

THE SHIFT OF *JIHAD*: BETWEEN IDEAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

By
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Abstract

Jihad is one of the most inspiring and most controversial notions in the Quran. In one perspective, jihad offers an eschatological promise of eternal happiness. On the other hand, it shows an impact or phenomenon which has a gigantic effect of destroying human administrations. This paper examines the meaning of jihad and its application between ideal and historical context. This paper concludes that the misunderstanding of jihad should be avoided by exploring the true meaning of this notion which not only referring to jihad bi al-qital. However, it has wider meaning which relates to human daily life.

Keywords: *Jihad, historical context, contemporary understanding, Islam, Muslim*

Introduction

In the contemporary time, *jihad* is one of the most inspiring and most controversial notions in the Quran. In one perspective, *jihad* offers an eschatological promise of eternal happiness, and, on the other, it shows an impact or phenomenon which has a gigantic effect of destroying human administrations. For those who belonged to the first idea, *jihad* can shape one's mind in seeing the world orders "black or white" that makes him invited, based on religious callings, to reform the administrations that have been destroyed and contradicted, according to his belief, to the basic rules of religious and human norms. While for the second group, *jihad* has become a frightening and a terrorizing move to the human thought that they live in a fully apprehensive atmosphere.

In order not to collide these two opposite visions, it is necessary to find a new perspective of *jihad* which is suitable to the development of human civilization in the contemporary time. This effort meant for bridging the gap between the visions for the sake of accelerating the Islamic teachings, especially about *jihad*, in responding varied problems faced, not only, by Muslims, but also, by all human beings on this globe. For this reason, the writer tries to elaborate the word *jihad* in order to search for its real meaning based on al-Quran, *hadith* and the views of *ulamas* (scholars).

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The Concept of *Jihad*

a. *Jihad* in al-Quran

The word *jihad*, with its all derivations, stated 41 times in al-Quran. This word comes from the Arabic roots “*juhda*” and “*jahdu*”, meaning, among other things, strength, ability, difficulty and tiredness. From these, it could be extracted that *jihad* acquires, in one side, the adequate strength of physics, mind and wealth, and, on the other side, it consists of high risk and difficulty in its actualization.¹

The word *al-juhd* found only in one place that is in at-Taubah (9:79). This verse elaborates the stance and humiliation of the *munafiqun* to the *Muslimun* who gave *shadaqah* (charity) in a small amount, even some of the poor Muslims made a serious effort (*juhd*) to give the charity. Meanwhile, the word *al-juhd* mentioned in 5 places, they are in al-Maidah (5:53), al-An'am (6:109), an-Nahl (16:38), an-Nur (24:53) and al-Fathir (35:42). All the words of *al-juhd* in these verses indicate the Muslims who made every effort (*juhd*) while taking oaths, both in a right oath and the wrong ones. But something could be seen from the notion of these verses is that the one who takes the oath was seriously to do it whether in a right or a wrong oath.²

Terminologically, the word *jihad* means a full hearted effort to explore all potencies and faculties in order to achieve the final goal, including the fight against the enemy for maintaining the truth, good deeds and grandeur in the path of Allah.³ Otherwise, not all the word of *jihad* mentioned in al-Quran indicates the striving in the path of Allah, but, for some purposes, the word shows a general meaning related to the optimal efforts in obtaining the goal even though it could be right or wrong. This meaning is clearly stated in al-Ankabut (29:8) and Lukman (31:15). These two verses talked about the relation between a son or daughter, who maintaining the belief, and his or her unbeliever parents.⁴ This *jihad* could be said as a negative one.

Jihad with the meaning to strive in the path of Allah found in 36 verses: 15 places in the form of *fi'l madhi* (past tense); 11 verses in at-Taubah (9: 8, 16, 19, 20, 24, 41, 44, 74, 79, 81, and 86). 5 places in the form of *fi'l mudhori'* (continuous tense); 1 verse in al-Maidah (5:58), 2 verses in at-Taubah (9: 44, 81), 1 verse in al-Ankabut (29:6), and 1 verse in as-Shaf (61:11). 7 places in the form of *fi'l amar* (affirmative); 1 verse in al-Maidah (5:35), 3 verses in at-Taubah (9:41, 74 and 86), 1 verse in al-Hajj (22:78), 1 verse in al-Furqan (25:52), and 1 verse in at-Tahrim (66:9). 4 places in the form of *masdhar*, by using the word *jihad*, (nouns); 1 verse

¹ M. Quraish Shihab (ed) (2007), *Ensiklopedia al-Qur'an: Kajian Kosakata*, vol. 1, Jakarta: Lentera Hati, p. 396.

² M. Quraish Shihab (2007), *op.cit.*, p. 396. Compared to *The Ensiklopedi Islam* (2003), vol. 2, Jakarta: Ihtiar Baru Van Hoeve, p. 315.

³ M. Quraish Shihab (2007), *op.cit.*, p. 396.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 396.

in at-Taubah (9:24), 1 verse in al-Hajj (22:78), 1 verse in al-Furqan (25:52), and 1 verse in al-Mumtahanah (60:1) 5 places in the form of *mashdar* by using the *jahd*; 1 verse in al-Maidah (5:53), 1 verse in al-An'am (6:109), 1 verse in at-Taubah (9:79), 1 verse in an-Nahl (16:38), and 1 verse in an-Nur (24:35). 1 place in the form of *mashdar*, by using the word *juhd*, found in al-Fathir (35:42). And 4 places in the form of *ism fa'il* (the actor); 3 places in the verse 95 of an-Nisa' (4: 95), and 1 verse in Muhammad (47:31).⁵ Therefore the word *jihad* with its all derivations found in 19 *surah* and 36 verses.

