THE CONCEPT OF BATTLE AGAINTS NON MUSLIM IN THE HOLY QUR'AN

(Application of Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement Method)

A Thesis

Submitted to Ushuluddin Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of S-1 of Islamic Theology on Tafsir-Hadith Department

By:

EMI IRFA

NIM: 104211019

SPECIAL PROGRAM OF USHULUDDIN FACULTY

UIN WALISONGO

SEMARANG

2015

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is definitely my own work. I am completely responsible for content of this thesis. Other writer's opinions or findings included in the thesis are quoted or cited in accordance with ethical standards.

Semarang, , 2015

The Writer

Emi Irfa
NIM. 104211019

RATIFICATION

This paper was examined by two experts and passed on June 11, 2015. Therefore, this paper is accepted as one of requirement for fulfilling Undergraduate Degree of Islamic Theology.

Dean of Faculty of Ushuluddin

Chairman of Meeting

Dr. Muhyar Fanani, M.Ag

NIP. 19730314 2001121 1 001

Academic Advisor I

Dr. H. M. Mukhsin Jamil, M.Ag

NIP. 19700215 199703 1003

Examiner I

Ahmad Afnan Anshori, M.Hum

NIP. 19770809 200501 1 003

Academic Advisor II

Dr. Machrus, M.Ag

NIP. 19630105 199001 1002

Examiner II

Muh. Syaifuddien Zuhriy, M.Ag

NIP. 19700504 199903 1010

Secretary of Meeting

Mokh. Sya'roni, M.Ag

NIP. 19720515 199603 1002

THE CONCEPT OF BATTLE AGAINST NON MUSLIM IN THE HOLY QUR'AN

(THE APPLICATION OF FAZLUR RAHMAN'S DOUBLE MOVEMENT METHOD)

THESIS

Submitted to Ushuluddin Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of S-1 of Islamic Theology on Tafsir-Hadith Department

By:

EMI IRFA

NIM: 104211019

Semarang, May 27 2015.

Approved by

Advisor I

Dr. H. M. Mukhsin Jamil, M.Ag

NIP: 19700215 199703 1003

Advisor II

Dr. Machrus, M.Ag

NIP: 19630105 199001 1002

MOTTO

وَلَوۡ شَآءَ رَبُّكَ لَأٓمَنَ مَن فِي ٱلۡأَرۡضِ كُلُّهُمۡ جَمِيعًاۚ أَفَأَنتَ تُكۡرِهُ ٱلنَّاسَ حَتَّىٰ يَكُونُواْ مُؤۡمِنِينَ

"*If it had been thy Lord's will, they would all have believed,- all who are on earth! wilt thou then compel mankind, against their will, to believe!"*
(surah Yunus [10]: 99)

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my great father Mujahidin Arief, my great mother Farikha and Nur hayati. My little brother Ahmadin Najib Nur and Muhammad Maza Shofa, you both are the reason to go home. My special 'Boy' M. Syaifuddien, and Every one who support me.

*

And all of people who care the peace and harmony of the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

بســـــم الله الرحـــــــمن الرحـــــيم

Praises and thanks to Allāh, Who had guided me to finish this thesis. May peace and salutations always be given to Prophet Muhammad, Messenger of Allāh, with all respect. I gave title on this paper: "THE CONCEPT OF BATTLE AGINS NON MUSLIM (APPLICATION OF FAZLUR RAHMAN'S HERMENEUTIC)", submitted to the Faculty of Ushūluddin in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Islamic Theology in Tafsīr-Hadīth Department.

I would like to extend my deep appreciation to all those who have assisted me during my graduates studies at State Islamic University (UIN) Walisongo Semarang. First, I would like to thank to Prof. Dr. H. Muhibbin, M.Ag, Rector of State Islamic University (UIN) Walisongo Semarang. Second, my sincere thanks go to Dr. Muhsin Jamil, M. Ag., Dean of Faculty of Ushuluddin, and in the same time as father during my study in this faculty.

My special thanks and respects to Dr. Abdul Muhaya, MA as the caretaker of Ma'had Ulil Albab for Special Program of Ushuluddin Faculty, also my academic advisor in finishing this thesis. Thanks for give me teachings, inspirations and motivation as well as my father.

Furthermore, I would like to express my great thanks to Mokh. Sya'roni, M. Ag as the chief of Tafsir-Hadis department and

Dr. H. Muh. In'amuzzahidin, M.Ag as the secretary who both offered and facilitated me to finish this work. Additionally, my sincere thanks to all of my lecturers that taught and educated me during my study.

I would like to express my great thanks to Dr. Muhsin Jamil, M. Ag. And Dr. Machrus, M.Ag as the advisor who teach and lead me during process of finishing my thesis. Additionally, my sincere thanks to all of my lecturers that taught and educated me during my study.

Thanks you so much for a life time to my parents Mujahidin Arif, Farikha, and Nur Hayati. Thank you for your pray and support, this thesis is a small gift but I have one promise to make you happy and always remember your advice to be a good person. And my little brother Ahmadin Najib Nur and Muhammad Maza Shofa, you both are my reason to go home, I love you brother. And thank you very much to Mr. Haris and my big family who support my education.

My special thanks to my Boy, Muhammad Syaifuddin, S.Psi.I thank you to be a great boy for me. Thank you to always support, remind, give advice and lead me. We will go up to the next level of life.

I would like to thank to my big and great family of FUPK, especially PK-06 Tambah Sayank; yu Fina, Anik, Faiqoh, Salamah, Daris, I'ah, Tari, Atik, Hanik, Luluk, Atiqoh, Elvin, Ifa, Islah, Arum, Atiqoh, Pak Ros, Muklishin, Asyfaq, Gopa, bang Mujab, Rahmat, Abid, Za'im, Zen, Heri, Asep, Nur, Ipin, Anik, Masrukhan. And ad'ik Lina, my roomed Molly, Tika, and other who always support me to keep spirit finishing this thesis. Thanks for your attention, support,

advice, love, and tolerance each other. We not only a class group but we are family.

Last but not least, I would like to thank to LPM IDEA thank you to give me many experience, lesson. And thank you so much brings me to the top of the mountain.

In the end, I realize that this writing has not reached perfection in the truest sense. However, I hope that this thesis can be useful for myself especially and also the common reader.

Semarang, May , 2015

The Writer,

Emi Irfa
NIM: 104211019

TRANSLITERATION[1]

Table 1: **Transliteration Table: Consonants**

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
ب	B		ط	ṭ
ت	T		ظ	ẓ
ث	Th		ع	ʿ
ج	J		غ	gh
ح	ḥ		ف	f
خ	Kh		ق	q
د	D		ك	k
ذ	Dh		ل	l
ر	R		م	m
ز	Z		ن	n
س	S		ه	h
ش	Sh		و	w
ص	ṣ		ء	ʾ
ض	ḍ		ي	y

[1] Retrieved on 20 April 2015 from http://rotas.iium.edu.my/?Table_of_Transliteration

Table 2: **Transliteration Table: Vowels and Diphthongs**

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
◌َ	a		◌ًا، ◌ًى	an
◌ُ	u		◌ٌو	un
◌ِ	i		◌ٍي	in
◌َا، ◌ٰ، ◌َى،	Ā		◌َوْ	aw
◌ُو	ū		◌َيْ	ay
◌ِي	Ī		◌ُوّ	uww, ū (in final position)
			◌ِيّ	iyy, ī (in final position)

TABLE OF CONTENT

PAGE OF TITLE i

DECLARATION ii

ADVISOR APROVAL iii

RATIFICATION iv

MOTTO v

DEDICATION vi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT vii

TRANSLITERATION x

TABLE OF CONTENT xii

ABSTRACT xv

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

A. Background 1

B. Research Question 14

C. Aim and Significance of Research 14

D. Prior Research 15

E. Research Method 18

F. Method of Collecting Data 18

G. Method of Analyzing Data 19

H. Structure of Writing 20

CHAPTER II: FAZLUR RAHMAN HERMENEUTIC METHOD

A. Fazlur Rahman's Background 22

B. Fazlur Rahman's Methodology 31

1. Hermeneutic 31

2. Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement Method 41

CHAPTER III: WAR IN THE QUR'AN

A. War in Islam

1. War Before Islam 51
2. War After Islam 57

B. War Term in the Qur'an 61

1. Qital Term in the Qur'an 62
   a. The Classification of War Term in the Qur'an 63
   b. The Concept of Qital 67
2. Jihad Term in the Qur'an 77
   a. The Classification of Jihad Term in the Qur'an 81
   b. The Concept of Qital 83
3. Harb in the Qur'an 88
   a. The Classification of Harb Term in the Qur'an 88

C. Verses Interpretation 89

D. Non Muslim in the Qur'an 108

CHAPTER IV: THE ORDER OF BATTLE AGAINST NON MUSLIM IN THE FAZLUR RAHMAN HERMENEUTIC METHOD

A. Understanding of Battle Against Non Muslim 117

1. The History of War in Arab 118
2. Analyzing Verses 120
B. The Concept of Battle Against Non Muslim in the Contemporary Era 136
CHAPTER V: CLOSING
A. Conclusion 145
B. Suggestion 147
C. Closing 148
BIBILIOGRAPHY 149

ABSTRAC

Key Word: War, Hermeneutic, Fazlur Rahman, Double Movement.

In the development of Islamic science, there are many Islamic scholars who improve the theory to study al-Qur'an, moreover they try to combine hermeneutic with science discipline of Islam. Basically hermeneutic is a theory that used by west scholar to read the text, and then adopted and combined by Islamic scholar to find a juncture of al-Qur'an teaching with the development of contemporary era.

Double movement theory is one of theory who considered by Fazlur Rahman by combining between hermeneutic with science discipline of Islam. In his theory, before applying double movement theory Rahman emphasize to do critical study on the socio-history situation of Arab before and after Islam come to Arab, in other to know interaction between al-Qur'an and situation of social-culture community at the time. After critical study of social history then application of double movement theory, it is study al-Qur'an in the past to see the context of verses, correlation between verses in other to know the differences between specific legal and ideal moral of verses. Then we have to contextualization the value of Qur'anic verses to the contemporary era. This is a main goal of this theory, it is to find the juncture between al-Qur'an and all of development era (*sholihun li kulli zaman wal makan*).

This double movement theory used as a method to study about war verses. In the Islamic teaching the concept of battle against non Muslim is one of debatable theme and often used by some extremist group as a legitimating of act to do violence and battle against to non Muslim. It is give negative impression to Islam as a religion which teaches about violence and terrorism. The conclusion that can we take from this research is war verses give command to Muslim to defend-self when the right of life and Islamic religion get attack and violence from another party without any justified reasons or base. The form of this defend-self is may not exceed the limit of humanity and appropriated to the development situation of era. So jihad is not only by war (hard power) but can implemented with another sector like science sector, economy, health, etc (soft power).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

As commonly known and believed, al-Qur'an is a holy book that revealed as a direction and guidance for human in every time and place (surah Al-Baqarah [2]: 2). It is also lead them to the right way.[1] Thus, everything comes from al-Qur'an is believed as a rightness or truth, so that the values of Qur'anic teaching can be accepted and applied regardless time and places, *sholihun likulli zaman wal makan.*

One of debatable discussion of Qur'anic teaching that got many different interpretations is about war. This theme is commonly included as the part of *jihad* topic. It is because war against the enemy is one of fight to defend the religion. *Jihad* terminologically means conscripting all of ability to disseminate the Islamic missionary *(da'wah)* in order to defend and keep Islam. Al-Qistholani explained the word *jihad* as a battle to non Muslim for the sake of the upstanding of Islam and God's word. Thus, the interpretation of *jihad* contains two meaning, the general and specific meaning. [2]

[1] Abdur Rahman Dahlan, *Kaidah-Kaidah Penafsiran Al-Qur'an*, Mizan, Bandung 1991, page.96

[2] Abdurrahman, et.al, *Al-Qur'an dan isu-isu kontemporer*, eLSAQ Press, Yogyakarta, 2011, page. 95

Jihad in the general meaning is covering all of kind of internal and external worship in the same manner that Prophet Muhammad was epitomized in the history of his fighting in Mecca and Medina. And *jihad* in the special meaning as Imam Syafi'i defined is the battle to non Muslim.[3] Between these two meaning, the specific meaning of *Jihad* (battle against non Muslim) evoked more polemic and further attention from Islamic scholar, because it is often misinterpreted by some people to distort the meaning of *jihad* itself and incurring image that Islam is religion which is teach about war.

This condition worsened by many bombs, criminals, and terrorism cases who undertaken by extremist of Islam who claim their action as the devotion of *jihad* . The peace image of Islam is broken by some Muslim group who who doing anarchist and radical thing. Even several suicide bombs incidents like in Bali, Marriot Hotel (Kuningan Jakarta), and others region is add the negative image of Islam. Negative stigma from western world after the bomb accident of Pentagon and WTC building (Word Trade Center) in New York caused Islam regarded as enemy and religion which teach the violence, radicalism, and terrorism.[4]

Beside claiming their action as *jihad* , this Muslim extremist group also use Qur'anic verses to legitimate their criminal action.

---

[3] Abdurrahman, et.al, *Al-Qur'an dan isu-isu,* …….. page. 96

[4] Abdurrahman, et.al, *Al-Qur'an dan isu-isu,*…….. page. 94

Imam Samudra[5] one of the figure of this group, argues that there are three steps should be finished; forbearing from the war, war allowance and the last step is obligation of battle against non Muslimwho active to attack Islam and Islamic society. In the forbore step, Muslim should be patient and forbearing from the harshness of non Muslim, Allah give the limitation in the surah al-Baqarah verse 109 "Until His command comes..". Before the command of battle comes into Muslim society, they should have to forbore them self. Now the command to war is came, like wrote in the surah at-Taubah verse 5 "fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them". and surah at-Taubah: 29 "Fight those who believe not in Allah".[6]

Thus, the battle against colonized civil society is a fair measure for the sake of balances and justness. Blood responded by blood, life responded by life and civil responded by civil. That is a balance (an-Nahl: 126). This obligation (battle against non Muslim) more explicitly explain in the surah al-Baqarah verse 216, this verse teach that leaving the *jihad* is a sin, and there is no contradiction among the Muslim opinion that obligation is if it is done will get reward and if it is not will get sin. Or the example,

[5] Imam Samudra is a person affected by the dead law Bali bomb I, he also involved in bomb case in Christmas 24 Desember 2000. Mirra Noor Milla, Mengapa *Memilih Jalan Teror : Analisis Psikologi Pelaku Teror*, Gadjah Mada Press, Yogyakarta, 2010

[6] Imam Samudra, Aku Melawan Teroris, Solo, Jazera, 2004, page 129

when Muslim leave fasting is a sin, so leaving the *jihad* is a sin also.[7]

These several criminal cases are come from the understanding that defending religion and *jihad* only can be implemented by war. Whereas this poniard verses (*ayatus saif)* still need further interpretation, deeply understanding, and have to be read comprehensively. In other side al-Qur'an also orders to spread the peace and to plait a good relationship and tolerance with everyone regardless religion and background.

The mission of Islamic teaching is liberating the human from all forms of anarchy and injustice. Allah is the Supreme Fair, so it is impossible that the holy Qur'an contains the concept which is not reflecting the justice. If there some values or rules which not equal with justice principle and human right universally, so these values and rules need to re-actualized.[8] Self esteem is active power aim to create the word peace. "*But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou [also] incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is One that heareth and knoweth [all things]."* (al-Anfal [8]: 61). It is a power to struggle for principle Islamic missionary broke the despotic and keeps the massage (*risalah)*.[9] Islamic society may not appear as the only society who expresses the war when the

---

[7] Imam Samudra, *Aku Melawan Teroris,* ……..page. 118-128

[8] Abdurrahman, et.al, *Al-Qur'an dan isu-isu,*…….. page. 93

[9]Syauqi Al-Ittiham, *Islam Menjawab Tuduhan*, Pustakan Al-Kautsar, Jakarta, 2006 page. 100.

world precisely expresses the peaceful. Are there are many verses of al-Qur'an and texts of hadith which are suggest to do and express the peace?[10]

Based on the discussion above, this research will focus on the discussion about *jihad* in the special meaning; battle against non Muslim in the al-Qur'an. As explained above, the verses about war often used to legitimate several criminal action by some Muslim extremist groups.

In the al-Qur'an the word war use the word *qatala* and *harb* with its derivations of word. *Al-qital* is *isim mashdar* from *qatala-yuqatilu-qitalan-muqatalah* word. Form meaning aspect it is different with *jihad*, because it takes from *al-qital*, and *al-jihad* take from *al-juhud*, War is the end part of *jihad*. *Al-qital* and its variety mention 67 times in the Al-Qur'an. *Harb* is one group fight against other group use weapon and military power to confront the enemy.[11] And *harb* and its variety mention 11 times in the al-Qur'an.[12]

Some people think that non muslim is the enemy of Islam, and it is one of thing that make non muslim impress possible to kill and fight. Actually there is no term non muslim in Al-Qur'an. In al-Qur'an the enemy of Islam who obligatory to war is *musyrikin*

---

[10]Ibnu Qudamah in Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, Mizan, Bandung, 2010, page. 29.

[11] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*,…… page. Ixxvi.

[12] Muhammad Fu'ad 'Abd al-Baqi, Mu'jam al-Muhfaras li Alfaz al-Qur'an al-Karim, Dar al-Fikr, Bairut, 1981, page 197

(At-Taubah : 5), *kafir* ((Al-Baqarah : 191), *ahlul kitab* (At-Taubah : 29). But researcher use term non Muslim because according to Sachedina, word "*kafir*" begin meaning as "non Muslim" (such as Christian, Jew, Konghucu, and others local religion) so that permitted to destroyed. Actually *kafir* is Arabic pagan people who disparage and resist to Prophet Muhammad mission.[13]

Some verses which explains about the allowance and order to war is below;

Battle against to *musyrikin* : QS At-Taubah [09]: 5

فَإِذَا ٱنسَلَخَ ٱلۡأَشۡهُرُ ٱلۡحُرُمُ فَٱقۡتُلُواْ ٱلۡمُشۡرِكِينَ حَيۡثُ وَجَدتُّمُوهُمۡ وَخُذُوهُمۡ وَٱحۡصُرُوهُمۡ وَٱقۡعُدُواْ لَهُمۡ كُلَّ مَرۡصَدٍۚ فَإِن تَابُواْ وَأَقَامُواْ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتَوُاْ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ فَخَلُّواْ سَبِيلَهُمۡۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ غَفُورٞ رَّحِيمٞ ۝٥

> But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them, an seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem [of war]; but if they repent, and establish regular prayers and practise regular charity, then open the way for them: for Allah is Oftforgiving,Most Merciful.

The order to killing that explain in the verse above is not the obligation without permit to kill, catch, and capture. Selected alternative appropriate to behavior and attitude of each *musyrikin*. Bigger the danger from *musyrikin* will give bigger punishment to

[13] Tedi Kholiluddin, Kuasa Negara Atas Agama, Rasail, Semarang, 2009, page. xviii

them. Thobathobai understand the composite of many order of verse as a order to destroy *musyrikin* in other to there was no annoyance from *musyrikin*. This opinion can writer receive with means destroy everyone who annoyance and mistreat to muslimin, not destroy someone who get intuition to faith and did not disturb muslimin.[14]

Battle against to *ahlul kitab* : QS At-Taubah [09]: 29

قَٰتِلُواْ ٱلَّذِينَ لَا يُؤۡمِنُونَ بِٱللَّهِ وَلَا بِٱلۡيَوۡمِ ٱلۡأٓخِرِ وَلَا يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ ٱللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُۥ وَلَا يَدِينُونَ دِينَ ٱلۡحَقِّ مِنَ ٱلَّذِينَ أُوتُواْ ٱلۡكِتَٰبَ حَتَّىٰ يُعۡطُواْ ٱلۡجِزۡيَةَ عَن يَدٖ وَهُمۡ صَٰغِرُونَ ٢٩[15]

Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the religion of Truth, [even if they are] of the People of the Book, until they pay the Jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued.

Qurais Shihab explains that this verse notice to battle against people who does not believe in Allah with true faith, like Christian people who believe trinity, or Jewish who descript their God into fleshly thing. And for those who does not believe in

[14] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al misbah Pesan, Kesan, dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an,* Vol. V, Lentera hati, Jakarta, 2012, page. 18.

[15] This Qur'an and translation is taken from *Qur"an In Word* by Yusuf Ali

hereafter as taught by Prophet Muhammad, and they were not forbidden something which forbidden by Prophet Muhammad.[16]

Ibnu Katsir comments that according to Ibnu Abbas ra. as mentioned by Ali bin Abi Thalib that surah al-Baqarah [2]: 109 was replaced (*mansukh*) by surah at-Taubah [9]: 5 and 29, this is as Abu Aliyah, Ar-Rabi bin Anas, Qatadah, and As-Sudi opinion that this verse replaced by poniard verse (*ayatus saif* surah at-Taubah [9]: 5 and 29). From this verse, all of agreement between prophet Muhammad and non muslim was cancelled. In this period all of non muslim was allowed to battle, except if they want to repent and forswear, surrender into Islam, praying, and pay the *zakat*.[17]

Battle against to kafir : QS Al-Baqarah [2] : 191

وَٱقۡتُلُوهُمۡ حَيۡثُ ثَقِفۡتُمُوهُمۡ وَأَخۡرِجُوهُم مِّنۡ حَيۡثُ أَخۡرَجُوكُمۡۚ وَٱلۡفِتۡنَةُ أَشَدُّ مِنَ ٱلۡقَتۡلِۚ وَلَا تُقَٰتِلُوهُمۡ عِندَ ٱلۡمَسۡجِدِ ٱلۡحَرَامِ حَتَّىٰ يُقَٰتِلُوكُمۡ فِيهِۖ فَإِن قَٰتَلُوكُمۡ فَٱقۡتُلُوهُمۡۗ كَذَٰلِكَ جَزَآءُ ٱلۡكَٰفِرِينَ ١٩١[18]

> And slay them wherever ye catch them, and turn them out from where they have Turned you out; for tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter; but fight them not at

[16] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al misbah Pesan, Kesan, dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an,* Vol I. Lentera hati, Jakarta, 2012, page. 72.

[17] Ibnu Katsir, *Terjemah Singkat Tafsir Ibnu Katsir*, Bina Ilmu, Surahbaya, 1988, page.8

[18] This Qur'an and translation is taken from *Qur"an In Word* by Yusuf Ali

> the Sacred Mosque, unless they [first] fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who suppress faith. But if they cease, Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.

