

AL-ITQĀN

JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC SCIENCES AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Volume: 8

Issue No. 2

August 2023

EDITOR IN-CHIEF

Dr. Wan Mohd Azam Mohd Amin

MANAGING EDITOR

Dr. Masitoh Ahmad

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr. Syed Arabi Aidid, IIUM.

Dr. Kamaruzaman Yusuff, Universiti Malaya,
Lembah Pantai, Kuala Lumpur.

Dr. Mumtaz Ali, IIUM.

Dr. Noor Amali Mohd Daud, IIUM.

Dr. Adibah Abdul Rahim, IIUM.

Dr. Haslina Ibrahim, IIUM.

Dr. Siti Akmar, Universiti Institut Teknologi MARA, Shah Alam
Dr. Thameem Ushama, IIUM.

Dr. Che Zarrina Saari, Universiti Malaya
Lembah Pantai, Kuala Lumpur

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Dr. Muhammad Afifi al-Akiti, Oxford University, UK
Dr. Abdullah M. al-Syarqawi, Cairo University, Egypt.
Dr. Abdul Kabir Hussain Solihu, Kwara State University, Nigeria.
Dr. Anis Ahmad, Riphah International University, Islamabad.
Dr. ASM Shihabuddin, Uttara University, Dhakka, Bangladesh.
Dr. Ibrahim M. Zein, Qatar Foundation, Qatar.
Dr. Haji Norarfan bin Haji Zainal, Universiti Islam Sultan Sharif Ali (UNISSA),
Brunei Darul Salam

© 2017 IIUM Press, International Islamic University Malaysia. All rights reserved.
eISSN:26008432

Correspondence

Managing Editor, *Al-Itqān*
Research Management Centre, RMC
International Islamic University Malaysia
P.O Box 10, 50728 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Tel: +603 6196 5558
Website: <http://journals.iium.edu.my/al-itqan/index.php/alitqan/index>
Email: al-itqan@iium.edu.my

Published by:
IIUM Press, International Islamic University Malaysia
P.O. Box 10, 50728 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Phone (+603) 6196-5014, Fax: (+603) 6196-6298
Website: <http://iiumpress.iium.edu.my/bookshop>

Table of Contents

Non-Muslim Chinese in Malaysia: A Current State of Islamic Da'wah (Preaching) to Non-Muslim Chinese in the State of Kelantan	5-23
<i>Abdul Salam Muhamamd Shukri</i>	
Three Mosque Associated with the Battle of Uhud: Their importance, History and Architecture	25-57
<i>Spahic Omer</i>	
The Theory of the Purpose of the Law as the Reflection of the Dynamism of Islamic Law	59-75
<i>Hayatullah Lalluddin Mohd Abbas Abdul Razak Ahmad Muhammad Husni</i>	
A Preliminary Discussion on Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah of Imām al-Shāṭibī	77-91
<i>Nurul Aminah Mat Zain Wan Mohd Azam Mohd Amin</i>	
HAMKA's Discourse on Christianity in Tafsīr al-Azhar	93-120
<i>Siti Nursyakirah Yuslan Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil</i>	
The Impact of Enlightenment on the Emergence of Atheism	121-144
<i>Nur Irdina Hakimah Nor Azali Nur Suriya Mohd Nor</i>	
Robert N. Bellah's Civil Religion as an Approach to the Religious Diversity	145-165
<i>Harda Armayanto Zahrah Salim</i>	
Claims on the Influence of Buddhist Teaching on Sufism: An analytical Study on Views of Orientalists	167-180
<i>Masitoh Ahmad Jamil Hashim</i>	
The Methods of Reflection on The Qurān from <i>Tafsīr M'ārij al-Tafakkur Wa Daqā'iq al-Tadabbur</i> by Ibn Ḥabannakah al-Maidānī: A Model on Sūrah al-Qiyāmah (قواعد تدبر القرآن في تفسير "معارض التفكير ودقائق التدبر" لإبن حبنكة الميداني: سورة القيامة نموذجاً)	181-209
<i>Ili Dalila Mohd Redzwan Sofiah Samsudin</i>	

Author Guidelines

Manuscript article can be either in English, Malay or Arabic using software Microsoft office (Word, and Excel), Font 12 Times New Roman. Only tables, figures and appendix can be written using Font 10, Times New Roman.

If there is a usage of Quranic verses or Hadith from Prophet P.B.U.H., it only needs to be done by translation only.

The manuscript should be in 1.5 single spacing and justified, with the margin of 2.5cm.

Article needs to have a title and author's name and second author's name along with the full address (institution's or university's address, e-mail, handphone's number, office's number, fax together with the second author's details).

Every article must include an abstract in Malay and English. The length of the abstract is no more than 150 words including 5 keywords.

The length of each article must not exceed 6000 words.

The Arabic words in manuscript should be in a transliterated form.

Reference for each article must be written according to **Chicago Manual**.

Notification Letter:

Letter of Acceptance – editorial board will send an e-mail to the author to notify that the manuscript is received.

Letter of Acceptance/Rejection for Publication – editorial board will send a letter by an e-mail to the author to notify if the manuscript judged by the panels is approved or declined to be published.

Letter of Publication – editorial board will send a letter by e-mail to the author if the article has been judged, repaired, and corrected to be published in the college's journal.

Certificate of Appreciation– editorial board will send a certificate of appreciation by mail to the authors who have sent their articles.

Hamka's Discourse on Christianity in Tafsir al-Azhar

Siti Nursyakirah Yuslan*

Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil**

Abstract

This article explores HAMKA's (d. 1981) approach in his interpretation of Qur'anic verses on Christianity in his *Tafsir al-Azhar*. HAMKA produces many literary works. *Tafsir al-Azhar* is HAMKA's magnum opus produced in Malay language. As a scholar and social activist, HAMKA's Qur'anic exegesis embedded a broad range of contextualized local issues. The focus of this article is on HAMKA's responses towards Christianity portrayed in his commentaries of the Qur'anic verses related to Christianity. A thorough textual analysis was conducted on those verses from his *Tafsir al-Azhar*. The study deals with three categories of discussions on Christianity in HAMKA's interpretation, which are Christian beliefs and doctrines, attitudes of Christians narrated in *Al-Qur'an*, and self-reflection and critics to the Muslim community. This research finds that his commentaries on Christianity reflect the Muslim-Christian polemics in the context of the socio-political milieu of Indonesia in the 20th century. This research indicates that HAMKA applies an analytical approach when dealing with Christian beliefs. He adopts an argumentative approach when he highlights the flaws in Christian beliefs and counter-argues the beliefs from the Islamic perspective. In dealing with verses related to the attitudes of the Christians, HAMKA is stern in his criticism as he responds to the Christians in Indonesia. He also applies criticism when dealing with verses on Christianity but transcends as reminders to the Muslim community. The research found that HAMKA's interpretations reflect his awareness and his grave response and critics on the threats of Christianity that interfere with Muslim affairs in Indonesia.

Keyword: HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, Christianity, Muslim-Christian relation, Malay world.

Introduction

Haji Abdul Malik Abdul Karim Amrullah or known as HAMKA (1908-1981) is a well-known Muslim scholar in the Malay world in the 20th

* Master's student at the Department of Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion, Kulliyah Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences, International Islamic University Malaysia, 53100 Gombak, Selangor. Email: schayuslan@gmail.com

** Corresponding author and an Associate Prof. Dr. at the Department of Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion, Kulliyah Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences, International Islamic University Malaysia, 53100 Gombak, Selangor. Email: mohdnoh@iium.edu.my

Century. HAMKA was also attributed as 'Fansuri of the modern era'.¹ His most impactful contribution was through his writings. His writings manifested his thoughts on wide areas of interest such as religious matters, politics, culture, literature, philosophy, and history. HAMKA's views in his writings were mostly influenced by the knowledge he gained from his study in the Middle East and from the teachers he spent his youth learning from. In his works, HAMKA articulated his knowledge and merged it with his personal experience and life events he had encountered. He took the Malay indigenous experiences and contextualised them in his writings. Among the writings that he contextualised Malay experience is *Tafsīr al-Azhar*.

Being born into a religious family background, HAMKA was exposed to Islamic knowledge and debate since he was young. However, he only received limited formal education and continued to educate himself informally. He then embarked on his journey for knowledge widely and gained his expertise in Arabic mastery. His mastery of the Arabic language equipped him to translate and interpret Qur'anic verses in his *Tafsīr al-Azhar*. During his youth, he began writing and continued his passion for writing. Throughout his life, HAMKA received many recognitions and awards from people in Indonesia and other countries. This explains his tremendous contributions and position in society.

