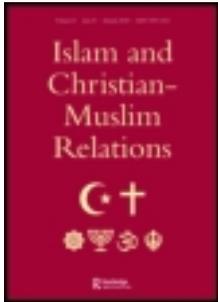


This article was downloaded by: [Ahmad Najib Burhani]

On: 20 December 2013, At: 14:15

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cicm20>

The Ahmadiyya and the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia: Controversies and Influences

Ahmad Najib Burhani^a

^a Research Center for Society and Culture (PMB), Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Jakarta, Indonesia

Published online: 18 Dec 2013.

To cite this article: Ahmad Najib Burhani , Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations (2013): The Ahmadiyya and the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia: Controversies and Influences, Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, DOI: [10.1080/09596410.2013.864191](https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2013.864191)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2013.864191>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

The Ahmadiyya and the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia: Controversies and Influences

Ahmad Najib Burhani*

Research Center for Society and Culture (PMB), Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Jakarta, Indonesia

As an organization of foreign origin, the existence and contribution of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia has been a subject of debate. Some scholars ignore it completely as unimportant, while others consider that it has had significant influence. The contribution of the Ahmadiyya to Indonesian Islam most asserted by the movement itself is its efforts to check and respond to Christian missionary activity. In what way has the movement actually made a contribution to that effort? How widespread is the influence of the Ahmadiyya in the discourse on Christianity, in particular, and the study of comparative religion, in general, in Indonesia? Why has the Ahmadiyya paid more attention to the issue of Christianity than other Muslim groups? This article aims to answer these questions by analysing literature on Christianity written and distributed by the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia and the effect this has had on relations between Islam and Christianity in two fields – religious mission and academia. The article presents three propositions. First, Ahmadiyya literature, with its apologetic, polemical and controversial character, had a significant influence on the academic study of comparative religion during two periods of instability: the late colonial era and the first two decades after the declaration of independence in 1945. Second, Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity has been most influential through the way it sets out to create a sense of the superiority of Islam and its compatibility with modernity. Third, for the Ahmadiyya, the issue of Christianity, particularly the death of Jesus, has been used as evidence that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is the second Messiah.

Keywords: religious mission; comparative religion; *tabshīr* (missionary activity); inter-religious dialogue; conversion

Introduction

Most studies of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia focus on either the current situation – i.e. the persecution of this group – or the movement's early history in the country. The history of the movement – often considered by mainstream Muslims as the most influential “heretical” group in Islam – between these two periods is still under-researched or only mentioned in passing in a number of studies. This is understandable since there have been only a few occasions when the movement has come to public attention in the intermediary period. Examples are the issue of plagiarism of the Indonesian official translation of the Qur'an published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs in 1965; the fatwa from the *Rābiṭat al-Ālam al-Islāmī* (World Muslim League) on Qadianism in 1974; the fatwa from the *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (MUI – Indonesian Council of Ulama) on the Qadiani Ahmadiyya in 1980 and the follow-up statement from the Ministry of Religious Affairs in 1984; and the alleged insult to the picture of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad published by *Serial Media Dakwah* in its 172nd edition, in October 1988.

Among the most important issues that tend to be ignored and neglected in the history of Indonesian Islam is how Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity has influenced Indonesian

*Email: najib27@yahoo.com

Muslims in their relations with and treatment of Christianity. The discourse on Christianity in the Muhammadiyah, the *Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia* (DDII – Indonesian Council for Islamic Propagation), the *Yayasan Penyiaran Islam* (YAPI – Foundation for the Propagation of Islam), the *Persatuan Islam* (Persis – Islamic Union), and other Muslim institutions that have missionary departments, as will be elaborated in this article, seems to be greatly influenced by the Ahmadiyya.¹ This is not merely a historical observation; it still applies up to the present day. It seems that the way these organizations perceive and treat Christianity at the present time still resembles the treatment of it by the Ahmadiyya. It is therefore important to ask how Muslim preachers (*dā'is*) and *muballighs* (propagators or proselytizers) in these organizations, particularly those who have to deal with Christian missions, make use of Ahmadiyya books on Christianity. In addition, beyond missionary activities, how does this literature influence the sources used for the study of comparative religion in Islamic higher education? And, finally, why has the Ahmadiyya given so much attention to the study of Christianity?

The Ahmadiyya, established in India in 1889, has produced an extensive literature on Christianity. Almost every scholar in this movement has contributed to the enrichment of this type of literature, starting with its founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. According to a statement by one of the Ahmadiyya's staunch opponents, S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi of Pakistan, Christianity is the primary subject of the books produced by the Ahmadiyya and its founder to the extent that "if the writings of the Mirza on the question of Messiah were to be expunged from his works, hardly anything of significance will be left in them" (Nadwi 1967, 147).

This conclusion is stated by Nadwi in his discussion about the contributions of the Ahmadiyya to the Muslim world.² Nadwi's statement may not be entirely true, but the Ahmadiyya's discussion of Christianity is nevertheless its major contribution, if it can be called so, to the Muslim world. Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity is known for its apologetic, controversial, and polemic character. Christians are often irritated or outraged by this approach because it does not show respect for Christianity, its apostles, or its teachings (Gardner 1919; Stanton 1925). At the academic level, some scholars, such as Karel A. Steenbrink (1990), completely ignore the Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity, not considering it worthy to be included among the sources for the study of comparative religion in Indonesia.

The arrival and development of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia

The history of the arrival of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia has been elaborated in many studies (see, for example, Blood 1974; Zulkarnain 2005; Beck 2005). It is enough to state here that there are two branches of the Ahmadiyya; the *Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia* (GAI – Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement), known as the Lahore Ahmadiyya, and the *Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia* (JAI – Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community), known as the Qadiani Ahmadiyya.³ The GAI is known as a reformist and modernist movement that had more appeal to the Western or Dutch-educated intelligentsia, whereas the JAI has represented itself as an ethical and mystical movement whose particular appeal lies in its messianic and mystical beliefs and organizational cohesion, and the morality and religiosity of its members.⁴

As an intellectual movement, the GAI is less concerned with organization and membership than with spreading its influence. This is perhaps the reason why in 1926 Mirza Wali Ahmad Baig, the first and last Lahore Ahmadiyya missionary from India sent to Indonesia, refused the suggestion from Djojosingito, a Muhammadiyah activist who moved to and led the GAI, to establish the Ahmadiyya as a formal organization after relations between the followers of Baig and the Muhammadiyah deteriorated. He asserted that he had come to Indonesia not to establish the Ahmadiyya movement, but to help Indonesian Muslims defend Islam from the attacks of enemies and to show the superiority of Islam over other religions (Soedewo 1937, 94–95).

It was only after the rupture that he endorsed the establishment of a formal organization for Lahore Ahmadiyya members.

Although the Lahore Ahmadiyya was officially established on December 10, 1928, it was not legally registered (as *De Ahmadijah Beweging* or *Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia* [GAI]) until September 28, 1929. This is because the application for legal recognition by the government of the Dutch East Indies was only submitted nine months after the official establishment of the organization. After Indonesian independence from the Netherlands in 1945, the GAI registered the organization with the Ministry of Religious Affairs so that it could be listed as a religious movement. On December 27, 1963, the Ministry of Religious Affairs registered it under number 18/II (Soewindo 1982, 14).

After its establishment, the main activity of the GAI was not recruiting members, but translating the Qur'an and Ahmadiyya books into Dutch, Javanese, and Malay/Indonesian. According to H. M. Bachrun (1979, 14), up to the 1940s the GAI had only 400 members. The quantitative growth of the movement was mostly a side effect of the publication and translation project, not of its efforts to proselytize (GAI n.d., 121). The movement did have a missionary programme, but rather than sending missionaries to remote places or islands in Indonesia, the GAI missionaries were prepared to be sent to the Netherlands, a Christian country and the colonizer of Indonesia (Yasir and Yatimin 1989, 39).⁵ Given that the GAI has paid little attention to efforts to convert Muslims to the Ahmadiyya (in contrast to the JAI, which is obsessed with converting people), it is understandable that its membership stagnated. In 1974, as observed by Tempo (1974), its membership still stood at between 500 and 1000 persons, while it had fallen to 708 members in 1980 (Tempo 1980).

