

TAFSIR AND THE STATE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE VERSES OF STATEHOOD IN *TAFSIR AL-QUR'ANUL KARIM NURUL HUDA*

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Abstract: *This article will analyze the relationship between tafsir and the state in Tafsir Madura, namely Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda by Mudhar Tamim. Mudhar Tamim was one of the politicians during the New Order, so there may be a discourse related to the state. So, this article will try to see how the interpretation of verses about statehood and leadership in the Qur'an through a critical review of the interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 154, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 216, and Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 247 as well as excerpts of explanations regarding the virtues of reading basmalah. Through these verses, it will be seen how the socio-political contestation that occurred during the New Order period affected Mudhar Tamim's interpretation. This research is a literature study with an analytical-descriptive method using Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge theory. After looking at the interpretation of the verses mentioned above through Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, it can be concluded that Mudhar Tamim's interpretation seems very close to the condition of the Indonesian state at the time of writing, as evidenced by the verses of state defense which are related to the spirit of Indonesian independence and the verses of the caliph which are related to the state leader. However, Mudhar Tamim's interpretation, especially in the leadership verses, criticizes and evaluates the government. So, it can be said that Mudhar Tamim's tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda is a form of counter-discourse from the Soeharto regime.*

Keywords: *Discourse, Madura, Statehood, Tafsir.*

Abstrak: Artikel ini akan menganalisis hubungan antara tafsir dan negara dalam Tafsir Madura, yaitu Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda karya Mudhar Tamim. Mudhar Tamim merupakan salah satu politikus pada masa Orde Baru sehingga dimungkinkan adanya suatu wacana yang berkaitan dengan kenegaraan. Maka Artikel ini akan mencoba melihat bagaimana penafsiran ayat-ayat tentang kenegaraan dan kepemimpinan dalam Al-Qur'an melalui telaah kritis terhadap penafsiran Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 03, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 154, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 216, dan Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 247 serta kutipan penjelasan mengenai keutamaan membaca basmalah. Melalui ayat-ayat ini akan dilihat bagaimana kontestasi sosial-politik yang terjadi pada masa orde baru

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memengaruhi penafsiran yang dilakukan Mudhar Tamim. Penelitian ini termasuk dalam penelitian studi pustaka dengan metode analitis-deskriptif menggunakan teori sosiologi pengetahuan dari Karl Mannheim. Setelah melihat penafsiran ayat-ayat yang telah disebutkan di atas melalui sosiologi pengetahuan Mannheim, maka dapat disimpulkan bahwa penafsiran Mudhar Tamim tampak sangat dekat dengan kondisi negara Indonesia pada masa penulisan, terbukti dengan adanya ayat-ayat bela negara yang dihubungkan dengan semangat kemerdekaan Indonesia dan ayat-ayat khalifah yang dihubungkan dengan pemimpin negara. Namun, penafsiran Mudhar Tamim, terutama dalam ayat-ayat kepemimpinan lebih memberikan kritik dan evaluasi terhadap pemerintahan. Sehingga bisa dikatakan bahwa *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim* Nurul Huda karya Mudhar Tamim adalah wujud *counter* wacana dari pemerintahan rezim Soeharto.

Kata-kata Kunci: *Kenegaraan, Madura, Tafsir, Wacana.*

Introduction

The presence of tafsir that does not appear in a vacuum causes a strong connection between tafsir and reality. Some interpretations come with discourse and personal or group interests, either covertly or overtly. On this basis, it can be said that an interpretation is not only an activity of understanding the text but also responds to reality and brings ideology, and tendency to the discourse of a mufasir. The spread of discourse in interpretation that is used for certain interests becomes a means considered quite effective and persuasive.¹ This discourse is intended to convey the reconstruction of a new ideology or to erase the previous ideology.²

One of the realities close to interpretation is the life of the state. In Indonesia, the relationship between tafsir, politics and the state can already be found since the colonial era. Tafsir at this time was used to evoke the spirit of independence and anti-colonialism, as did K.H. Ahmad Sanusi in the interpretation of *Maljā' al-Ṭālibīn*.³

While post-independence tafsirs that appeared in Indonesia came as a response to the socio-politics that occurred in the Old Order era with the emergence of *Al-Azhar* interpretation by Hamka, the New Order with *Tafsir Ayat-Ayat Sosial Politik* by Syu'bah Asa, and Reformation with *Tafsir Al-Misbah* by Quraish Shihab.⁴ This shows the importance of the involvement of Islamic thought, especially tafsir in the development of politics and statehood. Along with the

1 Sulaiman Ibrahim, "Hermeneutika Teks: Sebuah Wacana dalam Metode Tafsir Alquran?," *Hunafa: Jurnal Studia Islamika* 11, no. 1 (June 19, 2014): 23–41, <https://doi.org/10.24239/jsi.Vol11.Iss1.338>.

2 Moch Nur Ichwan, "Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur'an di Indonesia," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemah di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG & Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 2009), 11.

3 Jajang A. Rohmana, "Al-Qur'an dan Kolonialisme: Respons K.H. Ahmad Sanusi Terhadap Penjajahan dalam Tafsir Maljā' Ath-Thalibin," in *Dinamika Kehidupan Beragama di Indonesia*, ed. Aksin Wijaya (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2022), 111.

4 Eni Zulaiha, Kartini Fujjyanti Agustin, and Nida Al Rahman, "Pengaruh Sosial Politik Pada Metodologi Penafsiran di Indonesia (Orde Lama, Orde Baru dan Reformasi)," *Hanifiya: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 5, no. 1 (April 27, 2022): 25–34, <https://doi.org/10.15575/hanifiya.v5i1.15538>.

independence of Indonesia, in the next period, the stretching of Islamic thought in the study of the Qur'an can still be felt. Several translations and interpretations continued to exist during the old order, the transitional period, and the new order with various tendencies and discourses.

In contrast to the interpretations during the Old Order period, which usually contained the spirit of independence and anti-colonialism, the interpretations in the later period appeared for various interests and discourses. Some interpretations were present to strengthen the basis of the state, and some others as a *counter* to politics and the state. One example is the *Qur'an and its Translations* (QT), which is a translation of the Qur'an from the Ministry of Religious Affairs during the transition of the Old Order and New Order. The first issue (1965–1969) was during the Old Order, and the second and third issues (1969) during the New Order. It was in the second and third issues that these Qur'anic translations were used as a tool to strengthen the New Order and eliminate traces of the Old Order and the PKI.⁵ There is also a translation by Muhammad Talib entitled *Al-Qur'an Al-Karim Tarjamah Tafsiriyyah* that emerged as an antithesis of the state during the New Order.⁶

Islah Gusmian states that the discourse in the interpretation product will appear in the use of language, script, and social and political issues contested in the interpretation.⁷ Supporting this, Mohammad Nur Ichwan also added that the discourse in the interpretation product can also be seen from the general introduction, special introduction, conclusion of each chapter, footnotes, or notes on interpretation if in the context of translating the Qur'an.⁸ On this basis, political and state discourse in a tafsir can be seen directly in the interpretation of several verses about the state and political issues that were developing at the time the mufasir lived or when the tafsir was written.

