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ISLAMIC MORAL IDEAS AND POLITICS: ULAMA ACTIVIST HADRATUS SHEIKH HASYIM ASY'ARI AND SHEIKH NAWAWI AL-BANTANI

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Abstrak

Kata Kunci:

Islam Politik,
Etika Politik,
Ideologi,
Komitmen
Kebangsaan

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk memberikan gambaran mengenai gagasan-gagasan fundamental dalam tatanan politik nasional Indonesia, serta signifikansinya dalam mengukuhkan empat pilar identitas Indonesia. Berdasarkan studi pustaka terhadap karya-karya dua ulama besar Indonesia, Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani dan Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari, yang kemudian dianalisis menggunakan metode konten analisis, artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa secara prinsip teologis tindakan makar dalam Al-Qur'an maupun hadith tetaplah mengedepankan asas ketaatan, persatuan, persaudaraan dan solidaritas. Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani secara umum mendukung komponen-komponen komitmen kebangsaan, konservasi, dan pengelolaan sumber daya alam dalam kerangka Islam politik, dan ia tidak menentang konsep kebenaran. Sementara Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari menekankan karakteristik manajemen pemerintahan seperti kematangan kepemimpinan, persatuan, dan persaudaraan yang menghasilkan pembentukan empat pilar kebangsaan sebagai konsensus di antara warga bangsa.

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Abstract**Keywords:**

Political
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Ideology,
National
Commitment

The article aims to provide an overview of the fundamental ideas in Indonesian national political settings, as well as their significance in solidifying the four pillars of Indonesian identity. Based on a library study of the works of two great Indonesian Ulama, Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani and Sheikh Hasyim Asy'ari, which were later analyzed using the content analysis method, the results revealed that the theological principles of the masters' actions in both the Qur'an and the hadith remained the basis of obedience, Unity, brotherhood, and solidarity. Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani generally supports components of national commitment, conservation, and natural resource management in the political Islamic framework, and he does not oppose the concept of truth. While Sheikh Hasyim Asy'ari emphasized characteristics of government management such as leadership maturity, Unity, and brotherhood, which resulted in the formation of the four national pillars as a consensus among the nation's citizens.

Introduction

This section systematically introduces the background of the research/study. There are two ways to display the background. The first is to show the research context, why the problem arose, and what research gaps produced the problem. The author can provide new research by mapping previous research/studies. The research question can be explicitly Stated in this paragraph, while the thesis argument must be clearly Stated in this paragraph. The discourse of treason in Islam has been debated for a long time in the study of political Islam studies in the world, including in Indonesia. Fighters and scholars in Indonesia have realized that treason or rebellion becomes a latent problem every five-year event in the presidential election or government policies considered deviant. At this point, the role and function, as well as the political Islamic reasoning of the scholars, have an important position to put the relationship between religion and the State not as opponents but complementary to each other. Two scholars who played an important role in the activities of the Islamic political movement in Indonesia, Nawawi al Bantani and Hasyim Asy'ari, to see the extent of the basic principles of the political life of the nation and State based on the value of *Wasathiyah* as the *Manhaj* of the struggle for Islam in national politics in Indonesia.

Justification for activities taken against the government, or more accurately, the rulers of some groups, is based on the use of religious texts. Such an approach, of course, is no more than a contradictory attitude toward holy texts, and throughout the history of Islamic politics, it has never worked.¹ With the rise of revivalism and transnationalism, which is thought to be an imported Islamic model, Indonesian Islamic politics now appear to be shifting toward the fight for identification as the most genuine Islamic practitioner.² For Gusdur, Islam seems exclusive from other Islams³ It even seems ambiguous and will be difficult to practice.⁴ And this is used as a justification for a universal political leadership strategy.⁵

In the Islamic world, ideological awareness of revelation is often a hack to assess the different realities in which religion functions as a liberator and is a boomerang over the wars that are taking place in the Middle East.⁶ So religion is only a tool of political propaganda rather than as a conceptual idea in civilized politics that is not implemented.⁷ The system of government of the caliphate was born from the model of determining textual Islamic Shari'a⁸ has led religion normatively in the effort to establish a religious State like the State of Iran and the State of Pakistan.⁹ This idea then became a model of the collective consciousness of Salafi Muslims. As a consequence, militant Islamic models such as al Qaeda, the Taliban the Muslim

¹ Mun'im Sirri, *Tradisi Intelektual Islam* (Malang: Madani Media, 2015), 162; Imam Hidajat, *Teori-teori Politik*, (Malang: Setara Press, 2012), 141.

² Masdar Hilmi, "Akar-akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," *Jurnal Islamica*, Vol. 6 No. 1, 2011, 1-2, <http://dx.doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2011.6.1.1-13>

³ Imam Hidajat, *Teori-teori Politik*, (Malang: Setara Press, 2012), 140.

⁴ Syarifuddin Jurdi, *Pemikiran Politik Islam Indonesia*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 206-208.

⁵ As'ad Said Ali, *Ideologi Gerakan Pasca-Reformasi*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2012), 70-71; Masdar Hilmi, "Akar-akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," *Jurnal Islamica*, Vol. 6 No. 1, (2011), 3, <http://dx.doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2011.6.1.1-13>

⁶ Mun'im Sirri, *Tradisi Intelektual Islam*, 162.

⁷ Ubedillah Badrun, *Sistem Politik Indonesia; Kritik dan Solusi Sistem Politik Efektif*, (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2016), 139-140.

