AYAT SUCI LENYEPAUNEUN AND SOCIAL CRITIQUES
Moh. E. Hasim’s Critiques of the Political Policy of the New Order

Ahmad Ali Nurdin, Jajang A. Rohmana
UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Bandung – Indonesia
Corresponding author: ali.nurdin@uinsgd.ac.id

Abstract: One of the main objectives of the tafsir (Quranic interpretation) is to explain its Quranic contents to readers. In fact, tafsir also demonstrates an interaction between writers of tafsir and their socio-context where they live. In Sundanese region, Moh. E. Hasim also criticised the New Order’s policies when he wrote his tafsir called Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun. What are his critiques? How did he make critiques when at the same time he was writing the tafsir? How was his critique’s position among socio-discourses that appeared in the Muslim world? Through the discourse-analysis approach, this study argues that Hasim’s comments on the New Order’s policies in his Lenyepaneun tafsir demonstrate a dialectical process of the interpreter (writer) with the socio-political context, which he faced. The texts’ critiques of Hasim to the issue of gambling (Porkas and SDSB) and banning of veil demonstrated Hasim’s challenge to the government’s hegemony, which was very repressive. Hasim has successfully combined varieties of ‘horizons’, one being himself as a writer, the socio-political horizon and the horizon of the readers. Hasim’s tafsir has not only displayed the socio-political situation of the society at that time but also became his tool to deliver his critiques.

Keywords: Tafsir, Sundanese, politic, the New Order.

Introduction

In recent years, Quranic exegesis (tafsir) written in local languages has been attracting more and more attention in the academic world, particularly among Indonesian scholars who study Quran. This is reflected by the growing literature on local Quranic tafsir during the last
decade, including *tafsir* written in Javanese, Sundanese, Bugis and others.\(^1\) This trend seems to show that scholars who study Quran and the Quranic interpretation tried to adjust and negotiate between the ‘big tradition’ and a Nusantara local tradition of *tafsir*.\(^2\)

West Java is one of the provinces in Indonesia that produced a myriad of Quranic exegesis written in the local language. The second largest ethnic group in Indonesia, Sundanese, has been living in this province. This ethnic group speaks Sundanese as their mother tongue. One argues that there are thirty Quranic translations that have been published since the early twentieth century and half of them are *tafsir* written in Sundanese.\(^3\)

One of the Sundanese *tafsir* that significantly affected the Sundanese Muslim society is a *tafsir* called *Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun*. This *tafsir* was written by Moh. E. Hasim (1916-2009). The *tafsir* is important for the Sundanese society because it is the only comprehensive *tafsir* (thirty volumes) written in the Sundanese local language. The popularity of the *tafsir* can be seen from the fact that this book has been reprinted for more than eleven times since 1984. Moh. E. Hasim, the *tafsir*’s writer, is a Muhammadiyah’s activist in Bandung who has been awarded the Rancage Literature Award in 2001, a prestigious award for a writer who published his work in a local language.\(^4\)

---


What the general public in Indonesia does not know, however, is the fact that Hasim was caught by police soon after he published his works, particularly the *tafisir Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun*, from 1989 to 1994. Hasim was accused of being too critical of the political and religious policies of Soeharto’s regime in his speeches and writings. Soeharto’s New Order Era (1966-1998) was well known by Indonesians and others as an authoritarian regime regarding the political policies. In his *tafisir Lenyepaneun* for example, Hasim strongly criticized the New Order’s policies that legalized lottery under the name of social donation called Porkas (forecast) and *Sumbangan Dana Sosial Berhadaiah* (SDSB/Social fund Donation Prizes). The ulama’s fatwa, on which Soeharto’s policy was based, was also criticized by Hasim when he interpreted the Quran chapter Al-Baqarah [2], verse 219 related to the drawing activity. In addition, Hasim also criticized Soeharto’s policy to ban Muslims from wearing the hijab when he explained Quranic interpretation on chapter Al-Baqarah [2]: verse 132.

This paper analyzes Hasim’s responses and critiques of New Order policies on religious issues in Indonesia. The key questions this study specifically proposes to address are: what were the political-policies of Soeharto’s New Order on religious issues? Who is Hasim and what are his *tafisir*’s characteristics? How did Hasim criticize the New Order’s policies on religious issues in his *tafisir*? What is the position of *tafisir Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun* in the discourse of social critique through *tafisir* in the Muslim world?

The study of Hasim’s critiques of the Soeharto’s policies related to religious issues in his *tafisir* is important due to several reasons. Firstly, this study could play a significant impact in showing that Quranic exegesis does not only consist of Quranic teachings that should be delivered to Muslim readers, but also demonstrates that there is a dialectical process between text and context on socio-religious dynamic faced by the interpreters. In Woodward’s opinion, the text of tafsir could have a significant role as a tool to make an analysis of the socio-

---

5 Interview with Halimah (66 years old), third daughter of Hasim, Bandung, 6 February 2017.


religious situation in which the tafsīr existed. In other words, the tafsīr shows the “social commentary” of the interpreter to social changes in particular places and times. It is important to note that there should be a relation between the dynamics of the socio-political context around the interpreter and the product of tafsīr. In terms of the tafsīr methodology, the Lenypaneun tafsīr could be considered as an appropriate example of tafsīr adabi ijtimāʿī available in West Java.

Secondly, the importance of this study could also be seen from the fact that Hasim wrote his Tafsir and made strong critiques in his mother language, the Sundanese local language. Hasim’s interpretation of the Quran in local language, did not only try to ‘domesticate’ and build ‘the bridge’ of language diglossia between Quranic language and Sundanese language, but also delivered critiques in order to span between holy messages of God and locality and social context around the Quranic readers. This critique sometimes is considered as “a periphery” when compared to the critique written by Syu’bah Asa who delivered it through tafsīr written in Bahasa Indonesia or the critiques delivered by political elites during Soeharto’s regime. The critiques of Hasim are important to be discussed in order to show that there are a myriad of Muslims’ groups unsatisfied with the Soeharto’s policies, even among people located in the fringe region such as the Sundanese areas.