In contrast to the GAI, the JAI placed strong emphasis on organization and membership, but was less concerned with intellectual issues. Not long after the arrival of Rahmat Ali, the first JAI missionary from India, in Tapaktuan, Aceh, on October 2, 1925, the first branch of the JAI was established there with around 13 members (*Alislam.org* n.d.; Zulkarnain 2005, 177–178, 212).⁶ After Rahmat Ali moved to Padang, the second branch of this movement was established there in 1926. In short, a new branch would immediately be established anywhere the JAI arrived whenever the minimum requirement (three people) had been fulfilled (Muryadi 2005, 126). All the branches of the JAI came under the movement's hierarchical structure, based first in Qadian (then Rabwah, and London).⁷ They had a chain of command with the headquarters in London and each branch organizationally under the control and leadership of a higher office. Furthermore, in contrast to the GAI, which had only one missionary from the Indian subcontinent, the headquarters of the JAI continuously sent missionaries to Indonesia. They included Rahmat Ali, Muhammad Sadiq, Sayid Shah Muhammad, Malik Aziz Ahmad, Mian Rafi Ahmad, Mian Abdul Hayye, and Mahmud Ahmad Cheema (Mubarak Ahmad 1964, 64; Murtolo 1976, 36; Zaenal Abidin 2007, 268).

The function and responsibility of these foreign missionaries in Indonesia was not only to propagate Ahmadiyya beliefs among non-Ahmadis, but also to lead the community spiritually and organizationally. As recently as 1990, 65 years after the movement's arrival in Indonesia, the duties of the *amir* (or governor-general) of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia were handled by the *raisut-tabligh* (chief of the Ahmadiyya mission). Since 1990, the position of national leader has been separate from that of *raisut-tabligh* and hierarchically within the organization (though not with regard to religious matters) the *raisut-tabligh* is under the *amir* (Zulkarnain 2005, 196; Zaenal Abidin 2007, 184).⁸

Although branches of the JAI had already been established in a number of places before 1935, the movement's national leadership was not established until a conference in Batavia (Jakarta) on December 15–16, 1935. At the time, the movement's organizational name was *Ahmadiyah Qadian Departemen Indonesia* (AQDI – Indonesian Chapter of the Qadiani Ahmadiyya).

During a conference in Jakarta on June 12–13, 1937, the national leadership changed its name to *Anjuman Ahmadiyah Departemen Indonesia* (AADI – Indonesian Chapter of the Ahmadiyya Society), and the name was changed again, during a conference in Jakarta in December 1949, to *Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia* (JAI); this last is the name in use at the present time. All of these names imply two meanings: first, that the JAI is strongly connected organizationally and spiritually to its headquarters; and, second, that the JAI is a community, as reflected in its very name *jemaat* (Ar. *jamā'a*; community),⁹ which emphasizes the strong bonds between its members.

The Indonesian government's acknowledgement of the movement as a legal entity took the form of a decree from the Minister of Justice (number J.A/5/23/13) on March 13, 1953 and an announcement in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia (number 26) on March 31, 1953 (Zulkarnain 2005, 194–196). Currently, it is estimated that the JAI has around 400,000 followers, spread between 300 branches. However, the estimate by the Ministry of Religious Affairs is smaller, around 80,000 people (Crouch 2009, 4).

The Ahmadiyya and the study of comparative religion in Indonesia

As stated at the beginning of this article, between Indonesian Independence in 1945 and the downfall of Suharto's New Order regime in 1998, only a few issues related to the Ahmadiyya attracted public attention. People in general tend to ignore the movement as unimportant. A number of scholars during this period, such as Deliar Noer (1973, 151 n. 207), Abdul Mukti Ali (1957, 72), and Howard M. Federspiel (2001, 63) also tended to draw the same conclusion, that the movement could be neglected as insignificant.¹⁰ Federspiel, who wrote his PhD dissertation on the Persis, the most persistent opponent of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia, states, "[T]he Ahmadiyah groups in Indonesia remained relatively small and isolated throughout the era and probably received more attention from the modernist Muslim organizations than was warranted by their size and influence" (2001, 63). The conclusion of Noer, Ali and Federspiel is quite similar to Wilfred Cantwell Smith's observation on the Ahmadiyya in its country of origin. He says,

The Ahmadiyya Movement (though important in itself) is not important in Indian Islam. It has become important in the West, partly because of its extensive and able missionary enterprise, and partly because Christian missionaries in India have devoted much attention to it and to reporting its activities. (Smith 1969, 367–368)

Challenging the above views, Margaret Blood (1974, 64–65) argues that the importance of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesian Islam is not because of the number of its followers, but because of its influence. She says, "If Ahmadiyah is discussed simply as one organization among many Islamic based organizations in Indonesia in the early twentieth century we must conclude that its importance within the Muslim community of Indonesia is insignificant." This assessment is particularly accurate with regard to the JAI. Because the JAI is more concerned than the GAI with recruiting members, evaluating its success on the basis of its membership is valid. However, Blood continues, if the Ahmadiyya is to be evaluated on the basis of the quality of its membership, then the Ahmadiyya, particularly the GAI branch, "has of course quite a large reverberation for even those Muslims who are reluctant to associate with the sect from Pakistan" (63–64).¹¹ Blood agrees with Justus M. van der Kroef (1962, 57), who considers that the Ahmadiyya has "contributed greatly to a modernistic religious quickening among younger western schooled Indonesians." Among the most important spheres of influence of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia is the subject of comparative religion, where Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity can probably not be ignored. To assess this, Ahmadiyya influence can be classified under two categories: first, mission activities and, second, the academic field.

Religious missionary activities

A number of reports from both the Ahmadiyya (Mubarak Ahmad 1964, 1965) and scholars (van der Kroef 1962; Blood 1974; Zulkarnain 2005; Ropi 2010) mention that Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity has helped bolster Muslims' confidence in their religion, particularly when competing with Christian mission and when learning about religions in a comparative way. In the context of the contribution of the Ahmadiyya to Islamic modernity, Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, the head of Ahmadiyya foreign missions, claims that before the arrival of the Ahmadiyya in the 1920s, no literature on Islam was available in Indonesia that "could present Islam in a manner capable of meeting modern needs" (Mubarak Ahmad 1964, 34). In the context of the competition with other religions, he states that the literature produced by the Ahmadiyya "has played a most remarkable role in creating confidence among Muslims in regard to the ascendancy of Islam over all other forms of religious thought" (35–36). He asserts, specifically with regard to Christianity, that the literature from the Ahmadiyya provides "the best weapon against Christian missionary onslaughts, and for the establishment of the superiority of Islam" (14) and further claims that the literature "has saved Muslims from the clutches of the Christians" (15).¹²

The above claims are perhaps not completely true because the journals *Al-Munir* (Padang, 1911–1919) and *Al-Imam* (Singapore, 1906–1908) had been published in Indonesia before the arrival of the Ahmadiyya (Hamka 1946; Feener 1999; Nur Ichwan 2001). These two journals were media of Islamic reform in Southeast Asia and promoted a modern understanding of Islam. However, with the exception of Nuruddin al-Raniri's works (such as *Tibyān fī ma'rifat al-adyān*), it is true that there was no Indonesian literature that criticized or addressed seriously the teaching of Christianity and other religions before the Ahmadiyya provided works of that kind (Steenbrink 1990; Ropi 1998).

During the late colonial period, the GAI published translations of Ahmadiyya books on Christianity in Dutch, the language of the Indonesian intelligentsia at the time, whereas the JAI published books on Christianity in Malay and Indonesian. The choice of language was strongly related to the audiences of these two Ahmadiyya branches: Dutch-educated people in the case of the former and the common people for the latter. Among the books translated into Dutch by the GAI are *De Bronnen van het Christendom* (a translation of Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din's *The Sources of Christianity*)¹³ and Basharat Ahmad's *De Geboorte van Jezus in het Licht van den Heiligen Qoerān* (the English edition of this book is entitled *Birth of Jesus in the Light of the Qur'an*) (PB GAI 1979, 125).¹⁴ The JAI published M. Sadiq HA's *Jesus dalam Bijbel* (Jesus in the Bible) and *Nabi Isa Anak Allah* (The Prophet Isa, Son of God) and Rahmat Ali's *Kebenaran Nabi Muhammad menurut Bijbel* (The truth about the Prophet Muhammad according to the Bible) and *Nabi Isa menurut Bijbel* (The Prophet Isa according to the Bible) (Tempo 1974, 49).¹⁵

In *The Sources of Christianity*, Kamal-ud-Din tries to uncover the origin of Christianity. He argues, for instance, that the dates of the birth, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus are taken from the remnants of pagan cults. Even the Christian conception of Jesus is borrowed from pagan deities (Kamal-ud-Din 1997, xi). In presenting this notion, Kamal-ud-Din wanted to say that, although Jesus was a historical person, almost everything about Christian beliefs is not authentic. Jesus, for instance, has been "divested of the most exalted position a man could claim, i.e. Divine Messengership, and given the office of a Pagan Deity, brought down to act as substitute for sun-god – a popular deity in the ancient world" (4). Kamal-ud-Din also says that the current teachings of Christianity are not from Jesus, but from St Paul and that the two teachings are irreconcilable. "The Jesus of the Bible and the Jesus of St. Paul are two different entities, and irreconcilable to each other" (15). Even the name of this religion, i.e. Christianity,

“was taken in the third century in the Council at Nice”¹⁶ and against the wish of Jesus, who had forbidden “his followers to be called after his name” (14). In short, the entire content of the book tries to undermine the divinity of Jesus, the Church, and every Christian teaching.