These verses indicate that *jihad* contains a wide range of meanings that is a total struggle covered all social and religio-spiritual aspects of life. According to the writer of the article in the *Encyclopedia of al-Quran*, the term *jihad* is not always co-notated with physical war, and even there is some verses talk about *jihad* which is empty relation with war, especially the verses of *Makkiyah* such as in al-Ankabut (29:6, 69). These two verses give indication that the meaning of *jihad* is the exploration all potencies and faculties in order to gain the blessing of Allah. While the other *surah* of *Makkiyah*, for instance, al-Furqon (25:52), strictly commands to do the *jihad* with a big *jihad* to the unbelievers. This verse, however, is not understood as *jihad* in the terms of physical contact (combatant war) because during his period in Mecca the Prophet Muhammad never fought against the unbelievers. Even, while the *musyrikun* (polytheists, pagans, idolaters, unbelievers in the Oneness of Allah), politically, oppressed the Muslims, there is no indication that the Muslims faced the oppression with war. On the contrary, the prophet Muhammad said to his Muslim community to be patient because he had not been ordered to combat the war. According to Ibn Abbas, the meaning of *jihad* in this verse is al-Quran so that the verse is read "fight against the unbelievers by using al-Quran", that is by explaining the essential teachings of al-Quran as it is quoted by Jalaluddin as-Syuyuti dan Jalaluddin al-Mahalli⁶ and Thabathaba'i.⁷ In addition, Fakhruddin al-Razi elaborates *jihad* in this verse is striving with all effort in performing all orders of, and the praying to Allah.⁸ For there was not any war conducted by the Prophet during his period in Mecca, al-Qurthubi stated that *jihad* in this verse is not meant as a physical war because this verse was dawn in Mecca (*al-ayat makkiyah*).⁹ Thus, *jihad* according to this verse is *jihad* by using al-Quran in order to deliver the teachings of al-Quran in way of rational information and of congenial approach.¹⁰

⁵ Muhammad Fuad Abdul Baqi (t.t), *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li-Alfazhi al-Quran*, Jakarta: Maktabah Dahlan, pp. 232-233. In M. Quraish Shihab (2007), *op.cit*, p. 396, the writer, neither, state two words of *jihad* in the form of *fi'il mudhori'* in *surah* at-Taubah (9:19) and in *surah* al-Ankabut (29:6), nor, six words in the form of *mashdar*, by using the word *jahd* and *juhd* as it is stated in *al Mu'jam*.

⁶ Jalaluddin as-Suyuti and Jalaluddin al-Mahalli (2003), *Tafsir al-Jalalain*, Cairo: Dar al-Hadith, p. 476.

⁷ Thabathaba'i (n.d), *al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Quran*, vol. XII, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, p. 227.

⁸ Fakhruddin al-Razi (1993), *Mafatih al-Gahib*, vol. XII, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, p. 101.

⁹ Al-Qurthubi (2002), *al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Quran*, vol. VII, Cairo: Dar al-Hadith, p. 55.

¹⁰ M. Quraish Shihab (2007), *op.cit*, p. 396.

In many other places, al-Quran utilizes the word *jihad* related to the mobilizing all abilities and faculties, in terms of knowledge, wealth, soul, and other supporting vehicles, in protecting and maintaining the teachings of Islam in order to create an organization of society in accordance to the natural character of human norms and values which are accelerated to the guidance of Allah. Among the verses could be explored in al-Baqarah (2:218), an-Nisa' (4:95), al-Maidah (5:35), al-Anfal (8:72), at-Taubah (9:19, 20, 24, 41 and 88), al-Hajj (22:78), al-Hujurat (49:15), as-Shaff (61:11).

Different from the above verses, there are two verses in al-Quran in which the word *jihad* strongly indicates the war, theologian said as a holy war, such as in at-Taubah (9:73; *ياايها النبي جاهد الكفار والمنفوقون واغظ عليهم وماؤهم جهنم وبئس المصير*) and in the same verse in at-Tahrim (66:9), against the unbelievers and *munafiqun*. A great number of *mufassir* interpreted *jihad* in these two verses as the physical war. Jalaluddin as-Suyuti and Jalaluddin al-Mahalli, for instance, mentioned that *jihad* by using arms against the unbelievers, and by using dialogue and diplomacy against the *munafiqun*.¹¹ Similar interpretation also stated by al-Qurthubi,¹² al-Zamakhsyari,¹³ al-Thabari,¹⁴ Ibn Katsir,¹⁵ etc.

If al-Quran always includes the word *jihad* with the word *fi sabilih*, *biamwalikum waamfusikum* or *bi hi*, such as in al-Furqon (25:52), al-Maidah (5:35), at-Taubah (9:41) etc., whether in terms of positive or affirmative statement, the two verses above, then, do not include the word *fi sabilih* or *bi hi* after the word *jihad*. In the contrary, besides using *fi'l 'amar* (affirmative), the verses directly mention the unbelievers and *al-munafiqun* as an object or *maf'ulum bih* from the word of *jihad*. Furthermore, it seems that at-Tahrim (66:9) was functioning to strengthen the command of *jihad* in at-Taubah (9:73) because the two verses are completely similar. From this, it can be assumed that *jihad* in terms of war against the enemies of Islam is a part of Islamic legal obligations.

Fakhruddin al-Razi, however, mentioned that these two verses are not related to the physical war. He insisted that *jihad* in these verses is *jihad* by using hand, speech and heart.¹⁶ It seems that Fakhruddin al-Razi stands on the hadith *man raa minkum munkaran ...*¹⁷

Indeed, while al-Quran drives *jihad* as a weaponry war, there are some specific words used such as the word *qital* (killing or war), *dharabtum*, and *anfuru* or

¹¹ Jalaluddin as-Suyuti and Jalaluddin al-Mahalli (2003), *op.cit.*, p. 252.

¹² Al-Qurthubi, *al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Quran*, vol. IV, p. 530.

¹³ Al-Zamakhsyari (n.d), *al-Kassyaf 'an Haqaiq al-Tanzil wa 'Uyun al-Aqawil fi Wujuh al-Ta'wil*, vol. II, Egypt: al-Maktabah, p. 316.

¹⁴ Al-Thabari (1999), *Jami' al-Bayan fi Ta'wil al-Quran*, vol. VI, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, p. 420.

¹⁵ Ibn Katsir (n.d), *Tafsir al-Quran al-'Azhim*, vol. II, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, p. 416.

¹⁶ Fakhruddin al-Razi, *Mafatih al-Gahib*, vol. XVI, p. 138.