⁸ Syarifuddin Jurdi, *Pemikiran Politik Islam Indonesia*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 386-387

⁹ Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *Islamic Leviathan; Islam and The Making of State Power*, (German: Oxford University Press, 2001), 140.

Brotherhood, and ISIS have always presented war rather than peace. The movement in early Islamic history was similar to the Shia and Khawarij Islamic movements which had an exclusive Islamic political agenda.¹⁰

However, from a legal standpoint, treason is defined as an attempt to subvert or oppose the legitimate government in positive laws found in the Criminal Code, such as Article 106, which grants the State the authority to take preventive measures against community groups or groups seeking to overthrow a legitimate government.¹¹ Likewise, Article 87 which explains the intention to overthrow the government, or Article 107 which is intended to replace the legitimate government according to the law is contrary to the Constitution. Likewise, other articles such as 110 in paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code concerning an agreement to commit evil; Article 104 concerning treason against the head of State; and Article 108 which explains the intention of rebellion.¹²

Based on the above discourse, the study of treason, which is the topic of scientific discussion, can be grouped into several research discourses similar to the study of treason in the perspective of interpretation.¹³ Treason research can be categorized into several research models. The first study model looks at treason from the perspective of Tafsir scholars. The second is the objective definition of treason in the Qur'an; the third is treason in terms of prophetic historicity and criminal law. In its original sense, Hamka's reasoning in his Tafsir Tafsir al Azhar views the study of treason as a trick

¹⁰ Zaprul Khan, "Dinamika Pemikiran Politik Islam Indonesia," *Jurnal Review Politik*, Vol.3, No.2, (Desember, 2013), 4, <https://doi.org/10.15642/jrp.2013.3.2.153-167>.

¹¹ Ahmad Sukardja, *Hukum Tata Negara & Hukum Administrasi* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2014), 58.

¹² *KUHAP dan KUHP* (Wacana Intelektual Press, 2006), 37; P.A.F Lamintang, dan Theo Lamintang, *Kejahatan Terhadap Kepentingan Hukum Negara*. (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2010), 25.

¹³ Siti Nuril Inayah, *Penafsiran Hamka Tentang Ayat-ayat yang Mengandung Lafadz Makar; Studi Tafsir Al-Azhar*. (State Islamic University of Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2011); Muhammad Uzer, "Tinjauan Hukum Pidana Tentang Tindak Pidana Makar (*Aanslag*) dan Propeknya dalam Pembaharuan Hukum Pidana di Indonesia", (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Tahun, 2017); Lilis Kholishoh, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tindak Pidana Makar Dalam KUHP", (Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo Semarang, 2017).

movement or, more accurately, as a strategy. In the meantime, Wahbah Zuhaili stressed in his tafsir al Munir that treason in the Qur'an is an act of deception to something that is despised and seeks to split the Muslim Ummah and get someone murdered, imprisoned, or banished.¹⁴ Usually, treason is carried out by influential and destructive people to weaken Islam. This idea is agreed upon as treason in both the tafsir of al-Azhar, Ibn Katsri, and al-Maraghi.¹⁵

Drawing from the aforementioned scholarly concerns, the conversation surrounding treason is situated not only within the political realm of power but also within the theological recognition of treason's uneven role in the country and State's operations. Therefore, the authoritative study of the text's ideality derived from the Qur'an through the hermeneutics of interpretation and Sheikh's philosophy plays a crucial role in accurate and proportionate interpretation. Hasyim Ash'ari and Nawawi al-Bantani require adequate room and care. They consider that religious movements that tend to be permissive and reactive can threaten the harmony of the life of the nation and State. Through this background, this study focuses on "how the hermeneutic paradigm of Nawawi al Bantani's interpretation of treason discourse in Indonesia."

Nawawi Al Bantani and Hasyim Asyari in Political Islam Manhaj Wathaniyyah

An Account of *Manhaj Wathaniyyah's* Life and Thoughts in History As the mufassir of the archipelago, Sheikh Nawawi al Bantani (1287 H/1871 AD – 1366 H/1947 AD) was a Banten Ulama who was renowned for his prolific scholarship and for having contributed to Indonesia's independence through resistance to the colonizers rather than directly by battle. Nonetheless,

¹⁴ Ilham Habibullah and Abdullah Azzam, "Al-Makar 'Inda Wahbah Al-Zuhaili fi Al-Tafsir Al-Munir," *Studia Quranika* 3, no. 2 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.21111/studiquran.v3i2.2761>

¹⁵ Siti Aminah, "Makna Makar dalam Al-Qur'an (Studi Komperatif Antara Tafsir Ibnu Katsir, Al- Maraghi, dan Al-Azhar)", (Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, 2015).

Nawawi al Bantani helped to bridge the emergence of several resistance groups to the Jihad resolution movement, which was led by students who had studied under and matured under him for a considerable amount of time in Mecca city. It is the seed of awareness of the youth of the Indonesian nation, especially the students, to carry out acts of resistance as part of their love for Islam to bring peace and order to various oppressions and threats of colonialism.

Sheikh Nawawi al Bantani was born in the Tanara area, Serang, Banten (d. 676 H/1277 AD). His real name was Muhammad Nawawi bin Umar bin ‘Arabi, who was born in (1813 AD/1230 H). One of the best books he wrote is *Marah al-Labid li kasyfi al-Qur’an al -Majid* is better known as *tafsir al-Munir*, which can explicitly explain the worldview (*weltanschauung*) of Indonesian Muslims with a wealth of diversity of religions, arts, cultures, tribes and races which is an inevitable occurrence of *sunnatullah*. This Islamic view, known as Islam Nusantara, is the prototype of Indonesian Islam. It adheres to the principles of *Ukhuwah Wathaniyah*, *Ukhuwah Islamiyah*, and *Ukhuwah Insaniyyah*. The universal value can be referred to in the Qur’an (QS. al-Hujurat (49): 10-14), which is the image of religion based on Aqidah and morals as well as science, culture, and civilization.

Nawawi al-Bantani’s explanation in verses about treason in the Tafsir Marah al Labid is found in Qs. Al A’raf (7): 99, for example, where Nawawi al-Bantani explains that the treason acts they commit are related to a people in a country who commit acts and deeds of disbelief and disobedience after Allah brings various pleasures to the abundant nature. This pleasure is not just a lot but in the recitation of Ibn ‘Amir by educating the letter *ta*, which means *li taksir*, regarding the consequences of psychological torture. It indicates that treason acts in the form of deception, concealment, and deception will only bring harm in the form of suffering, misery, and discomfort.¹⁶ The punishment intended is interpreted as destruction (هلاك)

¹⁶ Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Tafsir Marah Al-Labid*, Juz 1, (Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d.), 291.

like the city of Mecca before. Then Allah made it a safe and prosperous city. This historical evidence in the above verse is a warning that the act of treason that causes damage will not be repeated.

Meanwhile, the life and thoughts of Manhaj Wathniyyah Sheikh Hasyim Asy'ari (1287 H/1871 AD – 1366 H/1947 AD) is also known as one of the scholars and Muslim activists who moved and fought for independence from colonialism in Indonesia. As the leader of the largest Muslim organization movement in Indonesia, Hasyim Asy'ari has a noble determination and ideals to expel the invaders from the land of Indonesia. The path of diplomacy to seek consensus continues to be carried out by not making war or rebellion a way to solve problems. Although in one momentum, the war in the slogan “Jihad resolution” became an option, not to destroy the colonizers, but rather to expel the colonizers from Indonesia. Hasyim Asy'ari has a slogan, namely “From pesantren back to pesantren”, which means that the struggle of the nation and State through the educational media of pesantren as a medium of Islamic da'wah as well as an ethical way of nation and State.

As a national figure, Hasyim Asy'ari was involved in fighting for Indonesian independence. Hasyim Asy'ari is a great Indonesian scholar and national hero who was born in Jombang on 24 Dzulqa'dah 1287 H / February 14, 1871 AD. His father, Kiai Asy'ari, was the founder of the Keras Islamic Boarding School, and his grandfather, Kiai Usman, was the founder of the Gedang Islamic Boarding School in Jombang. He died on July 25, 1947, AD/1366 H in Jombang and was buried at the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School.¹⁷ His prominence in the politics of the nation and State was very strong when he was born during the reign of colonialism.¹⁸ The rebellion of Hasyim Asy'ari, in the form of disobedience to the ruler, takes other forms by making counter-political forces such as socio-political expressions to decision-making in the form of taking up arms. In the context of the

¹⁷ Achmad, *Terjemah Risalah Ablussunnah Wal Jama'ah Hadratussyeikh Hasyim Asy'ari*.

¹⁸ Zuhairi Misrawi, *Hadratussyaikh Hasyim Asy'ari: Moderasi Keumatan dan Kebangsaan*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), 34.

relationship between the ruler and the people of Hasyim Ash'ari is based on the Islamic political ideology adhering to the principle of acceptance of the State because it is based on the model of *al-'Aqdu* (العقد), which means commitment or contract and *bai'a* (البيع), which means loyalty and obedience. It is what can strengthen and accept leadership or government (caliphate) and citizenship (ummah). The treatment of treason perpetrators in Islamic law should not be tortured as is preferred in Islamic history during the leadership of Ali bin Abi Talib (d. 40/661H) by not treating the khawarij with painful acts.¹⁹

Furthermore, the philosophical and theological foundations of treason in the view of Hasyim Asy'ari in his work *At-Tibyan*²⁰ firmly negate treason as a political path can be seen in thematic discussions such as 1) Explanation of the nature of the womb (affection) amounting to five hadiths; 2) Retribution for those who commit immorality one hadith; 3) The priority of the practice of gathering six hadiths; 4) prohibition and reply to those who break the relationship eleven hadiths; 5) Explanation of Hujroh (silence) one hadith; 6) The danger of love of property and position two hadith and 7) The right of a guest two hadith.

¹⁹ Khaled Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4.

²⁰ the method of writing the book *At-Tibyan fi An-Nabhi 'an Muqatha'ati Al-Arham wa Al-Aqarib wa al-Ikhwan* using the sharh method, which is quoting a hadith and then explaining it narratively (explaining). In this method, usually the author will take the following steps: First, quote a hadith by mentioning the first Rawi or Mukharrij. Second, quoting the hadith by only listing the mat. Third, explain the results of the hadith quotes that have been included. This systematics is used a lot in previous books such as the book fath al-bari by Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani syarah from the book Saheeh al-Bukhari. See Hasyim Asy'ari, *At-Tibyan Fi An-Nabhi 'an Muqata'Ati Al-Arham Wa Al-Aqarib Wa Al-Ikhwan* (Jombang: Maktabah At-Turats Al-Islamy, n.d.).

| Theme | Number of Hadiths | Ethical Principles |
|--|-------------------|--|
| Religion as a Principle of Social Values and Advice | 1 | Commitment to Universal Values in Religion |
| The Glory of the Nature of the Womb | 5 Hadiths | Traits and Attitudes of Mutual Love and Nurturing Between Others |
| Work Ethic | 4 Hadiths | The importance of work ethic |
| Gerakan dan Visi Perubahan | 4 Hadiths | Be brave and responsible for upholding the values of justice and welfare |
| The leadership | 1 Hadith | Kepemimpinan visioner |
| Compassion between neighbors | 1 Hadith | Compassion between nationalities |
| Danger or retribution for betrayal and deception | 2 Hadiths | Legal consequences of treason |
| The Virtue of Silaturahmi, loving and hiding disgrace and helping each other | 7 Hadiths | Sharpening, loving, and nurturing each other in the harmony of humanity funds of the universe as a mirror of faith |
| Generosity and appreciation of others for the slightest kindness | 3 Hadiths | An attitude of care, sympathy, and empathy regardless of social status |
| Commitment and national loyalty | 4 Hadiths | Upholding the values of patriotism and nationalism |
| Anti-incitement | 2 Hadiths | Not easily provoked |
| Leadership ethics and citizenship | 9 Hadiths | Leadership over knowledge, personality and morals, vision and spirit of Unity. |

Table (1). Classification of Hadith as the Basis of the Epistemology of Manhaj al Siyasah Wataniyyah in the Book of At Tibyan

As a figure who adheres to *manhaj ukhummwah insaniyya* and *wathaniyyah* KH. Hasyim Asy'ari emphatically about the importance of Unity through living in harmony and being a good citizen in a quote in his work *Risalab Abl Al Sunnah wa Al Jama'ab* Hasyim Asy'ari said the following:

فنحن نحض إخواننا عوام المسلمين إن يتق الله حق تقاته وان لايموتوا إلا وهم مسلمون وان يصلحوا الأرحام وان يحسنوا إلى الجيران والأقارب والإخوان وإن يعرفوا حق الأکبار وان يرحموا الضعفاء والأصاغر ونهائم عن التدابر والتباغض والتقاطع والتحاسد والإفتراق والتلون في الدين ونحثهم ان يكونوا إخواننا وعلى الخير أعوانا وانيعتصموا بحبل الله جميعا وان لايتفرقوا...

The firm Statement of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, above all, it is clear that Unity must be upheld starting from the smallest level between individuals and the level of citizens. Brotherhood and friendship will form the strength to achieve hopes and ideals for a better life in the future. In this regard, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari emphasized that the power of Unity must be knitted in togetherness and Unity through the congregation, which is based on the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad Saw, which explains the basis of the importance of Unity or *jama'ab*.²¹

Conceptualization of the Basic Values of the Treason Ideology of Nawawi al Bantani and Hasyim Asy'ari

Treason in the Qur'an is known as the term (مكر) which means to trick or deceive to deceive or deceive others.²² In the lisan al-Arab word (مكر) means (إحتيال في خفية) which is a veiled kianatan.²³ While in lughawi the term treason is formed from the term مكر-يمكر- مكر where in Mu'jam Maqayis al Lughah is interpreted as deceit or deception and strength (الإختياع و الخداع) dan

²¹ Hasyim Asy'ari, *Risalab Abl Al-Sunnab Wa Al-Jama'ab*, 1st ed. (Jombang: Maktabah Turats al Islami, 1418), 15. In the search for hadiths that are close to the sound of the text in the original book, it reads as follows:

حَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ يُونُسَ حَدَّثَنَا زُهَيْرٌ وَأَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ عَيَّاشٍ وَمَنْدَلٌ عَنْ مُطَرِّفٍ عَنْ أَبِي جَهْمٍ عَنْ خَالِدِ بْنِ وَهْبَانَ عَنْ أَبِي ذَرٍّ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ فَارَقَ الْجَمَاعَةَ شَيْبْرًا فَقَدْ خَلَعَ رِبْقَةَ الْإِسْلَامِ مِنْ عُنُقِهِ

²² Ahmad Warson Munawwir, *Al-Munawwir: Kamus Arab-Indonesia Terlengkap* (Surabaya: Pustaka Progresif, 1997), 1352.

²³ Ibnu Manzhur, *Lisan Al-Arab*, (Dar al-Ma'arif: 1119), 4247.

خدالة الساق).²⁴ It even has a charge in the context of war.²⁵ However, treason as an act of resistance or resistance is not only characterized as a bad act but also good in the context of resistance to immorality as recorded in Q.S. al Imran (4): 54.²⁶ While in Qs. Yunus (10): 21 sentences of treason in verse for Nawawi al Bantani in his commentary *Marah al Labid* is interpreted as hiding the act of deception (إخفاء الكيد). In Arabic equivalent, it is also known as *baghy* which is understood as wanting to find or commit fraud such as corruption or injustice.²⁷ From this, the meaning of treason is understood as Allah's compensation for the blessings that have been given with the aim of awakening.

In the Qur'an, the term treason with various forms and derivations is no less than 14 different letters and repeated 40 times with a classification of 11 verses in the form of Makkiyah and 3 verses are Madaniah.²⁸ The findings show how treason discourse was a Qur'anic discourse at the beginning of the spread of Islam. The distribution of verses containing the term treason is mentioned in Qs. Al A'raf (7): 99 2 times while in Qs. Yunus (10): 21 2 times, Qs. Ar Ra'du (13): 42, Qs. Ibrahim (14): 46 2 times, Qs. An-Nahl (16): 50 2 times, Qs. Saba' (34): 33, Qs. Fathir (35): 43 2 times, Qs. Nuh (71): 22.

Based on the discussion of the basic principles of treason thinking in the two figures above, one basic value can be drawn that can be used as a reference in the life of the nation and State in creating socio-political stability in Indonesia. The basic principle of nationality is certainly not limited to values in citizenship. Still, it can be a guideline in various political movements both qualitatively and structurally in designing the basis of the State

²⁴ Abu Husain Ahmad bin Faris bin Zakariya, *Mu'jam Maqayis Al-Lughab*, Juz V, (Beirut-Lebanon: Dar al-Fikri, 1979), 345.

²⁵ 'Imadun Umuri Jalil, "Hukmu Al-Hailu fi Al-Fiqh Al-Islami," *Majallat Diyali*, 2007.

²⁶ Iman Abdull Wahab Fayiz Abdul Wahhab, "Al-Makaru", *Al-Jamiah Al-Najah Al Wathaniah*, 2012, 14; Wahbah Zuhaili, "Al-Dzarai' fi Al-Siyasah Al-Syar'iyyah Wa Al-Fiqhu Al Islami" (Damaskus: Dar al-Maktabi, 1999).

²⁷ Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Tafsir Marah Al-Labid*, Juz 1, (Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d.), 365.

²⁸ Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Tafsir Marah Al-Labid*, Juz 1, 20-21.

constitution as well as translating the 4 pillars of nationality into socio-political life.

Ethics of Islamic Values of National Politics Nawawi al Bantani

Based on the results of the study of the work of Nawawi al Bantani in the tafsir of *Marah al Labid*, it is found that several basic principles of values are closely related in dimension to treason, divided into four points, namely; First, *prohibition of treason in the exploration of natural resources*. The meaning of the above values is explained by Nawawi based on Qs. Al A'raf (7): 99. It is confirmed in another verse Qs. Yunus (10): 2.

The meaning of the above verse in the view of Nawawi al Bantani in his commentary emphasizes that the word treason means hiding deceitful acts (إخفاء الكيد). In the above verse, it is affirmed that the treason of your inhabitants is a polytheist of Mecca that after Allah gives pleasure through rain that brings benefits (الأمطار الناقعة), but then they establish themselves in their disbelief. As a result, Allah brings punishment before they complete the act of treason itself, which is harsher on the treason of the Mecca polytheists. Treason in this verse in the view of Nawawi al Bantani in his tafsir can be in the form of *istidraj, jazā'*. Furthermore, Allah also promises that their deeds of deception or treason in their lands will be placed in a bad place on the last day.²⁹

The above view is relevant to Nawawi al-Bantani's explanation in Qs. Al A'raf [7]: 99 that the treason they commit is related to a people in a country who commit acts and deeds of disbelief and disobedience after Allah brings various pleasures to the abundant nature. This enjoyment is not just a lot but also in the recitation of Ibn 'Amir by teaching the letter *ta'*, which means *li taksir*. In the end, Allah sent down adzab, which means torture (psychological), which they did not expect. It is proof as well as affirmation that treason acts in the form of deception, concealment, and deception will

²⁹ Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Tafsir Marah Al-Labid*, Juz 1, (Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d.), 365.

only bring harm in the form of suffering, misery and discomfort.³⁰

Second, *prohibition of treason in agreements or commitments that have been made*. In the view of Nawawi al Bantani is the isyarakon of the sound of the Temporary verse in Qs. Ibrahim (14): 46. In this verse, Nawawi gives an example of the ummah who committed treason to their prophets, such as the prophets Noah, the 'Ad, and the Tsamud. They committed various damages that Nawawi al-Bantani called in his interpretation through the recitation of treason with three things: first, obscuring the truth (إبطال الحق) and then committing a violation of the agreement that had been made (جاوزافيه كل حد (معهود بحيث لا يقدر عليه غيرهم). As a consequence, Allah retaliated with the word "treason" in the sense of punishment, which means punishment which has a strong message of the magnitude of the torture or suffering inflicted (العظم والشدّة), quoting Ibn Mas'ud as saying that the sentence (لتزول) is a form of affirmation of the punishment given, but not the mountain (الجبال) as an object, but the hardness and magnitude of the sentence. (غاية القوة).³¹

Third, *prohibition of treason in giving threats and fears*. The above meaning is found in the verse Qs. An Nahl (16): 45. This verse confirms the treacherous deeds of the people of Mecca and around the city of Medina who tried to hurt the Prophet Muhammad and his companions by giving threats or fear so that Allah inflicted adzab on them as Qorun and the Prophet Luth.³² If we look at the meaning of treason in Qs. Ar Ra'du (13): 42 Nawawi emphasized that the act of treason existed long before the Prophet Muhammad where many leaders and people committed treason against the Prophets such as the king of Namrud to the Prophet Ibrahim, the Pharaoh to the Prophet Moses as well as the Jews to the Prophet Isa. However, Allah, through the above verse, emphasizes that treason and the impact it causes will not affect anything except by the will and permission of Allah. In other words, evil will not happen without the will of Allah. For this firm Statement,

³⁰ Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Tafsir Marab Al-Labid*, Juz 1, (Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d.), 291.

³¹ Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Tafsir Marab Al-Labid*, Juz 1, 439.

³² Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Tafsir Marab Al-Labid*, Juz 1, 455.

according to Nawawi, we must not be afraid and worry about the act and the act of treason.³³

Fourth, *prohibition of treason in the form of propaganda in obstructing the truth*. The above meaning can be found in Qs. Saba' (34): 33. In the view of the tafsir, it is explained in verse that the rulers (استكبروا) in their country are those who have the luxury of wealth (مترفون) and do acts of hindering the weak (استضعفوا) in following the message of faith from the messengers of Allah who are caused by their evil deeds (راسخين في الاجرام). It is following another verse Qs. Fathir (35): 43, where their treachery acts to prevent the ummah from entering or choosing the path of faith brought by the Prophet Muhammad as well as blatantly committing disobedience. For their deeds, Allah will reward them for their treachery. For it has become sunnatullah that polytheism will be destroyed and Allah glorifies Islam, and the reward will not be missed from what is rightful of him. Their actions were based on displeasure or rejection of the Prophet Muhammad mentioned in the previous verse (مازادهم الانفورا), which was explained by Nawawi as far from the truth (تباعدا عن الحق).³⁴

Ethics of Islamic Values in National Politics based on Hasyim Asy'ari

It is evident from the book *At Tibyan*, one of the key works in examining national issues from the perspective of theological values derived from the prophet's hadith, that Hasyim Ash'ari seeks a model of shared strength founded on values and principles that are a shared commitment to preserving the nation's sovereignty and social integration as well as a force of resistance against all outside movements and propaganda. This book contains several fundamental principles that can be utilized as standards to understand Hasyim Asy'ari's viewpoint on the idea of nationality. The following is a quotation from Sayyid Ahmad bin Abdullah As-Saqqaf to start the

³³ Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Tafsir Marah Al-Labid*, Juz 1, (Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d.), 431.

³⁴ Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Tafsir Marah Al-Labid*, Juz 1, 205.

explanation:³⁵

أسها المعرضون كونوا من السابقين أو لا فمن اللاحقين وإياكم إن تكونوا من الخالفين فيناديكم لسان التقرير بقوارع (رَضُوا بِأَنْ يَكُونُوا مَعَ الْخَوَالِفِ وَطَبَعَ عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ فَهُمْ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ) أَقَامُوا مَكَرَ اللَّهِ فَلَا يَأْمَنُ مَكَرَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا الْقَوْمُ الْخَاسِرُونَ

Ethics of Islamic values in national politics based on Hasyim Asy'ari is divided into four aspects, namely; First, *maintain and prioritize the nature of compassion for others*. The basic principle of the above values in the view of Hashim Asyari can be traced in the theological basis sourced from the Qur'an and the Sunnah, wherein the source of the Qur'an is clear that he uses Qs. An-Nisa (4):1 and Q.S. Muhammad (47): 22-24. This is the case in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, which emphasizes the importance of maintaining friendship and staying away from division. In affirming the above meaning, there is an interesting expression by Hasyim Asyari in a hadith quoted in the *Risalah Ablussunnah Wal Jama'ah: fi Hadisil Mawta wa Asbratissa'ah wa Bayan Mafhumisunnah wal Bid'ah* as follows:³⁶

وأن يصلو الأرحام، وأن يحسنوا إلى الجيران والأقارب والإخوان، وأن يعرفوا حق الأكابر، وأن يرحموا الضعفاء والأصاغر
 “Bonding the bonds of brotherhood, behaving and being kind to all neighbors, relatives, and all friends, understanding and exercising the rights of leaders, having a polite attitude and compassion for the *dhu'afa* and the small people.”

The above Statement is emphasized in his other Statements where Hasyim Asy'ari said that As Stated by KH. Hasyim Ash'ari is “Do not let trivial things cause you to be scattered, disputing, quarreling, and hostile.”³⁷

Second, *maintaining unity and brotherhood in jamiyyah*. As for the necessity of Unity in the congregation in *Muqaddimah al Qanun al Asasi li Jam'iyat*

³⁵ Hasyim Asy'ari, *At-Tibyan Fi An-Nabiy 'an Muqatba'Ati Al-Arbam Wa Al-Aqarib Wa Al-Ikhwān* (Jombang: Maktabah At-Turats Al-Islamy, n.d.), 26.

³⁶ Bahrudin Achmad, *Terjemah Risalah Ablussunnah Wal Jama'ah Hadratusyeikh Hasyim Asy'ari*, ed. Arman Paramansyah, 1st ed. (Bekasi: Pustaka al-Muqsih, 2021). 61-63.

³⁷ Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari, *Risalah Ablussunnah Wal Jama'ah: Analisis Tentang Hadis Kematian, Tanda-Tanda Kiamat, dan Pemahaman Tentang Sunnah dan Bid'ah*, 2011.

Nabdhbat al Ulama', Hasyim Asyari asserted with conviction that the most basic foundation of discipline that is far from horror or destruction is association, caring for one another, and helping, as well as uniting and loving one another.³⁸ To emphasize the above values of Hasyim Asyari by saying the following:

...وَأَنْتَعِصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا، وَإِنْ تَنَاصَحُوا مِنْ وَلاهِ اللَّهِ أَمْرَكُمْ...³⁹

The above hadith quote further strengthens that brotherhood and Unity will have great power if they are in a line known as the concept of *jam'iyah* where the Unity and Unity of individuals are sheltered in one value of *ablussunnah wal Jama'ah* which places Islam not only as a formality but also as an entity of values of morality, tolerance and appreciation, proportionality and moderation. Hasyim Asy'ari said:

من المعلوم أن الناس لا بد لهم من الإجتماع والمخالطة لأن الفرد الواحد لا يمكن أن يستقل بجميع حاجته فهو مضطرة بحكم الضرورة إلى الإجتماع الذي يجلب إلى أمته الخير ويدفع عنها الشر والضير فالإتحاد وارتباط القلوب ببعضها وتضافرها على أمر واحد واجتماعها على كلمة واحد من أهم اسباب السعادة وأقوى دواعى المحبة والمودة وكم به عمرت البلاد وسادات العباد وانشر العمران وتقدمت الأوطان وأسست الممالك وسهلت المسالك وكثرتة التواصل إلى غير ذلك من فوائد الإتحاد الذى هو أعظم الفضائل.⁴⁰

It is not enough that he leans his views on the moral idea of the Qur'an in Surah al-Kahfi: 84.

Third, *maintain a commitment to agreements that have been made*. The basic principles of the above values in the study of the Qur'an are closely related to commitments and promises in religion. However, promises and commitments in religion also concern matters of national and State politics for the benefit of the ummah. So, that commitment to religion should also be a joint commitment between the nation and State that has been agreed to be the basis for carrying out the life of the nation and State. The above Statement can be found in one of the verses contained in the book *Ar Risalah*,

³⁸ Hasyim Asy'ari, *At-Tibyan Fi An-Nabiyi 'an Muqatba'Ati Al-Arbam Wa Al-Aqarib Wa Al-Ikhwān* (Jombang: Maktabah At-Turats Al-Islamy, n.d.), 21.

³⁹ Hasyim Asy'ari, *Muqaddimah Al-Qanun Al-Asasi li Jam'iyat Nabdhbat al 'Ulama'*, 22.

⁴⁰ Hasyim Asy'ari, *Muqaddimah Al-Qanun Al-Asasi li Jam'iyat Nabdhbat al 'Ulama'*, 22.

namely Q.S. Ar-Ra'd (13): 25. In another verse, it is found in Q.S. Al-Baqarah: 26-27, Q.S. Shad: 26.

Fourth, *leadership integrity based on the values of justice*. The basic principle above is taken from one of the verses in the Qur'an in QS. Shad: 26 which emphasizes the importance of personal integrity in leadership based on the values of justice. Regarding the above view, Hasyim Ash'ari in Muqaddimah al Qanun al Asasi li Jam'iyat Nahdhat al 'Ulama' that personal integrity is very important as quoted in one of his hadiths, Sunan Ad-Darimi hadith number 438. The hadith, it emphasizes the urgency of morality and the maturity of a leader's personality seen from how strong the commitment to his religion is. Likewise in another hadith quote in Muqaddimah al Qanun al Asasi li Jam'iyat Nahdhat al 'Ulama' in Musnad Ahmad number 23585, which contains the value of professionalism and proportionality in leadership and has sufficient capacity. In the history of other hadith quotations, for example, in Sunan Ad-Darimi hadith number 220, which emphasizes the value of leadership that has capacity and integrity as well as being fair and wise.

Actualization of Islamic Values of Political Scholars Activists in Strengthening the 4 Pillars of Nationality

This sub-section will be further explored regarding the explanation of efforts to elaborate the above values in strengthening the 4 Pillars of Nationality as a way to synergize the main idea of national morality in affirming the 4 pillars of Nationality. The above socio-political Islamic values will certainly be used to provide an affirmative perspective on the values of the 4 national pillars as a national commitment. efforts to strengthen the 4 pillars of nationality, namely; First, *dedication to the four nationality pillars, as stated by mistaqan ghaliz'a*. It has been decided to employ the commitment of the four pillars of the nation—Pancasila, the 45th Constitution, the Republic of Indonesia, and Bhineka Tunggal Ika—as the foundation for the philosophy of the State and nation in Indonesia. Pancasila has emerged as the singular ideology that unites a variety of viewpoints that uphold religious liberty while

reinforcing the role and operation of the State and even of religion itself.⁴¹ In the Qur'an, the 4 pillars of nationality as *Mistaqan Ghalizā* can be confirmed through the view of Nawawi al-Bantani by quoting one of the verses in Q.S Ar-Ra'd (13):25.⁴²

Through the above verse, commitment to religion has a synergistic relationship in efforts to do all good things as a joint commitment rather than committing acts of damage and against the law. The pledge to obey and obey in religion actually has logical consequences on the way of acting and behaving on earth. So, it is not an exaggeration when the relationship between religion and the State cannot be separated, where between *al Din* and *al Daulah* is an important foundation in realizing a society achieves common hopes and ideals. In the book *At Tibyan*, there is an interesting explanation conveyed by Hashim Ash'ari by quoting the opinion of Muhammad Bakir from Zainal 'Abidin that do not be friendly with dividers because there is no good except evil (*la'nat*) in three places in the Qur'an.⁴³

Second, *strengthening unity in the 4 pillars of nationality as manhaj jam'iyyah wathaniyyah*. Starting from the previous concept of jama'ah, it has been explained that jam'iyyah was formed to provide shade and foundation for community associations in universal values, in this case, nationality. It is undeniable that as a nation, the nation and State certainly have an inherent

⁴¹ Benyamin Intan, "Religious Violence and the Ministry of Religion: 'Public Religion' in the Pancasila-Based State of Indonesia," *International Journal of Public Theology* 13, no. 2 (July 1, 2019): 227–246, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15697320-12341573>; Otto Gusti Ndegong Madung and Winibaldus Stefanus Mere, "Constructing Modern Indonesia Based on Pancasila in Dialogue with the Political Concepts Underlying the Idea of Human Rights," *Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights Asian Human Rights* 5, no. 1 (2021): 1–24, <https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.v5i1.20258>; Noh I. Boiliu et al., "Human Rights: The Convergence of the Second Sila of Pancasila and Hans Kung's Global Ethics in Indonesia," *HTS; Theological Studies* 78, no. 4 (2022): 1–5, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i4.6933>.

⁴² Hasyim Asy'ari, *At-Tibyan Fi An-Nahyi 'an Muqatba'Ati Al-Arham Wa Al-Aqarib Wa Al-Ikhwan* (Jombang: Maktabah At-Turats Al-Islamy, n.d.), 5.

⁴³The three places in the Qur'an that are intended to explain the bad position of the divisor are the realm of the verse Surah al Qital, where in this surah the position of curse is very clear and firm, while in Surah Ar Ra'du it is more general about the command to establish good relations and Surah al Baqarah where curse becomes customary when it brings harm. Look at Hasyim Asy'ari, *At-Tibyan Fi An-Nahyi 'an Muqatba'Ati Al-Arham Wa Al-Aqarib Wa Al-Ikhwan* (Jombang: Maktabah At-Turats Al-Islamy, n.d.page, 6.

identity as one individual binder in a certain community of people, both with skin colour, race, ethnicity, ethnicity, religion and culture. Still, to bridge the diversity of primordial identities, it is necessary to have a common binder that is used as the goal of the vision and mission of the life of the nation and State. In the matter of culture, for example, no culture in the world is exclusive of other cultures. Still, rather they influence each other.⁴⁴

Nurcholis Madjid related to the issue of diversity in the spirit of Unity that the essence of differences in diversity is not more of a response to knowledge but more about Unity of humanity.⁴⁵ This concept has similarities in the concept of ummah initiated by the prophet Muhammad to bridge sectoral interests and egos as tribal identity and social status into one value of togetherness, justice and equality in the concept of ummah.

Third, *internalization of the 4 pillars of Nationality in the value of rabmahniyyah wal ukhummah wathaniyyah*. The socialization model of the 4 nationality pillars at the implementation level must be based on the spirit of care and affection as an estuary in affirming the values contained in the 4 nationality pillars. The spirit of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, for example, has different meanings but is very difficult to realize if it only stops at knowing each other and knowing and understanding each other. Still, ideally, it is driven in the direction of sympathy and concern for each other. The same is true in the basic idea of the Republic of Indonesia, where Unity begins with knowing each other, understanding and caring for each other in one shade of togetherness as the nation's children. Thus, there is a feeling of comradeship in cooperating to realize the nation's vision and mission to create justice and social welfare for all Indonesians.

In the above understanding, the bond of brotherhood as a citizen of the Indonesian nation is tied to one bond of brotherhood (*ukhummah*) and

⁴⁴ Christoph Antweiler, "Towards a Cosmopolitan Indonesia: Makassar as a Paradigm for Organising Cultural Diversity?," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 47, no. 3 (August 27, 2019): 340–363, accessed May 23, 2022, https://brill.com/view/journals/ajss/47/3/article-p340_4.xml.

⁴⁵ Nurcholis Madjid, *Islam: Doktrin dan Peradaban* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).

nationality (*wathaniyyah*), which is bloodshed; the homeland is one, namely Indonesia. This national *ukhuwwah* needs to be strengthened to create equitable justice at all levels of society. There is no longer domination and discrimination by favoring one group over another, both in upholding the 4 pillars of nationality and legal affairs. The spirit of *rahmaniyyah* and *ukhuwwah* is an important capital to bind and knit the brotherhood of the nation's children with different backgrounds without being limited by religious, cultural, ethnic, ethnic, ethnic, cultural, political sentiments or other primordial identities.⁴⁶ All move in one breath as human beings who sympathize and care for each other to strengthen fraternal bonds starting from family, between residents to citizens of the Indonesian nation.

Fourth, *4 pillars of nationality as the basis of ethical values of leadership with integrity and green ecology*. The concept of leadership is an important series in broadly discussing the political Islamic model, especially in the political context of Indonesia. The values contained in Pancasila straight forwardly State that Indonesia's leadership must be based on religious values while rejecting secularism. At the same time, the integrity of leadership is tested through policies and decisions taken politically based on deliberation and representation to bring social welfare to all Indonesian people. Morally, it is clear that leadership in the values of Pancasila has been able to create a sense of trust in the minds of the people that leadership bridges all public interests while embracing to minimize social and political disintegration. It is where the original characteristics of Pancasila which are multi-religious.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ In the study of the Qur'an, the form of brotherhood described in Surah Qs. Maryam [19]: 28 shows not only *ukhuwwah* on the basis of the *Nasab* relationship between Aaron and Moses but the example or values of common good. See, Yudi Latif, "The Religiosity, Nationality, and Sociality of Pancasila: Toward Pancasila through Soekarno's Way," *Studia Islamika* 25, no. 2 (2018): 207–245, <http://dx.doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v25i2.7502>.

⁴⁷ Abdurrahman Wahid, ed., *Ilusi Negara Islam; Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gerakan Bhineka Tunggal Ika, the Wahid Institute, Ma'arif Institut, 2009) 90.

Conclusion

The issue of treason in political Islam, both in terms of religion and politics in Indonesia, is firmly stated in the view of scholars activists Nawawi al Bantani and Hasyim Asy'ari, as a way of politics that is destructive both from the social and social aspects, the political stability of the nation and the State to the problem of natural resource management that tends to be exploitative which results in economic damage and injustice. The moral idea of national values offered by Nawawi al Bantani and Hasyim Asy'ari comes to the deepest aspects, namely national maturity and commitment, as well as personal maturity in governance. These two ideas of principle further strengthen the principle of integrity and propriety of the 4 pillars of nationality as the basic principle of Indonesian ideology.

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