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WITHIN THE INDONESIAN INTELLECTUAL LANDSCAPE

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Asfa Widiyanto

The Reception of Seyyed Hossein Nasr's Ideas within the Indonesian Intellectual Landscape

Abstract: *This paper examines the appreciation and acceptance of Seyyed Hossein Nasr's (b. 1933) ideas in the context of intellectual discourse in Indonesia. To do so, it investigates the translation of Nasr's works into Indonesian, studies on Nasr's thought, and quotations from Nasr's works that emerge in the writings of some Indonesian intellectuals. It is especially the notions of Perennialism, "traditional Islam" and scientia sacra that throw light on the process by which his ideas have taken root and gained influence and acceptance in Indonesia. To be more specific, the article scrutinizes the impact of Nasr's ideas and perspectives on the structure of thought of two Indonesian intellectuals, namely Nurcholish Madjid (1939-2005) and Komaruddin Hidayat (b. 1953). This paper also traces the roots of Nasr's and Hidayat's thought in the classical-medieval Islamic tradition, most specifically in Suhrawardi's School of Illumination, and compares these with those of Madjid and Hidayat.*

Keywords: Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Perennialism, "Traditional Islam", *Scientia Sacra*, Indonesian Intellectual Discourse.

Abstrak: Artikel ini membahas apresiasi dan penerimaan terhadap ide-ide Seyyed Hossein Nasr (l. 1933) dalam konteks wacana intelektual di Indonesia. Dalam kerangka itu, tulisan ini melacak terjemahan karya Nasr ke dalam bahasa Indonesia, studi tentang pemikiran Nasr, dan kutipan dari karya-karya Nasr yang muncul dalam tulisan para cendekiawan di Indonesia. Konsep Perennialisme, “Islam tradisional” dan “Pengetahuan Suci” (*scientia sacra*) bisa memberikan petunjuk untuk melihat proses di mana ide-ide Nasr telah berakar dan memperoleh pengaruh dan penerimaan di Indonesia. Untuk lebih spesifik, artikel ini meneliti pengaruh ide-ide dan perspektif Nasr pada struktur pemikiran dari dua cendekiawan Indonesia, yakni Nurcholish Madjid (1939-2005) dan Komaruddin Hidayat (b. 1953). Tulisan ini juga menelusuri akar pemikiran Nasr dan Hidayat dalam tradisi Islam klasik dan abad pertengahan, terutama madzhab Illuminasi yang diusung oleh Suhrawardi, dan membandingkan ini dengan akar genealogis pemikiran Madjid dan Hidayat.

Kata kunci: Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Perennialisme, “Islam Tradisional”, “Pengetahuan Suci”, Wacana Intelektual Indonesia.

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Seyyed Hossein Nasr (b. 1933) is an Iranian-American philosopher and an exponent of traditional Islam. He benefited from both traditional and modern education. In the early years of his life, he acquainted himself with the thought of prominent thinkers from both East and West and with the very issue of the encounter between East and West.

The breadth of Nasr's academic interaction, whether in Muslim or non-Muslim circles, is buttressed by his cleverness and perseverance in seeking liberating knowledge, giving him an enormous depth of knowledge. Nasr's thought has been formed by at least three kinds of milieu, namely Sufism, Shi'ism and Persia (Stenberg 1996, 273-287). Nasr was born into a Sufi family and has thus had an interest and affiliation with Sufi Orders. Shi'ism, which is the dominant type of Islam in Iran, has also formed the character of Nasr's thought. Nasr is recorded as being a member of the *Husayniyyat Irshad* (Shariati 1995, 133), which is affiliated to Shi'ism. Persia, as we know, is the locus of classical Islamic sciences—such as Islamic philosophy, logic, and mathematics—which are still preserved in traditional educational institutions.

Among the contemporary figures who have shaped his intellectual direction, one can mention such names as Bertrand Russell, Giorgio di Santillana, Frithjof Schuon, René Guénon, A.K. Coomaraswamy, Titus Burckhardt, Martin Lings, Marco Pallis, Huston Smith, Louis Massignon, and Henry Corbin. When one examines Nasr's works, it becomes clear that his thought has been profoundly influenced by perennial philosophy.

Nasr's books written during the period of his life in Iran (1958-1979) can be classified into two major groups (Aslam 1998, 19). The first is composed of those related to the field of Islamic science, such as *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Science*, *Science and Civilization in Islam*, and *Islamic Science: An Illustrated Study*. According to Nasr (1980, 117-118), these books attempted to present Islamic science as an alternative mode of viewing reality, not simply as a stage or a bridge in the historical development of Western science. The second group consists of those books related to perennial philosophy, such as *Ideals and Realities of Islam*, *Man and Nature*, *Three Muslim Sages*, and *Sufi Essays*.