Thirdly, Hasim and his tafsīr put up intellectual resistance to the hegemony of political and social power of the New Order. Hasim seems to follow the same steps of several Quranic interpreters in the world, such as critiques of Rashīd Riḍā and Muḥammad ʿAbduh in

---

10 M. Quraish Shihab, Membuminakan Al-Qur’an (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), p. 68.
their *tafsīr, Al-Manār* (this *tafsīr* influenced *tafsīr Al-Azhar* written by Hamka); resistances of Sayyid Qūṭb to the ruling government in Egypt through his *tafsīr Fi Zīlāl al-Qur‘ān*; or critiques of Ahmad Sanusi on the Dutch colonial’s policies through *tafsīr Malja’ al-Ṭālibīn*. Thus, it can be assumed that *tafsīr* s written under social and political pressures mostly consist of critical discourse to the ruling government or the authoritarian regime.

**Forthly**, in the global perspective, the study of local *tafsīr* s such as the *Lenyepaneun* *tafsīr* is important to counter balance the study of *tafsīr* in the heterogeneous and dynamic Muslim world. Currently, the study of *tafsīr* could not only focus on *tafsīrs* written by Middle Eastern scholars but also on the ones written by Muslim scholars living in Southeast Asian countries, particularly in the Indonesian Archipelago which is popularly known as the centre of Nusantara Islam. The term so called Islam Nusantara is currently promoted by Indonesian scholars to instill a regional characteristics of Islam outside the Middle Eastern countries.

Several scholars actually have been examining this *Lenyepaneun* *tafsīr*. Their analysis, however, focused on theological themes and several aspects of Sundanese culture. The study of Suhendar, Iskandar, Alifah and Nurlaela for example, discussed the *Lenyepaneun* tafsīr from the theological perspectives, especially Hasim’s interpretation on Quranic verses on theology, *shirk* (polytheism) and the meaning of infidel. They seem to show the militancy of Hasim in combating a

---


false theology or ideology. The interest of Modernist Islam in *Lenyepaneun tafsir* has been comprehensively examined by Rohmana. He compares the bias of ideological interest of Modernist Islam in *Lenyepaneun tafsir* and other Sundanese *Nurul-Bajan tafsir* written by Mhd. Romli and H.N.S. Midjaja. The ideological interest of the *tafsir*, at least could be seen from the introduction of the *tafsir* in which it criticized the traditional Islam and the syncretic culture practiced by the Sundanese community.\(^{18}\)

Other studies on *Lenyepaneun tafsir* focused on the Sundanese culture. For example, the study of Zarkasyi and Laraswati showed that *Lenyepaneun tafsir* could be seen as a prototype *tafsir* aimed at extending the function of the Sundanese language. Through Sundanese *tafsir*, several aspects of Sundanese culture were easily adapted and inserted into the Quranic exegesis’s explanation. For example, the hierarchical structure of the Sundanese language called *undak usuk basa* was used in *Lenyepaneun tafsir* as part of the Sundanese politeness-cultures.\(^{19}\) Another study examined Hasim’s opinion in understanding Quranic verses related to education and ethics. This study did not only discuss the educational values of the Quran but also uncovered the educational values persisted from Sundanese-local cultures as explained by Hasim in his *Lenyepaneun tafsir*.\(^{20}\)

In terms of social-critiques and reflection of social reality, Muslim scholars have written several *tafsirs* explaining the socio-political context in which the writers made critiques. Among those *tafsir* are *Al-


Manār written by Muḥammad Rashid Riḍa, Fi Zilal Al-Qur‘ān by Sayyid Ḏiyū, Al-Āzhar written by Hamka and Malḥa’ al-Ṭālibīn written by Ahmad Sanusi. The study on Al-Manār tafsir has been conducted by several Indonesian Muslim scholars such as Shihab, Azra, and Burhanudin who admitted that there is a significant influence of Al-Manār tafsir on the transmission of reformation in Indonesia, as can be seen in the writing of tafsir Al-Āzhar by Hamka.21 The studies on Fi Zilal Al-Qur‘ān tafsir (written by Sayyid Ḏiyū) have also shown that Ḏiyū’s activities in Ikhwānul Muslimīn’s movement (Muslim Brotherhood’s movement) in Egypt have significantly impacted on his tafsir. Shepard, Nettler and Afif Muhammad who studied Ḏiyū’s tafsir argued that Ḏiyū’s theological belief has importantly affected his ideological movement as can be seen from his tafsir.22 Like Ḏiyū’s tafsir, the tafsir Malḥa’ al-Ṭālibīn showed Sanusi’s critiques of Dutch colonial policies. This means that the socio-political context where the tafsir writers lived has significantly influenced their work in Quranic interpretation.23


From the above explanation, it is clear that all *tafsīrs* have been influenced by the socio-political background of the writers, which encouraged them to make socio-critiques. Thus, it is noteworthy that a *tafsīr* does not only explain the content of the Quran to its readers, but it could also become a medium to make critiques to the social reality. This study could strengthen the previous studies on the relation between the *tafsīr* and the socio-political background of the writers but with different context and focus that is a critique of Sundanese *tafsīr* on the New Order’s policies on religious issues. This study tries to show another side of *Lenypaneun tafsir* that is Hasim’s socio-religious critiques of the policies of Soeharto’s regime.

In general, this study is a library research with a critical-discourse approach, particularly in analysing Hasim’s critiques of the New Order’s political-policies. An analytical-discourse analysis is used to delve into the internal-text mechanism in delivering the critical responses of *tafsīr*’s writer. This analysis, however, does not necessarily ignore the socio-religious context of the scripture and how the readers have understood this text.24

This study examines *Ayat Suci Lenypaneun tafsir* written in the Sundanese local language by Moh. E. Hasim. Thus, the primary source of this research is the thirty-volume *tafsīr* itself with each volume consists of two hundred pages or more. All texts, focusing on Hasim’s interpretation on Quranic verses related to his critiques of the New Order’s policies, were read and analyzed. The secondary resources were collected by interviewing the big family of Hasim, both his children and grandchildren mostly living in Bandung. Other interviews have been conducted with Islamic leaders in Bandung and the official leaders of Muhammadiyah of Bandung branch where Hasim was actively involved during his life. This interview is important to understand Hasim’s social-interaction with the community. To enhance the analysis, other Hasim’s works were analyzed as well.25 In addition, other *tafsīr* books in Sundanese written by other scholars were

---


also used for comparison purposes.\textsuperscript{26} Other classic and modern \textit{tafsir} book written in Arabic were also used as secondary resources to measure the accuracy of Hasim’s interpretation due to the fact that Hasim’s does not have an Islamic boarding school (pesantren) educational background. In order to analyze the data, we used an interactive model analysis which consists of three analysis components: data reduction, display data and conclusions.\textsuperscript{27}

**The Characteristic of Sundanese Tafsir**

In general, \textit{tafsir}s written in the Sundanese local language have been developed since the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century. This development could not be separated from the context of modernization and Islamic reformation in Indonesia which led to the improvement of Islamic book publication in the country.\textsuperscript{28} Several scholars with various socio and educational backgrounds responded to the above issues by writing the Sundanese \textit{tafsir}. Thus, it is understandable that the social-identity of writers, publishers and audiences of Sundanese \textit{tafsir} are not monolithic. The writing of Sundanese \textit{tafsir}s was not dominated by Islamic scholars (\textit{nulama}) with Islamic boarding school background (both \textit{kyai} and \textit{santri}). However, the \textit{tafsir}s were written by Sundanese filologists and academic scholars for different purposes. This trend shows dynamics of the Islamic development in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century of Indonesian Islam.