Those three verses explain about the order to doing war *fi sabilillah*, but may not overreach the limit and if non Muslim gave attack continually and overreach, so killing them until there are not slander again;

Surah al-Baqarah [2]: 190 is first verse which talking about the order to war after the revelation of a verse which is explain about the allowance to doing war base on surah al-Hajj [22]: 39. The command of doing war *fi sabilillah* in this verse explains that the war is allowed as long as still in the way of God. That is upstanding divinity's values and freedom that appropriate with Islamic rule. But if they were overreaching the limit, it was commanded to killing them until there was no slander again.[19]

The concept of war the Qur'an is globally only permitted when appropriate with the *shari'a* and in the way of God.[20] War in the Islam could not mistakenly with purpose to killing someone. But the command of war above is only undertaken against people who fight against Islam under the rule "it may not overreach". And based on M. Abduh the meaning of overreach is "initiating to doing war first" it is mean that initiating war to people who does

[19] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al misbah*, Vol.V, …….page. 506-506

[20] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad,* ……..page. Ixxvi.

not battle against Islam is not contained in this verse. One of war rules in Islam is do not fight powerless people such as women, children, old fellow, people who get sick, everyone wants to do reconcilement, and damage the tree.[21]

But although al-Qur'an explain about the order of battle against non muslim explicitly but al-Qur'an also order muslimin to response peace cry even after war. Allah said "*But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou [also] incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is One that heareth and knoweth [all things]. Should they intend to deceive thee,- verily Allah sufficeth thee: He it is That hath strengthened thee with His aid and with [the company of] the Believers"* (QS al-Anfal [8]: 61-62). Even worried will appear treason from the enemy, but peace cry must be priority.[22]

Islamic scholars have differents opinion about the order of war. Some of them said that *jihad* under the meaning of war or attack the enemy is an obligatory; in the Ahkam al-Qur'an, al-Jashshosh was explained about surah al-Baqarah [2]: 216 that indicate the obligation of war, because the meaning of *kutiba alaikuma* is obligated on you. As the meaning of verse "obligated on you to fasting surah al-Baqarah [2]: 183".[23] Another opinion said that the

---

[21] Muhammad Rasyid Ridho, *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Ahkam al-Syahrir bi Tafsir al-Manar,* juz II, Dar al-Manar, Cairo, 1954, page. 207-209

[22] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad, ……..* page 330

[23]Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……page. 18.

leader and Islamic society have to battle against the enemy continually until surrender into Islam or paying the *jizyah*. This opinion is chosen by al-Miqdad ibn al-Aswad, Abu Thalhah, and other companions of Prophet Muhammad, and others.[24]

In this research, the researcher applies hermeneutic approach. Hermeneutic is taken from Greece word *hermeneuein* that have meaning interpretation. The connection between hermeneutic and theology is appropriate, because it is regarded as subpart of theology which includes the methodology research about the authentic and interpretation of text.[25]

There is a significance difference between '*Ilm at-tafsir* and hermeneutic in the use of historical approach. Historical approach of '*Ilm at-tafsir* is taken from *asbabun nuzul*, while hermeneutic surpassed over it (that is through historical and sociological approach which shortly named socio-history), this approach especially concerning in the social problem.[26]

Among several Islamic scholars who use hermeneutic approach to interpret Qur'anic verses, researcher uses Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutic approach to interpret the war verses. In formulating his systematical methodology, Rahman was motivated by his

---

[24] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad,* ……...page. 15

[25]Ahmad Syukri Saleh, *Metodologi Tafsir Al-Qur'an Kontomporer dalam Pandangan Fazlur Rahman,* , Sulthan Thaha Press, Jambi, 2007, page. 7-72

[26] Sibawaihi, *Hermeneutik Al-Qur'an Fazlur Rahman*, Jalasutra, Yogyakarta, 2007, page.52.

awareness of the crisis faced by modern Islamic society. He believed that this crisis has serious implication toward the future of religion and its mankind. The root of this crisis lied on the Islamic religious history in which the Muslim viewing both the Islamic source; al-Qur'an and hadith awkwardly.[27]

In his hermeneutic method, Rahman adopting the transmission source of hadith *shohih* and supported by logic law. Rahman applies the socio-history approach, because for him, it is the only approach that can accepted and equitable toward the intellectual and moral guidance. From socio-history approach, Muslim can further considering the values of history development.[28] Thus, the understanding toward the historical context of al-Qur'an is very helpful to conclude the principle and value which being the basic for Qur'anic certainty, or determining accurately the reasons behind it.[29]

Procedural step of Rahman's methodology can concise into two part: *first* is the important of history approach, while regarding the sociology aspect to understanding Qur'anic verse, especially that concerning with social problem. *Second* is the important of

---

[27]Taufik Adnan Amal, *Islam dan Tantangan Modernitas Studi atas Pemikiran Hukum Fazlur Rahman*, Mizan, Bandung, 1994, page. 186

[28]Sibawaihi, *Hermeneutik Al-Qur'an Fazlur Rahman,*……..page. 54

[29] Ahmad Syukri Saleh, *Metodologi Tafsir Al-Qur'an Kontomporer*……..., page. 72

distinction between legal tenets and moral ideal of al-Qur'an. These two steps called as double movement theory. [30]

The first of the two movements mentioned above, then, consists of two steps. First, one must understand the import on meaning of a given statement by studying the historical situation or problem to which it is the answer. Of course, before coming to the study of specific texts in the light of specific situation. A general study of the macro situation in terms of society, religion, customs, and institutions, indeed, life as a whole in Arabia on the Islam eve and particularly in and around Mecca- not excluding the Perso-Byzantine Wars-will have to be made. The first step of the first movement, then, consists of understanding the meaning of al Qur'an as a whole as well as in terms of the specific tenets that constitute responses to specific situations. The second step is to generalize those specific answers and enunciate them as statements of general moral-social objectives that can be "distilled" from specific texts in light of the socio-historical back ground and the often-stated *rationes legis*. Indeed, the first step the understanding of the meaning of the specific text-itself implies the second step and will lead to it. Throughout this process due regard must be paid to the tenor of the teaching of al Qur'an as a whole so that each given meaning understood, each law enunciated, and each objective formulated will cohere with the rest. al Qur'an as a whole does inculcate a definite attitude toward

[30] Sibawaihi, *Hermeneutik Al-Qur'an Fazlur Rahman……* Page 56

life and does have a concrete weltanschauung. It also claims that its teaching has "no inner contradiction" but coherent as a whole.[31]

Seeing several kinds of criminal action which claim as a command of Islamic religion and partial understanding about the command of war in the al-Qur'an, so it is important to do this research to know the command of war in the al-Qur'an comprehensively and how to apply this verse in contemporary era.

B. Research Question

Regarding the study, the problems that may come around are :

1. What is the meaning of the order of battle against non muslim in the Qur'an according to Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutic approach?
2. What is the significance of the order of battle against non muslim to contemporary era?

C. Aim and Significance of Research

From the research question above, the researcher sets some aims as follow:

1. To know the meaning of the order of battle against non muslim in the Qur'an according to Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutic approach.

---

[31] Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity*, The University of Chicago, London,1984. Page.6

2. To know the relevance of the order of battle against non muslim in this cotemporary era.

D. Prior Research

The researcher has found some literature that have similar topic about the war in Islam, those are:

The book *Tradisi Militer Dalam Islam* (Military Tradition in The Islam)[32] by Imam Yahya. This book is analyze about military (war) in Islam use social history method and give many data related to the military in Islam; Qur'anic verse, hadis, the history of war in Islam. Besides, it also analyze the connection of civil military with Islamic politic, and the function of politic military in the Madinah state.

Atsaru al-Harb fi al-Islam by Wahbah Zuhaili (Damaskus: Dar al-Fikr, 1962), told about war in the *fiqh* perspective and the law of war in the *madzhab figh* perspective. Wahbah also differ between *Jihad* and *Harb. Jihad* is war between Muslim and non Muslim to maintain the Islamic value. And Harb is war interstate. And Wahbah give explanation about war after cold war base on *fiqh* and social perspective.

Thesis *Etika Perang (Qital) Dalam* Surah*h Al-Baqarah Menurut Tafsir Al-Manar Karya M. Abduh dan Rasyid Ridha* (War Ethic in The Surahh Al-Baqarah Base on Al-Manar

[32] Imam Yahya, *Tradisi Militer dalam Islam*, Loging Pustaka, Jogjakarta, 2010

interpretation book by M. Abduh dan Rasyid Ridha) by Gunawan Jati Nugraoho (2010), this thesis research about war ethics in surahh al-baqarah base on M. Abduh dan Rasyid Ridha's interpretation in the al-manar's book. This research explain that war in the islam doing with some rule and ethics, it is just do defensive war to defend self, religion, and state. and in the war forbidden to killing women, children, the old, and should kept the environment. And if the enemy was surrender, we have to stop the war.

Book *Perang dan Damai di Masa Pemerintahan Rasulullah* (War and Peace in The Prophet Muhammad Era)[33] by Abdul Aziz Ghanim, told about the essence of war in the Islam and many war happened in the prophet Muhammad era; Badar war, Uhud war, Khandak war, etc. and also told about Hudaibiyah agreement that signal the reconcilement between Muslim and non Muslim.

The researcher also found some literature that use Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutic as research method with variety theme, it is ;

Thesis *Reaktualisasi Konsep Pembagian Harta Waris 2:1 (Telaah Ktiris Terhadap Penerapan Teori Double Movement Dalam Menafsirkan ayat Tentang Pembagian Waris 2:1)* (Reactualization concept of Distribution Heir Estae 2:1 (Critical Study of Applying Double Movement Theory in The Interpret

[33] Abdul Aziz Ghanim, *Perang dan Damai Dalam Al-Qur'an*, Gema Insani Press, Jakarta,1989

Distribution Heir Estae 2:1 Verse))[34]by Jessi Aprilianika, this mini thesis focus discus about application of Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement to interpretation heir verse 2:1 by Muslim scholars. And the result is the change of heir distsribution formulation become 1:1 cannot responsibility because base on reality, and the formulation 2:1 was fixes *qoth'i*.

Thesis *Tafsir Kontekstual (studi terapan hermenetika Double Movement Fazlur Rahman terhadap ayat-ayat kisah kaum Nabi Luth AS dalam al-Qur'an)* (Contextual Interpretation (The Aplication of Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement Theory Toward Luth Clan Story Verses in the al-Qur'an)) by Rusmadi, explain about hermeneutic and the comparative with *Ulumul Qur'an*, and then the application and context of Luth narrative in the Qur'an.

All of studies mentioned above are different from this research, because most of those research just explain about the war in Islamic history and application of Double Movement method to variety theme. It is difference to this research that study about war or the order of battle against non Muslim in the light of Qur'an applying Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutic method.

---

[34] Jessi Aprilianika, *Reaktualisasi Konsep Pembagian Harta Waris 2:1 (Telaah Ktiris Terhadap Penerapan Teori Double Movement Dalam Menafsirkan ayat Tentang Pembagian Waris 2:1)*, Thesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga: 2009.

E. Research Methods

1. The Type of Research

Based on the formulation of the problem above, this research is qualitative category. It is library research which is based on bibliographical research that relating to the research topic. Library research is research that use source data from the library and others.[35]

2. Source of Data

The source of data divided into two categories :

a. Primary Data

It is data that directly collected from the primary source. That is Qur'anic verses which explain about the order of battle against non Muslim.

b. Secondary Data

Secondary data is use to support and explain about the theme. It is taken from many literatures of books, journals, papers, and websites which discuss about the research topic, such as the work of Fazlur Rahman, interpretation book, etc.

F. Method of Collecting Data

This research is library research, that is collecting data from books, papers, journals, and websites that have relationship to the topic. And the step to collecting data is, *first*, collecting al-Qur'an

---

[35] Lexy J. Meleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, Remaja Rosda Karya, Bandung, 1993, page. 2.

verse about the order of battle against non muslim and explanation about it. *Second*, collecting literature that explain about Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement method. *Third*, collecting data that support the research.

G. Method of Analyzing Data

The analizyng data include three step; reduction data, presenting data, and conclution.

Reduction data doing by read, understanding, and then presenting data. After reduction data then descriptive data and apply to the object. And the presenting data as bellow:

a. Contain of war verse especially the order to war against non Muslim
b. Explain interpretation about war verse, and the pinion of Islamic scholar about war verse and the concept of war in the contemporary era.
c. Explain the application of Fazlur Rahman Double Movement theory.
d. Analyze war verse use Fazlur Rahman Double Movement theory.

And the conclusion take from presenting data and the analyzing data.

H. Structure of Writing

In describing this study, the researcher arranges the systematic design of study in other to get easy and comprehensive description:

Chapter I is background of this research which explain about problem appears, formulation of the problems and significance of this research. And then mention the research methodology and writing systematic. From this chapter, so the readers can understand the aim of the research.

Chapter II is contain the basic theory of this research, it is explain about Fazlur Rahman biography include his background, study, career, his work, and the commentary of collage to him. And then explain about Double Movement hermeneutical theory.

Chapter III explanation about the Qur'an verse that explain about the order of battle against non muslim and the interpretation of it, include *asbabun nuzul*, the correlation of Qur'an verses, the correlation between other verses.

Chapter IV analyzing of the order of battle against non muslim verse and Fazlur Rahman's Hermeneutic, the order of battle against non muslim verse in the Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement approach; study of social history of the order of battle against non muslim verses, the context of the order of battle against non muslim

Cahapter V is closing that contain conclusion of the result of this research after consider data and analyzing of chapter before, and give suggestion, and epilogue.

BAB II

FAZLUR RAHMAN'S DOUBLE MOVEMENT METHOD

A. Fazlur Rahman's Background

Fazlur Rahman was born in Hazara, Pakistan, on September 21 1919 AD, he came from a pious family, by embracing Hanafis doctrine like his own admission, his family doing worship everyday regularly. When on the ten old year, he had memorized the Qur'an. His father, Mawlana Shihab ad-Din was a alumnus of Dar al-Ulum, leading secondary school in Deoband, India. In this school, Shihab ad-Din learned from prominent figures such as Mawlana Mahmud Hasan (w.1920), and a famous *Faqih*, Maulana Rashid Ahmad Bangohi (w.1905). Although Rahman did not study at Dar al-Ulum, he mastered the curriculum Darse Nizami offered by these institutions in private studies with his father. It was complementary his background in understanding Islamic traditional, with special attention to jurisprudence, theology, theology, *hadith*, interpretation, logic (*mantiq*) and philosophy.[1]

After completing his secondary education, Rahman continued his studies in the eastern department of Punjab University. In 1942, he successfully completed his academic education at the university and earned his educational

[1] Sibawaihi, *Eskatologi Al-Ghazali dan Fazlur Rahman, Studi Komparatif Epistimologi Klasik-Kontemporer,* Islamika, Yogyakarta, 2004, hlm. 49.

achievement title M.A in Arabic literature. However, because of the quality of higher education in India was very low at the time, Rahman finally decided to continue his studies to Oxford University, England. This step was a very bold step, because at that time there were a general presumption that a very strange thing if a Muslim went west to study Islam there.[2] While studying in the UK Rahman also studied several foreign languages until mastered like Latin, Greek, English, French, German, also mastered Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Urdu. In 1950, Rahman completed his education at Oxford by submitting a dissertation of Ibn Sina.

After got a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) title from Oxford University in 1950, Rahman did not immediately return to his country, Pakistan. Rahman apparently still worried about his country's society phenomenon, which were rather difficult to receive people of Islam were educated in the West. Therefore a few years he prefer to chose teach in Europe which starts with teaching the Persian language and Islamic Philosophy at Durham University, England, in the years 1950-1958 and then taught at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Canada as an Associate Professor of Philosophy.[3]

---

[2] Taufik Adnan Amal, *Islam dan Tantangan Modernitas Studi Atas Pemikiran Hukum Fazlur Rahman,* MIzan, Bandung, 1994, page 80-81

[3] Sibawaihi, *Eskatologi Al-Ghazali ……,* page. 51

During stay in the West, Rahman wrote many articles about Islam and religion-philosophical Islamic modernism. And when teaching at Durham University Rahman wrote a book, Prophecy in Islam: Philosophy and Orthodoxy that ultimately by McGill University published in 1958. The complete works that have been written by Rahman was: [4]

1. *Prophecy in Islam: Philosophy and Ortodoxy*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958. (Indonesia edition: *Kontroversi Kenabian dalam Islam : Antara Filsafat dan Ortodoksi*, Ahsin Muhammad (trans.), Mizan, Bandung, 2003
2. *Islamic Methodology in History*, Karachi, Central Institute of Islamic Research, 1965, (Indonesia edition: *Membuka Pintu Ijtihad*, Anas Mahyuddin (terj), Pustaka, Bandung, 1983)
3. *Islam*, New York: Anchor Books, 1968, second edition added epilog , Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1979, (Indonesia edition: *Islam*, Ahsin Muhammad (terj), Pustaka, Bandung, 1984)
4. *The Philosophy of Mulla Sadra*, Albany: State University of New York Press. 1975

[4] Rusmadi, *Tafsir Kontekstual (Studi Atas Pemikiran Hermenutika Double Movements Fazlur Rahman Terhadap Ayat-ayat Kisah Kaum Nabi Luth as. Dalam al-Qur'an),* Mini Thesis, Ushuluddin Faculty, UIN Walisongo, Semarang, 2006

5. *Major Themes of Qur'an*, Minneapolis, Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1980, (Indonesia edition: *Tema Pokok al-Qur'an*, Anas Wahyudin (terj), Pustaka, Bandung, 1983)
6. *Islam and Modernity: Transformation Ofan Intellectual Tradition*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1882 (Indonesia edition: *Islam dan Modernitas: Tantangan Trasformasi Intelektual*, Ahsin Mohammad (terj) Pustaka, Bandung, 1985)

Rahman's article :

1. "*Iqbal and Mysticims*" Aqbal as a Thinker, M. Raziuddin Siddiqi, et.al, Lohore, 1973.
2. "*Internal Religious Development in Islam*", Religion and Promise of the Twentieth Century, ed. Guy s. Metraux & Francois Crouzet, New York & Toronto: Mentor Book, 1995.
3. "*Modern Moslem Thought*" The Muslim World, vol. 45, 1955.
4. "*Ibn Sina*" a History of Muslim Philosophy, vol. 1 ed. M.M Sharif, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963.
5. "*Riba and Interest*" Islamic Studies , vol.3, no. 1, 1964
6. "*The Controversy Over the Muslim Family Law*", South Asian Politics and Religion, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966.

7. "*The Impact of Modernity Islam*" Islamic Studies, vol.5, no. 1 1966.
8. "*The Qur'anic Concept of God, The Universe and Man*" Islamic Studies, vol.6, no.1, 1967.
9. "*Some Reflection on The Reconstruction of Muslim Society in Pakistan*" Islamic Studies, vol. 6, no. 2, 1967.
10. "*The Islamic Concept of State*", Islam In Transition: Muslim Perspectives, ed. JJ. Donohue and J.L Esposito, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
11. "*The Qur'anic Solution of Pakistan's Educational Problems"* Islamic Studies, vol.6 no.4, 1967
12. "*Revival and Reform Islam*" The Cambridge History of Islam, vol.2. ed. P.M Holt, et.al, London: Cambridge Ineversity Press, 1970.
13. "*Islam and The Constitutional Problems of Pakistan*" Studia Islamica, vol. 32, 1970.
14. "*Islam Modernism: Its Scope, Method and Alternatives*", International Journal of Midl Eastern Studies, vol.1, no.4, 1970.
15. "*Functional Interdependence of Law and Theology*" Theology and Law in Islam, ed, G.E. Von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971
16. "*The Ideological Experience of Pakistan*", Islam and Modern Age, vol.2, no.4, 1971.
17. "*Islam*" The New Encyclopedia Britannica, vol.9, 1974.

18. "*The Eternity of World and The Heavenly Bodies in Post-Avicennan Philosophy*" Essays on Islamic Philosophy and Science, ed. Geroge F. Haorani, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975.
19. "*The God-World Relationship in Mulla Sadra*", Essays on Islmic Philosophy and Science, ed. Geroge F. Haorani, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975.
20. "*Some Islamic Issues in Ayyub Khan Era*", Essays on Islamic Civilization, ed. Donald P. Little, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976
21. "*The Foundation of The Muslim Community in Mecca*" Studi Islamica, vol.43, 1976
22. "*Islam and New Constitution of Pakistan*" Journal of Asian and African Studies, vol.8, no. 3-4, 1977
23. "*Sources of Dynamism in Islam"*, al-Ittihad, vol. 15, no.1, Januari 1978.
24. "*Devine Revelation and The Prophet*", Hamdard Islamicues,vol.1, no.2, 1978
25. "*Islam Challenges and Opportunies*", Islam: Past Influences and Present Challenge, ed. A.T. Welch and P. Cachia, Edinurg University Press, 1979.
26. "*Towards Reformulating The Methodology of Islamic Law: Sheikh Yamani on 'Public Interest' in Islamic Law*", International Law and Politics, vol.12, 1979.

27. "*Islam: Legacy and Contemporary Challenge*" Islam in The Contemporary World, ed. Cyriac K. Pullapilly, Notre Dame: Cross Roads Book, 1980
28. "*Christian Particularity and The Faith of Isla*m", Christian Faith in a Religiously Plural World, ed. Donald D. Gawe and J.B Carman, New York: Meryknoll. Orbis Books, 1980.
29. "*Islamic Studies and The Future of Islam*" Islamic Studies: Atradition and Its Problems", ed. Malcolm H. Kerr, Malibu, California, 1980
30. "*A Recent Controversy Over the Interpretation of Shura*" History of Religion, vol. 20, no.4, 1980-1981.
31. "*Roots of Islamci Neo-Fundamentalism*" Change and The Muslim World, ed. Philip H. Stoddard, et, al, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1981
32. "*Islam's Attitude Toward Judaism*" The Muslim World, vo. 72, 1982
33. "*Some Key Ethical Concept of The Qur'an*" the Journal of Religious Ethics, vol.11, no.2, 1983
34. "*Iqbal: The Visionary: Jinnah, the Technician: and Pakistan the Reality*" Iqbal Jinnah and Pakistan: The Vision and the Reality, C.M. Naim, et al, Lohore, Vanguard Books, 1984
35. "*Some Recent Books on The Quran by Western Autor*" Journal of Religion, vol. 64, no. 1, 198

36. "*Working Paper on Perception of Decirable Society From Islamic Prspective*" Islamic Perception of Desirable Society, Jakarta, LIPI, 1985
37. "*Islam: A Year of Steady Development*" Arabia, vol. 5, no. 53, Januari 1986
38. "*Interpreting the Qur'an*" Inqury, Mei 1986
39. "*Islam Overview*" the Encyclopedia of Religion, vol.7, 1987
40. "*Islam and Modernity*" in Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook, Charles Kurzman (ed), Oxford University Press, New York, 1998.

After a long settled in the West, Rahman finally decided to return to Pakistan in the 60s. In Pakistan, Rahman served as a staff at the Central Institute Of Islamic Research and later appointed as the director there. However, this appointment got opposition from the scholars and leaders of Pakistan because look at Rahman background who was studied in the West, and because of Rahman wrote about his disagreement with the traditionalists views. Besides Rahman also worked on the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology (Adrisory Couna of Islamic Ideology).

Research institute managed by Fazlur Rahman established the task of interpreting Qur'an in rational and scientific terms to fulfill the needs of a progressive society. At the time, this important position gave him the opportunity to review the

government and power up close. Even those moments, Ibrahim Moosa said that became the most valuable experience in the history of Rahman's life, on the other hand, the position as director of the research institute, Rahman initiated the publication of the Journal of Islamic Studies, which is still published regularly and a journal religious scientific international standard.[5]

During as director Rahman received a lot of criticism and opposition from traditionalist scholars about his controversial ideas. As his thoughts on the Sunnah and Hadith, Islamic law Ordonasi, family planning, usury and bank interest, and so forth. After got many opposition therefore and a long struggle in the country of Pakistan to open the scholars thought to be more transformative, Rahman finally decided to resign from his post as director of the research institute of Islam, and members of the advisory board of Islamic ideology of Islamic rule in 1969. Then Rahman moved to America and became a professor of Islamic studies at Deprtemen of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, University of Chicago. Besides teaching Rahman is also active in writing and researching about Islamic issues. During the eighteen years of teaching at Chicago, on 26 July 1988 Rahamn died of a heart attack.

[5] Sibawaihi, *Eskatologi Al-Ghazali ……..,* page. 52

B. Fazlur Rahman's Methodology

1. Hermeneutic

Hermeneutics word is come from the Greek language, *hermeneuenin*, it is mean translate or interpret. This term was often associated with the Greek mythological figures, Hermes, which is delivering the message of Jupiter to humans. This myth describes the important task of Hermes, that if there were wrongness can be fatal. Hermes is a symbol of a ambassador who bears the mission to convey the message of the God. Success or failure of the mission depends on how the message is delivered. Indication of its success is if man who did not know before to be know and understand of the message. thus, hermeneutics in simply defined is the process of change ignorance into out.[6]

According to Gerhard Ebelling, the process of understanding which doing by Hermes contain three basic hermeneutic meaning. *First*, reveals something that still in the mind through the words (utterance, speaking) as a medium communicating. *Second*, explain rationally (interpretation, explanation) something previously obscure to be clear in other to can be understood. *Third*, intends to translate a foreign language into another language that is more comprehensible.[7]

---

[6] E. Sumaryono , *Hermeneutik: Sebuah Metode Filsafat*, Kanisius, Yogyakarta, 2003, page 24-25

[7] Umiarso, *Hasan Hanafi: Pendekatan Hermeneutik dalam Menghidupkan "Tuhan"*, in *Metodologi Studi Islam: Percikan Pemikiran*

First ancestor of the discussion about hermeneutics found in *Hermeneias* by Aristotle. In *Hermeneias* explain that every word spoken by someone is a symbol or expression of the mental experience, and the written word is a symbol of the words to be spoken and an expression of people think. This is the starting point of the start discussions on the future of classical hermeneutic.

In the early appearance of hermeneutic used by church clergy to read the text of gospel. In the 17th century the clergy dispute about the authenticity of bible and have difficulty in understanding the meaning of the bible, because it was feels a lot of contradictions in it, so they using hermeneutic to understanding the meaning of the text contained in the scripture. So in this context, hermeneutic develop into a method of reading scripture text and considered as first step in a movement exegetical interpretation.

Hermeneutics is a word often heard in the theology, philosophy, and even literature aspect. Hermeneutic appear as a dominant movement within the European Protestant theology which allege that hermeneutics is the "focal point" of the issues of theology now.[8] it is a process of changing something from

---

Tokoh dalam Membumikan Agama, ar-Ruzz Media, Yogyakarta, 2011, page 195

[8] Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutika: Teori Baru Mengenai Interpretasi*, Musnur Hery & Damanhuri Muhammad (trans)., Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, 2003, page 3

ignorance to understand situation. Therefore, the principal task of hermeneutic is how to interpret a classic and foreign text to be to be our possession who live in different times and places. Hermeneutics as a philosophical studies then spread in the 19th century which indicated by come of the pioneer figures such as Friedrich Schleiermacher, Wilhelm Dilthey, then in the 20th century after come another figures like Martin Heidegger, Hans George Gadamer, and Jurgen Habermas. However, the actual hermeneutic is existed since humans exist.[9]

As a interpretation method, hermeneutics have several model and method to interpret. The three methods of interpretation that is most talked is; [10]

The first, objective hermeneutics that developed by classical figures, especially Friedrick Schleiermacher (1768-1834), Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) and Emilio Betti (1890-1968). In this first model, the interpretation means understanding text like the author's understood, according to Schleiermacher text is an expression of the author's soul, so as also mentioned in the Betti law that the meaning or commentary is not based on our conclusion but downgraded and instructionally. Furthermore, to understanding the author's intention as expalin in his writings

[9] Umiarso, *Hasan Hanafi: ……..*, page 193

[10]Erik Sabti Rahmawati, *Perbandingan Hermeneutika dan Tafsir* (pdf), taken from http://psikologi.uin-malang.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Perbandingan-Hermeneutika-Dan-Tafsir.pdf (Friday, 10 April, 2015)

(work), the interpreter must be out of his own tradition to enter into the living tradition of the author, because style and character language is different, or at least imagined that he was present at that time. so with going to the authors tradition, understanding and appreciate the culture that surround him, the interpreter will get an objective meaning as the author intend.

