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Iskandar Zulkarnain And His Contribution To The Study Of Ahmadiyya In Indonesia

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Abstract

This article portrays the contribution of Iskandar Zulkarnain as a researcher who has succeeded in paving the way for further research on Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. His book, Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia, is one of the most comprehensive works on Ahmadiyya's historicity. Later, this book has also become the primary reference for Ahmadiyya researchers in Indonesia since the issuance of the 3 Ministerial Decree (SKB 3 Menteri) in 2008 regarding Ahmadiyya. This study reveals that Iskandar objectively and holistically raised Ahmadiyya to the surface by presenting historical, doctrinal, organizational, contribution, and position as a theological school and a social movement in Islamic discourse in Indonesia. The discourse then became a map of the Ahmadiyya movement, which is often not seen in Indonesia's academic and intellectual constellations. His significant contribution opened the faucet for future researchers to look at Ahmadiyya from a more diverse approach, in the form of theological, social, political, and political economy approaches.

Keyword: Iskandar, Ahmadiyya, Study, Contribution.

Background

Religious social movements are collectively organized efforts of religious adherents to respond to socio-religious realities to change or maintain existing values or beliefs. This process manifests religiosity, which includes ideological, intellectual, experiential, ritualistic, and consequential dimensions. The emergence of Islamic social movements is the embodiment of the call to be actively involved in humanitarian missions to transform the community's social life to become more qualified, more civilized and reflect the prophetic values of Islam.

After the weakening of the Ottoman's influence, in the Islamic world emerged modern movements that tried to revive the ruins of the greatness of Islam. The emergence of the contemporary Movement cannot be separated from three backgrounds—first, the emergence of an awareness of internal renewal due to the impact of Ibn Taimiyah's thoughts. Second, the birth of a new civilization after the renaissance of the West that rise to the idea of modernization and scientific rational thought, which gave birth to science and technology that began around the 16th century. Third, Arab countries, Egypt and Turkey,

were in a problematic situation under European Imperialism.¹

One movement born from the womb of Islamic modernism in India is the Ahmadiyya movement founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835 AD). The beginning of Ahmadiyya was inseparable from India's social, political, and economic crisis after the British occupation. This Movement has initially been born from Ghulam Ahmad's anxiety about the constant mission of Christianization and Aryan Hinduism. Ghulam Ahmad's fresh and rational ideas managed to attract the attention of the Indian Muslim community to agree and disagree with him. A charismatic figure behind India, Muhammad Iqbal, did not miss to comment on the Movement of Ghulam Ahmad's. At the end of the 19th century, Ghulam Ahmad proclaimed himself as a prophet who received revelation.

As a prophet who received revelation, Ghulam Ahmad began to introduce theological ideas to his followers. Among the most controversial are the Ahmadiyya claims of continued prophethood after the Prophet Muhammad and culminated in the leadership of Basyiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, son of Ghulam Ahmad. Then the Ahmadiyya was divided. Qadiyani faction emphasized the prophetic claims of Ghulam Ahmad, unlimited power of his successors, Basyiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, and consider non-Ahmadi Muslim infidels. Otherwise, the Lahore faction found Ghulam Ahmad never claimed more than religion's "reformer" (mujaddid). The power is not the successor of Ghulam Ahmad but the Ahmadiyya Supreme Council. Further, they did not consider others as an infidel.² In addition, they

also have their interpretation of jihad,³ al-Mahdi, al-Masih, and the caliphate.

Ahmadiyya's track record was finally heard in Indonesia. This Movement was introduced in the torrent of nationalism during an uncertain political, economic, and socio-religious situation. The first contact of Indonesians with Ahmadiyya occurred in the 1920s through newspapers, news that brought the pilgrimage, and Indonesian students in India. In 1925 Ahmadiyya sent Maulana Rahmat Ali to Indonesia, and a year later, the Ahmadiyya organization officially obtained permission from the Dutch East Indies government in Padang.⁴ Thereafter, the movement is evolving from Aceh, Padang, Bandung, Jogjakarta, Purwokerto, and Wonosobo.

The involvement of Ahmadiyya in theological debates, political movements, and actions against Christianity makes the profile of Ahmadiyya in the map of Islamic social movements complex. Wilfred C. Smith,⁵ as quoted by Azyumardi Azra, categorizes Mirza Ghulam Ahmad with his Ahmadiyya movement as a theological movement, while Gibb tends to include it in the intellectual Movement, although it is not so dominant.⁶ On the other hand, Spencer Lavan saw it as a reform movement within religion.⁷ These views demonstrated the unique position of the Ahmadiyya compared to other movements. Ahmadiyya can be called the only school that ultimately holds the attributes of being a theological school and a social movement simultaneously. As a theological school, it has theological doctrines that its followers believe in. On the other hand, Ahmadiyya has a standard organizational structure and gets legal legitimacy from the government as a religious movement.

One of the most comprehensive figures portraying Ahmadiyya as a theological school and a religious Movement in Indonesia was Prof. Dr. Iskandar Zulkarnain. Initially, Iskandar's contact with Ahmadiyya was part of his dissertation research at IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. Afterward, the research was recorded in a book entitled *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia*. Azyumardi Azra praised the book as the first in the Indonesian language, which thoroughly discussed the Ahmadiyya movement in Indonesia, especially from the historical approach. Further, the book has also become the primary reference for Ahmadiyya researchers in Indonesia since the issuance of the 3 Ministerial Decree in 2008 regarding Ahmadiyya.

Iskandar focused his discussion on the growth and development of the Ahmadiyya movement in Indonesia. According to Iskandar, the studies on Ahmadiyya in Indonesia have received little attention. *Tempo* magazine published an article in 1974 entitled "Ahmadiyah Sebuah Titik yang Dilupa," exploring the intellectual contribution of the early generation of militant Ahmadiyya's figures to young intellectuals in Indonesia. On the other hand, Mukti Ali and Deliar Noer believed that Ahmadiyya did not contribute anything to modern thought in Indonesia.⁸

This paper attempts to portray Iskandar's contribution to the study of the Ahmadiyya movement in Indonesia. Iskandar assumed that the Ahmadiyya movement in Indonesia could not be as big and developed as NU and Muhammadiyah because the theological views were different from the beliefs of Muslims in general. In addition, this paper also tries to explore Iskandar's academic contribution to the benefit of Islamic studies in general and the study of Ahmadiyya in particular.

The Biography of Iskandar Zulkarnain

Prof. Dr. Iskandar Zulkarnain is a professor at the Postgraduate Program at UIN Sunan Kalijaga. He was born in Ketitang District of Nogosari, Boyolali, on 14 September 1949, to the couple H. Muhammad Shahid and Suratin and spent his childhood in Boyolali.⁹ Iskandar was one of the few people who received formal education at Sekolah Rakyat Indonesia (SRIN) in Tinawas, Boyolali. He entered this school in 1957 and completed his studies in 1963. In 1965, he successfully graduated from his junior high school, and in the same year, he continued his studies at Madrasah Aliyah Al-Islam in Surakarta.

After high school, he continued his studies at IAIN (now UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta at the Department of Religion and Philosophy, Faculty of Ushuluddin (1975). In 2000 he completed his Doctoral studies at the Graduate School of IAIN (now UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta through the Free Doctoral Program. In 1990, he took the Islamic Studies Program at Leiden University, Netherlands, through the Indonesia-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS) program.

During his studies, he had a strong interest in Ilmu Kalam. In the context of Indonesian kalam thought, he followed various developments of kalam that developed in Indonesia, which was considered a fringe Islamic group, including the development of Shi'ism and Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. He was interested in and pursued the Movement and organization in Indonesia, mainly focusing on two sides, namely, the historical and theological sides before the Ahmadiyya movement became an Islamic conflictual issue in Indonesia that was so sharp and colored by bloody violence, especially in West Java.¹⁰

Iskandar took advantage of his time in Leiden to study and study classical literature

related to Ahmadiyya and Indonesia, which was sourced from the newspaper, *Inlandsche Pers Overzicht* (IPO), notes and books stored in the Dutch national library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek or KB) in Den Haag. In addition, Iskandar also received advice from Prof. Taufik Abdullah when he filled a seminar in Leiden.

After returning to Indonesia, Iskandar resumed his service at UIN Sunan Kalijaga. He served as Assistant Director of the Postgraduate Program at UIN Sunan Kalijaga for two terms in the leadership of Musa Asy'arie (2002-2004) and Machasin (2004-2006) before finally being given the position of Director of the Postgraduate program at UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2006-2010). His published works include: *Al-Masih dan Al-Mahdi dalam Pandangan Ahmadiyah* (Esensia, No. 2, 2000), *Gerakan Ahmadiyah Qadiyan di Indonesia 1925-1942* (Penelitian Agama, No. 25, 2000), *Jihad dalam Pandangan Ahmadiyah* (Esensia, No. 1, 2002), *Kenabian dalam Pandangan Ahmadiyah* (Profetika, No. 2, 2002), and others .

As an expert in the study of Ahmadiyya, Iskandar often gives seminars on Ahmadiyya. He is also frequently asked for input on Ahmadiyya by the Research and Development Agency of the Ministry of Religion, including information regarding the Joint Decree (SKB) of the Three Ministers (Minister of Religion, Attorney General, and Minister of Home Affairs) in 2008 concerning Warnings and Orders to Adherents, Members, and/or Members of the Management of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation (JAI) and Community Members. Furthermore, Iskandar was also invited directly by the fifth Ahmadiyya Caliph in London, England, in an international conference to talk about Ahmadiyya in Indonesia.

Ahmadiyya in Indonesia: Theological Schools and Social Movements

Ahmadiyya experienced rapid progress during the first caliphate, who succeeded Ghulam Ahmad, Maulvi Nuruddin. However, after Maulvi Nuruddin's death, his followers broke up because of the issue of a successor caliph, faith in Ghulam Ahmad, and prophethood. In 1914, Ahmadiyya split into two groups, Qadian and Lahore. First, the Qadian Faction or the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community / Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at is a faction that believes in the prophethood of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and considers those who do not recognize it to be infidels.¹¹ Second, the Lahore faction, also known as the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam Lahore (AAIIL) who believes Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is only a mujaddid, al-Masih, and al-Mahdi, not a prophet.¹²

The principal doctrines of Ahmadiyya are recorded in Mirza Ghulam Ahmad himself and the works of his other students. Ghulam Ahmad himself has written more than eighty books, including *Barahiyn Ahmadiyya* (4 volumes), *Fath al-Islam*, *Tauzih al-Maram*, *Izalah al-Auham*, *Purani Tahrirain*, and so on.¹³ While the controversial book, *Tazkirah* is not the sole work of Ghulam Ahmad. *Tazkirah* is a diary containing revelations, inspirations, kasysyaf, dreams, and rukyah received by Ghulam Ahmad, collected from various books, essays, writings, and leaflets that he had written in his lifetime. This book is serially and gradually compiled by Maulana Muhammad Ismail, HA., Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Shd. and Maulana Abdul Rasyid, compiled in 1935, namely during the time of Khalifatul Masih II, Mirza Basyiruddin Mahmud Ahmad and refined based on the order of the previous findings, then published in the next edition. This book was later published by Ta'lif wa Tasnif of the Qadian Ahmadiyya Community.¹⁴

The historical condition of the people in Indonesia was also an uncertain condition when the Ahmadiyya arrived. It was not far from where

the school origin. Such conditions are like being under the confines of colonialism, chaotic economic, social and political conditions, and ancient traditional religious attitudes. Howa²⁴ Federspiel mentions that Ahmadiyya arrived in Indonesia at the end of the 19th century through Indonesian students returning from Ahmadiyya schools in India.¹⁵ Federspiel's opinion was later refuted by articles that mention 1922 through Indonesian students in Qadian who wrote letters to his family in Indonesia. This claim is similar to Raden Ngabei Haji Minhadjurrahman Djojosugito, founder of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Branch in Indonesia, who heard of Ahmadiyya between 1921 and 1922. Iskandar believes that the Ahmadiyya Lahore faction came first in 1924 in Yogyakarta, and a year later, his brother from Qadian landed in 1925 in Tapak Tuan, Aceh.

In detail, Iskandar stated that the arrival of the Qadian Ahmadiyya in Indonesia was preceded by the story of the departure of two young men to India, namely Abu Bakar Ayyub and Ahmad Nuruddin. The two young men graduated from the Sumatra Thawalib college led by Abdul Karim Amrullah (Haji Rasul/Inyiak DR) in Padang Panjang. After completing their studies at the university, they plan to continue their studies in Egypt. However, after consulting with Zainuddin Labay and Sheikh Ibrahim Musa Parabek (Inyiak Parabek), they decided to continue the journey to Hindustan. The reason is that many young people have studied in Egypt. In India, they briefly looked at the Lahore Ahmadiyya Center, then continued their studies to Qadian. Another wave followed the departure, including Zaini Dahlan, a prominent figure and propagator of the Qadian Ahmadiyya in Indonesia.

At the persuasion of these students, Caliph II Ahmadiyya (Qadian) finally sent a preacher to the Dutch East Indies. At first, Maulana Rahmat Ali landed in Tapak Tuan in

1925 and delivered his da'wah there. Maulana Rahmat Ali then continued his da'wah to Minangkabau and received a "welcome" from Islamic movement figures, such as Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and Abdullah Ahmad. Despite his rejection, Rahmat Ali still managed to attract followers from Minangkabau Muslims.

The Lahore Ahmadiyya was already known in Java, precisely in Yogyakarta in 1924, a year earlier than the Qadian Ahmadiyya, which was known in Sumatra or twelve years after the Muhammadiyah organization was founded. The background of the Lahore Ahmadiyya arrival in Java is not as straightforward as the information on the appearance of the Qadiani in Sumatra. Starting with the arrival of two missionaries from Hindustan, namely Maulana Ahmad and Mirza Wali Ahmad Baig, it is not clear who invited them. According to Muhammadiyah,¹⁶ Wali Ahmad Baig stated that he wanted to go to Manila. However, due to insufficient living expenses, he was forced to live in Indonesia. Another source said that Maulana Ahmad and Wali Ahmad Baig intended to go to China and only intended to stop briefly to make a short visit to Indonesia. After hearing the news of the powerful and successful broadcasting of Christianity in Java, the two Lahore Ahmadiyya preachers changed their intentions, so they canceled their discretion and stayed.

It seems reasonable that the choice to spread Ahmadiyya in Minangkabau and Yogyakarta was a deliberate design and not a mere coincidence. At the beginning of the 20th century, these two regions represented the development of Islamic reform in Indonesia. In Minangkabau, the Sumatra Thawalib education movement developed, which adopted the classical model in education. This model became the forerunner of the class system applied by modern Indonesian education. Meanwhile, in Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah is enjoying the spring as a

pioneer of the movement. Intellectual activity in both regions can also be seen from the widespread publication of magazines, bulletins, and newspapers. In Minangkabau, there is *Al-Munir* magazine, managed by Abdullah Ahmad, the oldest magazine in Indonesia, and in Yogyakarta, there is *Suara Muhammadiyah*.

The Qadiani was introduced to Indonesia in 1925 and spread to several cities, both in Sumatra and Java, with several branches. However, as an organization, the new board (*hoofdbestuur*) was formed after ten years in Indonesia. Before initiating the giant board, several additions had been established, including the Ahmadiyya branches in Padang, Bogor, and Jakarta (Batavia). The Qadiani Board was formed in 1935 through a conference held on 15 and 16 December 1935. This organization was named *Ahmadiyah Qadian Departemen Indonesia (AQDI)*. In December 1949, apart from approving the new Articles of Association and Bylaws, they also changed its name to *Jema'at Ahmadiyya Indonesia (JAI)*. In further developments, this organization has obtained approval from the Government of the Republic of Indonesia as a legal entity by Decree of the Minister of Justice No. JA/5/23/13 dated 13 March 1953, and announced in the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia Number 26 dated 31 March 1953.¹⁷

Unlike the Qadiani, the Indonesian Lahore Ahmadiyya movement is structurally not related to the Ahmadiyya movement based in Lahore, Pakistan, namely *Ahmadiyah Anjuman Asya'ati Islam (Ahmadiyya Islamic Broadcasting Movement)* led by Maulana Muhammad Ali. In addition to not recognizing Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet, this Movement also does not acknowledge a caliphate system, as in the Ahmadiyya Qadian. Ahmadiyya Lahore is not a strict organization in essence. In each country, there are only relatively free associations. Thus, historically the position of Ahmadiyya in

Indonesia is only a branch or representative and cannot be said to be independent. Its head office is in Lahore, namely *Ahmadiyah Anjuman Isya'ati Islam*. Followers formed the *Gema'atan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (GAI)* organization, which got a *Legal Entity No. I x* dated 30 April 1930. Statutes announced the *Official Gazette* on 28 November 1986, No. 95 Annex No. 35.¹⁸

Ahmadiyya Muslim Congregation is one of the organizations of the International Religious, which has spread to more than 185 countries worldwide, which has branches in 174 countries spread across Africa, North America, South America, Asia, Australia, and Europe. Currently, the number of the worldwide is more than 150 million people. Nevertheless, the Ahmadiyya, Qadiani, and Lahore quantitatively are not the most interested associations in Indonesia, even though they are as famous as *Muhammadiyah* or *NU*. The teachings brought, especially Qadiani, tended to be controversial and different from most Muslims in Indonesia based on the Sunni school of thought. Furthermore, the prophetic doctrine of Ghulam Ahmad and his caliphs is a non-negotiable doctrine by Indonesian Muslims.

In other forms, the doctrinal works of Ahmadiyya's figures widely contributed to Islam in Indonesia. For example, Muhammad The Prophet and the translation of the Koran *The Holy Qur'an* by Maulana Muhammad Ali, *The Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qur'an*, by Mirza Basyiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, *Het Evangelie van den Daad (Secret of Life)*, *De Bronnen van het Christendom (The Source of Christianity)*, by Kwaja Kamaluddin. Maulana Muhammad Ali's translation of the Koran was even used to assist the translation carried out by HOS Tjokroaminoto and the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia.

Indeed, the Ahmadiyya once played an essential role in converting the educated people in

Indonesia during the colonial period. In Jong Islamiyeten Bond and Sarekat Islam, for example, the influence of the Ahmadiyya is quite significant. However, after more modernist organization develops, Ahmadis would eliminate its function as a pioneer of reformism and rationalism in Islam and further highlight the thought of prophethood of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.¹⁹ Despite this, the translation of the Quran into several languages can be considered their most significant contribution. Both Lahore and Qadiani, can be regarded as initiators in translating the Koran into various languages in the world. For this Movement, translating the Koran is one of their ways to apply the doctrine of jihad bi al-qalam (jihad through a pen), as Muhammad Ali said, "The real aim of our movement is to spread Islam, and in that work, the spread of the Quran occupies a leading place."²⁰

Ahmadiyya Studies in Indonesia

Before 2000, studies on the Ahmadiyya movement in Indonesia had not yet produced a comprehensive survey. The popularity of Ahmadiyya as an object of study is inferior to its contemporaries, such as Muhammadiyah, NU, Perti, and Syarikat Islam. One of the earliest writings on Ahmadiyya in Indonesia was written by GF Pijper, "De Ahmadiyya in Indonesia in Bingkisan Budi," in 1950.²¹ Pijper served as Head of the Dutch Government's Office of External Affairs from 1925-1942. Pijpers also came as a representative of the Dutch government to witness an open debate on Ahmadiyya on 28-29 September 1933. In addition, there was also Margaret Blood wrote *The Ahmadiyya in Indonesia: Its Early History and Contribution to Islam in the Archipelago*, 1974. Blood²³ among others, highlighted the early history of the Ahmadiyya's arrival in Indonesia to its involvement

with theological debates, the translation of the Koran, to its contributions that are considered forgotten.²² Although it is one of the earliest studies, Blood, according to Iskandar, does not comprehensively mention the history of the entry of Ahmadiyya into Indonesia and its doctrine in particular. Blood only refers to Pijpers and Hamka's notes mentioning the origin of the contact between Indonesians and Ahmadiyya.

Several studies on Ahmadiyya are found in books that generally discuss Islamic movements in Indonesia, such as; Petrus Blumberger (*De Nationalthe Beweging in Nederlandsch Indie*, 1931), Deliar Noer (*Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia, 1900-1942*, 1980). Discussions about Ahmadiyya are also found in writings about other objects or organizations, such as Hamka (*Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. Abdul Karim Anrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama*, 1950), Howard M. Federspiel (*Persatuan Islam, Islamic Reform Twentieth-Century Indonesia*, 1970), Alfian (*Islamic Modernism in Indonesia Politics: The Muhammadiyah Movement During The Dutch Colonial Period [1912-1942]*, dissertation, 1969), A. Mukti Ali (*The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction*, Thesis, 1957)²³

Iskandar's research opened a new chapter of Ahmadiyya studies in Indonesia. He focussed on 1920 related to the first contact with Ahmadiyya until 1942. During the Japanese occupation, all organizational activities that existed during the Dutch period were prohibited. Therefore, the Ahmadiyya movement also stopped. They returned to action in 1947.