Since his arrival in the U.S. in 1979, he has also gone on to write some important books. *Knowledge and the Sacred*, his magnum opus,

owes its origins from a prestigious forum, namely the Gifford Lectures in Scotland. In it he tries to portray the problem of the desacralization of science, the very idea of hierarchy and multiplicity developed in traditional science and traditional art from the traditional point of view. In this book he cultivates the idea of *scientia sacra* which lives in every true tradition. Here the very meaning of the “tradition” finds its profoundest explanation.

Traditional Islam in the Modern World endeavours to do justice to all facets of the Islamic tradition. He provides an adequate explanation of so-called “traditional Islam” and the ways in which it differs from “pseudo-traditional Islam.” He also depicts the tension between tradition and modernism in the variegated cultural domains, either at the level of thought or in such practical applications as education and architecture. He draws the readers’ attention to the intellectual phenomenon of traditional Western scholars of Islam like Louis Massignon, Henry Corbin and Titus Burckhardt, who, according to Nasr, tried to apprehend the realities of Islam in a way different to that espoused by scholars who were their contemporaries. They write with sympathy and love and try to capture facets of Islamic tradition in an authentic fashion.

Religion and the Order of Nature tries to portray the role of religion in maintaining the hierarchy and sacred qualities of cosmos. He delves into the issue of environmental crisis from the traditional perspective (rooted in the traditions of Islam, Confucianism, Hinduism, and so forth). He also discusses Islamic art and spirituality and attempts to see the very relationship between the type of art developed in the Islamic tradition and the notion of sacred.

Other works by Nasr also date from his American period, such as *Islamic Life and Thought*, *Poems of the Way*, and *A Young Muslim’s Guide to the Modern World*. This shows us that the subjects of Nasr’s writing are immense, but they are all still viewed in the light of tradition. Huston Smith (1984) characterizes Nasr’s writings as inspiring, combining rich information with genuine metaphysical depth.

In *Knowledge is Light: Essays in Honor of Seyyed Hossein Nasr* (1999) and *Beacon of Knowledge: Essays in Honor of Seyyed Hossein Nasr* (2003), we can see how some of Nasr’s students honour a teacher who has been considered one of the prominent thinkers in the world today. They come from Iran, Egypt, Malaysia, India, South Africa, Britain, Spain,

America, and other parts of the world.¹ The variety of the background of these students and the spreading of Nasr's books—in Malaysia, Australia, Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, Bosnia-Serbia-Croatia, America and other parts of the world—demonstrate the wide impact of his thought. Nasr's books have been translated into more than twenty languages including Albanian, Bengali, Bosnian-Serbo-Croatian, Dutch, French, Flemish, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Indonesian, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Polish, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, Tamil and Urdu (Razavi 2001).

When he was professor in Iran, Nasr taught many students from Iran and from other countries. During his time at Temple University and George Washington University, Nasr had the opportunity to teach some Malay students, such as Osman Bakar, Saleh Yaapar, Baharuddin Ahmad and Zailan Moris—who appreciated his ideas and have gone on to foster the traditional perspective in Malaysia—as well as Turkish students such as Ibrahim Kalin, and Arab students such as the Egyptian Walid al-Anṣārī and the Palestinian Ibrāhīm Abū Rabī' (Nasr 2001, 75-80).

It is of particular interest to investigate the reception of Nasr's ideas in the context of intellectual discourse in Indonesia. This study endeavours to contribute to knowledge about how the thought of such a scholar as Nasr interacts with the ideas of Indonesian intellectuals. Particular attention is paid to highlight the place of Nasr's ideas and perspectives within the thought structure of two Indonesian scholars, namely Nurcholish Madjid and Komaruddin Hidayat, who more or less can be considered as representative of the acceptance and appreciation of Nasr's ideas within the Indonesian intellectual landscape. It also tracks the genealogies of Madjid's and Hidayat's thought into the classical-medieval Islamic tradition of thought and compares their genealogies to that of Nasr. The roots of Nasr's thought can be located most notably in Suhrawardī's School of Illumination.

This paper employs the historical-thematic approach. It traces the intellectual journey of Seyyed Hossein Nasr by using interpretations of some themes of his thought in the context of socio-historical conditions which prevail in his milieu. It also explores the historical events which mark the influence of Nasr in Indonesia, and locates the themes in which Nasr's influence in Indonesia has become apparent.

Typology of Seyyed Hossein Nasr's thought

Sufism, Shi'ism and Persia constituted the milieu that shaped Nasr's thought (Stenberg 1996, 273-287). With such background, it is not surprising that Nasr is well able to appreciate the traditional treasures of Islam such as the writings of Ibn Sinā, Ibn 'Arābī, Suhrawardi, and Mulla Sadra. These figures have become models and to a great extent have influenced his thought. Besides this, his formidable Western educational background enables him to appreciate Western intellectual treasures. This rare combination gives him a special position to write and speak with authority on the intricate relationships and encounters between East and West, tradition and modernization. In the West, Nasr became acquainted with the writings of traditionalist figures such as René Guénon,² Frithjof Schuon and Titus Burckhardt. In the Eastern tradition, Nasr also appreciated the writings of traditionalists such as Suhrawardi, Mulla Sadra, and Ibn 'Arābī. Both traditional tendencies have strongly influenced him and have moulded him into a remarkable traditionalist figure.