Second, subjective hermenutic developed by modern figures especially Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) and Jacques Derida. in this second model, hermeneutics is not an effort to find an objective meaning of the author as assumed by objective model, but understand what is explain in the text itself. The stressing is contents of the text independently not base on the author's original idea. This is main difference between objective and subjective hermeneutics model.

In the subjective hermeneutics view, text is open and can be interpreted by anyone, because when a text is published and released, it has been independent itself and nothing associated with the author. Therefore, a text is not understood base on author's idea, but based on the material contained in the text itself. According to Gadamer, we do not need to escape from own tradition to enter into tradition of the author to interpret the text. In fact it is impossible thing, because out of the tradition it is means break your mind and "creativity". On the contrary, someone must interpret the text based on what they have today (*vorhabe*), what is seen (*Vorsicht*) and what would be obtained later (*vorgriff*). So

hermeneutic not only reproduce the discourse that has given the author, but produce a new discourse for the sake of necessities today according to interpreter subjectivity.

Third, the liberation hermeneutics developed by mulsim contemporary figures especially Hasan Hanafi (1935) and Farid Esack (1959). Actually this hermeneutics model is based on the idea of subjective hermeneutics especially from Gadamer. But according to the figures of this liberation hermeneutics, hermeneutic not only means the science of interpretation or understanding but even more so is the action.

Broadly Hasan Hanafi hermeneutics can be explained as follows. (1) historical criticism, to ensure the authenticity of the sacred text. According to Hanafi authenticity of sacred texts is not determined by religious leaders, History institution or the other, the authenticity of the text can only be guaranteed by historical criticism, and criticism of this history should be based on rules of objectivity itself which free from the intervention of theological, philosophical, mystical, or even phenomenological.

(2) Process of understanding the text. Understanding of text is not the monopoly or authority of an institution and religion, but made on the rules of grammar and historical circumstances that led to the appearance of the text. (3) practical criticism. According to Hanafi, theoretical truth cannot be obtained by certain arguments but from its ability to be motivation for a action. A dogma will be recognized as ideal system if it appears in

human action. Therefore, in this step, the important thing is what is the result of this interpretation could be applied to human life, can provide motivation to the advancement of human life. Without the success of this third step, however excellent its interpretation will have no meaning. Therefore, this is the ultimate goal of the revelation of the holy text.

Until the end of 20th century, hermeneutic can divided into three categories: as a *philosophy*, as a critic, and as a theory. As a philosophy, hermeneutics grown into thought ideology which occupies strategic position in philosophy discourse. It is estimated by Heideggar in hermeneutics existentialist-ontological terms. As a *criticism*, hermeneutics gave a strong reaction to various assumptions idealist who refuses consideration extra linguistic as determinants of thought and action context. This was driven by Habermas. As a *theory*, hermeneutics focused on the problems around the theory of interpretation: how to produce interpretation and its standardization. The assumption is as a reader, people do not have access to text-makers because differences place and time, so that it is need hermeneutics. As a result, various theories emerged. Hermeneutics is not limited to some theory.[11]

During its development, hermeneutic was growth and changes perception and usage models which appear from the definition of the hermeneutic diversity. Richard E. Palmer divide

[11] Sibawaihi, *Hermeneutika al-Qur'an Fazlur Rahman,* Jalasutra, Yogyakarta, 2007, page 8

chronological overview of the development and definition of the hermeneutic understanding into six categories, it is hermeneutics as a theory of interpretation of scripture, hermeneutics as a method of philological, hermeneutic as understanding linguistic, hermeneutic as the foundation of *geisteswissenschaft*, as a hermeneutic phenomenology *dassein*, and hermeneutic as an interpretation system.[12]

Broadly hermeneutic system can be seen on the chart as follow: [13]

The central context is text as a symbol or a sign of hermeneutic. The centrality of the text will be a prime base of interpret to find the main maintenance of truth. In this level, the principal task of hermeneutic is how to interpret a classic and foreign text belong to us who live in different times and places. In this context, Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd remind that the basic problem of hermeneutics studied is the interpretation of general text although historical or holy text. Therefore, a problem to be solved very numerous and complex that exists around of basic nature of

[12] Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutik: Teori Baru* ……., page 33.

[13] Maulidin, *Sketsa Hermeneutika*, in journal Studi Agama dan Demokrasi "Gerbang", Lembaga Studi Agama dan Demokrasi (eLSAD) Surabaya, No. 14, Vol. V, 2003, page 7

the text and its relationship with *al-Turath* on the one side, and the relationship with the author's text on the other side. The consequence is when a discourse or pure intent "author" has change into a published text, the text is autonomous. It is means that text will be entered in a frame that can interpretable within the meaning of readers. There is no base referential prop even by the originator. Then, radically the paradigm will give birth to death to the author or the author's death.[14]

According to Aristotle in *Peri Hermeneias*, no man has same written and spoken language as the others. even the transfer of meaning from one language to another language can also bring many problems. Humans also have different way of writing. that difficulties will appear even more if people are communicate each ideas in written language. The transition from mental experiences into words spoken and written have a tendency to shrink and narrow. A mental experience, a concept, or an idea basically is rich in style and color, and has a diverse shades, but this wealth cannot be covered entirely by a word or expression which carries definitive meaning.[15]

To get deep understanding of process of this text, Paul Ricoure made some interesting viewpoints more detail: [16] *First,*

---

[14] Umiarso, *Hasan Hanafi: ……..,* page 198

[15] E. Sumaryono , *Hermeneutik: Sebuah Metode Filsafat*……., page 24-25

[16] Umiarso, *Hasan Hanafi: ……..,* page 198-100

from a writing of text. A text always created by some step as follow: (1) pre-figuration, the stage experience that has not been formulated; (2) configuration, it is when the author begin to write down thoughts or ideas; and (3) the transfiguration, when the text has made will interpreted by many people differently. The third step always contain selection or distortion elements accordance with particular interests, never pure.

Secondly, from the point of the text. A text contains at least "three worlds of meaning"; (1) the world "behind the text", it is the historical-cultural background that spawned the text; (2) a world "in the text" it is, ideas or realities created by the text, regardless of the intent of the author though. It is means that text has building structure itself; (3) the world "in front of text", it is a new awareness that appear after read text with reader's own background and insight, it is like a sort fusion between reader vision and text vision, Gadamer call it as fusion of horizontal term.

Third, from the point of the interpreter. Generally, the interpreter face a text by the following steps: (1) pre-understanding, it is the interpreter face prejudice or text with a particular hypothesis. This is reasonable because appropriate with *hermeneut* belief that there no readers can reading text purely, neutrally, and objective; (2) explanation, it is the association vertically between text and the background, and horizontal relations between the one and the other parts in the text. Here

various types of analysis tools can be used, for example, structural analysis, historical analysis, analysis of literary forms, methods of demythologizing, semiotics, and others. in other words, here happen "contextualization" and "decontextualization"; (3) understanding, relate all of mention above with new context of the reader by his own insights. In turn, there was a new awareness that will probably change his views on anything in the text. Here's what some people often referred gets a "whisper", "wisdom" or insight (new revelation).[17]

Although initially hermeneutic's focused on the study of text, but in the next stage, hermeneutic operations arena also expanded not only in the textuality arena (texts). Text is not understood as referring to the text of religious teachings (scriptures) or other texts. But the symbols, rituals, practices, and customs, myths, power structures, kinship networks and social order, and every phenomenon of life has also become part of the text, and the text is often called by analog text. Therefore, later hermeneutics evolved from praxis which only focus on the issue of religious texts to very systematic practice and can be applied to other problems (social and humanities) or analogue text.[18]

From explanation above it can see that, hermeneutics is a method of finding the meaning of vague and unclear thing. Language and text used as a main symbol or a sign for human in

[17] Umiarso, *Hasan Hanafi: ……..,* page 198-200

[18] Maulidin, *Sketsa Hermeneutika*, ……. page 5

expressing thoughts and himself. However, the language and the text is considered less capable in representing and accommodating human self-expression, so hermeneutics necessary to clarify and interpret the signs that are found authentic meaning. And Hermeneutics development not only can applied to text and language, but also applied to things outside of text and language such as human rituals and customs.

2. Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement Method

Rahman efforts in formulating a systematic methodology is motivated by the awareness of the crisis which faced by Islam in the modern period. He considered that this crisis has serious implications for the future of the religion and its followers. The roots of this crisis lies in the religious history of Islam. Since the end of first *Hijriyah* century, Muslims have a rigid attitude in see second source of Islamic thought, Qur'an and *Sunnah*, through a-historical approaches, literalistic, and atomistic. this approaches have been divorced Qur'an and the *Sunnah* from its historical roots and reduce both to be compendia which consists of isolated and disaggregated part. While the fundamental problem concerning the methodology and interpretation way not dealt in fair by the Muslims. As a result the power of the divine message brought Muhammad has effectively disappeared.[19]

[19] Taufik Adnan Amal, *Islam dan Tantangan Modernitas .....,* page 187

> "This piecemeal, ad hoc, and often quite extrinsic treatment of the Qur'an has not ceased in modern times; indeed in some respect it has worsened. The pressures exerted by modern ideas and forse of social change, together with the colonial interregnum in muslim lands, has brought about a situation in which the adoption of certain key modern western ideas and institutions is resolutely defended by some muslim and often justified through the Qur'an, the wholesale rejection of modernity is vehemently advocated by other, and the production of "apologetic" literature that substitutes self-glorification for reform is virtually endless."[20]

In the double movement theory, first step is back to the revelation of Qur'an era (back to the past) and understanding condition of Arab socio-history before and after islam came (macro situation) and background of revealation of Qur'an (mickro situation);

> "A sober and honest historical approach must be used for finding the meaning of the Qur'anic text…… First of all, the Qur'anic must be studies in chronological order. An examination of the earliest revelations to begin with will bestow an accurate enough perception of the basic

[20] Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1982, page 4

> impulse of the Islamic movement as distinguished from measure and institutions established later. And so one must follow the unfolding of the Qur'an through the career and struggle of Muhammad. This historical method will save us much of the extravagance and artificiality of modernist interpretations of the Qur'an. Apart from fixing the meaning of details, this method will also bring out the overall import of the Qur'anis massage in a systematic."[21]

For Fazlur Rahman understanding of Arab socio-history situation is the response of God to the situation and condition of Arab moral-social at the time. So revelation of Qur'an is not out from the influence of socio-culture Arabic society at the time;

> "Al-Qur'an is a divine response, through the prophet's mind, to the moral-social situation of the prophet's Arabia. We see, then, that the Qur'an and the genesis of the Islamic community occurred in the light of history and against a social-historical background. The Qur'an is a response to that situation, and for the most part consists of moral, religious, and social pronouncements that respond to specific problems confronted in concrete historical situations. Sometimes the Qur'an simply gives an answers

[21] Falur Rahman, *Islamic Modernism: its Scope, Method, and Alternative*, International Journal of Middle Eastern Studied, Vol. 1, no. 4, 1970, page 329

> to a question or a problem, but usually these answer are stated in terms of an explicit or semi explicit ration-logic, while there are also certain general laws enunciated their reasons and hence deduce general laws by studying the background materials, which for the most part have been fairly intelligibly presented by the [classical] commentators."[22]

Look at Rahman background in drafting his methodology, it is not wrong if Rahman stress the understanding of socio-historical condition of the Qur'anic verses carefully. Differences places, traditions and culture, and far span time of Qur'an degrade with a period now, it probably have misunderstanding of understanding of Quranic message. Universal values of human life can almost be said to be similar though with different implementations according to time and place. Therein the importance of socio-historical reading of the Koran.

After understanding of socio-history condition in Arab then have to differentiated between legal specific and ideal moral of the verses. Differentiated of legal specific and ideal moral to know the massage and value want to delivered by Qur'an, so Qur'anic value can implemented in every era;

---

[22] Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity*, The University of Chicago Press, London, 1984, page 5-6

> "The one is ready to distinguish between Qur'anic legal dicta and the objectives and ends these laws were expected to serve. Here one is again exposed to the danger of subjectivity, but this can again be reduced to the minimum by using the Qur'anic itself. It has been all too often overlooked by non-Muslims and Muslims alike tha the Qur'an normally gives reasons for its specific legal pronouncements. Two women's evidence in lieu of one man's, why?-"so that one women should remind the other in case the other forgets': this is a clear commentary on the sociological setting of the prophet's Arabia and an insistence that correct evidence must be produced as far as possible. Is this imperative so difficult of implementation that the Muslim should feel peculiarly embarrassed today?"[23]

Al-Qur'an declare its self as a holy book delivered to human as a guidelines all era, and the validity of Qur'an has keeping by God directly, therefore the value or ideal moral of Qur'an should be take carefully, so can appropriate (harmonious) with every era and not contrary to the Islamic rule;

Qur'anic Ideal moral is moral basic purpose delivered by al-Qur'an. And legal specific is law appointment which

[23] Falur Rahman, *Islamic Modernism: its Scope*,……, page 329

determined specially. Qur'anic ideal moral more decent to implemented than legal specific. Because ideal moral is universally.[24] In the differentiated of legal specific and ideal moral we need help from history and sociology science, *hadis* and the commentators of Islamic scholar. It is doing in other to ideal moral not contrary with the massage of Qur'an. Rahman clarify that subjectivity and possibility of wrongness probably happend, but it is can minimize with use Qur'anic verses its self, because in the one holy book impossible there are contrary content;

> "The objectives of the Qur'an must be understood and fixed, keeping in full view its sociological setting, i.e the environment in which the prophet moved and worked. This will put an end to subjective interpretations of the Qur'an,…… if one is determined not to carry one's own obsessions into the Qur'an, this approach will be most rewarding and, we believe, the only real hope for a successful interpretation of it today. In a macroscopic sense (as opposed to distinction of detail), however, all interpretation and approaches to truth are subjective, and this cannot be eliminated. All views have a point of view, and there is no harm in this provided the angel of vision does not distort the object of vision and is also exposed to

[24] Sibawaihi, *Hermeneutika al-Qur'an Fazlur Rahman,……..,* page 56

> other viewers visions. Indeed, the difference of opinion thus generated is healthy provided only the pinions are not unreasonable.[25]

Fazlur Rahman persuade that if the double movement succeed to realize, perhaps the order of Qur'an will live and effective against, so the success of first movement depend on history scientist. And second movement need instrument of social scientist (sociology and anthropology) to determine "effective orientation" and "ethos engineering" so the effort of Islamic scholar (*ulama*) is very important.[26]

After doing first movement, and then is implementation of second movement. It is back to the present and analyzing the condition of contemporary era accurately, then implementation of ideal moral to the contemporary era in other to can fulfill the necessary of era.

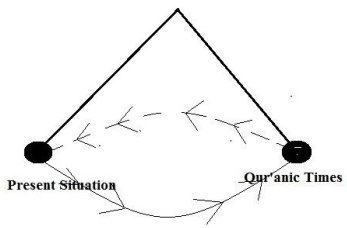
And next second movement, from revelation of Qur'an era (after find universal principle) back to the present. It is means that the universal principle should be inserted to the context of socio-history of contemporary era. So, its need to analyzing the condition and element of contemporary era carefully in order to the contemporary era can changed base on the

---

[25] Falur Rahman, *Islamic Modernism: its Scope*,……, page 329-330

[26] Ahmad Syukri Shaleh, *Metodologi Tafsir al-Qur'an Kontemporer dalam Pandangan Fazlur Rahman*, Gaung Persada Press, Jakarta, 2007, page 130

necessary of era and decide new priority to implement Qur'anic value newly. Second movement will functional as correcting the result of understanding and interpretation from first movement. Because, if Qur'anic understanding cannot implemented to contemporary era, it is means there are wrongness of assessments of understanding contemporary era or Qur'anic verses. Because it is impossible that something which realize on the Arabic socio-culture cannot realize on the contemporary era. It is doing by consider differences of specific thing in the contemporary era which consist change the rule of past in other to appropriate with necessary of contemporary era (provided not break the universal principle in the past) although change contemporary situation in other to appropriate with the universal principle.[27]



But Rahman also emphasized that the methodology of reading al-Qur'an can be used in the verses that talk about law and social clause, not the metaphysical verses "The

[27] Ahmad Syukri Shaleh, *Metodologi Tafsir al-Qur'an Kontemporer dalam Pandangan Fazlur Rahman*,……. Page 129

metaphysical aspect of Qur'anic teaching may not lend itself very easily to historical treatment, but the sociological part certainly will".[28]

Rahman initial formulation methodologies that have been raised not ignoring the metaphysical aspects of the Qur'an, but it clearly shows that the approach procedure more stress on interpretation or understanding of history and social aspects of Qur'anic teachings. That the metaphysical aspect of the Qur'an is not easy because historical aspect as a the essence approach.[29]

From the explanation above we can see that Fazlur Rahman's double movement method is form of response of many impression that islam is religion which have not synergy with the development of era. Rahman try to break that mindset, because al-Qur'an is holy book delivered as guidelines for human to every era. So if there contradiction between Qur'anic rule with development of era, perhaps there are wrongness of understanding of Qur'anic verses and the correlation with the era. This double movement method not only understanding al-Qur'an from the legal specific law only, but also understanding the rote history of macro and micro

---

[28] Falur Rahman, *Islamic Modernism: its Scope*,……, page 329

[29] Taufik Adnan Amal, *Islam dan Tantangan Modernitas* ……., page 193

situation of Qur'an and then take moral value that can implemented and appropriate with every era. So understanding al-Qur'an completely, not partially.

BAB III

WAR IN THE QUR'AN

A. War in Islam

1. War Before Islam

Arabian Peninsula is the first place that Qur'an revealed. Arabian Peninsula, or called southwest Asia peninsula, is the biggest peninsula in the world.[1] Arabians are Semite. "Semitic languages and tribes" is a term given by historians for people who speak Arabic, Hebrew, Ethiopia, Phoenicia, Assyria and Aramaic. Arabians are the most capable tribe who could keep the Semitic's characteristics.[2]

Arabians, in general, are divided into two groups, *'Arab* (citizen) and *A'rab* (villager). *'Arabs* live in the city, the center of civilization. Their homes are permanent building. They are called also by *Ahl al-Manar* (citizen). They make a living by trading, but their enthusiasm for individualism is stronger than communalism. It because that trading has transformed their mindset.[3]

---

[1] Philip K. Hitti, *History of Arabs*, Trans. R. Cecep Lukman Yasin dkk., Serambi, Jakarta, 2005, page 16

[2] Ali Sodiqin, *Antropologi al-Qur'an*, ar-Ruzz Media, Jogjakarta, page 40

[3] Ruben Levy, *Susunan Masyarakat Islam*, Trans. H.A Ludjito, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta,page 1

Whereas *A'rabs* live in tents and are called *Ahl al-Wabar* (villager). They are also known as Bedouin. Bedouins are nomadic tribes. They move from one place to another place, depending on the existence of source of living. If the place has lost its source of living, they will move to another place to find a new source of living. Arabians comprise a fundamental clan (*qawm*) which, in the last, form a *kabilah*. A family lives in a tent; many tents will form a *hay*; members of a *hay* will make up a clan and the clan, which has the same ancestry, will form a *kabilah*.

The unity of Arabians is based on tribe or *kabilah,* not family. Every single tribe has no connection; often they attack each other indeed. This is because no one has authority to solve problems among themselves. Every tribe believes that they have their own sovereignty. Problem solving among them ordinarily is incidental. They choose a judge to solve problems between two tribes who have quarrel.[4]

It was a tradition in Arabian Peninsula that social life colored by wars between tribes.[5] In the beginning, Arabians civilization started with civilization of people of Mesopotamia as its background. The core of Mesopotamian's civilization were two, religion and empire. They built temples as a place

[4] Ali Sodiqin, *Antropologi al-Qur'an*, …….., page 55

[5] Keren Amstrong, *Islam A Short History*, A Modern Library Cronical Book, New York, 2000, page 5-6

of worship. This commitment of worship united many groups of people in a solid community.[6]

The clash between tribes was often finished in a battlefield. This was because there was no written law to solve their problems. It was only tradition or customary law applied in every tribe. Another way was to choose a judge (*hakam*), chosen by an agreement between tribes who has quarrel. The judge worked as an *ad hoc*. It means that every problems could be solved with different judge.[7]

The entire rules of war in Arabia was the pre-Islamic tradition in origin. The tradition was not for any reason, in the contrary the tradition was a real local wisdom of people who had a defensiveness of community and had a total inclusive solidarity among themselves. This local wisdom arose a "law of revenge" and law of *qishas* (an equal revenge such as eye for eye, die for die et cetera). At the time, there was no understanding on sense of general duty that people interest must be given precedence over group or individual interest. Because of that, they did not understand that there were rights among humankind.[8]

---

[6] Imam Yahya, *Dialektika Perang dalam Sejarah Islam,* IAIN Walisongo Press, Semarang, 2007, page 85

[7] Ali Sodiqin, "*Antropologi al-Qur'an……*, page 41, taken from Joseph G. Schacht, "*An Introdustion to Islamic Law*",

[8] W Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford University Press, London-New York, 1969, page 108

The pre-Islamic Arabians were identically called "*Jahiliyyah*" people. In the Qur'an, this word signified on the substance of hostility or tending to hostile in a various forms.[9] The fundament of *Jahiliyah* view was hostility and war between tribes. Because the war was their part of life, it was impossible to form a political unity.[10]

Nourouzzaman Shiddiqie explained the nature of Arabians and divided it into two aspects: positive aspects and negative aspects.[11]

- ***Positive Characters***

1. *Generosity*

   For *Jahiliyyah* Arabians, generosity was an evidence that someone was a noble person. One's generosity was not only for one's same member of clan but also for another member of clan, even for a foreigner who came to him. The motive of this generosity was not a kindness but an acting with noble qualities that connected with a desire for praise.

2. *Braveness and Heroism*

---

[9] J. Suyuthi Pulungan, *Prinsip-prinsip Pemerintahan dalam Piagam Madinah Ditinjau dari Pandangan al-Qur'an,* RajaGrafindo Persada, Jakarta, 1996, page 37

[10] Effat al-Syarqani, *Filsafat Kebudayaan Islam*, Trans. Ahmad Rafi' Usmani, Pustaka, Bandung, 1986, page 69

[11] Nourouzzaman Shiddiqie, *Pengantar Sejarah Muslim*, Nur Cahaya, 1983, page 102-115

Braveness and Heroism were an absolute condition to survive in desert. Because of that, braveness became the highest part and the most essential element of honor (*muru'ah*). The honor of a clan depended on how many braves and heroes it had.

3. *Forbearence*

   To live in the extremely hard desert, someone should have great patience. He had to endure suffering to maintain his and his clan's life.

4. *Loyalty and Honesty*

   In the *Jahiliyah* period, loyalty was only to family members, which was tied by blood relation. A Bedouin was willing to sacrifice his life for his brother of the same clan.

5. *Sincerity*

   Sincerity is the great moral value in human life. A poet Karafah said: "To speak true is a persistent quality of a person who keep it diligently because he is trustworthy; so do artificiality is a persistent quality of a bad and fake person."

❖ ***Negatve Characters***

1. *Disunity*

   People out of a descent who had no blood relation was treated as an enemy. This depending on blood relation (*'ashabiyah*) in unity arose a narrow-minded

chauvinism. They did not submit to any higher authority out of his clan. So that, it was impossible to build a total unity between them.

2. *Militaristic*

As time went by, every tribe had an increasing amount of its member. It gave two effects. In one side, it resulted in a need for more space of area to life. In another side, it also resulted in a need for more source of living. The livestock needed green field for the herd. No other way to meet these demands except by going across to other green oases. But there has been inhabitants in these oases. They did not easily accept a new member, because they faced the same problems. Therefore, this situation created only one way to step on, a war. The stronger had right for life and being lord. That was why in Arabians view war was legal, even an obligation.

If we analyze the war between tribes in Arabians using this approach, need-approach, so to call that Arabians were naturally militaristic or fond of war was inappropriate. The exact one was that they had perforce to go to war for the sake of survive as the result of tribe-based system they held and an urgent need they had to fulfill.

3. *Cruelty*

   There were two things proved that Arabians were cruel people: be fond of war and killing female infants.