Iskandar used a historical approach to see Ahmadiyya from the traces of the past. This activity, as Iskandar, is based on four main activities, which include: 1) Heuristics, collecting

sources, 2) Criticism, which includes internal and external criticism of the sources that have been obtained, 3) Interpretation, establishing the interrelationships between the facts that have been obtained, and 4) Historiography or presentation in written form.²⁴ As an analytical tool, Iskandar borrows the challenge and response theory of Arnold J. Toynbee which says that every historical Movement arises because of a stimulus, so there will be a reaction that produces change. This stimulation tends to be carried out by a handful of people referred to as the dominant minority group. Albert²⁷ In his study, the use of the concept explained how civilizations rise and fall. He looks for the underlying causes that define the success or failure of society. Toynbee's "challenge" means an unforeseen factor or event that has threatened how a group of people has met their needs in the past. A response is an action taken by the same group of people to cope with a new situation. Toynbee uses "challenge and response" for major threats and activities that impact the entire population. The "challenge" threatens the viability of the existing system. The "response" will range from inaction to significant changes in the living conditions of individuals and groups.²⁵ Iskandar reconstructs how a new sect entering an established religious movement will become a challenge for the Movement and its response to the challenges. Indonesia is a country with a majority of the Sunni population opposite the Ahmadiyya sect and other sects.

Research of Ahmadiyya as its object has emerged since the Joint Decree (SKB) of 3 Ministers²⁶ of 2008. The research tries to portray Ahmadiyya as a theological sect, a religious movement, and the psychological, sociological, and political impact of the SKB. Some of them could be mentioned as follow.

Abraham Silo Wilar wrote a dissertation on the interpretation of Jemaah

Ahmadiyya Indonesia (JAI) and the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement (GAI) on the term "khatamul anbiya" at Gadjah Mada University³¹ in 2015. In his dissertation entitled *Khatamul Anbiya According to To Ahmadiyya In Indonesia: A History Of Interpretation*, Wilar concludes that both GAI and JAI accept the meaning of the phrase as "Muhammad is the last prophet." In this respect, the two differ in their identification of Ghulam Ahmad. GAI saw him as a mere mujaddid who came to nineteenth-century India to serve Muhammad's mission. On the other hand, JAI has also developed a concept in which its founder, Ghulam Ahmad, is believed to be the Messiah, despite accepting Muhammad as khatamul anbiya like the Sunnis and Shiites. In this case, the group interprets the khatam as "the most precious of the prophets."²⁷

Hamad Najib Burhani, in his article *Conversion to Ahmadiyya in Indonesia: Winning Hearts through Ethical and Spiritual Appeals*, tries to uncover how the Qadiani Ahmadiyya has spread their beliefs and teachings to Indonesian Muslims, the factors that attracted people to this Movement, and made them convert to Ahmadiyya. According to Burhani, for Indonesians, the most attractive feature of Qadiani is not his modernist attitude but his followers' belief in the coming of the Messiah, his strong organization, and zealous missionaries. Unlike the Lahore Ahmadiyya members, who are known for their rational tendencies, members of the Qadiani branch to spread their faith emphasize their distinctive beliefs, such as the natural death of Jesus and the caliphate system. Qadiani also tended to be a mystical movement whose members believed in supernatural experiences and dreams. They use these experiences and fantasies to show God's preference for them and God's intervention in

human relationships, such as when God is on their side.²⁸

Purhani's other writings on Ahmadiyya include; Sectarian Translation of the Qur'an in Indonesia: The Case of the Ahmadiyya, in the journal *Al-Jami'a*, Vol. 53, no. 2, 2015, *The Ahmadiyya and the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia: Controversies and Influences* in the journal *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol. 25, no. 2, 2014, and *Treating Minorities with Fatwās: A Study of the Ahmadiyya Community in Indonesia*, in the journal *Contemporary Islam*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2014.

Meanwhile, studies that examine Ahmadiyya as a religious movement include; Nunu Burhanuddin, *The Ahmadiyya Split Movement: From the Urban Religious Reformist Phenomenon to the Messianist-Introversionist*. Burhanuddin said that the Ahmadiyya presented themselves (in India-Pakistan and Indonesia) as a reformist religious sect devoted to justice and nationalism. Later the Ahmadiyya became very messianic-introversions and avoided activities outside their circle. The Ahmadiyya, who had played the role of Islamizing educated people in Indonesia during the colonial period, later changed by eliminating its function as a pioneer of reformism and rationalism in Islam.²⁹

Muhammad Said et al., in 2018, published the book *Jemaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia: Conflict, Nationality, and Humanity* photographing the contribution of JAI members in the physical revolution of Indonesian independence. The research was published by the Institute of Southeast Asian Islam (ISAI) Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta. They convey data that WR Soepratman, known as the composer of the song *Indonesia Raya*, and Arif Rahman Hakim, known

as the hero of Ampera, are the member of JAI. But, after the 1998 reform, JAI victims of physical violence in some regions such as West Lombok, Mataram, and Kuningan, West Java.³⁰

Iskandar Zulkarnain's Academic Contribution to Ahmadiyya Studies in Indonesia

Depending on Kim Knott's insider and outsider perspective on religious studies,³¹ Iskandar puts his position as an insider in the form of a participant as observer but produces objective research. In general, the participant as observer adopts a more critical stance than mimic the role of complete participant and adopts ways researchers to examine the religious amid their religious communities. To reduce and maintain his neutrality, Iskandar dialogues his findings with both insider-outsider perspectives by leaving a dichotomous view to achieve a more dynamic result where everyone is an active participant in formulating a narrative about Ahmadiyya.

Meanwhile, in Charles Sanders Peirce's progress of science paradigm, Iskandar is not stuck in instilling the community's initial belief about Ahmadiyya, which is considered sinful and not Islam, then looks for methodological solutions to justify that belief. More than that, Iskandar departed from genuine intellectual doubt (genuine doubt) to avoid the initial assumptions. This anxiety leads to finding a methodological and objective solution (inquiry), which will produce the best solution (meaning). According to Peirce, an investigation does not last forever. The argument may become stale over time. Changes in opinion can be faster than people who read in a hurry. Thus for Peirce, the rapid evolution of times will change one's view of something.³² And the reader can finally see that the arguments built

in the next period were complimented and criticized by later researchers.

In recent years, social movements or Islamic religious movements are actual and interesting objects of study in social sciences, both in global and national and local contexts. According to Jurdi, the emergence and development of new religious movements with various styles show that this topic can be studied using a cross-disciplinary perspective. Islamic religious movements as an object of study can be analyzed through social studies or political, historical approaches, and even a political economy perspective.³³

Iskandar's work, as previously mentioned, is a study of Islamic socio-religious movements with a historical approach. Iskandar successfully lifted to the surface Ahmadiyya objectively and holistically with a dish to serve a historical, doctrinal, organization, contribution, and position of Islamic discourse in Indonesia. The presentation then became a map of the Ahmadiyya movement, which is often not seen in Indonesia's academic and intellectual constellations. Contributions amount of open faucet for researchers next to see the Ahmadiyya from the more diverse approach, be it in the form of theological systems, social, political, or political economy. The trend of research that continues to grow to this day requires a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach, studying science by utilizing other scientific fields, or seeing the interrelationships between fields of science which inevitably requires a solid historical foundation.

As a historical approach, Iskandar managed to describe it as it is since the establishment of Ahmadiyya until it became big and developed today as a social movement. But on the other hand, Iskandar is less assertive in providing a critical note on

the doctrines of the Ahmadiyya trinity, which are considered controversial in Indonesia. The explanation of Ahmadiyya doctrine is only juxtaposed with classical interpretations of similar verses or themes and with minimal analysis from the authors. He missed providing a broader picture of the 1980's MUI fatwa regarding the heresy of the Ahmadiyya. At the same time, it was supposed to become an entrance to the line of thought in his research.

Furthermore, Iskandar seems to have neglected to mention the Tazkirah as one of the primary sources of Ahmadiyya theology and controversy for this sect in society. For Ahmadiyya, Tazkirah is nothing more than a collection of revelations, inspirations, dreams, and visions belonging to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad scattered in various writings and books, then codified by the next generation. But for his opponents, Tazkirah is considered the Ahmadiyya holy book whose position is like the Koran for Muslims.

Iskandar also did not provide any notes on how the Ahmadiyya da'wah strategy could be accepted by some people and rejected by others, who were the potential targets of Ahmadiyya da'wah, and what was the social condition of Ahmadiyya adherents in Indonesia after the rejection. Iskandar also did not describe whether the persecution felt by Ahmadiyya followers after the MUI deviant fatwas in 1980 and 2005 was also experienced by adherents in the early period. Iskandar's description of the Ahmadiyya social movement tends to be elitist. It portrays the Ahmadiyya from above, thus forgetting how the Ahmadiyya group interacts in the lay class in their da'wah. This information is essential to complete the history of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia.

Some of the empty spaces of this argument continued to develop and were filled by

later researchers, including Ahmad Najib Burhani. Burhani noted that Indonesians joined Ahmadiyya not only because of its distinctive strategy of spreading their faith but more often because of three other factors. First, the close and strong bond between Ahmadiyya members, such as helping each other in economic development. Second, Ahmadiyya's spiritual and mystical beliefs include messianic beliefs and belief in God's involvement in assisting Ahmadiyya in worldly affairs. Third, the ethics and morality of the Ahmadiyya followers, as reflected in the behavior of the wise and passionate preachers, especially when they are humiliated by their opponents. Qadiani's appeal was in stark contrast to that of the Lahore Ahmadiyya, which attracted many – including members of Indonesian intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century – for its modernist and reformist stance.³⁴

Elsewhere, Jacqueline Hicks found a connection between heretical fatwas against Ahmadiyya and efforts to maintain and secure political authority. Hicks suspects that the remnants of the New Order are playing this issue to reclaim public confidence in their political existence.³⁵ Aleah Connley describes the survival strategy of Ahmadiyya followers in Indonesia during pressures and persecutions. He summed it up, among others, as follows: first, by way of steadfastness through faith and spirituality with love, prayer, and belief in God; second, rationalizing the suppression that every truth will face its trials and challenges; third, ideological maneuvers to keep giving confidence to the community that Ahmadiyya is Islam; fourth, trying to mutual respect and good relations; fifth, assimilate by hiding their identity or conveying it frankly and discussing it well; and sixth, seeking protection from the government, relatives or community leaders.³⁶

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Conclusion

Ahmadiyya is an organization of the International Religious that has spread to more than 185 countries worldwide. The Movement of the Ahmadiyya Community in Islam is a religious organization with an international scope spread across Africa, North America, South America, Asia, Australia, and Europe. Currently, the number of their worldwide member are more than 150 million people. In Indonesia, these movements have ups and downs. They ever got the state's legitimacy, but in the end, the SKB of 3 Ministers prohibits the conduct of religious activities because they considered disturbing the public. Bullying, persecution, and threats did not escape this Movement. In fact, they have contributed to Islamic and Indonesian thought, such as the translation of the Qur'an, rational ijtihad of the Qur'an and Hadith, and the re-understanding of the meaning of jihad. But their contribution is not as intense as the controversy that accompanies.

Iskandar Zulkamain is a researcher who has succeeded in paving the way for further research on Ahmadiyya. His book, the Ahmadiyya Movement in Indonesia, is the most comprehensive work looking at the historicity of the Ahmadiyya. Later, this book has also become the primary reference for Ahmadiyya researchers in Indonesia since the issuance of the 3 Ministerial Decree in 2008 regarding Ahmadiyya. Iskandar succeeded in raising Ahmadiyya to the surface objectively and holistically by presenting historical, doctrinal, organization, contribution,

and position in Islamic discourse in Indonesia. The exhibition then became a map of the Ahmadiyya movement, which is often not seen in Indonesia's academic and intellectual constellations. His significant contribution opened the faucet for future researchers to look at Ahmadiyya from a more diverse approach, in the form of theological, social, political, and political economy approaches.

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