¹⁷ See also Abd. Moqsih Ghazali (2009), *Argumen Pluralisme Agama: Membangun Toleransi Berbasis al-Quran*, Jakarta: Kata Kita, p. 385.

infiru. The word *qital* or *qatilu* used in some *surah*, for example, al-Baqarah (2:190), states “And fight in the way of Allah those who fight you, but transgress not the limits. Truly Allah likes not the transgressors”. And the same other words placed in al-Baqarah (2: 191, 193 and 216), at-Taubah (9: 14), and al-Hajj (22:39). While the word *dharabtum* used in an-Nisa’ (4: 94), and the word *infiru* and its derivations used in some *surah*, for instance, at-Taubah (9: 38, 39, 41, and 81).

Related to *surah* at-Taubah verse 41, Fakhruddin al-Razi insisted that Moslems must be ready for fighting against the unbelievers at any time and condition, like or dislike, rich or poor, with arms or no.¹⁸ Regardless of understanding verses of war (*jihad*), *mufasssir* are in the same of here it can be stated that *jihad* in term of war.

According to some exegesis (*mufasssirun*) the verse 190 of al-Baqarah claimed as the first one that was revealed in connection with *jihad* in terms of war, and this verse was supplemented by another one in at-Taubah (9:36)¹⁹; “ ... and fight against the *musyrikun* (polytheists, pagans, idolaters, disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah) collectively as they fight against you collectively. But know that Allah is with those who are *muttaqin* (the pious)”. These all verses order to perform the *jihad* in term of war, but al-Quran consistently insists that there is no transgression in the war, and if they, the unbelievers and *musyrikun* stop the war so there is no more hostility. From these verses, it seems that the command of war in al-Quran does not come from the word *jihad* it’s self, but it directly uses the specific words that have a strong connotation to the war as it is mentioned above. That is why, it can be concluded that *jihad* in al-Quran specifically related to the striving and effort to empower all faculties and capabilities in maintaining and taking care of the teachings of Islam in the path of Allah.

Another important related term which is not used in al-Quran is *ijtihad* which refers to the struggle of a scholar to determine the correct ruling on a point of religious law, or the *syari’ah*, and one who has the ability to make independent assessments of points of law is called *mujtahid*. In addition, if we pay some attention about the doctrine of *jihad* in some pre-Islamic religious traditions, for instance, in the Torah brought by Moses, we can see that *jihad* was also played an important role especially in the code of war. For example some elements of a code of war clearly can be seen in chapter twenty verses 10-15 of Deuteronomy;

10. When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. 11. And it shall be, if it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. 12.

¹⁸ Fakhruddin al-Razi (1993), *Mafatih al-Gahib*, vol. XVI, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, p. 72.

¹⁹ Muhammad Taqi-ud- Din al-Hilali (1417H), *The Noble Qur’an: English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary*, Madinah: King Fahd Complex for The Printing of the Holy Qur’an, p. 250. See also Syekh Muhammad Mutawally Sya’rawi (2004), *Tafsir Sya’rawi*, vol. 1, Jakarta: Ikrar Mandiriabadi, pp. 609-616.

And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it: 13. And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it unto thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword: 14. But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil oh thine enemies, which Lord thy God hath given thee. 15. Thus shalt thou do unto all cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations.

On one side, the Torah legalizes the conduct of war outside the land of Israel, and all nations outside Israel may become tributaries of Israel, or face military engagement. The nations within Israel are to be destroyed in order to purify that land of defiling practices, but, on the other side, it requires a call to arbitration before engaging in warfare. If the enemy is willing to submit, to become tributaries of the Jewish state, no violence is to be done. If one does lay siege to a city, captured women, children and animals are not be slaughtered, and fruit trees are not be destroyed.²⁰ From these verses, it seems that there are some similarities between the Torah and al-Quran in this regard.

b. Jihad in Hadith

There are many *hadith* explain about *jihad*. To some extent the *hadith* wage *jihad* in God's path is specifically defined as a duty which every able-bodied Muslim (male) must either perform or try to perform it where the Muslims must respond to the call to arms if called upon. The Prophet is said to have drawn up a list of all male Muslims for military purposes, suggesting universal conscription, or at least the possibility of it.²¹ As an example, probably one can take a *hadith* that explicitly mentions *jihad* in the meaning of war from the saying of the Prophet after returning from the War of Badar, "*raja'na min jihadil asghar ila jihadil akbar*, (we return from the little *jihad* to the greater *jihad*).

However, if one looks into the book *Kitab al-Jihadi: as-Sabilu al-Hadi ila Takhriji Ahadithi Kitabi al-Jihadi*²², wrote by Ibn Abi 'Ashim, one can see that most of the *hadith* did not show any dimension related to war or military expansion. The author elaborates the *hadith* about *jihad* into some classifications. First, the *hadith* talk about *jihad* as the gate to heaven. Here the *hadith* give first priority for a better human relation vertically and horizontally (*hablumillah wahablum minannas*). Second, the *hadith* mention the efforts of cleaning the inner (spiritual) purity.²³

²⁰ For more information about *jihad* in the Torah, see Michael Brown (1975), "Is There a Jewish Way to Fight?" in *Judaism*, vol. 24, pp. 466-475.

²¹ Khalid Yahya Blankinship (1994), *The End of The Jihad State The Reign of Hishyam ibn Abd al Malik and The Collapse of The Umayyads*, Albany: State University of New York Press, p. 13.

²² This book concerns on *hadith* related to *jihad*. The author explains all *hadith* about *jihad* from some aspects including the aspect of history, content, and of narrator of the *hadith*.

²³ Ibn Abi 'Ashim (1989), *Kitab al-Jihadi*, Beirut: Dar al-Qalam, pp. 127-326.

Furthermore, the same notions of al-Quran while discourse about *jihad* that most of the verses designate their meanings related to the empowering all faculties and capabilities in maintaining, taking care of, and to the employing all obligations of the Islamic teachings, there are many *hadith* of *jihad* imply the similar meaning to what al-Quran desires, rather than that of the meaning of war. Among the *hadith* are:

First; Jihad in the meaning of the bravery of delivering the truth. Abu Saïd al-Khudri mentions that the Prophet Muhammad said, “That the biggest *jihad* is delivering the truth to the oppressive ruler (leader)”. The word “*a’zham al-jihad*” indicates that the effort of delivering the truth to the oppressive ruler is a very big struggle because this effort contains a very high risk.