One of the Madurese interpretations that emerged during the New Order era is the *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* (1969), authored by Mudhar Tamim. Raden Mudhar Tamim was a religious leader who was quite active in politics and held strategic positions in both political parties and the government. Due to the author's direct involvement with the Indonesian government, this interpretation likely contains specific discourses in the interpretation of the Qur'an, particularly regarding the interpretation of verses related to state and leadership.

5 Hamam Faizin, "Sejarah dan Karakteristik Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Kementerian Agama RI," *Subuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya* 14, no. 2 (2021): 287. <https://doi.org/10.22548/shf.v14i2.669>.

6 Munirul Ichwan, "Fi Tahaddi al-Dawlah: Al-Tarjamah al-Tafsiriyyah fi Muwajahat al-Khiṭāb al-Dīnī al-Rasamī li Dawlah al-Indūnisiyyah," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 17, no. 3 (2015), 121–57, <https://doi.org/10.3366/jqs.2015.0214>.

7 Islah Gusmian, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an Bahasa Jawa: Peneguhan Identitas, Ideologi, dan Politik Perlawanan," *Subuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya* 9, no. 1 (November 15, 2016): 143, <https://doi.org/10.22548/SHF.V9I1.116>.

8 Ichwan, "Negara, Kitab Suci, dan Politik: Terjemah Resmi Al-Qur'an di Indonesia," 422.

Other articles discussing Mudhar Tamim's interpretations have not paid sufficient attention to the underlying political discourses. Yet, this interpretation is deeply rooted in the political discourse of its time. Moreover, the author's position as a religious leader and government official adds a unique layer of complexity, as it is generally difficult for scholar-officials to criticize the government and its policies; instead, they tend to support and endorse the ruling government.⁹

The purpose of this research is to find out how the verses of statehood are interpreted by Mudhar Tamim in *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* and how the socio-political contestation that occurred during the new order influenced Mudhar Tamim's interpretation. This research is a literature study with a descriptive-analytical method using the main source of *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* and other supporting sources. This article uses critical discourse analysis of the interpretation of the verses of statehood in *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*, in terms of the language order used by the mufasir as well as socio-historical studies that surround this tafsir.

The theory used in this research is Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge theory. This theory is considered capable of revealing what influences Mudhar Tamim when interpreting the interpretation of *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*. The Sociology of Knowledge initiated by Mannheim emphasizes subjectivity rather than objectivity. Subjectivity in a work is also influenced by the psychological condition of the author who will differ from one another. The author also does not escape the social context that surrounds him and influences the process of forming a thought in a work.¹⁰ So in studying a thought, especially interpretation using Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge theory, it is necessary to combine two steps, namely looking at verses that have similar themes and looking at the socio-historical context that surrounds the author.¹¹

History of Translations and Tafsir of the Qur'an in Madura

The history of religious life in Madura cannot be separated from the leading Ulama from Madura, namely Sheikh Kholil Bangkalan. The first movement of writing translation and tafsir in Madura was also carried out by Shaykh Kholil Bangkalan. From some of his works in the fields of fiqh, sufism, and Arabic language rules, it turned out that there were also manuscripts of Al-Qur'an translations. This translated is a Qur'an manuscript written by Shaykh Kholil's great-grandfather named Shaykh Abdul Karim. This Qur'anic manuscript was later added to the inter-line writing containing the *ma'āni* translation in Madurese Pegon. This translation marks the early history of the writing of translation and

9 Jajat Burhanudin, *Ulama dan Kekuasaan: Pergumulan Elite Muslim dalam Sejarah Indonesia* (Jakarta Selatan: Mizan Publika, 2012), 188.

10 Karl Mannheim, *Ideologi dan Utopia: Mengungkap Kaitan Pikiran dan Politik*, trans. F. Budi Hardiman (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1991), 100.

11 Ramli, "Mannheim Membaca Tafsir Quraish Shihab dan Bahtiar Nasir Tentang Auliya' Surah Al-Maidah Ayat 51," *Refleksi Jurnal Filsafat dan Pemikiran Islam* 18, no. 1 (January 30, 2018): 100, <https://doi.org/10.14421/REF.V18I1.1859>.

tafsir in Madura.¹²

The growth of tafsir in Madura is not as fast as in other regions in Indonesia. Jurisprudence and Sufism dominated over tafsir, so after the writing of Shaykh Kholil's translation no tafsir in the Madurese language appeared. However, many of the kiais in various areas of Madura have established majlis or recitations about tafsir either in boarding schools or from village to village. Such recitations in the scientific tradition of tafsir are included in the Oral Interpretation. One of the oral interpretations that has been recorded and has traces to this day is the interpretation of K. Fauzi (1980s) and Jam'iyah Sulukiyah. While the written interpretation was done by Mudhar Tamim who wrote the interpretation of *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* in 1969 M.¹³

In the 2000s, the writing of Qur'anic commentaries began to develop. Many books of interpretation have sprung up to date, either in Madurese or interpretations from Madurese scholars but using Indonesian or Arabic. Among these interpretations are *Tafsir Al-Asas* by K. Busyro Karim, *Tafsir Yāsīn* by K. Abd. Basith, *Tafsir Yāsīn and Tafsir Al-Fātiḥah* by K. Munif Suyuthi, *Tafsir Al-Fātiḥah* by K. Muhsin Amir, *Tafsir Firdaus Al-Na'īm bi Taudīhi Ma'ānī Āyat Al-Qur'ān Al-Karīm* by K. Thaifur Ali Wafa, *Tafsir Al-Qur'ān Al-Karīm* by K.H. Ach. Basyir AS, *Tafsir Al-Qur'ān Al-Karīm* by KH. Sa'di Amir, as well as the translation of the Qur'an in Madurese by the Institute for Translation and Study of the Qur'an (LP2Q).¹⁴

Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda

Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda is a tafsir that can be categorized in the development period of tafsir in Madura, which occurred in the 20th century. This tafsir was written by Raden Mudhar Tamim on Wednesday, July 16, 1969 M/1 Jumadil Awal 1389 H and completed the interpretation of Al-Fātiḥah and Al-Baqarah on Monday, October 6, 1969 M/24 Rajab 1389 H. At first, Mudhar Tamim gave religious lectures, especially tafsir which was broadcast live through RHANSISCO Pamekasan radio. The delivery of *da'wah* through this radio aims to make it easier to reach the Madurese community in general. Because of the high enthusiasm of the community, based on the advice of some of Mudhar Tamim's relatives, tafsir *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* was finally written. In addition, this tafsir was also written on the basis of facilitating the Madurese community,

12 Ahmad Zaidanil Kamil, "Tafsir Al-Jalalain dan Bahasa Madura: Lokalitas Kitab Tarjamah Tafsir al-Jalalain bi al-Lughah al-Madūriyyah Karya Abdul Majid Tamim (1919-2000)," *Subuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya* 13, no. 1 (2020): 27–53, <https://doi.org/10.22548/shf.v13i1.533>.

13 Ulya Fikriyati, Ah Fawaid, and Subkhani Kusuma Dewi, "Vernacular Tafsir in Madura: Negotiating Idea of Human Equality in the Social Hierarchical Tradition," *Australian Journal of Islamic Studies* 6, no. 4 (December 7, 2021): 54–57, <https://doi.org/10.55831/ajis.v6i4.403>.