Like Kamal-ud-Din, Basharat Ahmad, in his *Birth of Jesus in the Light of the Qur'an*, also intends to bring “Jesus down to the human pedestal... [and] to rid all earnest seekers-after-truth of what to my mind is a superstition, pure and simple” (Ahmad 1941, 2). He states that Jesus was born of a human father and that he was therefore certainly not the son of God in a literal sense. Ahmad says that, “fatherhood is an indispensable factor in the process of all procreation. It is a law of Nature. Why make an exception in the case of Jesus... any such suggestion with regard to any woman is to cast a most serious slur on her honour” (3–4). What about Adam, who had neither a father nor a mother? According to Ahmad, it is “a question yet enveloped in mystery” (7). What is certain is that man must be a “product of the intermingling of the genital seeds of a male and a female... Jesus could be no exception to this law. He must have had a human father” (7). The reason why the Qur'an (3.48) makes a comparison between the birth of Adam and the birth of Jesus is “to refute the Christian doctrine of Jesus' divinity” (11). Ahmad also argues that the idea of the virgin birth was invented many years after Jesus' death and was not known during his lifetime. It was borrowed from ancient myths and incorporated into the Gospel as a way to prove the Son-of-God theory (Ahmad 2005, 38; 1941, 43).¹⁷

According to B. J. Boland (1971), the apologetic and polemic style of Ahmadiyya literature has become a model and inspiration for Muslim organizations that deal with missionary activities, such as the Muhammadiyah and the YAPI.¹⁸ In the Muhammadiyah, for instance, Djarnawi Hadikusuma, a prominent figure in that movement and the first chairman of the *Partai Muslimin Indonesia* (Parmusi – Indonesian Muslim Party), wrote two books – *Sekitar Kristologi: Khusus untuk Muballighin Muhammadiyah* (On Christology: For internal use of Muhammadiyah's missionaries)¹⁹ and *Sekitar Perjanjian Lama dan Perjanjian Baru: Khusus untuk Muballighin Muhammadiyah* (On the Old and New Testament: For internal use of Muhammadiyah's missionaries)²⁰ – that were mostly intended (as implied in the titles) for missionary purposes. They were published by the *Majlis Tabligh* (Department of Propagation) at the Muhammadiyah's central office in Yogyakarta. The style and content of these books are quite similar to those found in Ahmadiyya books on the same topics. For example, Hadikusumo uses a substantial part of *Sekitar Kristologi* to discuss the role of Paul in the creation of present-day Christianity, the origin of the Trinity, and the Gospel of Barnabas. The last eight pages are even a literal translation of *The Affinity of Original Church of Jesus Christ and Islam* (1927), written by Lord Headley, a prominent convert to the Lahore Ahmadiyya. Another book from this organization that follows the Ahmadiyya's style of writing on Christianity is Bisjron A. Wardy's *Memahami kegiatan Nasrani* (Understanding the activities of Christians) (1964). This was mainly used as a textbook in a training course (called *Darul Arqam*) for members of the Muhammadiyah.

The animosity of the Muhammadiyah toward Christian mission has existed since the time of the movement's founder, Ahmad Dahlan (1968–1923) and led to positive results during Dahlan's time, when the Muhammadiyah competed with Christian missions in establishing schools, hospitals and orphanages. After the death of Dahlan in 1923, this animosity was given free rein. Under the new leadership, Fachruddin,²¹ a proponent of anti-Christian mission in the Muhammadiyah, was able to express his unease with Christian missions (which had been hidden during the era of Ahmad Dahlan). This hostility became more apparent with the arrival of Mirza Wali Ahmad Baig in 1924 (Shihab 1995). Although relations between the two movements broke off in 1928 because of theological differences, the influence of the Ahmadiyya on the Muhammadiyah's attitude toward Christianity has persisted. In 1929, for

instance, A. D. Haanie, a leader in the Muhammadiyah, wrote a book entitled *Islam Menentang Kraemer* (Islam against Kraemer) (cited in Ropi 1998). This was a response to Hendrik Kraemer's book entitled *Agama Islam* (The religion of Islam) (1952), which had been published a year earlier²² and was considered insulting by Indonesian Muslims because it stated that Islam lacked morality and spirituality.

In addition to the Muhammadiyah, the YAPI (or JAPI in the old spelling in Bahasa Indonesia) also published a number of books on Christianity following a model that was quite similar to that of the Ahmadiyya books. Among them were Oemar Hashem's *Sembahjang dalam Perdjandjian Lama, Perdjandjian Baru dan Qur'an* (Prayer in the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Qur'an) (1963), *Pembahasan Ilmiah tentang Keesaan Tuhan* (Scientific analysis of the oneness of God) (1964) and *Djawaban Lengkap kepada Pendeta Dr. J. Verkuyl* (Complete reply to Pastor Dr J. Verkuyl) (1969).²³ On the last page of his 1964 book, Hashem mentions that he has referred to *Islamic Review*, a journal published by the Lahore Ahmadiyya. He does not say, however, whether his book is merely a translation from *Islamic Review* or whether only some parts are. What is clear is that no references are quoted apart from that journal. Hashem's 1969 book resembles Kamal-ud-Din's *The Sources of Christianity* (1997) and he tries to show that the true teachings of Jesus were altered by the apostles and that present-day Christianity is no more than a plagiarism of pagan and previous belief systems.

The YAPI cannot be separated from Oemar Hashem, a medical doctor by profession, who established it together with some friends in 1961. The YAPI was dedicated to propagating Islam and countering Christian mission. Some of Hasbullah Bakry's books (which will be discussed later in this article), such as *Jesus dalam Pandangan Islam dan Kristen* (Jesus in Islam and Christianity) (1965) and *Al-Qur'an sebagai Korektor terhadap Tourat dan Indjil* (The Qur'an as the revision of the Torah and the Bible) (1966), were also published by the YAPI. Ahmed Deedat's *Muhammad in the Old and the New Testaments* [195-?], was translated as *Muhammad dalam Perdjandjian Lama dan Perdjandjian Baru* (1963) and also published by the YAPI.

Besides becoming an inspiration for polemic and apologetic books on Christianity, as reported by Tempo (1974), the style proposed by the Ahmadiyya for describing Christianity also became a model for Muslim preachers. Some preachers acknowledge that their references come from Ahmadiyya books, but most of them hide this fact for fear of arousing resistance from their audiences. Some, such as Hasbullah Bakry (b. 1926), considered this apologetic method justifiable in dealing with Christianity in Indonesia (Bakry 1989, 5), particularly during the early decades of Indonesian independence, because Christian missionaries offensively preached their religion in the midst of a Muslim society. In explaining the Ahmadiyya's style of talking about Christianity, President Sukarno, for example, said, "The nature of its system in propagating Islam is through an apologetic method, that is to say propagating Islam by defending it against the offensive attacks by the Christian world: to propagate Islam by showing its truth to the Christian world's critics" (Mubarak Ahmad 1965, 70).²⁴ In short, the appeal of apologetic and polemic Ahmadiyya books during troubled times in Indonesia was mostly triggered by the aggressive attitude of the Christian mission in Indonesia, which was considered by many Muslims to be fishing in troubled waters (Beck 2002, 333–334; Husein 2005, 120–122; Kahin 2012, 169, 174).²⁵ It is therefore understandable that the study of comparative religion began to neglect the apologetic and polemic Ahmadiyya books after Indonesia had become more stable, although a few books were still influenced by this literature.

