Christians Labeled as *Kafir* in Indonesia: Is it an Apodictic Stance of Muslim?

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Abstract

This paper addresses the issue of whether the kafir label for Christians in Indonesia is an apodictic stance of Muslims. The kafir label for Christians is grounded on the Al-Maidah 5:73 and Al-Maidah 5:17. These two texts indicate that those who believe in "Allah is the third of the three," (Al-Maidah 5:73) and "God is the Messiah, son of Maryam" (Al-Maidah 5:17) are considered as "disbelievers" (kafir). This paper investigates the scholarly works of Muslims to answer the question. The following are the conclusions. First, Muslim scholars mostly disagree to affirm that these two texts attest that Christians are kafir. Christians believe in one God (monotheism) and this tenet is not the same as believing in the three Gods (polytheism) as Muslims have ascribed to Christians. Besides, Christians believe that Jesus is God, and this belief has been reiterated by the few texts of the Qur'an. Thus, if the kafir label for Christians is due to their tenet of the Trinity, it contradicts the biblical theology. Second, Muslim expositors ignore the literal context in the exposition of the two texts. The literal context of two texts has affirmed that Jesus is God and the Ruler of this universe. If the ground of the kafir label is due to the Christian tenet that Jesus is God, it devastates the biblical theology and the Our'an per se. Thus, the kafir label for Christians at this point emerged from the superficial hermeneutic of Al-Maidah 5:73 and Al-Maidah 5:17. In the Indonesian context, the disaffirmation for the kafir label is incorporated by the prohibition of Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Islam organization, to stigmatize kafir for Christians.

Keywords kafir; label; muslim; christian



I. Introduction

Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world; however, Indonesia is not a Muslim country. As a democratic country, the founding fathers made *Pancasila* (the five principles) as the basis of the state (Turnquist, 2007). On that basis, all citizens uphold the plurality of religion, ethnicity, and race. Over time, such idealism was eroded by many factors. There are at least two main triggers. First, political interests polarized the people based on religious differences. This situation was sharpened by the issue of religious politicization by politicians that generated horizontal tensions (Soekarba, 2018). Thus, the label *kafir* for Christianity is one of the implications of such a condition. Second, there was a problem on the hermeneutical approach. The expositor of the Scripture sometimes overlooks the literal contexts and historical aspects of the text (Bakhtiar, 2011). This kind of haphazard approach is not only producing a certain subjective tenet but also generating religious exclusivism. This condition is the backdrop of certain people in Indonesia to justify the label *kafir* for Christians. Based on these two issues, the question is whether this stigmatization represents a formal view of Islam.

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Scholarly works have been made to address this topic from the Muslim perspectives (Nurbayan, 2019). This paper is aimed specifically to attest to how Muslim scholars deal with the chosen texts of this paper and how they understand the word kafir in the context of Muslim-Christian relation. Their presuppositions will be the ground for assessment on whether the label kafir as Christian is justified; otherwise they will be intrusive to the Muslim-Christian relations in Indonesia. This study will not address the strained relations between Muslim-Christians in Indonesia due to political interests. Similarly, this work will not discuss comprehensively the term kafir in the chosen texts of the Qur'an. Based on the abovementioned aim, the following are the six main sections of this study. The first section is the introduction which specifically addresses the background of the problem. The second section discusses the semantic and lexical study of the term kafir. The third section investigates how Muslim scholars exegeted Surah Al-Maidah 5:73 and Surah Al-Maidah 5:17 in which certain Muslims have the rationale to institute the *kafir* stigma for Christians. The fourth section discusses how Jesus views the *kafir* label for others in the Bible and its implication to the Christian life. The fifth section specifically discloses the historical account of the Muslim-Christian relations in Indonesia. The last section provides the summary and conclusion of the study.