14 Fawaidur Ramdhani and Ahmad Zaidanil Kamil, "Tafsir Alquran Bahasa Madura: Mengenal Tapsèr Sorat Yaa-siin (BhasaMadhura) Karya Muhammad Irsyad," *Nun: Jurnal Studi Alquran dan Tafsir di Nusantara* 5, no. 1 (2020): 117–43, <https://doi.org/10.32495/nun.v5i1.103>.

especially children who were not fluent enough to read Arabic tafsir.¹⁵

Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda consists of one volume containing the interpretation of Q.S. Al-Fātiḥah and Al-Baqarah complete with the author's introduction. The writing of this interpretation uses Madurese Latin with a typewriter while the Qur'anic verse uses handwriting. The use of Madurese language in the interpretation is to facilitate the understanding of Madurese people in general. However, this tafsir was only printed once and is now stored at the Pamekasan Regency Archives Office. The printing process of this tafsir stalled due to a lack of funds and no support from the Pamekasan Regency government at that time.¹⁶

The systematic writing of this tafsir consists of three parts. *First*, the writing of the Qur'anic verses to be interpreted using handwriting. *Second*, Mudhar Tamim translates the verses of the Qur'an that have been written in Madurese first before being interpreted, the presentation of the translation of this verse using a typewriter. *Third*, the explanation of the meaning of the verse or the interpretation of the Qur'anic verse, written in Madurese just below the text of the Qur'anic translation. This systematic writing is considered quite effective and neat in writing tafsir, coupled with a clear separation between verse translation and interpretation of a verse.

Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda is included in the interpretation that is characterized by *Adabi Ijtima'i* or social society with the *tablili* (analytical) method. Many verses are interpreted in a new way by Mudhar Tamim as a critical reaction to the religious practices of the Madurese people that occurred at the time of writing this interpretation. One of them is Mudhar Tamim's criticism of the practice of *taklid* by the Madurese community towards the *kiai* or Madurese scholars who sometimes reach the level of fanaticism.¹⁷ The criticism is very visible in the interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 165, as follows:

..... sabagijan pamanggi engki panika artja; se epentae partolongan edja sodja, edja'moldja'agi epasange sasadjin, sabagijan pamanggi pole; pemimpin se edjung-sandjung (kultus individu), ta' parduli pemimpin gelle' adjalannagi kamungkaran/ma'sijat (alanggar laranganna agama); ladju etoro' sakabbinna otja'na amba' pate/etenda sakabbinna pola tengkana, ta' kalaban apekker bender-salana; e bela akanta pemimpin gella' ta' andi' dusa/kasala'an (can do no wrong). Dari tjintana ka pemimpin gella', badanna ekorbannagi sanadjjan daddi patena, tjintana alebbijan da' Allah.¹⁸

Some of the mufassirs explain; who is asked for help, adored, respected, and given offerings, as others explain; that the leader is adored, regardless of the

15 Mudhar Tamim, *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*, n.d., vi–viii.

16 Ahmad Zaidanil Kamil and Fawaidur Ramdhani, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an Bahasa Madura: Kajian Atas Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda Karya Mudhar Tamim," *Subuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya* 12, no. 2 (December 31, 2019): 263, <https://doi.org/10.22548/SHF.V12I2.475>.

17 Ulfatun Hasanah, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an di Madura: Periodisasi, Metodologi, dan Ideologi," *Anil Islam: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Ilmu Keislaman* 12, no. 1 (2019): 1–35.

18 Tamim, *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*, 71.

disobedience (violating the commandments of Allah), all his words are followed and imitated his behavior, without thinking about right and wrong; from so much love for the leader that he is willing to sacrifice his life, his love exceeds that of Allah.

Mudhar Tamim tends to use reasoning or *ijtihad*, which is classified as *tafsir bi al-Ra'yi*. Although some history can be found, using logic or reasoning from the *mufassir* is more dominant in the interpretation process. Mudhar Tamim's reasoning or logic in interpreting the verse is inseparable from some reference sources of existing interpretations. These references are written explicitly by Mudhar Tamim in his interpretation. The reference sources include *Tafsir Yunus*, *Tafsir Fath al-Qadir*, *Tafsir Khazin*, *Tafsir al-Mu'allim al-Tanzil*, *Tafsir al-Manar*, *Tafsir Jawahir*, *Shahih Bukhari*, *Irsyad Al-'Ibad*, *Nayl al-Auṭar*, *Subul al-Salam*, *Miftah Dar al-Sa'adah*, and some other supporting literature such as philosophy to the bible.¹⁹

Biography and Intellectual Career of Mudhar Tamim

Raden Ach. Mudhar Tamim is the second son of the couple KHR. Moh. Tamim and Raden Ayu Tayyibah. born in Barurambat Kota Village, Pamekasan District, Pamekasan Regency on November 7, 1916. Raden Ach. Mudhar Tamim has a noble family background as well as religious leaders. The noble line was obtained because his family was one of the descendants of the Sumenep kingdom and had a lineage that reached Raden Paku Prabu Satmata or known as Sunan Giri. With this family background, Raden Ach. Mudhar Tamim grew up among a family that was quite respected and had a fairly qualified religious understanding.²⁰

The noble line owned by Mudhar Tamim was obtained from his grandfather named KHR. Isma'il who married Raden Ayu Rembang. Raden Ayu Rembang was the daughter of Raden Demang Wironegoro, the third descendant of Tumenggung Wiromenggolo or better known as Pangeran Purwonegoro who the King of Sumenep was. Later, KHR Ismai'il and Raden Ayu Rembang had a son named KHR. Moh. Tamim. KHR. Moh. Tamim had two wives named Raden Ayu Maymunah and Raden Ayu Tayyibah. From his first wife (Raden Ayu Maymunah) he had five sons, while from his second wife (Raden Ayu Tayyibah) he had six sons including Raden Ach. Mudhar Tamim.²¹

The lineage of Sunan Giri he obtained from Pangeran Kulon I, Pangeran Wiryadi, KHR. Zainal Abidin (Sunan Cendana), R. Adipati Pratamanggala I, R. Adipati Pratamanggala II, KHR. Tepi Salasi, KHR Abdul Adzim, Kiai Raden Sukandar, Kiai Raden Aziruddin, KR. Anwar Ya'kub, KHR. Ibrahim, KHR. Isma'il, KHR. Abdul Lathif until his father KHR. Tamim. The background is possessed by the family of KHR. Tamim made his family quite influential in

19 Tamim, ix.

20 Ahmad Zaidanil Kamil, "Wacana Reformis dalam Tafsir Madura: Analisa Penafsiran Mudhar Tamim dalam Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda," *Al-Itqan* 8, no. 2 (2022): 282–84.

21 Mohammad Fattah and Matsna Afwi Nadia, "Potret Tafsir Al-Qur'an Bahasa Madura," *El-Waroqoh: Jurnal Ushuluddin dan Filsafat* 4, no. 1 (April 6, 2020): 122, <https://doi.org/10.28944/el-warqoh.v4i1.938>.