Comparative religion as an academic discipline

The Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity has had only a limited influence on the study of comparative religion in Islamic higher education, and that influence was mostly confined to a

turbulent period of Indonesian history (particularly before the establishment of the *Orde Baru* or New Order in 1966). The influence of Ahmadiyya books can be seen, for example, in the works of Hasbullah Bakry (1958; 1959; 1966; 1990), which follow their polemic and apologetic style.²⁶ Among the Lahore Ahmadiyya works he cites are Nazir Ahmad ([1952] 1972) and Headley (1927). Bakry's books have been reprinted several times since their first publication and his *Nabi Isa dalam Al Qur'an dan nabi Muhammad dalam Bijbel* (1959) and others have become textbooks for the study of comparative religion in Islamic higher education and for Islamic academies and institutions.²⁷

Hasbullah Bakry was a member of the Muhammadiyah and a professor at the State Islamic University in Yogyakarta. In the 1970s he moved to Jakarta and became a professor of Islamic Law and comparative religion at the Universitas Islam in Jakarta (Beck 2002, 333). His main method of discussing Christianity, similar to that of the Ahmadiyya, was to refute biblical texts that were not consistent with the Qur'an and to show that Christian doctrines (particularly fundamental ones) were wrong or had inherent logical contradictions. In contradistinction to the belief of Indonesian Muslims at that time, Bakry even agreed with the Ahmadiyya that Jesus did not die on the cross and said that Jesus travelled to the east after the crucifixion and became a sage there (Bakry 1989, 67, 70, 76). He also asserted that the current teachings of Christianity had been changed from the original teachings of Jesus by St Paul and the Church (79–100).

Besides Hasbullah Bakry, the study of comparative religion in Islamic higher education also used the works of M. Arsjad Thalib Lubis, Ahmad Sjalabi, and M. Abu Zahrah. Lubis, a professor at Al-Washliyah University, was an activist in the Al-Washliyah organization, which was established in 1930 and was comparable in style to the Muhammadiyah. Although he uses literature such as Rahmatullah al-Hindi's *Izhār al-ḥaqq* (Truth revealed) (Lubis 1971a, 5, 1990, 71), his works are mostly written in response to Christian missionary publications in Indonesia.²⁸ He challenges their claims regarding the Trinity, the authenticity of the Bible, original sin, the atonement, salvation, and the death of Jesus on the cross (Lubis 1964, 1971a, 1971b, 1990). The Christian missionary literature he quotes is mostly available in Bahasa Indonesia and includes works by D. Bakker, B. J. Boland, Y. Verkuyl, R. Soedarmo, J. H. Bavick, E. St. Harahap, D. C. Mulder, K. Riedel, Walter Lempp, B. W. G. Gramberg, and J. H. Enklaar.

Lubis employs three methods in his discussion of Christianity. First, he discusses subjects from a Christian perspective by quoting the Bible, the Gospels, and the works of prominent Christian missionaries in Indonesia. Second, he addresses the same topics from an Islamic perspective by quoting the Qur'an and sometimes the Prophetic traditions. Third, he compares these two perspectives, asserting the superiority of Islam, on the one hand, and pointing out the mistakes and false claims of Christians on the other. The role of the Gospel of Barnabas is very important in Lubis' refutation of Christian doctrines. He uses an Indonesian version of the Gospel of Barnabas, translated by Husein Abubakar and Abubakar Basjmeleh (1970).

Unlike Lubis, who is a native of Indonesia, Sjalabi and Abu Zahrah are Egyptians. Sjalabi received his PhD from Cambridge University and was sent by Cairo University to teach comparative religion at the Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN – State College of Islamic Studies), Jakarta, for a few years at the end of the 1950s. His *Perbandingan agama bahagian agama Masehi* ([1960] 1964) discusses Christianity from Islamic, Jewish, Western, and Christian perspectives. Abu Zahrah's *Agama Masehi: Tindjauan dan sorotan* (1964) is a translation of his Arabic work *Muḥādarāt fī al-Naṣrāniyya* (Abu Zahra 1961),²⁹ and compares Christianity from a historical perspective, the teachings of Christianity as believed by Christians, and Christianity as understood by Muslims. Among his conclusions are that current

Christianity deviates from the original teachings of Jesus. Like Lubis, this book uses Rahmatullah al-Hindi's *Izhār al-ḥaqq* as one of its references (Abu Zahrah 1964, 43).

Following the collapse of the *Orde Lama* (old order) in 1965, the study of comparative religion in Islamic higher education began to take a new direction. This process actually started in 1960, when the IAIN established a new programme of *Perbandingan Agama* (comparative religion) (Munhanif 1996). Abdul Mukti Ali was appointed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs to lead this programme at the IAIN Sunan Kalijaga in Yogyakarta, and played a particularly significant role. Ali received his PhD from the University of Karachi in Pakistan, and his MA from McGill University in Canada under the supervision of the well-known historian of religions, Wilfred Cantwell Smith. With his appointment as the person responsible for the comparative religion curriculum in Islamic higher education, Ali began to introduce a new approach that was significantly different from that of the previous generation. Previously, the study of comparative religion had been strongly linked to missionary activities; it had been intended to serve as an effective device for Muslim missionaries to use in winning converts, competing with Christian mission, and reinforcing Muslim confidence in the superiority of Islam.

Although Ali still retained some of the elements in the previous approach (such as belief in the superiority of Islam), the new approach to studying comparative religion did not employ a polemic and apologetic style; it was closer to the theological approach used to study religion in Western academia.³⁰ Nor did it seek to discover and expose the inadequacies and shortcomings of other religions (particularly Christianity), while simultaneously aggrandizing the superiority of Islam. According to Herman Beck, in the hands of Mukti Ali, this discipline was taught more “as a constructive way to build harmonious society” (Beck 2002, 334), rather than as a way to provide knowledge that missionaries could use to defeat other religions in debate or to win converts. Instead of pouring salt into the wound and worsening conflicts between religions, Mukti Ali intended the study of comparative religion to be “the key to a tolerant attitude with respect to believers of other religions” (336).³¹ For this reason, Mukti Ali, who has been famously called *Bapak Perbandingan Agama* (father of comparative religion) in Indonesia, did not use Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity as source books for this academic discipline. In his book on comparative religion entitled *Ilmu perbandingan agama di Indonesia* (1988), for instance, Ali does not refer to any Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity,³² but refers instead to the works of historians of religions such as Mircea Eliade, Joseph Kitagawa, William James, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Branislaw Malinowski, Rudolf Otto, and Wilfred Cantwell Smith. With regard to the role of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia in general, Ali even stated that the Ahmadiyya movement “has not made any important contributions to the development of modern thinking in Indonesia” (Ali 1957, 72).³³

The change in the approach to and character of the study of comparative religion under the New Order was also motivated by a change in the orientation of the new government, which began to place more emphasis than before on economic development and national stability. The government's efforts to achieve its objectives would have been hindered by any religious conflict or national instability and it was because Mukti Ali's approach to the study of religion was in line with the government's orientation that he was appointed Minister of Religious Affairs in 1971. Under his leadership, the discipline of comparative religion became further oriented towards creating religious harmony and helping national development. This is evident, for instance, in a number of Ali's books on religion, such as *Agama dan pembangunan di Indonesia* (Religion and development in Indonesia) (1972) and *Kehidupan beragama dalam proses pembangunan bangsa* (Religious life in the process of national development) (1975).

Preoccupation with the study of Christianity

As stated at the beginning of this article, the Ahmadiyya has put tremendous effort into publishing books on Christianity, to the extent that, if such books were excluded, almost nothing would remain of Ahmadiyya literature. The question is why was this community so focused on discussing the issue of Christianity? Historically, Ghulam Ahmad lived at a time when Christian missions were aggressively penetrating the Indian sub-continent, particularly in the province of Punjab. In order to slow down or stop conversion to Christianity, Ghulam Ahmad entered into debates with Christian missionaries, such as Abdullah Athim. One of the recurrent topics in the debate was the crucifixion of Jesus (Friedmann 1989, 114–115; 1998, 305). Traditionally, Muslims have believed that Jesus was not crucified but was saved by God from death on the cross and raised up body and soul to heaven.³⁴ The one who was crucified was not him, but someone whom God made to appear like Jesus, and he died in Jesus' place. The Christian belief in the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus has been used by Christian missionaries to show the superiority of Christianity to Islam since the prophet of Islam, i.e. Muhammad, died and became dust whereas they claimed that the prophet of Christianity was still alive and seated beside God in heaven (Wherry 1919). In his response, Ghulam Ahmad (1984, 21) says, "How could they acquiesce in the notion that Jesus should be living in heaven for more than 600 years, while their own noble master did not even reach the age of 64 years?"

In order to prove the superiority of Islam, Ghulam Ahmad introduced a new perspective on Jesus that could be used to defeat Christianity in debate and, at the same time, reform the traditional belief of Islam. It is in this context the Ahmadiyya believe that Jesus neither died on the cross nor was raised to heaven alive in his earthly body to live there ever since. Ahmadis believe that Jesus was crucified, but did not die. He was taken down and his wounds were treated by his disciples with the Ointment of Jesus (*Marham-i Isa*). After his recovery, he travelled to India to find and preach to the 10 lost tribes of Israel that Ghulam Ahmad believed resided in Kashmir and Tibet (Ghulam Ahmad 2003, 18). Jesus died a natural death at the ripe old age of 120 and was buried in Khan Yar Street, Srinagar, Kashmir. The alleged tomb of Jesus in Kashmir is taken as proof that Jesus died a natural death, just like other prophets.