HAMKA was also a social activist and Muslim reformist who participated in Islamic movements such as *Sarekat Islam*² and *Muhammadiyah*.³ His participation in these movements exposed him to

¹ Peter G. Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), p. 216.

² *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Association) began as an apolitical movement but gradually turned into a political movement throughout the years. In the beginning, its main concern was on the economy and welfare of Muslim merchants in Indonesia. The organization was founded by Haji Samanhudi (d. 1956) in 1911. This movement was known as *Sarekat Dagang Islam* (Islamic Merchant Association). It was established for three reasons namely the rising competition in the *Batik* trade, the resentment towards Chinese merchants, and oppression by the nobility of Solo. See Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 104.

³ Muhammadiyah (Muhammad's Path) was founded on 18th November 1912 by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan (d. 1923) in Jogjakarta. the mission of *Muhammadiyah* was to spread the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) to the locals in Yogyakarta. It also aimed to educate its members on religious matters. Implicitly, the main factor for the formation of *Muhammadiyah* was as a response towards the spread of Christian missionaries in Indonesia. See Alwi Shihab, *Islam Inklusif: Menuju Sikap Terbuka Dalam Beragama*, Cet. 1 (Jakarta: AN Teve & Penerbit Mizan, 1997), 304. See Jan S.

understand the threats of Christian missionaries in Indonesia and to fight for Indonesia's independence from the colonial power. He also became a *Muhammadiyah* leader. The movement became his lifetime pursuit until the end of his life. In the Japanese Occupation period of Indonesia, HAMKA's political outlook as a Muslim leader to cooperate with the Japanese power might seem controversial, but he had enabled the *Muhammadiyah* to resume its activities and benefit Muslims to proceed with religious activities. After that, President Sukarno period of the Old Order was crucial for HAMKA because it was the period, he was imprisoned by the Sukarno regime. It was during his imprisonment that he completed his *magnum opus*, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, thirty volumes Qur'anic commentaries.

The title of *Tafsīr al-Azhar* was taken from the name of the Great Mosque of *al-Azhar*, located at Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta, West Java. It was the mosque where HAMKA conducted his morning lectures after Subh (morning) prayers every day. The lectures were on *Al-Qur'ān*, particularly on the *tafsīr*. The mosque was named 'Great Mosque of *al-Azhar*' after *al-Azhar* University in Cairo by the rector of the *al-Azhar* University himself with the hope that the mosque will function like the *al-Azhar* University but in Jakarta.¹ At first, HAMKA's lectures on the *tafsīr* were published in the *Panji Masyarakat* (Compass of People) magazine. However, the magazine was banned during President Sukarno's time. Later, his tafsir lectures were featured in a magazine named *Gema Islam* (The Echo of Islam) starting January 1962 until January 1964. The publication managed to reach the 19th chapter of the *Al-Qur'ān*. When HAMKA was imprisoned for two years and four months (1964-1966) under President Sukarno's order, he carried on his writing on Qur'anic commentary and managed to complete *Tafsīr al-Azhar*.² As he wrote the commentaries while in imprisonment, his exegesis became a reflection of the political turmoil in Indonesia.

HAMKA's main purpose of writing the *tafsīr* was to provide the Malay-speaking community with access to understand the contents of *Al-Qur'ān* in their language. In his process of writing, he had his thoughts on his potential readers who come from diverse backgrounds. It was done in such a way as to remind himself to consistently choose suitable contents to accommodate the level of understanding of his

Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen Dan Islam Di Indonesia*, Cet. 1 (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2004), pp. 161-162.

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir Al-Azhar* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, n.d.), 1: 47–50.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, pp. 50-53.

readers.¹ HAMKA mentioned that he was inclined towards a few *tafsir* that influenced him in writing his own *Tafsīr al-Azhar*. The first was *Tafsīr al-Manār* by Rashīd Riḍa who based his *tafsīr* on the methodology propounded by his teacher Muhammad ‘Abduh. Apart from *Tafsīr al-Manār*, HAMKA also modelled from *Tafsīr al-Marāghī*, *Tafsīr al-Qasimi* and *Tafsīr fī Zhilāl Al-Qur’ān*. *Tafsīr fī Zhilāl Al-Qur’ān* was a work by Syed Qutb (d. 1966). HAMKA's thinking pattern in *Tafsīr al-Azhar* was greatly impacted by Syed Qutb's work compared to other *tafsir*.² Other than the four *tafsir*, HAMKA listed 45 other books he studied to complete the writings of his book of *tafsir*. HAMKA also referred to dozens of books written by modern scholars and western orientalist for the same reason.³

The distinctive characteristic of this modern *tafsīr* was its literary elements since HAMKA himself was an author of many literary works. Interestingly, HAMKA used phrases and idioms that have Malay-world elements because it attracts the readers to understand *Al-Qur’ān* better. HAMKA had his distinctive style in articulating Qur’anic text commentaries using his literary writing skills by applying beautiful language and moving words. His phrases demonstrated the true reality and condition of the society where he was at that time. Another literary element was HAMKA's inclusion of Arabic and Malay poems particularly *pantun Minang* (Minang rhymes).⁴ His background in Malay literature had undoubtedly influenced his writing. The language chosen by HAMKA was also simple without the jargon that can only be understood by knowledgeable people. He simplified the complicated ideas into his own words and simple explanation to suit the needs of his target audience. This ability to adopt and adapt to the needs of the target audience had always been strength for Muslim scholars in the Malay world, including HAMKA. The contextualisation of his interpretations and commentaries of the Qur’anic verses had facilitated local Muslims to understand the contents of *Al-Qur’ān* and eventually the teachings of Islam better. His interpretations were stretched beyond the visible meanings and taking indigenous experience as the background. By doing so, HAMKA had bridged the gap that existed between Malay readers and *Al-Qur’ān* by interpreting the

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, p. 42.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, p. 41.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, pp. 323-324

⁴ Nashruddin Baidan and Kamdani, *Metodologi Penafsiran al-Quran* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998), p. 33.

meaning of *Al-Qur'ān* into more vibrant and relevant to the life of Muslims in Indonesia.

Other than *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, HAMKA also wrote 117 more books and articles. Some of his works were novels such as *Si-Sabariyah*, *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* (The Sinking of Van Der Wijck Ship), and *Di Bawah Lindungan Kaabah* (Beneath the Kaabah). He also wrote books on history such as *Ringkasan Tarikh Umat Islam* (Summary of Muslim History) and *Pembela Islam: Tarikh Abu Bakar* (Defender of Islam: History of Abu Bakar), *Sejarah Minangkabau dengan Ugama Islam* (History of Minangkabau with Islam). His writings on religions were on different dimensions such as *Tasawwuf Modern* (Modern Sufism), *Falsafah Ketuhanan* (Philosophy of God) and *Pelajaran Agama Islam* (Lessons of Islam). Meanwhile in relation of this research on his thoughts on Christianity, HAMKA wrote '*Umat Islam Menghadapi Tentangan Kristianisasi dan Sekularisasi*' (The Muslim Ummah in Facing the Threat of Christianisation and Secularism). His discourse on Christianity in Indonesia can also be found in his book, *Dari Hati ke Hati: Bercakap Soal Agama, Sosial-Budaya dan Politik* (Heart to Heart: Discussing on Religion, Socio-culture, and Politics). Most of the HAMKA's works are still being published in the Malay-Indonesia world until today.

Literature Review

Many studies were conducted on HAMKA, his thoughts and his works. To be more specific, studies were also done on *Tafsīr al-Azhar* on different topics. There is recent research in 2020 entitled 'HAMKA's Responses to the Evangelisation in Indonesia: An Analysis of Interpretation of Several Qur'anic Verses in *Tafsīr al-Azhar*'.¹ The aforementioned research concludes that HAMKA's interpretation of Qur'anic verses is a response to Christianisation in Indonesia during his time. The writers share a common focus with this research. However, it is limited only to verses related to HAMKA's responses to evangelization. On the other hand, this research will analyse Qur'anic verses on Christianity, which are not only related to evangelisation, but also other aspects of Christianity.

¹ Fathin Hanani Zulkifli and Majdan Alias, 'HAMKA's Responses to the Evangelisation in Indonesia: An Analysis of Interpretation of Several Qur'anic Verses in *Tafsir Al-Azhar*.', *Al-Itqan: Journal of Islamic Sciences and Comparative Studies* 4, no. 2 (14 September 2020): 109–25.

In one of the chapters of the book 'Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Response',¹ Peter G. Riddell presents important points from HAMKA's introductory remarks of *Tafsīr al-Azhar*. Riddell also presents his analysis of the *tafsīr*. He points out that *Tafsīr al-Azhar* is one of the most enterprising endeavours of modern Qur'anic exegesis not only in Southeast Asia but in the Muslim world in general. Riddell's analysis provides the researcher with an understanding of the significant characteristics of *Tafsīr al-Azhar*.