4. *Vendetta*

   Blood relation was rope that firmly tied people in a brotherhood of a clan. Blood relation had a very high value and honor. Therefore, it should have been risen to an exalted position. Every single drop of blood from a member of the clan was the same with dropping blood from the whole member of the clan. It will obligate the whole member to defend the respect of the clan by taking revenge for the blood of a member of the clan.

5. *Arrogant*
6. *Drunkard and Gambler*

2. War After Islam

In above we stated that pre-Islamic Arabians had a war tradition for the reason of economic, of defending respect of clan, et cetera. This tradition still existed, even after Islam appeared. The tradition was not easily eradicated although Islamic teachings gave high value for peacefulness and tolerance. In fact, along the history of Islam showed that

Moslems took part in many wars. But care should be taken in these wars. Does Islam recommend its follower to go to war and to pull aside principle of peace?

When the prophet and his companions lived in Mecca, Islam was preached by well manner and good example of the prophet himself. The prophet showed by real actions that Islam was a humanist religion. In general, the prophet's approach was religious. Not a war happened at this period. This maybe because the Moslem's power were weak and their amount were few. The first war broke out between Moslems and Mecca Pagans when the prophet migrated to Medina. In Medina, the Moslems community increased. Their power and defense were stronger, so that they were military ready to have a clash with pagans.

In the beginning of preaching of Islam in Mecca, the prophet was forbidden to have a war. This proved that Islam was not preached by sword but preaching by good example (*da'wah bi maqal al-hal*). The prophet showed how to live our life in an honor manner before God and all humankind. Islam should be preached by wisdoms and good sermons. It means that to use a persuasive approach in preaching.[12]

Islam placed a high value for peacefulness, but the effort that the prophet had done to create peace and harmony in the Peninsula still unsuccessful. So, even though Islam could not

[12] Imam Yahya, *Dialektika Peran,* ……., page 83

eradicate the practice of war, Islam had decreased the practices and the causes of war between Moslems and Pagans. The efforts of the prophet by peacefully preaching Islam to Arabians and sending letters to all tribes leader, proved this statement. The prophet, however, did not directly declare a war to people who rejected to convert to Islam.

By the establishing of Medina's state, Islam got stronger. The development of Islam caused worry to the Meccans and other enemy of Islam, the worry will motivate Meccans to do anything. In order to face the possibility of attacking by enemy, the prophet – as the head of government – set a strategy and form a military army. Moslems were permitted to have a war for two reasons: 1) to defend their life and property, 2) to have freedom to hold and to preach their beliefs without any violence. In the history of Medina, many wars broke out as the effort of Moslems to defend their life from the attacking of enemy. The prophet himself, in the beginning of his government, commanded a military expedition out of the city as an action of an alert to train the ability of the army as an essential need to protect and to defend the new state. A peace agreement with all tribe had been made to strengthen the position of community of' Islam

in Medina.[13] And if the war broke out between Moslems and Pagans, at least some rules and limitations should be applied.

The intellectual Moslems and historians have different opinions on how many wars that the prophet took part in and not take part in. The wars that the prophet took part in are as follows:[14]

No.	War	Year
1	Dzu Usairaoh	2 H
2	Badar Ula	2 H
3	Bani Qainuqa	2 H
4	Al-Sawiq	2 H
5	Dzi Aqra	3 H
6	Qurdah	3 H
7	Uhud	3 H
8	Hamra Asad	3 H
9	Raji	4 H
10	Dzatu Riqo	4 H
11	Daumatul Jandal	5 H
12	Khandaq	5 H
13	Khuraidhah	5 H

[13] Badri Yatim, *Sejarah peradaban Islam*, PT Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2003, page 27

[14] Imam Yahya, *Tradisi Militer…* page118, taken from Afdzalurrahman, *Muhammad Sebagai Pemimpin Militer*, YAPI, Jakarta, 1990, page 4.

14	Bani Lihyan	6 H
15	Dzu Qardin	6 H
16	Bani Mustalik	6 H
17	Khaibar	7 H
18	Wadi Qara	7 H
19	Ghalib	8 H
20	Salasil	8 H
21	Khobat	8 H
22	Mu'nah	8 H
23	Fathul Makkah	8 H
24	Hawazin Hunain	8 H
25	Thaif	8 H
26	Tabuk	9 H

In the Qur'anic verses stated that Moslems were permitted to have a war if their enemy firstly attacked them and they should not transgress in the war (surah al-Baqarah [2]: 190). The "transgress" here means that Moslems must not mutilate the dead body, not kill children, old people and women, not damage the environment and not attack their enemy first.

The historical background to the wars in the prophet period were social and political case. Moslems community defended their new community from the enemy's violent, both physical and non-physical violent, because as a common Arabians at the time, the stronger community will try to take

control to the weaker community.[15] This obligate Moslems to have a war with pagans in order to defend Moslems community from another non-Moslem community. For Ibnu Taimiyah the war against Paganism is an emergency condition that Moslems themselves hate. But for the sake of defending their beliefs and existent, war against enemy had been decreed for them.[16]

B. War term in the Qur'an

Many terms in the Qur'an signify a "war". Each terms has a special meaning that differ one from another. The most important terms are al-jihad, al-qital and al-harb.[17] The three often become clarification words of command of war in the Qur'an. So, these warfare verses legitimate a war actions against Pagans people.

1. Qital Term in the Qur'an

Qital is the third derivative of *qatala-yaqtulu-qatl*, which means "to kill or to make somebody die by striking, stone-throwing, poisoning, or illness."[18] Almost all of *Qital* in the Qur'an refer to a warfare. As the synonym of *al-jihad* that

---

[15] Imam Yahya, *Dialektika Perang*, ……, , page 887

[16] Imam Yahya, *Tradisi Militer dalam Islam*, Logung Pustaka, Yogyakarta, t,th, page 91

[17] Abudin Nata, (ed), *Kajian Tematik al-Qur'an tentang Konstruksi Sosial*, Angkasa, Bandung, 2008, page 224

[18] Ibn Manzhu, *Lisan al-Arab*, jilid V, Dar al-Ma'arif, Kairo, page 3528

means warfare, al-Qital is usually followed by a phrase *fi sabilillah*, "in the path of God." This shows that the goal of a war is for the sake of raising the God's words, not the other.[19] *Al-qital* and its derivatif are mentioned 67 times in the Al-Qur'an[20] and spread in various surah.

In the al-Qur'an, *al-qital* does not always signify an advice or command of warfare against Non-Moslems. Some of them tell a story of Qabil who killed Habil (surah al-Maidah 30), of the journey of Moses with Khidir who killed a child (surah al-Kahfi: 74), prohibition of hunting when wearing ihram (surah al-Maidah: 95), prohibition to parents in killing children because of fear of poor (surah al-An'am: 140) and another verses. Besides, other verses explain the command to fight Non-Moslems in particular. Many call the verses on war as sword verse (ayat as-saif). This is because many of these verses firmly command to fight Non-Moslems with a variety of reasons and limitations.

At first, the term "sword verse" literally means a warfare verse in general. But as a technical term of these verses, it is a metaphor which differ verses by its characters. They are showing the state of war, having a fascinating status of unique abrogation (*ajib al-naskh*) and at the same time an applying of

---

[19] Abdul Aziz Dahlan, et. al, (ed), *Ensiklopedi Hukum Islam, jilid 4*, Jakarta: PT Ichtiar Baru VanHoeve, 1997, hlm. 1395

[20] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, Mizan, Bandung, 2010, page Ixxvi

some peace verses. The objects for these war-commands are *al-mushrikun, al-kuffar, al-munafiqun,* dan *ahl al-kitab*.[21]

a. The Classification of Qital Verses in the Qur'an

The Classification of Qital Verses in the Qur'an[22]

No.	Term	Makiyyah		Madaniyyah	
		Total	Verse	Total	Verse
1	قتل		-	4	Al-Baqarah [2]: 251; an-Nisa [4]: 92; al-Maidah [5]: 32, 95;
2	قتَلْتُ	4	Al-Kahfi [18]: 74; Thaha [20]: 40; al-Qashash [28]: 19, 33;		-
3	قتلتم / قتلتموهم		-	2	Ali-Imran [3]: 183; al-Baqarah [2]: 72;
4	قتلنا		-	1	An-Nisa [4]: 157
5	قتله	1	Al-Kahfi [18]: 73;	1	Al-Maidah [5]: 30, 95;
6	قتلهم		-	1	Al-Anfal [8]: 17;
7	قتلوا / قتلوه	1	Al-An'am [6]: 140;	1	An-Nisa [4]: 157
8	اَقْتُل	1	Ghafir [40]: 26;		-
9	لأقتلك		-	1	Al-maidah [5]: 28;
10	لأقتلنك		-	1	Al-maidah [5]: 27

[21] Wardani, *Ayat Pedang Versus Ayat Damai Menafsir Ulang Teori Naskh dalam al-Qur'an*, Kementrian Agama RI, 2011, page. 190-194

[22] Muhammad Fu'ad 'Abd al-Baqi, *Mu'jam al-Mufaras li Alfaz al-Qur'an al-Karim*, Dar al-Fikr, Bairut, 1981, page 533-536

11	تقتلني	1	Al-Qashash [28]: 19	1	Al-maidah [5]: 28
12	تقتلوا / تقتلون	5	Al-An'an [6]: 151; Yusuf [12]: 10; al-Isra' [17]: 31, 33; Ghafir [40]: 28	6	An-Nisa [4]: 29; al-Maidah [5]: 95; al-Baqarah [2]: 85, 87, 91; al-Ahzab [33]: 26;
13	تقتلوه/ تقتلوهم	1	Al-Qashash [28]: 9	1	Al-Anfal [8]: 17
14	يَقْتُلْ		-	1	An-Nisa [4]: 92,93;
15	يَقْتُلْنَ		-	1	Al-Mumtahanah [60]: 12
16	يَقْتُلوك	1	Al-Qashash [28]: 20	1	Al-Anfal [8]: 30
17	يَقْتُلونَ	3	Al-Furqan [25]: 68; al-Asyr [26]: 14; al-Qashash [28]: 33	5	Al-Baqarah [2]: 61; Ali Imran [3]: 21,112; al-Maidah [5]: 70; at-Taubah [9]: 111
18	يَقْتُلونني	1	Al-A'raf [7]: 150		-
19	اقْتُلوا	2	Yusuf [12]: 9; Ghafir [40]: 25	3	Al-Baqarah [2]: 54; an-Nisa [4]: 66; **at-Taubah [9]: 5**
20	اقتلوه / اقتلوهم	1	Al-Ankabut [29]: 24;	3	**al-Baqarah [2]: 191; an-Nisa [4]: 89,91**
21	قُتِلَ	6	Al-Isra [17]: 33; adz-Dzariyat [51]: 10; al-Mudatsir [74]: 19, 20; Abasa [80]: 17; al-Buruj [85]: 4;	1	Ali Imran [3]: 144
22	قُتِلْت / قُتِلتم	1	at-Takwir [81]: 9	1	Ali Imran [3]: 157, 158
23	قُتِلنا		-	1	Ali Imran [3]: 154
24	قتلوا		-	5	Ali Imran [3]: 168, 169, 195; al-Haj [22]: 58; **Muhammad [48]: 4**

25	يقتلُ / يَقتُلون		-	3	Al-Baqarah [2]: 154; an-Nisa [4]: 74; at-Taubah [9]: 111
26	سنقَتِّلُ		-	1	Al-A'raf [7]: 127
27	يُقَتِّلُون		-	1	Al-A'raf [7]:١٤١
28	قُتِّلوا / يُقَتَّلوا		-	2	Al-Ahzab [33]: 61; al-Maidah [5]: 33
29	قاتل		-	2	Ali Imran [3]: 146; al-Hadid [57] 10
30	قاتلُكم / قاتلهم		-	3	Al-Fath [48]: 22; at-Taubah [9]: 30; al-Munafiqun [63]: 4;
31	قاتلو / قاتلوكم		-	6	Ali Imran [3]: 195; al-Ahzab [33]: 20; al-Hadid [57]: 10; **al-Baqarah [2]: 191**; **an-Nisa [4]: 90**; al-Mumtahanah [60]: 9
32	تُقاتِلُ		-	1	Ali Imran [3]: 13;
33	تُقاتِلُوا / تُقاتِلُون		-	4	al-Baqarah [2]: 247; **at-Taubah [9]: 13**, 83; an-Nisa [4]: 75;
34	تُقاتِلُونهم / تُقاتِلُوهم		-	2	**Al-Fath [48]: 16**; **al-Baqarah [2]: 191**;
35	تُقاتِلُ / يقاتِلُ		-	2	al-Baqarah [2]: 246; an-Nisa [4]: 74
36	يقاتِلوا / يقاتِلوكم		-	3	**an-Nisa [4]: 90**; **al-Baqarah [2]: 191**; Ali Imran [3]: 111
37	يقاتِلون / يقاتِلونكم	1	Al-Muzammil [73]: 20	7	An-Nisa [4]: 76; at-Taubah [9]: 111; **ash-Shaf [61]: 4**; **al-Baqarah [2]: 190**, **217**; **at-Taubah [9]: 36;** al-Hasyr [59]:

					14;
38	قاتِلْ		-	1	**An-Nisa [4]: 84**
39	قاتِلا		-	1	Al-Maidah [5]: 24
40	قاتلوا / قاتلوهم		-	12	**Al-Baqarah [2]: 190**, **193**, **244**; **ali-Imran [3]: 167**; an-Nisa [4]: 76; **at-Taubah [9]**: **12, 14, 29, 36, 123**; **al-hujarat [49]: 9**; **al-Anfal [8]: 39**;
41	قوتِلْتم		-	1	Al-Hasyr [59]: 11
42	قوتِلوا		-	1	Al-Hasyr [59]: 12
43	يُقاتَلون		-	1	**Al-Hajj [22]: 39**
44	أُقْتَتَلَ		-	1	Al-Baqarah [2]: 53
45	أُقتتلوا		-	2	Al-Baqarah [2]: 253; **al-Hujarat [49]: 9**
46	يَقْتَتِلانِ	1	Al-Qashash [28]: 15		-
47	القَتلُ	2	al-An'am [6]: 137; al-Isra [17]: 33	5	**Al-Baqarah [2]: 191,** 217; ali Imran [3]: 154; al-Maidah [5]: 30; al-Ahzab [33]: 16
48	قَتْلَهُمْ	1	Al-Isra [17]: 31	2	Ali Imran [3]: 181; an-Nisa [4]: 155
49	تَقْتِيلًا		-	1	Al-Ahzab [33]: 61
50	القِتالُ		-	10	**Al-Baqarah [2]: 216**, 217, 218, 237; **al-Imran [3]: 121**; **an-Nisa [4]: 77**; **al-Anfal [8]: 65,** 16; al-**Ahzab [33]: 25**; **Muhammad [47]: 20**
51	قِتالا		-	1	**Ali Imran [3]: 167**;
52	القَتْلى		-	1	Al-Baqarah [2]: 178;

Researcher try to classification al-Qur'an verses which have war menaning. And al-Qur'an verses above which have boldface is contain the meaning of battle against to non Muslim.

b. The Concept of Qital

Warfare is one of controversial teachings in Islam. In one side, Al-Qur'an firmly teaches to spread peace and tolerance but in other side, it also commands to go to war against people who attacked Islam who usually are Non-Moslems. There from, an opinion arises among intellectuals that Islam spread by violence and sword, especially western.

They guess that Islam become one of the great religion in the world because the invasions it launched in the prophet period. But here a care should be taken on the history of spreading of Islam. Does the prophet, from the early, preach for God by sword? So, it does not mean that Islam taught by war even though command for war written in the Quran. We should track it back a long the history.

In the Qur'an, we find some stages of the preaching of Islam until God order to the prophet to go to war, as follows:[23]

1. *Stage of Prohibition*

   For 13 years in the early preaching of Islam in Mecca, Allah forbade the prophet and Moslems to go to war against Quraisy Pagans, even though they always oppressed Moslems by violent. In addition, Allah decreed them to forbear and to be patience, as God says in surah An-Nisa [4]:77:

أَلَمۡ تَرَ إِلَى ٱلَّذِينَ قِيلَ لَهُمۡ كُفُّوٓاْ أَيۡدِيَكُمۡ وَأَقِيمُواْ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتُواْ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ فَلَمَّا كُتِبَ عَلَيۡهِمُ ٱلۡقِتَالُ إِذَا فَرِيقٞ مِّنۡهُمۡ يَخۡشَوۡنَ ٱلنَّاسَ كَخَشۡيَةِ ٱللَّهِ أَوۡ أَشَدَّ خَشۡيَةٗۚ وَقَالُواْ رَبَّنَا لِمَ كَتَبۡتَ عَلَيۡنَا ٱلۡقِتَالَ لَوۡلَآ أَخَّرۡتَنَآ إِلَىٰٓ أَجَلٖ قَرِيبٖۗ قُلۡ مَتَٰعُ ٱلدُّنۡيَا قَلِيلٞ وَٱلۡأٓخِرَةُ خَيۡرٞ لِّمَنِ ٱتَّقَىٰ وَلَا تُظۡلَمُونَ فَتِيلًا ٧٧

> Hast thou not turned Thy vision to those who were told to hold back their hands [from

[23] Debby M. Nasution, *Kedudukan Militer dalam Islam dan Peranannya pada Masa Rasulullah SAW*, Taira Wacana, Yogyakarta, 2003, page15-21

> fight] but establish regular prayers and spend in regular charity? When [at length] the order for fighting was issued to them, behold! a section of them feared men as - or even more than - they should have feared Allah: They said: "Our Lord! Why hast Thou ordered us to fight? Wouldst Thou not Grant us respite to our [natural] term, near [enough]?" Say: "Short is the enjoyment of this world: the Hereafter is the best for those who do right: Never will ye be dealt with unjustly in the very least!

2. Permission for War

After Moslems and the prophet migrated to Medina, in the second year exactly, God revealed a verse that gave the permit to go to war. That is surah al-Hajj [22]: 39.

أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَـٰتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظُلِمُوا۟ ۚ وَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلَىٰ نَصْرِهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ ﴿٣٩﴾

> To those against whom war is made, permission is given [to fight], because they are wronged;- and verily, Allah is most powerful for their aid;-

Interpreters of the Holy Qur'an reported that "those" here are the prophet and his companions whom always persecuted by Meccan pagans. Then

God follows the verse, in the verse 40, by reasons for this permission and the aim for war:

ٱلَّذِينَ أُخۡرِجُواْ مِن دِيَٰرِهِم بِغَيۡرِ حَقٍّ إِلَّآ أَن يَقُولُواْ رَبُّنَا ٱللَّهُۗ وَلَوۡلَا دَفۡعُ ٱللَّهِ ٱلنَّاسَ بَعۡضَهُم بِبَعۡضٖ لَّهُدِّمَتۡ صَوَٰمِعُ وَبِيَعٞ وَصَلَوَٰتٞ وَمَسَٰجِدُ يُذۡكَرُ فِيهَا ٱسۡمُ ٱللَّهِ كَثِيرٗاۗ وَلَيَنصُرَنَّ ٱللَّهُ مَن يَنصُرُهُۥٓۗ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ ٤٠

> [They are] those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right,- [for no cause] except that they say, "our Lord is Allah". Did not Allah check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, in which the name of Allah is commemorated in abundant measure. Allah will certainly aid those who aid his [cause];- for verily Allah is full of Strength, Exalted in Might, [able to enforce His Will].

Here God firmly states that the aims of war are to defend against people violence, to protect the rights of life for religions and to secure the building of worship.

In explaining the reasons for giving permission for war (*qital*) to Muslims, Rashid Rida mentions three things: *first,* Muslims are attacked or being despotic and assaulted, expelled from the country, deprived of their property because of their religion and faith. This is a special reason related to two things: personal and state or religion and the world. *Second,* if there is no permission to do this defence, all the Christian places of worship such as monasteries, churches, mosques will be destroyed by the tyranny of the pagans. This is the motive of religion generally and clearly related to freedom of religion in Islam. *Third,* to build strength and power on the earth for the sake of prayers, to uphold the truth, and forbidding ignorance (*mungkar*). [24]

3. *Phases of war command*

Here came down verses commanding Muslims to wage war, waging a war against those who firstly attack and fight them, as mentioned in Surah al-Baqarah [2]: 190

وَقَٰتِلُواْ فِي سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلَّذِينَ يُقَٰتِلُونَكُمۡ وَلَا تَعۡتَدُوٓاْۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ ٱلۡمُعۡتَدِينَ ١٩٠

[24] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……., page 164

> Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah love not transgressors.

From the three stages of the war command above, it can be described that process in the Islamic preaching or *da'wah* is not started from the war, but through good preaching again mannered, by relying on the Qur'an, kindness, and patience. Despite much opposition and torture, the prophet and the companions still chose to be patient and show that Islam is a religion of peace. But when situation has exceeded the limit and marginalize Muslims, then war is inevitable, so the Koran ordered war against the enemies of Islam. This is reasonable, because when a person is attacked then naturally will try to defend his self, as well as the Muslims at the time.

It is unjustified that attack emanates, while there is no interference from outsiders over the territory of the Muslim community, or the community in which Muslim groups binding agreement with the other communities of the country's territory. Physical resistance is just one of the alternatives in enforcing territorial of Muslim communities where the Muslim community binds agreements with other communities in a country. So, it is not the only alternative. Because, in this case, the Prophet

had also perform "path of peace", as reflected in the case of "Hudaybiyyah Charter".[25]

The purpose of the war (qital) in Islam solely to elevate the word of Allah, may not be for other purposes.[26] And though Islam allows even commands the war, but the war should not be done arbitrarily and rashly without considering the state of the motive and justification permissibility of war. Even allowing for the requirements of this war must be studied and read carefully so as not to conflict with the today's situation.

Some of motives and justifications of the war are: *musyrikin* or pagans wage a war first to Muslims (surah al-Baqarah [2]: 190), pagans exceed Muslims from their homes without any proper reasons (surah al-Baqarah [2]: 191), pagans who do slander to Muslims through persecuting and torture. (surah al-Baqarah [2]: 193, 191), they do not care of something sacred and holy, whether place (the great mosque as like in surah al-Baqarah [2]: 191, and also time as like the forbidden months as mentioned in surah al-Baqarah [2]: 194).[27]

---

[25] Nur Halik Ridwan, *Detik-detik Pembongkaran Agama, Mempopulerkan Agama Kebajikan, Menggagas Pluralisme-pembebasan*, Arruz Book Gallery,Yogyakarta, 2003, page 209-210

[26] Abudin Nata, (ed), *Kajian Tematik al-Qur'an ……..,* page 232

[27] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……, page 165-166

Islam forbids wars which aims to show off adding pride and greatness, like the kings and heroes. Islam also prohibits deprivation commonly following a conquest (nation or country).[28] Wars conducted by the Prophet Muhammad showed special properties of Islamic wars, namely fair in motives, the defensive in the beginning, high in the way of implementation, peace in the end goal, and humane in the treatment to those who were defeated. [29] On that basis, fighting in Islam aims to defend the country and protect the religion, and is not intended to take the sovereignty of other countries that do not co-religionists. Islam does never force other nations to follow the Qur'an. [30]

Yusuf Qaradawi also added that there are some things that should not be used as a motive in conducting war; [31]

- Not allowed to fight with the aim to eliminate infidelity from all over the world. The reason was because contrary to the assertion of the Qur'an that human's differences in religion and belief, the division of human beings to

[28] Sayyid Qutub, *Islam and Universal Peace*, Terj. Dedi Junaedi, "*Perdamaian dan Keadilan Sosial*", Akdemika Pressindo, Jakarta, 1996, page 60.

[29] Marcel A.Boisard, *L' Humanisme de L'Islam*, Alih bahasa: M. Rasyidi, "Humanisme dalam Islam", Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1980, page 277

[30] TM. Hasbi ash-Shiddieqy, *al-Islam*, Jilid 2, PT Pustaka Rizki Putra, Semarang, 2001, page 407

[31] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……, page 361-378

believers and non-believers, all this is happening because of God's will. so that anyone who abolished the reality of this religious differences, and force all people to convert to one religion (Islam), then he has opposed the will of God. Allah says in Sura Yunus [10]: *99, " If it had been thy Lord's will, they would all have believed,- all who are on earth! wilt thou then compel mankind, against their will, to believe!".*

- It is not allowed to wage a war with economic motives. Indeed Islam prohibits jihad to anyone, either personal or in groups, when infused into his desire to get *Ghanimah* (spoils of war or wealth). Wealth could be material like money, the spoils of war, and income. It could also be meaningful, such as rank, position, and praise from others.al-Bukhari and Muslim narrated from Abu Musa al-Ash'ari ra that an Arab came to prophet and said "O Messenger of Allah there is someone who fights for *ghanimah* expect, there is also a war because he wanted to see his position. Then who are those war *Fi sabilillah (*in the way of God*)*? "The Prophet answered" anyone who fights with the aim that the sentence of God (religion) to be high, it would mean war *fi sabilillah* ".[32]

[32] HR al-Bukhari, in *Kitab al-Ilm* (123) and Muslim, *in Kitab al-Imarah* (1904).