It is important to quote a statement by Ghulam Ahmad himself on why he and the Ahmadis have been preoccupied with the issue of Christianity and have tried to convince people that Jesus died and is buried in Kashmir. In his *Jesus in India*, Ghulam Ahmad ([1908] 2003, 43) says that the doctrine of the death of Jesus was introduced in order to "invalidate the doctrine of his divinity, death on the cross, going up to heaven and coming back again." This doctrine is a challenge not only to orthodox Islamic belief, but also to two other major religions: Christianity and Judaism. According to Christian teaching, Jesus was crucified and willingly died on the cross in order to atone for human sin. After being in a tomb for three days, Jesus was resurrected physically, raised up to heaven, sat down beside God and will return to this earth in the latter days. According to Jewish belief, Jesus was crucified and died on the cross as a curse from God since he was a false prophet and a liar.³⁵

Ghulam Ahmad and the Ahmadiyya believe that such doctrines are wrong or even "baseless myth and tales" (Ghulam Ahmad 2003, 1). He claims that the truth about Jesus is that he died a natural death and was buried in Kashmir. The doctrines of the crucifixion and the death of Jesus are core Christian beliefs and Ghulam Ahmad knew that, if someone could prove that Jesus did not die on the cross, it could demolish the whole structure of Christianity. By telling Christians that Jesus' tomb is in Kashmir, Ghulam Ahmad indicates that Kashmir is also the grave of Christianity. With this new doctrine, Ghulam Ahmad believed,

the hue and cry of Christians over the divinity of Jesus turns into sighs of grief; the insistence of Muslims day in and day out that Jesus has gone up to the skies alive, changes into weeping and wailing; and as for the Jews, they stand to lose everything. (Ghulam Ahmad 2003, 45)

The main purpose of the introduction of the doctrine of the death of Jesus in Kashmir, however, was not merely to invalidate orthodox beliefs about Jesus in Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, but even more to establish that Ghulam Ahmad was the promised Messiah.³⁶ Invalidating the beliefs about Jesus held by these three major religions was only intended to open the door to Ghulam Ahmad's claim to be the Messiah. Since Jesus had died a natural death, he would not come again to this world and the Messiah could not be him, but should be someone similar to him and with his spirit. And that person was none other than Ghulam Ahmad. He is the Messiah. Ghulam Ahmad states this clearly:

The truth about the life of the Messiah had been forgotten and lost, as a corpse is eaten up by the earth and is no more; but in heaven he had an existence of his own and was present like a disembodied human spirit. It was inevitable, therefore, that this reality should finally descend to the earth in the latter days and assume the form of a living human being. This Messianic reality has indeed descended to the earth in this age in the shape of a living human being. It has broken the cross and dispelled the evils of falsehood and its worship. (Ghulam Ahmad 2003, 99–100)

In his *Tadhkiratush shahadatin*, Ghulam Ahmad further explains:

It was disclosed to me through Divine revelation a few years later that the Messiah that had been promised from the earliest time to this nation and that the last Mahdi (Reformer) who was destined to appear after the deterioration of Islam and who was to be granted direct guidance from God and who was to provide once again the spiritual nourishment, as had been preordained, and about whom glad tidings had also been given by the Holy Prophet, may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, himself 1300 years ago, is none other than me. Divine revelations, in this regard, came to me so clearly and persistently that no room for even the least doubt was left in this matter. (Ghulam Ahmad 1984, 1–2)

The way the Ahmadi perspective on Christianity would lead to the belief that Ghulam Ahmad was the Messiah is elaborated by Hamka (1982), who states that, in its propagation and debate, the Ahmadiyya would use the doctrine of the death of Jesus as a first step in introducing the idea that Ghulam Ahmad was the Messiah. He refers to an incident in Aceh, when Rahmat Ali and his students organized a public lecture immediately after arriving in Tapaktuan. In this lecture, Rahmat Ali set out a doctrine that deviated from the traditional teachings of Islam (namely, the death of Jesus). Ahmadiyya missionaries assured people that, contrary to traditional Islamic belief, Jesus had died just like other prophets. Hamka continues,

If those who oppose have finally surrendered and accepted this belief, they [the Ahmadiyya missionaries] will continue arguing that the Prophet Jesus will descend [not physically, but spiritually] to earth again [as Messiah] ... Again after those who oppose have accepted this belief, they will tell them that the Prophet Jesus [or the second Messiah] promised [by God] is no other than 'Hazrat' Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. (Hamka 1982, 139–140)³⁷

In short, besides being a means to challenge Christianity, the introduction of the doctrine of Jesus' death, in Muslim society, was intended to make way for the doctrine that Ghulam Ahmad was the promised Messiah, and that Jesus – who was to come as the Messiah – had now come in the person of Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian.

Conclusion

Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity has a great influence on Muslim missionaries, preachers, and proselytizers in their competition with their Christian counterparts. Some of them show openly that they follow the apologetic and polemical model of the Ahmadiyya, while others do

not openly acknowledge the influence of Ahmadiyya literature in order to avoid rejection or condemnation by fellow Muslims hostile to the Ahmadiyya.

In the context of the study of comparative religion in Indonesian Islam, some Muslims have used Ahmadiyya literature, particularly during the late colonial period and the early years of Indonesian independence, when relations between Muslims and Christians were not harmonious and they frequently attacked each other. Ahmadiyya literature provided a useful and effective tool for defending Islam against Christian attacks and creating a sense of Islamic superiority. The function of the study of religions in this situation was not to create harmony between religious people, but to provide effective weapons with which missionaries could defeat other religions and at the same time to increase confidence among adherents of their own religion.

In contrast, in more peaceful and stable environments, such as under the New Order government, the study of comparative religion was used to enhance dialogue between religions for the purpose of increasing national development and harmony. The role of Ahmadi literature on Christianity in this period was less significant and was often perceived as creating tensions and suspicion between religions.

From the point of view of the Ahmadi themselves, there are two main reasons for their preoccupation with Christianity: to show that it is false and to prove that the Messiah has come again in the person of Ghulam Ahmad. Their preoccupation with Christianity was strongly related to the context of British India during the time of Ghulam Ahmad, when some Christian missions aggressively intensified their campaigns. Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity, particularly the death of Jesus, was intended to prove the superiority of Islam over Christianity and, at the same time, to open the door to a new belief that the long awaited Messiah was Ghulam Ahmad.

Notes

1. The influence of Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity is not limited to these Muslim organizations, but they are referred to here because they have strong mission departments that have been influenced by Ahmadiyya literature.
2. After the split in 1914, the Lahore Ahmadiyya retained a number of the teachings of this movement, most importantly the subject of Christianity.
3. The international name for the Lahore Ahmadiyya is the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam (AAII) Lahore, while the Qadiani Ahmadiyya is the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community or Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat.
4. Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1969, 369) describes the Lahore Ahmadiyya as a liberal Muslim movement, and the Qadiani as a "sufi version of Islam activated by modern-Western infiltrations" (1986, 301).
5. The initiative to send missionaries to the Netherlands shows that there was no coordination or chain of command between the GAI's programme in Indonesia and its headquarters in Lahore.
6. This first branch was established in December 1925 or January 1926. Zulkarnain (2005) writes that it was December 1925, whereas information from the JAI states that it was in 1926. What is certain is that Rahmat Ali moved from Tapaktuan to Padang in early 1926. He was asked by the local government in Aceh to move because his presence there was causing social instability, particularly among 'ulama in Aceh (Zulkarnain 2005, 178, 212; Zaenal Abidin 2007, 13; *Alislam.org n.d.*).
7. The headquarters moved from Qadian, India, to Rabwah, Punjab, Pakistan, after Partition in 1947. After the promulgation of Ordinance XX by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq in 1984, which formally criminalized the religious activities of the Ahmadiyya, the movement's headquarters moved to London.
8. The delay in separating these two aspects (i.e. mission and governance) was due to the Ahmadiyya's perceived maturity in Indonesia. If the headquarters considered the Ahmadiyya in a given country to have matured enough, it would allow that separation (Zaenal Abidin 2007, 181, and my personal interview with an Ahmadi missionary in Cimanuk, Pandeglang, on June 24–25, 2012). From an outsider's perspective, this can also be seen as a control mechanism.