Another research by Norbani Ismail, 'The Qur'anic Exegesis, Reformism, and Women in Twentieth-Century Indonesia'² examines HAMKA's interpretation of Qur'anic verses and passages related to women. The result has shown HAMKA's ability to contextualise the interpretation of the Qur'anic verses to the Malay-world context. Also, the relation between past and modern exegetical approaches was synthesised and manifested. The study managed to produce an interpretation of Qur'anic verses that is closer and connects with the context of the community in the Malay world. Therefore, it has benefited this research in a sense of proving the significance of HAMKA's *Tafsīr al-Azhar* and its impact on the Malay world.

Wan Sabri Wan Yusof's dissertation entitled 'HAMKA's *Tafsīr Al-Azhar*: Qur'anic Exegesis as a Mirror of Social Change'³ provides an expounded research specifically on *Tafsīr al-Azhar*. The study attempts to explain interconnections between *Tafsīr al-Azhar* and intellectual, social, political, and cultural phenomena in 20th century Indonesia. It has also been proven that *Tafsīr al-Azhar* is a mirror of social change: pre-independence and post-independence Indonesia. All such issues were used to contextualise the meanings of verses Qur'anic verses related to Malay-Indonesian people and fit in their Malay experiences other than merely a *tafsīr* of dogma or personal inclination of the exegetist. Therefore, it has benefited this current research by portraying the social, political, and intellectual environment of the Malay-Indonesian world at that particular time, which gradually influenced HAMKA's writing of his *Tafsīr al-Azhar*. In addition to that, Wan Sabri Wan Yusof has also established a study about HAMKA entitled 'Religious Harmony and Inter-faith

¹ Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, n.p.

² Norbani B. Ismail, 'The Quranic Exegesis, Reformism, and Women in Twentieth Century Indonesia', *Studia Islamika* 24, no. 3 (29 December 2017): 469–501, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v24i3.5187>.

³ Wan Sabri Wan Yusof, 'HAMKA's Tafsir al- Azhar: Qur'anic Exegesis as a Mirror of Social Change' (PhD, Pennsylvania, Temple University, 1997), n.p.

Dialogue in the Writings of HAMKA'.¹ As mentioned in the title, the highlight of the study was HAMKA's views on religious harmony. Pertaining to that, this study is going to benefit the current research as it analyses relevant verses of Qur'anic interpretation by HAMKA with his insight on religious unity and inter-religious dialogue. Both are important to promote peace and harmony in Indonesia and the world. Hence, this study analysed HAMKA's interest in other religions and his views on the need for all religions to co-exist in peace and harmony. Even so, the scope of the research was not narrowed down to any particular religion but HAMKA's general observation in maintaining a harmonious relationship between all religions. At the same time, the followers of these religions are upholding mutual respect with one another. Wan Yusof's research provides HAMKA's views on other religions, which is the main concern of this thesis. Therefore, his analysis serves as a foundation to understand HAMKA's projection of views on Christianity

Other than that, a thesis was written on HAMKA's views that were related to Christianity in Indonesia entitled 'HAMKA's Views on Some Major Religio-Political Issues in Indonesia (1971-1981)'.² The thesis highlights HAMKA's view that the strained relationship between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia was caused by Christian missionary activities targeting Muslims. The writer includes HAMKA's debate on the state philosophy, *Pancasila*, that was caused by Christian and secular leader's refusal to accept Islam as the state philosophy. It stated that HAMKA's principles were manifested in his firm beliefs and responses towards certain issues, especially religious principles. On the other hand, he was lenient when dealing with non-religious matters.

An article by Syed Mohd Khairudin al-Junied entitled '*In Defense of Guided Reason: HAMKA and the Reconstruction of the Southeast Asian Islam*'³ discussed HAMKA's role, stand, and ideas on the restoration of reason to its proper place in Southeast Asian Islam. HAMKA was strongly against *taqlīd* (blind following) that was practised by certain quarters of Muslim communities in Southeast Asia at that time. The article also puts forward HAMKA's concern on the problem of

¹ Wan Sabri Wan Yusof, 'Religious Harmony and Inter-Faith Dialogue in the Writings of HAMKA', *Intellectual Discourse*, 13, no. 2 (2005): 113–34.

² Muhammad Jamil, 'HAMKA's Views on Some Major Religio Political Issues in Indonesia (1971-1981)' (Master's, International Islamic University Malaysia, 1998), n.p.

³ Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, 'In Defense of Guided Reason: HAMKA and the Reconstruction of Southeast Asian Islam', *History of Religions* 57, no. 2 (November 2017): 107–28, <https://doi.org/10.1086/693681>.

stagnation of mind among Muslims in which he came out with reasoning and thinking as the solution to the problem. The article highlighted HAMKA's reminder against the idea of liberating reason, which may lead to other problems such as extremism, or creating doubt towards the divine and moral codes of Islam. The article provides an insight to understand HAMKA's thought and principle against *taqlīd*. HAMKA's principle on *taqlīd* and reasoning is crucial for the researcher because his principles influence his interpretations of Qur'anic verses. His principle might also impact his views on matters related to Christianity.

Studies conducted on HAMKA by various researchers were comprehensive. However, there is still no attempt to study HAMKA's discourse on Christianity from different aspects. Thus, this article will analyse HAMKA's discourse on Christianity and categorizes the discussions into different subtopics.

HAMKA's Approach on Verses of Christianity in *Tafsīr al-Azhar*

This part will focus on HAMKA's interpretation of Qur'anic verses related to Christianity. It is important to note that the analysis is done on selected verses in various chapters of the Qur'an namely *Sūrah al-Baqarah*, *Surah Āli Imrān*, *Sūrah al-Mā'idah*, *Surah al-Nisā'*, *Sūrah al-An'ām*, *Sūrah al-Hajj*, and *Sūrah al-'Ankabūt*. The discussions will be divided into three parts. The first part will focus on HAMKA's approach to Christian beliefs and doctrines. The second part will investigate HAMKA's approach to the characters of the Christians mentioned in *Al-Qur'ān*. The last part discusses HAMKA's self-criticism of the Muslim community in the issue of Christianity.

HAMKA's Approach to Christian Beliefs and Doctrines in *Tafsīr al-Azhar*

In this part, the verses chosen are only related to selected Christian beliefs and doctrines. Trinity is the concept of One God in a threefold figure.¹ HAMKA's approach to Trinity can be found in the interpretation of *surah al-Mā'idah* that discusses Trinity; "*O people of the Book! commit no excesses in your religion: nor say of God aught but truth. Christ Jesus the son of Mary was (no more than) an Apostle of God and His Word which He bestowed on Mary and a Spirit proceeding from Him: so believe in*

¹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Trinity', 27 April 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Trinity-Christianity>.

God and His Apostles. Say not "Trinity": desist: it will be better for you: for God is One God: glory be to him...." (Al-Qur'ān, 5: 171)

The above verse commands Christians to not be excessive in religion by over glorifying Prophet Isa. Christians misunderstand the position of Prophet Isa and regard him as God. This belief is found in Trinity in which Jesus Christ shares the element as a God. HAMKA criticised Trinity as insensible as he mentioned in his interpretation,

".... berhentilah dari kepercayaan yang tidak masuk akal itu."

He went further by saying the disputes in understanding Trinity among Christians led them to separate into different sects. The Nestorians believe that Jesus Christ is God. The Jacobites believe that Prophet Isa is the Son of Allah. While the Malkites believe that God is One but in three elements; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit.¹ Then, in the interpretation of the continuation of the verse, *"... (for Exalted is He) above having a son. To Him belong all things in the heavens and on earth. And enough is God as a Disposer of affairs."* (Al-Qur'ān, 4:171)

HAMKA critiqued the Christians' misunderstanding of the term 'Son of Allah.' In this context, it does not carry literal meaning. But according to HAMKA, it carries the metaphor meaning. He elaborated that in the Arabic language, the word 'Son' has two meanings, the literal and the metaphor meanings. In this case, the term means the symbol of Allah's love for His slaves. 'Son of Allah' in the books was referring to those who obeyed Him.² HAMKA's further analysis of the term 'Child of Allah' can be seen in his commentary of a verse in *sūrah al-Mā'idah*, *"(Both) the Jews and the Christians say: "We are sons of God and His beloved." Say: "Why then doth He punish you for your sins? Nay ye are but men of the men He hath created: He forgiveth whom He pleaseth and He punisheth whom He pleaseth: and to God belongeth the dominion of the heavens and the earth and all that is between: and unto Him is the final goal (of all)."* (Al-Qur'ān, 5:18)