There are several Sundanese \textit{tafsir} writers with a myriad of social-identity backgrounds such as Haji Hasan Mustapa, Ahmad Sanusi, R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema, Muhammad Anwar Sanuci, Mhd. Romli, Ahmad Makki and Muhammad al-Hasan. Hasan Mustapa, a writer of


\textsuperscript{27} Mathew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, \textit{Analisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber tentang Metode-metode Baru} (Jakarta: UI Press, 1992), p. 20.

*tafsir Quranul Adhimi,* was popularly known as a bureaucratic *ulama* because after studying and living in Mecca for more than ten years, he returned to Indonesia and became the head of the religious court in Bandung and Aceh. In addition, Hasan Mustapa was also popularly known as a Sundanese filologist and a poet because he wrote several books on the Sundanese culture and poetry known as Sundanese *dangding.*

Ahmad Sanusi was well known as an ulama who led an Islamic boarding school in Sukabumi West Java. He published several books on Islamic teaching written in Sundanese scripts called *pegon.* He also wrote several *tafsir* books written in Sundanese. He was a founder of Islamic organization called *Al-Ittibadijatoel Islamijjah* which later on became a popular Islamic organization in West Java known as a *Persatuan Ummat Islam (PUI/ The Unity of Islamic Ummah).* Like Sanusi, Ahmad Makki and Muhammad al-Hasan are two Sukabumi’s kyai who continued developing the literacy tradition in Islamic boarding school and translated several Islamic books written in Arabic into Sundanese language.

Another *tafsir* writer is Mhd. Romli (1889-1981) who was popularly known as a kyai from Islamic Boarding School of Haurkoneng in Garut, West Java. He was also a prolific Sundanese writer who published several Islamic books in Sundanese language. Among his books are *tafsir of Nurul-Bajan* and *tafsir of Alkitabul Mubin* which were written with H.N.S. Midjaja or mostly known as Jaksa Neneng Sastramidjaja (1903-1975). The content of these books show that the

---


writers were Islamic modern thinkers. The same tendency could also be seen in the tafsir of Gajatoel Bajan written by Anwar Sanusi. The writer was well known as a religious teacher at Leles Garut and an activist of the Islamic group called Ablus Sunnah Cilame (MASC). Besides writing a tafsir, Anwar Sanusi also translated several Islamic books written in Arabic into Sundanese, including tafsir of Al-Furqan.

Sundanese tafsir books actually have been written not only by Islamic ulama but also by Sundanese filologist and poet. R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema (1888-1965), for example, interpreted Quranic verses (Soerat Al-Baqarah) in a form of Sundanese poetry popularly known as dangding or guguritan. Wiranatakoesoema was popularly known as a Regent of Bandung (Bupati Bandung) who was also known as an expert in Sundanese culture and poetry. In addition, a Sundanese filologist, Moh. E. Hasim (1916-2009), wrote a tafsir of Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun which is the focus of this study. Hasim was firstly well-known as an Islamic religious teacher and a Muhammadiyah activist. His tafsir of Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun (1984) led him to be awarded the Rancage Award, a prestigious award for his meritorious service in maintaining Sundanese language through his writing. Another Sundanese tafsir writer with academic background was Uu Suhendar. He wrote a tafsir of juz ‘amma al-Razi (2010). Suhendar was known as a lecturer at the Islamic institution of Persatuan Islam (Persis). He graduated from the department of Arabic language from State Islamic University, Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung.

There is a Sundanese tafsir written by several scholars with various social background called Tafsir Al-Qur’an Basa Sunda or Sundanese Quranic Tafsir (1978) that was published by the official government of the West Java province. This tafsir was called as a “project tafsir” because its writing was funded by the government of the West Java


33 Moehammad Anwar Sanuci, Gajatoel-Bajan Tafsir Qur’an Basa Soenda (Garut: Madjilis Ahli Soennah Garoet, 1923); A. Hassan, Tafsir Al-Foerqan Tafsir Qur’an Basa Soenda.

34 Hasim, Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun.

province. The writers were a team consisting of ulama, academics, bureaucrats and filologists such as Anwar Musaddad, Yus Rusyana, Aboeng Koesman, Karna Suwanda, M. Syamsuddin, O. Djauharuddin AR, R. Totoh Abdul Fatah, Atjep Djazuli, Endang Soetari AD, and Wahyu Wibisana.

When we look at the audiences, the Sundanese tafsir was mostly written for teaching and learning purposes in several Islamic boarding schools. For example, the work of Ahmad Sanusi was used for teaching Islamic studies at Islamic boarding school or Pesantren Cantayan and Gunung Puyuh Sukabumi, West Java. Ahmad Makki’s work was used at Pesantren Assalafiyah Babakantipar Sukabumi and Muhammad al-Hasan’s tafsir was used by students (santri) at Pesantren Carigin Sukabumi.

In terms of script, language and method, Sundanese tafsir books vary as well. Roman scripts are mostly used by Sundanese tafsir written in the post-independence period. Prior to the Indonesian independence, most Sundanese tafsir were written in Sundanese script popularly known as a pegon script. In addition, the majority of Sundanese tafsir published before the Indonesian independence such as tafsir of Hasan Mustapa and Ahmad Sanusi, used general Sundanese language (loma language). Meanwhile, the Sundanese tafsir published after 1960s, mostly used more courteous Sundanese language, which is called as a lemes (polite language). This writing style seems to be influenced by the political policy of the Dutch colonial on Sundanese language in the early 19th century.