9. The name *jemaat* or *jama'at*, translated into English as “community,” is taken from *ahl al-sunna wa-al-jamāa* or Sunni Islam. The Ahmadis claim that they are the true *jamā'a* (community) who hold steadfastly the teachings of Islam. According to a Prophetic tradition, Muslims would be divided into 73 sections and only one of them would be saved. The saved section is *ahl al-sunna wa-al-jamā'a* (Rauf 1996).
10. In fact, this assessment was made not only of the Ahmadiyya, but also of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). In the first three decades after Indonesian Independence, scholars tended to pay attention only to modernist movements such as the Muhammadiyah and neglected the NU, which was in the event one of the winners of the 1955 election (Barton and Fealy 1996, xxi; Kahin 1989, 18).
11. This confirms Mirza Mubarak Ahmad's statement (1964, 35) that Ahmadiyya literature has successfully boosted the confidence of Indonesian Muslims that their religion is superior to other religions and compatible with modernity.
12. A living example of how Ahmadiyya literature has deterred some Muslims from leaving Islam and becoming atheists or Christians is the story of Djohan Effendi, Cabinet Secretary during Abdurrahman Wahid's presidency (1999–2001) and active in interfaith dialogue. In the 1960s, when he experienced a crisis in his faith in Islam, it was Ahmadiyya literature that came to his rescue (Gaus AF 2009, 81). Some people claim that Djohan Effendi is an Ahmadi, but his email to the author on May 14, 2013 implies that he is not. His participation in Islamic Sunday Morning Class (ISMC) hosted by Muhammad Irshad, a prominent leader of the Lahore Ahmadiyya, at the end of the 1950s and from 1963 to 1970 has made some people think that he is an Ahmadi. This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that the name of ISMC was changed to the Angkatan Muda Ahmadiyah Lahore (AMAL – Young Generation of the Lahore Ahmadiyya). All members of ISMC and AMAL were automatically assumed to be members of the Ahmadiyya. (On claims that Effendi is an Ahmadi, see: <http://www.arrassmah.com/news/2013/02/24/kisah-djohan-effendi-ahmadiyah-dan-a-hassan.html#sthash.beLqTeiw.dpuf> and <http://suaraansharullah.blogspot.com/p/profil.html> [accessed June 6, 2013]).
13. The GAI published Kamal-ud-Din's *De Bronnen van het Christendom* for the first time in 1930. It was translated by Soedewo, an early member of the Lahore Ahmadiyya and an activist of the *Jong Isamieten Bond* (JIB – Association of Young Muslims). The English edition used for this article is the 1997 edition.
14. *De Geboorte van Jezus in het Licht van den Heiligen Qoerän* was published by the GAI in 1935 and also translated by Soedewo. The English editions used for this article are the 1941 edition and the 2005 edition.
15. Most Ahmadiyya literature on Christianity is written by Indian and Pakistani authors. There are only a few Indonesian Ahmadi authors; they include Soedewo, who wrote several books on this topic.
16. Kamal-ud-Din mis-spelt the name of the city where the Council took place. The Council was at Nicea, in present-day Turkey. Nice is in southern France.
17. Although the virgin birth of Jesus is mentioned in the Qur'an, the Ahmadiyya rejects this and believes that there can be no procreation without a male and a female (Ahmad 2005, 1).
18. Boland (1971, 228) characterizes the books on Christianity that were produced by the Muhammadiyah, the YAPI, and the Ahmadiyya as “cheap polemics, suited to semi-intellectuals,” unworthy of any academic attention.
19. This article uses the 1965 edition or the third printing of that book. The first edition was published in 1962.
20. The fourth printing of this book was published by Persatuan in 1986. There is no date for the first edition.
21. The president of the Muhammadiyah at that time was Haji Ibrahim, but he was only a figurehead. In reality, Fachruddin led the movement (Shihab 1995).
22. This book is divided into two parts. The first was published in 1928, and the second in 1933, both in Bandung, Indonesia. This article uses the 1952 edition, which combines the two in one book, prepared and added with some information by C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze.
23. This last book is a response to Johannes Verkuyl's article entitled *Tentang interpretasi iman Kristen kepada orang-orang Muslim* (On the interpretation of Christian faith, for Muslims), which was published in a special issue of *Bulletin Lembaga Penyelidikan Pekabaran Indjil* (see Boland 1971, 228). Verkuyl was a Dutch missionary in Indonesia who lived in Indonesia for years. I thank Sunarwoto for sending me Hashem's book from the Netherlands.
24. This statement can be found in Sukarno's article entitled “Me-‘muda’-kan pengertian Islam,” initially published by *Pandji Islam* in 1940 and then compiled into *Dibawah bendera revolusi* (1964, 389). Mubarak Ahmad (1965, 70), however, mentions that his source is the Official Gazette of Indonesia, *Warta Front National* (National Front News), December 20, 1962.
25. For detailed information about the background of the conflict between Muslims and Christians during the late colonial period and the early years of Indonesian independence, see Rasjidi (1976); Shihab (1995); Mujiburrahman (2006).

26. According to Djohan Effendi, the Ahmadiyya in Yogyakarta supplied Bakry with Ahmadiyya literature. Effendi took the books from Muhammad Irshad, a prominent member of the Ahmadiyya, and brought them to Bakry (Gaus AF 2009, 47). At that time, at the end of the 1950s, Effendi was a student at the School for Muslim Judges (PHIN – Pendidikan Hakim Islam Negeri) Yogyakarta.
27. For my own work here I use the third reprint published in 1968. This book was originally written as a refutation of F. L. Bakker's book entitled *Tuhan Jesus didalam agama Islam* (1957). The book has been republished several times with various titles and has even been translated into English as *Jesus Christ in the Qur'an, Muhammad in the Bible: Is Jesus Prophet or God?* (Kuala Lumpur: S. Abdul Majeed & Co., 1990). It has also been published in a Malay translation (Kota Bharu, Kelantan: Pustaka Aman Press, 1966) for distribution in Malaysia.
28. Rahmatullah al-Hindi (1818–91), the author of *Izhār al-ḥaqq* (The appearing of the truth), is not the same person as Rahmat Ali of India (1893–1958), the first Qadiani missionary to Indonesia and the author of *Iqbāl al-ḥaqq* (The coming of the truth) (Pijper 1950, 249; Hamka 1982, 141). *Izhār al-ḥaqq* is an influential six-volume work, originally in Arabic, on the debate between Christianity and Islam.
29. It was translated by A. Hanafi of IAIN Sunan Kalidjaga, Yogyakarta, who himself wrote a comparative study of the law of marriage from the Jewish, Christian, Islamic, and Roma perspectives entitled *Perbandingan Hukum Perkawinan pada Agama Jahudi, Masehi, Islam dan Rumawi* (1967).
30. For an elaboration of this subject, see, for example, Dhofier (1992); Munhanif (1996); Saeed (1999).
31. Ali's assessment is different from Beck's, who sees both apologetics and the politics of dialogue as a possible background for comparative religion. It is the context and, sometimes, government policies that change this discipline's orientation, so that, as in its literal sense, the comparative study of religion can go both ways: to create understanding and harmony or to reveal the weakness of other religions and "to prove the superiority of one's own" (Beck 2002, 333, 347).
32. This book was first published in 1965 under the title *Ilmu perbandingan agama (sebuah pembahasan tentang methodos dan sistima)* (The discipline of comparative religion, a study of methods and systems).
33. Syarif Ahmad Saitama Lubis, former *amir* (governor-general) of the JAI, relates that Mukti Ali rented a room in the house of an Ahmadi, Yahya Pontoh, while he was studying in Pakistan and, for Lubis, this is one of the reasons why Mukti Ali, on his appointment as Minister of Religion by Suharto, appointed Bahrum Rangkuti, a graduate from Ahmadiyya College in Rawbah, as the secretary general of the Ministry of Religion (Zaenal Abidin 2007, 180). Ali Amin (2005, 112) also tells an interesting story about the relationship between Mukti Ali and the Ahmadiyya. According to him, it was Mukti Ali who defended Ali Abu Bakar Basalamah when he was threatened in the 1970s with being fired from his position as a professor at the State Islamic University, Yogyakarta, because of his Ahmadiyya beliefs.
34. A detailed discussion of this topic, using philological arguments (i.e. examining passages in the Qur'an), can be found, for instance, in Reynolds (2009).
35. Ghulam Ahmad (2003, 43–44) represents the Jewish view of Jesus as follows: "God is disgusted with him and looks upon him as his hated enemy: that he is a liar, an impostor, an apostate, and a rank unbeliever and that he is not from God."
36. Ghulam Ahmad intended to explain in detail his objectives in introducing the doctrine of the death of Jesus in chapter 10 of his *Jesus in India* (2003, 15), but the book has only four chapters, so it seems that he did not finish it. Nonetheless, the idea and his intention are clear from the four available chapters. At the end of the book (121–122), Ghulam Ahmad states again that there would be a sequel: "In the second part of this book, God willing, I shall prove in greater detail that the ultimate object underlying Jesus' long journey to India was that he might discharge the duty of preaching to all the Israelite tribes."
37. A similar topic of lecture and preaching appeared during the time of the Ahmadiyya's initial arrival in Surabaya (Sholehuddin 2007, 47).