War itself in Islam has rules and ethics that must be obeyed, so that even in a situation of war, Islam insert peace elements in it, namely. [33]

- ✓ Prohibition of excessive, (al-Baqarah [2]: 190) In ordering the war, Islam has considered carefully, not a priori. The meaning of excessive in the war is that Islam restricts only for those who go to war (military) who are allowed to be killed. Civilians and people who keep away from the battlefield should not be killed, even forbid them to flee to avoid the battlefield. The Army of Islam had to let them find refuge, even though in an urgent situation. In addition, Islam forbids killing women, children, the sick, the monks, as well as prohibited to kill cattle and prohibited from destroying agriculture, dams, irrigation, destroying homes and contaminate drinking water sources. Islam also forbids doing injustice to those who have been injured or who have fled. [34]
- ✓ Order to maintain Al Masjid Al Haram or the Great Mosque, (Surah al-Baqarah [2]: 191)
- ✓ Order to keep forbidden month as long as the musyrikin not break them (Sura al-Baqarah [2]: 194)

---

[33] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……, page 165

[34] Sayid Sabiq, *Anashir al-Quwwah fi al-Islam*, Alih Bahasa. Haryono S. Yusuf, "*Unsur-Unsur Dinamika Dalam Islam*", Intermasa, Jakarta, 1981, page 203-204

- ✓ Attacks against the polytheists with a balanced attack to give a lesson to them, (Surah al-Baqarah [2]: 194)
- ✓ Told to keep always *taqwa* in all circumstances, because it is a safeguard for human behavior, (Surah al-Baqarah [2]: 194)

From the explanation above, it can be seen that Islam basically does not want a war among mankind. War is the last option that can be done when the situation has exceeded the limit, torture, intimidation and obstruction in spreading Islamic preaching continuously. And when the battle is done, Islam also gives rules and ethics that must be obeyed by the soldiers of Islam, in order not to result more victims with the command "may only attack those who fight, civilians are not to be fought", and also in order to minimize the negative effects of war , such as environmental damage. Thus, the meaning and command of war in the Quran must be understood thoroughly and not reckless, because choosing the path of war means to take the life of a person and can lead to smudge the name of the religion of Islam.

2. The Term of Jihad in the Qur'an

Jihad etymologically is derived from the word jihad جاهد - يجاهد - مجاهدة وجهادا which means giving total effort or all energy and ability in the form of words and actions.[35] It is also derived from the word - يجهد - جهدا جهد which means earnest.[36] Raghib al-Ashbahani interprets that jihad is earnest and directs the entire ability to fight the enemy with hand, oral, or whatever he is able. There were three cases of jihad: jihad against the appearing or physical enemies, jihad against devil, and the fight against lust. [37]

But unfortunately the word jihad is often only understood as a fight against the enemies of Islam. Narrow meaning of jihad is impressed by distorting other meaning of jihad itself, namely exertion with heart, soul, and possessions to establish the religion of Allah on earth as being part of jihad was ruled out. As proposed by al-Qistholani, doing jihad by jihad against unbelievers, to withstand *din al-Islam* and the sentence of God. [38]

---

[35] Luis Ma'luf, *al-Munjid fi al-Lughah wa al-A'lam*, Dar al-Masyriq, Bairut, 1986, page 106

[36] Ahmad Warson Munawir, *Kamus al-Munawir*, al-Munawir, Jogjakarta, 1984, page 234

[37] Raghib al-Ashbahani, *Mu'jam Mufradat Alfazh al-Qur'an*, Dar al-Fikr, Bairut, t.th page 99

[38] Al-Qistholani, Irsyad al-Syari', *in* Abu Bakar, *Jihad dalam al-Qur'an*, Dialogia, Vol.2 No. 2, july-Desember 2004.

Whereas the word Jihad is different from qital both in terms of language and Islamic law. Jihad, according to language is a *mashdar* form of *jahada yujahidu jihadan mujahadatan,* and *musytaq* (derivative) form of *jahada yajhadu jahdan* which means endure hardship or pour capabilities. And *qital* is *mashdar* form of *wazan* (scales) *Fial* of *qatala yuqatilu qitalan muqatalatan* , and *musytaq* form of words *qatala yaqtulu qatlan* which means eliminating the life of another person. [39]

So, linguistically, both words have different meanings, both derivation (*isytiqaq*) or semantics (*dilalah*). Undoubtedly, jihad has a broader scope than the qital. Both words in the *Shari'a* also have different meanings, although most scholars of *fiqh mutaakhirin* defined jihad as a war in the path of Allah (*al-qital fi sabi lillah*). It is only by an understanding that *qital* is the highest level of jihad. [40]

There are two verses of the Qur'an to be made to correct the misconception that equates between *jihad* and *qital*; surah al-Baqarah [2]: 216 and An-Nisa [4]: 77. Both verses indicate that the fighting in the name of Allah is not an act that was done without a special connection with religion. The word *qital* is always preceded by the

[39] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……, page 72
[40] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……., page 73

word *kutiba* meaning required. This is very different from the term of jihad with a number of derivatives that are not begun by the word *kutiba* or its synonym. There is no one verse indicating that jihad is something that is required (*kutiba*).[41]

Turning from many people who have not distinguished the meaning of jihad and *qital*, it appears that the perspective of the meaning of jihad is solely to fight, it is possible that the perception about the most important level of jihad is a war, then people vying for the highest level, so it looks like put aside other aspect or other jihad levels. Although this perspective thrive in the wider community, it does not mean that the war comes first and foremost in Islam. We must see the meaning of jihad widely, objectively, and look at the context first.

Thus it seems the notion of jihad in the Qur'an is developed in accordance with the development of Islamic society itself, which context of the Qur'an can divided into two periods of Mecca (before *Hijryah*) and the Medina period (after *Hijrah* (move to other place)). Sayyid Sabiq explained when in Mecca, the prophet called to the God with wisdom and good advice, in facing the challenges of his people, God provides

[41] Nasruddin Umar, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an dan Hadis*, Kompas Gramedia, Jakarta, 2014, page 122-123

guidance so that the prophets remain patient, forgiving, and get along well.[42]As in sura an- Nahl [16]: 110, al-Furqan [25]: 52.

Jihad in the sense of struggle to uphold the interests of Muslims in the form of war, which took up arms to defend themselves, had just allowed for the Muslims after their *Hijrah* to Medina. Therefore, the word jihad in the Qur'an revealed down in Medina, according to Fazlur Rahman, it means the struggle of total and organized communities, if necessary by war, to eliminate things that prevent preaching of Islam.[43]

However, it cannot be used as a basis for categorizing verse makiyyah jihad in the sense of jihad with the Qur'an, patience, and kindness, while jihad verse *madaniyya* (send in medina) means jihad through war. Maulana Muhammad Ali[44] provides an example of *madaniyya* jihad verse that contains no definition of war, ie Surah at-Tawbah [9]: 73, in these verses the prophet commanded to fight against the infidels and hypocrites as well. Being a hypocrite is a person who embraced Islam though his inner deny. And the Qur'an never ordered to

[42] Abudin Nata, (ed), *Kajian Tematik al-Qur'an……*, page 227

[43] Fazlur Rahman, *Tema Pokok al-Qur'an*, Penerbit Pustaka, Bandung, 1983, page 231

[44] Maulana Muhammad Ali, *Islamologi (Dinul Islam)*, PT Ichtiar Baru van Hoeve, Jakarta, 1977, page 367

fight the people hypocrites. In fact, sometimes people have participated in the war *Munafiq* conducted by the prophet against the enemy. There are also verses that are combined to *madaniyya* jihad with the word patient people (*shabirin*) surah [3]: 141.

a. The Classification of Jihad Verses in the Qur'an

From the above explanation it can be concluded that actually only a small part of the word jihad in the Qur'an who has an idea or can be interpreted by the war. [45] From above explanation, in categorizing jihad verses which mean warfare, the writer takes some consideration, namely; just take the verses of jihad which fell after the pilgrimage, because the jihad verses which were sent down before *hijrah* order for jihad with the Qur'an, patience, and kindness. However, based on the above explanation, not all the *madaniyya* verses of jihad were directly defined by war, therefore the author will examine more *madaniyya* verses of jihad that actually contain war verses. And Qur'anicverses which have boldface is contain the meaning of *jihad* (battle against) to non Muslim.

[45] Abudin Nata, (ed), *Kajian Tematik al-Qur'an……*...., page231

The Classification of Jihad Verses in the Qur'an

No.	Term	Makiyyah		Madaniyyah	
		Total	Verse	Total	Verse
1	جاهد	1	Al-Ankabut [29]: 6	1	At-Taubah [9]: 19
2	جاهدوا	2	An-Nahl [16]: 110; al-Ankabut [29]: 69;	9	Al-Baqarah [2]: 218; Ali-Imran [3]: 142; al-Anfal [8]: 72, 74, 75; at-Taubah [9]: 16. 20, 88; al-Hujarat [49]: 15;
3	تجاهدون		-	1	Ash-Shaff [61]: 11;
4	يجاهد	2	al-Ankabut [29]: 6		-
5	يجاهدوا / يجاهدون		-	3	At-Taubah [9]: 44, 81; **al-Maidah [5]: 54**
6	جاهِدِ		-	2	**At-Taubah [9]: 73**; **at-Tahrim [66]: 9;**
7	جاهِدْهم	1	Al-Furqan [25]: 52		-
8	جاهدوا		-	4	Al-Maidah [5]: 35; **at-Taubah [9]: 41**, 86; al-Hajj [22]: 78
9	جَهْدَ	1	Fathir [35] 42;	1	An-Nur [24]: 53
10	جُهْدَهُم		-	1	At-Taubah [9]: 79;
11	جِهادٍ		-	1	**At-Taubah [9]: 24;**
12	جِهادً	1	Al-Furqan [25]: 52	1	**Al-Mumtahanah [60]: 1;**
13	جِهادِهِ			1	Al-Hajj [22]: 78
14	المجاهدين/ المجاهدون		-	2	An-Nisa [4]: 95; Muhammad [47]: 31

b. The Concept of Jihad

Ibn Qayyim in Zad al-Ma'ad gives an explanation that is supported by the arguments syar'i regarding levels of jihad amounting to thirteen levels. According to Ibn Qayyim, jihad globally has four levels, namely: [46]

1. *Jihad against Lust*

   There are four levels of jihad against lust: the jihad against the self to learn kindness, guidance and the true religion, jihad against the self to apply knowledge he/she has already gotten, to preach jihad against themselves and teach knowledge to those who have not known, jihad with patience when experiencing difficulty and torment of being in preaching in the way of Allah and bear it all with just expect the pleasure of Allah.

2. *Jihad against the Temptation of Satan*

   First, jihad against the devil by throwing all the indecision and doubt in the faith of a servant who was given by him. *Second,* jihad against the devil by fending off the desire to do damage and satisfy lust given by him. The first jihad that can be done with the preparation of conviction, while the second jihad with patience preparation, as in Surah al-Sajda [32]: 24.

[46] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……..., page 82-84

3. *Jihad against the Infidels and Hypocrites*

   Jihad against the infidels and hypocrites has four levels, namely the heart, tongue, treasure, and soul (*nafs*). Jihad against the infidels is more devoted to the use of force, while more specifically against the hypocrites with tongue (*da'wah*).

4. *Jihad against Injustice and Wickedness*

   There are three levels of jihad against the perpetrators of injustice, heresy, and *munkar*. First, by power if the ability to do so. If not, move on to using oral (*da'wah*). If still not able, strive by heart.

Jihad can be classified into two major groups, namely armed jihad and jihad by peace (peaceful jihad). The first kind of jihad is temporal and shaped only in response to armed aggression. When aggression or assault has expired, then immediately the armed jihad ends. So, armed jihad only happens if there is an attack, namely from the enemy outside (external enemy). The second kind of jihad will continue to apply, so it is permanent. [47] A prime example of a peaceful jihad is the consistency of a Muslim to continue to control the lust condition so as

[47] Nasruddin Umar, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an* ……, page 92

not to lead to negative things. Because the real enemy of a man is his own lust.

According to Mustafa as-Siba'iy, jihad which is generally found in the Qur'an is jihad *fi sabilillah* to create an atmosphere of peace in this world, not a war that resulted in a human family hated the religion of Islam. Whereas jihad in the form of a war that has gone before is in the context of the liberation of a people from oppression or foreign invaders, creating religious freedom, and justice for all nations. It is based on the explanation in Surah al-Baqarah [2]: 193. [48]

Some postulates of jihad that has meaning other than wars are indicated by jihad verse that revealed down in Mecca (makiyyah) before jihad with war is ruled in the medina (madiyyah). Like in surah al-Nahl [16]: 110, Sura al-Furqan [25]: 52, al-Ankabut [29]: 6, 8, 69, Surah Luqman [31]: 15, and many other verses.

surah al-Nahl [16]: 110

ثُمَّ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ لِلَّذِينَ هَاجَرُواْ مِنۢ بَعۡدِ مَا فُتِنُواْ ثُمَّ جَٰهَدُواْ وَصَبَرُوٓاْ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ مِنۢ بَعۡدِهَا لَغَفُورٞ رَّحِيمٞ ١١٠

But verily thy Lord, - to those who leave their homes after trials and persecutions,- and who

[48] Nasruddin Umar, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an……*, page111

> thereafter strive and fight for the faith and patiently persevere,- Thy Lord, after all this is oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.

surah al-Furqan [25]: 52

فَلَا تُطِعِ ٱلۡكَٰفِرِينَ وَجَٰهِدۡهُم بِهِۦ جِهَادٗا كَبِيرٗا ٥٢

> Therefore listen not to the Unbelievers, but strive against them with the utmost strenuousness, with the [Qur'an].

Other form of peaceful jihad is all activities of peaceful resistance carried out by the Muslims facing the outside source of evil. Islam teaches treatise in an environment that is less conducive, fight crime, and all the peace and other good action are example of jihad, because all of them involve some form of defense and resistance to achieve a good purpose.[49]

And even if jihad in the form of war against an enemy had to be done, it still should not be against the rules and ethics of war that have been defined by the Qur'an. Some of them are should not attack first, can only attack in kind if the enemy attacks, should not exceed the limit by killing children, parents, and damage the environment and

[49] Nasruddin Umar, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an……*, page 92

places of worship. And the most important is the goal of jihad is only to establish the religion of Allah.

Islam does not justify a war aiming to conquer a country, or the expansion of the region and the will to dictate (*offensive war*), the war taught by Islam (*masyru'iyah* /legal) is a war to resist enemy attack, or defend legal rights, violated by enemy or for security or protecting *da'wah* (*depensive war*). Islam justifies war when the attack really occurred or has a real presence of defamation. It is not allowed to enter the war except after the announcement or declaration of war in time that news of war may be known by the enemy. Nevertheless it still should not expect to see the enemy and when meeting the enemy let be patience.[50]

From the above description, the meaning of jihad should not be narrowed down only to do battle. Because most of the verses that talk about jihad are more offensive to jihad against the passions of themselves, patience in preaching, and against injustice. And very few verses spoke jihad in the context of the issue of war. If any jihad war is one of the highest levels, it is considered reasonable, because in war requires to sacrifice soul, body, and property. But this means put aside and the

[50] A. Djazuli, *Fiqh Siyasah Implementasi Kemaslahatan Ummat dalam Rambu-Rambu Syari'ah*, Kencana, Jakarta, 2000, page 225-226

actual implementation of the jihad that is the main enemy of man, namely lust.

The struggle against the infidels can be done with care, oral, and treasures. Therefore, jihad is not synonymous with war. War can be said to be a small part of jihad. Thus jurisprudence is not so precise terminology to understand the notion of jihad as found in the Qur'an. If Jurisprudence carry jihad into a specific sense, namely war, whereas the Qur'an gives a general sense. [51]

3. Harb Term in the Qur'an

The word *al-harb* (means war) is little used by the Qur'an, only in four places. At least, the Qur'an uses the word *harb* because in it there is the sense of the war declared on personal or tribal background, and aims to find the material, not on the basis of exalting Gods religion. Therefore in order to ordain warfare in Islam the word *harb* is not used. [52]

According to Sayyid Sabiq, *al-harb* (war) is an armed battle between two or more countries. This sort of thing is common in the community of human, sometimes barely

[51] Ibn Qayyim, *Zad al-Ma'ad*, Matba'ah al-Misriyah, t.t, page 39

[52] Kamil Salamah al-Dasuarh, *Ayat al-Jihad fi al-Qur'anul Karim,* Dar al-Bayan, Kuwait, 1972, page 10

not separated from a nation and a generation. Moreover, a war is justified by law, or *Shari'ah* of God before Islam. [53]

a. The Classification of Harb Verses in the Qur'an

No	حرب		
	Term	**Total**	**Verse**
1.	حَرْبِ	3	al-Anfal:57 ; Muhammad:4;

C. Verses interpretation

Talking about the verse commanding the war, there are some verses that are often used by those who support the war with non-Muslims or often called "the verse of the sword (*ayatus saif*)", those who argue that the war is legalized by the Qur'an against all people whether who fight or make peace with them, they argue based on the Qur'an, Allah said surah al-Baqarah [2]: 193, al-Anfal [8]: 39, verse sword surah at-Tawbah [9]: 5, 29.36 , 41. [54] At least six verses of the Qur'an were used as the basis for action to combat the infidels,

[53] Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh al-Sunnah*, Juz. III, Maktabah Dâr al-Turast, Kairo, 1970, page 82

[54] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……, page 189

namely: surah al-Baqarah [2]: 191, Sura al-Anfal [8]: 39, Surah at-Tawbah [9]: 5, 14, 29, 36.[55]

Surah al-Hajj [22]: 39-40 (First Permission of War)

أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَـٰتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمۡ ظُلِمُواْۚ وَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلَىٰ نَصۡرِهِمۡ لَقَدِيرٌ ﴿٣٩﴾ ٱلَّذِينَ أُخۡرِجُواْ مِن دِيَـٰرِهِم بِغَيۡرِ حَقٍّ إِلَّآ أَن يَقُولُواْ رَبُّنَا ٱللَّهُۗ وَلَوۡلَا دَفۡعُ ٱللَّهِ ٱلنَّاسَ بَعۡضَهُم بِبَعۡضٖ لَّهُدِّمَتۡ صَوَٰمِعُ وَبِيَعٞ وَصَلَوَٰتٞ وَمَسَـٰجِدُ يُذۡكَرُ فِيهَا ٱسۡمُ ٱللَّهِ كَثِيرٗاۗ وَلَيَنصُرَنَّ ٱللَّهُ مَن يَنصُرُهُۥٓۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ ﴿٤٠﴾

> 39. To those against whom war is made, permission is given [to fight], because they are wronged;- and verily, Allah is most powerful for their aid;-
> 40. [They are] those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right,- [for no cause] except that they say, "our Lord is Allah". Did not Allah check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, in which the name of Allah is commemorated in abundant measure. Allah will certainly aid those who aid his [cause];- for verily Allah is full of Strength, Exalted in Might, [able to enforce His Will].

[55] Nasruddin Umar, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an* ……, page 127

The cause of revelation of this verse based on history of Ahmad, Tirmidhi, and al-Hakim narrated from Ibn Abbas is that the Prophet left Mecca. Then Abu Bakar said "they cast their prophet. They will surely perish!" Then Allah revealed the this verse, Abu Bakar said" I already knew that later would occur a war. [56]

God does not rush to start the command to fight the polytheists, the buyer of paganism and heresy. But He is patient with them for fifteen years with the aim that sense, thoughts, views, and accept intelligence possess an important role in addressing a variety of issues. The believers who are treated arbitrarily are allowed or given relief to the war against handedness of idolaters who drove them from their homes and their property. Interference and pressure against the polytheists who waged relentless, as well as various types of flogging and distress they do. Those who believe in God and treated arbitrarily are the people who expelled the idolaters from Mecca to Medina without good reason. They are Muhammad and his companions. They do not have anything against any of them other than just because they worship God. Thus the first factor of jihad order or war in Islam is because they were expelled from their homes

[56] Jalaluddin as-Suyuthi, *Sebab turunnya Ayat al-Qur'an*, Darut Taqwa, Depok, 2008, page 380

unjustly, then freedom defend factor of worship in the earth and keep all purity. [57]

The word *alladi* in verse 40 serves as descriptors for previous *alladi*. People who were expelled from their homeland are the believers who were expelled by the *Quraysh* infidel of Mecca.[58]

Al-baqarah [2]: 190-194 (first battle command)

وَقَٰتِلُواْ فِي سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلَّذِينَ يُقَٰتِلُونَكُمۡ وَلَا تَعۡتَدُوٓاْۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا
يُحِبُّ ٱلۡمُعۡتَدِينَ ١٩٠ وَٱقۡتُلُوهُمۡ حَيۡثُ ثَقِفۡتُمُوهُمۡ
وَأَخۡرِجُوهُم مِّنۡ حَيۡثُ أَخۡرَجُوكُمۡۚ وَٱلۡفِتۡنَةُ أَشَدُّ مِنَ ٱلۡقَتۡلِۚ وَلَا
تُقَٰتِلُوهُمۡ عِندَ ٱلۡمَسۡجِدِ ٱلۡحَرَامِ حَتَّىٰ يُقَٰتِلُوكُمۡ فِيهِۖ فَإِن قَٰتَلُوكُمۡ
فَٱقۡتُلُوهُمۡۗ كَذَٰلِكَ جَزَآءُ ٱلۡكَٰفِرِينَ ١٩١ فَإِنِ ٱنتَهَوۡاْ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ غَفُورٞ
رَّحِيمٞ ١٩٢ وَقَٰتِلُوهُمۡ حَتَّىٰ لَا تَكُونَ فِتۡنَةٞ وَيَكُونَ ٱلدِّينُ لِلَّهِۖ فَإِنِ
ٱنتَهَوۡاْ فَلَا عُدۡوَٰنَ إِلَّا عَلَى ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ ١٩٣ ٱلشَّهۡرُ ٱلۡحَرَامُ بِٱلشَّهۡرِ
ٱلۡحَرَامِ وَٱلۡحُرُمَٰتُ قِصَاصٞۚ فَمَنِ ٱعۡتَدَىٰ عَلَيۡكُمۡ فَٱعۡتَدُواْ عَلَيۡهِ

[57] Wahbah al-Zuhaili, *at-tafsir al-Munir fi al-Aqidah wa as-Syari'ah wa al-Manhaj*, Juz 26, Dar al-Fikr al-Mu'ashir, Bairut, 1998, page 640-641

[58] Abu Ja'far bin Jarir ath-Thabari, *Tafsir ath-Thabari*, Pustaka Azzam, Jakarta, 2009, page 550

بِمِثۡلِ مَا ٱعۡتَدَىٰ عَلَيۡكُمۡۚ وَٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ وَٱعۡلَمُوٓاْ أَنَّ ٱللَّهَ مَعَ ٱلۡمُتَّقِينَ ١٩٤

190. Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors.
191. And slay them wherever ye catch them, and turn them out from where they have Turned you out; for tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter; but fight them not at the Sacred Mosque, unless they [first] fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who suppress faith.
192. But if they cease, Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.
193. And fight them on until there is no more Tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah; but if they cease, Let there be no hostility except to those who practise oppression.
194. The prohibited month for the prohibited month,- and so for all things prohibited,- there is the law of equality. If then any one transgresses the prohibition against you, Transgress ye likewise against him. But fear Allah, and know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves

The reason of revelation of verse 190 is concerning about Hudaibiyyah Charter. As written by Jalaluddin as-Suyuti that al-Wahidi narrated from al-Kalbi path of Abu Salih from Ibn Abbas, he said: "above verse was sent down on the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah. That is when the prophet was prevented to go to Baitul Haram, then he was invited to reconcile with the

idolaters to return next year. [59] The contents of the charter among others, that the Muslims perform *umrah* on the following year. When the Prophet and his companions prepare to carry out umrah in accordance with the agreement, the companions worry that the *Quraysh* did not keep their promise, even combat and prevent them from entering in the Sacred Mosque, whereas the Muslims were reluctant to fight in forbidden months. The revelation of "*waqatilu fi sabilillahil ladzina* (S. 2: 190) to (S. 2: 193)" is to justify war to avenge the enemy's attacks. [60]

The next verse Surah al-Baqarah [2]: 191 explains that the disbelievers who were fought by the Prophet are those who first violated and do injustice to the Prophet and the Companions. This verse indicates that the basic of the combat is because of Allah's (the religion). For it, order to combat in this verse is followed by a requirements that have to be there before, that is they (the polytheists) do war firstly with the Muslims. Similarly, it is not allowed to expel the polytheists out of Mecca, unless they have done so in advance. From this verse we can conclude that the basis of war in Islam is a form of protection or self-defense response, not as a trigger for war

[59] Jalaluddin as-Suyuthi, *Sebab turunnya Ayat al-Qur'an*, ……., page 76

[60] H.A.A. Dahlan, (ed). *Asbabun Nuzul Latar Belakang Historis Turunnya Ayat-Ayat al-Qur'an*, CV Diponogoro, Bandung, 2000, page 57

(pre-emptive). Which is ordered to be fought is who disbelieve against God. [61]

This verse orders Muslims to fight against the enemies of Islam who first attacked the Muslims or who have an indication for doing so. But, despite the order or mandatory to do war here, it does not mean that Muslims are free to take any action against the enemies of Islam. There are rules and restrictions that must be followed and maintained, it is as it is written in his word "but do not exceed the limit. Indeed Allah does not love those who exceed the limit ".