II. Review of Literature

2.1 Etymological View

The term *kafir* is rendered from three words that have synonymous meanings in English, namely, pagan, heathen, and gentile. Semantically, the meaning of these three terms often overlaps (Bull, 2008). The definition of *pagan* or *heathen* in the Cambridge Dictionary is more religious, referring to the form of religious worship, that is, *worship many gods* (McIntosh, 2013). The practice of worshiping many gods has been preserved before the world's major religions (i.e., Jewish, Christian, and Islam) emerged. The Latin term *paganus* means *countryman* which is then narrowed down to *civilian* (Brown, 1999). The term *pagan* was used in the field of religion by Christians in the 4th century AD which was a label for polytheists (Cameron, 1993). Long before that, the term *pagan* in the works of literature from the 1st to the 3rd century was associated with *Gentile* or *heathen* (Brown, 2011).

Modern writers, such as James Lewis and Wouter Henegraaff, identified term *heathen* as label for *polytheism* or *pantheism*, that is, adherents of religions outside of the major religions. Besides, they defined this term in a more secular sense, referring to those who lived a hedonistic and materialistic life (Lewis, 2006). David Hume (1957) stated tat on the other hand, argued that polytheism is the origin of monotheism (Jewish, Christian, and Islam). However, Hume's argument was rejected by Christian theologians such as Theophile James Meek (1942) who insisted that monotheism emerged from the revelation of God.

Merriam-Webster's definition of the term *kafir* is almost the same as the definition of the Cambridge Dictionary. The difference is that Merriam-Webster emphasizes the notion between *heathen* and *pagan* from the cultural contexts. The word *heathen* refers to the polytheism which is practiced by Romans. Thus, the term *heathen* in this context is synonymous with *barbarians* to distinguish them from a *religious person*. Otherwise, the use of *pagan*, which is derived from the Latin word *paganus* in Cambridge Dictionary, is associated with its historical development. The Cambridge Dictionary indicates that this term was popular in the Roman period as well as at the beginning of Christianity. In this

context, the word *pagan* was used to distinguish the followers of Christ from the worshipers of the Roman gods.

Based on the definition stated in the Indonesian Dictionary (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*) 2016, *kafir* is "orang yang tidak percaya kepada Allah dan rasul-Nya" [the man who does not believe in God and His messenger], that is, Muhammad. The last phrase of this definition refers to the faith of Muslims about Muhammad. Consequently, the statement "the one who does not believe Muhammad as God's messenger" stigmatizes the non-Muslim people. The implication is evident: those who believe in God, like Christians, but do not believe in Muhammad as a messenger of God, are stigmatized as *kafir*. As stated in the Indonesian dictionary, the exclusive meaning of *kafir* contradicts the idealism of *Pancasila*, the foundation of the state that recognizes the religious pluralism in Indonesia (Shaleh, 2019). In other words, the definition of *kafir* contradicts the principles of *Pancasila* and ignores academic neutrality.

2.2 *Kafir* in the Literatures of Muslims

The following section deals with two points. First, what the Qur'an says about *kafir* in the literal context. Secondly, it deals with scholarly arguments of Muslims concerning the meaning of *kafir* in the literal context of the *kafir* text.

2.3 Kafir in the Qur'an

The term kafir (Arabic: $\frac{1}{2} \le k\bar{a}fir$; plural $\frac{1}{2} \le kuff\bar{a}r$) occurs 525 times in the Qur'an. This Arabic word is sometimes translated as an *unbeliever* or a person who covers the truth. It can be rendered as people who refuse blessings from God (Akbar, 2018). The term kafir in the Qur'an also has a more specific meaning, that is, the person who "does not believe in Allah and his messenger" (cf. QS. 16:55; QS 30:34). In general, the term kafir in the Qur'an with its variant mostly depends on the literal context of the text. The two Qur'an texts, Al-Maidah 5:73 and Surah Al-Maidah 5:17 are most often considered as polemic in the Muslim-Christian relation in Indonesia due to the discrepancy in the interpretations. Pragmatically, the Muslim's view on these two texts is dominated by the presupposition that Christians, who hold the doctrine of the Trinity and believe in the Lordship of Jesus, is the ground to be considered as kafir (McAuliffe, 1999).

III. Results and Discussion

3.1 Scholarly Works on Kafir

Long before the modern discussion of the *kafir* label, Micahel Nazir-Ali has studied the concept of *kafir* from a historical view. He asserted that the characteristics of *jahiliyyah* power (the state of ignorance) were signified by the development of polytheism at the beginning of the rise of Islam. He added that the polytheism that generates syncretism is the background to the emergence of the *kafir* label or *musyrikin*. Along with the development of monotheistic religions (e.g., Jews and Christians), the Islam in the era of Khalifah Umar gave respect and protection for the Jews and Christians. Thus, the term *kafir* in this context, as addressed by Christine Huda Dodge, is not used to label people who do not believe in God. According to Dodge, the term *kafir* or *kafirun* (plural) in the Qur'an is a label for people who hear Islam but do not believe in it. This argument is incorporated to the concept of *Al-Kafirun*109:1-6, that is, *kafir* refers to those who do not believe in one God (monotheism). From that point of view, the *kafir* label for Christians is contradicting the monotheism of Christians (cf. 4 An-Nissa: 171). This idea is parallel with

the discourse of Al-Baqarah 2:62, which affirms that the Jews and Christians who truly believe in God will receive a reward from God.

The rationale of the *kafir* label for Christians by some people in Indonesia raises polemics on a practical level. An academic opinion was presented by a Muslim scientist named M. Kholid Syeirazi at the National Meeting of Nahdlatul Ulama 2019 in Bnajar, Patroman, West Java, Indonesia and the presentation was entitled "Apakah Bukan Muslim itu Kafir?" [Are Non-Muslims *kafir*?]. He addressed the hermeneutical approach of some Qur'anic texts and argued that the Qur'an must be understood based on the literal context and *munasabah* (syntactical relationship) of the text and description of the prophet Muhammad. He concluded that the *kafir* label for non-Muslims contradicts the tenet of the Qur'an.

Education is a very important human need because education has a duty to prepare Human Resources (HR) for the development of the nation and state (Pradana et al, 2020). According to Astuti et al (2019) Education is an obligation of every human being that must be pursued to hold responsibilities and try to produce progress in knowledge and experience for the lives of every individual. Education is one of the efforts to improve the ability of human intelligence, thus he is able to improve the quality of his life (Saleh and Mujahiddin, 2020).

In line with Syeirazi's view, a study conducted by Noorhaidi Hasan and colleagues has indicated that the handbook for the religious education of Islam in high school and college shows its high appreciation for religious differences in Indonesia. This is confirmed by the textbook published by the Ministry of Education in 2015, wherein one of the sections discussed "Bersatu Dalam Keragaman dan Demokrasi" ("the unity in diversity and democracy"). Although Hasan and his colleagues did not specifically discuss the use of *kafir*, their study still asserts that the appreciation for religious diversity in Indonesia profoundly originated from the system of government exemplified by the prophet Muhammad and the four caliphs. This argument justifies the formal view of Muslims, who give high appreciation for the religious pluralism in Indonesia.

The Islamic idealism indicated by Hasan, as stated earlier, has deviated at the pragmatic point. Rangga Eka Saputra, for instance, studied the triggers of intolerance in Indonesia in the field of education. He found that the perception of teachers in religious education affects the attitude of student's appreciation towards religious diversity. Moreover, he said that the ultimate goal of teachers in religious education is to strengthen the faith of students, and consequently, the demand of appreciation for religious diversity is achieved. This fact, according to Saputra, is to assert that the perceptions and views of teachers about diversity have a strong influence on the perception and attitude of students to non-Muslims. Based on Saputra's study, it can be concluded that the rationale of labeling *kafir* for Christians in Indonesia originated from the inadequate perceptions of religious teachers on Christians.

3.2 *Kafir* in Christian Literature:

a. An Overview

The following section discusses what the Bible says about *kafir and what* scholarly arguments of Christian on the *kafir* in connection to the literal context of *kafir* text in the Bible.

b. Kafir and the Biblical Authors

Before discussing the concept of *kafir* in Christian literature, it is necessary to diagnose the meaning of the term *kafir* in the work of Muhammad Hudaya. He identifies

kafir in the Qur'an as parallel with the other biblical terms such as "the lost sheep" (Matt 8:12-14; Luke 15:3-7), "the lost coin" (Luke 15:8-10), and "the lost son" (Luke 15:11-32). For Hudaya, those terms are used as labels of Christians for non-Christians. This argument is aimed deliberately to maintain his stance that the label kafir for Christianity in the Qur'an cannot be disputed. To corroborate his view, Hudaya argued that eliminating the label kafir for other religions is a form of negation of religious pluralism. Accordingly, the kafir label for Christians in a certain text of the Qur'an is not determined by the theological-ethical context or the socio-political context.

This paper agrees with Hudaya on one point: each religion has subjective truths believed by its adherents. However, there are two premises in Hudaya's arguments that are disparate from the Bible. First, in terms of semantic parallelism, Hudaya equated the word kafir with "the lost sheep, the lost coin, or the lost son." This kind of equation certainly emerged from the writer's ignorance of the Bible because the mentioned terms have no semantic proximity with kafir in the Bible. Moreover, those terms do not connote a negative sense compared to the term *kafir*, which is also used in the Bible. Those terms are not formulated in the form of legal documents or formal tenets in the Bible to reinforce a certain label for the adherents of other religions. Thus, the terms "the lost sheep, the lost son, or the lost coin" in the parables of Jesus are intended to illustrate the "moral attitude and religious principle" of God's worshipers. On the contrary, the term kafir on Al-Maidah 5:17, 73 refers to those who do not worship God. Christians, in this case, are God's worshipers. Thus, the argument of Hudaya from the outset is subtle because he neglected the discrepancy between the two terms. Second, Hudaya overlooks one aspect in the hermeneutical study, that is, each text has a literal and historical context. The objective sense of a term in one discourse should be comprehended from literal and historical contexts in the discourse, and Hudaya neglected this point in the study of biblical texts.

The term *kafir* is rendered from the English words "heathen, unbeliever, [and] infidel." In the Bible, this word is adapted from the Greek translation of *apistos*, *ethnos*, *etnikos*, or in Hebrew *goy*. Here are the three examples of *kafir* usage in the Bible. First, *heathen* or *gentile* (cf. Matt 6:7; 18:17) is translated from Greek *ethnikos*. This term is used to name certain ethnic groups or nations that worship certain gods, which is contrary to Jewish monotheism. Paul calls this group "people who do not know God" (1 Thess 4:5). Secondly, the term *unbeliever* in 1 Cor 7:15 (cf. 1 Cor 14:24; 2 Cor 6:15; 1 Titus 5:8) is rendered from Greek *apistos*, referring to the people who do not believe in God. Most English Bible version uses various terms for this group, such as faithless, infidel, and perfidious. This group is more appropriately called atheists.

Third, the Greek term *ethnos* (gentile) is translated from the Hebrew term *goy*. It refers to a nation or group of people who believes in a particular god (Num 23:9). In the Old Testament, this term was used to distinguish Israel from foreigners. In the New Testament, it is associated with a certain group of people who worship foreign gods. The apostle Paul used this term when he distinguished the Christian ethnic groups in the Church, that is, between "Christian-Gentile" and "Christian-Jews" (cf. Acts 11:18; 13:48; Rom 9:24). Based on the abovementioned three usages of the word *kafir*, it can be concluded that the biblical perspective of this word refers to the distinction between the true worshipper and the false worshiper of God. However, overtime Paul did not use *kafir* as a term to name a certain group of people as atheists. The rationale is evident. Many unbelievers (non-Jews) become Christians Conversely, many Jews people (who are religious) do not believe that Jesus is God and the Messiah.

c. Kafir in the Teaching of Jesus

Jesus forbade Christians to name others as *kafir*. In Matt 5:22, Jesus said, "Whoever says to his brother *Racca*! ("kafir") shall be in danger of the council" (NAS). The rationale of Jesus is implied, that is, human being was created by the same Creator (Gen 1:26-27); thus, every person should consider each other as *brother* (*adelphos*). This idea is parallel with the discourse of the apostle John in 1 John 2:9 (NAS): "He who hates his brother (*adelphos*), he is in darkness and lives in darkness." The context of the discourse in Matt 5:22 indicates that Jesus addressed how to apply the law of God in a pragmatic life, for instance: "Do not kill" (v. 21; cf. Exod 20:13). The Greek term *adelphos* ("brother") in the sentence syntactically serves as an indirect object of *racca* (*kafir*). The punitive consequences when others are named *kafir* are equal to the consequences of the act of "killing." This is the decisive backdrop of why Jesus forbade His adherents to call others *kafir*.

The term *adelphos* in Matt 5:21-24 has a broad definition in the Bible. The Gospel of Matthew used this term in the context of blood relations, for instance, "Andrew the brother (*adelphos*) of Peter (Matt 4:8). In Septuagint, this term first appears in Gen 4:2 as a translation of Hebrew *ach*. In both instances, the term *adelphos* emphasizes fraternal or familial relations. Similarly, the Old Testament writers used the Hebrew term *ach* in the context of blood relations. However, the prophetic literature specifically used the term *ach* in various contexts, such as in the relationships: between the *father* and the *son* (Ezek 18:18), among *fellow Israelites* (Isa 19:9; Jer 22:18; 31:34; 34:14; Jer. 33:30), between the *Israelites* and *Egyptians* (Isa 19:2), between *Israel* and *Edom* (Prov 1:11; Obad 1:10), and among *neighbors* (Isa 41:6; Jer 23:35).

In conclusion, the notion of *adelphos* or *ach* in the prophetic books goes beyond the boundaries of the familial relationship. It mostly refers to a broader connection in the social ties of all people, regardless of racial, ethnic, and religious differences. This argument is confirmed by Jesus's statement in Matt 18:15-21, 35. Jesus affirms that the ultimate object of Christian forgiveness transcends the bounds of religion, social, or kinship. On that basis, Jesus asserted that His disciples did not have the legitimacy to call other people "infidels" (*kafir*). Instead, He gave the command to "love your neighbor as yourself" (Matt 22:39).

3.3 Islam-Christianity Encounter in Indonesia

The encounters of Muslims with other religions are all informed by the Qur'an. At the beginning of the development of Islam, according to J. A. Hutchinson, Muhammad did not regard the Jews or Christians as idolaters or *kafir*. In the 8th century, Islam expanded rapidly to countries of Europe, Africa, and Asia, which included Indonesia through the principle of *jihad*. It was then that Islam encountered other religions including Christianity. According to Jacques Waardenburg the development of the 8th-century Islam encountered various Christian groups, such as Nestorians in Iran, Monfist in Syria and Egypt, and Orthodox in North Africa. Muslims had encounters with Christians in the 13th century, but it was characterized by conflict through the Syrian war. The climax of the conflict between Muslims and Christians occurred in the 16th to 19th centuries in the context of trading and territorial expansion in Asia and Africa. By the 20th century, Muslims and Islamic conflicts occurred mostly on account of political issues.

The intensity of Christian and Islam encounters in Indonesia has increased over time. Azyumardi Azra asserts that Christian and Islam encounters in Indonesia are peaceful. The crisis and conflict between the two religions were mostly triggered by political and social changes. The peaceful encounter between Islam and Christianity was described by Ibrahim

Abu Rabi, who asserted that although Islam is the major religion in Indonesia, it continues to preserve a good attitude towards Christianity since its independence in 1945. Besides, Rabi indicates that before independence, conflicts and tensions between Christians and Muslims occurred due to Christianity which was identified as part of colonialism that carried the mission of the Gospel. The development of the Christian mission in Indonesia, supported by Dutch colonialism, was termed by Alexander R. Arifianto as an attempt of *Christianization* to Muslims. This strain relation is coupled with the emergence of government policies to silence conservative Muslims and curb the freedom of Christians.

After independence, the Muslim views of Christianity were varied. Moderate Muslims uphold pluralism in the context of democracy while conservative Islam upholds the teachings of Islam as absolute truth to answer the challenges of secularism and modernism. In that context, according to Rabi, *Pancasila* as the foundation of state has become the main social rule to accommodate religious pluralism in Indonesia. As stated by Rabi, Pancasila guarantees the freedom of five state recognized religions, namely Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Although Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world, it has stressed the necessity of separating religion from politics while respecting, if not encouraging the religious wishes of all groups in society.

One of the rationales of moderate Muslims supporting *Pancasila* is that it has conformity with Islam, that is, it teaches the universal value and it can be applied in the principles of democracy in Indonesia. At this point, *Pancasila* is considered an adhesive instrument of culture and religious differences. The plurality accommodated by Pancasila serves as the basis for keeping the religious and cultural differences of citizens. On that basis, the *kafir* label to the adherents of other religions is one the negation against the existence of religious pluralism in Indonesia.

In addition to the political factors and social change, as discussed earlier by Azra, Rabi, and Arifianto, M. Zainnuddin viewed the conflict between Islam and Christianity in Indonesia from 1945 to 1965 as due to economic factors. He asserted that Islam wanted economic independence, free from the intervention of colonialism, while Christianity was considered as part of colonialism. This situation affects the relationship between Islam and Christianity. After that datum, the tension between Muslims was "due to superficial understanding of religion among Muslims." Meanwhile, the strain of relations between Muslims and Christians reached its peak due to the evangelization work of Christian towards Muslims. Nevertheless, in the contemporary time, the Christian and Muslim relations are dominated by the idea of dialogue, especially in the 1980s. This effort of dialogue is mostly initiated by Muslim and Christian intellectuals, which is facilitated by the government.

Based on the abovementioned historical facts, the *kafir* label for Christians in Indonesia is mostly triggered by political and social change. In addition, it is indirectly caused by a misunderstanding of the doctrines in the Scripture as a consequence of a superficial interpretation. To that point, Azra has asserted that one of the indications of religion being evil is when interpreters comprehend the Scriptural texts rigidly and out of the literal context, which is the beginning of the danger that makes religion evil.

IV. Conclusion

The Muslims and Christians' theological understanding of *kafir* subjectively depends on the literal and historical context in the Qur'an or the Bible. The academic debate arises when the term, as recorded in Al-Maidah (5):73 and Al-Maidah (5):17, is comprehended as a label for Christianity. As discussed earlier, the rationale of this labelling is merely

because Christians believe in the Trinity God and Jesus as the Lord. This spectrum contradicts the biblical theology as well as the teachings of the Qur'an for three points. First, Christianity is not a polytheistic religion. Instead, it is a monotheistic religion that believes in one God in three persons (Trinity). If the *kafir* label for Christians is due to, as the Muslims have assumed, their tenet of the Trinity (polytheism), it then contradicts the biblical theology. Second, some Muslim expositors ignore the literal context in the exposition of the two texts above. The literal context of the two texts has affirmed succinctly Jesus's existence as God and the Ruler of this universe (cf. Al-Imran (3):45; An-Nisa (4):159; An-Nisa (4):171; Al-Hadid (57):3). If the ground of the *kafir* label for Christian is due to the belief that Jesus is God, it devastates the doctrine of the Qur'an per se. Third, the presupposition that Christianity is *kafir* emerged from superficial hermeneutic to Al-Maidah (5):73 and Al-Maidah (5): 17. The scholarly works of Muslims in general firmly reject the *kafir* label for Christians. In Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama as the largest Islamic organization, formally prohibits Muslims to stigmatize Christians as *kafir*.

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