References

- Abubakar, Husein, and Abubakar Basjmeleh (trans.). 1970. *Indjil Barnabas: terdjemahan dalam bahasa Indonesia* [Gospel of Barnabas: Indonesian translation]. Surabaya: [s.n.].
- Abu Zahrah, Muh. [Abū Zahra al-Shishtāwī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad]. 1961. *Muḥāḍarāt fī al-Naṣrāniyya tabḥath fī al-adwār allatī marrat 'alayhā 'aqā'id al-Naṣrā wa-fī kutubihim wa-fī majāmi'ihim al-muqaddasa wa-firaqihim*. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī.
- Abu Zahrah, Muh. 1964. *Agama Masehi: Tindjauan dan sorotan* [Christianity: Overview and scutiny]. Trans. A. Hanafi. Jogjakarta: Mudah.

- Ahmad, Basharat. 1941. *Birth of Jesus in the Light of the Quran and in the Light of the Gospels*. Lahore: Dar-ul-Kutub Islamia.
- Ahmad, Basharat. 2005. *Birth of Jesus*. Trinidad & Tobago: The Ahmadiyya Muslim Literary Trust.
- Ahmad, Khwaja Nazir. [1952] 1972. *Jesus in Heaven on Earth*. Lahore: Azeez Manzil.
- Ali, A. Mukti. 1957. *The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction*. MA diss., McGill University.
- Ali, A. Mukti. 1965. *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama (Sebuah Pembahasan tentang Methodos dan Sistima)* [Science of comparative religion (a discussion on method and system)]. Jogjakarta: Penerbit P.T. al-Falah.
- Ali, A. Mukti. 1972. *Agama dan Pembangunan di Indonesia* [Religion and development in Indonesia]. Jakarta: Proyek Penerangan, Bimbingan dan Da'wah/Chutbah Agama Islam Pusat, Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam.
- Ali, A. Mukti. 1975. *Kehidupan Beragama dalam Proses Pembangunan Bangsa* [Religious life in the process of national development]. Jakarta: Sekretariat, Majelis Ulama Indonesia.
- Ali, A. Mukti. 1988. *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama di Indonesia* [Science of comparative religion in Indonesia]. Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press.
- Alislam.org*. n.d. "75 Tahun Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia" [Seventy-five years of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community]. Accessed September 4, 2011. <http://www.alislam.org/indonesia/75thJAI.html>
- Amin, Ali. 2005. "Intra-religious Persecution in West Java: Case Study of Ahmadiyah Community in Manis Lor Kuningan." MA diss., CRCS Gadjah Mada University.
- Bachrun, H. M. 1979. "Kata Sambungan Ketua Umum G.A.I. Peringatan 50 tahun GAI" [Introduction from the chairman of the GAI on the 50-year-old celebration of the GAI]. In *PB GAI, Buku Kenang-kenangan Gerakan Ahmadiyah Lahore Indonesia (GAI), usia 50 tahun (golden jubilee)* [Book of Memoirs of Indonesian Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement (GAI), 50-year-old (golden jubilee)], 13–17. Yogyakarta: GAI.
- Bakker, F. L. 1957. *Tuhan Jesus didalam Agama Islam* [God of Jesus in Islam]. Djakarta: BPK.
- Bakry, Hasbullah. 1958. *Perbandingan Agama* (Comparative religion). Jogjakarta: n.p.
- Bakry, Hasbullah. 1959. *Nabi Isa dalam Al Qur'an dan Nabi Muhammad dalam Bybel* (Jesus in the Qur'an and Muhammad in the Bible). Solo: Ab. Sitti Sjamsijah.
- Bakry, Hasbullah. 1965. *Jesus dalam Pandangan Islam dan Kristen* [Jesus in the view of Muslim and Christian]. Surabaya: Japi.
- Bakry, Hasbullah. 1966. *Al-Quran sebagai Korektor terhadap Tourat dan Indjil* [The Qur'an as the abrogator of the Torah and the Gospels]. Surabaya: Yapi.
- Bakry, Hasbullah. 1989. *Isa dalam Qur'an, Muhammad dalam Bible* [Jesus in the Qur'an, Muhammad in the Bible]. Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Hidayah.
- Bakry, Hasbullah. 1990. *Pandangan Islam tentang Kristen di Indonesia* (Muslim views of Christianity in Indonesia). Jakarta: Firdaus.
- Barton, Greg, and Greg Fealy. 1996. *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*. Clayton, VIC: Monash Asia Institute.
- Beck, Herman L. 2002. "A Pillar of Social Harmony: The Study of Comparative Religion in Contemporary Indonesia." In *Modern Societies and the Science of Religions: Studies in Honour of Lammert Leertouwer*, edited by Gerard Albert Wieggers, 331–349. Leiden: Brill.
- Beck, Herman L. 2005. "The Rupture between the Muhammadiyah and the Ahmadiyya." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 161 (2): 210–246.
- Boland, B. J. 1971. *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Blood, Margaret. 1974. "The Ahmadiyah in Indonesia: Its Early History and Contribution to Islam in the Archipelago." MA diss., Australian National University.
- Crouch, Melissa. 2009. *Indonesia, Militant Islam and Ahmadiyah: Origins and Implications*. Melbourne: ARC Federation Fellowship, Centre for Islamic Law and Society, Melbourne Law School, University of Melbourne.
- Deedat, A. H. [195-?]. *Muhammad in the Old and the New Testaments*. Cape Town: Islamic Publications Bureau.
- Deedat, A. H. 1963. *Muhammad dalam Perdjandjian Lama dan Perdjandjian Baru* [Muhammad in the Old and the New Testaments]. Surabaya: Japi.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. 1992. "The Intellectualization of Islamic Studies in Indonesia." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 20 (58): 19–31.
- Federspiel, Howard M. 2001. *Islam and Ideology in the Emerging Indonesian State: The Persatuan Islam (Persis), 1923–1957*. Leiden: Brill.