Excessive (transgressors) is to judge actions undertaken, as indicated by al-Hasan al-Basri, like torture (mutilated), cheat, kill women, children, old people, the priests, and the occupants of the houses of worship, burning trees, kill animals without a *mashlahat*. It was told by Ibn Abbas, Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz, Muqatil ibn Hayyan. [62]

Wahbah Zuhaili in his interpretation book al-Wasith explained that [63] the holy Qur'an in six verses of surah al-Baqarah teach six rules of war in the way of Allah, in order to determine the causes in war legalization, objectives, manners,

---

[61] Nasruddin Umar, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an……,* page 130

[62] Syaikh Ahmad Syakir, *Mukhtashar tafsir Ibnu Katsir*, Jil. III, Darus Sunnah press, Jakarta, 2012, page 530

[63] Wahbah az-Zuhaili, *Tafsir al-Wasith*, ……, page 86-87

and time implementation. *First,* the war in the way of Allah is permitted by law to repel the enemy, defend propaganda, freedom and to spread of religions throughout the world, as described in verse 190.

Second, that is conditions of being attacked, the battle may be done at any place. As written in verse 191, fight them when you encounter them, under any circumstances. Expel them from Mecca as they have expelled you from it. Slander related to religion they did to Muslims in the forbidden land, in the form of bad acts, torture, deprivation of property, the expulsion of their homeland is worse than the war in the forbidden land.

Furthermore, verse 191 also explains the rules of *the third.* That is that the Muslims are not allowed to do battle in the *Haram* land, and should only fight when the enemy attacks Muslims first. So the Muslims should not strike first, war is allowed on the basis of self-defense instead of arbitrariness. And when the enemy has stopped attacking, then Muslims also must stop the war, should not continue the war.

And the fourth rules explained in verse 193, the purposes of war which is prescribed in Islam are two things: preventing defamation in religion and guarantees freedom of religion, as well as the realization of peace, security, and comfort. While the *fifth* and *sixth* rules are described in a subsequent verse, which permit to do one-month war in *Dzulqa'dah*, that is a

part of *qishas* form and reply to treatment with a similar treatment (194), and that the war in the name of Allah requires sacrifice of life and possessions (195).

Al-Anfal [8]: 39 (kafir)

وَقَٰتِلُوهُمۡ حَتَّىٰ لَا تَكُونَ فِتۡنَةٞ وَيَكُونَ ٱلدِّينُ كُلُّهُۥ لِلَّهِۚ فَإِنِ ٱنتَهَوۡاْ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ بِمَا يَعۡمَلُونَ بَصِيرٞ ٣٩

> 39. And fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah altogether and everywhere; but if they cease, verily Allah doth see all that they do.

Above verse is still connected to surah al-Baqarah verse 190 of the license and command war. It is also related to the previous verse containing about the chance of repentance still opens for the *Quraish* who have committed insubordination and struggled to prevent freedom of having religion. Above verse contains the command to combat them. The main purpose of the injunction is to avoid slander. Etymologically the word *fitnah* means burning gold or metal by entering it into the fire to know its purity. [64]

[64] Abu al-Qasim al-Husnin Ibn Muhammad, *al-Mufradat fi Gharub al-Qur'an*, Dar al-Ma'rifah, Bairut, t.th, page 371

This verse is similar to the sura al-Baqarah: 193 that is *"so there is no longer slander"* namely polytheism and persecution. If the word "they" is meant to the Pagans of Mecca at the time of the prophet. Because it has been outlined by Allah that the city of Mecca should be clean of any form of shirk. This verse uses the word *kulluhu* (all of them), in contrast with the surah al-Baqarah: 193 which did not use that word. According to Mutawally asy-Sya'rawi verses al-Anfal is speaking concerning the Arabian Peninsula region precisely Mecca. There cannot be two religions, only Islamic religion solely so that the entire compliance is only focused on God. While Al-Baqarah verse was talking about the whole earth. At the time, religions can live freely according to their choice so that the word *kulluhu* is very precisely eliminated. [65]

This verse commands the Muslims that if they continue to disobey and try to obstacle the freedom, combat and fight them so that no longer slander, the chaos, oppression, persecution, and or shirk, and that full compliance is only God solely. If they are stopped from persecution and or polytheism, verily God sees any small and hidden what they were doing and then treating them as good as their behavior. [66]

---

[65] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Misbah*…., Vol. IV, Lentera Hati, Jakarta, 2002, page 534

[66] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Misbah*, Vol. IV, ……. page532

This war command is not directly carried out without any effort to follow the path of peace with the enemy first. In the previous verses, surah al-Anfal verse 38, Allah says

قُل لِّلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوٓاْ إِن يَنتَهُواْ يُغۡفَرۡ لَهُم مَّا قَدۡ سَلَفَ وَإِن يَعُودُواْ فَقَدۡ مَضَتۡ سُنَّتُ ٱلۡأَوَّلِينَ ٣٨

> 38. Say to the Unbelievers, if [now] they desist [from Unbelief], their past would be forgiven them; but if they persist, the punishment of those before them is already [a matter of warning for them].

God has offered and given opportunity to infidels to stop making mischief, combating Islam and invited to convert to Islam, so that their sin and mistakes in the past will be forgiven. But this invitation was rejected, so the verse came verse 39 ordering to fight the enemies of the idolaters so there is no longer slander.

Surah at-Taubah Verse 5

فَإِذَا ٱنسَلَخَ ٱلۡأَشۡهُرُ ٱلۡحُرُمُ فَٱقۡتُلُواْ ٱلۡمُشۡرِكِينَ حَيۡثُ وَجَدتُّمُوهُمۡ وَخُذُوهُمۡ وَٱحۡصُرُوهُمۡ وَٱقۡعُدُواْ لَهُمۡ كُلَّ مَرۡصَدٍۚ فَإِن تَابُواْ

وَأَقَامُواْ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتَوُاْ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ فَخَلُّواْ سَبِيلَهُمۡۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ غَفُورٞ رَّحِيمٞ ٥

> 5. But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them, an seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem [of war]; but if they repent, and establish regular prayers and practise regular charity, then open the way for them: for Allah is Oftforgiving,Most Merciful.

This verse is still related to the previous verse, which confirms the termination of the agreement between the Muslims with unbelievers. The agreement which is meant in this verse is described in Surah al-Tawbah verse 1, as argued by Wahbah Zuhaili in his commentary al-Wasit, prophet and Muslims agree on an agreement with the Arab idolaters of Mecca and other residents namely Hudaybiyah in 9 Hijriyyah (Surat al-Baqaarah [2]: 190. A short time later the idolaters violated the agreement except Bani Dhamrah and Bani Kinanah. Allah commanded to announce the end of the agreement with the idolaters who violated their agreements and give them a grace period during the four months to go wherever they want. [67]

[67] Wahbah az-Zuhaili, *Tafsir al-Wasith*……., page 728

There are some opinions of *mufassirin* about the peace agreement referred to in this paragraph. Some of them argued that the reference in this paragraph is not limited agreement or the applicable time or periods of less than four months. According to Mujahid, as narrated by Ibn Abi Nujaih said that the statement of termination addressed to Khuza'ah tribes and Mudlij tribes that have ties of peace agreement with the prophet of Allah. And this statement was down when the prophet returned from the war Tabuk and canceled plans to perform Hajj. [68]

Interpreters have different opinions about what is meant by the forbidden months. Ibn Jarir found that the forbidden months are what is alluded in paragraph 36 of this surah, ie the months Dzulqa'dah, Hijjah, Muharram and Rajab. Medieval Mujahid, Amar bin Shoaib and other interpreter argued that what is meant is that the period of four months suspended by the prophet as the deadline enactment of a peace treaty with the idolaters. Thus, the meaning of this verse is that when it's over a four-month period was suspended, slay them wherever you find them, take them as captives, besiege the fortresses and their hiding places and spy on them in their busy places them so that they are forced to fight or surrender and convert to Islam. But if they repent, and perform the

[68]Syaikh Ahmad Syakir, *Mukhtashar tafsir Ibnu Katsir*, Jil. IV, …..., page 2

prayer, and practice regular charity (*zakat*), then give them the freedom to move and walk to anywhere they want, because God is Forgiving and Merciful.[69]

War and kill any place they found, both in the Holy Land of Mecca or another, or to make them as prisoners if you will, or watch them in every placeof surveillance until they choose between Islam or war. This is specialized only for the Arabic idolaters. If they repent from shirk that makes them involved in the war and enmity with Muslims, then deliver them and let them with their own affairs. [70]

Kill command in the above verse shall not command without a permit to kill, as well as order to catch and prison them. The selected alternative is suited to the attitudes and behavior of each of the polytheists. The greater danger that may arise from it, the greater the sanctions given.[71] From this, the reasons for war rise, because the idolaters obstruct people from the path of God and have been battling the believers. For this reason also, a group of Pagans betray their promises, then declared war, and helping people to hostile the believers. If the preachers preaching are given full advice of peace, security and freedom, then there is no war, because the

---

[69] Syaikh Ahmad Syakir, *Mukhtashar tafsir Ibnu Katsir*, Jil. IV, …..,page 8

[70] Wahbah az-Zuhaili, *Tafsir al-Wasith*, ……, page 730

[71] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Misbah*, Vol. V, ……, page 19

religion of God at that moment will illuminate every astray people.[72]

The demand towards the idolaters after the end of the grace period for a cease-fire or the provision of security guarantees for four months to convert to Islam or war does not mean that the idolaters are not given the opportunity to listen to the arguments of faith. Because the most important thing is the spread of Islamic proselytizing by peaceful ways, convincing logic, proof, and argumentation, since the purpose of determination of jihad is not shed blood or get the spoils.[73] The words فَإِن تَابُواْ وَأَقَامُواْ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتَوُاْ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ فَخَلُّواْ سَبِيلَهُم is very reasonable terms. But, do not expect that this is the imposition to convert to the Islamic religion. Indeed, any government can set any conditions which is considered necessary for the good or the security of the region and its people. Who is reluctant to follow this provision, they are welcome to seek other place that can accept them due to God's earth is very large.[74]

In the context of this verse, the word *al-musyrikina* is defined as treacherous people who stop peace for their grace period. Whereas those who are not treacherous and keep the

[72] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……., page 219
[73] Wahbah az-Zuhaili, *Tafsir al-Wasith*, ……, page 731
[74] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Misbah*, Vol. V, ……, page. 19

peace agreement within a certain time frame between them, are not included in that word scope. [75]

In a commentary Wahbah al-Zuhaili explained that the command of al-qatl in this verse is specifically for the Arab polytheists and not in others.[76] According to Ibn Kathir, the command to fight the polytheists in the context of this verse is temporary, that is only valid in that year solely, because according to the majority opinions, it should not fight in the Great Mosque or Al Masjid Al Haram.[77]

Pagans who become enemies of Islam and its Prophet are not all unbelievers, with the arguments of the word of God before, the verse of the sword (Surah at-Tawbah [9]: 4). They, people of the idolaters, are bound by an agreement with rasulullah in certain time limit, then they break before the completion of deadline. The polytheists are also bound by agreement with the prophet but indefinitely they stated termination from Allah and his messenger. Dr.Mustafa Zaid in his book *al-Naskh fi al-Qur'an* says the idolaters discussed in the verse of the sword are a group of Pagans who have an

---

[75] Muhammad Sayyid Thanthawi, *at-Tafsir al-Wasith*, Vol VI,……page 206

[76] Wahbah al-Zuhaili, *at-tafsir al-Munir fi al-Aqidah ……..,* page 111

[77] Syaikh Ahmad Syakir, *Mukhtashar tafsir Ibnu Katsir*, Jil.II.....page 338

agreement with the prophet of Allah. Then they violated the agreement and help others to antagonize the prophet.[78]

Surah al-Taubah [9]: 29

قَٰتِلُواْ ٱلَّذِينَ لَا يُؤۡمِنُونَ بِٱللَّهِ وَلَا بِٱلۡيَوۡمِ ٱلۡأٓخِرِ وَلَا يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ ٱللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُۥ وَلَا يَدِينُونَ دِينَ ٱلۡحَقِّ مِنَ ٱلَّذِينَ أُوتُواْ ٱلۡكِتَٰبَ حَتَّىٰ يُعۡطُواْ ٱلۡجِزۡيَةَ عَن يَدٖ وَهُمۡ صَٰغِرُونَ ٢٩

> 29. Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the religion of Truth, [even if they are] of the People of the Book, until they pay the Jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued.

This verse was revealed to the prophet in connection with the war command Roman people. So that's why, after the revelation of this verse, rasulullah do Tabuk war. This opinion was mentioned in a narration (*riwayat*), Muhammad ibn Amr told me, he said: Abu Asim told us, he said: Isa told us from Ibn Abu Najih, from Mujahid, on the word of God Surah at-

[78] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……..…, page 217

Tawbah verse 29 that when the prophet Muhammad and the companions are ordered Tabuk war. [79]

Some scholars argue that the People of the Book are Jews and Christians. People of Book in above verse are referred Jews and Christians in general, but they are the polytheists and the People of the Book who are not doing their religions truly. Judging from the context of the above verse, it describes the condition of Islam after spread and strengthened with conquering the city of Mecca by Muslims as well as the presence of many Arab tribes who recognize the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad, Christian groups are concerned, even the Roman who claim to defend the Christian people prepared well to face the prophet of Allah, they gather and join forces with Christian Arab tribes and being under the influence/authority of roman. The Muslims realize their bad intentions, especially when they heard from the merchants who came from Sham (Damascus) saying that the vanguard forces have been in Balqa, one area in Jordan now. This verse came finally ordered fighting against them. Therefore, it is appropriate suggestion that this verse is the first verse which

[79] Abu Ja'far Muhammad bin Jarir Ath-Thabari, *Tafsir Ath-Thabari*, Abdul Shomad, dkk, pustaka Azzam, Jakarta, 2009, page 695. This hadis mentioned by Mujahid in his book (1/276) and ibnu Abu hatim in his book (6/1778)

is sent down concerning the combat command to Ahl al-Kitab (people of the book). [80]

The word *ahl al kitab* in this verse became the discussion of the scholars. Some argue that what is meant here only Christian people because they are clearly ascribing partners to Allah through Trinity faith. There is also the opinion all ahl al-kitab, including Jews because they associate partners with God and not believe in the hereafter, in a sense not believe properly. There are also scholars who understand that the verse as a command to fight the polytheists and ahl al-kitab. But, according to that scholars, the main purpose of this verse is ahl al-kitab of the Christian which is described by His word.

From the explanation above, the context of the war order against the People of the Book are those that ally with *mushrikin* who were in *dar al-Harb* to fight the Muslims, not the People of the Book who live in peace and not hostile to Muslims. It is also drawn the conclusion that the command of war in the above verse is based on the desire and the early action of the Roman and the People of the Book to combat the prophet of Allah and companions. To maintain the stability of

[80] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Misbah*, Vol. V,…… page 73

Medina and Mecca, the Prophet was ordered to defend themselves by fighting them. [81]

This verse also talks about collecting the jizya from ahl kitab. The scholars differed in determining who should and must pay jizyah instead of facilities and services received by non-Muslims who live in the region of Islam (*dar al islam*). *Jizya* is a reward or compensation of facilities, security, and ease received by non-Muslims who live in the area or Islamic countries. It is considered comparable and not detrimental because jizya is levied on non-Muslims the same as *zakat* that is obligated to Muslims, all is for continuity of government.

This noble verse is made by the scholars who found the treasure of jizya should not be taken except of *ahl-akitab* or people such as they are, such as Majusi, this is in accordance with mazhab Ash-Shafi'i and Ahmad. While Abu hanifah found *jizya* property may be taken of the entire non-Arab people (*ajam*), whether they are included among People of Books as well as from among other idolaters. However, the *Jizyah* should not be taken from Arab except from People of Book. Imam Malik found *jizya* property can be taken from all

[81] Nasruddin Umar, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an* ……, page 136

infidels, either People of Books, Majusi, the idolaters, and others.[82]

QS at-Taubah [9]: 73

يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّبِيُّ جَٰهِدِ ٱلْكُفَّارَ وَٱلْمُنَٰفِقِينَ وَٱغْلُظْ عَلَيْهِمْ ۚ وَمَأْوَىٰهُمْ جَهَنَّمُ ۖ وَبِئْسَ ٱلْمَصِيرُ ﴿٧٣﴾

> 73. O Prophet! strive hard against the unbelievers and the Hypocrites, and be firm against them. Their abode is Hell,- an evil refuge indeed.

The meaning of the verse to be explained by Wahbah Zuhaili is, O Prophet! Strive against each of the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and treat them with loud and rude to make them into a dither, and to undermine the efforts of their hostility, they get two punishment in the world in the form of jihad, and the torment in Hereafter. Muslims never starts a war against the other party. Qur'an only begins with the submission of a threat against the infidels and jihad warning against them. Jihad can be done in various ways in accordance with the conditions of the enemy. Jihad against the infidels who openly expressed hostility is by sword, while jihad

[82] Syaikh Ahmad Syakir, *Mukhtashar tafsir Ibnu Katsir*, III, Darus Sunnah press, Jakarta, 2012, page 475.

against hypocrites who disguise is with oral and rebuke. However, even in the face of all this treatment, Islam also opens for them the doors of repentance and hope, then it is better for them and provide more goodness. [83]

At the beginning of the existence of the apostle in Medina, when the hypocrites began to appear in line with the development of the power of Islam, the apostle still much tolerated them. He was, at the time, reluctant to impose sanctions on the hypocrites, moreover kill them, worried about opponents of Islam that still have influence in the community spread a bad impression regarding Islam and his people. But after widespread influence of Islam and image of Muslims getting better, on the other hand hypocrites are also widely known with their bad character and treason, a stern decision must be taken to them. [84]

D. Non Muslim in the Qur'an

Definition of non-Muslims can be seen from understanding the word "Muslim" affixed with "non" that means no or not. Then non-Muslim means people who are not Muslims. [85] In explaining the religious people other than

---

[83] Wahbah al-Zuhaili, *at-tafsir al-Munir fi al-Aqidah …….,* page 784-785

[84] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Misbah*, Vol. V, ……page 170

[85] Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1994, page 692

Islam, the Qur'an does not use the term non-Muslims, but tends to refer to types or groups of them one by one, like *mushrikun* and Ahl Kitab.

Some people think that non Muslim is the enemy of Islam, and it is one of thing that make non Muslim impressed possible to be killed and fought. Actually there is no term non Muslim in Al-Qur'an. In al-Qur'an the enemy of Islam who is obligated to war is *musyrikin* (At-Taubah : 5), *kafir* ((Al-Baqarah : 191), *ahlul kitab* (At-Taubah : 29). But researcher uses term non Muslim because according to Sachedina, word "*kafir*" begins the meaning as "non Muslim" (such as Christian, Jew, Konghucu, and others local religion) so that permitted to be destroyed. Actually "*kafir*" is Arabic pagan people who disparage and resist to Prophet Muhammad's mission.[86]

Non-Muslim groups can be divided into several groups, Abdullah Nashih 'Ulwan divided them into four groups: group of People of Book, group of atheists and apostates, pagans and idolaters group and group of hypocrites. [87]

1. ***Ahl Kitab***

[86] Tedi Kholiluddin, Kuasa Negara Atas Agama, Rasail, Semarang, 2009, page. xviii

[87] Abdullah Nashih Ulwah, *Sikap Islam Terhadap Non Muslim*, Pustaka al-Kautsar, Yogyakarta, 1990, page 32

Ahlul Kitab is non-Muslim who believes that he is a follower of one of the heavenly books like the Jews, Christians, and even Zoroastrian. [88]

2. ***Atheis dan Murtad***

   Atheism is the denial of God, rejects the heavenly message that God had sent His apostles. Or in another sense, atheism is the denial of the magical things that were taken and delivered through the apostles.

   Apostasy is the actions of Muslims who leave the religion that has been blessed by God, then embrace any religion other than Islam, or believe a certain beliefs or ideology contrary to the order of Islam.

3. ***Musyrikun dan Paganism***

   Polytheist or *musyrik* is someone who clearly worshiped other than Allah, like the heathen in Arab Peninsula, worshipers of star, sun worshipers, worshipers of the human family, or fire-worshipers. All of this ever existed in the world. The Qur'an distinguishes between the idolaters with non-Muslim groups which consider God as one (*muwahid*), especially those who believe in a religion that comes from heaven religion (*samawai*). On the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims which

[88] Murtadha Muthahhari, *Memahami Pelajaran Tematis al-Qur'an Pelajaran Tematis Tentang Pengetahuan Akidah, Akhlak, dan Kehidupan Sehari-hari*, Sadra, Jakarta, 2012, page 250

are polytheists, the Muslims have a particular attitude, while against the non Muslims which are not polytheists, the Qur'an called the People of the Book, muslims have different attitude. [89]

Paganist are the ones who make a god other than Allah, or take a god besides Allah. Who are included in the group are Arabic musyrik people, fire worshipers, the star, the Majusi and other similar worship statues. This pagan groups are distinguished in two groups, namely the Arab idolaters and non Arabic pagan groups such as Majusi. [90]

In facing of Arab idolaters group, Islam offered two options: Islam or war (al-Fath:16). *Jizya* did not apply to them. The *jizya* was allowed to be taken from people other than Arabic. The designation of this reason is in order to maintain mankind and save their lives from the influence of the roots of idolism (pagan). [91]

4. ***Munafik* or Hypocrite**

Hypocrisy is an attitude in a person who claim Islam, but deep inside saves coal of infidelity. Hypocrites should not be fought. Unlike the unbelievers who very brightly expressed disbelief. They should not be fought. As written

---

[89] Murtadha Muthahhari, *Memahami Pelajaran Tematis al-Qur'an*..... page 249-250

[90] Abdullah Nashih Ulwah, *Sikap Islam Terhadap Non Muslim*, ……..., Page 55

[91] Abdullah Nashih Ulwah, *Sikap Islam Terhadap Non Muslim*, ……., Page 56

in Surah at-Tawbah [9]: 73 that the prophet commanded to fight against the hypocrites and unbelievers, but he did not fight the hypocrites, because their blood and treasure are kept by their tongues stating la ilaha illallah. Aim of jihad against hypocrites here is jihad through preaching and sermons, enforcing proof, and get rid of doubt in the soul. [92]

While Endang Saefuddin Ansari distinguishes non-Muslims into six categories, namely: [93]

According to Yusuf Qaradawi non-Muslim groups are differentiated into two groups, namely:

1. Religion *watsaniyah* (idols) or culture religion, such as the pagan idolaters, the Zoroastrian, fire worshipers, and the *shabiah* (Shabiin); worshipers of the stars.
2. *Samawi* or kitabiyah followers of divine religions, namely those who have divine religions in origin and have the Book of Allah, such as Jews and Christians, who are called by the Qur'an the People of the Book as a gentle attitude to them and to their delight.

Islam also own rules regarding patterns of relationships and how to behave with non-Muslims, in which Islam teaches

[92] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, ……., page 76-77

[93] Endang Saefuddin Anshari, *Wawasan Islam Pokok-pokok Fikiran tentang Islam dan Umatnay,* Rajawali, Jakarta, 1986, page 64-65.

to maintain relationships with fellow human beings, respect and appreciate one another as long as both parties do not interfere one another. The foundation of relations with non-Muslims is the word of God (Surah al-Mumtahana [60]: 8-9).

لَّا يَنْهَىٰكُمُ ٱللَّهُ عَنِ ٱلَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقَٰتِلُوكُمْ فِى ٱلدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوكُم مِّن دِيَٰرِكُمْ أَن تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوٓا۟ إِلَيْهِمْ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُحِبُّ ٱلْمُقْسِطِينَ ﴿٨﴾ إِنَّمَا يَنْهَىٰكُمُ ٱللَّهُ عَنِ ٱلَّذِينَ قَٰتَلُوكُمْ فِى ٱلدِّينِ وَأَخْرَجُوكُم مِّن دِيَٰرِكُمْ وَظَٰهَرُوا۟ عَلَىٰٓ إِخْرَاجِكُمْ أَن تَوَلَّوْهُمْ ۚ وَمَن يَتَوَلَّهُمْ فَأُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ هُمُ ٱلظَّٰلِمُونَ ﴿٩﴾

> 8. Allah forbids you not, with regard to those who fight you not for [your] Faith nor drive you out of your homes, from dealing kindly and justly with them: for Allah loveth those who are just.
> 9. Allah only forbids you, with regard to those who fight you for [your] Faith,and drive you out of your homes, and support [others] in driving you out, from turning to them [for friendship and protection]. It is such as turn to them [in these circumstances], that do wrong.