Moh. E. Hasim and the Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun Tafsir

Moh. E. Hasim or Mohammad Emon Hasim was born in Ciamis, West Java on 15 August 1916. He was popularly known as a religious teacher and a tafsir writer. He could speak several foreign languages such as Arabic, English, Japanese and Dutch. He went to elementary school in his hometown and continued his studies in Schakelschool Muhammadiyah and HIS (Hollandsch-Inlandsche School) before going to MULO (Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs). Hasim attended

---


AMS (Algemeene Middelbare School) but did not complete his study due to the case of *malaise* in 1930s. He learned languages and Islamic studies autodidactically. He became a teacher at several schools such as HIS Pasundan, Schakelschool Muahmmadiyah and Schakelschool Islam Miftahul Huda. Furthermore he even became the head of school at Miftahul Huda.

During the Japanese colonial period, Hasim had become a teacher at Sekolah Rakyat (People School/Kokumin Gakko) before he became an administrative staff called Boei Karicho at the District Office (Kantor Kabupaten). In this office, he also became an interpreter. After the Indonesian independence, Hasim participated in establishing an embryotic Indonesian Armed Force called Barisan Rakyat (BARA), Badan Keamanan Rakyat (BKR) and Tentara Keamanan Rakyat (TKR) in Ciamis, West Java. Hasim was appointed as a head of Persatuan Perjuangan Nasional, which was a joined armed forces of Sabilillah, Hizbullah, Tentara Pelajar and BBRI. Due to his activities, Hasim had been caught several times by the Dutch officers and had been given home detention in Ciamis before he escaped to Bandung. In Bandung, due to his expertise in English language, Hasim taught at several high schools and universities such as IKIP B. SATKA (DKA) and Akademi Niaga. He also wrote several English text books for elementary and high school students. He was the head of Muhammadiyah branch office at Cicendo-Bandung.

Upon retirement, Hasim continued his intellectual journey by self-learning Islamic teachings and learned Arabic autodidactically which led him to write religious books in Sundanese including his monumental work, *Lenyepaneun Tafsir* (1990-1993). For his works, Hasim got an award from the Cultural Institute of (Lembaga Kebudayan) UNPAS (Pasundan University) in 10 April 1994 and was awarded a prestigious Sastra Rancage Award in 31 January 2001 for his achievement writing several books in Sundanese. Hasim passed away in Hasan Sadikin Hospital on 3 May 2009. He died at the age of 93 and was survived by his ten children.38

Besides his monumental work *Lenyepaneun Tafsir*, Hasim also wrote several books such as *Grammar and Exercises, Kamus Istilah Islam, Rupa-rupa Upacara Adat Sunda Jaman Ayeuna* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1996), *Hadis*

---

According to Hasim, his motivation for writing *Lenyepaneun tafsir* was foremostly encouraged by his interest to dig a main source of Islamic teaching, the Quran. His interest to scrutinize Islamic teachings appeared when he has been a teacher in 1970s. Hasim has tried to buy several Quranic translation books in Indonesian at that time to understand Quran, but he was unsatisfied. He even bought a Quranic *tafsir* written in Indonesian by a famous Islamic scholar (*ulama*) at that time, but he was still not convinced. He complained about the Quranic *tafsir* he read by saying: “*Bob metodeuna bob éntép seureuamba teu ngajembarkeun panalar satuni tingkat pre-elementary*” (both method and structure of the *tafsir* were imperfect and could not clearly inform the real meaning of the Quran for the beginners). For that reason, Hasim tried himself to start interpreting Quranic verses and write the *tafsir*. He wanted it to be a present for his 70th birthday for his children, grandchildren and his big family.39

He firstly wrote *tafsir* chapter Al-Baqarah in Indonesian. He distributed several copied of his writing to colleagues, families and friends in Bandung and Ciamis. Six months later, a Kyai from Ciamis (Kyai Adnan) came to visit Hasim and told him that the *tafsir* written by Hasim was very interesting and helpful as a source for Islamic teaching in Islamic boarding school. Kyai Adnan then asked Hasim to continue his *tafsir* writing and suggested to write it in Sundanese local language instead of Indonesian. Hasim tried to reject Kyai Adnan’s request by putting it humbly that he was not an Islamic scholar and did not have any Islamic boarding school’s background to keep writing the *tafsir*. Due to Kyai Adnan’s suggestion to help enlightening Muslim community, however, Hasim finally agreed to continue writing the *tafsir*. With his encouragement and eagerness, Hasim kept writing his *tafsir* *Lenyepaneun* in Sundanese.40


40 Hasim, “Pangalaman Nyusun Naskah Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun, p. 87.
When Hasim completed one Juz out of thirty Juz of the Quran, he asked a publisher to publish his work but it was rejected. He felt discouraged and hesitated to continue writing the rest of the *tafsir*. Hasim then remembered the wise words saying that “*where there is a will there is a way*” and the other wise word: “*though you stumble off, never be down cast, try and try again, you’ll succeed at last*”, and he kept writing the *tafsir* until finishing the second Juz of the Quran. After finishing two Juz, Hasim asked another publisher, Pustaka Salman ITB, to publish his writing. The Pustaka publisher agreed to publish Hasim’s work but asked Hasim to at least write three Juz of the Quran. Hasim was very happy and he wrote another juz to fulfil the publisher’s request. Finally, Hasim’s work was firstly published and distributed to the public in 1989. Hasim’s book was welcomed by the readers and in short time this *Lenyepaneun tafsir* was sold out. Although Hasim has been sick for four months during writing the *tafsir*, he finally completed all thirty juz of the Quranic *tafsir* and he even kept writing another Indonesian *tafsir* called *Ayat Suci dalam Renungan*.41

Every day, after performing midnight prayer (*Tahajjud*) at 02.30 am, Hasim kept writing the *tafsir* using an old typewriter for several years. He admitted that each juz of the Quran needs at least four months to write.42 When he was writing the *tafsir*, he often reflected and thought the relevancy of the Quranic verses he interpreted with the social-conditions or the context. He did so, because according to Hasim, there were so many Quranic verses that should be interpreted by looking at the political, economic, scientific and theological approaches as well as the contextual background of the text (*asbab al-nuzūl*) why these Quranic verses were revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. When Hasim found the meanings of the Quranic verses he interpreted, then he looked for the appropriate sentences to be adequately used in his *tafsir* in order for his writings to be easily accepted by the heart of the readers. In his Sundanese words, Hasim said that the sentences he used should *nyerep kana angen sumarabab kana bayah* (be accepted and embedded in the heart). “For me, the most important thing is the soul of the sentences that should be undertood because the structure of Arabic language was different from Indonesian and Sundanese”. Although he faced several obstacles in writing the *Lenyepaneun tafsir*,

41 Ibid., pp. 88-89.
due to his preservance and God’s help, Hasim successfully completed all his writings.\textsuperscript{43}

\textit{Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun} could be considered as the first completed and published Quranic tafsir in Sundanese written in roman script. This \textit{tafsir} was written in a very peculiar way, and was easily understood by the readers. It consists of thirty volumes because each volume consists of one juz of the Quran. There are three or four hundred pages per volume.

One of the distinctions of \textit{Lenyepaneun} tafsir was the fact that Hasim used contemporary events or social issues in the society that are relevant to the Quranic verses he interpreted. Thus, Hasim’s interpretation seems to be very actual and popular among society. In its method, Hasim used rational approaches, which was popularly known in Quranic studies as a \textit{tafsir bi al-ra’y} with a \textit{taḥlīl}’s method. This \textit{tafsir} could be considered as a Sunni \textit{tafsir} and using community approaches or \textit{adab al-ijtima’ī}.

The structure of the \textit{Lenyepaneun tafsir} usually begins with the Quranic verses quotation (one or two verses) written in Arabic followed by roman script (non-Arabic) and after that translated into Sundanese. Each Arabic word then was translated into roman script, followed by interpretation and discussion of the meanings. If the verses interpreted were very long, Hasim divided his descriptions and discussions into several main themes.

In term of references, Hasim sometimes quotes the background of revelation (\textit{Asbāb al-Nuzūl}) taken from the Hadith of the Prophet. Hasim, unfortunately, has never compared his explanation or interpretation with other Quranic \textit{tafsirs}, both classic and modern standard \textit{tafsir}. In several occasions, Hasim reinforced his explanation of the \textit{tafsir} using modern science findings such as the science of astronomy. In his \textit{tafsir}, Hasim never mentioned sources of references from \textit{tafsir} written in Arabic. Hasim only admitted that he used the translated Quran in Indonesian and Sundanese dictionary as well as the book of Arabic teaching in English as his main references.\textsuperscript{44} Hasim’s style in interpreting the Quran reminds the readers of the Hamka’s style in writing his Al-Azhar’s \textit{tafsir}. Sundanese language used by Hasim was very communicative in the style which he tried to explain Quranic

\textsuperscript{43} Hasim, “Pangalaman Nyusun Naskah Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., p. 87. See also Hasim, \textit{Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun}, vol. 11, p. v.
verses in line with the Sundanese way of thinking.\textsuperscript{45} Lenyepaneun Tafsir was written by Hasim to maintain Sundanese language as well as his interest to comprehend Islamic teachings from its main sources, the Quran. In addition, Hasim was inspired by the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad saying that it is a duty of all Muslims to deliver the right path of Islam even only one verse from the Quran to the society.\textsuperscript{46}

\textit{Tafsir} of Lenyepaneun was published in a period when Islamic publishers were mushrooming during the Soeharto’s New Order era. The distribution of Hasim’s \textit{tafsir} was generally found in bookshops around Bandung.\textsuperscript{47} Although there were several traditional ulama questioning Hasim’s authority in writing the tafsir due to his lacking the Islamic boarding school (Pesantren) background, Muslims in the urban areas, however, tended to welcome Hasim’s work because the Lenyepaneun tafsir helped them to understand the Quran. They admitted that Lenyepaneun \textit{tafsir} was using the daily language they used.\textsuperscript{48} Thus, a publication of Lenyepaneun \textit{tafsir} was believed to be an important resource for Sundanese Muslim community in an urban area when they discussed Islamic teachings. The \textit{tafsir}’s publication was also considered by Sundanese community at that time to be a more effective way in delivering Islamic teachings compared to Islamic teachings delivered by the Islamic preacher through religious speeches (pengajian) at mosques particularly at the suburb areas in West Java.\textsuperscript{49}

\textbf{Hasim’s Critiques to the New Order Policies}

It is important to consider the socio-religious and political situation of a country in which a Quranic tafsir written. The Lenyepaneun \textit{tafsir} was written in a New Order Indonesian political context. The New Order regime has been variously characterised by scholars. Despite

\textsuperscript{45} Rosidi (ed.), \textit{Ensiklopedi Sunda}, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{46} Hasim, “Pangalaman Nyusun Naskah Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun, pp. 87-89.
\textsuperscript{49} The Muslims in Sundanese region generally like religious speeches delivered in Sundanese language. The preacher legend like KH. A.F. Ghazali (2001) was aware about significant and important positions of Sundanese language among the people that made him very popular among Sundanese. See Jullian Millie, \textit{The People’s Religion}, pp. 9-11.
differences, the similarities, which can be used to characterise the New Order state, point to the regime as a military dictatorship. Robison, for example, argues that the striking characteristic of the New Order has been centralisation of power under Soeharto backed by the military. This situation has forced Indonesians, including *tafsir* writer to argue against government policies. Policies of the New Order seem to disadvantage Indonesian Muslim in the name of its propaganda’s national stability. The New Order government made a hegemony over socio-political life on Indonesian Muslim. Gramsci (1891-1937) pointed out that to make a hegemony; the ruling class uses political leadership and ideology. In Gramsci’s words, I quote:

“…the party, and particularly its leading intellectuals, are engaged in the struggle for ideological hegemony against the dominant influence of the bourgeois media, their control over the most powerful institutions of civil society – schools, religion, cinema and other artistic organizations”.

Indonesians, particularly Muslims, experienced the hegemonic power of the New Order. Soeharto’s regime was very powerful and authoritarian. Soeharto used political and economic stability’s reasons to oppress their opponents and oppositions. The regime imitated Dutch colonial policy which seemed to be tolerant to the Islam and Muslims, but strongly oppressed political Islam. The New Order regime built their political power, not only through the physical oppression, but also through construction of a harmony and acquiescent discourse among society.

Several *tafsir* written in Soeharto’s era responded critically to the political situation of the regime. One of them is *Lenyepaneun tafsir* written by Hasim to respond to the New Order’s policies particularly

---

52 Joseph Francese (ed.), *Perspectives on Gramsci, Politics, Culture and Social Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 10.
religious policies. The *tafsîr* not only explains the meaning of the Quranic verses but also criticizes the political policies of the New Order authoritarian regime. *Lenyepaneun tafsîr* responds to several social-religious issues debated by Indonesian Muslims during Soeharto’s period. Among these issues are as follows:

**Critique on Gambling: *Porkas* and SDSB (Social Fund Donation Prizes)**

One of the most controversial issues during the New Order was a policy on government-sponsored soccer lotto, called *Porkas* (from English word Forecast) and its successor that went various names including *Sumbangan Dana Sosial Berhadiah*, SDSB (Social fund Donation Prizes). This *Porkas* tote was firstly legalized by the Ministry of Social and Ministry of Youth and Sport in 1986 in order to fund sports’ facilities and to improve Indonesian sport’s performances particularly the Indonesian soccer clubs.\(^{56}\) Robert Cribb notes the New Order government collected a huge amount of money from this policy and an amount of around 962 billions rupiahs has been collected in 1988.\(^{57}\)

Indonesian Muslims at that time immediately resisted the policy and protests were organized throughout Indonesia. Many kyais and ulama all over Indonesia demanded a ban of Porkas. The two Muslim biggest organizations in the country, Muhammadiyah and Nahdhatul Ulama, proclaimed that Porkas is a form of gambling and therefore forbidden in Islam (*harâm*). Many kyais from several provinces in Indonesia requested the Soeharto’s government to stop the program. The majority of the Indonesian Muslims then demanded the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Majlis Ulama Indonesia (MUI/ Indonesian Ulama Council) to clearly declare Porkas as a forbidden activity. MUI was asked to make an unambiguous statement about the porkas. MUI then sent an official letter to the government stating that the Porkas were negatively impacting the society and suggested the government to ban them. Unfortunately, the government rejected to disband them and paved the way for Muslims to organize bigger demonstrations.

---


This issue became more controversial when the head of MUI Ibrahim Hosen, released a statement in defense of Porkas saying that what was forbidden in Islam called maisir or a face to face gambling was different from the Porkas. Hosen’s statement led others so called independent ulama in Indonesia to argue against his argument.\(^{58}\) Of course, this Porkas affair has made the MUI lose its credentials among the Muslim community. However, when the government changed Porkas with another name called SDSB (Sumbangan Dana Sosial Berhadiah or Social Fund Donation Prizes) in 1990, like The Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (ICMI/Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals), MUI issued a fatwa that all kinds of lotteries are gambling and forbidden (ḥarām) in Islam. Finally, Soeharto’s government officially banned Porkas or SDSB in 1994. The Soeharto’s policy about this issue showed that there was a significant change of Soeharto and the New Order’s attitude toward the Muslim communities in the country. This means that Soeharto seems to make a u-turn in his last presidency period to have more positive attitude toward the Muslims.\(^{59}\)

In response to this Porkas issue, Hasim is among writers who strongly criticised the New Order’s policy promoting the Porkas or SDSB in Muslim majority country. When he interpreted Quranic verses under the gambling theme, particularly the chapter Al-Baqarah (2), verses 219 and 274; and chapter Al-Maidah (5) verse 90, Hasim argues:

…gambling is also dangerous. If we scrutinize the daily impacts of gambling, it led to several negative acts such as fighting, hostility, and killing among the gamblers themselves. During the Porkas era, there was a husband who burned his wife in North Sumatera and Buntoro, a Porkas agent in Tasikmalaya was killed by his gambling friend. The Porkas is also dangerous for a spiritual aspect or taubhid (to worship God alone) and led to idolatry (shirk) acts such as visiting the shaman, asking help from Holy Spirits who live in the mountain or spring water. Even there was a funny and idiot act of the gambler to ask a crazy or mad man (orang gila)\(^{58}\)

\(^{58}\) Martin van Bruinessen, “Indonesia’s ulama and politics: caught between legitimising the status quo and searching for alternatives,” Prisma-The Indonesian Indicator, 49 (1990), p. 64.

to win tote. They ask a mad man and the interrogator is then crazier.\(^{60}\)

Hasim further explains:

Please be aware not to buy SDSB in the name of giving charity; while in fact their purpose was to win and get huge amounts of money instantly, become suddenly a very rich man and become billioners. Such acts could be considered as a deception; to deceive God. Even a kid understands that giving a thousand rupiah and hope millions rupiahs in return; and let alone visiting a shaman and many times talking on your own and count in a paper hoping you will win the lottery; failing several times and finally suffering several losses and your trading has broken because the capital has been spent to buy a lottery coupon.\(^{61}\)

Even the Porkas seems to have a good purpose to help poor people, in this chapter Al-Maidah verse 90, Allah has strictly forbidden gambling. For those who have money, it is forbidden (haram) to buy lottery. For poor people was also forbidden to spend lottery’s money. Porkas and SDSB did not aim to help poor people but to make them poorer instead. Thus, gambling is worse their sin hereinafter compared to doing maysir.\(^{62}\)


Critique on Ulama who Supported New Order Policy on Gambling

Hasim did not only criticize the New Order’s policy on gambling but also blamed the MUI’s member who supported the policy such as Ibrahim Hosen. In interpreting and explaining the chapter Al-Maidah verse 91, Hasim states:

This [verse 9] on gambling contains ‘adāwata wa al-baghdā’ [resentment and hatred]. However, almost in every country in the world, liquor factory and gambling are allowed and not forbidden. It is confusing when someone put Islam as their religion in their ID card, but they are busy in establishing a lottery pool. It is said that they want to eradicate poverty, but in fact, they made a more impoverishment. It could be understood if lay people played gambling because they did not read the Quran and hadith yet. But, if the ulama or religious scholar supported Porkas or SDSB, it could not be understood at all.63

Critique on Disbanding Wearing Veil (Jilbāb)

Besides his critiques on gambling policy, Hasim in his Lenyepaneun tafsīr also criticized Soeharto’s regime who disbanded the wearing of jilbāb particularly for female students. The New Order regime banned students from wearing a new kind of long jilbab not the kerudung or headscarf. This wearing a new kind of jilbāb was popularized and promoted by young-da’wah network in the urban areas in several campuses and mosques. This kind of jilbāb was different from the one traditionally worn by NU and Muhammadiyah’s members. This jilbāb became a provocative symbol to resist the New Order regime. Thus, according to Deni Hamdani, there were several public schools such as SMA 3 Bandung, SMAN 1 Jember, and SMPN 4 which stricty prohibited their students from wearing jilbāb. Several kinds of punishments then were applied to students wearing jilbāb in school, starting from exclusion from the class to encouragement to move to

---

other schools. Several campuses such as ITB in Bandung and Airlangga University in Surabaya also applied this policy.\(^{64}\) In addition, Soeharto’s regime also required that a photo requirement on ID cards should be that of uncovering the ears. This means that females should put their *jilbab* off when taking a photo for the ID card.

Hasim criticised the government policy on disbanding wearing the *hijab* when he interpreted and explained these Quranic verses: Al-A’rāf/7: 102; Al-A’rāf/7: 169; Al-A’rāf/7: 175; Al-A’rāf/7: 201 and Al-Anfāl/8: 39. Hasim said:

> At this time, there are many impious people (*fasiq*). For example, God has obliged the Prophet to instruct his wife and his daughters as well as all Muslim females to wear the *jilbab* (veil) as mentioned by God in the Quran chapter Al-Aḥzāb verse 59. However, at this time, we found that many students wearing *jilbab* have been expelled from their schools. Many students went to court asking for justice but they lost. There were even secular ulama who prohibited their families from wearing *jilbab*.\(^{65}\)

If we were brave to change the amount of inheritance as mentioned by God in chapter al-Nisa verse 11 (inheritance of a man is twice that of a woman) to be equal for both male and female, and then what we changed was followed and adopted by 1000 lay people, then our sin was multiplied by the sin of those 1000 people. Thus, it is the same case if we were brave enough to reject the obligation of God mentioned in the Quran chapter al-Aḥzāb verse 59 on the obligation of wearing veil for Muslim females by saying that wearing *jilbab* or veiling is not compulsory and *jilbab* was an Arabic culture for Arabic women, then our sin

---


will be multiplied by the sin of women who followed our argument.\textsuperscript{66}

In \textit{Panji Masyarakat} magazine number 585, 1-10 September 1988, it was said that the Shiiyan government banned female in the country from wearing \textit{jilbāb}. Many lecturers in Shiiya were fired because they rejected to remove their veil. Many students were also expelled from the schools. There has been instances in our country when many female students were expelled as well. And those who were anti- \textit{jilbāb} were Muslims. What was very damaging, according to Hasim, was that there were many \textsl{ulama} professors who rejected and negated the Quran, particularly chapter al-Ahzāb verse 59 on veiling. One of them said \textit{jilbāb} was imported from Saudi Arabia and there was not jilbab tradition in Islam. Another ulama said that \textit{jilbāb} was to cover the chest not to cover the head because it is noted in chapter An-Nūr verse 31 that they (Muslim female) were ordered to cover their chest with the \textit{jilbab}. Why educated people and \textsl{ulama} professor did not understand the function of \textit{jilbāb} (veil). The meaning of the verse above was the order to cover the head up to chest of the Muslim female.\textsuperscript{67}


The Satan has never been in doubt to lead a person astray, both the lay and religious (clergy) persons, let alone those whose faith is weak. The Satan who came and seduced clergy persons is “the Superior General of Satan”. Let alone when the clergy is bribed by huge of money…and those who are presumed as a strong faith person (kyai), was finally tempted. The symbolic Satan said: “If the clergy (ama ajengan) issued a religious fatwa to allow female Muslim to take their jilbab off, my friends and I will help to renovate the mosque”.68 Since several years ago up to the present, Muslims particularly female Muslims were slandered with malicious intent. Firstly, several students at SMA 3 (Senior High School 3) in Bandung were banned from wearing jilbab by their sport teachers. It was followed by issuing prohibition laws to wear jilbab in school by the Ministry of Education and several female students in several cities were expelled from their schools. The reason as such was that wearing jilbab violated the schools’ rules. In responding to this issue, the Islamic scholars (ulama) were divided into three groups. The first group (minority) agreed and supported the government policy to ban jilbab. Among them was argued that jilbab was not an Islamic dress and was imported culturally from the Middle Eastern countries. There was even a silly argument saying: “instruction to wear jilbab is only for those who intend to go to the toilet”. It is sad to say that there are Islamic scholars who bravely resisted God’s command on wearing jilbab as stated in the Quran chapter al-Ahzäb verse 59 and chapter an-Nür verse 31. The second group of ulama was not in a clear position. They neither rejected the policy nor accepted it. They could be considered as an opportunistic group or nanglu (Sundanese language) people who would take advantage of the situation. The third group are those who are struggling to reject the policy and clarify the Fitnah with their thinkings. In this situation, there are people who hate Islam by spreading negative issues saying that

there are veiled Muslims who poisoned food on sale in the traditional market. Due to this issue, a Muslim female was killed by a crowd without reasons. Thus, Muslim scholars should bravely follow the Quranic teachings on *jihād* as stated at chapter al-Anfāl. To fight for the *fitna* (slander), we should consider the situations and conditions and for those who are in power, they should use their power to save Islam and Muslims. The kyai and their followers should argue against infidels’ propaganda and Muslim scholars should criticize UUD (*Undang-Undang Dasar/Indonesian constitution*) that protects freedom to implement Islamic religious teachings.60

**Critique on Corruption and Social-Gap in Society**

In addition to lottery and *jilbāb*’s issues, Hasim also criticized the New Order regime of the political corruption, and of permitting the ruling elites and conglomerates in making a wider social-gap among

---


societies. In interpreting the Quran chapter Al-Ma’idah [5]: verse 85 and 94, for example, Hasim said:

People, who are not grateful for God’s blessing, only want a temporary pleasure. Conglomerates cooperated with the greedy-bureaucrats, collected money for worldly happiness and they forgot the prosperous life of their decendents who will be living in the future.\(^\text{70}\)

In the present days, there are huge temptations influencing people’s heart and faith (\textit{imān}). When they turned their face to North, they saw luxurious buildings and hotels; looked on other side, they saw luxurious cars and expensive clothes. While in fact, we should live in a humble and modest manner. That is a trusted bureaucrat or leader. When we are in a poor condition, the manipulation or corruption door will be opened. This is a real ordeal from God. When our belief or faith is weak and we pursue our desire for temporary happiness in the world; we should be aware of the fact that God will punish with a very painful torment in the hereafter.\(^\text{71}\)

Hasim’s critiques of corruption and social-gap issues in the society, have been explained by Hasim when he interpreted the Quran chapter Al-A’rāf/7 verse 92 and 125 as follows:

Greedy people in present days are everything. Their greed has spoiled the nature. A collusion between conglomerate and bureaucrate has caused the deforestation and severe degradation of the mountains. Consequently, it leads to flood during the rainy seasons and drought during the summer. It is very common that at the end, the poor people will be ones mostly affected. And the

\(^{70}\) The original version in Sundanese reads: \textit{Manusa anu kufur kana nikmat Ilahi mangpang-mempang meungpeung hayang senang sakendeng, kaom konglomerat nu sakongkol jeung kaom birokrat geus kabengbat ku dunya pupulasan nepi ka poho kana karaharjaan rundayan nu bakal rumingkang dina jaman nu bakal datang. Hasim, Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun, vol. 7, p. 9.}

ruling bureaucracy easily blamed the people saying that “it is your mistake to build a house close to a river”.72

It could be said that in current days, there are many Pharaoh’s descendents in the country because there were many empty promises delivered by the ruling government. The government said from the people to the people; but in fact, the people’s lands were taken and robbed by the conglomerates.73

From the discourse-analysis perspective, Hasim was successful in showing social critiques to New Order policies through his interpretation of Quranic text mechanism. For sure, Hasim did not neglect the socio-religious context around the text.74 He showed an ideological interest inserted behind the text in writing the tafsir. Hasim insisted the availability of power contestation existed in the production or reproduction of meaning. Hasim could not be seen as a neutral writer who could freely interpret the Quranic text according to his own thinking because it could be influenced by the socio-political context which existed in the society. In this context, language could be understood as a representation that has a role to create a special subject, and particular themes of discourse, including its strategy.

When the critical responses of writer in interpreting Quranic verses were in line with the social reality of the writer, the Quranic studies called it as an adabi ijtimāʿī (socio and cultural) approach. This kind of approach tried to uncover the Quranic messages related to social issues and tried to answer social problems by interpreting the Quranic texts, which is easily understood by the readers.75 This kind of tafsīr seems to be very critical to respond to social problems as they appeared in the


75 M. Quraish Shihab, Membumikan Al-Qur’an (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), p. 68.
societies. Thus, the existence of the *tafsir* could not be ignored in describing socio-religious *epistemé* of the existed society. In the words of Woodward, the text of the *tafsir* could have a particular function as a medium to deliver critiques on socio-religious situation of society.\(^\text{76}\) The *tafsir* could also be considered as a mirror of social change happening in a particular era of society.\(^\text{77}\)

In other words, the *Lenyepaneun tafsir* reflected a strong connection between Hasim (the writer) with the main problems of interpretation that is how to relate the Quranic texts with the historical, social, political and intellectual context. In Gadamer’s concept, this is called the fusion of horizons that is the horizon of text and the horizon of the interpreter or writer. The interpreter tries to bring his understanding as close as possible to the sphere of the text and the text at the same time was understood from the interpreter’s perspective.\(^\text{78}\)

In the Quranic studies tradition, scholars such as Al-Dhahabi, Al-Farmawî and ʿAli ʿIyazî have very well mapped the kind of *tafsir* which can be used to examine the position of *tafsir* in its long tradition.\(^\text{79}\) They generally categorized or divided the kind of *tafsir* into the method (*al-ṭarīqa*), approach (*manhaj*), characteristics (*al-lawm*) and orientation (*al-ittiḥād*) of the *tafsir*. The *Lenyepaneun tafsir* seems to be dominated by horizon insights and knowledge of the writer (Hasim) on socio-political context of the New Order in which the writer has been living. Hasim’s critiques of the New Order’s policies could become very important indicators to show that his *tafsir* was using socio-political and cultural approach (*al-adab al-ijtimāʿī*).

---


Conclusion

The New Order government showed their interest to ‘politicize’ religion through the establishment of religious institution. Soeharto developed an idea called development ideology. Islam was put under the development framework. During the New Order Era, the state used religious patronage (such as MUI and mass Muslim organizations) to maintain loyalty of people to the state. The Soeharto’s government urged religions to have more significant roles in socio and cultural aspects instead of politics. This policy affected the Islamic role in the country be that political and cultural. The Soeharto's regime seems to combine between repressive and tolerant approaches as well as coercive and cooperative approaches to control various religious expressions of the Muslim society in the country. The policy and religious discourse created by the New Order regime to control Muslims in Indonesia was criticized and responded critically by Hasim through his texts of Lenyepaneun tafsir.

Moh. E. Hasim or Mohammad Emon Hasim was popularly known as a teacher, a Muhammadiyah activist, as well as a tafsir writer. He spoke Arabic, English, Japanese and Dutch very well. He never studied Islamic teaching in Islamic boarding school. He studied languages (including Arabic) and Islamic teachings autodidactically instead. He wrote several tafsir including Lenyepaneun tafsir (1990-1993).

The tafsir of Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun could be considered as the first Sundanese tafsir written in roman script and a very complete one in terms of content (covered all 30 chapters of the Quran). This tafsir used sentences (languages) which are very easily understood by the readers. The tafsir begins by citing Quranic text written in Arabic followed by roman text and translation. The writer translated Arabic text word by word followed by roman script and detailed explanation of the texts. In its methodology, Hasim uses the rational approach known as tafsir bi al-ra’y and the tahli li method through which he interprets the Quran following the established-Quranic verses’ order. This tafsir shows its distinction as a Sundanese tafsir not only as a local tafsir in West Java using Sundanese literatures, but also shows its special characteristic of Hasim’s responses to social, political and religious context where the writer lives.

In his Lenyepaneun tafsir, Hasim comprehensively responded to the socio-religious discourses debated in the new Order era between 1980s-1990s. He even criticised the regime. For example, Hasim
sharply criticised the policy of Soeharto’s New Order government that legalized soccer lotto, called *Porkas* and *Sumbangan Dana Sosial Berbaddiah* (SDSB/Social fund Donation Prizes). He also criticized the fatwa of *ulama* that supported the policy of Soeharto’s regime. In the New Order era, Hasim also criticized the government’s policy to ban Muslim’s students from wearing veil (*jilbab*) in schools. Corruption, collusion between the government officials and businessmen conglomerates and the social-economic gap among Indonesian people during the New Order Era were criticized by Hasim.

This study shows that Quranic interpretation (exegesis) or *tafsir* does not only deliver religious values of the Quran to the readers, but also demonstrates a dialectical process of the interpreter with the socio-political situations he faced while writing the *tafsir*. Hasim delivers his critical voices to build a bridge between a holy-God verses, locality and socio-historical context around the readers. Hasim’s critical voices are important to be identified in order to show that there was a very strong unsatisfied Muslim in Indonesia to the New Order policies, even to the fringe area such as the Sundanese people who live in the villages of West Java.

References

**Books and Articles**


Nurlaela, Aan. Makna Kafir Menurut Para Mufasir Indonesia (Studi Analisa Tafsir Moh. E. Hasim, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, Quraish


**Interview**

Interview with Halimah (66 years old), third daughter of Hasim, Bandung, 06 February 2017.