Second; Jihad in the meaning of doing good deeds to parents. The *hadith* is “A man came to the Prophet asking permission from the Prophet in order to perform *jihad* with him. The Prophet asked whether his parents are still alive. Then the man answered that his parents are still alive. The Prophet said, “Perform the *jihad* to them”. As it is known that Islam teaches its adherents to respect and do good deeds to their parents, whether they are alive or dead. A son or daughter must respect his or her parents, even though he or she is not obliged to follow the parents who forced him or her to become a polytheist.

Third; jihad in the meaning of searching for and teaching the knowledge. The *hadith* stated by Abu Hurairah is that the Prophet said “Whoever comes to my mosque (*majelis taklim*), except due to the righteous that he studies and teaches the knowledge he obtains so that he is in the same position with ones who performs the *jihad* in the path of Allah ...”²⁴. From this *hadith* it seems that the Prophet insisted how important to get the knowledge, science and technology for the sake of the *ummah*.

Fourth; jihad means to help the poor and the needy, and to take care of others. Abu Hurairah mentions that the Prophet said “Ones who helps and gives sheltered to the widower and the poor are considered the same as performing the *jihad* in the path of Allah”, and, *fifth*, even *jihad* could be the same for ones who go to pilgrimage (*haji mabrur*) to Mecca. The *hadith* stated by Abdul Rahman ibn Mubarak that Aisyah, the wife of the Prophet, said “My dear Prophet, I do not see any kinds of better good deeds (*amal*) than that of *jihad*”. The Prophet answered,

“There is not. But for you the best *jihad* is performing the pilgrimage²⁵ (*haji mabrur*). In another *hadith*, Aisyah stated that while the Prophet asked by his

²⁴ Abu Abdullah Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ansari al-Qurthubi, *al-Jami’ li Ahkam al-Quran*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub, vol. 8, p. 188.

²⁵ Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad b. Ismail al-Bukhari (1970), *Shahih al-Bukhari*, Cairo: Dar al-Sha’b, Vol. IV, p. 18.

wives about *jihad*, he answered, then, that the best *jihad* is *hajj*.²⁶ From these *hadith*, it is very clear that *jihad* shows its meaning in terms of maximizing the abilities and faculties in order to do good deeds in the context of vertical devotion and of horizontal advantages.

c. Jihad in the Eyes of Ulama

In Islamic law (*al-fiqh*), *jihad* has a very broad meaning or understanding that is all kinds of maximum efforts to apply the Islamic teachings and to wipe out evil and despotism both in the individual and in the society. *Ulama* divided *jihad* in three kinds, that is (1) *jihad* against real enemies, (2) *jihad* against satan, and (3) *jihad* against one's own self.²⁷ In other word, the Sunnite *Ulama* classified four kinds of *jihad*, that is (1) *jihad* of heart (*tazkiat al-iman*), (2) *jihad* of speech (*tazkiat al-lisan*), (3) *jihad* of hand (*amalu as-sholih*), and (4) *jihad* of sword (*harb or qital*).²⁸

Besides the universal meaning, there is a special meaning forwarded by some *ulama*. Imam Syafi'i, for instance, defined *jihad* to fight against the unbelievers in order to maintain the religion of Islam. While Abu Hanifah mentions that *jihad* is to call for people to the true religion, Islam, and to fight against those who do not want to give his wealth and soul for the struggle of the true religion.²⁹

In the spirit with Syafi'i, Ibn Khaldun bluntly states that one of the purposes of *jihad* is conversion: "In the Muslim community, the holy war is a religious duty,

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 39. This *hadith* also stated by Ahmad and Ibn Majah, see Muhammad ibn as-Syawai'ir, "Mafhum al-Jihad fi al-Islam", in *Majallah al-Buhus al-Islamiyah*.

²⁷ *Ensiklopedi Islam* (2003), Vol. 2, Jakarta: Ichtiar van Hoeve, p. 315.

²⁸ If we observe further the classification of *jihad* in the eyes of the Sunnite, it can be assumed that *jihad* contains a universal meaning especially related to every effort to perform and to keep the religion of Islam. However, there is a tendency of the Sunnite *ulamas* in understanding *jihad* as the holy war against the unbelievers. This view is closely associated with the idea of *dar al-Islam* and *dar al-harb* in the history of Islam. To some contemporary, both eastern and western, scholars *jihad* is used as a war for legitimating military expansions during the first period of globalization of Islamic empires especially during the Umayyads. For more information about these classifications and justifications of *jihad* in relation to *dar al-Islam* and *dar al-harb* in the eyes of the classical Sunnite *ulamas*, see James Turner Jhonson (2002), *Perang Suci Atas Nama Agama Dalam Tradisi Barat dan Islam*, Ilyas Hasan and Rahmani Astuti (terj.), Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, pp. 102-109. Compare with Khalid Yahya Blankinship, *The End of The Jihad State The Reign of Hisyam ibn Abd al-Malik and The Collapse of The Umayyads*. See also Abdullahi Ahmed An-Naim (2007), *Islam dan Negara Sekular: Menegosiasikan Masa Depan Syariah*, Sri Murniati (terj.), Penerbit Mizan: Bandung. In this book, An-Naim elaborates comprehensively the collaboration of the scholars (*ulamas*) who gave the authoritarian power, especially, to the four *imam al-mazahib* that made Islamic law, including the *syariah*, taken for granted by the Muslims. As the result, Islamic law, on the one hand, becomes something different from the deep spirit of the notions of al-Quran, and the Muslims tend to be fundamental and radical to apply the Islamic law in their socio-political life, on the other. This fundamental and radical idea produce a huge contradiction between Islam and state and, generally, between East and West.

²⁹ Wahbah al-Zuhaili (2004), *al-Islam wa-Adillatuhu*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, p. 5845.

because of the universalism of the Muslim mission and (the obligation to) convert everybody to Islam either by persuasion or by force.”³⁰

Jihad in this meaning was widely elaborated in classical Islamic schools of law that always connected *jihad* to battles, wars and military expeditions.³¹ Based on this reality, Rudolph Peters stated that many other Muslim authors, even in medieval times, viewed the purpose of *jihad* not only as a fight for the sake of conversion, but at its most aggressive, as a struggle to expand the territory governed by the *syari'ah* so that through *jihad* it can “void the earth of unbelievers.”³² However, even though the *ulamas* stated that *jihad* is an obligation for all Muslims, but there are still some conditions for those who are obliged to perform it; Muslim, *mukallaf*, free, man, in good condition, and able to fight for the scarification.³³

Based on what have been mentioned by the *ulamas*, it could be seen that the *ulamas*, both from the school of *fiqh* and *tafsir*, are in the same idea that the aim of *jihad* is not merely to kill in the terms of war, but also to create people to be smart and wise in order to take care of the weakness and the poor, and to make safe for the spreading of Islam.³⁴

d. *Jihad* in the View of Western Scholars

In the view of Western scholars, the doctrine of *jihad* borrowed the practices of the *razzias* perpetrated by the nomads in the Arabian Peninsula but softened them with Quranic injunction. Then Muslim jurists established the Quranic dogma that regulated the procedures and tactics of military operations during the conquests, as well as the treatment of conquered peoples and the fiscal system applicable to the conquered lands in order to subjugate the peoples of the world to the law of Allah, decreed by His Prophet Muhammad.³⁵

This pre-Islamic *razzia*, later on, was developed by the Islamic empires, especially during the Fathimiyads dynasty in Egypt, become *hisbah*, or *wilayat al-hisbah*. In his early duties, the *muhtasib*, one who has the right to perform the *hisbah*, functioned as the tax collector, moral public guardian, and also watched problems potentially emerged among religious institutions and state, for instance corruption and injustice. Even factually, the *muhtasib* had responsibilities to manage the performing of *shalat*, *shaum*, and of *zakat* besides the management of public morality, such as the management of togetherness between men and women in public sphere, drunk in public area and of using musical instruments. With his

³⁰ Ibn Khaldun (1981), *The Muqaddima*, Franz Rosenthal (ed), Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 183.

³¹ *Ensiklopedi Islam* (2003), Vol. 2, Jakarta: Ichtiar van Hoeve, p. 315.

³² Rudolph Peters (1977), *Jihad in Mediaeval and Modern Islam*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, p. 3.

³³ Muhammad al-Syarbaini al-Khatib (1995), *al-Iqna'*, vol. 2, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, p. 557.

³⁴ Muhammad Ali as-Shobuni (2001), *Qawa'id al-Bayan Tafsir Ayatu al-Ahkam min al-Quran*, Jakarta: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiyah, vol. 2, p. 375.

³⁵ Bat Ye'or (1996), *The Decline of Eastern Christianity Under Islam From Jihad to Dhimmitude*, London: Associated University Press, pp. 39-40.

strong legitimacy, the *muhtasib*, sometimes, performed his functions forcedly and radically within the streets in Cairo and other cities in Egypt.³⁶

Rudolph Peters states in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* that *jihad* is a struggle against one's evil inclinations or an exertion for the sake of Islam and the *ummah*, for example, trying to convert unbelievers or work for the moral betterment of Islamic society (“*jihad* of the tongue and *jihad* of the pen”). In term of a religious context, the adjective “Islamic” or ‘holly’ is currently added to it, *jihad* is called the holy war or fighting against the unbelievers. He argues that the origin of *Jihad* goes back to the wars fought by the Prophet Muhammad and their written reflection in the al-Quran³⁷

In her book, *Muhammed*, Karen Armstrong writes: “Fighting and warfare might sometimes be necessary, but it was only a minor part of the whole *jihad* or struggle. A well-known tradition (*hadith*) mentions that Muhammad said on returning from a battle, “We return from the little *jihad* to the greater *jihad*”. Armstrong elaborates the *hadith* that the most difficult and crucial effort is to conquer the forces of evil in oneself and in one's own society in all the details of daily life”.³⁸

Many western scholars, when talking about *jihad*, always relate the *jihad* with the existence of war and conflict between Islam and the West (Christianity – writer). Bassam Tibi, a professor of International Relation University of Gottingen Germany, mentions in his book *Crusades and Jihad* that the first globalization project in history was not western globalization, but it is Muslim globalization when Islam, in the seventh century, started to spread its project. He insisted that the Islamic vision came also across to Indonesia, through trade however. But Islam came to other places of the world through *jihad* war.³⁹

Different from other multinational empires, the Muslim states reached their greatest extend through a series of military campaigns, referred to Muslim literatures as “the opening” (*al-futuh – al-futuhah*). The same terminology later used by the American as “the opening up” as in the opening up the west in reference to the expansion of Euro-American conquest and settlement westward to the Pacific Ocean in the nineteenth century.⁴⁰

³⁶ Abdullahi Ahmed An-Naim (2007), *Islam dan Negara Sekular: Menegosiasikan Masa Depan Syariah*, Sri Murniati (trans.), Bandung: Mizan, p. 116. See also Jonathan Berkey (2004), “The *Muhtasibs* of Cairo under the Mamluks: Toward an Understanding of an Islamic Institution” Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (eds), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, Brill NV: Leiden, pp. 261-264.

³⁷ John L Esposito (1995), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic world*, New York: Oxford University Press, vol. 2, pp. 369-370.

³⁸ Karen Armstrong (1993), “*Muhammed: A biography of the Prophet*,” Harper San Francisco.

³⁹ Bassam Tibi (2003), “Islamism, Democracy, and the Clash of Civilization”, in Chaider S. Bamualim and dick van der Meij (ed), *Islam and the West: Dialogue of Civilization in Search of a Peaceful Global Order*, Germany: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Germany, p. 25.

⁴⁰ Khalid Yahya Blankinship (n.d), *The End of The Jihad State The Reign of Hisyam ibn Abd al-Malik and The Collapse of The Umayyads*, p. 1.

The expansion carried out by the Muslims came from a theological order based on moral grounds. In the times of the Muslims caliphates, this imperative order was the establishment of God's rule to be established by those kinds of efforts that He ordained which included armed struggle in His path. Such struggle is known as *jihad*. That is why most significantly the *jihad* called for a mass mobilization of Muslim manpower that played an important role in the Caliphates success. The same as the Muslims, the Mongol was also combated the war in their expansion based on a belief that they were called to govern the world. While the Muslims, however, saw it as the call of religion in order to obey the command of God, in one side, and to gain the worldly rewards of the other world for those who sacrificed their property and their lives in God's path, on the other. By performing war, Muslim empires could grow to finance their selves through booty to a considerable extend. And the spirit of *jihad* in the terms of military expansion was very powerful in the time of the Umayyads.⁴¹

Historical facts were clearly recorded in some books with the western version such as in *the Decline of Eastern Christianity under Islam: from Jihad to Dhimmitude*. This book elaborates some series of Islamization performed by the Umayyad Caliphates in detail starting from Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Palestine year 633-643, Armenia 642, Cyprus, the Greek Island and Anatolia 649-654, Cilicia and Cesarean of Cappadocia 650, Spain and France 793-860, to Sicilia and Italy 835-851 and 884. Unlikely, most of these conquests had shown a brutal and inhuman picture of world history.⁴²

From these ideas, it can be seen that western scholars are in different understanding about the meaning of *jihad*. In one side, they are trapped to understand the *jihad* in a radical point of view based on Islamic historical dimension. That is why, to some extends, they treat the *jihad* the same as crusades.⁴³ While others more softly understand it.

The Conventional Interpretation of *jihad*

Al-Hajj Talib 'Abdur Rashid, imam of the *Mosque of Islamic Brotherhood* in Harlem, New York, defines three levels of *jihad*; personal, verbal and physical. Considering each in turn: *Personal jihad*: this is the most important form. This type of *jihad*, called the *jihadun-nafs*, is the intimate struggle to purify one's soul of evil influences - both subtle and overt. It is the struggle to cleanse one's spirit of sin. In a brochure, *the Institute of Islamic Information and Education* describes several different contexts in which al-Quran and the *Hadith* use the word *jihad* refers to personal struggles; Putting "Allah ahead of our loved ones, our wealth, our worldly ambitions and our own lives". Resisting pressure of parents, peers and

⁴¹ Khalid Yahya Blankinship, *The End of The Jihad State The Reign of Hisyam ibn Abd al-Malik and The Collapse of The Umayyads*, pp. 2-3.

⁴² *The Decline of Eastern Christianity Under Islam From Jihad to Dhimmitude*, pp. 271-292.

⁴³ Mehdi Abedi and Gary Legenhausen (ed) (1986), "Introduction" in *Jihad and Shahadat*, Huston, Texas: The Institute for Research and Islamic Studies, p. 7.

society; strive against "the rejecters of faith..." (Quran 25:52). "...strive and struggle to live as true Muslims..." "Striving for righteous deeds and spreading the message of Islam. The (true) believers are only those who believe in Allah and his messenger and afterward doubt not, but strive with their wealth and their selves for the cause of Allah. Such are the truthful". (Quran, 49:15).

Verbal jihad: To strive for justice through words and non-violent actions. The Prophet encouraged Muslims to demand justice in the name of Allah. When asked: "What kind of *jihad* is better?" The Prophet replied, "A word of truth in front of an oppressive ruler"⁴⁴ According to *the Institute of Islamic Information and Education*: "The life of the Prophet Muhammad was full of striving to gain the freedom to inform and convey the message of Islam. During his stay in Mecca he used non-violent methods and after the establishment of his government in Medina, by the permission of Allah, he used armed struggle against his enemies whenever he found it inevitable."⁴⁵

Physical jihad: This relates to the use of physical force in defense of Muslims against oppression and transgression by the enemies of Allah. Allah commands that Muslims must lead peaceful lives and not transgress against anyone. If they are persecuted and oppressed, the Qur'an recommends that they migrate to a more peaceful and tolerant land: "Lo! Those who believe and those who emigrate (to escape persecution) and strive (*jahadu*) in the way of Allah, these have hope of Allah's mercy..." (Quran, 2:218). If relocation is not possible, then Allah also requires Muslims to defend themselves against oppression by "fighting against those who fight against us".⁴⁶ The Qur'an states: "To those against whom war is made, permission is given [to defend themselves], because they are wronged and verily, Allah is Most Powerful to give them victory", (22:39). The defensive nature of physical *jihad* (or "*jihad* with the hand") is frequently lost among many, Muslims, Christians, secularists and others.⁴⁷

***Jihad* in Contemporary Perspectives**

If we trace the history of Muslim societies, from the early times to the contemporary, related to *jihad*, we will find that there are the changing interpretations of the *jihad*. To some extend the colonial experience which affected the outlook of some Muslim intellectuals on *jihad*. Some would argue that in view of military superiority of the colonizer, *jihad* was an obligatory anymore. However, to some others, they elaborated new interpretations of the *jihad*.

⁴⁴ Sunan Al-Nasa'i , No. 4209

⁴⁵ M. Amir Ali, "*Jihad explained; Brochure 18*," by the *Institute of Islamic Information and Education* at: http://www.irshad.org/islam/iiee/iiee_18.htm , retrieved on 5th August 2012

⁴⁶ "Save a Life, Save All Humanity Take a Life, Kill All Humanity: What the Islamic scriptures really say about *jihad* and violence," Beliefnet, at: <http://www.beliefnet.com/story/>. retrieved on 5th August 2012

⁴⁷ Copyright © 2003 by Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance Originally written: 2003-MAR 28. Latest update: 2003-MAR-28. Author: B.A. Robinson

According to *the Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, the first one to do so was Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), an Indian Muslim thinker. After the mutiny of 1857 the British, the Muslims fought against the British, as one of the impact of favoring the Hindus in the army and in the government service conducted by the Moghul rule that the Muslims were the peripherals on the empire. This condition did not make any benefit to the young generation of the Muslims in the Indian Continental. Based on this inconvenient circumstance Sayyid Ahmad Khan wanted to show that Islam did not forbid cooperation with the British colonial government. To do this he was motivated by his desire to safeguard employment for the young Muslims from the middle and higher classes. In order to parade it that the Indian Muslims were not obliged to fight against the British and could be loyal subjects. He asserted that *jihad* was obligatory for Muslims only in the case of positive oppression or obstruction in the exercise of their faith that impair the foundation of some pillars of Islam. Since the British, in his opinion, did not interfere with the practice of Islam, so *jihad* against them was not allowed.⁴⁸

A slight difference from Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) and Muhammad Rasyid Ridha (1865-1935) stressed that *jihad* notes the fight against the unbelievers conditional upon their aggression or perfidy. They argue that peaceful coexistence is the normal state between Islam and Islamic territories and that *jihad* is only allowed as defensive warfare. This view, however, left the way open to proclaim *jihad* against colonial oppression as the colonial enterprise was clearly an attack on the territory of Islam. The idea about *jihad* formulated by the two Muslim thinkers, according to some scholars, had been developed by Muhammad Al-Shaybani (d. 804) in the line of thinking with the presentation of the *jihad* as a form of Muslim international law and the equation of *jihad* with the concept of *bellum justum*.⁴⁹

In the contemporary understanding, *jihad*, however, offers a tight spectrum of views acted by the conservatives, who adhered to the interpretation given in the classical books of Islamic law with their radical opposition who call for *jihad* as a means to spread their brand of Islam. Some of these radical groups call for the use of arms (violence) against rulers in order to defeat the established tyranny government. The way of *jihad* according to this view was first propagated by fundamentalist like Sayyid Qutb (d. 1966), who enunciated the traditional position that *jihad* is not for the sake of conversion, but to make the *syari'ah* the law of the land, and thereby to abolish oppressive political system, and by Abu al-A'la Maududi (1903-1979)⁵⁰ who were inspired by Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328).⁵¹ This idea, for instance, can be proved through the death of President Anwar Sadat of Egypt in 1981 in the hand of *jihad* organization.

⁴⁸ John L Esposito (ed)(1995), *op.cit*, p. 372.

⁴⁹ *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic world*, vol. 2, p. 372.

⁵⁰ For more information about *jihad* in the view of Maududi (1980), *Jihad in Islam*, Lahore: Islamic Publications.

⁵¹ *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic world*, *op.cit*, p. 372.

In the contemporary Indonesian *jihad* has become one of the most debatable and hot issues especially after the emergence of terrorism in almost every part of the world, including in Indonesia. As it is mentioned by Jorn Dosch that no other nation in Southeast Asian has recently been affected by terrorism as badly as Indonesia, and most decisively the Indonesian government reaction to the “war on terror” has created provided an excellent example of the executive’s dilemma created by the two level game in democracy,⁵² that is between Islamic state and Republic state.

Some moderate Indonesian scholars, for example, Ahmad Syafi’i Ma’arif, former Chairman of Muhammadiyah, are in the same idea of understanding *jihad* as an effort to construct the social norms against injustice, corruption, poverty and ignorance. Syafi’i made his point very clearly,⁵³ “It is our duty to jointly stage *jihad* against corruption ... There is no other way to ensure a good and respectable future of the nation except to fully eradicate corruption. As a Muslim who lives a predominantly Muslim country, I cannot longer bear the shame of seeing my country labeled the most corrupt nation in Asia.⁵⁴ In the same spirit with Syafi’i, Nurcholis Madjid stated that *jihad* is to perform the obligations of the teachings of Allah, not to defense Him.⁵⁵ Here seems that Nurcholis Madjid wants to stress that *jihad* is more understood in a model of performing of religious teachings and services in the path of Allah, including the enforcement of justice and overcoming other social problems.

Contrary to the above idea, there, lately, seems a new radical understanding about *jihad*. This phenomenon clearly seen starting from the end of nineteen nineties (1990an) through the birth of some radical organizations such as *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defense Front), founded on 17 August 1998 in Jakarta, *Laskar Jihad* (*Jihad* Troops), founded on 14 February 1999 in Solo, and *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (the Indonesian Council of *Jihad* Fighters), founded on 7 August 2000 in Yogyakarta,⁵⁶ in the domestic level, and *Jemaah Islamiyah*, in the international ones.⁵⁷ Paying a deep attention to the historical background of the emergence of these radical organizations, there could be some reasons.

According to Azyumardi Azra, the political tension between Islam and the democracy started from the early times of the founding of the nation and it came to the peak while President Soeharto sat on the crown. After the fall of Soeharto, discussion and debate on the relations between Islam and democracy has once

⁵² Jorn Dosch (2004), New consolidating Democratic Countries towards Global Challenges: The Case of Southeast Asia, in *Dialogue in The World Disorder: A Response to the Threat of Unilateralism and World Terrorism*, Karlina Helmanita *et.al* (ed), Center for Language and Culture UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Germany, pp. 129-130.

⁵³ Jorn Dosch, quotes the statement from *Jakarta Post*, May 23, 2002.

⁵⁴ Jorn Dosch, *op.cit.*, p. 134.

⁵⁵ Budi Munawarrahman (2006), *Ensiklopedi Nurcholis Madjid*, vol. 2, Jakarta: Paramadina, p. 1237.

⁵⁶ For more information about these organizations, including their vision, link and match, see Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni (2004), *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press, pp. 47-156.

⁵⁷ Jorn Dosch (2004), *op.cit.*, pp. 130-131.

again come to the forefront both at the level of discourse and in the reality of Indonesia politics. The fact that there has been a number of conflicting political trends since Indonesia came into democratic realm, with the interregnum of President B. J. Habibie, has also created further confusion about relation between Islam and democracy. As the result of the fall of Soeharto there was a huge wave of reformation and the emergence of democracy, and political Islam also gains new momentum though it has worried some, for it could be incompatible with democracy.⁵⁸

Furthermore, the rise of political Islam can be clearly observed in several tendencies. First, the establishment of a great numbers of “Islamic parties” those they mostly adopted Islam as their basis, replacing the Pancasila. Second, the increasing demands from certain groups of Muslims for the official adoption and implementation of *syari’ah* in the law system of the state. Third, there came into the service the use and abused of traditional or classical political concepts, such as *jihad*, *bughat* (dissension), *bay’a* (oath of loyalty), and other concepts of *fiqh siyasa*⁵⁹ which probably used by the *jihad* organizations mentioned above.

Beside the impacts of some internal affairs of the state applied to the Muslims, there seem some external problems created their radical understanding about *jihad*. They meant and applied the *jihad* purely based on theological perspective as a methodological approach.⁶⁰ That is why they always collide between Islam and Christian, or between East and West. Trough this perception they came to the opinion that Islam is a multi dimensional teaching, and comprehensively should be adopted into all aspects of life, including political, economic and social. The result is every way of life or norm outside Islam, in this case are Christian or Western norms, must be fought against and abrogated from the state with all procedures, including the armed forces.⁶¹ As it is also mentioned by Muhammad Sa’id al-Ashmawy Islam is seen by the militants as the sole, valid and complete faith, abrogating all other faiths. It follows from this that all non-Muslims are infidels and should be converted to Islam, even by force (*jihad* or holy war).⁶²

Something we should ask is why the *jihad* organizations emerged radically in Indonesia. There are many answers could be provoked. One of them is that there is an injustice and un-proportionate symbiotic policies between the state and the people. In one side, the state wants to synchronize its policies between the need of its people, especially for the need of the Muslims, and the mainstream of

⁵⁸ Azyumardi Azra (n.d), The challenge of Democracy in The Muslim World: Traditional Politics and Democratic Political Culture, in *Dialogue in The World Disorder: A Response to the Threat of Unilateralism and World Terrorism*, p. 205.

⁵⁹ Azyumardi Azra (n.d), *op.cit.*, pp. 205-206.

⁶⁰ For more information about theological approach in understanding Islam, Amin Abdullah (n.d), *Islam: Normativitas atau Historisitas*.

⁶¹ See Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni for more detail information, *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia*, pp. 4-10.

⁶² Carolyn Fluehr Lobban (ed)(1998), *Against Islamic Extremism: The Writings of Muhammad Sa’id al-Ashmawy*, Florida: University Press of Florida, p. 108.

globalization, on the other. It is also, sometimes, very clearly can be seen that the state discriminates and marginalizes the Muslims in some circumstances. For example, it can be traced on the biased policies of the state related to the constitutionalization and codification of Islamic law family and Islamic education. In short, we can say that the answers are intermingled in trilogy struggle of Islamic radical organization; defense, revolution against tyranny and establishment of the syari'ah. In this contemporary globalization, however, *jihad* is totally related to all efforts to build a new civilization based on humanitarian aspects and religious values, what I call is *jihad* civilization (*Jihad Peradaban*).

Conclusion

Some of Western scholars claim that *jihad* is strongly related to the war and military expansion. This point of view based on their observation on *jihad* from historical perspective (Islam history-Islam *sejarah*), especially after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. This point of view, to some extends, could be accepted because many wars performed by the caliphates, especially during the time of the Umayyad, could not be claimed as the war in terms of defensive, but it is clearly could be seen as an expansion which had a strong relation to the wealth of the governmental finance, including to make monetary contribution to the war efforts, and the wish to escape from the poverty and over population. Therefore, besides ideological belief, the worldly expectations also played a role. In addition that the Muslim soldiers, especially in the earliest periods, were not professionals soldiers but, nevertheless, carried out *jihad* continuously despite numerous debacles and defeats. Using the word of Muhammad Syahrur, there was an effort of Muslim empires, especially the Umayyads, to turn around the meaning of *jihad* became an external war and conquest by using military forces in the name of *jihad*,⁶³ or from the greater *jihad* to the little *jihad*. In terms of history (Islam *historis*), it could not be avoidable that the performance of *jihad* conducted by Islamic empires was free from humanitarian crimes and injustice.

Doctrinally, however, the real meaning of *jihad* according to both al-Quran and *hadith* is something very different from the allegation of the western scholars. It can be traced on and understood from the two sources of Islam, and from the practical dimension of *jihad* executed by the Prophet Muhammad. Moreover, historically and philosophically, the purposes of *jihad* in al-Quran could be concluded as first, *jihad* is ordained to be waged defensively so that the worship of God may be persuaded freely on the earth (*surah* 22: 39-40). Then, it is also enjoined in retaliation against those who fight against the Muslims (*surah* 2: 190) or have driven the believers out of home and family (*surah* 2: 191, 246). This means that *jihad*, in the terms of war, was executed by the Muslims when there were no more other choices.

⁶³ Muhammad Syahrur (2003), *Tirani Islam: Geneologi Masyarakat dan Negara*, Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy (trans.), Yogyakarta: LKIS, p. 168.

Related to emergence of radical organizations of *jihad* in the socio-political reality of Indonesian Muslim, it is clear that the phenomenon, in one side, is the impact of the failure of the Indonesian political elites to formulate the relation between Islam and state based on the existing of the developed social reality. On the other side, this condition cannot be avoidable from the cleverness of the Dutch scholars who made the Islamic law system ram into *adat* and Western law. Politically, the Dutch colonial government gave priority to the *adat* law and Western law, while Islamic law was marginalized. As the result, the Islamic radical movements insisted that the enforcement of Islamic law is a certainty and logical consequence from the universal Islamic teaching.⁶⁴ In addition, the contemporary Western hegemony in the sheltered of globalization, human rights and democracy played by the United States of America on behalf of humanitarian global order created a detestation among the Muslims, especially among the fundamental and radical Muslims. This is because there is an ambiguity of political and economical stance played by the United States of America and its allies when facing Islam and the Muslims.

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⁶⁴ Amiur Nuruddin (2004), “Penerapan Syariat Islam di Indonesia: Dari Dikotomi Menuju Konvergensi”, introduction in *Syariat Islam di Indonesia: Aktualisasi Ajaran dalam dimensi Ekonomi, Politik, dan Hukum*, Muhammad Iqbal *et.al* (ed), Medan: Fakultas Syariah IAIN Sumatera Utara and Misaka Galiza Press.

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