HAMKA made his critique of the term 'Son' or child of God. He attempted to prove that the term carries the symbolic meaning for those who are loved by God, not as children who were born from a mother and a father. HAMKA also pointed out that the term was already used in the scriptures of the Jews and Christians, which carried the symbolic meaning

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 6: 177-178.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*

for those who were obedient to God.¹ Among his scriptural quotations are from the Bible, “*Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God.*” (Matthew 5: 9) “*Be careful not to practice your righteousness in front of others to be seen by them. If you do, you will have no reward from your Father in heaven.*” (Matthew 6:1)

Based on the above verses, HAMKA concluded that the term ‘children’ refers to those who are obedient and perform good deeds out of love. People who are obedient to God are the ‘children’, and God as the ‘Father’.²

HAMKA made further analysis by mentioning that in Islamic teaching, the word ‘Abun’ (Father) was then replaced with ‘Rabbun’ (the Guardian) and the word ‘Ibnun’ (Child) was replaced with ‘Abdun’ (the slave).³ He referred to a verse from *sūrah Maryam*, “*Not one of the beings In the heavens and the earth But must come to (God) Most Gracious as a servant.*” (Al-Qur’ān, 19: 93)

In his explanation, HAMKA was inconsistent in his use of the words ‘God’ and ‘Allah’. Both words are meant for God in Christianity. It was not unusual for a Malay Muslim to use Allah for the Christian God. The use of the word Allah for God in Christianity had been long used among Arabs in the Arab world.⁴ HAMKA used to spend his youth studying in Arab countries. Therefore, he might be influenced by the practice there. A similar practice was used in the Malay world, especially in Bible translation. One of the Malay translations of the Malay world was by Munshi Abdullah (d. 1854), who used the word ‘Allah’ to refer to God in Christianity.⁵ Hence, it appears that the use of the word Allah for God in Christianity was commonly used, even in Muslim discourse of Christianity.

The second Christian belief is the doctrine of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The discussion of the crucifixion will be divided into two parts. The first part is on crucifixion as the redemption of sins. Secondly, it is concerning the death of Jesus Christ on the Cross. The history of Christianity started with stories of betrayal and enmity of the Jews against

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, pp. 191-195.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 195

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

⁴ Thomas Schirrmacher, *Is It Appropriate That Arab Christians Call God Allah?* (Nürnberg: VTR, 2002), pp. 4–6.

⁵ J. L. Neo, ‘What’s in a Name? Malaysia’s “Allah” Controversy and the Judicial Intertwining of Islam with Ethnic Identity’, *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 12, no. 3 (1 July 2014): 751–68, <https://doi.org/10.1093/icon/mou050>.

Prophet Isa.¹ They accused Jesus Christ wanted to be the King of the Jews and eventually dethrone the Roman power in the holy land. The Jews succeeded in their plan, which led to Jesus Christ's crucifixion.² HAMKA made a critical analysis of the doctrine of crucifixion where he implied comparative knowledge about crucifixion from Christianity's and Islamic perspectives. His lengthy analysis is in his commentaries of the verse in *sārah an-Nisā'*, "And there is none of the People of the Book but must believe in him before his death, and on the Day of Judgment He will be a witness against them" (*Al-Qur'ān*, 4:159)

In his interpretation of the verse, HAMKA compared the belief of crucifixion from Christianity's and Islamic perspectives by categorising them into two subtopics, which were *Kepercayaan Kristen Terhadap Salib al-Masih* (The Christian Belief of Jesus Christ's Crucifixion) and *Pandangan Seorang Muslim yang Mengerti Agamanya tentang Kepercayaan itu* (The views of a Well-Versed Muslim on the Belief). In the discussion of Christian belief, HAMKA mentioned that to believe in the death of Jesus Christ on the Cross of the crucifixion event was the main Christian belief. Christians believe that the death of Jesus Christ on the Cross was to redeem the sins that human beings inherited from Prophet Adam.³ Thus, in his explanation from the Islamic perspective, HAMKA rejected the idea that the crucifixion of Jesus Christ can liberate human beings from sin. He opined that Christian belief in crucifixion as the redemption of sins was a belief that was forced to have faith in. He said in his words, "...nyata bahawa kepercayaan terhadap Isa tersalib dapat menghapuskan dosa, tidak lah dapat jadi keyakinan melainkan tedi terpaksa diyakin-yakinkan!"⁴

The next part of the discussion on crucifixion is concerning the death of Jesus Christ on the Cross or crucifixion. The discussion of the crucifixion will be divided into two parts. The first part is on crucifixion as the redemption of sins. Secondly, it is concerning the death of Prophet Isa on the Cross. The history of Christianity started with stories of betrayal and enmity of the Jews against Jesus Christ.⁵ They accused Jesus Christ wanted to be the King of the Jews and eventually dethrone the Roman power in the holy land. The Jews succeeded in their plan,

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, 6: 25.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, pp. 24-26.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, pp. 28-29.

⁴ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 31.

⁵ HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, 6: 25.

which led to Isa's crucifixion.¹ HAMKA made a critical analysis of the doctrine of crucifixion where he implied comparative knowledge about crucifixion from Christianity's and Islamic perspectives. His lengthy analysis is in his commentaries of the verse in *sārah an-Nisā'*, "And there is none of the People of the Book but must believe in him before his death, and on the Day of Judgment He will be a witness against them." (*Al-Qur'ān*, 4:159)

According to HAMKA, even for Christians who are on their right mind will disagree if there are people who committed sins and crimes then consider themselves as innocent just because they believe in Jesus Christ's crucifixion. It appears that HAMKA attempted to mention that belief in crucifixion as the redemption of sins is not a faith.

The next part of the discussion on crucifixion is concerning the death of Jesus Christ on the Cross or crucifixion. Christians believe that Jesus Christ died on the Cross during the crucifixion. Then after three days of his death, Prophet Isa was raised from the dead. He resurrected and appeared to his followers.² There is a discussion in the *Al-Qurān* in *sūrah Āli-Imrān*, "Behold! God said: "O Jesus! I will take thee and raise thee to Myself and clear thee (of the falsehoods) of those who blaspheme; I will make those who follow thee superior to those who reject Faith to the Day of Resurrection; then shall ye all return unto Me and I will judge between you of the matters wherein ye dispute." (*Al-Qur'ān*, 3:55)

In this matter, HAMKA applied intra-religious discussion where he presented two different opinions in Islam. There were two opinions from two groups of Islamic scholars on the death of Jesus Christ on the Cross. Muslim scholars generally agreed that Prophet Isa did not die on the cross. He was ascended and raised to heaven. This opinion is represented by majority of Muslim scholars.³ The second opinion is that Prophet Isa was not bodily ascended to heaven. According to this opinion, there was no explicit verse in the *Al-Qur'ān* mentioning Prophet Isa was bodily ascended to heaven, lived there, alive until today or will come down from the sky to the earth.⁴ Among Islamic scholars who had this opinion were Syeikh Muhammad 'Abduh, Syed Rashīd Riḍa, Syeikh Mustafa al-Marāghī (d. 1945), Syeikh Mahmout Syaltout (d. 1963), and Syeikh

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, pp. 24-26.

² The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Resurrection', 15 May 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/resurrection-religion>.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 3: 183.

⁴ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, pp. 182-184.

Abdulkarim Amrullah (d. 1945):¹ HAMKA subscribed to the second opinion, that Prophet Isa was not bodily rose to heaven.

HAMKA made further elaboration on the opinion that Prophet Isa was not bodily raised to heaven after being crucified on the Cross. Scholars of this opinion interpreted the terms ‘ascended’ or ‘raise’ to refer to the elevation of Prophet Isa’s position in the eyes of Allah. According to Muhammad ‘Abduh, al-Marāghī and Mahmout Syaltout, Prophet Isa did not die on the Cross but he was still alive for a certain period before Allah took him and he died.² To support this claim, HAMKA described that after Prophet Isa was saved from the crucifixion, he was brought to a place called the Qamran Caves of the Dead Sea. Evidence of the presence of Prophet Isa and his believing disciples were found to be in the area.³ Based on the research of the Qamran Scrolls, it claimed that Prophet Isa did not die on the Cross and went to another place to protect himself from the Jews. HAMKA also presented another view from Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908) that Prophet Isa’s tomb was located in Kashmir. Although HAMKA was not convinced about the exact location, he still believed in the death of Prophet Isa, like the death of other prophets.⁴

The reason why HAMKA did not incline towards the views of the majority of the Muslim scholars on this matter is obvious. As HAMKA mentioned in his introductory parts of *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, he modelled the *tafsīr* based on Riḍa’s *Tafsīr al-Manār* and al-Marāghī’s *Tafsīr al-Marāghī* and a few other *tafāsīr* belonged to the Islamic reform thoughts. Thus, it is unsurprising that HAMKA quoted the opinions from these scholars and agreed with their arguments. HAMKA himself was a part of *Kaum Muda* in which this group propagated the thoughts of Islamic reformism. Muslim reformist scholars contrasted their opinion from scholars of the traditional groups (*Kaum Tua*). HAMKA was also a *Muhammadiyah* movement leader throughout his life. The movement was influenced by the *Kaum Muda* thought epitomized by Muhammad ‘Abduh’s thoughts. Therefore, it was understandable that HAMKA’s opinions were in line with the Muslim reformist scholars.