Pamekasan. His father, KHR. Moh. Tamim is an important figure in the NU Organization and one of the Board of Trustees of the Jami' Al-Syuhada Mosque in Pamekasan. His grandfather, KHR Isma'il was a famous cleric and the head of the precursor in Pamekasan in his day. No wonder then that Raden Ach. Mudhar Tamim also had a role in the Pamekasan community, both religious and political.²²

Raden Mudhar Tamim first obtained religious knowledge from his father. While formal education at the elementary school at Al-Irsyad. Then, he was recorded as having been a nyantri in Cendana (Bangkalan) for 12 years. After that, he continued his education at the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School (Jombang) which at that time was still cared for by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari until 1938. After that, he began his odyssey of knowledge abroad, namely to Jordan. There he finally memorized the Qur'an and completed it within 6 months. Mudhar Tamim not only studied religion but also took part in the military by attending the Chudanco military school, Bogor.²³

After completing his education, he then returned to Madura and continued his work in the community. Raden Mudhar Tamim took part in the religious world by preaching directly to the community. In addition, Mudhar Tamim also utilized the media that existed in his day by filling in various studies on the radio. One of them is filling in studies about fiqh and tafsir on RHANSISCO Pamekasan radio. This makes the reach of his da'wah extend to various regions in Pamekasan. To make Mudhar Tamim one of the famous kiai in Pamekasan many students then came to study to Mudhar Tamim.²⁴

Mudhar Tamim's influence and intelligence were also passed on to his students. Some of Mudhar Tamim's students also continued his preaching in various areas of Pamekasan and its surroundings by becoming religious leaders and establishing boarding schools. Among Mudhar Tamim's students who have quite large boarding schools are, KH. Moh. Lutfi Thaha (caretaker of PP. Al-Falah Sumber Gayam, Kadur), KH. Mahfudz (PP. Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata), KH. Abd. Hamid Baqir (caretaker of PP. Banyuanyar), KH. Abdul Hamid Mannan (PP. Nasyrul Ulum), KHR. Isma'il Madani (PP. Salafiyah Sumur Putih), KH. Moh. Tamim Bengkes, KH. Syarqawi (former Regent of Pamekasan), KH. Hefni Siraj (PP. Miftahul Ulum Bettet).²⁵

Raden Mudhar Tamim's political work was no less active. He began his work by taking part in fighting the Dutch in Madura. Mudhar Tamim was once the leader

22 Aulia Lutfia, "Nuansa Politik dalam Tafsir Quranul-Karim Nurul Huda (Tinjauan Hermeneutik Schleiermacher)" (Skripsi, Yogyakarta, IIQ An Nur Yogyakarta, 2024), 45, <https://repository.nur.ac.id/id/eprint/579/>.

23 Ach Faidi Rasyadi, "Jaringan Mufasir Madura dan Kajian Tipologi (Analisis Karya Tafsir di Kabupaten Pamekasan dan Sumenep)" (Skripsi, Pamekasan, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura, 2023), 54–57, <http://etheses.iainmadura.ac.id/4976/>.

24 Tamim, *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*, xv.

25 Ahmad Zaidanil Kamil, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an dan Ideologi: Pemikiran Keagamaan Mudhar Tamim dalam Tafsir al Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda" (Thesis, Surabaya, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2019), 37, <http://digilib.uinsa.ac.id/31575/>.

of Laskar Hisbullah at the regional level (1945–1950). His persistence in fighting the Dutch made him awarded as a Defender of the Fatherland (PETA) with the rank of Chudanco Dai IV Daidan, Madura Shu. After successfully combating the Dutch, Mudhar Tamim continued his political career both during the Old Order and New Order periods.²⁶

Mudhar Tamim chose the Parmusi party (Indonesian Muslimin Party) as a platform to develop his political work. Not only a member, but he was also later appointed as the chairman of this party in Pamekasan. Through Parmusi, Mudhar Tamim expressed his political ideas which were quite controversial. Through this party, Mudhar Tamim managed to occupy important and strategic positions in the Pamekasan regional government. One of them, Mudhar Tamim was appointed as a Civil Servant in the Pamekasan Religious Department as the Religious Information Office (1972) and became a headman (1953) in Pamekasan Regency and other strategic positions.²⁷

Mudhar Tamim's choice of political party is also quite controversial. This is because the Parmusi party is a religious party that is close to the Muhammadiyah organization. This is very contrary to his family background, which is very thick with the Nuan tradition. Many of his family members are high-ranking officials in the Nahdlatul Ulama management. For example, his father, Moh. Tamim was the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama in Pamekasan. Mudhar Tamim's involvement in the Parmusi party was very dominant, even he became the party chairman and managed to occupy a strategic position by becoming a member of DPRD Level II in Pamekasan for two periods (1977–1982 and 1982–1987) through the Parmusi party.²⁸

After retiring from politics in 1987, Mudhar Tamim chose to move to Pandemawu where his second wife (Hasunah) lived. He lived in Pandemawu until his death on February 4, 2000. However, before he died, Mudhar Tamim made a will that he should not be buried in a special cemetery. The special cemetery in question is a cemetery for noble families. Special burials are also a tradition of the kingdom as a recognition of one's nobility. However, like his will, even though Mudhar Tamim was from the nobility, he was finally buried in Pandemawu cemetery.²⁹

26 Mudhar Tamim received a charter from the former East Java Homeland Defense Force (PETA) dated February 15, 1986. In the charter, Mudhar Tamim's last rank/position was Dai IV Daidan, Madura Shu.

27 In a decision letter issued by the Director General of Islamic Community Guidance dated June 16, 1972.

28 Kamil, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an dan Ideologi: Pemikiran Keagamaan Mudhar Tamim dalam Tafsir al Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda," 47.

29 Lutifiya, "Nuansa Politik dalam Tafsir Quranul-Karim Nurul Huda (Tinjauan Hermeneutik Schleiermacher)," 49.

Socio-Political Conditions during the New Order Period

The Soeharto-led New Order government lasted 32 years, starting from 1966–1998. This government embraced the ideology of *developmentalism* because it was born amid an economic, social, and political crisis, so the early days of the New Order government focused on rebuilding the country from scratch.³⁰ This rearrangement was carried out in several phases, namely, *First, the* initial strengthening of the New Order government's power and eliminating the traces of the Old Order government which was carried out using propaganda against the community to build an anti-communist government image. Second, economic stabilization and rehabilitation which was carried out gradually and continuously, as well as political stabilization using military power.³¹

The development of the country, which was realized by social, political, and economic stabilization, was unfortunately carried out with various authoritarian policies with state domination in all aspects of life.³² The authoritarian attitude of the state in the early days of the New Order government began with political policies taken by Soeharto such as using Golkar as a political vehicle. Golkar as a political party was then strengthened by several rules that were changed by Soeharto, one of which was a rule that placed the DPR and MPR as political institutions that were fully under his supervision so that Soeharto as president had the right to appoint one-fifth of DPR members and three-fifths of MPR members. This policy would certainly dim the PDI and PPP as Golkar's political opponents and greatly benefited Golkar as Soeharto's political vehicle so that the continuity of Soeharto's rule would be more assured. This hegemony was also applied to civil servants who were not allowed to become members of political parties and could only support Golkar.³³

In addition, the New Order government also strictly regulated and controlled the press and had to submit to regulations made for the benefit of the government.³⁴ Full control of the press was exercised under the Department of Information. The mass media during the New Order era had both economic and political functions. The economic function aimed to industrialize and attract investors,

30 Ramdani Husein Renngur, "Analisis Ideologi Dibalik Kebijakan Reforma Agraria Pada Masa Orde Lama (1945-1965) dan Orde Baru (1965-1968)," *Jurnal Hukum dan HAM Wara Sains* 2, no. 05 (May 31, 2023): 384, <https://doi.org/10.58812/JHHWS.V2I05.323>.