Every Muslim are demanded in order to treat all human beings with virtues and justice. Although they were not recognizing the Islamic religion, as long as they do not impede its spread, do not fight the preacher and, do not

oppress the adherents. [94] Although in the Qur'an there are some verses that commanded to apply hard and fight non-Muslims, but that does not mean that Islam is a religion that does not respect other religions. The verses that speak of the war must be understood carefully in order to avoid protracted misunderstanding.

Surah al-Mumtahana [60]: 8-9 is saying that Muslims should only do good to the non-Muslims who are not hostile to Islam, and we should not make them as close friends. But that does not mean that Islam prohibits the good relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, Islam upholds tolerance, respect for every human being, so that Muslims and non-Muslims also recommended to keep relationships and good cooperation, so as to create harmony in the world. This implies the reading of verses that speak about the relationship with non-Muslims which needs to look at the context in advance, it cannot be directly used as justification to ban good relations with non-Muslims.

Both of these verses was revealed down in the context of the polytheists who worship idols, while against the scribes, Islam provides its own demands interaction that allows Muslims to establish an alliance with them and married women among them. Meaning that Islam allows their women,

[94]Yusuf Qardhawi, *Minoritas Non Muslim di dalam Masyarakat Islam*, Mizan, Bandung, 1985, page 15-16

both Christians and Jews as well as to be the wife, life partner, and the mother of the children of a Muslim. This automatically makes the woman's family as relatives of the Muslims, being a grandfather, grandmother and their sons, uncles and their aunts, brothers and cousins , as well as having the rights of a family and close relatives.[95]

Every Muslim is expected to maintain a harmonious relationship with non-Muslims and to create harmony between faiths. These relationships can also be formed by the tolerant attitude that is willingness to accept different opinions about truth, can appreciate other people's beliefs against the religious affiliation and provide the freedom to do what is embraced by not being denounced and or hostile. [96]

On above already mentioned that there are several verses in the Quran which govern to fight non-Muslims, but it must be remembered that the purpose of this war is not to force non Muslim to convert to Islam, because Islam itself never forced anyone to convert to Islamic religion. The purpose of this war is to fight against tyranny and arbitrary attitude towards Islam.

Islam itself basically never force someone to convert to Islam. God has given humans instructions and Men are free to

---

[95] Dr. Yusuf Al Qardhawi, *Kebangkitan Gerakan Islam dari Masa Transisi Menuju Kematangan*, terj. Abdullah Hakam Shah dan M. Aunul Abied Shah, Pustaka Al Kautsar , Jakarta, 2002, page. 265-266.

[96] Thoyib I.M dan Sugiyanto, *Islam dan Pranata Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, Remaja Rosdakarya , Bandung, 2002, page. 42.

choose their own ways, as contained in surah al-Baqarah: 256 and surah Yunus: 99. So although the Qur'an ordered to fight non-Muslims who are hostile to Islam, but the purpose of the war is not to force them to convert to Islam.

al-Baqarah: 256

لَآ إِكۡرَاهَ فِي ٱلدِّينِۖ قَد تَّبَيَّنَ ٱلرُّشۡدُ مِنَ ٱلۡغَيِّۚ فَمَن يَكۡفُرۡ بِٱلطَّٰغُوتِ وَيُؤۡمِنۢ بِٱللَّهِ فَقَدِ ٱسۡتَمۡسَكَ بِٱلۡعُرۡوَةِ ٱلۡوُثۡقَىٰ لَا ٱنفِصَامَ لَهَاۗ وَٱللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ ٢٥٦

256. Let there be no compulsion in religion: Truth stands out clear from Error: whoever rejects evil and believes in Allah hath grasped the most trustworthy hand-hold, that never breaks. And Allah heareth and knoweth all things.

surah yunus [10]: 99

وَلَوۡ شَآءَ رَبُّكَ لَأٓمَنَ مَن فِي ٱلۡأَرۡضِ كُلُّهُمۡ جَمِيعًاۚ أَفَأَنتَ تُكۡرِهُ ٱلنَّاسَ حَتَّىٰ يَكُونُواْ مُؤۡمِنِينَ

99. If it had been thy Lord's will, they would all have believed,- all who are on earth! wilt thou then compel mankind, against their will, to believe!

BAB IV

THE ORDER OF BATTLE AGAINST NON MUSLIM IN THE FAZLUR RAHMAN'S DOUBLE MOVEMENT METHOD

A. Understanding of Battle Against non Muslim

In this analyzing, the author will try to understand about war verses with using double movement of Fazlur Rahman method. First, the author will return to the time and understand social historical condition of Arab society at the current time which especially has correlated to the war. And understand to the background of the sent down of Quran verses talking about problem of war to non Muslim, what is the accident behind, so finally Qur'an sent the order to battle non Muslim. After has been understood about macro and micro situation at the prophet era, the author struggle to take diversity between specific legal and ideal moral based on social historical situation at the prophet era supported by hadist and scholars arguments on moral values from war verses. The explanation talking about it is covered in the first and second sub chapter.

Whereas, sub chapter B will explain about the second movement, it is back to the contemporary era, and understanding development of contemporary era cealrly. After understood clearly then can implement ideal moral in contemporary era in order to answer time challenge, so Quran can always be harmony every time.

1. The History of War in Arab

First operation of Rahman Hermeneutic is with looking at the social historical situation of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic Arab society, so it will be found the interaction between Qur'anic verses and social lives at the time.

Pre-Islamic Arab societies have a strong tribal spirit; it makes very high sense of solidarity on that tribal member, so it leads conflict among tribes is easy to be happened. When one tribe disturbs other tribes, certainly a war will happen. Because of the spirit of defending their tribes is very high.

Frequent of inter-tribal conflict ended with the battle can also caused by pre-Islamic Arab society who has not familiar with the principles of public interest at the time yet. There is no agreement or some sort of legislation to regulate procedures of social life, so that every problems that can not be resolved peacefully will choose the way of war. This is supported by heavy tough character of Arab society and conditions of the desert, they also should be nomadic to find the source of livelihood.

At the pre-Islamic period, the war has become a tradition of the community. This tradition is not without a reason, in contrary, this tradition is the local wisdom where the current people had a highest group defensive and solidarity attitude. From this local wisdom appearing the "law of retaliation" and legal *qishas* (equal retaliation by such eye

for an eye, died rewarded with death and so on). At the current time there was no sense of general duty or obligation for the general public interest, where the common interests are precedenced from the personal interest. So they do not know yet: No rights among fellow human. [1]

Islam came in Mecca bringing the spirit of change for better. Were it happen, certainly Islam would remodel all of values and traditions of society who are considered as a bad thing. But Islam was appeared in the middle of people who have deep and strong cultural traditions, so it is heavy or impossible thing to be removed.

Arab society assumes that Islam is a threat to the existence of their ancestral beliefs. The Polytheist feel disturbed by Islam who has more and more followers gradually. So the Polytheist Mecca do variety of humiliation, torture, and intimidation to Muslims continually. For approximately 15 years in Mecca, the prophet Muhammad and the Muslims face persecution patiently and keep try to spread the religion of Islam. This patience reached its peak when God gave permission to Muslims to migrate to Yathrib (Medina).

After the Prophet and the Muslims migrated to Medina, Mecca polytheists continued their torture of Muslims

[1] W Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford University Press, London-New York, 1969, page 108

in various ways. Torture and intimidation was considered excessive, until in the end of this case, God sent permission to fight the Mecca polytheists (Surah al-Hajj: 39) in retaliation for the torture over the years.

The next question was why God approve aggressive deed when He does not like those who do aggressive or exceeds the limit. Of course, aggressive action should be in the curse, but only when such actions are not in response to an aggression. But if the act is to reply the aggression, it will not exceed the limits or not acts of aggression. The act is a self-defense against evil, and liberates themselves from shackles of slavery, oppression, and injustice. [2]

2. Analyzing Verses

After described the analysis of the historical situation above, the next is the operation of Double Movement theory. The first movement is look at the verses of the Qur'an, it includes the background, correlation of the Quranic verses that have same theme, and the other theme in order to find specific legal and moral ideal of the Quran verses.

Islam is a religion bringing the spirit of peace and upholding the noble values of humanity. Many verses of al-Quran suggesting about tolerance, respect, and applying a

[2] Muhammad Husain Thabathaba'I, *Tafsir al-Mizan*, Penerbit Lentera, Jakarta, page 117

good attitude to human beings without seeing all forms of religion, race, tribe, nation, culture, traditions, and others has found. Differences serve as the laws (*sunnatullah*) so that people can learn to respect and are able to take lessons from these differences. QS al-Hujarat [49]: 13 "*O mankind! We created you from a single [pair] of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other [not that ye may despise [each other]. Verily the most Honoured of you in the sight of Allah is [he who is] the most righteous of you. And Allah has full knowledge and is well acquainted [with all things]"*

One of very controversial Qur'anic rule and debatable is the battle against non-Muslims. Verses ordering to battle against non-Muslims are often used as the bases of some Islamic extremist groups to legitimate the act of attacking non-Muslims recklessly. It mentioning of recklessly thing because it is without distinction, even civilians who did not know anything become the victims. So is it true that God has commanded Muslim to fight against those other religion (Non-Muslim)? Is it true that war is desired from the verses of the Qur'an?

In the region of direct violence, the concept of jihad is very problematic. This concept is generally understood as a holy war waged Muslims against infidels or enemies of Islam. Although jihad is seen as a basic standard in the relationship

between Muslims and neighbors, it does not mean that Muslim should always be in war. This obligation can be carried out in peace and according to them; Muslim is not always has to use violence against the enemy. [3]

If we see the explanation in Chapter III about the background of ordered of war, the object who has to battle against, the ethics and the rules of war, and the interaction between Qur'an and Arab culture is seen that the war command is not given because Islam hate non Muslims or to force someone to be a Muslim. But this is because of to defense self and belief religious.

On (Surah al-Hajj: 39) The first verse of the war permissibility has a background, it was because of at this time *Mushrik* in Mecca expel prophet and Muslims from their homeland and seize property without a right reason. Finally, The Prophet *Hijrah* to Yathrib (Medina). Expulsion of the prophet and Muslims from their homes was an act of torture and intimidation exceeded the limit. It Just because the prophet brought a new religion and it was considered as the threatened of the existence of Mecca ancestral beliefs on the polytheists, it did not make the prophet Muhammad and the Muslims could be driven away. Expulsion of people from their homes would make someone losing a built life earlier

[3] Budhy Munawar Rachman, *Islam dan Liberalisme*, Friedrich Nauman Stiftung, Jakarta, 2011, Page 263

and should start his new life in a new place. It is an act of infringement of a person's life.

Furthermore, the reason of surah al-Baqarah verse 190-194 talking about the first war command is as a form of Muslim anticipation would the *Quraish* violated Hudaybiyah agreement and attacked Muslim when doing *umrah*. The Qur'an did not order the war directly, but it used the language "Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you ", this is the proof that Muslims are not ordered to fly the flag war beforehand, or are prohibited to make riot and violate another party beforehand. Only when under attack, Muslims are entitled to and have to defend themselves.

Surah at-Tauba, verse 5, 29, 73 also have a nearly equal reason of command war, it is because of there is a threat of attack from both polytheists of Mecca and Arab parties outside as Byzantine. So, this is not a war command without cause and carelessly. War command stated in the Qur'an is a form of self-defense in defending the rights of Muslim life and religion. Every human being when getting threats, torture and intimidation will naturally defend themselves in various ways.

Every society both human and animals is based on the number of classes or natural desire to save themselves from death or extinction. The nature gives a right to each species to utilize everything that can help sustain life. Human has been

given the power of thought, with the power of thought; they can use another creature or object to self-defense. The Nature gives orders and considerations. And one of the considerations is that human being have basic rights to utilize and to defend the basic rights. Those two rights encourage people to conflict when human feel that rights are threatened or in danger. Thereby maintaining human rights is a right encapsulated in the nature, and human entitled to implement this. [4]

More detail the process of commanded the war can be seen in the following table;

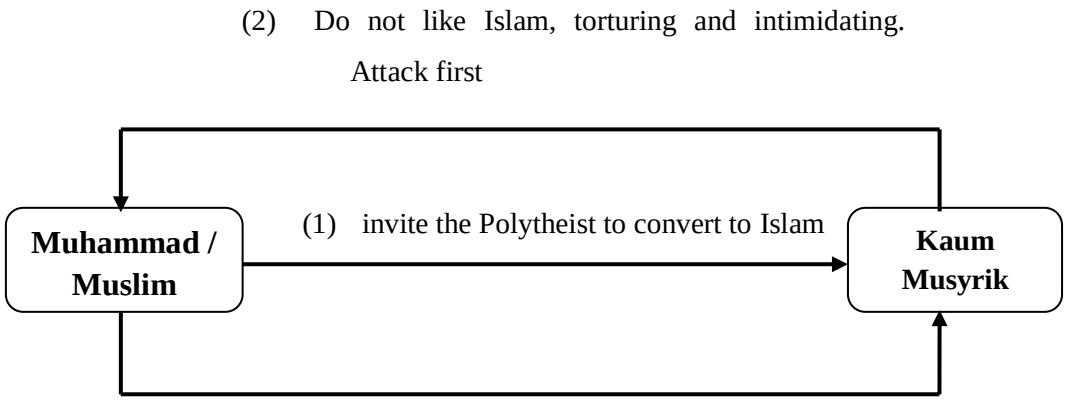


Table 1

Based on the data presented in chapter III then, it can be seen how the war command is finally revealed. First,

[4] Muhammad Husain Thabathaba'I, *Tafsir al-Mizan*, Penerbit Lentera, Jakarta, page 127-129

the prophet Muhammad came with a new religion, and tried to persuade people to embrace the religion of Islam Mecca. Secondly, people who did not want to enter Islam and hate to Islam, felt that religion brought by Muhammad is a threat to the existence of polytheistic religion professed by them, so the polytheist in Mecca tried to get rid of the Islamic religion and gave continuous torture against Muslims, even while still in Mecca. Third, because of the *musyrik* torture had been going on for years and had crossed the line, then the Quran commands Muslims to defend themselves, even with the soul though. So it could be said that the beginning of the war command was also motivated by humanitarian factors which tried to defend the right to life and had a religion.

This war is commanded directly by the Qur'an when the Prophet and the Muslims got the torture of polytheists. Qur'an ordered Muslims to be patient and to be strong to response the torture from the Muysrik in Mecca and to continue the religious preaching with the good way. Apart from the argument saying that unrealized the commanded of war when the prophet in Mecca is because of the strength of the Muslim which has not been great yet, but this order to be patient indicate that bad and negative thing does not always to be faced in a bad way. This is affirmed by several peace agreement prearranged by the

prophets and the polytheists, such as the Hudaybiyah agreement, Medina charter, a peace agreement with the Jews of Khaibar, and other peace agreements. If Islam wanted a war from the beginning, of course al-Qur'an would not call Hudaibiyah agreement as a real victory.

Regarding this Hudaybiyah agreement, had dropped verses named ceasefire or this peace as *fathan mubinan* (the real victory) QS al Fath [48]:

إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُّبِينًا

"*Verily We have granted thee a manifest Victory"*

In this verse, God gives grace to hold the hands of muslim to (destroy) Pagans, and hold human hands to (destroy) them. It is an essential expression of devotion to peace built by both of sides simultaneously. [5]

In give a war command, al-Qur'an gives several rules, limits, and the ethics that should be obedient by Muslims. Like prohibition to exceed the limits, such as killing the elder, women, children, and damaging the environment. They are permitted to attack if the enemy attacked first (Surah al-Baqarah [2]: 190), and if the enemy inclined at peace, the war should be avoided or stopped (Surah al-Anfal [8]: 61-62. All of the thing is done to minimize negative impact arising from the war.

[5] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, Mizan, Bandung, 2010, page 329

Jihad is just a war to defend their selves in facing all of forms of pressure if all of the peace efforts have failed. [6] When Muslims are forced to enter into war required to them, they are ordered to minimize as much as possible of losses, either in relation to casualties or material damage. [7]

In addition, giving attention to the object of the war command mentioned in the Qur'an is needed, is the war commands covering all people in the world that are not belief in Islamic religion? Or it just the temporal thing with talking object is people who have involved the hostility to the prophet at the current time? Let see to war verses more clearly. Who is the object of the war?

- surah al-Baqarah verse 191, explain that kafir word (الكفرين) who had fought by the Prophet are those who violated and do injustice to the Prophet and the companions first. [8]
- Surah at-Tawbah, verse 5, In the context of this verse, the world of *al-musyrikina* (المشركين) is meant as treacherous people who stop the peace grace period for them. Whereas for those who did not treacherous

[6] Asghar Ali Engineer (et.al), *Islam dan Perdamaian Global*, Madyan Press, Yogyakarta, 2002, page 64

[7] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, Mizan, Bandung, 2010, page 329

[8] Nasruddin Umar, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an……,* page 130

and remain in compliance peace agreement within a certain time between them, it does not include the coverage word.[9] In a commentary of Wahbah al-Zuhaili explaining that the command of *al-qatl* in this paragraph is specifically for the Arab polytheists and it is not for others. [10]

- Surah at-Taubah verse 29, some scholars argue that the People of the Book-Ahl Kitab- (الكتاب) are Jews and Christians. People of the Books meant in this verse were not followers of Judaism and Christians in general, but they are the polytheists and the People of the Book who did not belief to the true religion. [11] Nasruddin Umar argued that the context of battle against the People of the Book is those who are partner of Musyrikun who were live in dar al-Harb to fight the Muslim, they were not the People of the Book who live in peace and did not hostile to Muslim.[12]

---

[9] Muhammad Sayyid Thanthawi, *at-Tafsir al-Wasith*, Vol VI, page 206

[10] Wahbah al-Zuhaili, *at-tafsir al-Munir fi al-Aqidah* ……..., page 111

[11] Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Misbah*…., Vol. v, Lentera Hati, Jakarta, 2002, page 73

[12] Nasruddin Umar, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an* ……., page 136

- Surah al-Anfal verse 39, which meant the word "they (وقاتلوهم)" are the Pagans mecca at the prophet time. Because it has been outlined by God that the city of Mecca should be clean from any form of shirk. According to Mutawally ash-Sha'rawi, al-Anfal verse concerns to talk about Arabian Peninsula region, precisely mecca. They can not have two religions. There is only Islamic religion solely, so that the entire compliance is only focused on God.

The commentators interprate that the word of *mushrikun*, *kafirun*, People of the Book (*Ahl Kitab*), and *Munafiqun* are people who hate Islam and fight against to the prophet Muhammad and the Muslim, when the prophet was alive, it does not cover all people in the world throughout the ages. So, non-Muslims who live in the present age who was not involved in a hostily with Muslims are not included in the scope of the war verses.

The next question is why God has finally opted to order war to the prophet Muhammad in facing the idolaters? Why is not the other way if war will become moot and there is a misunderstood possibility by Muslims in the future? Moreover, the other teachings of Islam are upholding peace and tolerance for all people.

It should be noted that impossible for the Islamic religion to remove the war culture in the Arab society at that time. In solving the problem, Arabic society accustomed to use the war way because at that time there is no official institution or principle deal of public interest in regulating the social life, so that the way of peace, like compromise or negotiation is difficult to be done.

Disputes arising among tribes had been resolved by war. This is because of there are no written laws that can be used as guidelines in solve problems. There is only a applicable tradition or custom in each tribe. Another way is with appoint negotiators (*Hakam*), he is a person who designats by agreement between the disputing tribes. *Hakam* also applies ad hoc; it is meant any problems that arise can be resolved by different *Hakam*.[13]

This is worsened by many tortures received by the Prophet Muhammad and the Muslim that has lasted for a dozen years. It does not enough humiliate with words, but also do a physical torture continually until exceed the limits of humanity. As a man who tortured, they will try to defend their selves naturally. After being patient and silent for a dozen years, the form of Muslim self-defense realized to the form of war eventually. War is not a

[13] Ali Sodiqin, "*Antropologi al-Qur'an"*, ar-Ruzz Media, Jogjakarta, page , taken from Joseph G. Schacht, "*An Introdustion to Islamic Law*",

foreign thing to Arabic society, so that when the prophet and Muslims fight, it is one of response to the interaction of cultures and traditions of the Arabic society at the time. If the prophet lives in communities that have not a culture of war, perhaps the prophet will choose another way than war.

Various wars in the prophet Muhammad era are motivated by social and political problems. They maintain the new community from enemy interference, both physical and non-physical disturbance. Like the Arabic societies in general, the group which have physical power will dominate other weak groups. While the non-physical disturbance is forced to maintain *jahiliyyah* teachings that have been maintained for generations. [14] Karen Armstrong depicts Muhammad respects to the old traditions; "In pre-modern society, continuity was crucial. Muhammad did not envisage a violent rupture with the past or with other faith communities. He wanted to root the new scripture in the spiritual landscape of Arabia. "[15]

A interaction forms between al-Qur'an and the local culture at the time indicated that in problem solving, Qur'an teaches to prefer choose the way that appropriate

[14] Imam Yahya, *Tradisi Militer dalam Islam*…… page 114

[15] Karen Amstrong, *Islam A Short History*, A Modern Library Cronical Book, New York, 2000, page 10

with the development and necessities of the times. In the past, prophet chooses the way of war because war is the part of cultural society of the time. But times have changed and every era has own time and trends.

According to the author, explicitly, sending of the command war in the Qur'an is also intended as a sample or model when Muslim face the same situation and condition in the future; such as getting tortured until exceed the limit. So that when faced an emergency situation, Muslim have get a picture of the actions to be carried out with the rules and restrictions in the war. The Qur'an mentions some rules and some restrictions clearly.

One thing that must be recognized that the war is always becomes the alternative form and variety along human life. Ibn Khaldun stated that the war is already a characters (tabi'at) in the history of human life on earth and the laws (*sunnatullah*) that have existed since human history was created first and then down through successive from generation to generation throughout the ages. [16] Wars and other conflicts is an integral part of human life on earth. Qur'an has confirmed this in Surah al-Baqarah [2]: 30 "*Behold, thy Lord said to the angels:" I*

[16] Debby M. Nasution, *Kedudukan Militer dalam Islam dan Peranannya pada Masa Rasulullah SAW*, Taira Wacana, Yogyakarta, 2003, page 1

will create a vicegerent on earth. "They said:" Wilt Thou place Therein one who will Therein the make mischief and shed blood? - whilst we do celebrate Thy praises and Glorify Thy holy [name]? " He said: "I know what ye know not.". There are two common human natures expressed in this verse, it is: "make damage (chaos) and shed blood". Most commentators said that "making damage" in this verse is doing immoral acts or violate to the God's laws. While, shed blood is doing fraudulence and hostility. [17]

From the analysis above, it can be taken some arguments affirming that Islam does not;

- It is recommended to be patient and prefer the peace way when there are some people who violate and disrupt. For a dozen years Prophet Muhammad and the companions has\d been patient in facing persecution from the Muysrik and did not hasty in taking the step of war. And there are also many verses of the Qur'an that suggest to do a kindness and tolerant of every human being without see the differences.
- If the enemy is more inclined to peace, so the way of peace must be taken and left the battle. Surah al-Anfal [8]: 61-62

[17] Debby M. Nasution, *Kedudukan Militer dalam Islam* …….page 2

- The orders of war in the Qur'an are the last way taken by the Prophet when the peace can not be done. It has been practiced by the prophet when taking Hudaybiyah agreements, and other peace agreements with several tribes in Arabia.
- This order of war is also a form of interaction between the Qur'an and social culture at the time.
- When the war way was taken, there are some rules and ethics to be followed by Muslims, in order to minimize a loss and negative impacts. Such as the prohibition to exceed the limits, it may permit to attack in balance with a given attack from the enemy (al-Baqarah [2]: 194).
- The Object of war who mentioned in verses is temporal. The commentators interprete *mushrikun*, *kafirun*, and People of the Book (*Ahl Kitab*) in the war verses as people who hostile and torture Muslims at that time.

From the explanation above, concluded that the order of battle against verses have a specific legal of the order to battle against non-Muslims who are fight Muslims first. But because of the Qur'an emphasizes jihad with the heart, oral, and soul, unfixated only on the form of armed warfare, so this battle against non-Muslims is not the main purpose to be conveyed by this verses. Value or ideal

moral that can be taken is to defend it all out if getting torture without right reason, the right of life and religious beliefs convinced has been annoyed, restricted, and even pulled. However, the suggestion to defend itself does not always realized by war, the problems that can be resolved by peaceful way are suggested to prefer the choice of peace way, because in the Qur'an, there are also many verses that suggest to make a good relations with fellow human beings and try to bring peace in the world .

Defend religion is the duty of every Muslim throughout life, but this defense form could be implemented by variety of ways. In the past, Prophet Muhammad defended Islamic religion with battle against because war is a habit of Arabic community at the time. But time has changed; it is not exactly same with prophet era, then the way to preach and to defend the religion is adapted with the developments and the necessities of the era. So in his double movement theory, Rahman emphasized the need to look at the context of the development of the contemporary era.