Based on the analysis of HAMKA’s approach toward Christian beliefs, HAMKA was analytical in his explanation of Christian beliefs. He then adopted an argumentative approach to counter-argue the Christian

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 182.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, pp. 182-183.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 6: 57.

⁴ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

claims. The result of his arguments came out with clear insights and clarification of the beliefs according to the Islamic perspective. His arguments were based on his analysis of the scriptures and also using logic when necessary. The arguments that were based on the scriptures can be considered not superficial because he referred to authentic sources. Most of the Christian beliefs discussed were unjustified by logical arguments. Other than that, his comparison from various perspectives also assisted the readers to widen their knowledge and understand the beliefs from different angles.

HAMKA's Approach to Attitudes of Christians Narrated in *Al-Qur'ān*

In this part, an analysis will be made on attitudes of Christians as commented by HAMKA in his interpretations. The characters are rejecting the truth, mocking and offensive towards Islam, mixing truth and falsehood, and envy towards the good bestowed over the believers. Apart from the negative characters, HAMKA also acknowledged the positive characters of Christians as mentioned in the *Al-Qur'ān*. One of them is preserving a good relationship with Muslims.

The first attitude of Christians is that they reject the truth. When they reject the truth, they become hostile to Islam and reject any chance to exchange thoughts with Muslims. The notion was discussed in HAMKA's commentaries of a verse in *sūrah al-'Ankabūt*, "*And dispute ye not with the People of the Book except with means better (than mere disputation) unless it be with those of them who inflict wrong (and injury): but say "We believe in the Revelation which has come down to us and in that which came down to you; Our God and your God is one; and it is to Him we bow (in Islam)."*" (*Al-Qur'ān*, 29:46)

In the verse above, Allah reminds Muslims to conduct a debate in the best manner with Jews and Christians. In HAMKA's commentaries of "unless it is with those of them who inflict wrong (and injury)", he criticised the attitude of Christians who reject the truth and deceive Islam. He mentioned in his words, "*.....bagaimanapun kita hendak bertukar fikiran secara jujur, mereka akan tetap mencari 1001 macam dalil dan menikam Islam dengan secara curang, yang sampai kepada zaman kita sekarang ini pun masih dilakukan oleh kaum Zending dan Missi dan dengan bertopengkan Ilmu Pengetahuan "Orientalisme" mereka memberikan tafsīr tentang ajaran Islam menurut hawanafsu dan kebencian mereka.*"¹

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, 21:7.

In his commentaries, HAMKA mentioned that no matter how we (Muslim) want to exchange thoughts with Christians, they will find ways to make deceitful interpretation about Islam. They were giving interpretation about Islam based on their own desires and hatred. It was still done by Christian missionaries in the name of 'Orientalism knowledge'.¹ On the pretext of scholarly work, these Western intellectuals who studied Islam indirectly forced people to accept their wrong interpretations of Islam.² Based on his commentaries, HAMKA seems to express his sceptics towards Christians who reject the truth and make deceitful interpretations about Islam. HAMKA was critical of the attitude of Christian Orientalists. His elaboration of the orientalists can be found in his commentary of *surah al-An'ām*, "..... *They know full well to whom We have given the Book that it hath been sent down from thy Lord in truth.*" (*Al-Qur'ān*, 6: 114)

In his analytical interpretation of this verse, HAMKA mentioned that the Orientalists among the Jews and Christians misled the people and claimed that *Al-Qur'ān* was not a revelation from Allah but was the work of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). These orientalists' researchers knew about the authenticity of *Al-Qur'ān* but misled people on purpose. It was not only the Orientalists, but the Christians generally are exposed to the idea of revelation. They also claimed that Islamic philosophy originated from Greek philosophy and Islamic sufism was rooted in Hinduism. They published hundreds of research and books to distort the truth about Islam.³

The second attitude of Christians is mocking Islam and offensive of Islam. HAMKA criticised Christians in Indonesia who mocked Islam and offended Muslims despite religious tolerance offered by Muslims towards Christians in Indonesia.⁴ The notion is discussed in *sūrah al-Mā'idah*, ".....*But sorrow thou not over (these) people without Faith.*" (*Al-Qur'ān*, 5: 68)

According to HAMKA's interpretation of the verse above, the verse advocated religious tolerance of Islam towards *Ahl al-Kitāb* including Christians.⁵ He contextualised the verse with the Indonesian situation he encountered. Muslims in Indonesia had shown tolerance towards Christians but unfortunately, Christians still offended Muslims such as in

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 8: 13.

⁴ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 6 :322

⁵ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 320.

the case of building churches. Christians were building churches in a country of Muslims as the majority. HAMKA criticised local Christians who inherited the same inconsiderate traits from their Christian ancestors.¹ HAMKA mentioned in his words, “*Mereka tidak mengenal timbang rasa, karena begitulah yang mereka warisi sejak dari zaman nenek moyangnya dulu kala.*”²

Another discussion of Christians who mocked Islam is in *sūrah al-Mā'idah*, “*When ye proclaim your call to prayer they take it (but) as mockery and sport; that is because they are a people without understanding.*” (*Al-Qur'ān*, 5: 58)

In HAMKA's interpretation of the verse above, he criticised people who mocked *azan* (the call to prayers) as unethical.³ He used the phrase, “*Tetapi kalau sudah berani mengejek dan bermain-mainkan upacara agama sebagai Azan itu, nyatalah dia orang yang tidak beradab.*”⁴

Unfortunately, there was a real-life incident that occurred in Indonesia when there was a Dutch officer in Cilegon, West Java gave an order to destroy a mosque tower. He did so because his sleep was disturbed by the sound of *azan*. The incident triggered Muslims in Cilegon, West Java to react against the Christian authority.⁵ Another incident occurred in Makassar, South Sulawesi where a Christian priest was reported insulting Islam by saying that Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was an adulterer and stupid because he was illiterate. The incident is known in history as *Peristiwa Makassar* (the Makassar Incident), which happened on 1st October 1967. In response, Muslim youths reacted aggressively by destroying the churches in Makassar.⁶

HAMKA mentioned that he regretted the situation in *Peristiwa Makassar* because he believed that *Al-Qur'ān* teaches Muslims to protect all houses of worship regardless of religion.⁷ The verse is in *sūrah al-Hajj*, “*(They are) those who have Been expelled from their homes In defiance of right,— (For no cause) except That they say, “ Our Lord Is God ”. Did not God Check one set of people By means of another, There would surely have been Pulled down monasteries, churches, Synagogues, and mosques, in*

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 322.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 296.

⁴ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 6:296.

⁵ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 297.

⁶ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

⁷ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 17: 175. See also HAMKA, *Dari Hati ke Hati: Bercakap Soal Agama, Sosial-budaya & Politik* (Shah Alam, Selangor: Pustaka Dini, 2009), p. 218.

which The name of God is commemorated In abundant measure. God will Certainly aid those who Aid His (cause);—for verily God is Full of Strength, Exalted in Might, (Able to enforce His Will).” (Al-Qur’ān, 22: 40)

Nevertheless, HAMKA questioned the main factors that triggered the aggressive reaction of Muslims. The priests and Christian missionaries who were behind the incidents and provoking the Muslims with such insensitive actions.¹ There was also another incident mentioned by HAMKA, where the Christians were attracted to Islam by the beautiful sound of *azān*. He included his personal experience in Padang Panjang, West Sumatera when an Ambonese Christian soldier embraced Islam because his heart was touched by the sound of *azan*.² HAMKA has included two opposite narratives on two different responses from Christians to the *azan*. It could be interpreted that there will always be Christians who will make peace with Islam, while some others feel disturbed and irritated with anything related to Islam.

There was another incident that occurred between Christian and Muslim leaders that reflected the offensive character of Christians in Indonesia. On 30th November 1967, an inter-religious conference was held between religious leaders in Indonesia.³ In this conference, representatives from Islam, Catholics, Protestants, Buddhism, and Hinduism were present. There were two proposals granted by President Suharto at the conference.⁴ The first proposal was to form an inter-religious organisation called *Badan Kontak Antara Agama*. All parties agreed to the proposal. The second proposal was to sign a treaty that each religion was forbidden from preaching to followers of other religions.⁵ However, Christians rejected this proposal. According to them, Christianisation was their divine command, so it was an obligation for them to propagate Christianity to others. They felt that their religious freedom was violated by such a proposal. HAMKA was also present during the conference. So, he witnessed the response from the Christians. Ultimately, the conference had failed to reach a consensus.⁶

Ironically, after the conference, Christians created propaganda and blamed Muslims for their failure to reach a consensus. They also blamed

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 17: 175. See also HAMKA, *Dari Hati ke Hati: Bercakap Soal Agama, Sosial-budaya & Politik* (Shah Alam, Selangor: Pustaka Dini, 2009).

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 6: 298.

³ HAMKA, *Dari Hati ke Hati: Bercakap Soal Agama, Sosial-budaya & Politik*, 246.

⁴ HAMKA, *Dari Hati ke Hati: Bercakap Soal Agama, Sosial-budaya & Politik*.

⁵ HAMKA, *Dari Hati ke Hati: Bercakap Soal Agama, Sosial-budaya & Politik*, 247.

⁶ HAMKA, *Dari Hati ke Hati: Bercakap Soal Agama, Sosial-budaya & Politik*.

the Muslims for hindering their missionary works from going to villages to spread Christianity while distributing assistance to the villagers in the form of basic daily needs. They also accused Muslims as intolerant.¹ The examples of Christians who offended and mocked Islam in Indonesia during HAMKA's time had portrayed the reality of Muslim-Christian conflicts.

The third attitude of the Christians is mixing the truth and falsehood. They mix the truth from their Holy Book with the misinterpretations by Christian religious authority.² The Qur'anic verse that discussed the notion is in *sūrah Āli-Imrān*, "*Ye People of the Book! Why do ye clothe the truth with falsehood and conceal the truth while ye have knowledge?*" (*Al-Qur'ān*, 3:71)

The verse above was revealed as an admonition to *Āhl al-Kitāb* including the Christians who mixed the truth and falsehood and concealing the truth. The truth about the Oneness of God and the prophecy of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) was already mentioned in their Holy Books. However, they refused to accept the truth due to envy and misunderstanding of religion as group-based instead of truth-based.³

HAMKA added his analysis by mentioning the propaganda made by Christians throughout history that mixed the truth and falsehood. Christians were spreading propaganda in Europe to cause hatred to Islam and Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). In one of the examples, HAMKA mentioned in his words, "*.....sebelum ummat-ummat Eropa dikerahkan kepada Peperangan Salib yang terkenal, disiarkanlah berita-berita bohong dikatakan bahwa orang Islam adalah penyembah berhala, dan nama berhala itu ialah Tarfagant, terletak dalam Ka'abah.*"⁴

Among the false news about Islam that was spread by Christians before Europeans were deployed to the Crusades was that Muslims were idol worshippers. The idol's name was known as Tarfagant and it was located inside the Ka'abah. HAMKA regarded this condition of Christians as exploiting the religion of Prophet Isa and according to HAMKA, Christians had deviated. HAMKA wrote in his analysis, "*Mereka telah tersesat mempergunakan agama Nabi Isa yang menganjurkan cinta-kasih menjadi agama yang berlumur darah, sehingga kaum Kristen bagi mereka hanya*

¹ HAMKA, *Umat Islam Menghadapi Tentangan Kristianisasi & Sekularisasi*, Ed. terkini (Shah Alam: Pustaka Dini, 2009), p. 47.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 3: 204.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

⁴ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

*tinggal nama, untuk melaksanakan maksud yang rakus dan penuh dendam dan menjajah.”*¹

Based on HAMKA’s commentary for this part, his approach to Christians seems to be stern. Other than directly considered them as deviated, his claims that Christians are greedy and revengeful portray his stern resentment towards them.

The fourth Christian attitude is envy for the good bestowed over the believers. There is a discussion in HAMKA’s interpretation of the verse in sūrah *al-Baqarah*, “*It is never the wish of those without Faith, among the People of the Book, nor of the Pagans, that anything good should come down to you from your Lord. But Allah will choose from His Mercy whom He will-for Allah is Lord of grace abounding.*” (*Al-Qur’ān*, 2:105)

According to the verse above, *Ahl al-Kitāb* including Christians are uneasy with the good Islam has for the believers. In response, HAMKA reminded Muslims to be mindful of the misleading narrative created by *Ahl al-Kitāb*. Muslims should practise precise and clear words when presenting their views to others. This is to avoid misunderstanding from those who dislike Islam.² The discussion is further elaborated in the same verse, “*Quite a number of the people of the Book wish they could turn you (people) back to infidelity after ye have believed from selfish envy after the truth hath become manifest unto them; but forgive and overlook till God accomplish His purpose; for God hath power over all things.*” (*Al-Qur’ān*, 2:109)

HAMKA regarded *Ahl al-Kitāb* as ‘passive’ if they only contained their envious feelings. But if they begin their efforts to attract Muslims into their infidelity, HAMKA regarded them as ‘active’. In this case, they could not immerse their feelings anymore but to channel the feelings to making plans to deviate Muslims. He mentioned in his words, “*Kalau semata-mata tidak suka kaum beriman mendapat kebaikan, itu namanya masih pasif. Tetapi kalau sudah berusaha menarikmu kembali ke dalam suasana kekafiran, itu Namanya sudah mulai aktif. Artinya sudah mulai dijadikan usaha. Perasaan hati mereka tidak mereka benamkan lagi, tetapi telah dijadikan rencana.*”³

Hence, HAMKA reminded Muslims to be aware of the threat and always find ways to strengthen their religious beliefs.⁴ In his interpretation,

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, 3: 205.

² HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, 1: 267-268.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, pp. 272-273.

⁴ HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, pp. 273.

HAMKA seemed to recognise the threats of envious Christians had over Muslims. He mistrusted Christians for their attitude and kept reminding Muslims to be aware of threats from Christians.

Apart from the attitudes of Christians who deviate from the truth and negative approach to Islam, *Al-Qurān* also acknowledges *Ahl al-Kitāb* who are among the believers. Therefore, the next Christian attitude is, believe in God. HAMKA addressed in his interpretation *Ahl al-Kitāb* who are upright. For instance, in *sūrah Āli Imrān*, “*Not all of them are alike: of the People of the book are a portion that stand (for the right); they rehearse the signs of God all night long and then prostrate themselves in adoration.*” (*Al-Qur’ān*, 3: 113)

The verse above mentions *Ahl al-Kitāb* who are upright and praying to God. They are *Ahl al-Kitāb* who follow the original teachings of their Holy Books.¹ HAMKA was not critical in his interpretation of the believing *Ahl al-Kitāb*. He did not further analyse the verse with additional examples. This might show that HAMKA only reacted critically when the discussion touches on *Ahl-Kitāb* who non-believers are and harmful to other religions.

Another positive attitude of Christians is preserving a good relationship with Muslims. *Al-Qurān* mentions Christians who are not arrogant in *sūrah al-Mā'idah* “*Strongest among men in enmity to the believers wilt thou find the Jews and Pagans; and nearest among them in love to the believers wilt thou find those who say: “We are Christians:” because amongst these are men devoted to learning and men who have renounced the world and they are not arrogant.*” (*Al-Qur’ān*, 5:82)

The verse conveys that there were Christians who had close and good relationships with Muslims compared to the Jews, particularly during Prophet Muhammad's time. They were Christian priests and authorities known as *qissisin* and *ruhban* who feared Allah and devoted their lives to Allah. They rejected worldly life attachment. This group of people was open to discuss the truth with Muslims.² HAMKA acknowledged Christians who had a good relationship with Muslims. However, for him, the situation was unlikely to happen all the time, especially during his time. Based on his observation, Christians and Jews united to oppose Islam. He stated in his words, “*Sudahlah dapat dimaklumi bahasawanya bunyi ayat ini tidaklah berlaku buat segala zaman. Karena segala sesuatu*

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, 4: 60-61.

² HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, 6: 341-342.

perubahan yang terjadi ialah menurut sebab dan akibat jua. Di zaman sekarang ini, bersatu padu Yahudi dan Nasrani memusuhi Islam.”¹

Based on his commentaries, HAMKA mentioned that in his time Jews and Christians united to go against Islam. It can be understood that HAMKA was not convinced of Christians during his time would establish a good relationship with Muslims.

The approach by HAMKA in dealing with verses on Christian attitudes seems to be analytical and stern. He analysed each of the attitudes and made critical accounts by contextualising the attitudes with real-life situations in Indonesia. He was very aware of Christian missionaries and their efforts to disseminate the teachings of Christianity in Indonesia. Based on some of the examples on the events in Indonesia, it portrayed his dissatisfaction towards Christians. He repeatedly expressed his distrust and resentment towards Christians in Indonesia that were harmful to Muslims and disturbed the peaceful Muslim-Christian relations.

HAMKA’s Self-Reflection and Critics to the Muslim Community in *Tafsīr al-Azhar*

In this part, the research will investigate the Qur’anic verses on Christianity that have lessons for believers and Muslims. HAMKA also elaborated his insights for Muslims to ponder and learn from the verses. Other than that, he contextualised examples of situations that mostly represent the Muslim community in Indonesia. Among the discussions for this subtopic are, Muslims who fail to practice the true meaning of Islam, a reminder not to appoint Christians as leaders, and criticism for Muslims who were influenced by Christianity.

The first self-reflection is for Muslims who only bear the name but fail in practicing the true meaning of Islam. HAMKA believed that Islam was not a name for certain groups of people, but it was a way of life.² Hence, he criticised Muslims who did not live Islam in their lives. The discussion is in his interpretation of *sūrah al-Baqarah*, “*And they say: “None shall enter paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian.” Those are their (vain) desires. Say: “Produce your proof if ye are truthful.” (Al-Qur’ān, 2:111) “Nay whoever submits his whole self to God and is a doer of good he will get his reward with his Lord; on such shall be no fear nor shall they grieve.” (Al-Qurān, 2: 112)*

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, p. 342.

² HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, 1: 277.

The verses above discuss the claim by Jews and Christians of their sole privilege to enter heaven. Then, Allah answers their claim that those who enter heaven are those who are submissive to Allah. Although these verses were originally directed to the Jews and Christians, HAMKA extended Allah's reminder to Muslims who are only Muslims by birth but not practising Islam in their life. He mentioned in his words, "*Ayat ini telah menyumbat mulut orang yang mengaku dirinya Islam tetapi hanya mulut sahaja, padahal ketaatan kepada Tuhan tidak ada.*"¹

He seemed to be condemning Muslims who admitted they were Muslim only by their words, but they were disobedient towards Allah. They were no different from Jews and Christians whose claims are pointless and merely fantasy.² HAMKA believed claims should only be made with proof and valid arguments. This was to close the door of *taqlīd* (blind following) and to exercise reasoning. Religion must come with knowledge and conscience, not merely by words.³ The notion to apply reason and oppose the *taqlīd* had been one of HAMKA's highlights in his thoughts and writings as a Muslim reformer in Islamic thought. He stressed his principle to reject *taqlīd* in his Qur'anic commentaries. The message to rely on claims of proof is further elaborated in *sūrah an-Nisā'*, "*Not your desires nor those of the people of the Book (can prevail): whoever works evil will be requited accordingly. Nor will he find besides God any protector or helper.*"⁴ (*Al-Qur'ān*, 4:123)

The verse above conveys that any religion including Judaism, Christianity, or Islam does not rely on a pointless claim without proof of practising religion. Everyone will have to be responsible for their good and sinful practices. HAMKA went further by mentioning that anyone who committed sins, Christians will not be defended by Prophet Isa and Muslims will not be defended by Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H).⁵

The second self-reflection for Muslims is a reminder not to appoint Jews or Christians as protectors or leaders. It is mentioned in *sūrah al-Mā'idah*, "*O ye who believe! take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors: they are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is of them. Verily God guideth not a people unjust.*" (*Al-Qur'ān*, 5:51)

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, pp. 276-278.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

⁴ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 5: 293.

⁵ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 5: 294.

The verse above mentions that Jews and Christians who oppose Islam are protectors for one another. Muslims who choose Jews or Christians as protectors or leaders are becoming a part of them. In his commentaries, HAMKA applied a historical approach when he brought in an actual event that happened in Bandung, Indonesia during the election of members for the Constitutional Assembly of the Indonesia Republic. Islamic parties' representatives wanted to include the implementation of *shari'ah* for Muslims in *Undang-Undang Dasar* (Provisional Constitution). In this situation, non-Islamic parties from Catholic, Protestant, Socialist Party, Communist Party, and other national parties united opposing the Islamic parties. Despite the differences in their ideologies, non-Muslim political parties were willing to unite and confront Islam.¹ The actual event that took place in Indonesia's political milieu had validated the reminder for Muslims not to choose Christians as leaders. HAMKA had assisted Muslim readers of his *tafsīr* to understand how those who oppose Islam will unite to disagree with the implementation of Islamic law in Indonesia. Although Indonesia is a Muslim-majority country, Christians, and groups with ideologies other than Islam will utilise their political powers to prevent Islam from being upheld in the country.

Nevertheless, HAMKA mentioned that Islam allowed Muslims to establish relationship with people from other religions, but not to appoint them as leaders. He also stressed the point that it was permissible for non-Muslims to be in the position of an organisation that was led by Muslims. It was permissible as long as they were not creating problems for Muslims. They should not be in positions that interfere with Muslim affairs.² HAMKA highlighted the Qur'anic message to allow and encourage Muslims to relate with people from other religions because Indonesia is a multi-religious country. Muslims were dealing and engaging with non-Muslims on their daily basis from the individual to the national level. His approach indirectly acknowledged non-Muslims who also preserved the harmonious relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Next, the critic is for Muslims who were influenced by the Christian way of thinking and living. It was obvious in his interpretations that he was very concerned about Muslims who adopt the culture of the Christian because of the situations that he faced in his lifetime. The view was discussed in his commentaries of *sūrah al-Mā'idah*, "*O ye who believe! take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and*

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 6: 275.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 278.

protectors: they are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is of them. Verily God guideth not a people unjust.” (Al-Qur’ān, 5:51)

Based on the verse above, the discussion will focus on HAMKA's interpretation of Muslims who become like Christians. HAMKA brought the readers to his analysis and observed how the colonial who happened to be Christians colonised Muslim countries gradually beginning from teaching their language. Then, they instilled their civilisation and culture. Muslims who were influenced by Christian colonialism were sceptical of Islam and called themselves the “Intellectual Group” who insisted on logical explanations and being doubtful about Islam. HAMKA expressed his criticism on Muslims who were influenced by Christian, “*Kadang-kadang terhadap orang seperti ini, seorang Muslim yang taat harus bersikap sebagai ‘menatang minyak yang penuh’, sebab batinnya pantang tersinggung. Bukan akal mereka yang benar cerdas atau rasionalis melainkan jiwa mereka yang telah berubah, sehingga segala yang bagus adalah pada bangsa yang menjajah mereka, dan segala yang buruk adalah pada pemeluk agamanya sendiri.*”¹

HAMKA used a Malay proverb ‘*menatang minyak yang penuh*’ (like carrying a cupful of oil) which means being extremely cautious in doing something. In this case, he described obedient Muslims had be extremely cautious when dealing with Muslims who were influenced by Christian because they were feisty. It was not because Muslims who were influenced by Christian were intelligent, but their hearts had changed that they only saw the goods in the Christian colonial and only the bad in Muslims. HAMKA's opinion on Muslims who adopted Christian culture showed his displeasure with their attitude. They downgraded Islam because their hearts only viewed the bad in Islam.

HAMKA then brought the real situation in Indonesia's history on the implication of Muslims who adopted Christian culture phenomena. He expressed his criticism of Muslim rulers who were influenced by the Christian mindset. They did not defend the rights of Muslims because they were afraid to be called fanatics of Islam. For example, in Indonesia, even after the country was freed from Dutch-Christian colonisation, building churches in Muslim majority areas had become like a competition. Muslim rulers did not stop the church building and they were not concerned about the number of churches or mosques in the Muslim areas.²

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*, 6: 276-277.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 282.

During HAMKA's lifetime, grand mosques started to be built in Indonesia. However, the government did not fund the cost to build the mosques.¹ Most of the mosques were funded by private committees. Muslim rulers in the ruling power did not interfere or play their role to fight for Islam in Indonesia because of the same reason mentioned previously, which was to avoid being regarded as fanatics of Islam. In this case, the Great Mosque of *al-Azhar* was the only mosque in Jakarta funded 90 percent by the government. The funding was because of the help of Mohammad Natsir (d. 1993) as the Prime Minister with the assistance from Religious Minister, Kiyai Fakhri Usman, and Syamsurrijal who was the Jakarta Mayor.² According to HAMKA, if it was not because for their help, the land in Kebayoran Baru where the Great Mosque of *al-Azhar* is located might be given to the Catholics. HAMKA asserted that mosques such as Masjid Ambon, Maluku, Masjid Kota Medan, North Sumatera, Masjid Agung Palembang, South Sumatera, and other mosques in Indonesia were established by private committees and not the government.³ HAMKA opined that the root cause of the problem for the Muslim leaders who were influenced by the Dutch and Western education received by them. He mentioned, "*Kerana umumnya pemegang kekuasaan adalah orang yang mendapat pendidikan Belanda khususnya dan Barat umumnya, yang bagi mereka tidak peduli dan tidak jadi perhatian, apakah yang banyak itu gereja atau masjid.*"⁴

HAMKA's interpretation of the verse reflected the Western educational system adopted in government schools in Indonesia. This research also attempts to investigate HAMKA's writing of '*Umat Islam Menghadapi Tantangan Kristianisasi dan Sekularisasi*' to understand Western education in Indonesia as viewed by HAMKA. During the colonial period, there was no religious education because it was made-believed that the government was not siding with any religion. As a result, students who studied in government schools had zero knowledge about religion. However the government was assisting to empower missionary schools. Therefore, students who studied in missionary schools became practising Christians. For Muslim students who studied in missionary schools, they became very influenced by Christian and adopted Christian culture or in HAMKA's term, '*orang Islam yang kekristian-kristiankan*'. They were influenced by Western education that taught anyone who

¹ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p. 283.

² HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

³ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

⁴ HAMKA, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, 6: 282.

became devoted Muslims were considered fanatics. Apart from that, they managed to create a conception that being cynical towards Islam was a distinguished character for an educated person.¹

HAMKA was critical towards the Muslims who were influenced by Christian and adopted Christian culture. His analysis did not revolve only around the individuals who become, but he analysed the negative implications the issue had on Muslim's rights in Indonesia when the Muslim leaders failed to defend Islam because they were influenced by Christian. Other than that, he traced the root cause to the Western educational system in Indonesia, which carried along with the Christianisation agenda. It showed the elements distrust he had for Christians and Christianity at large.

Conclusion

The study reveals that in dealing with verses related to Christian beliefs, HAMKA was evaluative and judgmental of the Christian faiths by addressing the flaws of the Christian narratives. Then, he employed an argumentative approach as he counter argued the flaws in Christian narratives according to the Islamic perspective. His judgments were objective and based on the principles of *tawhid* as the truth. In this case, he had his contributions on inter-religious issues by making a comparison between the Christian understanding and Islamic perspective. There were also some occasions HAMKA argued using rational logic by questioning and highlighting some elements in Christian beliefs that seem to be illogical. As a reformist who propagated the importance of utilising human reasoning, HAMKA called the readers of this *tafsīr* to evaluate religious claims that were insensible to human reasoning, particularly in Christianity. The study finds that his discourse reflected the situation of Muslim-Christian relations in the context of Indonesia's political-milieu during HAMKA's time. The historical context brought by HAMKA about his encounter with Christian missionaries shows his awareness of conflicts and provocative attitudes by Christians.

Therefore, the contribution of *Tafsīr al-Azhar* is significant. HAMKA contributes to the discourse of comparative religion in the Malay world because his approaches in dealing with Qur'anic verses on Christianity deal with interfaith issues, particularly between Islam and Christianity. His efforts deserve a mention for bringing the interfaith discussion into the practice of real-life situations when he demonstrated the situation of the

¹ HAMKA, *Umat Islam Menghadapi Tentangan Kristianisasi & Sekularisasi*, p. 68.

Muslim-Christian relationship as the background of the discussions. HAMKA's commentaries on Christianity in his *Tafsīr al-Azhar* will add another great contribution of such a prolific scholar and writer to the discourse on comparative religion in this part of the world.

References

- Abdullah, T. *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)*. Cornell University (Ithaca, NY) / Modern Indonesia Project: Monograph Series. Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971.
<https://books.google.com.my/books?id=a-hyFZKrVCoC>
- Abdul Jalil, Mohd Noh. 'The Roles of Malays in the Process of Islamization of the Malay World: A Preliminary Study'. *International Journal of Nusantara Islam*, n.d.
- Aritonang, Jan S. *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen Dan Islam Di Indonesia*. Cet. 1. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2004.
- Al-Attas, Muhammad Naguib. *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*. Kuala Lumpur: Ta'dib International, 2018.
- Baidan, Nashruddin, and Erwati Aziz. *Perkembangan Tafsir Al-Qur'an Di Asia Tenggara*. Cetakan pertama. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2019.
- Baidan, Nashruddin and Kamdani. *Metodologi Penafsiran al-Quran*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998.
- Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. 'Hadji Agus Salim. Encyclopedia Britannica', 31 October 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hadji-Agus-Salim>
- Federspiel, Howard M. *A Dictionary of Indonesian Islam*. Monographs in International Studies, no. 94. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University, Center for International Studies, 1995.
- Federspiel, Howard M. *Popular Indonesian Literature of the Qur'an*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1994.
- HAMKA. *Dari Hati ke Hati: Bercakap Soal Agama, Sosial-budaya & Politik*. Shah Alam, Selangor: Pustaka Dini, 2009.
- HAMKA. *Kenang-Kenangan Hidup*. Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2018.
- HAMKA. *Umat Islam Menghadapi Tentangan Kristianisasi & Sekularisasi*. Ed. terkini. Shah Alam: Pustaka Dini, 2009.
- Irfan HAMKA. *Ayah: Kisah Buya HAMKA*. Cetakan I. Jakarta: Penerbit Republika, 2013.
- Ismail, Norbani B. 'The Quranic Exegesis, Reformism, and Women in Twentieth Century Indonesia'. *Studia Islamika* 24, no. 3 (29 December 2017): 469–501.
<https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v24i3.5187>
- Leaman, Oliver, ed. *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Islamic Philosophy*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.
- Neo, J. L. 'What's in a Name? Malaysia's "Allah" Controversy and the Judicial Intertwining of Islam with Ethnic Identity'. *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 12, no. 3 (1 July 2014): 751–68.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/icon/mou050>

- Ni'am, Syamsun. 'Hamzah Fansuri: Pelopor Tasawuf Wujudiyah Dan Pengaruhnya Hingga Kini Di Nusantara'. *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman* 12, no. 1 (29 June 2017): 261–86. <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2017.12.1.261-286>
- Noer, Deliar. *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Post, Peter, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Indonesia in the Pacific War: In Cooperation with the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation*. BRILL, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004168664.i-684>
- Ricklefs, M. C. *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*. 4. ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Riddell, Peter G. *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.
- Rusydi HAMKA. *HAMKA Pujangga Islam Kebanggaan Rumpun Melayu: Menatap Peribadi Dan Martabatnya*. Cet. 1. Shah Alam: Pustaka Dini, 2002.
- Schirmacher, Thomas. *Is It Appropriate That Arab Christians Call God Allah?* Nürnberg: VTR, 2002. Syukur, Yanuardi. *Buya HAMKA: Memoar Perjalanan Hidup Sang Ulama*. Cetakan pertama. Solo: Tinta Medina, 2017.
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Ahmadiyya'. Accessed 23 November 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ahmadiyyah>
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Resurrection', 15 May 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/resurrection-religion>
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Trinity', 27 April 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Trinity-Christianity>
- Wan Yusof, Wan Sabri. 'HAMKA's Tafsir al- Azhar: Qur'anic Exegesis as a Mirror of Social Change'. PhD, Temple University, 1997.
- Wan Yusof, Wan Sabri. 'Religious Harmony and Inter-Faith Dialogue in the Writings of HAMKA'. *Intellectual Discourse* 13, no. 2 (2005): 113–34.
- Yusuf, M. Yunan. *Corak Pemikiran Kalam Tafsir Al-Azhar Sebuah Telahan Tentang Pemikiran HAMKA Dalam Teologi Islam*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1990.
- Zulkifli, Fathin Hanani, and Majdan Alias. 'HAMKA's Responses to the Evangelisation in Indonesia: An Analysis of Interpretation of Several Qur'anic Verses in Tafsir Al-Azhar.' *Al-Itqan: Journal of Islamic Sciences and Comparative Studies* 4, no. 2 (14 September 2020): 109–25.

AL-ITQĀN

JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC SCIENCES AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Volume: 8

Issue No. 2

August 2023

EDITOR IN-CHIEF

Dr. Wan Mohd Azam Mohd Amin

MANAGING EDITOR

Dr. Masitoh Ahmad

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr. Syed Arabi Aidid, IIUM.

Dr. Kamaruzaman Yusuff, Universiti Malaya,
Lembah Pantai, Kuala Lumpur.

Dr. Mumtaz Ali, IIUM.

Dr. Noor Amali Mohd Daud, IIUM.

Dr. Adibah Abdul Rahim, IIUM.

Dr. Haslina Ibrahim, IIUM.

Dr. Siti Akmar, Universiti Institut Teknologi MARA, Shah Alam

Dr. Thameem Ushama, IIUM.

Dr. Che Zarrina Saari, Universiti Malaya
Lembah Pantai, Kuala Lumpur