31 Andi Suwirta, "Pers Dan Kritik Sosial Pada Masa Orde Baru: Studi Kasus Pers Mingguan Mahasiswa Indonesia di Bandung, 1966-1974," *Mimbar Pendidikan* 3, no. 2 (November 17, 2018): 114–17, <https://doi.org/10.17509/MIMBARDIK.V3I2.13949>.

32 Jusmalia Oktaviani and Teguh Puja Pramadya, "Model Negara Kekuasaan: Orde Baru dalam Tinjauan Pemikiran Hobbes dan Niccolo Machiavelli," *Indonesian Perspective* 4, no. 2 (November 24, 2019): 184, <https://doi.org/10.14710/ip.v4i2.26701>.

33 Dwi Wahyono Hadi and Gayung Kasuma, "Propaganda Orde Baru 1966-1980," *Verleden* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–109.

34 Andi Suwirta, "Pers dan Kritik Sosial Pada Masa Orde Baru: Kasus Peristiwa Tanjung Priok Tahun 1984 dalam Pandangan Surat Kabar Merdeka dan Kompas di Jakarta," *Insancita* 2, no. 2 (2017): 119, <https://doi.org/10.2121/INCITA-JISISEA.V2I2.937>.

while the political function was to spread propaganda and build a good image of the New Order government through print and electronic media. Soeharto also formed ASPRI (Personal Assistant) and ran Opsus (Special Operations) designed to infiltrate political parties, implement policies, and impose other wills so that all New Order agendas could be carried out.

Interpretation of Statehood Verses in Tafsir *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*

The verses of statehood that will be studied in this study are limited to Q.S. Al-Baqarah. The limitation of sampling the interpretation of the verses of statehood is due to the interpretation of *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* itself only consists of one juz containing Q.S. Al-Fātiḥah and Q.S. Al-Baqarah. The interpretation taken in this tafsir book is an introduction that explains the virtues of reading *bismillah*, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 154, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 216 and Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 247. From the above verses, it will be seen how Mudhar Tamim explains the concept of state and leader and the relationship between the interpretation and the political situation at that time.

Before interpreting Q.S. Al-Fātiḥah and Q.S. Al-Baqarah, Mudhar Tamim explains the meaning and virtues of reading *bismillah*. This explanation is followed by verses that explain the meaning and virtues of reading *bismillah*, one of which is mentioned by Mudhar Tamim that the meaning of *bismillah* is (بي كان ما كان وبني يكون), the quote is explained by Mudhar Tamim as follows:

“Sabab sengko’ (dabuna Allah) badana alam dunnja ban essena (manossa, malaekat, djin, gunong2, keban2, tase’, bintang2, bulan, are, songaj, suwarga, naraka ban en-laenna; ban sabab sengko gu-aggu sakabbinna alam dunnja pada egulung ban manossana pada epenta-e tanggung djawab bi sengko hal lalakonna (amalla) edunnja.” Manossa edunnja paneka mahlok se paleng moldja, epareng sjahwat sareng epareng akal, seddeng hewan namong epareng sjahwat malolo tak epareng akal. Dineng para malaekat namong epareng akal bisaos, tak epareng sjahwat. Manossa paneka epareng akal ka-angguj mekker2 kadi ponapa patrap epon manossa da sasamana, kadi ponapa ngator nagara se saeja, se ngenngenna nagara kalaban djemdjem, terentem, santosa, tada rok-tjarogan, tada perrang pada akor edunnja kantos acher-epon ban sopadja nagarana adil sareng makmur se eridai Allah, ban kadi ponapa patrap-epon ebada da Allah s.w.t.³⁵

“Because of Me (says Allah), the worlds exist (humans, angels, jinn, mountains, animals, seas, stars, moons, days, rivers, heavens, bells, etc.); and because of Me, the worlds will be rolled up and people will be held accountable by Me for what they have done (deeds) in the world.”

Humans in the world are the most noble creatures, who are given desire and given reason at the same time, while animals are only given desire without being given reason. While the angels are only given reason, without being given lust. Humans are given reason to think about how to treat their fellow human beings, how to organize the country so that it is good, and can occupy the country safely, peacefully, tranquil, no carok, no war, and get along with each other in the world

35 Tamim, *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*, 1.

until the end and so that the country is fair and prosperous that is blessed by Allah, and khusyu' beridrah to Allah s.w.t.

Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]:30 contains a dialog between Allah and the angels when they wanted to make Adam the caliph on earth. The presentation of *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim* in Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30 is to write the sound of the verse by handwriting. The meaning or literal translation of the verse in Madurese is as follows:

Naleka Allah adabu da' the angels; "sa-ongguna sengko' mabada (appointing the caliph of the earth (Adam)); mator the angels, ponapa adjunan abadija (ngangkada) chalifah e bumi se bakal agabaj (nombuwagi) karosagan ban rok-tjarogan, seddeng kaula sadadja atasbeh modji adjunan ban njottje-agi (menyutjikan) adjunan?". Adabu Allah "saongguna sengkok tao da' apa2 se bellun e-kataowe dibi'na.³⁶

When Allah said to the angels, "I will appoint a Caliph on earth (Adam)," the angels said, "Why will you appoint a Caliph on earth who will cause corruption and war, while we praise you and purify you"? Allah said, "I know what you do not know".

In the interpretation of this verse, it will be seen that Mudhar Tamim explains the verse by describing the very conditions that are happening so that the resulting interpretation will be close to the socio-historical situation when the verse is interpreted. The interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30 in the interpretation of *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*:

The Caliph is a king, leader, official, president, or head of state on earth; or the person who leads (governs) society on earth, Allah says (gives news) to the angels that Allah will appoint a leader on earth, to regulate society on earth, the Angels say, is it necessary to appoint a caliph on earth; because the caliph on earth will cause damage, chaos, war, which will make the earth unsafe? At that time the earth was empty, there were no inhabitants (humans). Then how will Allah make leaders, kings, and presidents, if the people (humans) do not exist? Of course, Allah will also multiply the descendants of the caliph (Adam). When their descendants were numerous, at that time the Caliph who was Adam was called leader, head of state, president, or caliph. Is it because the angels knew that they already knew, before it happened, that humans on earth would cause damage, such as carok, a war that had already become a reality?

According to Judge Ibn 'Abbās, two thousand years before Allah created Adam, there were already jinns on earth. The jiks caused damage to the point of bloodshed. The angels already know because they have been given special knowledge, or have understood because of the caliph from the words *khalafa*, *kballafa*, *khālafa*, *takballafa*, *akhlafa* which means substitute, staying behind, not agreeing, not keeping promises, the angels say, isn't that enough, I have you worshiped you? What the angels mean is praising Allah, that Allah has given them various pleasures. This kind of pleasure fosters an infinite sense of devotion from angels, never disobeying God's commands. So, a deep feeling of love for angels grows, not because they reject God's will.

