

The Typologies of Islamic Thought: Mapping The Contemporary Intellectual Movements in Indonesia

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Abstract: The continuity and change of reformation ideas in the history of the Islamic intellectual movement necessitate a systematic categorization. This article endeavors to present a fresh framework for classifying Islamic thought, drawing inspiration from Fazlur Rahman's categories of revivalist, classical modernist, neo-revivalist, and neo-modernist. More specifically, this article examines a reclassification of Islamic thought and elaborates on its implications for the contemporary historical narrative of the Islamic intellectual movement within the Indonesian context. By undertaking a comprehensive literature review and employing a descriptive methodology for data collection and analysis, this article found out eight categories or typologies characterizing contemporary Islamic intellectual movements in Indonesia: (1) the revivalist movement, (2) the classical modernist movement, (3) the neo-revivalist movement, (4) the neo-modernist movement, (5) the traditionalist movement, (6) the neo-traditionalist movement, (7) the post-modernist movement, and (8) the post-traditionalist movement. These typologies commence with the emergence of classical modernism juxtaposed against classical traditionalism as the turning point of the dialectical progression of Indonesian Islamic intellectualism. Each typology has undergone a transformative process and metamorphosis within a dynamic scientific dialectic.

Keywords: reformation ideas; categorization framework; Islamic thought; intellectual movements

A. Introduction

Social science approaches religion as a societal phenomenon rather than a fixed set of beliefs. Operating under the premise that change is the only constant, the study of religion within the realm of social science recognizes its perpetual evolution. The forces driving these transformations operate in a reciprocal manner, with religion influencing shifts in society, and conversely, societal changes impacting religious evolution. Within this framework, we can identify three critical analytical elements that facilitate our comprehension of the origins and processes behind the changes that unfold in the realm of human existence. These elements encompass physical factors, non-physical factors, and socio-

cultural dynamics. In contrast, the non-physical elements pertain to aspects that evade direct sensory perception.¹ This category likewise comprises three crucial factors: history, structure, and culture. History delves into the temporal dimension, examining the historical underpinnings and trajectories that have shaped religious traditions. Structure delves into the organizational aspects of religious institutions, offering insights into their internal dynamics and hierarchies. Culture, in this context, probes the intangible ethos and values inherent within religious communities.

The third indispensable facet is socio-cultural dynamics, encompassing the array of socio-cultural events and phenomena that envelop a given social manifestation within a specific temporal and spatial context. These events serve as the backdrop against which religious transformations unfold, providing valuable contextual clues and insights into the intricate interplay between religion and society. In sum, the study of religion in social science recognizes the dynamic interrelationship between religious phenomena and society, utilizing a multidimensional framework that encompasses physical, non-physical, and socio-cultural dimensions. This approach enables a comprehensive understanding of the ever-changing nature of religious phenomena within the tapestry of human existence.

The religion of Islam, as a societal phenomenon, initially emerged on the Arabian Peninsula during the 7th century AD. The teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) spread rapidly within a mere two decades, extending far beyond the confines of the Arabian Peninsula. Following the passing of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and the successive generations of his companions, Islam expanded to encompass a multitude of empires and kingdoms. Noteworthy among these empires were the Umayyad Empire, Abbasid Empire, Ottoman Empire, Safavid Empire, and the Mughal Empire, each wielding considerable power and influence. These empires exerted control over vast territories, extending from the Balkan Peninsula and Central Europe in the

¹ The physical factors constitute elements that can be directly apprehended through the five senses. This category further subdivides into three significant components: geography, demographics, and infrastructure. Geography delineates the spatial context within which religious phenomena manifest, demographics encapsulate the characteristics of the population involved, and infrastructure encompasses the material resources and structures that shape religious expression.

North to the depths of Black Africa in the South. Geographically, the influence of Islam spanned from Morocco in the West to the far reaches of Southeast Asia in the East. In essence, Islam emerged as the prevailing religion practiced by the inhabitants of this vast expanse of land, often referred to as the "Middle Earth." This geographical scope encompasses regions from the African Sea to the shores of the South Pacific, extending from the sweeping Siberian grasslands to the remote islands of Southeast Asia.²

Indonesia is a country in Southeast Asia known as the country under wind or Nusantara. Culturally, Indonesia is one of the Islamic regions that is no less important than other regions in the Islamic world.³ Indonesia in 2017, with 205 million people or about 88.1 percent of the population who are Muslims, is the largest Muslim-populated country in the world. The two largest rankings below it were achieved alternately by Pakistan with 178 million or 96.4 percent of its population and India with 177 million or 14.6 percent of its population of more than 1 billion. Nation states with a majority Muslim population are developing countries or countries that are growing (emerging countries).

Historically, the inception of Islam in Indonesia, and more broadly, Southeast Asia, or the archipelagic region, can be elucidated through one of the theories regarding the dissemination of Islam, known as the "mata air" or "spring" theory, as articulated by Azyumardi Azra.⁴ This theory postulates that the diffusion of Islam resembles the flow of water, emanating from various sources marking the inception of Islam in Southeast Asia. One such origin may be traced back to China, as suggested by Slamet Muljana. However, it is plausible that other "springs" also contributed to the introduction of Islam in the archipelago, including regions like Kelantan, Bengal, Persia, and Egypt. Among these, the most prominent "spring"

² Ira M. Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial Ummat Islam : Bagian ke-Satu dan ke-Dua*, trans. oleh Ghufran A. Mas'adi, I, A History of Islamic Societies (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999), hlm. vii.

³ Culturally, Azyumardi Azra has divided the entire Islamic world into eight Islamic cultural spheres, namely (1) Arab, (2) Persian (Iran), (3) Sino-Islamic, (4) Nusantara (Southeast Asia), (5) India subcontinent, (6) Turkey, (7) Black Africa (Sub-Saharan Africa), and (8) Western world (Western hemisphere). Azyumardi Azra, "Kajian Islam CUHK-1," *REPUBLIKA.CO.ID*, Kamis, Oktober 2014, sec. Berita Kolom Resonansi, 1, <http://m.republika.co.id/berita/kolom/resonansi/14/10/22/ndurfj-kajian-islam-cuhk-1>.

⁴ Azyumardi Azra, "Kajian Islam ... hlm. 1.

emanated from Arabia, encompassing territories ranging from Iraq and Yemen to the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina.

Certain scholars and Islamic academics have held the view that the narrative of Islamic civilization is predominantly centered around Arab Islam, with little acknowledgment of the historical developments in the Islamic world beyond the Middle East. This perspective has led to the marginalization of the history of Islam and the Muslim world outside the Middle East within the broader context of Islamic civilization.⁵ Consequently, constraining the history of Islamic civilization to the era of the Abbasid dynasty's collapse in 1258 AD overlooks the multifaceted historical evolution that has occurred in diverse regions. Proponents of this viewpoint assert that the historical narrative of Islam has been disproportionately focused on key epochs, such as the life of the Prophet Muhammad, the era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (Khulafa' al-Rashid3n), and the Umayyad and Abbasid Dynasties. Consequently, this limited perspective has resulted in Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia being inadequately integrated into the broader narrative of the Islamic and Muslim world. In practice, Islam in this region has often been regarded as a geographically peripheral and doctrinally marginal facet of the Arab Islamic and Muslim entity.⁶ This perspective not only undermines the rich historical and cultural contributions of Southeast Asian and Indonesian Muslims but also perpetuates a partial and limiting perspective on the global history of Islam.⁷

The trend of marginalization of Indonesian Muslims and Islam or Southeast Asia as a whole is regrettable because in this region there is the largest concentration of world Muslims with intense historical dynamics and intellectualism. The Islamic intellectual environment in Indonesia is conducive to producing indigenous contributions to the way of dealing with Islamic heritage and being a generous host to receive various ideas to formulate a new agenda of

⁵ It is worth noting that the Middle East region has often been regarded as the epicenter of Arab power. However, it constitutes only a fraction, approximately 20%, of the entire Muslim world. This expansive Muslim world encompasses nations spanning from the Arabian Peninsula in the south to Syria in the north and extends westward to include Egypt and Sudan. Angel M. Rabasa et al., *The Muslim World After 9/11* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2004), Hal. 31, <http://www.rand.org/>.

⁶ Azyumardi Azra, "Intelektual Muslim Baru dan Kajian Islam," *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 19, no. 1 (2012): Hal. 200.

⁷ Testriono, "Is Indonesian Islam Different? Islam in Indonesia in a Comparative International Perspective," *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 18, no. 1 (2011): Hal. 200.

Islamic studies introduced from outside. Therefore, Carool Kersten argues that the intellectual development of Islam in Indonesia has departed from the peripheral provinces (peripheral), even challenging the Middle East as a center (center) which has been seen as the source of everything, especially to get the 'right' and the 'pure'.

The unfortunate trend of marginalizing Indonesian Muslims and Islam, as well as Southeast Asia as a whole, is regrettable when considering that this region hosts the largest concentration of Muslims worldwide, marked by a rich tapestry of historical dynamics and intellectual vigor.⁸ The intellectual landscape of Islam in Indonesia provides an ideal setting for generating indigenous contributions to the interpretation of Islamic heritage. Simultaneously, it serves as a welcoming platform for embracing a diverse array of ideas, thereby formulating a fresh agenda for Islamic studies that transcends conventional boundaries.⁹ In light of these dynamics, Carool Kersten¹⁰ contends that the intellectual development of Islam in Indonesia has transcended the periphery and has even begun to challenge the notion of the Middle East as the exclusive center, traditionally regarded as the primary source for 'right' and 'pure' interpretations of Islam. This shift underscores the emergence of Southeast Asia as a significant intellectual hub within the global Islamic landscape, contributing to a more inclusive and diversified understanding of Islamic scholarship and heritage.

This article serves as an introductory exploration of transformations within Indonesian Islamic thought, regarded as a social phenomenon within the field of Social Sciences. Within the realm of social studies, the phenomenon of religious thought is delineated through the lens of categorization and typology, employing specific criteria to encompass the spectrum of Islamic intellectual evolution from classical to contemporary epochs. The content of this article encompasses four primary points of discussion: (1) The Early Islamic intellectualism in Indonesia: This section provides backgrounds and theoretical frameworks for the

⁸ Carool Kersten, *Cosmopolitans and Heretics: New Muslim Intellectuals and the Study of Islam* (London: Hurst & Company, 2011), Hal. 8.

⁹ Testriono, "Is Indonesian Islam Different? Islam in Indonesia in a Comparative International Perspective," Hal. 199-202.

¹⁰ Kersten, *Cosmopolitans and Heretics: New Muslim Intellectuals and the Study of Islam*; Kersten, Carool, *A History of Islam in Indonesia: Unity in Diversity*, The New Edinburgh Islamic Surveys (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

categorization. (2) Typology of Islamic Thought in Indonesia: This section delves into the categorization and typification of Islamic thought in the Indonesian context, elucidating the diverse intellectual paradigms that have shaped its trajectory. (2) Dynamics of the Development of Islamic Thought in Indonesia: Here, we explore the intricate dynamics underpinning the evolution of Islamic thought in Indonesia. This entails a comprehensive examination of the socio-cultural, historical, and intellectual forces that have contributed to its transformation over time.

B. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with the type of library research. Literary research examines various sources such as books, journals, articles, and other documents relevant to the study topic. Primary and secondary data sources in this research come from primary literature related to contemporary Islamic thought in Indonesia, such as the works of influential Indonesian Muslim intellectuals. Secondary data sources come from supporting literature, such as books, journals, articles, and research reports that discuss similar topics. Data collection was carried out through documentation studies. Researchers identify, review, and analyze various written sources relevant to the research topic. This technique is carried out to obtain the information and data needed to answer research questions. Meanwhile, data analysis in this research uses a content analysis approach. Researchers identify, classify, and interpret concepts, themes, and patterns of contemporary Islamic thought that appear in data sources. This in-depth analysis was carried out to understand the typology of Islamic thought and map contemporary intellectual movements in Indonesia.

C. Finding and Discussion

1. The Early Islamic Intellectualism in Indonesia

The genesis of the tradition of Islamic intellectualism that thrived and evolved in Indonesia since the early 17th century finds its roots in manuscript sources.¹¹ Manuscripts stand as one of the most authentic and authoritative

¹¹ A.H. Johns said "It is works such as these that the Muslim elite wrote for themselves and each other. It is from a study of such works in their regional settings that a clearer and perhaps more worthy understanding of

primary sources of information illuminating the Islamic intellectual history of the archipelago.¹² Notably, several pioneering works underscore the significance of these manuscripts: "Şirāt al-Mustaqīm" by Nurudin ar-Raniry represents the first fiqh (jurisprudence) book on worship composed in the Malay language. "Mir'āt al-Tulāb" by Abdur Rauf Al-Fansūrī stands as the initial fiqh muamalah (commercial jurisprudence) book penned in Malay. "Turjumān al-Mustafid," alternatively known as "al-Sinklī," comprises the first complete 30 juz (sections) tafsir (exegesis) of the Qur'an composed in the Malay language, attributed to Abdur Rauf Al-Fansūrī.¹³ These notable contributions are intertwined with the intellectual network of scholars hailing from Makkah and Madinah and their students, a network that began taking shape from the end of the 16th century through the latter half of the 17th century.¹⁴ This scholarly network played a pivotal role in fostering the development of Islamic intellectualism within the Indonesian context and nurturing a rich tradition of Islamic knowledge dissemination.

Deliar Noer's extensive research on the Islamic movements in Indonesia spanning the period from 1900 to 1942 has yielded a fundamental categorization of Indonesian Islam into two distinct categories: modernist Islam and traditionalist Islam.¹⁵ In the realm of religious discourse, especially within the context of Islam in Indonesia, the terminology often juxtaposes "modern," "modernist," or "modernism" with "traditional," "traditionalism," or "traditionalism."¹⁶ The first category, modernist Islam, conveys a connotation of forward-thinking, dynamism, urbanization, education, and openness. It is

Islam in Southeast Asia may be won...". Anthony H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions," *Indonesia* 19 (1975): 55.

¹² Fuad Jabali, *Filologi dan Kajian Islam Nusantara Berbasis Teks*, Short Course Metode Penelitian Filologi (Gedung Pusat TIK Nasional, UIN Jakarta, 2012).

¹³ R. Roolvink, "Indonesia: (vi) Literatures," dalam *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. oleh Ch. Pellat, C.E. Bosworth Van Donze E., dan W.P. Heinrichs (Leiden - New York: E.J. Brill, 1993), hlm. 1233.

¹⁴ Abdul Munip, *Transmisi Pengetahuan Timur Tengah ke Indonesia: Studi tentang Penerjemahan Buku Berbahasa Arab di Indonesia 1950-2004*, ed. oleh Huriyuddin M., 1 ed. (Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan Balitbang dan Diklat Kemenag RI, 2010), hlm. 37-52.

¹⁵ Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996).

¹⁶ Such as the studies conducted by Cristine Dobbin, Deliar Noer, Alfian, dan Choirul Anam. M. Mukhsin Jamil et al., *Nalar Islam Nusantara: Studi Islam Ala Muhammadiyah, Al-Irsyad, Persis, Dan NU*, ed. Ali Romdhoni (Jakarta: Dirjen Pendidikan Islam Kemenag RI, 2007), hlm. 6.

emblematic of a progressive and intellectually vibrant segment of society. In contrast, the second category, traditionalist Islam, pertains to groups that are characterized as being relatively less advanced, less educated, insular, inert, rooted in rural settings, ascetic in nature, and adhering to conventional practices. This terminological distinction underscores the dichotomy between these two facets of Indonesian Islam and their contrasting attributes, reflecting the societal and intellectual complexities within the Indonesian Muslim landscape during the specified historical period.

The categorization of Islamic thought movements into a simple binary opposition of modernists versus traditionalists has become inadequate and obsolete when employed to depict the contemporary spectrum of intellectual development. This inadequacy stems from the emergence of progressive ideas originating from Indonesian Islamic religious communities in response to the challenges posed by modernity. Positivism, often regarded as the core of modernity, also serves as the foundation for modern dehumanization and totalitarian control. This is primarily attributed to the limitations of the positivist approach within the realm of Social Sciences, which is considered insufficient for comprehending the complexities of human beings and societies. The positivist approach, characterized by its pursuit of "objectivity" and the "freedom of values," heavily relies on methodologies derived from the natural sciences, which have proven successful in the application of modern technology.¹⁷ In addition to its critique of modernity, the dynamics of intellectualism that have evolved in response have led to a revitalization of tradition. This revitalization process goes beyond mere glorification and sanctification of tradition; it involves a profound scrutiny of tradition, encompassing both behavioral and ideological dimensions. This critical engagement with tradition is essential in adapting to the challenges of

¹⁷ Positivism is the essence of modernity, yet it is the root of modern dehumanization and totalitarian domination. This is because the positivist approach in the social sciences is considered inadequate for understanding human beings and societies. This approach, which seeks "objectivity" and "freedom from values," is heavily influenced by methods from the natural sciences that have indeed proven successful when applied in the form of modern technology. Fransisco Budi Hardiman, *Melampaui Positivisme Dan Modernitas: Diskursus Filosofis Tentang Metode Ilmiah Dan Problem Modernitas* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2003), hlm. 5.

modernity while preserving the intrinsic values embedded within Islamic tradition.¹⁸

Acknowledging the plethora of categorizations and typologies within Islamic thought, this article adopts the framework proposed by Fazlur Rahman (d. 1989) as a foundational reference point for discussion, albeit with certain modifications. Fazlur Rahman delineates two pivotal groups in the history of Islamic intellectualism: modernism and revivalism. Over time, modernism has undergone a transformative shift, evolving into neo-modernism, while revivalism has metamorphosed into neo-revivalism. In essence, Fazlur Rahman posits the existence of four categories within Islamic thought movements: revivalist, classical modernist, neo-revivalist, and neo-modernist movements.¹⁹ However, within the Indonesian context, we find it necessary to adapt Fazlur Rahman's typology into three principal categories: modernism, revivalism, and traditionalism. Furthermore, our modification entails the exploration of the subsequent developments within these three overarching groups. In addition to giving rise to neo-modernism and neo-revivalism, these typological adaptations have also led to the emergence of post-modernism and post-traditionalism. Consequently, we identify a total of eight categories or typologies of Islamic thought: (1) revivalist movements, (2) classical modernist movements, (3) neo-revivalist movements, (4) neo-modernist movements, (5) traditionalist movements, (6) neo-traditionalist movements, (7) post-modernist movements, and (8) post-traditionalist movements.

2. The Typology of Islamic Thought in Indonesia

First, the revivalist movement emerged in the late 18th century marked by the emergence of the Wahhabist movement in Arabia, Sanusiyah in North Africa, and Fulaniyyah in West Africa. This movement has not yet come into contact with the Western world with its characteristics: (1) concern for the socio-moral degradation of Muslims and efforts to change it; (2) an appeal to return to pure Islam by opposing something that is considered destructive to *aqidah* containing

¹⁸ Rumadi, *Post Tradisionalisme Islam: Wacana Intelektualisme dalam Komunitas NU*, ed. oleh Marzuki Wahid (Jakarta: Direktorat Pendidikan Tinggi Islam Depag RI, tt.), hlm. 1-3.

¹⁹ Fazlur Rahman, *Neo-Modernisme Islam: Metode Dan Alternatif*, ed. Taufik Adnan Amal, 9th ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 1989), hlm. 17-21.

elements of heresy, superstition, and superstition. This movement calls for *ijtihad* and renouncing the establishment and finality of the legal schools; and (3) calls for this renewal if necessary through armed force.

The initial emergence of the revivalist movement can be traced back to the late 18th century, marked by the rise of the Wahhabist movement in Arabia, the Sanusiyah movement in North Africa, and the Fulaniyyah movement in West Africa. During this period, the revivalist movement had not yet come into direct contact with the Western world. It exhibited distinct characteristics, including:

1. **Concern for the Socio-Moral Degradation of Muslims:** This movement was primarily driven by concerns about the deteriorating socio-moral conditions among Muslims, and it sought to initiate reforms to address these issues.
2. **Emphasis on a Return to Pure Islam:** A central theme was the call to return to a purer form of Islam by opposing elements deemed detrimental to *aqidah* (the Islamic creed) that contained elements of heresy, superstition, and unfounded beliefs. It advocated for *ijtihad* (independent legal reasoning) and challenged the established and final authority of the traditional legal schools.
3. **Willingness to Employ Armed Force:** In certain cases, this renewal movement advocated for the use of armed force to achieve its goals if deemed necessary.

These three characteristics collectively defined the early revivalist movement and set the stage for its subsequent evolution and influence within the Islamic world.

Secondly, the classical modernist movement emerged during the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, profoundly influenced by Western modernist ideas. Notable figures at the forefront of this movement included Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898) in India and Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905) in Egypt. The classical modernist movement brought about a broadening of the scope of *ijtihad*, encompassing crucial topics such as the interplay between reason and revelation, educational reforms, the status of women, political transformation, and the advocacy for democratic forms of governance. It is important to delineate conceptual distinctions between the Islamic renewal movement and Islamic modernism. The former, Islamic renewal, is commonly employed to characterize movements focused on purifying Islamic teachings from the syncretic influences

of local traditions, predominantly those that prevailed prior to the 19th century. On the other hand, Islamic modernism, the latter concept, is typically used to describe the renewal movement that emerged since the 19th century, with the aim of adapting Islamic teachings to modern intellectual paradigms. In the Indonesian context, Islamic modernism embarked on a multifaceted renewal endeavor, spanning religious thought (theology), institutional reforms, social and educational dimensions, as well as political transformations.²⁰

Islamic modernism was born from the debris of the decline of political power and Islamic Thought which was in a stagnant and static condition. Islamic modernism invites Muslims to realize that the teachings of Islam have an absolute dimension (qāʿ) that must be accepted as it is and a relative dimension (ḍannī) that requires thinking and rationalization based on the Qur'an and Al-Sunnah. These progressive ideas in the Islamic modernism movement in turn have gradually driven the dynamics of Islamic intellectualism. In the process of forming Islamic intellectualism, there is always a constructive dialogue between the continuity of the tradition and the dynamic change of the previous tradition. This happened because in addition to criticizing modernism, the dynamics of traditionalism also developed to revitalize. The process of revitalizing the tradition is not by sanctification of tradition, but criticism of tradition, both related to behavior and thinking.

Thirdly, the neo-revivalist movement, grounded in the principles of classical modernism, asserts that Islam encompasses all facets of human existence, both at the individual and collective levels. One distinctive characteristic that sets this movement apart from the Western paradigm is its refusal to adopt the methods and ethos of classical modernism, even though it has struggled to formulate a coherent methodology to substantiate its stance. An illustrative example of the neo-revivalist movement is exemplified by Abu al-A'la al-Maududi and his Jamaati Islami in Pakistan. This movement represents a significant departure from classical modernist approaches and has sought to emphasize the comprehensive nature of Islamic principles in shaping various aspects of society, including governance, morality, and individual conduct. However, it remains a challenge for

²⁰ Nia Kurnia dan Amelia Fauzia, "Gerakan Modernisme," dalam *Eksiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam*, ed. oleh Taufik Abdullah dan dkk., Asia Tenggara 5 (Jakarta: Ichtisar Baru van Hoeve, 2003), Hal. 350.

the neo-revivalist movement to provide a systematic framework for its ideas and objectives, thus distinguishing it from classical modernism while also confronting the need for methodological refinement.

Fourthly, the neo-modernist movement endeavors to achieve a progressive synthesis, harmonizing modernist rationality with *ijtihad* rooted in the classical tradition. Although Fazlur Rahman characterizes neo-modernism as an attempt to reconcile modernism with traditionalism, in practice, neo-modernism largely operates within the sphere of modernism and does not fully embrace the traditionalist ethos as a catalyst for societal transformation. Neo-modernism, as an Islamic theological perspective, adopts a dual outlook that encompasses both social ethics and individual piety in its interpretation of Islamic texts and traditions. Simultaneously, it refrains from accentuating sectarian divisions within Islamic society and abstains from endorsing the concept of an Islamic State. Prominent figures within the neo-modernist thought movement include luminaries such as Nurcholish Madjid and Shafi'i Ma'arif. These individuals have played a pivotal role in shaping the discourse surrounding neo-modernism, advocating for a more balanced and inclusive interpretation of Islam that addresses contemporary challenges while respecting the richness of Islamic tradition.²¹

Fifthly, the Traditionalist movement represents a strand of thought that remains deeply rooted in tradition, considering it as an inheritance passed down through generations and still relevant in the contemporary context. Within the framework of Indonesian Islam, several intrinsic characteristics define this movement:

1. **Strong Affiliation with Traditional Islamic Thought:** Traditionalism is profoundly connected to the classical Islamic intellectual heritage, particularly the ideas of scholars encompassing jurisprudence, hadith, Sufism, tafsir (exegesis), and monotheism, who thrived during the 7th to 13th centuries. The traditionalist orientation draws heavily from the insights and interpretations of these early Islamic scholars.

²¹ Mark Woodward, "Indonesia, Islam dan Orientalisme: Sebuah Wacana Yang Melintas," dalam *Jalan Baru Islam: Memetakan Paradigma Mutakhir Islam Indonesia*, ed. oleh Mark Woodward, 1 ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), hlm. 16.

2. **Predominant Rural Base with a Focus on Islamic Education:** The majority of its adherents reside in rural areas, often associated with Islamic boarding schools that emphasize the teachings of Sufism and tariqa (spiritual paths). These institutions play a pivotal role in shaping the worldview and education of traditionalist supporters.
3. **Ideological Alignment with Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaa'ah:** Traditionalists are ideologically aligned with the tenets of ahl al-sunnah wa al-Jamaa'ah (the people of the Sunnah and the community), a doctrinal stance that not only distinguishes them from non-Sunnis but also underscores the ideological contrast between traditionalists and modernists within the Islamic tradition.

These three distinctive features underscore the unique identity of the Traditionalist movement and its commitment to preserving the rich legacy of Islamic thought while existing within the dynamics of contemporary Islamic discourse.²²

Sixthly, the neo-traditionalist movement represents a strand of intellectual thought aimed at revitalizing tradition, notably exemplified by the contributions of Abdurrahman Wahid. Neo-traditionalism departs from a traditionalist perspective by actively engaging in a continuous dialogue with modernity. This intensive engagement with the realities of modernity results in a significant transformation of tradition within the framework of constructing a new tradition, distinct from its predecessors. While there is an element of continuity, neo-traditionalism introduces considerable discontinuity in various aspects compared to the foundation of earlier traditions. In essence, this movement signifies a process of thought liberalization, mirroring the evolution of thought within the post-traditionalism movement. The dialogues and interactions with modernity have led to the emergence of novel perspectives and interpretations within the framework of Islamic intellectualism, bridging the gap between tradition and contemporary challenges.²³

²² Rumadi, *Post Tradisionalisme Islam: Wacana Intelektualisme dalam Komunitas NU*, hlm. 10-11.; Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Perbandingan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia (Edisi Revisi)*, Edisi Revisi (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011), hlm. 1; Fachry Ali dan Bahtiar Effendy, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru* (Bandung: Mizan, 1990), hlm. 48-52.

²³ Ahmad Ali Riyadi, "Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam Kaum Muda Nahdlatul Ulama," *Jurnal Hermeneia* 4, no. 1 (2005): hlm. 11-13.

Seventhly, the post-modernist movement represents an intriguing development stemming from modernism. The concept of post-modernism can be comprehended as a blend of diverse notions—it may emerge as a consequence of modernism, a reaction to modernism, an evolution of modernism, or even a complete rejection of modernism. Post-modernist ideas are underpinned by a critical stance toward modernism, transcending the boundaries set by modernist paradigms. At its core, post-modernism entails a repudiation and critique of grand narratives, which often adhere to logocentrism, employing the principle of deconstruction and resisting categorization. As a "reaction" to modernism's rational, universal, and progressive modes of thought, the post-modernist movement ushers in a diverse array of contradictory, ironic, hybrid, and eclectic forms of thinking. It celebrates openness, pluralism, inclusivity, and eclecticism, engendering a sense of directional ambiguity. Post-modernism is imbued with a spirit that values smaller narratives—narratives that are heterogeneous, pluralistic, contextual, particular, local, and indigenous. This shift away from grand, all-encompassing narratives underscores the multifaceted nature of post-modernist thought and its engagement with the complexities of contemporary intellectual discourse.²⁴

Eighthly, the post-traditionalist movement embodies a strand of intellectual thought dedicated to scrutinizing tradition through the adoption of modern methodologies, all while retaining tradition as the foundation for transformation.²⁵ The essence of post-traditionalism lies in the endeavor to rejuvenate and revitalize traditions rather than outright abandonment. Even when there exists an inclination toward rejecting and critiquing tradition, it is more akin to a process of forecasting those aspects of tradition perceived as no longer pertinent to progressive thought. Consequently, post-traditionalism emerges as a mode of thinking deeply rooted in tradition yet adaptable to the ever-evolving context of space and time.

Within the context of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) tradition, a guiding principle encapsulates this dynamic relationship between tradition and change: "Al-muīfaiah 'alā qadīm al-šālīī wa al-akhdhū bi Al-jadīd al-aīlāī" (preserving the good

²⁴ Yasraf Amir Piliang, "Posmodernisme Dan Hipermodernitas: Hibriditas Tanda Dan Matinya Realitas," *Linguistika Kultura* Vol. 8, no. 3 (March 2013): hlm. 1-3.

²⁵ Rumadi, *Post Tradisionalisme Islam: Wacana Intelektualisme Dalam Komunitas NU*, hlm. 140.

aspects of the old [tradition] while embracing the better aspects of the new [modern]). This concept underlines the notion of continuity, emphasizing the importance of safeguarding the valuable aspects of tradition. Concurrently, the principle of "Al-akhdhu bi Al-jadīd al-aṣḥaḥ" underscores the concept of change, advocating the incorporation of modern elements that enhance the traditional foundation. This dialectical interplay between continuity and change within the post-traditionalist movement serves as a testament to the adaptability and resilience of Islamic intellectualism in navigating the complexities of contemporary discourse.

In addition, Ahmad Baso also made a mapping of the dynamics of Islamic intellectualism in the archipelago by offering a typology of post colonial or post colonial studies. This study is an intellectual achievement that wants to uncover a number of problems –ontology, epistemology, and Axiology—in the study of foreign scholars about Indonesia. According to Baso, intellectually there has been a process of the othering through the instrument of religious discourse. The culture of the colonizer that comes from outside has been internalized as belonging to the colonized (the colonized). Over time, the culture is ingrained in the colonized self so that he recognizes the culture as part of his own. Among these cultures can be seen in the construction of pure Islam-puritan, universal Islam, Kaffah Islam, and modern Islam.²⁶

3. The Dialectic of Islamic Intellectual Movements

The emergence of modernism, traditionalism, and revivalism can be primarily attributed to the defeats suffered by Muslims at the hands of European powers. Historical events such as Napoleon's campaign in Egypt (1798-1801) and the decline of the Ottoman Empire due to its inability to contend with European powers played pivotal roles in shaping this transformative period. Interestingly, this narrative raises questions about the apparent incongruity with the Quranic statement found in Surat Ali Imran (3), verse 110. Scholars have scrutinized the contents of this verse, contemplating the perceived anomaly wherein Muslims, as the chosen people, faced defeat when confronted by European powers.

²⁶ Ahmad Baso, *Islam Pasca Kolonial: Perselingkuhan Reformisme Agama, Kolonialisme dan Liberalisme*, Edisi Revisi (Tangerang Selatan: Pustaka Afid, 2016), hlm. 424-426.

This dissonance prompted a period of introspection, leading to the realization that Islam itself was not at fault, but rather, Muslims themselves bore responsibility for their circumstances. Consequently, the diagnosis of the root causes behind Muslim defeats and their struggles against European powers engendered a quest for remedies. Some posited that the defeats stemmed from the antiquated and outdated nature of Muslim institutions compared to the advanced European counterparts. Muslims, it was argued, were lagging behind in terms of intellectual and institutional development, akin to being stuck in a figurative desert. Consequently, the remedy lay in modernization—a transformation that necessitated the assimilation of modern thought and institutions.

As the vanguard of modern institutions lay in Europe at the time, the process of modernization naturally involved the adoption of European ideas and institutions. However, this endeavor carried with it the risk of Europeanization or Westernization, as the borrowed modernism inevitably reflected the influence of European thought and values. This complex historical backdrop underscores the multifaceted nature of the modernism movement and its intersection with the challenges of Westernization and identity preservation within Muslim societies.

Concurrently, another perspective posits that the lagging behind of Muslim societies compared to Europe can be attributed to a departure from the essence of pure Islam. According to this viewpoint, the only viable remedy lies in a return to the foundations of pristine Islam. Those advocating for this return to the core principles of Islam are often referred to as Salafis or adherents of Salafism. In the lexicon of Muhammadiyah, this entails forsaking practices categorized as TBC, which stands for superstition, heresy, and churafat, and instead reorienting towards the Qur'an and Hadith (*al-rujū' ila al-Qu'ān wa al-hadīth*), particularly the authentic Hadiths. The emergence of the Salafism movement can be traced back to the time of Ibn Taymiyyah, grounded in the belief that Islam had been tainted by heretical beliefs, superstitions, and syncretism with local customs. Therefore, a return to the purity of Islam was deemed imperative.

It's important to note that Salafism is not monolithic; it spans a spectrum with variations among its adherents. Some espouse a moderate stance, while others hold more radical views. The movement exhibits diverse tendencies, with some adherents emphasizing peaceful coexistence, while others lean towards violence and even endorse terrorism as a means of achieving their objectives. This

multifaceted nature of Salafism underscores the complexity and diversity within the movement.

The concept of "modernity" should be comprehended through two key dimensions. Firstly, modernity can be understood as a system of values and an arrangement of those values. Modern values encompass principles such as punctuality, forward-thinking, rationality, and more. Numerous books delve into the topics of modernity, modernization, and the attributes of modernity. Individuals characterized as "modern" in terms of their values tend to exhibit traits such as valuing time, having a forward-looking orientation, striving for efficiency in their work, engaging in diverse activities, and expressing a strong Need of Achievement (N-Ach), indicating a desire to excel and achieve high standards. Those who lack N-Ach and do not display these characteristics can be considered less aligned with modernity.

It's noteworthy that, from a values perspective, Islamic teachings contain elements that resonate with modern values. This alignment can be identified in the Qur'an and Hadith, which provide guidance on the importance of valuing time and maintaining a future-oriented outlook. Instances where individuals do not uphold these values, showing a lack of respect for time and failing to adopt a forward-looking approach, are often influenced by cultural factors, as culture plays a dominant role in shaping the understanding and practice of Islamic principles. Therefore, it's essential to recognize that Islam encompasses values that can be viewed as congruent with modernity, even if there are instances where cultural factors deviate from these principles.

The second concept of "modernity" pertains to its historical phases, marking distinct stages in the progression of history. It is closely linked to post-Renaissance Europe, the post-industrial revolution era, and the period following the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) in Western thought. In this context, the West, previously influenced by traditional theological doctrines, such as the teachings of St. Augustine in Christianity or figures like al-Ghazali in Islam, underwent a transformation into a more modern theology characterized by increased rationality and a pronounced anthropocentric (human-centered) perspective.

Given that this understanding of modernity, as a historical phase, is intrinsically connected to Europe, the path to modernization often involves emulating European models. This process is commonly referred to as the

"Europeanization" or "Westernization" project, signifying a conscious effort to adopt Western values, ideas, and institutions in order to achieve modernity in a particular society or context.

Responses to modernism in this second sense can vary, as individuals and communities have distinct approaches. Some individuals or groups tend to reject modernism due to the perception that it has strayed far from its own traditions during its development. Notably, modernization efforts resembling this approach were initially undertaken by the Ottoman Turks in the 1870s through a program known as "tanzimat."

Harun Nasution provides a common interpretation of renewal, often equating it with purification. However, Azyumardi Azra takes a different stance by distinguishing between two distinct meanings of renewal. First, renewal in the sense of "tajdīd," which can be translated to "renewal" in English, implies the revitalization of existing elements, making them contemporary or new. Second, renewal in the sense of "iṣlāh," translated as "reform" in English, aims to ameliorate a negative condition or situation, striving for improvement rather than necessarily adopting entirely new elements.

In contrast to "tajdīd," which may potentially result in negative outcomes, such as the modernization process in Ottoman Turkey during the 1870s. This process led to (1) Europeanization in the sense of adopting European thoughts and institutions quite literally. Examples included women wearing tank tops, the replacement of traditional Turkish attire with Western-style clothing, and the adoption of Western hats. A similar debate occurred in Indonesia during the 1970s when people argued that modern individuals were characterized by their consumption of Coca-Cola, wearing jeans, and so forth. (2) Beyond Europeanization and Westernization, there can be a further shift towards liberalization. This involves the liberation of Muslims from structures and governance that were perceived as restrictive, often leading to secularism. Consequently, when religion becomes involved in political affairs, it is advocated that a separation between religion and the state must occur.

The notable contrast between the modernization of Japan and Turkey lies in their approach to tradition. Japan underwent modernization while preserving the rich roots of its cultural traditions during the Meiji Revolution, which marked the beginning of Japan's modernization under the Tokugawa regime. In contrast,

Turkey's modernization process involved a rejection of much of its cultural heritage. This aspect has been criticized by Hasan Hanafi in his book "Min Turath ilā Thawrah" or "From Legacy to Revolution." Hanafi's main argument emphasizes the importance of studying and developing cultural heritage (turath) as a means to bring about rapid progress or revolution in Islamic society.

This criticism and self-evaluation of modernism subsequently gave rise to neo-modernism, which embraces new ideas and influences from Europe, America, and the West while still holding on to traditional cultural heritage. This, in turn, has led to the emergence of post-modernism. On the other hand, Islamic traditionalism adheres to the historical tradition of Islamic thought throughout history, while modernism tends to reject aspects it deems irrational.

Individuals who adhere to traditional Islamic understanding are often referred to as traditionalists, and they are not necessarily limited to rural populations. When traditionalism undergoes a process of renewal, it leads to the emergence of neo-traditionalism, which, in further development, can transform into post-traditionalism. This post-traditional understanding was initially developed by young members of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), particularly those who attended universities.

There is a convergence or intersection between post-modernism (posmo) and post-traditionalism (potra) because they share similar themes and lines of thought. While post-traditionalists tend to be more liberal and moderate and not necessarily deconstructive, post-modernists may adopt a deconstructive approach. In Muhammadiyah, the young intellectual network known as Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah (JIMM), established in 2005, also includes individuals who engage with post-modernism. Both post-modernism and post-traditionalism converge on themes such as democracy and gender equality, and they share similarities in their approach to activism. Furthermore, there is a trend towards Salafism and Wahhabism, particularly among Wahhabi Salafists, as these ideologies gain strength in certain circles.

D. Conclusion

In conclusion, this introductory paper has focused on three key points presented from the outset. First, the historical background of Islamic civilization in the archipelago demonstrates that the roots of Islamic thought in Indonesia can be traced back to the early 16th century. This historical evidence, found in

authentic manuscripts, illustrates the process of Islam's transmission, with the ulama (Islamic scholars) of the archipelago playing a significant role in producing Islamic knowledge. Consequently, Islamic teachings that evolved in the archipelago underwent a process of localization and indigenization. However, the archipelago's geographical location at the eastern edge of the Islamic world, coupled with the generally low profile of its population on the international political stage, has led to the oversight of its scholars by the broader public and international experts. Historically, the narrative of Islamic civilization has often overlooked the existence of Islamic intellectualism beyond the Middle East. Therefore, rigorous research is essential to provide scientific evidence that establishes the dialectical position of Islamic intellectualism outside the Middle East, particularly in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Such research can contribute to our understanding of the social and intellectual history of Islamic Nusantara within the context of global intellectualism.

Secondly, it is crucial to acknowledge the existence of eight distinct categories or typologies within contemporary Islamic thought movements, each contributing to the landscape of Islamic studies. These eight categories are as follows: Revivalist Movement: A movement dedicated to revitalizing Islamic values and practices. Classical Modernist Movement: Rooted in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, this movement seeks to reconcile Islamic teachings with modern thought. Neo-Revivalist Movement: Building upon revivalism, this movement emphasizes the comprehensive role of Islam in individual and collective life. Neo-Modernist Movement: Striving for a synthesis of modernist rationality and classical tradition, this movement utilizes *ijtihad* as a tool. Traditionalist Movement: This group adheres closely to traditional Islamic thought and scholars from the 7th to the 13th century. Neo-Traditionalist Movement: Departing from tradition, neo-traditionalism engages in dialogue with modernity while preserving its roots. Post-Modernist Movement: A continuation of modernism, post-modernism challenges grand narratives and promotes plurality and diversity. Post-Traditionalist: This movement criticizes tradition while using modern methods, aiming to transform and revitalize rather than abandon it. These eight typologies have evolved from Fazlur Rahman's initial framework, with significant modifications, particularly in the typologies of traditionalist, neo-traditionalist, post-traditionalist, and post-traditionalist movements. This classification serves as a dynamic mapping of Islamic thought

movements, engaging in ongoing scientific dialectics. Revivalist groups engage dialectically with neo-revivalists, while modernist groups dialectically interact with neo-modernists and post-modernists. The modernist category has also undergone metamorphosis into fundamentalist and neo-fundamentalist groups, with neo-modernists transforming into proponents of Liberal Islam. Additionally, traditionalist groups are in dialectical interplay with neo-traditionalists and post-traditionalists, fostering various critical studies projects employing diverse approaches such as colonial and post-colonial studies.

Thirdly, the trajectory of Islamic thought development in Indonesia has been intimately intertwined with the ebb and flow of Islamic kingdoms and sultanates across the archipelago. The position of the sultan or ruler played a pivotal role as a patron for scholars across various domains of life. The roots of the Nusantara Islamic intellectual tradition can be traced through manuscript sources, showcasing the dynamic evolution of Islamic thought in the archipelago. This journey began in the early 16th century in Aceh, later shifting to Palembang in the 18th century, and ultimately finding its epicenter in Java during the 19th century. The emergence of Islamic modernism during the mid-19th century can be attributed to the adversity faced by Muslims due to European colonial powers. This predicament raised questions about the paradoxical situation of Muslims, described as the "best people" by Allah SWT in the Quran (Surat Ali Imran, 3:110), yet enduring defeats and challenges. In response to this, Muslims sought a path of renewal, giving birth to the modernist movement as a model for revitalization and adaptation to the changing times.

The process of modernizing Islam has undergone various phases, evolving from classical modernism to Europeanization or Westernization, as exemplified by the experiences of Ottoman Turkey. This evolution had significant consequences, notably the liberalization of Islam, which ultimately paved the way for secularization. The critique of modernism subsequently led to the emergence of neo-modernism, characterized by an acceptance of novel ideas and influences, particularly from Europe, America, or the Western world, while simultaneously retaining a connection to the Islamic intellectual heritage (turath). The neo-modernist movement, in turn, laid the groundwork for post-modernism. Concurrently, Islamic traditionalism engaged in dialectical exchanges with modernism, with some traditions being rejected, especially those deemed irrational. This process of tradition undergoing renewal gave rise to neo-

traditionalism, which further evolved into post-traditionalism. Notably, this post-traditional understanding was initially championed by young members of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), particularly those pursuing higher education.

Interestingly, there exists a convergence or intersection between post-modernism and post-traditionalism. They share similar themes and employ comparable lines of thought. However, while post-traditionalists tend to adopt liberal and moderate positions, they generally avoid a deconstructive approach. It's worth noting that the driving force of Islamic intellectualism in the archipelago has shifted over time, transitioning from traditional scholars to intellectuals within higher education institutions. []

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