B. The Concept of Battle Against Non Muslim in the Contemporary Era

From the previous discussion, it has been explained that the ideal moral that can be drawn from the war verses is an order to defend their selves if the right of life and the Islamic religion are attacked or harassed by other parties. And war is not the main purpose of those verses, because the order of war is a response to the Arabic culture that makes war as a means to resolve disputes, and the Qur'an also makes war as a last way to resolving a problem. So, these verses can not be legitimated in acts of violence and battle against non-Muslims. As human know that currently there are several Islamic extremist groups who legalize action to fight non-Muslims indiscriminately, such as ISIS group. Using of this verse of the Qur'an As expressed by Imam Samudra that in the forbore step, Muslim should be patient and forbearing from the harshness of non Muslim, Allah give the limitation in the QS al-Baqarah verse 190 “Until His command comes..”. Before the command of battle comes into Muslim society, they should have to forbore them self. Now the command to war is came, like wrote in the QS at-Taubah verse 5 “fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them”. And QS at-Taubah: 29 “Fight those who believe not in Allah”. Thus, the battle against colonized civil society is a fair measure for the sake of balances and justness. Blood responded by blood, life responded by life and civil responded by civil. That is a balance (an-Nahl: 126). This

obligation (battle against non Muslim) more explicitly explain in the QS al-Baqarah verse 216, this verse teach that leaving the jihad is a sin. [18]

Using war verses as the legitimacy of war is less precise. Because of the context and main idea of the Qur'an was not to fight to all of non-Muslims. This is affirmed by many verses of the Qur'an ordered to establish peaceful relations and good cooperation with all human beings and to keep tolerance. And during the process of the spread of Islam in Arabic, prophet always tried to show Islam as a religion of peace and upheld the values of humanity.

The importance of peace value is also contained in (Surah 8: 61) "*But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou [also] incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is One that heareth and knoweth [all things]"* This verse sent down when relations between groups are based on the principle of conflict. Conciliation of social groups or tribes only happen if there is an agreement (*'ahd*) between them. However, now relations between groups or countries are based on the principles of peace, so that the scholars and Muslim intellectuals make the value of peace as a fundamental value in the state and social life now. [19]

---

[18] Imam Samudra, *Aku Melawan Teroris*, Jazera, Solo, 2004, page. 118-129

[19] Budhy Munawar Rachman, Islam dan Liberalisme, Friedrich Nauman Stiftung, Jakarta, 2011, Page 265

The situation of Prophet Muhammad era in Arabia is totally different with situation and condition of the current contemporary era. In the prophet era war is not a crime against humanity; war is a tradition of Arab society in resolving disputes among tribes. So that, every perpetrator of war will not be punished. At that time it has not been found general agreement in regulating social life.

This is very different from the present era which human has already had agreements and national or international legislations regulating social life especially about human rights and security. On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations has approved the Universal declaration of Human Rights, which is contained a list of the fundamental rights of the human family, as a joint standard for all of people and all of nations. It was the first time to human reaching a humanitarian agreement to aspire the earth as a more humane of human habitation. At the time, it was the first time to all of nations declaring similar universal, value and recognition that every human on this earth has the same rights, no matter what their gender, skin color, race, nationality, language, economic status, religion, and so on. Human rights apply to all of human beings. [20]

[20] M. Grufran H. Kordi K, *HAM Tentang Perbudakan, Peradilan, Kejahatan Kemanusiaan dan Perang*, Graha Ilmu, Yogyakarta, 2013, page vii

The acts of war have been categorized in exceptional crimes that violate human rights. So, every perpetrator will be punished according to the severity of his actions. It is like what had been written on the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, August 8, 1945 and strengthened by resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 3 (I) February 13, 1946 and 95 (I) December 11, 1946. Or the London Charter, which contains;

II. JURISDICTION AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES[21]

Article 6.

The Tribunal established by the Agreement referred to m Article 1 hereof for the trial and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis countries shall have the power to try and punish persons who, acting in the interests of the European Axis countries, whether as individuals or as members of organizations, committed any of the following crimes.

The following acts, or any of them, are crimes coming within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal for which there shall be individual responsibility:

(a) CRIMES AGAINST PEACE: *namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing;*

(b) WAR CRIMES: *namely, violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton*

[21] http://avalon.law.yele.edu/imt/imtconst.asp taken on (Friday, 30 April 2015)

destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity;

(c)CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY: *namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war; or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated.*

Leaders, organizers, instigators and accomplices participating in the formulation or execution of a common plan or conspiracy to commit any of the foregoing crimes are responsible for all acts performed by any persons in execution of such plan.

War crime is not considered as a normal thing, but it is a crime against humanity opposed by all of people in the world. Although in practice, acts of war and violence are still done by a certain small group. But in other side the general public worldwide never stops to support and efforts to end the war. It is evident from many supports to end the war in Palestine and the war in other state, ranging from diplomatic way, material and immaterial support, or the number of critiques to act of war at September 21 in WTC and Pentagon building.

A choice to take war way commanded by the Qur'an is a respond and interaction between al-Qur'an and the social culture at that time. It indicates that the message of the Qur'an that handling and solving of the problems in order to look at the situation of society and appropriate to the era's necessities. It is as a manifestation of the character of al-Qur'an which gives a response to any developments of human civilization (*sholihun li*

kulli zaman wal makan). So human must be careful in looking at the situation of the times and do not swaying by past civilizations.

Reality of social changes happening today is different with the social changes occurred in society over the years. A prominent identity of the nowadays changes is a strong, rapid and radical influence by science developments and technology (Science and Technology), began from new discoveries (discovery) in science and technology, followed by engineering of various fields of science and technology (invention), such as computers, biotech, outer space technology, etc. then proceed with development and innovation steps. The application of science and technology has become a driver of change almost in all sectors of life, which is physical; such as construction, transportation, mechanical, and others until the mental nature as orientation, paradigms, ethics and religion. [22]

Therefore form of jihad has changed over times. Arm War does not become the only way to be done. Muslim does not need the mobilization of the army to get rid of the tyrannical forces. In the contemporary era, mass media is one of the most effective ways to deliver propaganda, through the broadcasts with various languages and also through satellite media which has become one

[22] Muhammad Tholhah Hasan, *Prospek Islam dalam Menghadapi Tantangan*, Lantabora Press, Jakarta, 2005 Page 132

of the greatest tools in war of idea and contemporary propaganda. [23]

So the fight spirit of Prophet Muhammad and the companions can be manifested in more responded thing and fulfill the necessity of ages, it does not always used arm (hard power) but use another thing (soft power). Dreams to rebuild the Islamic civilization can be done with interactions and efforts of Muslim in learning of science, technology, health, industry, and others that will be able to show Islam as a religion which is able to interact with all ages.

Although time has changed very significantly, it is not accompanied by an increase of human welfare prevalently. There are many people who are still living in the limited condition both economy, education, health, security, and so forth. "Invisible war" such as poverty, deprivation, hunger, disease, unemployment, discrimination, exploitation, racism, apartheid, and pressure are factor of peace pest whose levels did not differ with the "look of war" such as aggression and invasion. [24] So it also means as a right jihad for present situation, where fight spirit of Muhammad can be realized to help fellow human beings in order to get the prevalent prosperity and security.

---

[23] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, Mizan, Bandung, 2010, page 145-146

[24] Asghar Ali Engineer (et.al), *Islam dan Perdamaian Global*, Madyan Press, Yogyakarta, 2002, page 62

There are a benefit effect and a positive influence which mean bringing progress and development from community or social changes, but there are also adverse effects and bringing setbacks (Regress) of social changes like many social changes which make society drowning in problems and cannot take a proper attitude toward the new state. [25]

Rahman's Double Movement theory emphasizes to see the contemporary situation carefully and thoroughly. This is done in order to make ideal moral of Qur'an can really answer and solve the challenges and necessities of the ages. However, the authors added that emphasizing prudence to see the situation of the contemporary era is done so that Muslims consider to the rules of law and the belief (*aqidah*) in the religion of Islam. So, the application of these ideal moral remains in line with the values and ethics of Islam. Such as the rapid development of technology era does not make us sway and forget about spiritual values of religion. So, the efforts to respond the times will be able to synergize with the spirit of upholding religious values.

Islamic society got strong enough clash and struggle of thought, on the one hand it is required to adapt to the various changes occurred in social life. Facing such symptoms, the attitude and the effort must not only maintain and rebuild all of culture aspect that ever achieve with all its dimensions, but star up

[25] Muhammad Tholhah Hasan, *Prospek Islam dalam Menghadapi Tantangan*, Lantabora Press, Jakarta, 2005 Page 19

Islam with the universal and the principle truth values, in a dynamic social system, while providing space which has quite process of science development, technology and other new discoveries. [26]

[26] Muhammad Tholhah Hasan, *Prospek Islam dalam Menghadapi Tantangan*, Lantabora Press, Jakarta, 2005 Page 17-18

BAB V

EPILOGUE

A. Conclusion

After doing research on the concept of battle against non Muslim applying Fazlur Rahman's double movement theory, the author can conclude some point;

1. Textually Qur'an clearly give command to fight non-Muslims who annoy or harass Islamic religion. But if we look deeper at the verses, will be found that it is have its own reasons. When Muslims are attacked and tortured by Mecca polytheists continuously until beyond the humanity limits, God order Muslims to defend themselves with replay their attacks in balance. This command war is a form of self-defense of torture without any justifiable reason. The application of Fazlur Rahman's double movement theory also reinforce this conclusion with added facts revealed by understanding socio-history situation of Arab society critically. At the time Arabic culture has made the war as a way to resolve the problems among the tribes, so the war is not be crimes against humanity. War was a common and normal, who is strong will be survive, so the command war in the Qur'an is also one of interaction between Qur'an and social culture at that time. so the ideal moral to be drawn from this command war verses is a command to defend self if get the torture and intimidation without any justifiable reason, this is a form of self-defense

which should be adjusted to the development and the necessities of every age, not always with war. Because the Koran order to jihad with the heart, oral, and soul.

2. In the contemporary era now, war verses are often used as legitimating for some parties to commit acts of war and aggression against non-Muslims. From the results of this study it can re-interpret that opinion and affirm that Qur'an is never ordered to attack every people especially non Muslim arbitrarily, every attack must have a clear and right reason. This is reinforced by many Qur'anic verses are order to do good relations, tolerance, mutual respect and respect for fellow human beings. So using of Quranic verses as the basis for attacks on non-Muslims are a wrong base. This condition is not apply when we get attacks from other parties like happen in Palestine, Iran, and other countries. Under such conditions jihad with the heart, oral, and even life to be deployed over backwards. From this research indicate that we have to open our mind about the concept of war or *jihad*, we have to see to one of Qur'anic massage that form of jihad is appropriate with the era, and contemporary era now is different with Prophet Muhammad era. The development of contemporary era now is attend to science and technology, so the form of Muslim *jihad* can implemented by study all of sciences that can growing Islamic civilization deeply. Or can

implemented by help human especially Muslim who still in the low prosperity level, like economy, education, health, etc.

B. Suggestion

As a scientific study, this paper still so far from perfectness, and probably still many things to be improved, added, or subtracted from this paper. Now we often here assumptions of the various parties that many of the Qur'anic doctrine are deemed contrary to the development of social value at the current time. So that reading of the Qur'an and contextualization with contemporary era is one of the priority needs of the Islamic religion today, because as Muslims in general believed that Qur'an is a holy book and guarded by God directly, so it will be always appropriate with all forms of the times (*sholihun li kulli wal meal times*).

Command war of the Koran is one of often debatable theme by Muslims themselves even parties outside of Islam. During mindset that form of jihad is only with hard power (war), then the theme of war will always be a dynamic theme for discussion. And now many Islamic scholars develop various theories in the reading of Qur'an. Fazlur Rahman's theory is just one of the existing theory, and casually the authors deem it suitable in the study of the war. So that the reader may have a view of another theory that if more suitable in order to read the verses of war, or other verses that still get a debate.

C. Closing

By saying thanks to Allah who has been blessing and giving mercies to researcher, it is a great gift from him through finishing this final project. Although the researcher has worked maximally, yet the researcher is sure that work is still far from perfectness and also less satisfying. Critique and comment which are constructive are always and continuously needed by the researcher.

At least, the researcher hopes that this work will be valuable and beneficial for the researcher especially and the others who concern any other field of study generally.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdurrahman, et.al, *Al-Qur'an dan isu-isu kontemporer*, eLSAQ Press, Yogyakarta, 2011.

A. Djazuli, *Fiqh Siyasah Implementasi Kemaslahatan Ummat dalam Rambu-Rambu Syari'ah*, Kencana, Jakart, 2000.

al-Ashbahani, Raghib, *Mu'jam Mufradat Alfazh al-Qur'an*, Dar al-Fikr, Bairut, t.th.

al-Baqi, Muhammad Fu'ad 'Abd, *Mu'jam al-Muhfaras li Alfaz al-Qur'an al-Karim*, Dar al-Fikr, Bairut, 1981.

al-Daqs, Kamil Salamah, *Ayat al-Jihad fi al-Qur'anul Karim,* Dar al-Bayan, Kuwait, 1972.

Ali, Maulana Muhammad, *Islamologi (Dinul Islam)*, PT Ichtiar Baru van Hoeve, Jakarta, 1977.

al-Ittiham, Syauqi, *Islam Menjawab Tuduhan*, Pustakan Al-Kautsar, Jakarta, 2006.

al-Qistholani, Irsyad al-Syari', *in* Abu Bakar, *Jihad dalam al-Qur'an*, Dialogia, Vol.2 No. 2, july-Desember 2004.

al-Syarqani, Effat, *Filsafat Kebudayaan Islam*, Trans. Ahmad Rafi' Usmani, Pustaka, Bandung, 1986.

al-Zuhaili, Wahbah, *at-tafsir al-Munir fi al-Aqidah wa as-Syari'ah wa al-Manhaj*, Juz 26, Dar al-Fikr al-Mu'ashir, Bairut, 1998.

Amal, Taufik Adnan, *Islam dan Tantangan Modernitas Studi Atas Pemikiran Hukum Fazlur Rahman*, Mizan, Bandung, 1994.

Amstrong, Karen, *Islam A Short History,* A Modern Library Cronical Book, New York, 2000.

Aprilianika, Jessi, *Reaktualisasi Konsep Pembagian Harta Waris 2:1 (Telaah Ktiris Terhadap Penerapan Teori Double Movement Dalam Menafsirkan ayat Tentang Pembagian Waris 2:1),* Thesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga: 2009.

ash-Shiddieqy, TM. Hasbi, *al-Islam*, Jilid 2, PT Pustaka Rizki Putra, Semarang, 2001.

as-Suyuthi, Jalaluddin, *Sebab turunnya Ayat al-Qur'an*, Darut Taqwa, Depok, 2008.

ath-Thabari, Abu Ja'far bin Jarir, *Tafsir ath-Thabari,* Pustaka Azzam, Jakarta, 2009.

Baharun, Hasan, et.al, *Metodologi Studi Islam: Percikan Pemikiran Tokoh dalam Membumikan Agama,* ar-Ruzz Media, Yogyakarta, 2011.

Boisard, Marcel A., *L' Humanisme de L'Islam*, trans. M. Rasyidi, "*Humanisme dalam Islam*", Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1980.

Dahlan, Abdul Aziz, et. al, (ed), *Ensiklopedi Hukum Islam, jilid 4*, Jakarta: PT Ichtiar Baru VanHoeve, 1997.

Dahlan, Abdur Rahman, *Kaidah-Kaidah Penafsiran Al-Qur'an*, Mizan, Bandung 199.

E. Sumaryono , *Hermeneutik: Sebuah Metode Filsafat*, Kanisius, Yogyakarta, 2003.

Endang Saefuddin Anshari, *Wawasan Islam Pokok-pokok Fikiran tentang Islam dan Umatnay,* Rajawali, Jakarta, 1986.

Engineer, Asghar Ali (et.al), *Islam dan Perdamaian Global*, Madyan Press, Yogyakarta, 2002.

Ghanim, Abdul Aziz, *Perang dan Damai Dalam Al-Qur'an*, Gema Insani Press, Jakarta,1989.

H.A.A. Dahlan, (ed). *Asbabun Nuzul Latar Belakang Historis Turunnya Ayat-Ayat al-Qur'an,* CV Diponogoro, Bandung, 2000.

Hitti, Philip K., *History of Arabs*, Trans. R. Cecep Lukman Yasin dkk., Serambi, Jakarta, 2005.

Hasan, Muhammad Tholhah, *Prospek Islam dalam Menghadapi Tantangan*, Lantabora Press, Jakarta, 2005.

Ibn Qayyim, *Zad al-Ma'ad*, Matba'ah al-Misriyah, t.th.

Katsir, Ibnu, *Terjemah Singkat Tafsir Ibnu Katsir*, Bina Ilmu, Surabaya, 1988.

Kholiluddin, Tedi, *Kuasa Negara Atas Agama*, Rasail, Semarang, 2009.

Levy, Ruben, *Susunan Masyarakat Islam*, trans. H.A Ludjito, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, 2000.

Ma'luf, Luis, *al-Munjid fi al-Lughah wa al-A'lam*, Dar al-Masyriq, Bairut, 1986.

Manzhu, Ibn, *Lisan al-Arab*, jilid V, Dar al-Ma'arif, Kairo.

Maulidin, *Sketsa Hermeneutika*, in journal Studi Agama dan Demokrasi "Gerbang", Lembaga Studi Agama dan Demokrasi (eLSAD) Surabaya, No. 14, Vol. V, 2003.

Meleong, Lexy J., *Metodolo gi Penelitian Kualitatif*, Remaja Rosda Karya, Bandung, 1993.

Milla, Mirra Noor, *Mengapa Memilih Jalan Teror : Analisis Psikologi Pelaku Teror*, Gadjah Mada Press, Yogyakarta, 2010.

Muhammad, Abu al-Qasim al-Husnin Ibn, *al-Mufradat fi Gharub al-Qur'an*, Dar al-Ma'rifah, Bairut, t.th.

Munawir, Ahmad Warson, *Kamus al-Munawir*, al-Munawir, Jogjakarta, 1984.

Muthahhari, Murtadha, *Memahami Pelajaran Tematis al-Qur'an Pelajaran Tematis Tentang Pengetahuan Akidah, Akhlak, dan Kehidupan Sehari-hari*, Sadra, Jakarta, 2012.

Nasution, Debby M., *Kedudukan Militer dalam Islam dan Peranannya pada Masa Rasulullah SAW*, Taira Wacana, Yogyakarta, 2003.

Nata, Abudin, (ed), *Kajian Tematik al-Qur'an tentang Konstruksi Sosial*, Angkasa, Bandung, 2008.

Palmer, Richard E., *Hermeneutika: Teori Baru Mengenai Interpretasi*, Musnur Hery & Damanhuri Muhammad (trans)., Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, 2003.

Pulungan, J. Suyuthi, *Prinsip-prinsip Pemerintahan dalam Piagam Madinah Ditinjau dari Pandangan al-Qur'an,* RajaGrafindo Persada, Jakarta, 1996.

Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1994.

Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al misbah Pesan, Kesan, dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an,* Vol. I , V, Lentera hati, Jakarta, 2012.

Qutub, Sayyid, *Islam and Universal Peace*, Terj. Dedi Junaedi, "*Perdamaian dan Keadilan Sosial*", Akdemika Pressindo, Jakarta, 1996.

Rachman, Budhy Munawar, *Islam dan Liberalisme*, Friedrich Nauman Stiftung, Jakarta, 2011.

Rahman, Fazlur, *Islam and Modernity*, The University of Chicago, London,1984.

Rahman, Fazlur, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1982.

Rahman, Fazlur, *Islamic Modernism: its Scope, Method, and Alternative*, International Journal of Middle Eastern Studied, Vol. 1, no. 4, 1970.

Rahman, Fazlur, *Tema Pokok al-Qur'an*, Penerbit Pustaka, Bandung, 1983.

Ridho, Muhammad Rasyid, *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Ahkam al-Syahrir bi Tafsir al-Manar*, juz II, Dar al-Manar, Cairo, 1954.

Ridwan, Nur Nhalik, *Detik-detik Pembongkaran Agama, Mempopulerkan Agama Kebajikan, Menggagas Pluralisme-pembebasan*, Arruz Book Gallery, Yogyakarta, 2003.

Rusmadi, *Tafsir Kontekstual (Studi Atas Pemikiran Hermenutika Double Movements Fazlur Rahman Terhadap Ayat-ayat Kisah Kaum Nabi Luth as. Dalam al-Qur'an),* Mini Thesis, Ushuluddin Faculty, UIN Walisongo, Semarang, 2006.

Sabiq Sayid, *Anashir al-Quwwah fi al-Islam,* trans. Haryono S. Yusuf, "*Unsur-Unsur Dinamika Dalam Islam*", Intermasa, Jakarta, 1981.

Sabiq, Sayyid, *Fiqh al-Sunnah*, Juz. III, Maktabah Dâr al-Turast, Kairo, 1970.

Saleh, Ahmad Syukri, *Metodologi Tafsir Al-Qur'an Kontomporer dalam Pandangan Fazlur Rahman,* , Sulthan Thaha Press, Jambi, 2007.

Samudra, Imam, Aku Melawan Teroris, Solo, Jazera, 2004.

Shiddiqie, Nourouzzaman, *Pengantar Sejarah Muslim*, Nur Cahaya, 1983. Sibawaihi, *Hermeneutik Al-Qur'an Fazlur Rahman*, Jalasutra, Yogyakarta, 2007.

Sibawaihi, *Eskatologi Al-Ghazali dan Fazlur Rahman, Studi Komparatif Epistimologi Klasik-Kontemporer,* Islamika, Yogyakarta, 2004.

Sodiqin, Ali, *Antropologi al-Qur'an*, ar-Ruzz Media, Jogjakarta.

Syakir, Syaikh Ahmad, *Mukhtashar tafsir Ibnu Katsir*, III, Darus Sunnah press, Jakarta, 2012.

Taufik Adnan Amal, *Islam dan Tantangan Modernitas Studi atas Pemikiran Hukum Fazlur Rahman*, Mizan, Bandung, 1994.

Thabathaba'I, Muhammad Husain, *Tafsir al-Mizan*, Penerbit Lentera, Jakarta.

Thoyib I.M and Sugiyanto, *Islam dan Pranata Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, Remaja Rosdakarya , Bandung, 2002.

Ulwah, Abdullah Nashih, *Sikap Islam Terhadap Non Muslim*, Pustaka al-Kautsar, Yogyakarta, 1990.

Umar, Nasruddin, *Deradikalisasi Pemahaman al-Qur'an dan Hadis*, Kompas Gramedia, Jakarta, 2014.

Wardani, *Ayat Pedang Versus Ayat Damai Menafsir Ulang Teori Naskh dalam al-Qur'an*, Kementrian Agama RI, 2011.

Watt, W Montgomery, *Muhammad Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford University Press, London-New York, 1969.

Yahya, Imam, *Dialektika Perang dalam Sejarah Islam*, IAIN Walisongo Press, Semarang, 2007.

Yahya, Imam, *Tradisi Militer dalam Islam*, Loging Pustaka, Jogjakarta, 2010.

Yatim, Badri, *Sejarah peradaban Islam*, PT Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2003.

Yusuf Qardhawi, *Fiqh Jihad*, Mizan, Bandung, 2010.

Yusuf Qardhawi, *Minoritas Non Muslim di dalam Masyarakat Islam*, Mizan, Bandung, 1985, page 15-16.

Yusuf Al Qardhawi, *Kebangkitan Gerakan Islam dari Masa Transisi Menuju Kematangan*, terj. Abdullah Hakam Shah dan M. Aunul Abied Shah, Pustaka Al Kautsar , Jakarta, 2002.

Rahmawati, Erik Sabti, *Perbandingan Hermeneutika dan Tafsir* (pdf), taken from http://psikologi.uin-malang.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Perbandingan-Hermeneutika-Dan-Tafsir.pdf (Friday, 10 April, 2015).

CURICULUM VITAE

Name : **Emi Irfa**

Place, Date of Birth : **Demak, 21 September 1992**

Original Address : **Morodemak – Bonang-Demak**

Current Address : **Perum Bank Niaga blok C2 Ngaliyan Semarang**

Phone Number : **08983346490**

E-Mail : **emyirfah.biruputih@gmail.com**

FORMAL EDUCATION

MI Bustanul Huda, Demak (2004)

MTs Sunan Barmawi, Demak (2007)

MA Roudhotul Ulum Guyangan, Pati (2010)

NON FORMAL EDUCATION

Madrasah Diniyyah Qomaruddin, Demak (2007)

Pondok Pesantren Roudhotul Ulum Guyangan, Pati (2010)

English Summer Course at ACCESS-ES, Pare Kediri (2011)

ORGANIZATION EXPERIENCE

Department of Education OSIS MTs Sunan Barmawi, Demak (2008 / 2009)

Development of human resource Department of Ma'had Ulol Albab (2013)

Research and Discussion Division of Lembaga Pers Mahasiswa IDEA (2012-2013)

Pemimpin Redaksi LPM IDEA (2013-2014)