36 Tamim, 18.

A more subtle meaning is “Am I not enough for you, therefore you still want to create a caliph on earth, where the caliph is not necessarily devoted to you? Allah says, “*I know better than what you don’t know*”. An answer like this gives satisfaction to the Angels, because it indicates that the knowledge they have has limits, and the wisdom of Allah in creating the Caliph on earth, is that angels are unable to know things more deeply.

According to some opinions, question and answer or dialogue between God and angels is to foster wisdom:

- a). Signifies the greatness of God, allowing His servants to ask questions about God’s wisdom and the invisible things of human creation. This wisdom is to set an example for leaders; no need to be afraid to ask about plans that will be implemented (such as democracy). A satisfactory answer from Allah is an illustration that there is no high power in the world (the world of absolute monarchies, and dictators) that does not provide the opportunity to ask questions about plans to be implemented, instead, it must give satisfaction and confidence to the questioner.
- b). Another lesson, providing lessons to humans so that the people always contribute to the success of the government’s plans, and also suffer if they don’t succeed. So, the people are active in monitoring the government so that it does not deviate.³⁷

The next verse is Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 154 which contains about martyrs who died in battle.

“Ban addja’ ba’na ngotja’a mate, da’ oreng se mate sjahid; bali’ djareja odi’, tape ba’na ta’ angrasa” Ajat paneka toron e baktu perrang Badar, oreng-oreng Islam se gaggar (tewas) 14 oreng, 6 oreng dari sahabat Mudadjirin ban 8 oreng dari sahabat Ansor, oreng2 kaper ban munafek pada ngotja’; “oreng2 aperrang nganejadja badanna dibi’, karana njoppre karida’anna (kasennenganna) Muhammad; tada’ gunana (faedana)”. E dalem paperrangan tanto saos ; tjoma ba pada bada. Tako’, lapar kakorangan alat tempur, kakorangan kantja karana mate, kakorangan tedda’an, tape manabi tahan/ulet, tabah ban sabbar, acherra mennang. Emodi proklamasi 17 Agustus 1945. E baktu Indonesia ngadebbi tentara Sarekat ban Balandu, karana sabbar acherra kita mennang. Serengan Allah madjungi oreng sabbar. Oreng mate sjahid (mate atempur karana abillai Nagara ban Agama) paneka sa-ongguna ta’ mate; sae e dunnja ponapa pole e acherat. Manabi e dunnja, njamana e but-sebbut saos sebagai Pahlawan: ponapa pole e acherat emaso’agi ka sowarga. Dabuna Allah, S. Ali Imran, aj. 169; “Addja’ ba’na njangka/ngera mate, oreng2 se mate sjahid, bali’ odi’e adjunanna Allah ban oreng2 se mate sjahid djareja eparenge radjekke”³⁸

“Do not pronounce the martyrs dead, for they are alive, but you cannot feel” this verse was revealed during the battle of Badr, 14 Muslims died, 6 from the Muhājirīn and 8 from the Ansār, the disbelievers and hypocrites said: “*Those who fight torment themselves, because they expect the pleasure of Muhammad; there is no use (benefit)*”. In a war, of course, you will feel fear, hunger, lack of combat equipment, lack of

37 Tamim, 18–20.

38 Tamim, 66.

friends because many have died, and lack of food, but if you are resilient, steadfast, and patient, you will eventually win. Remember the Proclamation of August 17, 1945. When Indonesia faced the Dutch Serious Army, because of patience we finally won. Allah will protect the patient. People who die as martyrs (die because of fighting to defend the country and religion) do not die; neither in the world nor in the hereafter. If in the world, his name will be remembered as a Hero: let alone in the afterlife to be put into Heaven.

The third surah is Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 216 which also explains warfare, Mudhar Tamim gives the literal meaning and interpretation as follows:

“Ba’na eparenata aperrang, ban aperrang djareja ba’na ta’ soka tape terkadang apa2 se ta’ ekenda’i (tak’ soka) ba’na, adaddijagi kabagusan ban terkadang apa2 se ekaleburi ba’na, adaddijagi ka djuba’an. Allah ngagali ban ba’na ta’ tao”. Ichtilaaf (ada-bida) pamanggina Ulama’ hal parenta perrang. Meteorot Atho’, perrang paneka sonnat, ngennege ajat 216 tjoma wadjib da’ para sahabat-de Rasul. Meteorot riwayat, dari Abu Huraira, adabu Rasul: “Perrang paneka wadjib da’ sampejan, abareng amir se sae otaba se dolim”. Perrang paneka settong bakto parlo, bangsa paneka bada argana/kahormadanna; manabi ta’ tako’ aperrang, e dalem abillai nagarana ban agamana. Bangsa e kotja’a mate, manabi ampon ta’ andi’ semangat kabangalan, ka-agguj abillai barang se hak (bender). Sabellun mardika Bangsa Indonesia sareng oreng2 Arab, e-njamae sape (baqar), ban ta’ e kennal sareng nagara2 laen. Tape sa-amponna Indonesia paneka aperrang, ma-tao (menampakkan) kebangalanna; tada’ Nagara laen ngena akadi gi’ djaman sabellunna mardika: ban e hormat/e-argai sareng Nagara2 laen. Melana perrang paneka settong bakto parlo, kaaguj abillai kahormadanna Nagarana ban Agamana, kalamon e-langgar/ e-serrang sareng Nagara laen.³⁹

You are ordered to fight, and you don’t like fighting but sometimes what you don’t like is good and sometimes what you like is bad. Allah understands while you do not. There are different scholarly opinions regarding the command to fight. According to Aṭā, war is sunnah in verse 216 and is only obligatory for the companions of the Prophet. According to a narration from Abū Hurayrah, the Prophet said: “*War is obligatory upon you, with a good or unjust emir*”. Occasionally war is needed, and the nation has a price/honor, if not afraid to fight in defense of the country and religion. A nation will die when it does not have the spirit of courage to defend something right (true). Before independence, the Indonesian nation and the Arabs were called cattle (*baqar*) and were not recognized by other countries. But after Indonesia fought (against the invaders), it showed its courage; no other country insulted it like before independence: and was respected/appreciated by other countries.

While the interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 247 tells about leadership. However, unlike the interpretation of the previous verse which is very close to Indonesian socio-politics, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 247 explains more about the verse of the story that has no similar context with Indonesia. The interpretation is as follows:

“Ban ngotja’a Nabbina da’ oreng2 djareja”. Sa-ongguna Allah ngotus Thalut daddi radjana ba’na. Oreng-oreng djareja ngotja” baramma Thalut daddi radja kaula, seddeng kaula lebbi patot daddi radja dari Thalut, ban Thalut ta’ andi’ dunnja bannja’ (mesken)? Ngotja’ Nabbina;

39 Tamim, 100–111.

saongguna Allah ella mele Thalut e-antarana ba'na ban apareng karadja'anna da' oreng se ekasokane, ban Allah luwas panga-onengga (elmona).⁴⁰

And said to them, “Indeed Allah has sent Ṭālūt to be king. The people answered *“How can Ṭālūt be king when we are more worthy of being king than him? Ṭālūt doesn't have any property? So, the messenger answered, “Indeed Allah has chosen Ṭālūt among all of you and given the power to those whom He wants, and Allah is vast in His knowledge”.*

N. Sjamawil njo'on da' Allah, sopadja epareng pamimpin ka-angguj mimpin perrang kalaban kaum Amaliqah se ara rosak e bumi, acherra Allah ngotos Thalut (bahasa Ibrani, Sawil Ibnu Qaisim, katoronan-na Bun-Jamin Ibnu Ja'kub). Daddi Thalut (Sawil) ana' potona N. Ja'kub a.s. Thalut lakona tokang samak kole'. E bakto bapakna Thalut ka-elangan hemarra, Thalut ladju njare abareng na'kana'. E settong bakto na'kana' ngadjak Thalut maso' ka romana N.Sjamuwil ka-angguj atanja katerrangan. Sa-amponna dapa' e adjunanna N. Sjamawil, Thalut eokor sareng tongket, tenggina pade; ladju serana (tjetak) Thalut epakon pasemma'. Ba'na se deddi radja (pamimpin) Bani Isra'il. “Isjarat dari Allah da' N. Sjamawil oreng se mimpin Bani Isra'il paneka oreng se tenggina pada sareng tongket, ban serana e-minja'i kalaban minja' sutji. Okoranna Thalut e-antarana Bani Isra'il paleng tinggi, paleng radja, kowat badanna. E dalam masjarakat Bani Isra'il se mimpin bada 2 golongan; urusan Agama dari katoronan Lawe dari N. Ja'kub a.s. se noronnagi N. Musa, N. Harun. Urusan pamarenta'an katoronanna Jahuda Ibnu Ja'kun a.s. se noronnagi N. Daud, N. Sulaiman. Seddeng Thalut, tada' e-antarana keduwana, sareng Thalut katoronan dari Bun-Jamin Ibnu Ja'kub a.s.- melana da' ada'na Bani Isra'il mator da' N. Sjamawil:

1. Thalut oreng mesken (tokang samak kole').
2. Banne katoronanna dari sala-settongnga golongan se duwa'.

Otja'na Bani Isra'il: “kaula lebbi berhak karena Thalut mesken ban banne katoronanna dari sala-settonga golongan duwa'. Meteorot ka-terrangan sabagijan mufassir, ababba bangatowana Thalut, pangkat kanabijanna ban pangkat karadja'anna etjabut sareng Allah, amarga bannja' alako maksijat/ barang mongkar.”⁴¹

Prophet Ṣamwa'il asked Allah to give him a leader to lead the war against the 'Amaliqah people who were causing damage to the earth, so Allah sent Ṭālūt (Hebrew, Shāwul Ibn Qays, a descendant of Bunyāmīn Ibn Ya'qūb). So, Ṭālūt (Shāwul) are descendants of Ya'qūb. Ṭālūt's job is as a leather tanner. When Ṭālūt's father lost his himar, Ṭālūt immediately rushed to look for it with his friend. At one time, Ṭālūt was invited by his friend to enter Prophet Ṣamwa'il's house to ask questions.

Arriving at Prophet Ṣamwa'il's residence, he was measured using a stick, his height was the same. Ṭālūt's head immediately rushed closer. Kamh became king of the Children of Israel. A sign from Allah to Prophet Ṣamwa'il that the person who will lead the Children of Isra'il will be the same height as the staff, and his head will be covered with holy oil.

Ṭālūt's posture among the Bani Isra'il was the tallest, biggest, and strongest. During the Bani Isra'il community, there were two leaders: the religious leader, namely the descendant of Ya'qūb via the Musa and Hārūn routes. Meanwhile, government affairs of the descendants of Yahūdḥā bin Ya'qūb from the Dāwud

40 Tamim, 117.

41 Tamim, 118.

and Sulaymān routes. Meanwhile, Ṭālūt, a descendant of Bunyāmīn Ibn Ya‘qūb. So, the Bani Isrā’īl said to Prophet Ṣamwa’īl:

1. Ṭālūt of the poor (tanner).
2. Not a descendant of one of the two groups mentioned.

Bani Isrā’īl said: “I have more rights because Ṭālūt is not one of these two groups”. According to some mufasir statements, because of Ṭālūt’s ancestors, the prophetic rank and noble rank were revoked by Allah, because they committed disobedience/*munkar*.

Analysis of Statehood Verses in the Perspective of Karl Mannheim’s Sociology of Knowledge

Karl Mannheim’s sociology of knowledge tries to explore the subjectivity of the mufasir in interpreting the verses of the Qur’an. This subjectivity is strongly influenced by the background and socio-history that surrounds a mufasir during his lifetime. This section will explore the causes of Mudhar Tamim’s subjectivity in interpreting the verses of statehood. This background can be seen through the life background, educational background, and Mudhar Tamim’s position in society. So that the subjectivity that appears in his interpretation can be examined comprehensively.

Tafsir Al-Qur’anul Karim Nurul Huda, which was written with a socio-cultural background during the New Order era, certainly responded to the problems that were happening at that time. The author of this tafsir was also a politician who was quite active and occupied various strategic government positions during the New Order era, one of which was being a Penghulu. With this background, tafsir *Al-Qur’anul Karim Nurul Huda* could have been used as a tool to spread the discourse of the New Order as happened in the Qur’an translation during the transition of the Old Order to the New Order mentioned above.

The relationship between kiai, politics, and the state in Indonesia has been going on since the reign of the Islamic kingdoms and became an official part of the state since the Dutch colonial period, marked by the withdrawal of the *kepengulonan* institution or penghulu institution as part of the colonial government in 1882.⁴² This continued in the post-colonial period. The kiai’s very strong role in society, especially rural communities with a santri base, made the government use this approach to spread ideas and become a tool for various state interests. This led to two trends in the kiai’s attitude towards the state, especially the New Order, namely the group of kiai who supported the regime and the group of *priyai* who were at odds with the regime.⁴³

In religious matters, kiai have the capacity and authority to express the interpretation, sorting, and dissemination of religious values in the community according to their respective interests and backgrounds. In this case, kiai who are

42 Ibnu Qoyim Isma’il, *Kiai Penghulu Jawa: Peranannya di Masa Kolonial* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1997), 20.

43 Yanwar Pribadi, “Relasi Kiai, Masyarakat, dan Negara: Konfigurasi Politik Pemilu Pada Masa Orde Baru di Madura,” *Maarif* 8, no. 2 (2013): 193–95.

not bound by the government will be freer to express their various thoughts even though they are contrary to the government. However, Mudhar Tamim's position as an upholder kiai and part of the government is certainly different from kiai who do not have a political position. The space for kiai penghulu (including Mudhar Tamim) to move is not too free because it is limited by various regulations to the socio-political interests of the state. It is not unreasonable if many consider that the kiai penghulu is part of the government that supports the regime.

However, this cannot be taken for granted because there are interesting facts behind Mudhar Tamim's active participation in politics. Some sources say that Mudhar Tamim's main goal in politics is not to occupy strategic positions, more than that he wants to express his political ideas. During his involvement in politics, Mudhar Tamim also expressed opinions that were quite controversial. The opinion was an expression of his disappointment and anxiety towards the government system at that time. Mudhar Tamim described the government as a big fish that always pounces on small fish. The rich get richer, and the poor get poorer. Laws were made blunt upwards and sharp downwards.⁴⁴

This statement certainly causes ambiguity about the position of tafsir *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* by Mudhar Tamim. The writing of this tafsir was done when Mudhar Tamim was active in politics and held several important positions in the 1960–1970 period, which was written in 1969. However, Mudhar Tamim's statement is certainly a sharp criticism aimed at the government. This also contradicts the assumption that kiai penghulu or kiai who serve in the government will necessarily become part of the government as a whole.

The distribution of tafsir *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* is also fairly massive, even Mudhar Tamim did not print and did not disseminate this tafsir in those years. This becomes something quite odd because if indeed Mudhar Tamim's tafsir is intended to support the New Order government and has a hidden discourse in it, of course, the government will not hesitate to provide material support, both in terms of publishing this tafsir and its distribution in the Madura region. However, in reality, the publishing and printing process of this tafsir experienced cost difficulties so that until now the interpretation of *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* has only been printed once and has become a collection of the Pamekasan Regency Archives Office.

The nuances of statehood in the interpretation of *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* can be found through the verses that broadly explain leadership or caliphate and also verses about the spirit of state defense. This is expressed by Mudhar Tamim in the interpretation of the virtue of reading *bismillah*, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 154, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 216 and Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 247. These verses are interpreted with nuances of statehood that are different from the interpretations in general.

The first is the virtue of reciting the *bismillah* which is presented in the interpretation of the first verse of surah Al-Fātiḥah. After giving the literal meaning

⁴⁴ Kamil, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an dan Ideologi: Pemikiran Keagamaan Mudhar Tamim dalam Tafsir Al Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda," 47.

of surah Al-Fātihah 1-6, Mudhar Tamim quotes a hadith that reads *bī kāna mā kāna wa bī yakūnu*.⁴⁵ This Hadith explains the virtue of reading the Fatihah as well as reading the Torah, Gospel, Zabur, and the Qur'an as a whole. Mudhar Tamim also provides a detailed explanation that humans have advantages over other creatures of God, namely reason. This intellect must be used in living everyday life. The distinctive feature of Mudhar Tamim's explanation is that the mind that God has given must be used to run the life of the country to create a just, peaceful, and prosperous life. Whereas if you look at the hadith, it applies generally, and no term specifically mentions the life of the state. Mudhar Tamim indirectly connects the hadith with the life of the state.

The interpretation of the term khalifah in Mudhar Tamim's tafsir specifically mentions a leader in the form of an official, president, or head of state. Mudhar Tamim provides a significant difference between the caliph and humans in general. So that the caliph is only specific to state leaders or human leaders and not caliphs in general who are carried out by all humans. This interpretation is quite different from the interpretation of the term khalifah offered by several other mufasirs such as Hamka who identifies the term khalifah in Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30 as creatures in general who are divided into tribes or groups. However, in the next verse, namely Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 31 Hamka specifically mentions that Khalifah has the meaning of a substitute taken from various verses, but the meaning of this substitute has a general connotation according to the editorial verses in the Qur'an.⁴⁶

Mudhar Tamim also provides some *fā'idah* on the content of the verse, which describes the dialog between Allah and the Angel. The wisdom of this dialog, according to Mudhar Tamim, if drawn in the relationship between state leaders and the community is that a leader must have an open nature with the community accept criticism from the community wisely, and provide satisfactory responses.⁴⁷ This is a criticism of the New Order government that showed signs of authoritarianism from the beginning of its reign by using political monopoly and legislative order for the benefit of the Soeharto government. In addition, the New Order government also severely restricted the movement of the press, so this shows an anti-criticism government as responded by Mudhar Tamim in his interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 31.

Mudhar Tamim also embedded the spirit to defend the country as stated when interpreting Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 154 which explains the existence of martyrs. Quraish Shihab in the interpretation of *Al-Misbah* explains this verse, that the martyrdom referred to in this verse is martyrdom because of Allah.⁴⁸ However, in his interpretation, Mudhar Tamim connects verse 154 with statehood. Indirectly Mudhar Tamim specializes verse 154 with people who are martyred for fighting to

45 Tamim, *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*, 2.

46 Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panji Mas, 1986), 153–59.

47 Tamim, *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*, 18–20.

48 Moh Quraish. Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah : Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, vol. 1 (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2009), 364.

defend the country, even in the interpretation of this verse Mudhar Tamim also alludes to the spirit of the heroes in fighting for the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945.

The verse on state defense is also mentioned in Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 216. When connected with the verses before and after, this verse tells about the law of fighting in the month of Muharram. In explaining verse 216, Mudhar Tamim begins with a discussion of the differences in views regarding the law of fighting in the month of Muharram. However, Mudhar Tamim is not too protracted in explaining his fiqh debate but rather shifts the discourse in this verse to the discourse of the state. His explanation in this verse is about the obligation to defend the country on the grounds of defending the honor of the state. Mudhar Tamim also did not hesitate to connect this verse to the Indonesian context in fighting the colonizers.

Although the author of *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda*, Mudhar Tamim, was an active politician and was involved as part of the New Order government, it is very clear that in his interpretation Mudhar Tamim criticized the New Order government at that time. The New Order government at that time was known as an authoritarian and anti-criticism government because President Soeharto had the right to appoint one-fifth of the members of the DPR and three-fifths of the MPR seats. This greatly benefited President Soeharto and the continuity of his leadership. Meanwhile, the interpretation given by Mudhar Tamim described above indicates criticism of the government at that time. One of these criticisms is contained in the interpretation of the term *Khilafah* which is specifically mentioned as the head of state, official, or president. This is an interpretation that is very close to the socio-historical era and this interpretation may aim as a criticism of the government at that time.

Conclusion

Mudhar Tamim's life background as a politician and his educational background who had undergone military school in Chucando Bogor made Mudhar Tamim a cleric with excellent national insight. His national insight is also expressed in interpreting verses related to statehood. First, the interpretation of the virtue of reading *bismillah* is related to state governance to create a peaceful, just, and prosperous life. Second, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30 about the caliph which is connected to the Indonesian context by interpreting the term caliph as an official, president, or head of state and criticizing the government. Third, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 154 In interpreting this verse Mudhar Tamim specializes in people who die martyrs are people who die because of fighting to defend the country. Fourth, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 216 is connected with the struggle for Indonesian independence. Fifth, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 247 In this verse Mudhar Tamim focuses more on the story contained therein.

Mudhar Tamim's interpretation has its characteristics and is different from other mufasirs, even Indonesian mufassirs who are contemporaries. This distinctiveness in Mannheim's sociology of knowledge is referred to as subjectivity because it is also influenced by the life and educational background of the author or mufassir.

However, in some verses, Mudhar Tamim criticized the New Order government, especially the authoritarian attitude shown by the country's leaders at that time. So, it can be said that the interpretation of *Al-Qur'anul Karim Nurul Huda* by Mudhar Tamim is a form of counter-discourse from the Soeharto regime.

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