- Feener, R. Michael. 1999. "Developments of Muslim Jurisprudence in Twentieth Century Indonesia." PhD diss., Boston University.
- Friedmann, Yohanan. 1989. *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi Religious Thought and Its Medieval Background*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Friedmann, Yohanan. 1998. "The Messianic Claim of Ghulam Ahmad." In *Toward the Millennium: Messianic Expectations from the Bible to Waco*, edited by Peter Schäfer and Mark R. Cohen, 299–310. Leiden: Brill.
- GAI (Gerakan Ahmadiyah Lahore Indonesia). n.d. *Anggaran Dasar (Qanun Asasi)* [Statute]. Yogyakarta: PB GAI.
- Gardner, W. R. W. 1919. "The Ahmadiya Movement." *The Muslim World* 10 (1): 59–64.
- Gaus AF, Ahmad. 2009. *Sang Pelintas Batas: Biografi Djohan Effendi* [A border crosser: A biography of Djohan Effendi]. Jakarta: ICRP and Kompas.
- Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. 1984. *Tadhkiratush Shahadain (The Narrative of Two Martyrdoms)*. London: The London Mosque.
- Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. 2003. *Jesus in India*. London: Islam International Publications Ltd.
- Hadikusumo, Djarnawi. 1965. *Sekitar Kristologi: Khusus untuk Muballighin Muhammadiyah* [Around Christology: For Muhammadiyah missionaries only]. Jogjakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Madjlis Tabligh.
- Hadikusumo, Djarnawi. 1986. *Sekitar Perjanjian Lama dan Perjanjian Baru: Khusus untuk Muballighin Muhammadiyah* [Around the New Testament and the Old Testament: For Muhammadiyah missionaries only]. Yogyakarta: Persatuan.
- Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah). 1946. *Moehammadiyah Melaloei 3 (Tiga) Zaman* [Muhammadiyah through three epochs]. Padang: Markaz Idarah Moehammadiyah Soematera Barat.
- Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah). 1982. *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera* [My father: A biography of Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah and the struggle of ulama in Sumatera]. Jakarta: Umminda.
- Hanafi, A. 1967. *Perbandingan Hukum Perkawinan pada Agama Jahudi, Masehi, Islam dan Rumawi* [A comparison of marriage law between Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Rome]. Yogyakarta: n.p.
- Hashem, O. 1963. *Sembahyang dalam Perdjudjian Lama, Perdjudjian Baru dan Qur'an* [Prayer in the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Qur'an]. Surabaya: Japi.
- Hashem, O. 1964. *Pembahasan Ilmiah tentang Keesaan Tuhan* [Academic discussion on the oneness of God]. Surabaya: "Japi".
- Hashem, O. 1969. *Djawaban Lengkap kepada Pendeta Dr. J. Verkuyl* [A complete answer to the Reverend Dr. J. Verkuyl]. Surabaya: Japi-Pelita.
- Headley, Al-Hajj Lord. 1927. *The Affinity between the Original Church of Jesus Christ and Islam*. Woking: Mosque, Trust for the Encouragement and Circulation of Muslim Religious Literature.
- Husein, Fatimah. 2005. *Muslim-Christian Relations in the New Order Indonesia: The Exclusivist and Inclusivist Muslims' Perspectives*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Kahin, Audrey R. 2012. *Islam, Nationalism and Democracy: A Political Biography of Mohammad Natsir*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Kahin, George, McT. 1989. "Cornell's Modern Indonesia Project." *Indonesia* 48 (October): 1–26.
- Kamal-ud-Din, Khwaja. 1997. *The Sources of Christianity*. Ohio: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam (Lahore) U.S.A.
- Kraemer, H. 1952. *Agama Islam* [Religion of Islam]. Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen.
- van der Kroef, Justus M. 1962. "Recent Trends in Indonesian Islam." *The Muslim World* 52 (1): 48–60.
- Lubis, M. Arsjad Thalib. 1964. *Pendapat Islam dan Keristen tentang Keaslian Bijbel* [Islamic and Christian views on the authenticity of the Bible]. Medan: Firma Islamyah.
- Lubis, M. Arsjad Thalib. 1971a. *Perbandingan Agama Kristen dan Islam, Djilid I* [Comparative religion, Christianity and Islam, part I]. Medan: Firma Islamyah.
- Lubis, M. Arsjad Thalib. 1971b. *Perbandingan Agama Kristen dan Islam, Djilid II* [Comparative religion, Christianity and Islam, part II]. Medan: Firma Islamyah.
- Lubis, M. Arsjad Thalib. 1990. *Keesaan Tuhan Menurut Ajaran Kristen dan Islam* [The oneness of God in Christian and Islamic doctrines]. Jakarta: Media Da'wah.
- Mubarak Ahmad, Mirza. 1964. *Ahmadiyyat in the Far East*. Trans. from Urdu by Soofi A. Q. Niaz. Rabwah. West Pakistan: Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions.
- Mubarak Ahmad, Mirza. 1965. *Our Foreign Mission: A Brief Account of the Ahmadiyya Work to Push Islam in Various Parts of the World*. Rabwah: Wakil al-Tabshir, Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions.
- Mujiburrahman. 2006. *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

- Munhanif, Ali. 1996. "Islam and the Struggle for Religious Pluralism in Indonesia: A Political Reading of the Religious Thought of Mukti Ali." *Studia Islamika* 3 (1): 79–126.
- Murtolo. 1976. "Sejarah Singkat Perkembangan Jema'at Ahmadiyah di Indonesia selama 50 Tahun [A Short History of the Progress of Ahmadiyya Jema'at in 50 years in Indonesia]." *Sinar Islam* 4 (15/January): 10–37.
- Muryadi, Wahyu, ed. 2005. *Ahmadiyah: Keyakinan yang Digugat* [Ahmadiyya: The sued belief]. Jakarta: PDAT Tempo.
- Nadwi, S. Abul Hasan Ali. 1967. *Qadianism: A Critical Study*. Trans. from Urdu by Zafar Ishaq Ansari. Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research and Publications.
- Noer, Deliar. 1973. *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900–1942*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Nur Ichwan, Moch. 2001. "Differing Responses to an Ahmadi Translation and Exegesis: The Holy Qur'ân in Egypt and Indonesia." *Archipel* 62 (1): 143–161.
- PB GAI. 1979. *Buku kenang-kenangan Gerakan Ahmadiyah Lahore Indonesia (GAI), usia 50 tahun (Golden Jubilee)*. Yogyakarta: GAI.
- Pijper, G. F. 1950. "De Ahmadiyah in Indonesia." In *Bingkisan budi: een bundel opstellen aan Dr. Philippus Samuel van Ronkel door vrienden en leerlingen aangeboden op zijn tachtigste verjaardag 1 Augustus 1950*, edited by Philippus Samuel van Ronkel, 247–254. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V.
- Rasjidi, Muhammad. 1976. "Christian Mission in the Muslim world: The Role of Christian Missions – the Indonesian Experience." *International Review on Missions* 65 (260): 427–438.
- Rauf, Ijaz A. 1996. "73 Divisions in Islam and One True Jama'at." Accessed December 14, 2012. <http://www.alislam.org/library/73divisions/>
- Reynolds, G. S. 2009. "The Muslim Jesus: Dead or Alive?" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72 (2): 237–258.
- Ropi, Ismatu. 1998. "Muslim–Christian Polemics in Indonesian Islamic Literature." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 9 (2): 217–229.
- Ropi, Ismatu. 2010. "Islamism, Government Regulation, and the Ahmadiyah Controversy in Indonesia." *Al-Jamiah* 48 (2): 76–98.
- Saeed, Abdullah. 1999. "Towards Religious Tolerance through Reform in Islamic Education: The Case of the State Institute of Islamic Studies of Indonesia." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 27 (79): 177–191.
- Shihab, Alwi. 1995. "The Muhammadiyah Movement and Its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia." PhD diss., Temple University.
- Sholehuddin, M. 2007. "Studi tentang Jamaah Ahmadiyah di Surabaya [A Study of Ahmadiyya Community in Surabaya]." BA Thesis - IAIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya.
- Sjalabi, Ahmad. 1964. *Perbandingan Agama Bahagian Agama Masehi* [Comparative religion, on Christianity]. Trans. Fuad Muhammad Fachruddin. Djakarta: Djajamurni.
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. 1969. *Modern Islām in India: A Social Analysis*. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf.
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. 1986. art. Ahmadiyya. In *EF²*.
- Soedewo. 1937. *Asas-asas dan Pekerjiaan Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (Centrum Lahore)* [The principles and the work of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement (Lahore branch)]. Soekaboemi: Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (Centrum Lahore).
- Soewindo, R. H. 1982. *Gerakan Ahmadiyah Lahore Indonesia (GAI)* [Indonesian Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement]. Yogyakarta: Pedomas Besar Gerakan Ahmadiyah Lahore Indonesia (GAI).
- Stanton, H. U. Weitbrecht. 1925. "The Ahmadiya Movement." *The Muslim World* 15 (1): 10–20.
- Steenbrink, Karel A. 1990. "The Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: A Survey." *Numen* 37 (2): 141–167.
- Sukarno. 1964. "Me-'muda'-kan pengertian Islam [Renewal of understanding of Islam]." In *Dibawah bendera revolusi* [Under the banner of the revolution], 369–402. Volume 1. [Djakarta]: Panitia Penerbit Dibawah Bendera Revolusi.
- Tempo. 1974. "Ahmadiyah, Sebuah Titik yang Dilupa [Ahmadiyya, the forgotten history]." *Tempo* 29 (4), September 21.
- Tempo. 1980. "Menunggu Pembaru Bermandat [Waiting for the decree from the reformer]." *Tempo* 46 (9), January 12.
- Wardy, Bisjron A. 1964. *Memahami Kegiatan Nasrani* [Comprehending the activities of Christians]. Jogjakarta: K.O.

- Wherry, E. M. 1919. "Christ superior to Mohammed: Fourteen Reasons from the Koran." *The Moslem World* 9 (3): 252–264.
- Yasir, S. Ali, and A. S. Yatimin. 1989. *100 tahun Ahmadiyah, 60 tahun Gerakan Ahmadiyah Lahore Indonesia* [100-year of the Ahmadiyya, 60-year of the GAI]. Yogyakarta: Pedoman Besar GAI, bagian Tabligh dan Tarbiyah.
- Zaenal Abidin, E. P. 2007. *Syarif Ahmad Saitama Lubis: Dari Ahmadiyah untuk Bangsa* [Syarif Ahmad Saitama Lubis: From the Ahmadiyya to the nation]. Berbah, Sleman, Yogyakarta: Logung Pustaka.
- Zulkarnain, Iskandar. 2005. *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia* [Ahmadiyya movement in Indonesia]. Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta.