors" of Christianity. Bakry's was especially concerned
to provide an effective tool for Muslim parents in giving
advise for their children who stayed far away from their
parents, far away from Islamic milieu but close to Chris-
tian influences. Finally, it was also meant to appeal to Chris-
tians and to encourage them to adopt Islam.[87] In some
respects, this publication did much to restore Muslim self-
confidence after it had been eroded by long years of mis-
sionary activism. As Boland puts it, Bakry was in a state
of "uneasiness about the fact that hundreds, nay thousands,
of young Muslims [had] gone over to Christianity since
leadership of Churches and Missions was transferred from
foreigners to Indonesian [Christian] hands."[88]

Islamic studies *(Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri [PTAIN])* in
Jogjakarta. During the Japanese occupation, Bakry became very active
in PETA (Perwira Gyugun) which led him to his becoming a military
official in post independence era. He was later to occupy the prestigious
position of councilor for Pusroh POLRI (the center for the spiritual care
of the Indonesian Police), a position which he held until he retired.
[87]Hasbullah Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 167-168.
[88]Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*, 228-229.

Bakry covered a wide range of topics, and exhibited a high degree of knowledge about Christian doctrines, displaying a certain measure of acquaintance with the text of the Bible itself. Indeed, in this book, he not only challenges Bakker's notions regarding Muhammad, but also tackles fundamental elements of Christian dogma. Two main subjects appear to be at play in his work: the Trinity with its connection to the divinity of Jesus; and the possible reference to Muhammad in the Holy Scripture.[89] A few other subjects are discussed, albeit in brief, like the deviations of Christian theologians and ritual performance. Nevertheless, no other subject is treated as fully as these two fundamental questions.

Bakry's way of understanding Christianity is characterized by a close scrutiny of Christian beliefs, in which he did not separate Biblical interpretation from his own intellectual reading of the Qur'anic verses on Christianity.[90] His approach, like that of many other Muslim scholars was to accept Biblical text when it agreed with the Qur'an, but reject it when discrepancies appeared between the two, preferring the Qur'an instead.[91]

Thus, using the Qur'anic vision of the Bible, Bakry argued that the concept of the Trinity did not originate in

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[89] Hasbullah Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 73-83; 111-127.

[90] See also his other book *Al-Qur'an Sebagai Korektor Terhadap Taurat dan Injil* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1966), 4-17.

[91] For more details see, Andrew Rippin, "Interpreting the Bible through the Qur'ān," in *Approaches to the Qur'ān*, eds. G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (London: Routledge, 1993), 249-151. Another example may be found in David Thomas' article, "The Bible in Early Muslim Anti-Christian Polemic," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7, no.1 (1996): 29-38.

the teaching of Jesus and that he himself was only an ordinary human being sent by God to the Israelites.[92] Therefore, with the Trinity dismissed as a logical contradiction due to its multiple divine entities and its ambiguity, the divinity of Jesus was declared to be a deviation from the strict monotheistic teachings to which Muslims adhere.

Moreover, his position on the divinity of Jesus was gained support in a number of publications written by European scholars and rationalists like Van Onck and Joseph Priestly. He simply agreed with Van Onck's who in his *Islam de Kracht die de Wereld der Moslims beweegt,* defined the doctrine as a *"teori ketuhanan yang licik semata-mata"* (a subtle theological theory) and as an incomplete and unconvincing problem for Christian theologians.[93] Besides the logical contradictions inherent in this doctrine, he further argued, the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus had been proven to be ahistorical and even unknown in the early stages of Christianity. Bakry asserted that it was an innovation introduced by Paul, a convert from Judaism. Thus, because the concept was not introduced by Jesus himself, he maintained, it might have been challenged by those devout Christians who tried to adhere to 'authentic' Christian teachings, and who believed that Jesus taught that no one is to be invoked besides the Heavenly Father.[94]

Moreover, in assessing the reliability of the Biblical descriptions of the last prophet, Bakry maintained a position which set him apart from the early Muslim scholars who

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[92]Hasbullah Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 35-40.

[93]Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 73.

[94]See Hasbullah Bakry, *Pandangan Islam Tentang Kristen di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Firdaus, 1984), 35.

believed that Muhammad's description had been "glued"[95] or excluded from the scriptures.[96] His position was somewhat two-sided. It delivered, on the one hand, a strong accusation against the Christians for concealing, distorting and falsifying the Scriptures. On the other hand, he held that certain Biblical verses were authentic, especially those deemed to herald the coming of Muhammad and the rise of Islam. Those verses, not surprisingly, according to Bakry, are truthful and accurate divine revelations.[97]

This tendency to use Biblical material may be seen in his citations of several Biblical verses, which were quoted in an almost literal fashion. For instance, he relied on Deuteronomy 18: 17-22, Isaiah 42:1 and 4, Jeremiah 31: 31-32, Daniel 2: 38-45, Malachi 3: 1-2 from the Old Testament as well as Matthew 3: 1-3 and 4: 17, and Mark 1: 14-15 from the New Testament and utilized them as his major discussion points on the prophecy of Muhammad.[98] This, however, was no more than a continuation of the medieval polemic that had started centuries before him. Moreover, it is quite obvious that the biblical verses chosen were not quoted for their narrative or historical significance, but for the purpose of convincing Muslims especially in emphasizing the notion that Islam is the last religion and that Muhammad was the last messenger sent by God. His at-

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[95]Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 19-49.

[96]See David Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), chapter 2 passim.

[97]This attitude can be gleaned from his analysis of the Qur'anic verses dealing with Mary and Jesus Christ (Chapter 1) and the verification of the New Testament by the Qur'an (Chapter 2). See Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 1-33.

[98]Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 98-114 and 117-144.

tention to the texts supposedly referring to Muhammad, therefore, was designed to reinforce Muslim convictions rather than ascertain historical veracity.

While Bakry's method of interpretation was hardly regarded as novel, his extensive quotations from the Bible and his straightforward analysis of its verses, was seen as an interesting and new development in the history of polemical interfaith writings. A brief example of Bakry's originality in the genre concerned with the refutation of Christianity in Indonesia, is found in his "Islamic interpretation" of Deuteronomy 18: 17 *('prophet from among their brethren')*:

> This explains that the prophesied Prophet would rise from among the brothers of the Israelites but does not belong to the Israelites themselves. One of the brothers of Israel was Ismail (the founder of the Arabs), because Ismail was the elder brother of Isaac the father of Israel (Jacob). And the Prophet Muhammad clearly belonged to the Ismailites (sons of Ismail)."[99]

Furthermore, in explaining Biblical references on the coming of Muhammad, Bakry laid particular emphasis on those "promising texts" which he deemed authentic. His interpretation of John 14: 16 *('He will give you another counselor to be with you for ever')* is, then, worth quoting:

> It means that the counselor will be the last prophet, and no other counselor will appear after his coming, and can bring a new law. And the religious laws of that counselor will be valid until Doomsday. That prophet will be the last prophet *(khatam al-nabiyyīn)* whose laws will regulate the needs of mankind until eternity.[100]

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[99]Bakry. *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 99.
[100]Bakry. *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 154-156.

In this framework, Bakry's response to Bakker's work is of considerable value to our understanding of the Muslim-Christians polemic in the later period. He built a 'negative' illustration of Christianity to affirm the 'positive' one of Islam as the true religion. With regard to Bakker's notion that at the beginning of the mission it came to Muhammad's imagination that he had been sent as an apostle to the Arabs, like Moses to the Israelites and Jesus to the Christians, Bakry's argument is worth quoting:

> Our answer runs [as follows]: in his own words, Dr. Bakker is already not *objective*. The people of Arabia truly exist, so do the people of Israel, but *where* do the people of Christianity [come from]? When we speak about the *Moslem people* or the *Christian people*, then we mean by that the people who *adhere to the Moslem faith* or those who *adhere the Christian faith*. About the prophet Muhammad being sent to the people of Arabia, we ask: Where is the verse, one verse, in the Qur'an, which can be used as an argument for it? None! The prophet Muhammad was, according to the Qur'an, sent to all mankind as the Last Prophet, as was prophesied by prophets and apostles previously sent to their own peoples in particular.[101]

In rebuttal to the accusation that Muhammad knew nothing of the scriptural formulation of the Trinity and misrepresented Christians as worshippers of God, Jesus and Mary, Bakry said:

> It is true that the prophet Muhammad did not know the Trinity according to scriptural formulation, just as Jesus himself did not know the Trinity according to scripture. So also the prophet Abraham, for whom the Trinity was merely a speculative formulation of

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[101]Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 94.

Athanasius himself. If God has the attributes of the Trinity, why did the prophets of the Old Testament not mention it? Had the God, the One God of the Old Testament changed Himself into the God of the Trinity in the New Testament? Impossible. Moreover Jesus himself did not preach about the Trinity in the New Testament.[102]

Moreover, in refuting the divine nature of Jesus, Bakry did not restrict his defense to the mere devaluation of the Christian dogma by simply praising Islam. Rather, he made use of the story of Michael Servetius, who had lost his faith in the Trinity, and called the believers in Trinity trinitarians and atheists.[103] He also mentioned the letter of testimony from Adam Nueser, a former preacher in Heidelberg Germany, who embraced Islam and sought protection under Sultan Salim II of Turkey (1566-1574). Similarly, he quoted a passage from Joseph Priestly's *History of the Corruption of Christianity* which identified five principles of Christian corruption.[104] Furthermore, quoting modern Christian theologians of unitarianism, Bakry argued that the doctrine concerning the divinity of Jesus Christ taught by Paul, John and the councils of Nicaea, Ephesus and Chalcedon was not that which Jesus taught but that which the Christian conscience conceived concerning Jesus Christ.[105]

Another book worth examining from the wealth of polemical literature is O. Hashem's *Monotheism: A Scientific Explanation.*[106] Hashem too focused on the divinity

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[102]Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 95.

[103]Hasbullah Bakry, *Pandangan Islam*, 31-33.

[104]Bakry, *Pandangan Islam*, 37-39.

[105]Bakry, *Pandangan Islam*, 40-41.

[106]O. Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan: Sebuah Pembahasan Ilmiah*(Surabaya: JAPI, 1962).

of Jesus to the exclusion of other important subjects such as the "fabrication" of the Bible,[107] or the "influence" of Hindu and Buddhist tenets on Christianity.[108] He began his work by expressing admiration for the development of science and for a rational approach to religion and the consequent appraisal in the light of scientific discoveries. Religion, he believed, should be parallel with the sciences and vise versa. One would be guilty of an intellectual fallacy if, Hashem reasoned, one takes what religion says and avoids what science discovers. The same is true when the opposite occurs. Quoting Fulton J. Sheen's *God and Intelligence*, Hashem went further in asserting that a denial of the intellect is a denial of the infinitely perfect God, and a denial of the infinitely perfect God a denial of the intellect. The two problems are accordingly inseparable.[109] Hence, he believed that science could prove what is contradictory to the senses and would disprove the fallacy of "polytheism".

On the basis of this, Hashem began examining the doctrine of the Trinity and concluded it to be a hopelessly obscure doctrine and contrary to reason. It was not, he said quoting Crane Brinton from *The Shaping of Modern Mind* (sic!),[110] a respectably arithmetical system, since it accepted that three could be three and at the same time one.[111] To Hashem, it is not a tenable mathematical proposition to suggest that three can also equal one.

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[107]Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan,* 56-60.

[108]Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan,* 18-28.

[109]Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan,* 4-5.

[110]The original title of Brinton's book is *The Shaping of Modern Thought* (New York: Spectrum Book, 1963).

Hashem's analysis of the doctrine of the Trinity reiterated the common Muslim view that Jesus was not the son of God and that an abundant number of biblical verses maintained that divinity was not an attribute of Jesus. He mentioned Luke 3: 38 which names the son of Enoch, the son of Seth, and the son of Adam as a son of God; Hebrew 7: 3 which considers Melchizedek, king of Salem, without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life but made like the Son of God; Jeremiah 31: 9, which names Ephraim as God's firstborn; John 1: 12 which proclaims all believers as children of God; and Exodus 4: 22 naming Israel as God's firstborn son.[112] For Hashem, these biblical verses posed serious problem for the consistency of the sonship of Jesus as a dogma.

Logically speaking, Hashem could not reconcile himself to the divinity of Jesus. He doubted the claim that, since Jesus had no human father, Jesus must be the son of God, stating that God would never have had occasion to initiate biological contact with human beings. Furthermore, since Jesus had mortal attributes such as asking God for help (Matthew 27: 46), and felt sadness (Matthew 26:38), cried (John 11:35), felt fear (Luke 22: 24) and hunger (Matthew 21: 18), these proved that Jesus could not have been divine. As such, according to Hashem, to consider Jesus both man and God at the same time is to adhere to a logical paradox and an anomaly.[113]

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[111]Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan*, 29-30.
[112]Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan*, 32-33.
[113]Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan*, 33.

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Hashem's disavowal of the doctrinal integrity of the divinity of Jesus is rooted in Islamic rational and strict monotheistic doctrine, however. The biblical verses he quoted were meant to convince his audience that Christian doctrines were themselves not strongly enough rooted in Christian scripture. As Bakry had done, Hashem did not limit his strategy to simple devaluation of Christian doctrine and praise of Islamic tenets, but invited his audience to consider the newly discovered Dead Scrolls as authentic and scientific evidence of the original Christian doctrine. He simply agreed with Charles Francis Potter, *The Lost Years of Jesus Revealed*, who once reported that:

> One thing is emerging from the study of the Scrolls - namely, that the believers, teachings, and practices of Jesus himself, although not identical in all aspects with those of the Essene school that he [Jesus] probably attended during the silent years, were apparently closer to those of the Essenes than to those of the bishops of the ecumenical council which determined the Nicene Creed of orthodox Christianity. Jesus called himself Son of Man; they called him the son of God, the second Person of the Trinity, Very God of Very God. It is most doubtful if the Essenes or Jesus himself would have agreed with that [doctrine].[114]

Hashem tried to convince his readers of the authenticity of the Scrolls even though their reliability was still in question. Agreeing with Potter, he claimed that the discoveries would result in major corrections to the Old Testament and that other important doctrines were also due to be changed radically and eventually eliminated, including the doctrine of the Holy Spirit of the Trinity.[115] Ac-

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[114]Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan*, 76-77.
[115]Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan*, 78.

cordingly, argued Hashem, the doctrine of the Trinity was an invention of the early Christians since no valid scriptural evidence can be found to support it. The one verse which does, however, is 1 John 5: 7, which, he hypothesized, was inserted at a later date by early Christians to support the existence of the dogma.[116]

To conclude, the Muslim Christian polemics in Indonesia were greatly influenced by similar discussions in other parts of the Muslim world. Indeed, the influence of erudite Muslim writers, from all parts of the Muslim world, can clearly be discerned in the writings of Indonesian Muslims. Written for a Muslim audience and at a particular point in time, the works described above sought to prevent loss of faith among Indonesian Muslims. Although they represent a unique response to the intrusive Christian proselytization of the archipelago in their respective eras to which their reaction should be understood in the context of the complex relationship existing between the two communities over the centuries and in relation to the defensive posture Muslims had been forced to adopt in the face of a conquering foreign power wielding religion as one of its weapons.

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[116]Hashem, *Keesaan Tuhan*, 79.

Ismatu Ropi

CHAPTER III

MUSLIM RESPONSES TO CHRISTIANITY
IN NEW ORDER INDONESIA

A. Islam and Christianity
in the Beginning of the New Order Era

There is sufficient evidence that the marked hostile re-
lations between Islam and Christianity date back to their
early contacts and reached their peaks in the beginning of
the New Order Indonesia. In the early of the 1960s, there
was a pamphlet circulated among Muslims warning them
about a scheme to Christianize Java within twenty-five
years and Indonesia in fifty.[1]

The journal *Suara Muhammadijah* included excerpts
from this blueprint, which was claimed to be one of con-
ference papers of both Roman Catholic and Protestant
churches held in Malang East Java. The alleged blueprint
described how missionaries should achieve their goal. Some
of the measures listed were to increase the number of Chris-

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[1]Umar Hasyim, *Toleransi dan Kemerdekaan dalam Islam Sebagai
Dasar Menuju Dialog dan Kerukunan Antar Agama* (Surabaya: PT. Bina
Ilmu, 1977), 270.

tian schools; to accept only Christian students for secondary and high schools; to open seminaries in the Muslim cities; to encourage Christian males to marry Muslim females; to ask devout Christian females to marry non-practicing Muslim males; to invite the children from nominal Muslim families to attend Christian schools; to build Christian clinics, hospitals and orphanages; to supply the Arabic version of the Bible for those familiar with the Arabic language; to provide money and important positions for Muslim politicians; to build churches close to mosques in order to challenge *Muhammadiyah* and *Persis*; and to suspend any regulation appealing Christian students to attend state schools.[2]

Although the reliability of this pamphlet is, questionable,[3] some Muslims responded with clear hostility. A notable Islamic journal, *Panji Masjarakat*, launched a detailed report on the pamphlet, while cynically lamenting it as an inapt effort by *saudara sebangsa* (own brothers from same nation), with full support from foreign evangelists intent on continuing colonialism under the banner of religion.[4] Some Islamic organizations released some publications on this issue aimed at increasing awareness among Muslims

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[2]*Suara Muhammadijah* 25, no. 35 (1963): 5; von Wendelin Wawer, *Muslime und Christien in der Republik Indonesia* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974), 218-219; Bisjron A. Wardy, *Memahami Kegiatan Nasrani*(Jogjakata: Muhammadijah, 1964); and Umar Hasyim, *Toleransi dan Kemerdekaan*, 270-273.

[3]Some outstanding Christian leaders questioned the reliability of this pamphlet and completely ignored. See Wawer, *Muslime und Christien*, 235.

[4]*Panji Masjarakat* 17, no. 1 (1967): 4; Wawer, *Muslime und Christien*, 234-235.

concerning the threat of Christian missionary activities in Java.[5]

The pamphlet had undoubtedly far-reaching effects throughout the Muslim countries. In 1978, at the congress of the *Rabītah 'Alām al-Islāmī* in Pakistan, the general secretary of the organization, wrote a letter to Buya Hamka, a prominent Indonesian Muslim scholar, throwing doubt on the issue and inviting him to give a clear explanation.[6]

The conflict that flared up between Muslims and Christians was fueled by the growing social, economic, political chaos, as by late 1965, there was an attempted coup, best known as the *Gerakan 30 September* ("G30S" or Movement of September 30th). In that coup, six higher-rank generals of the Indonesia army's central high command were brutally murdered.[7] An anticommunist fraction of the army, together with Muslim youths then successfully crushed the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* ("PKI" or Indonesian Communist Party), which they accused of being the main actor in the coup, and in its turn they forced the first President of Indonesia, Sukarno, who had long-been

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[5]Hasyim, *Toleransi dan Kemerdekaan*, 272.

[6]Hasyim, *Toleransi dan Kemerdekaan*, 272-273.

[7]There are many versions of who the real actors of this attempted coup were. The public in Indonesia saw the PKI as the main actors, while some saw it as an internal conflict within Indonesian army. See, Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1978); Benedict R. Anderson and Ruth McVey, *Preliminary Analysis of the October 1965 Coup in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1971); Caldwell and Utrecht, *Indonesia: An Alternative History* (Sidney: Alternative Publishing Cooperative Limited, 1979); and Brian May, *The Indonesia Tragedy*(London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).

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suspected for inclination with the communism, to pass authority over to Soeharto who thus transformed this limited conferment of authority instrument to dissolute the PKI and its affiliated organizations, and to declare its total disappearance in the country.[8]

After the aborted bloody communist coup in 1965, the army-backed government and Muslim circles formed a temporary alliance to eradicate communist influences in every aspect of Indonesian life. In this anticommunist atmosphere, religion was the important identity for everyone. Religion, in this heated situation, was an important identity in order to be distinguished from the PKI and to run the risk of being penalized for death or imprisonment.[9] That why many ex-members of the Communist Party and others believed to be communist sympathizers sought to save themselves and their families by joining any religion but Islam; and they found it readily in the Christian churches.[10] Their choice of Christianity seemed logical, since for they knew that Muslims and the army were working together in hurting down Communist Party members. Therefore, as Geertz adduced, among the leftists in general, there was then "a fairly deep anti-Muslim reaction, which had been strengthened by the fact that Muslim youth groups had been so active, whether autonomously or as

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[8]Hamish McDonald. *Soeharto's Indonesia* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 66-67.

[9]Clifford Geertz, "Religious Change and Social Order in Soeharto's Indonesia," *Asia* 27 (Autumn 1972): 68-69.

[10]See Martin Goldsmith, *Islam and Christian Witness* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1982), 144-145. Compare to Avery T. William Jr., *Indonesia Revival: Why Two Million Came to Christ* (California: William Carey Library, 1978), 102-104.

agents of the army, in the killing."[11] In the same token, for some *abangans* (nominal Muslim) who had supported communism, or at least were religiously neutral, and the animists who had no official religion, going over to Christianity seemed more appealing than returning to or professing Islam.[12]

The rise of Soeharto under the New Order was endorsed by Muslim political leaders, whose parties had been banned by Sukarno. Their hope was that Soeharto would share power with them and restore their religiously based parties. However, Soeharto was reluctant to make another alliance with Muslim circles. Two things are certain. The first is that beside the army which backed him had predominantly Christian generals and, as Mody pointed out, *abangans* (nominal Muslims) belonged to the Javanese cultural tradition who regarded the *santri* (devout Muslims) as hostile to its syncretic cultural tradition; and the second is that Soeharto called for political stability to overwhelm the increased inflation, foreign loans and a collapsing economy left by Sukarno regime.[13] Thus, Soeharto believed that some Muslim leaders played a significant role in turmoil under the previous regime as in the cases of the *Pemerintahan*

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[11]Clifford Geertz, "Religious Change and Social Order in Soeharto's Indonesia," 68. The estimate of communist members and their supporters killed varied greatly ranging from 160,000 to 500,000 according numerous versions. More information see Brian May, *The Indonesia Tragedy*, 120.

[12]John Roxborough, "Context and Continuity: Regional Patterns in the History of Southeast Asian Christianity," *Asian Journal of Theology* 9, no. 1 (1995): 41. See also Wawer, *Muslime*, 221-222.

[13]Nawaz B. Mody, *Indonesia under Soeharto* (New York: Apt Books, 1987), 151-153.

Revolusioner Republik Indonesia ("PRRI", or Indonesian Revolutionary Government), from 1958 to 1961;[14] Kartosoewirjo's *Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* ("DI/ TII", or Islamic State/Indonesian Islamic Army) by during the 1950s and the 1960s,[15] and what was known as the half-rebellion of Kahar Muzakkar's *Permesta* in South Sulawesi.[16] This led him to be suspicious that if he restored their parties, they would someday again acquire enough sympathizers to foment revolt against the government.

Soeharto decided to refuse the rehabilitation of *Masjumi*, which was banned by Sukarno in 1960, and to oversee the return of its principal leaders into political life. This was logical, given his fear the return of *Masjumi* and influential Muslim political figures would create fierce ideological disputes and ultimately civil strife. He knew that this party had strong, uncompromising, grass root support.[17] Although he later permitted the initiation of the *Partai Muslimin Indonesia* ("Parmusi" or Indonesian Muslim Party), for some Muslim politicians, it was no more than a government-oriented party that voiced government interests.[18]

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[14]B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1982), 99-105.

[15]An extensive study is well done by Karl D. Jackson, *Tradition Authority, Islam and Rebellion: A Study of Indonesia Political Behavior* (California: University of California Press, 1980). See also Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 54-62.

[16]See Barbara S. Harvey, *Permesta: A Half Rebellion* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1977).

[17]Alan A. Samson, "Army and Islam in Indonesia," *Asian Survey* 4, no. 4 (Winter 1971-1972): 545-547.

[18]On Parmusi see K.E. Ward, *The Foundation of Partai Muslimin Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1970).

In spite of reviving mass political participation,
Soeharto, not surprisingly, concentrated on economic de-
velopment for Indonesia. Hitherto, he insisted that
Pancasila be accepted as the sole ideology and invented
pragmatism, depoliticization, and economic development
into the new vocabulary of Indonesian life.[19] To achieve
its goals, his government needed not only the absolute
loyalty and support of the society, but fabricated Pancasila
as a civil "religion" for Indonesians.[20]

Heated relations between the Muslim leaders and the
New Order government ensued correspondingly as the soil
of the government policy concerning religious life. As its
part of anticommunist weapons, the Soeharto's govern-
ment officially implemented a religio-political policy which
gave it the room to heavy handedly encourage all Indone-
sians, including ex-members of the moribund Communist
Party, to adhere to one of the five state-recognized reli-
gions, namely Islam, Catholic, Protestant, Hinduism, and
Buddhism. It was, as William Liddle put it, the beginning
of the era from which Soeharto promoted the personal pi-
ety and opposed to the politicization of religion resembled,

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[19]Harold Crouch, "The Trend to Authoritarianism: The Post-1945
Period," in *The Development of Indonesian Society From the Coming
of Islam to the Present Day,* ed. Harry Aveling (New York: St. Martin's
Press, 1980): 166-204.

[20]For a detailed and comprehensive analysis based on the "Bellahian"
see Susan Seldon Purdy. "Legitimization of Power and Authority in a
Pluralistic State: Pancasila and Civil Religion in Indonesia" (Ph.D. dis-
sertation Columbia University, 1985). See also Eka Darmaputera,
*Pancasila and the Search for Identity and Modernity in Indonesian So-
ciety*(Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

to some extent, Snouck Hurgronje's proposal to the colonial government aimed at limiting Islamic activities.[21]

The decision to repudiate the rehabilitation of Islamic parties in its turn allowed the government to control the return of Muslim leaders into the political arena. However, the policy encouraging personal piety evidently became an instant source of religious battle among religious activists in Indonesia particularly between Muslims and Christians. Inasmuch as the relations between the two communities are concerned, Muslims had to deal directly with more aggressive missionaries which the government policy permitted and it seemed to many Muslims that there was a plan in to christianize Indonesia.

The position of the churches in the political upheaval after the abortive coup of the PKI is debatable. Although some Christians admitted that their religious duty was for "the Gospel to be preached to all men" (Matthew 28:19), what they had done was not strictly theological. They claimed to act in accordance with noble humanitarianism to save human beings from unjust Muslim persecution or killing without trial.[22] Since this resulted in the tremendous growth in church membership, some missionaries argued that mass conversion should be seen as a logical consequence of the government policy to encourage every single citizen to adhere to or to tolerate changing their

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[21]R. William Liddle, "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (August 1996): 621-622.

[22]R.A.F. Paul Webb, "The View from Australia: Christian and Muslim in Contemporary Indonesia," *Asia Journal of Theology* 2, no. 2 (1988): 396-397.

beliefs whatever and whenever they wanted.[23] On the contrary, Muslims viewed the protection offered by the churches to ex-communists and *abangans* on the condition they changed their belief, "fishing in troubled water" which they took advantage in political turmoil at the expense of Islam.[24]

Consequently, a stream of apologetic and polemical works from both communities appeared. These works supported theological legitimacy of the actions of their respective communities. The Muslim response, in the form of books, pamphlets and articles varied. It ranged from direct answers to the missionaries' arguments for the theological justification on Christian doctrines, to uncovering their proselytizing methods. Since their goal was to make theological defense, not surprisingly, many of these works depended heavily on sources which were unrecognizable and unacceptable to Christian circles.[25] For instance, many

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[23]As Roxborough noted, the membership of churches after the political chaos grew tremendously by more than 2.5 million new adherents in five years. Within forty years, statistic portion of Christian population increased from 2.8 percent to 7.4 percent. Roxborough, "Context and Continuity," 41.

[24]Alwi Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement and its Controversy with Christian Mission" (Ph.D. dissertation Temple University, 1995), 306-307. Compare to Webb, "The View from Australia," 397. Later, as Bambang Pranowo found in his recent research on the ex-communist home-base in the surrounding Merapi-Merbabu villages, their embrace of Christianity and Hinduism should be questioned, for many of them returned into their religious origins, especially Islam. Most were not uncomfortable with the way of Christians conducting their "religious performance" like singing. Bambang Pranowo, "Islam and Party Politics in Rural Java," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 2, (1994): 3-19.

[25]Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 228-229.

made use of the Gospel of Barnabas, which claimed as a more authentic record of Jesus' life and teachings than that offered by the four canonical Gospels.[26] The translation of this gospel had an impact on Indonesian public and was intended "to cease fanatical attitude in the manner of searching religious truth; to verify the reliability of religion adhered; and to void the generalization that all religions are true but only differ in its implementation."[27]

Thus, to fulfill their primarily apologetic function, many of these popular books were unfortunately unreliable. Some were too emotional in tone, some cited no sources, and some made use of "third-hand" sources, while others depended exclusively on the works of fellow Muslims paying no particular attention to works on same issues by Christian writers. However, many works were written in more readable style as found in the works of Joesoef Sou'yb, Djarnawi Hadikusuma, Sidi Gazalba and Muhammad Rasjidi. Except for Rasjidi's, most were concerned to depict Christianity's

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[26]This Gospel originated as an Italian manuscript discovered in Amsterdam in the eighteenth century. It was translated into Arabic in earlier of this century, probably, by the Indian Rahmat Allāh al-Kairānāwī, or by the Egyptian Rashīd Ridā. Kate Zebiri, *Muslims and Christians Face to Face* (London: OneWorld, 1997). 45-46. See also Christine Schirrmacher, "Muslim Apologetics and The Agra Debates of 1854: A Nineteenth Century Turning Point," *The Bulletin of The Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies* 13, no. 1 (1) (January-June 1994), 79; and Jean-Marie Gaudeul, *Encounters and Clashes: Islam and Christianity in History*, vol. I (Rome: Pontificio Instituto di Studi Arabi e Islamici, 1990), 207-208.

[27]*Indjil Barnabas* (Bandung-Surabaya: Pelita-JAPI, 1970). See K.H. Anwar Musaddad, *Kedudukan Indjil Barnabas Menurut Islam* (Bandung: Pelita, 1970).

perception of the life of Jesus, the origin of the Trinity, the codification and abrogation of the Holy Scriptures and the foretelling of Muhammad in the Bibles.

Basing himself on the Dead Sea Scrolls and the works by modern thinkers like Ernest Renan, Joesoef Sou'yb wrote his *On the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Most Important Discoveries in the Twentieth Century.* It provided a more comprehensible construction of the early life and the teachings of Jesus.[28] His position regarding Jesus is worth mentioning. He quoted, on the one hand, excerpts from Powell Davis' *The Meaning of the Dead Scrolls* which indicated that Jesus had never actually existed;[29] an odd statement that not only rejected by Christians but also by Muslims, since the Qur'an points to the life and teachings of Jesus. On the other one, Sou'yb believed that Jesus was only a "Teacher of Righteousness" who paved the way for the coming of the "Messenger of God", who would bring a new order in the world.[30] He held that Jesus joined the Essenes, an ascetic group sworn to celibacy, and became one of its leaders.[31] The Essenes, Sou'yb adduced, had never considered him a messenger nor Divine, but rather an ordinary person.[32] Moreover, according to Sou'yb, during his life, Jesus had limited influences; his twelve followers grew up only to five thousand.[33]

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[28]Joesoef Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls: Penemuan Terbesar Dalam Adab Ke-XX* (Medan: Penerbit Intisari, 1967).

[29]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 18.

[30]It is clear, as Sou'yb argued, that the Messenger of God mentioned is the Prophet of Muhammad. Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 7.

[31]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20-23; 30-34.

[32]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 8; 24.

[33]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24.

Sou'yb then divided Christians into two categories: the *early Christians* who received the religious teachings of Jesus directly and who were not familiar with philosophical thinking; and the *gentile Christians* whom Sou'yb called the followers of Jesus living in Judea and Galilea. In the latter group were knowledgeable people with philosophical ideas.[34] The latter, Sou'yb said, were responsible for the changes in Christian doctrine, since in their period foreign elements infiltrated Christianity, which resulted in numerous Christians sects.[35]

However, some discrepancies appeared in Sou'yb's treatment of Christian sects and teachings. He seemed to confuse sects *(aliran)* such as Arianism or Athanasianism with teachings *(paham)* like celibacy and infallibility. Thus, according to him, historically, the number of Christian sects and teachings were seventeen, respectively.[36] It is interesting that Sou'yb believed that as a teaching, celibacy was part of Petrine theory of Pope Celestine I (422-432 AC). This theory, Sou'yb argued, made the Rome bishop not a mere bishop among other bishops *(episcopus inter episcopos)* but a chairman of all bishops *(episcopos episcoparum)*. As a result, Rome bishop had the legal right to maintain monarchy in Christian tradition, and this was legalized by the Vatican Council in December 8, 1869.[37]

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[34]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 15-16.

[35]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 16.

[36]According to its historical chronology, those sects and teachings, were Arianism, Athanasianism, Adoptionism, Apollinarianism, Donatism, Decetism, Eutychianism, Gnosticism, Novatianism, Nestorianism, Sabellianism, Iconism, Iconoclasm, Monotheletism, Simonism, Celibacy and Infallibility. See Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 58-68.

[37]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 68-69.

Discussing Christian doctrine, Sou'yb preferred to make use the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls as his basic point of departure, rather than the four canonical Gospels. He came to the conclusion that although the Scrolls too included baptism, the eucharist and celibacy, the Scrolls are silent on the divinity of Jesus, his incarnation, his crucifixion and his resurrection.[38] In Sou'yb's mind, not surprisingly, the Scrolls were more authentic than the canonical Gospels, since they were not corrupted by the (Gentile) Christians.[39]

On the Bible itself, Sou'yb gave considerable attention. Before 325 AD, he argued, there were many sects and teachings that resulted in the production of numerous Gospels. The Nicean Council finally chose four among them and declared the rest as unauthorized. Anyone caught circulating them was punished or even ex-communicated. These four Gospels, according to Sou'yb, then modified and revised in accordance to the *credo* of the Council.[40]

Hadikusuma's work *On the Old and New Testaments* made a detailed description of the origin of the Bible.[41] He began by praising Christians as a religious community who believed in God and received the Holy Book, and went on to discuss the origin of the Old Testament and the New Testament. He maintained that no one knew who compiled the Old Testament, and when it was codified. In the year of 515 BC, however, a Jewish council had verified

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[38]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 6; 24.

[39]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 15.

[40]Sou'yb, *Sekitar Dead Sea Scrolls*, 47.

[41]Djamawi Hadikusuma, *Di Sekitar Perjandjian Lama dan Perjandjian Baru*(Jogjakarta: Penerbit Persatuan, n.d.).

and examined all the biblical manuscripts; and then in the year of 300 BC, seventy linguists began to translate forty-eight manuscripts into Greek, which were known as the *"Septuaginta"* (the seventy). The process of translation, he added, took place in Alexandria over two hundred years, and the complete translation appeared for the first time in the year of 100 BC.[42]

Hadikusuma stated that all the books of The Old Testament were written directly by the prophets through revelation from God.[43] He gave references to the writers of all the books in the Old Testament. For instance, the book of Genesis was written by Adam, Noah and his descendants, Ishmael, Isaac, and Jacob, respectively. Moses then condensed all these into one book called Genesis, and wrote Exodus, Numbers, and others.[44] To Hadikusuma, further, because many people had written, some contradictions appeared in the Old Testament.[45]

On the codification of the New Testament, Hadikusuma listed that there were originally twenty-seven books but only twenty-one were authorized by church councils.[46] The remainder were excluded because of their inauthenticity, or because they contained which were not part of revelation, contradicted the divinity of Jesus, or contradicted

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[42]Hadikusuma, *Di Sekitar Perjandjian Lama*, 6.

[43]It seems unclear whether this statement is his own or based on his source since the bibliography is absent from his book. In the text, he only mentioned one book: *New Heaven and a New Earth* (New York: International Bible Student Association, n.d.).

[44]Hadikusuma, *Di Sekitar Perjandjian Lama*, 11-12.

[45]Hadikusuma, *Di Sekitar Perjandjian Lama*, 16-28.

[46]Hadikusuma, *Di Sekitar Perjandjian Lama*, 48.

the church doctrine.[47] Nevertheless, Hadikusuma stated that the New Testament was more important than the Old Testament for Christians. If God in the Old Testament sent his prophets to all human beings, he argued, in the New Testament God himself came down to the earth for human salvation. Therefore, according to Hadikusuma, the New Testament would be better called "the book of history" since it covered the story of God from His birth to His resurrection.[48]

The other works worth examining are Gazalba's *Dialogues Between Christian Propagandist and Logic*,[49] *Dialogues Between Christian Adventist and Islam*,[50] and *The Answers to Christian Critiques to Islam*.[51] Approaching the issues in conversational style and often using the statements of the writer he refuted, Gazalba covered many important aspects of both Christianity and Islam. The first two books are responses to Adventists on the nature of Islam, its teachings and the Qur'an. The last book answers some crucial statements made by Verkuyl in *On Christian's Faith Interpretation to Muslims*.[52]

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[47]Hadikusuma, *Di Sekitar Perjandjian Lama*, 29.

[48]Hadikusuma, *Di Sekitar Perjandjian Lama*, 29.

[49]Sidi Gazalba, *Dialog Antara Propagandis Kristen dan Logika* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1971).

[50]Sidi Gazalba, *Dialog Antara Kristen Advent dan Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1972).

[51]Sidi Gazalba, *Djawaban Atas Kritik Kristen Terhadap Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang 1971).

[52]Verkuyl, "Tentang Interpretasi Iman Kristen Kepada Orang-Orang Muslim," *Bulletin Lembaga Penjelidikan Pekabaran Indjil*, jubilee number (n.d.).

Gazalba's *Dialogues Between Christian Propagandist and Logic* consisted of fifteen conversations between him (sometimes with his wife in attendance) and Christian preachers from the Church of the Adventists, the Salvation Army and Jehovah's Witnesses who visited his home. In this book, he subtly revealed the methods which missionaries used to convert people to Christianity; some went door-to-door, visiting Muslim houses and pretending to be sellers of books on medicine or of Christian books on Darwinian theory, and preaching salvation through Christianity.[53]

Some fruitful discussions were held with topics ranging from the origin of the Bible, the Trinity, and the Omnipotence of God to life after death. The following is quoted from his discussion with Christian on the body resurrection after the death, particularly for the sinner:

Adventist (A): Those who committed sin would die forever. Death is a reward for the sinners and only through Jesus Christ could someone be resurrected and come to the Kingdom of God.

Gazalba (G): Then, there many wrongdoers would not come to the hell and many right-doers would not come to heaven.

(A) : Actually there is no heaven and hell. What exist is either death forever or living in the Kingdom of God.

(G) : So, what we commonly call heaven is living in the Kingdom of God?

(A) : It might be so. And this [salvation] would only be achieved if we believed in Jesus Christ.

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[53]Gazalba, *Dialog Antara Propagandis Kristen*, 33; 38-47; 50-51.

(G) : So, one who commits sinner but believes in Jesus Christ would come to the Kingdom of God?

(A) : According to the Bible, yes.

(G) : How about one who did not believe in Jesus Christ?

(A) : He would die forever and would never be live again.

(G) : It seems that your religion does not teach ethics nor seek right doing and forbid wrong doing.... It is lucky for the sinner because he would not be punished for his wrongdoing.

(A) : But, he would die forever, would never be resurrected and would never be live again.

(G) : That's what a sinner really wishes. After committing many sins in the world which give him some benefit and satisfaction, he would be glad not to be punished for his sins.[54]

Moreover, like many Muslim apologists, Gazalba was interested in examining the Gospels on everything from its codification to its reliability. He analyzed the history of the four canonical Gospels, and many times expressed his objection to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John because they were human-made.[55] He mentioned that initially the Gospel of Matthew was written in Arabic language but no one knew who translated it into Greek and when it was done.[56] He strongly doubted that Mark himself wrote the Gospel of Mark and surmised it that was

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[54]Gazalba, *Dialog Antara Propagandis Kristen*, 68-69.

[55]Gazalba, *Dialog Antara Kristen Advent*, 14.

[56]Gazalba, *Dialog Antara Kristen Advent*, 40.

probably written by Petrus, Mark's teacher. Furthermore, Luke was a private doctor and student of Paul who wrote the Gospel of Luke.[57] On the last Gospel, Gazalba gave more ample information. John, he said, wrote his Gospel in 96 AD in response to some Christian monks who came to him complaining that many Christians regarded Jesus only as the Messenger of God not the Son of God. The monks begged him to write a gospel justifying how Jesus was a truly God, and so he wrote his Gospel through revelation.[58]

Concerning the abrogation of the Bible, Gazalba's argument is somehow interesting. While he believed that the abrogation over times was intentionally, he also maintained that it occurred as the immediate result of translation, since many words had no equivalents in other languages.[59] Using the foreign word with different connotations, he argued, caused the Bible to be abrogated.[60]

Gazalba also argued that there were seven Biblical doctrines which caused Muslims to regard the Bible as inauthentic. Those seven doctrines were the Trinity, the original sin, the crucifixion of Jesus to save humanity, the Christian rejection of Torah teachings, the spreading of Christianity to non-Israelites, the unnecessity of circumcision and the resurrection of Jesus Christ.[61]

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[57]Gazalba, *Dialog Antara Kristen Advent*, 41; *Dialog Antara Propagandis Kristen*, 60.

[58]Gazalba, *Dialog Antara Kristen Advent*, 41.

[59]Gazalba, *Djawaban Atas Kritik*, 44.

[60]Gazalba, *Dialog Antara Kristen Advent*, 37. See also his *Djawaban Atas Kritik*, 44-46.

[61]Gazalba, *Djawaban Atas Kritik*, 20-21.

An equally important scholar who wrote some influential books and articles on the fragile relationship between Islam and Christianity in Indonesia is Muhammad Rasjidi, the former Indonesian Ambassador to Egypt and the first Minister for Religious Affairs who graduated from Sorbonne University (Paris) and taught at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University (Montreal).[62] In his spirited defense of "the faith of *ummah*", he pays little attention to destructive theological dispute on Christian doctrine, but rather concentrates on revealing the sophisticated methods adopted by missionaries in bringing new converts to their fold.

Rasjidi's message clearly aims not only at opening the Muslim's eyes about what really happened, but also at uncovering how missionaries accordingly tore Indonesia apart.[63] His concern is also to remind all Indonesians that the development initiated by the government would not be successful if religious conflicts were not firstly solved.[64] Religious conflicts, he argued, would only pave the way to a return to godless communism and drive the two communities into mutual hostility and theological opposition.

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[62]His biography is found in a special book commemorating his seventieth birthday. See, Endang Basri Ananda, ed., *70 Tahun Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi*, (Jakarta: Harian Umum Pelita, 1985).

[63]Mohammad Rasjidi, "Christian Mission in the Muslim World: The Role of Christian Missions The Indonesian Experience," *International Review of Mission* 65 (1976), 430.

[64]See Azyumardi Azra, "Guarding the Faith of the Ummah: The Religio-Intellectual Journey of Mohammad Rasjidi," *Studia Islamika* 1, No. 2 (1994): 108; Rosihan Anwar, "Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi Pengungkap Gamblang," in *70 Tahun Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi*, 161.

It is my considered opinion that in the last round this will only pave for the anti-God and secularist forces to cast their spell over a people who are still attached to a universal religious tradition. If this happens then let me say frankly, neither it would only Muslims, but also Christians would suffer. There would be no victors nor losers amongst us; Muslims and Christians alike might turn out to be losers and our common enemies gain at our cost."[65]

Rasjidi believed that the freedom of religion is one of the basic rights of human beings.[66] In the same time, he also believed that between Islam and Christianity, there were some potential catalysts for change and cooperation, since both are revealed religions which trace their origins to Abraham. Therefore, religious tolerance between the two communities should be the basic elements of both religious doctrines. Islam, he explained, does not approve of hostility toward other religions; it proclaims religious freedom and forbids religious coercion. In his lifetime, the Prophet was very kind to his neighbors belonging of other faiths. He even married a Jewish woman, Safiyah, and a Christian slave, Mary, who was given by an Egyptian ruler. When he heard that the Christian Abyssinian Emperor died, he prayed for him in recognition of his help to Muslims during the early days of Islam.[67]

Rasjidi held that the spirit of tolerance was also intrinsic to Christian doctrine as found in the Documents of

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[65]Rasjidi, "Christian Mission in the Muslim World," 434-435.

[66]On his views concerning religious freedom, see his *Kebebasan Beragama* (Jakarta: Fajar Shadiq, 1979).

[67]Mohammad Rasjidi, "Unity and Diversity in Islam," in *Islam: The Straight Path*, ed. Kenneth W. Morgan (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958): 427.

Vatican II, a revolutionary document that saw other religions with esteem and full recognition.[68] He quoted extensively from the Documents stating that "the Church strictly forbids forcing people by unworthy techniques. By the same token she [the Church] also strongly insists on a person's right to be deterred from the faith by unjust vexation on the part of others."[69] According to Rasjidi, the Church had alerted missionaries that "in spreading religious faith and introducing religious practices, everyone ought at all times to refrain from any manner of action which might seem to carry a hint of coercion or of a kind of persuasion that would be dishonorable or unworthy, especially when dealing with poor or uneducated people."[70]

Rasjidi agreed that respect and recognition for coexistence between the Muslim and Christian communities had been justified by the Documents of Vatican II, which stated that "upon the Moslems too, the Church looks with esteem. They adore one God living and enduring, merciful and all-powerful, maker of heaven and earth and speaker to men. They strive to submit whole-heartedly even to His inscrutable decree, just as did Abraham with whom the Islamic faith is pleased to associate itself".[71]

On this basis, Rasjidi argued that the aggressiveness, ignorance and antipathy of missionaries with respect to Muslim objections to their ongoing evangelization in Mus-

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[68]Mohammad Rasjidi, *Dari Rasjidi dan Maududi Kepada Paus Paulus II*(Surabaya: Penerbit Documenta, 1971).

[69]Rasjidi, *Dari Rasjidi*, 20. See also Walter M. Abbot S.J., ed., *The Documents of Vatican II*(New York: Guild Press, 1966), 600.

[70]Rasjidi, *Dari Rasjidi*, 21 and Abbot, *The Documents*, 682.

[71]Rasjidi, *Kebebasan Beragama*, 17-18. See also Rasjidi, *Dari Rasjidi*, 18 and Abbot, *The Documents*, 682.

lim community contradicted not only to the noble spirit of the Documents, but also the basic human right to adhere to one's own religion.[72] He regretted that the sacred mission of Christianity to spread love in Indonesia had been carried out in the spirit of superiority and sectarianism. For that reason, in his presentation on religious tolerance at an inter-religious seminar held in Tokyo in 28 October 1968, Rasjidi first quoted the long ethical code for proselytizing proposed by Daniel J. Fleming, professor at the Union Theological Seminary of New York. The code mentioned that missionaries should pay serious attention to the mission target and that conversion should not be undertaken in an uncivilized manner by denigrating the personalities and beliefs of other people.[73]

Thus, he discussed the nature of missionaries efforts in Indonesia which exploited people's poverty by distributing rice, clothing, money and medication among poor and unemployed people on the condition that they allowed their children to be educated in Christian and missionary schools.[74] He also shown how Christians built churches and schools where no Christian lived in the area. In many cases, they eagerly paid two or three times above from the real price of land or just bought this land by using people

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[72]Rasjidi, "Christian Mission in the Muslim World," 435.

[73]Daniel J. Fleming, "A Code of Ethics," in *Relations Among Religious Today* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963). See Anwar, "Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi Pengungkap Gamblang Hubungan Antar Agama di Indonesia," 157-164.

[74]Muhammad Rasjidi, *Mengapa Aku Tetap Memeluk Agama Islam* (Jakarta: Hudaya, 1968), 15; "Christian Mission in the Muslim World," 429-430. Compare to Azra, "Guarding the Faith of the Ummah," 106-109.

who had no connection with the church but later sold it to the churches.[75]

In the same spirit, he objected to the system of so-called "foster parents", whereby students at lower-level schools were persuasively encouraged to change their religious belief. He also regretted how Christian youths tried to convert Muslim youths through covert sex or presenting generous gifts and then asking them to come to the church.[76] The other case point, as he outlined, was that uneducated and poor migrants were being targeted and forced to go to the churches to get vegetable and rice seeds, foodstuffs, and water pumps on the condition that they would shift their faith into the religion of Christ.[77]

According to Rasjidi, to achieve their goals, missionaries did not hesitate to make temporary alliance with vested interest groups, including colonialists. In Rasjidi's mind, there is no doubt that missionaries worked in Indonesia within a colonial framework was not religious, but economic and political.[78] Therefore, mission was always identical to colonialism.[79]

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[75]Rasjidi, *Mengapa Aku Tetap*, 15.

[76]Rasjidi, "Christian Mission in the Muslim World," 430.

[77]Rasjidi, "Christian Mission in the Muslim World," 431. Like Rasjidi, Noer shows that there were, in migrant areas, some Christians who pretended to be Muslims. These established contact with a nearby church and then sent the petitions to the local government to establish a churches of their own. See, Deliar Noer, "Contemporary Political Dimensions of Islam," in *Islam in South-East Asia*, ed. M.B. Hooker (Leiden: E.J. Brill. 1983), 198.

[78]Mohammad Rasjidi, *Sikap Umat Islam Terhadap Ekspansi Kristen* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1975), 16.

[79]Mohammad Rasjidi, *Sidang Raya Dewan Gereja Sedunia di Jakarta 1975 Merupakan Tantangan Terhadap Dunia Islam* (Jakarta: Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, 1974), 11-14.

Rasjidi concluded that what came to be called the "white man's burden" maxim which saw neo colonialism as a *mission sacrée* to heighten the level of uncivilized cultures was not very religious.[80] One of its main goals, Rasjidi argued, was to westernize the Muslim world and to create the conditions whereby Muslims could accept a Western mentality and reject the fundamental tenets of Islam or at least to raise doubts about Islamic principles.[81]

Since these efforts jeopardized Muslim belief, he criticized the Indonesian government's leniency towards evangelization throughout the country.[82] Rasjidi also exhorted his audience to be more thoughtful in discerning the slogan of "modernization" or "being modern man" which some prominent missionaries and Christian leaders touted in order to attract Muslims. He saw that:

> Modernization is used as a plea for Christianizing Muslim people; so also the fundamental human rights.... In rehabilitating our country and modernizing it we encounter an obstacle in the mentality of the Christian missionaries who do not respect the faith of the people in the present pluralistic society.[83]

Rasjidi, however, believed that modernization is essential for betterment of Indonesian life. What he rejected and strongly criticized was how some missionaries labeled themselves as modern people and their religion as modern, while perceiving Muslims as a primitive people with a backward religion.

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[80]Rasjidi, *Sidang Raya Dewan Gereja*, 11.

[81]Rasjidi, *Sikap Umat Islam*, 17.

[82]Anwar, "Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi Pengungkap Gamblang," 161.

[83]Wawer, *Muslime und Christien*, 265.

The missionaries then said: "Oh we really came to Indonesia in order to modernize the Indonesian people who are lagging behind in education and various other spheres of life."... In fact it is not only in Indonesia that Islam is compatible with modernism; everywhere else it is not only not incompatible with, but in itself contains the principles of modernism... Among the term they [Christian missionaries] propagated were modernism and toleration... Just now we heard that word [modernism] mentioned by Dr. Tambunan as a Christian mission. This gives impression that which is un-Christian [sic] is not modern... Christian represented progress, implying that what is non-Christian is unprogressive... But Christians use the word 'modern' mainly as a means of enticing people to discard Islamic qualities. When we are about to enter the month of fasting, there are people who say that fasting impedes progress and the efficiency of labor, let us be 'modern' and forget fasting.[84]

Moreover, to Rasjidi, the missionary claim of bringing Indonesia into the modern life in accordance with Western values, was in fact misleading. This is because many Westerners today no longer consider their way of life as absolute. He agreed with Wilfred Cantwell Smith who once said in *The Faith of Other Men*[85] that if everything should be in accord with the Western pattern, it would not work but would be resented.[86]

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[84]Mohammad Rasjidi, "Usaha Mengkristenkan Indonesia dan Dunia," *Suara Muhammadiyah* 1-2 (January 1968): 3-4, as quoted by Azra, "Guarding the Faith of the Ummah," 111.

[85]Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Faith of Other Men* (New York: New American Library, 1963).

[86]Mohammad Rasjidi, "Modernisme dan Toleransi," in *Toleransi dan Kemerdekaan*, 401-411. See also his *Kebebasan Beragama*, 21-23.

Rasjidi's candidness in criticizing the missionaries in Indonesia, however, could not be separated from his religious and intellectual milieu. Although he received his doctoral degree from a Western university, with its "liberal" view of religion, intellectual discourse in Cairo influenced Rasjidi more than either Paris or Montreal. In this, he resembled Sayyid Quṭb, a well-known Egyptian who also obtained a Western education but then went on to be a leading opponent of Western tradition and culture. Rasjidi has been called "fundamentalist" by some young modern Indonesian Muslims. Interestingly, he agreed with this label and viewed it as an honorary title for him.[87]

As the polemics and refutations took place in the conflict between the two religions, a new pattern of hostility became manifest, namely physical confrontation. This was clearly seen in July 1967 in Meulaboh Aceh. At that incident, triggered by the building of a church in the heart of a Muslim community where no Christians lived, young Muslims destroyed the Christian religious facilities.[88] In

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[87]Azra, "Guarding the Faith of the Ummah," 109. However concerning Rasjidi's critiques of missionaries, some moderate Christians like Ihromi who wrote a *feestchrift* for his book, admitted that he, like Rasjidi, disagreed with the way that missionaries tried to attract Indonesians to come to Christianity. To him, "it is disgraceful to Christianize people by way of rice, medication, schooling and positions". See, Ihromi, "Hubungan Antaragama," in *70 Tahun Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi*, 167-171. Azra, "Guarding the Faith of the Ummah," 109.

[88]Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 312. See, Lukman Harun, *Endeavors to Create Religious Harmony Among Believers of Different Religions in Indonesia*, paper presented as part of the Indonesia-Australia Conference "Understanding Neighboring Faith," at Monash University, Melbourne, Australia, 2-5 February 1992.

the House of Representatives, the "pseudo religious" con-
flict took on a wider political scope when the Christian
deputy, Simorangkir, asked the government to investigate
the incident of Meulaboh. Simorangkir's request was fol-
lowed by another request, this time by Muslim deputy,
Lukman Harun's.[89] The latter asked the government to
take decisive measures to control the activities of foreign
missionaries in Indonesia and to regulate foreign aid to
Indonesian churches.[90]

Only three months after the "war of interpellation" be-
tween Simorangkir and Harun in the House of Represen-
tatives, another incident occured in Makassar on 1 Octo-
ber 1967. Muslims sources claimed this to be a retaliation
for a Protestant religious teacher's mocking of the Prophet
Muhammad. In that incident, several churches and Chris-
tian schools were burnt. The incident had far-reaching ef-
fects. In Central Java, Jakarta and some other cities simi-

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[89]A complete transcription of Lukman Harun's interpellation with its
detailed explanation can be found in Umar Hasyim, *Toleransi dan
Kemerdekaan*, 298-311.

[90]It took ten years before finally the government e.g. the Minister of
Religious Affairs considered the Muslim demands preventing religious
mission to be delivered only to its adherents or to those who had not
embraced one of the five official religions by the issuance of Govern-
ment Decree No. 70/1978. By the same year, another decree No. 77/
1978 was also issued stipulating that all foreign aid should be chan-
neled through the government. These two decrees, however, were poorly
implemented because some Christians expressed disagreement. See
*Tinjauan Mengenai Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 70 dan 77 Tahun
1978 dalam Rangka Penyelenggaraan Kebebasan Beragama dan
Pemeliharaan Kerukunan Nasional* (Jakarta: Sekretariat Umum Dewan
Gereja Indonesia dan Sekretariat Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia,
1978).

lar incidents occurred. Inflammatory pamphlets from both communities were widely distributed; and numerous strongly worded commentary from Muslims and Christians flooded the pages of newspapers and magazines.[91]

Religious encounters between Muslim and Christian, which many regarded as a real threat for Indonesian unity, led the government to initiate measures to ease strained relation, calling on religious leaders from the five official religions to an inter-religious conference held in November 1968. Although the conference agreed to form a religious forum called *Wadah Musya-warah Antar-Agama* (forum on inter-religious consultation) to foster future cooperation and understanding, the important point that the missionaries of any religion to be confined only its adherents or to those who had not yet embraced one of the five official religions found to be no satisfactory compromised. The Christian members protested against this finding, stating that it violated the freedom of religion.[92] It is interesting to note that long before the government proposal on religious mission was advanced, some Christian leaders had already promulgated their basic concern voicing their rejection on the above issue. Notohamidjojo's opinion is worth quoting:

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[91]Natsir, for example, commented that those aggressive "actions" by some "zealous" young Muslims attacking missionaries or even burning of churches should be understood as "reactions" against the missions, which did not respect the religious sensitivity of Muslims. Muhammad Natsir, *Mencari Modus Vivendi Umat Beragama* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1980), 8. Some tendentious and injurious comments emanated also from Christian circles. See Wawer, *Muslime und Christien*, 221-225.

[92]Noer, "Contemporary Political Dimensions," 197. Husein Umar, "Intoleransi Kaum Nasrani Terhadap Ummat Islam," in *Fakta dan Data: Usaha-usaha Kristenisasi di Indonesia*, ed. Lukman Hakiem (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1991), 31-33.

If the state forbade religious groups to disseminate faith into younger generation, the state had violated the freedom of religion. Every single religion had its mission impetus. Every single religion had its own motive to deliver "good news" to the people who did not yet know. If one prevented the application of this religious right, he actually tried to kill the freedom of religion that had been preserved.[93]

Another case point that triggered the tension between Muslims and Christians was the 1973 proposal on the marriage bill. Although it did not explicitly serve Christian's interest, there was a crucial point to which Muslims could not reconcile themselves.[94] In article 10, subsection 2, it was said that the "difference in nationality, ethnicity, country of origin, place of origin, religion, faith and ancestry should not constitute an impediment to marriage". To Muslim side, differences in religion and faith could be an impediment in any marriage, since *surat al-Baqarah* (2): 221 prohibits a Muslim girl to marry any man except her co-religionist. Heated polemics thus followed between Muslims who demanded some modifications and Christians who supported the bill flooding newspapers and magazines.[95] Finally, due to strong criticism from Muslim orga-

[93]O. Notohamidjojo, *Iman Kristen dan Politik* (Jakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1952), 75, as quoted by Wawer, *Muslime und Christien*, 248.

[94]See Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 317.

[95]See for example Mohammad Rasjidi's book on the issue, *Kasus R.U.U. Perkawinan Dalam Hubungan Islam dan Kristen* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974). The argument from Christian side, "Pokok-Pokok Pemikiran BPH-DGI dan MAWI: Negara Perlu Berikan Ruang untuk Kawin Sah Menurut Hukum Negara," *Sinar Harapan*, 19 December 1973.

nizations, the government agreed to make some revisions by omitting the crucial article, and in 1974, the new bill was passed with the endorsement of the President himself and the support from army faction in the House of Representatives.[96]

B. The Establishment of Religious Tolerance in Modern Indonesia

It is obvious that although the first government-initiated religious conference failed to reach a substantial compromise, it nevertheless succeeded in stimulating a series of meetings among religious leaders to this day. Its impact was evidently felt by an increasing number of Indonesians who are more acquainted with the idea of mutual respect, understanding, and tolerance among the religions. One person who tirelessly worked in this noble effort was undoubtedly Mukti Ali.[97]

Ali hoped to make religious values into an active force for socio-economic development rather than for the so-called political interests.[98] As he was clearly interested in the science of comparative religion, he believed that, historically, Muslim have had positive attitude towards other religious traditions like Christianity, Judaism and even primitive religions, while at the same time, he argued, they

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[96]Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 319-320.

[97]Ali was the former Minister of Religious Affairs (1971-1978) who graduated from University of Karachi Pakistan and the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University.

[98]Karel Steenbrink, "Indonesia Politics and A Muslim Theology of Religion 1965-1990," *Islam Christian Muslim Relations* 4, no. 2 (December 1993): 233-234.

were still being good Muslims.[99] Ali seemed to say implicitly that any hostile tendency toward other religious traditions resulted form a lack of appreciation of the legacy of Islam itself.[100] From this perspective, he dedicated himself to maintaining religious dialogue, in particular between Islam and Christianity, for he knew that beyond the sense of common humanity and collaboration, there is a desire on all sides to honor and to obey God in the service of fellow men and in pursuit of justice and peace.[101]

In this context, the religious policies of the Ministry of Religious Affaires aimed at creating religious communities involved in social and cultural development of the nation, while at the same time remaining committed to their respective religious duties.[102] His ministry also sought to transform religion into a private area of life, but in the same time it oversee the mobilization of religious activities and instructions, and introduce the policy of religious dialogue.[103]

According to Ali, there are five possible ways to attain religious harmony: *syncretism, reconception, synthesis, conviction* and *agreement in disagreement.* The first, syncretism implied that all religions are equal. Ali rejected this way because God created religion in the response to specific social contexts, and therefore differences among religion are natural. The second, reconception implied a new form of religion after two religion encountered one another. This is also un-

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[99]Mukti Ali, *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Al-Falah, 1965), 15-38.

[100]Mukti Ali, *Agama dan Pembangunan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia, 1973), 30-31.

[101]Ali, *Agama dan Pembangunan,* 31.

[102]Ali, *Agama dan Pembangunan,* 42-43.

[103]Boland, *The Struggle of Islam,* 172.

acceptable because it makes religion man-made, not revealed. The third, synthesis implied taking some element from existing religions and forming a new one. Ali again rejected it because, according to him, every religion has its own background and purpose. The fourth, conviction entailed convincing the other to change his belief; this change produced harmony. Ali disagreed this way because in a plural society, people should recognize the plurality of thought, life, history, motivation and action. The last, agreement in disagreement, is the most plausible one, and according to Ali, would stimulate religious dialogue, religious amity and recognition.[104]

For the latter, Ali characterized religious dialogue as an encounter between persons and groups with different religions or ideologies in order to come to a common understanding on certain issues, to agree and to disagree with appreciation and, therefore, to work with others to discover the secret of the meaning of life.[105] He took religious dialogue to be:

> A process in which individual and group learn to wipe out fear and distrust of each other and develop new relations based on mutual trust. A dialogue is a dynamic contact between life and life - not only between one rational view against the other - which is directed towards building the world anew together.[106]

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[104]Ali, *Agama dan Pembangunan*, 118-125.

[105]Mukti Ali, *Memahami Beberapa Aspek Ajaran Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 1989), 56-58; *Agama dan Pembangunan*, 145; Ali Munhanif, "Islam and the Struggle for Religious Pluralism in Indonesia: A Political Reading of the Religious Thought of Mukti Ali," *Studia Islamika* 3, no. 1 (1996): 108-109.

[106]Mukti Ali, "Dialogue Between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia," in *Dialogue Antar Agama*, ed., Mukti Ali (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Nida, 1971), 37.

To Ali, religious dialogue would be fruitful if guided by three important principles: *frank witness* for the worth of one's own religion, *mutual respect* for differences and *religious freedom.*[107] Ali believed that if the above elements were deliberated on, dialogue could be pursued in any given political, socio-economic and cultural context. Hence, he repudiated the notion that dialogue would be more productive if taken in a desiderating secular or religious state.[108]

Ali, however, admitted that throughout history the main obstacle to religious dialogue has been rooted in mistrust, misgivings, and misunderstanding. He further added that this condition in religious history was also framed politically and economically in the belief on universal message of religion to be preached to the entire world. Thus, addressing himself to Muslim and Christian audiences, Ali hoped that all sides would forget their past contentions and renew their new cooperation.

> As far as the Muslims are concerned, their hands are always stretched to their Christian brethren. What they want is freedom and peace. Muslims believe that this is a time of cooperation and national development... This is not the Middle Ages when the spirit of Crusades was dominant. Let us try to work together fruitfully and creatively for the benefit of mankind, whether Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist or otherwise.[109]

There is little doubt that Ali has helped pave a new outlook on religious harmony in Indonesia. Some, however,

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[107]Ali, *Agama dan Pembangunan*, 32-33.

[108]Ali, *Agama dan Pembangunan*, 35.

[109]Mukti Ali, *Inter-Religious Dialogue in Indonesia and its Problem*, paper presented as part of World Conference on Religion and Peace, Tokyo, 1970.

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saw his effort as leading to a kind of depolitization of religion, which served the government interest in building personal piety. In Indonesia, since economic development was given first priority, this goal was achievable if supported by a peaceful socio-political environment. It was evident that, in this context, religious ideology was seen as a "threatening power, which may disturb the process of national development."[110] Therefore, all types of religious dispute, even the expression of hatred towards other religious group or ethnic, should be left behind for good to let Indonesia achieve national prosperity and realize the dream of advanced industrial society.[111]

The above definition, not surprisingly, advocated the forms and modes of work by which all religions should work in order to promote political stability. It is clear that religious dialogue, in its initial stage, was more likely to be in the interest of the government more than that of the religions. For some circles, therefore, Ali's project for religious dialogue appeared to mark deep state interests, and superficial in nature. Beside, it seemed also to lack permanent philosophical underpinning; lacking spiritually and ethically, his *Wadah Musyawarah Antar-Agama* as a religious forum had no clear task and real program. Designed for discussion and consultation among the elites of religious communities, this forum had little impact on the grassroots. It would be right, as Munhanif saw, that Ali's

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[110]Ali Moertopo, *Strategi Pembangunan Nasional* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1980), 68 as quoted by Munhanif, "Islam and the Struggle for Religious Pluralism," 108-109.

[111]Victor Tanja, "Islamic Resurgence in Indonesia and Christian Response," *The Asia Journal of Theology* 5, no. 2 (1991): 359-361.

policy on religious dialogue was notable, but depended heavily on the political will and good intentions of the communities, and less on the internal structure of the epistemology of religious doctrine itself.[112]

Furthermore, the heavy-handed application of the religious dialogue and tolerance proved ambivalent in the face of the unprecedented shifting of political orientation of the government itself. The government, which in the 1970s and 1980s was relatively more accommodative to Christian interests, suddenly stretched its benevolent hand to Muslims in the 1990s. It caused much the same frustration and envy on the part of Christians that Muslims felt back in the 1970s and 1980s. In this context, due to immaturity and dependency of religion on political inclinations, closeness to the government arm by any community was perceived as something unnatural and unfair.[113]

Not surprisingly, fragile relations in this complex situation produced more negative results. On the surface, this relation among religions seemed excellent. Many politicians in the country proudly declared religious tolerance in Indonesia was the model *par excellence* for the world, for they believed that religious matters had been well handled. Unfortunately, they failed to understand the real conditions. Madjid's opinion on this anomaly in Indonesian society is worth quoting:

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[112]Munhanif, "Islam and the Struggle for Religious Pluralism," 108-109.

[113]Bambang Sudibyo, *Economical, Political and Cultural Impacts of Colonial Period on Muslim-Christian Relations,* paper presented as part of "International Conference on Muslim-Christian Relations: Past, Present and Future Dialogue and Cooperation," Department of Religious Affairs of Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 7-9 August 1997, 4-5.

> Too often we hear among of us and some foreigners that our country is the most tolerance country in the world. But from religious riots [happened recently] within one religion such as the break of the *Huria Kristen Batak Protestants* ("HKBP" or Protestant Bataknese Church) or between one religion with another, it is evident that our country is the worst country in the earth. In the Middle Eastern countries, to which Western often labels the source of fundamentalists and terrorists, conflicts on religion are apparently rare. There are, of course, some conflict such as in southern Egypt (Assiut), Palestine and Lebanon, but those are not caused by religious matters but socio-political dissatisfaction [to the government] or [in the case of Palestine] by Israeli injustice.[114]

It is therefore, according to Madjid, re-examining the real foundations of religious tolerance in a more comprehensive way, which includes trust and confidence that is necessary. It implies keeping no secret for *rahasia umum* (common knowledge resembling prohibited taboos), which is never talked about publicly. To Madjid, *rahasia umum*, through a kind of manipulation and demagogy, could easily be stirred into a destructive energy that can flare up when it encounters socio-economical disappointment.[115]

Hence, the re-examination of the roots of religious tolerance, according to Madjid, would be fertile if seen from two perspectives. The first is the religious and the second is the socio-historical context. The former, he argued, was not too difficult since every religion had its doctrine that supported religious co-existence. The problem was merely

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[114]Nurcholish Madjid, "Kerukunan Umat Beragama: Sebuah Tinjauan Normatif Islam," in *Kerukunan Beragama dari Perspektif Negara, HAM dan Agama-Agama* (Jakarta: Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 1996), 43-45.

[115]Madjid, "Kerukunan Umat Beragama," 45.

the public acceptance, particularly of those who had a stereotypical perception of the other, crystallized after long-standing social injustice, or who were simply obscurantist or lacked reading or knowledge. Thus, the role of the Islamic leader and preacher became important in disseminating the idea of religious co-existence. If some preachers taught that Islam is a tolerant religion, this statement should be translated into action.[116]

Madjid is among those who actively promoted the need for a true spirit of religious tolerance in Indonesia, for he knew that plurality of religions is the order of human communities, a kind of Law of God or *sunnat Allāh* and therefore it is the problem of Muslims to adapt themselves in bringing universal and normative Islam into a dialogue with temporal and spatial realities.[117]

He also stated that religious tolerance is one of the elements of Islamic teaching. He took the Prophet Muhammad as the example. He was a messenger like other messengers preceding him who were the founders of earlier religions. Hence, the Prophet Muhammad brought religious teaching that was identical to that of other messengers and that all of them proclaimed one and the same faith.[118]

In forming a new understanding to other religious tradition, Madjid began with reevaluating the word *ahl al-kitāb* in the Qur'an. He believed that this word should be extended so that is not solely referred to Jews and Christians. He quoted extensively a prominent Sumatra leader,

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[116]Madjid, "Kerukunan Umat Beragama," 47.

[117]Nurcholish Madjid, "Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism: Indonesian Experience," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1 (April-June 1994): 67.

[118]Madjid, "Kerukunan Umat Beragama," 47.

'Abd al-Hamīd Hakīm and the Egyptian scholar, Rashīd Ridā mentioning not only the four religious groups, Jews, Christians, Sabians and Magians, as is stated in *sūrat al-Hajj* (22): 17,[119] but also Hindus, Buddhists and Confucians were the *ahl al-kitāb* (the people of Books).[120] Quoting both scholars, according to Madjid, the inclusion of Hindus, Buddhists and Confucians into the meaning of *ahl al-kitāb* today is merely substantial because when Qur'an was revealed, these three faiths were unknown to Arabs who had not yet traveled to India, Japan and China. In order to avoid *ighrāb* (odd expression), he agreed with Hakīm and Ridā, the Qur'an does not mention these religious faiths which the Arabs, at that time, did not yet know.[121]

Madjid also viewed their coexistence in conjunction with the Muslims affectionately and sympathetically. He pointed out that in *sūrat Āl 'Imrān* (3): 110, the Qur'an considers the people of book as the best community that has ever been brought forth for the good of mankind, for they enjoin the doing of what is right and forbid the doing of what is wrong, and who believe in God. Based on *sūrat al-Mā'idah* (5):48, Madjid also believed that to every faith God appointed a different divine law and "an open road" (a way of life). He saw that one of the most important

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[119]More discussion of the existence of *ahl al-Kitāb* in the Qur'an, see Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *Qur'anic Christians: An Analysis of Classical and Modern Exegesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[120]See 'Abd al-Hamīd Hakīm, al-Mu'īn al-Mubīn, vol. 5 (Bukit Tinggi: Nusantara, 1955), 45-46 and 48; Rashīd Ridā, *Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-Hakīm al-Musammā bi Tafsīr al-Manār*, vol. 6 (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-'Ammah li al-Kitāb, 1972), 156.

[121]Madjid, "Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism," 74-75.

themes in Islamic doctrine is the historical continuation of an inner connection between the various forms and phases of divine revelation.[122]

With respect to another Qur'anic verse, *sūrat al-Baqarah* (2):62, Madjid assumed that the people of book would have their reward from God as long as they hold to "the idea of salvation", which is made conditional upon three elements: belief in God, belief in the Day of Judgement and righteous action in life. He emphasized further that the sincere people of book (the Jews and the Christians) may be regarded as righteous in the Qur'anic sense on the conditions that they believe in God's transcendental oneness and uniqueness, fully conscious of their responsibility toward Him and living in accordance with these tenets.[123]

Hence, to Madjid, it is a fundamental principle of Islam that every religion which has belief in God as its focal point must be accorded full respect, however much one may disagree with its particular tenets. Thus, according to him, Muslims are under an obligation to honor and protect any house of worship dedicated to God, whether it is a mosque or a church. Any attempt to prevent the followers of another faith from worshipping God according to their own lights is, in Madjid's mind, condemned by the Qur'an as a sacrilege. A striking illustration of this principle is found in the Prophet's treatment of the deputation from Christian of Najrān in the year of 10 H. They were given free access to the Prophet's mosque and, with his full consent, celebrated their religious rites there, although their adoration of Jesus as "the son of God" and of Mary as "the

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[122]Madjid, "Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism," 73

[123]Madjid, "Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism," 64-65.

mother of God" was fundamentally at variance with Islamic beliefs.[124]

Later, Madjid also expected that Muslims and Christians would be able to find the strength to conceive and to maintain truly spiritual, religious patterns of thought and feeling, which alone could withstand the onslaught of materialism. Hence, he concluded that it is a moral duty of the Muslims to bring the intellectual premises of Islam closer to the understanding of the Christians, and of Christians to approach the problems of the Islamic world in the same spirit of justice and fair-play as they would approach and demand for their own concerns. Madjid believed that as soon as these requirements are fulfilled, both Christians and Muslims would fully realize that the ethical outlook, which the two great religions held in common, is of greater importance than the differences apparent in their doctrines.[125]

To sum up, it can be said that religious tolerance in Indonesia, as evidently more apparent and more substantial, is a "luxurious thing" gained with tough effort and even with unnecessary bleeding. It took a long time to create the conditions under which Muslims and Christians could talk heart to heart in order to develop the country materially and spiritually.

Today's Indonesia witnesses that although the apologetic works from both communities continue to be pub-

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[124]More information about the Prophet's attitude toward the Christian Najrān, see Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt al-Kubra*, ed. Iḥsan 'Abbās, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1380-88/1960-68), 1, n. 84.

[125]Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam: Doktrin dan Peradaban*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992), 177-196.

lished,[126] the major trend of the younger generation from the two communities, who did not directly involve in physical or intellectual confrontation in previous era, tend to be more active in disseminating religious harmony. Some believe that the differences in religious doctrines are less important than the similarities, for they believed that they are the *imago dei* or *khalīfah* (vice agent) of God in this earth.[127]

This process, of course, has not been completed, as some "religious" incidents and riots have occurred. But these do not mean that their effort have failed. A careful look would find that almost all the incidents were caused not by religious sentiments but by socio-political and economic problems. In this sense, those incidents resulted from political oppression and economic domination, which led to anti-Chinese and anti-Christians outbursts. Therefore, to eliminate this destructive mass energy, the legalization and politicization of any religious doctrine should be revisited, to use Tanja's words, "in order that the community could possibly live as neighbors in God's one world enriching

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[126]See for examples the works of Muslim apologists like M. Hashem, *Darah dan Penebusan Dosa* (Surabaya: YAPI, 1990); Abujamin Roham, *Agama Wahyu dan Kepercayaan Budaya* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1991); and *Dapatkah Islam-Kristen Hidup Berdampingan* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1992). The same type of writing appears on the Christian side. Rivai Burhanuddin, *Sejarah Alkitab dan Alqur'an* (Depok: Penerbit Persahabatan, 1980).

[127]See for example Imam Ahmad, ed. *Agama dan Tantangan Zaman* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985); Th. Sumartana, *Dialog Agama: Kritik dan Identitas* (Yogyakarta: Interfidei, 1994); Komaruddin Hidayat and Muhamad Wahyuni Nafis, *Agama dalam Perspektif Perenial* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996).

and sharing each other, and promoting a better quality of life."[128]

In that way, Muslim and Christian relation could become an essential element in building harmonious Indonesian society that benefits not only for both communities but the whole Indonesian people as well.

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[128]Tanja, "Islamic Resurgence in Indonesia," 365.

CONCLUSION

This thesis provides a brief survey on modern Indonesian Muslim attitudes towards Christianity within a specific socio-political context, a context which affected the way they perceived the presence of the Christian community in Indonesia. It is undoubtedly true that the model of interaction between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia owe much to the long history of mutual distrust and hostility between the two religions, as both competed for influence in the economic and political spheres as well as in attempts to gain new converts to their folds. Instead of recognizing the potential for positive interaction between the two communities based on mutual benefit and mutual acceptance, it is the negative model of interaction that has been more influential throughout the history of their relationship.

Major Perceptions of Christianity in Early Indonesia

Indonesian Muslims, from the beginning of their contacts with Christians, had developed some major patterns of responses over the centuries ranging from mutual respect and accommodation to violent resistance. Mostly, they perceived Christians as untrustworthy allies, as corrupters of the Scripture, and the infidels. This clear but harsh attitude toward Christians rested primarily on a Muslim defensive posture in the face of a conquering for-

eign power wielding religion as one of its weapons in its drive for colonial hegemony. Given to this situation, Muslim's depiction of Christians and Christian doctrine in that period are very simple in nature. They merely followed the patterns established by Muslim thinkers from earlier ages, such as al-Ghazālī and Ibn Taymiyyah, who based themselves on a literal interpretation of Qur'anic verses and the Prophetic traditions. It is clear, therefore, that Muslims at that time had a very restricted perspective and understanding of Christian doctrine itself. They were not interested in theological truth or even rapprochement with Christians; they wanted God's aid to deliver them from the economic and political calamities that held Muslims at the hand of foreigners who happened to be Christians.

The Use of the Biblical Verses and Dead Sea Scrolls

In modern times, Indonesian Muslims had developed more sophisticated tools to defend their religion from the challenges by Christians. For example, polemic against Christian doctrine, instead of referring solely to what Qurā'nic verses and Hadīth traditions said about the subject, some Muslim writers base part of their argument on logical and lexical meaning of the Bible. Some others tried to "Islamize" verses of the Bible, quoted and interpreted them in accordance with Islamic belief. Others followed the critical trends in the recent study of the Bible and of the Dead Sea Scrolls which introduced a more open and historical approach to Christian doctrine. Still, in all these attempts, the effort affirms Islam as the true interpretation of God's message and insists that Christianity had corrupted the true message of God. These writers are nor speaking to Christians but to fellow Muslims warning them

not to abandon their own religion, convince them because Christian doctrines were "falsified". They sought self "correct" the understanding of Christianity with standard Muslim teachings about Christianity after the message had been eroded by long years of missionary activism.

Evangelization and Colonialism

The most important theme of modern Indonesian Muslim polemic centers on the themes of evangelization and colonialism that are regarded as interrelated. Some Muslim writers held that there was a strong and mutual relationship between the Dutch colonialism and missionary activities, and this relation had led the transformation of the latter into an effective arm of colonialism. It was also believed that both colonial authority and missionaries gained reciprocal benefits from this cooperation. Missionaries saw Indonesia as a place bestowed by God upon the Dutch to enlarge the domain of Christendom while the colonial representatives saw it as the arena of economical profits which would gain by an infusion of Christian values which supported the Dutch imperial system. Accordingly, many Muslims were suspicious missionary effort in Indonesia and considered it to be a part of an overall plan to demolish Islam.

Indeed there were some connections between missionaries and colonial government since Christianity came to Indonesia together with Western colonial power. Indeed they both came from same civilization, but it seems that this relation between colonial power and Christian missionaries was not totalistic. So if some Muslims charged that the proclaimed policy of neutrality in religious life hammered Islam movements, Christians regarded themselves as the victims as well for it restricted missionary

activity to limited area of the archipelago. Moreover, Indonesian Muslim's perception of Christians as the agents of colonialism proved not all true because during the revolution for Indonesia independence there were many Christians who were active in disseminating the feeling of nationalism. It is obvious too that since independence Christians have shown high participation in government arena and other national intentions that shown thorough commitment to national identity. Christian contact with the West is probably as the same level of contact and identification as that of Muslim with the Middle East, a point of identification but hardly a factor for public action.

Islamic State and Christianization

Since Indonesian independence, two important issues have determined the relations between the two communities: Islamic State and Christianization, and these issues had kept a rift between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia. It is unarguable that the idea of Islamic state is very attractive for some Indonesian Muslims, and obviously, many Indonesian Christians felt threatened by the idea of creation of Islamic state in Indonesia. There were a long debate about the Jakarta Chapter 1945, Muslim political aspiration in the Constitutional Assembly and some revolts against the government where rebels wanted to implement the strict Islamic rules in Indonesia that had repercussions in community relations. The rapprochement has been achieved through Pancasila which has produced commonly accepted norms of civic life that encourages toleration of religious difference among the recognized community. While Pancasila acts as a well regarded cultural norm, mutual suspicion common in some quarters. As Christians fear "Islamic fundamentalism" in Indonesia, Muslims also

fear that missionaries still continue to carry on its religious mission in their own communities.

The Future of Religious Dialogue

It seems that although Pancasila has become the *modus vivendi* which holds together a diversity of people and religions, many conflicts connected with religious motives still arise. Some Indonesian Muslims, therefore, see that religions in Indonesia have not yet achieved their potential for creating good dialogue and real cooperation between the two religious communities in particular. This, according to them, may be caused by past theological and political encounters existing for centuries. The best Indonesians, both Muslims and Christians can do is to forget their contentious past and move towards a new more honest relationship.

Religious dialogue in Indonesia should promote the need for a true spirit of religious tolerance, should maintain a truly spiritual life for human beings. It is a moral duty for Muslims to bring the intellectual premises of Islam closer to the understanding of the Christians, and for Christians to approach the problems of Muslim in the same spirit of justice and fairness that they approach and demand for their own concerns. As this thesis has shown, there are now some movements in that direction and continued growth of such a relationship will need the strong support of the leaders and intellectuals so that apology and polemic will no longer define the relationship, but that efforts at good will and understanding are promoted in their stead.

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129

Ismatu Ropi

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INDEX

131

Ismatu Ropi, born November 15, 1969 in Jakarta Indonesia, is a lecturer at Faculty of *Ushuluddin* (Islamic Theology) Department of Comparative Studies of Religions at IAIN (the State Institute for Islamic Studies) "Syarif Hidayatullah" Jakarta since 1994. He graduated with a *Master of Arts* (MA) degree from the Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University Montreal Canada 1998. Some of his academic articles and reviews in particular on Islam and religious relations appeared in such prestigious journals as *Islam Christian Muslim Relations* (Birmingham), *Hamdard Islamicus* (Pakistan), *Studia Islamika* (Jakarta), *Paramadina* (Jakarta) and *al-Jami'ah* (Yogyakarta). He now lives in Jakarta with his wife and witty daughter.

As Indonesian Muslim depictions of Christianity have varied over time, this study is an attempt to provide a brief survey of the Muslim attitudes towards Christianity in modern Indonesia. It will set the stage by first investigating the Muslim depiction of Christianity as found in the seventeenth century works of Nuruddin Ar-Rânîrî. It will go on to survey some aspects of Dutch colonial policy concerning Indonesian Islam and will cover Muslim responses to and perceptions of Christian doctrine in the Old Order and New Order periods. Some polemical writings from the two communities produced by such writers as Hendrik Kraemer, F.L. Bakker, A. H san, A. Haanie and Hasbullah Bakry will be examin in detail.

This thesis will inquire into the connection between Indonesian Muslims' treatment of Christians, ranging from polemic and suspicion to dialogue and accommodation, and political events which occurred and religio-political policies adopted particularly in the New Order under Soeharto.