Nasr's works clearly demonstrates that his thought is traditional. Or, in other words, his thought has been profoundly influenced by perennial philosophy (*philosophia perennis* or *sophia perennis*). The idea of perennial philosophy connotes the perennial and universal truth related to *sanatana dharma* in Hinduism and *al-ḥikmah al-khālidah*³ in Islam (Wiener 1993, 457-459). Perennial philosophy shakes the foundations of the ordinary distinctions between philosophy and religion, emphasizing the affinity between and universal principles underlying all religions (Butterworth 2002, 101). It opposes the rationalism of the Enlightenment philosophers and tries to furnish tradition with a divine position (Ernst 1994, 176; Omar 1995, 2-3).⁴ In his efforts, Nasr is at pains to revive the intellectual dimensions of traditional civilizations. Such typology of thought is soundly implanted in Nasr and is reflected in his various writings and lectures.

Tradition, then, is Nasr's keyword, and it is given a dimension and meaning not expressed by many other scholars. Therefore, in several of his works, such as *Knowledge and the Sacred* and *The Need for a Sacred Science*, Nasr explores the meaning of this very word. Nasr conceives tradition as:

truths or principles of a divine origin revealed or unveiled to mankind and, in fact, a whole cosmic sector through various figures envisaged as messengers, prophets, *avatāras*, the Logos or other transmitting agencies, along with all the ramifications and applications of these principles in

different realms including law and social structure, art, symbolism, the sciences, and embracing of course Supreme Knowledge along with the means for its attainment (Nasr 1981b, 6768-).

When we examine Nasr's writings thoroughly we can find that sometimes Nasr designates the term "tradition" in a limited sense, namely as perennial truths or divine principles which have survived over the millennia. On the other hand, he also employs the term "tradition" in its general meaning, namely as divine principles and their applications in different domains of human life.

In the eyes of Frithjof Schuon, René Guénon, Nasr and other traditionalists, tradition in its limited sense is related to perennial wisdom which lies at the very center of every tradition. The concept of tradition—in its limited sense—therefore does not diverge greatly from *sophia perennis*, *sanatana dharma*, and *al-hikmah al-khālidah* (Nasr 1981b, 68-69). In this case we can understand why traditionalists as Schuon, Guénon, Coomaraswamy, and Nasr also call themselves Perennialists.

Nasr does his best to depict and to advocate so-called "traditional Islam," which he believes is an authentic tradition which does not reject any facet of Islam. He is convinced that Shi'ism is valid and within the boundaries of Islamic tradition. Therefore he also tries to disclose the intellectual and spiritual heritage of the Shi'ism, and present it to the contemporary audience as an inextricable part of Islamic tradition (Nasr 1994b).

The line of thought that we can see in the figure of Nasr is that he speaks and writes distinctively and takes sides, allying himself with the millennial truth, or in other words with traditional values. So his works could never be claimed to be neutral, but are ineluctably based on certain values. As one reads his writings, the conviction will grow that he is defending a particular worldview, ensconced in its values and truth. However, Nasr has admitted that he does not pretend to invent the truth, but constantly remains humble before the rays of the truth.

The basic, general idea which pervades Nasr's works is the presupposition that Islam is a comprehensive order for individuals and for society; therefore he tries to seek the foundations underlying the formation of Islamic science. Modern science is in crisis, or more explicitly, negates *sapientia*, which is the essential aspect of *scientia sacra*. Science is not neutral and westernized, and once this premise is accepted it is possible to elaborate Islamic science (Stenberg 1996b, 112-114).

Modern man, according to Nasr, has lost sight of the eternal (Smith 1991, 80), relinquishing this to worship the idea of progress, and to try to rebel against heaven. In many of his works, true to his strong Sufi tendency, Nasr often uses Sufi terminology. He frequently resorts to the very perspective within Sufism to analyze the current condition of modern society and to provoke his own idea of the need of a science that will liberate human kind.

Like the Malay thinker Sayyid Naquib al-Attas (b. 1931) and the Arab-American scholar Ismail Raji al-Faruqi (1921-1986), his main project is to revive the “lost sense of wonder” (Abaza 2000, 94). Therefore Wolf-Gazo (2001, 278-279) identifies Nasr’s effort as the “project of re-enchantment.” In his attempt to resuscitate the sense of the sacred, Nasr has stressed the role of *intellectus*. This is a clear message that metaphysics and spirituality will also play important role in his project.

It is also of interest to compare Nasr’s thought with that of reformers of Islam, such as Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938) (see: Stepaniants 2001, 799-812; and Nasr 2001b, 809-812). Iqbal is demonstrably impressed and influenced by modern European philosophy, while Nasr stands within and advocates the Islamic philosophical tradition. Iqbal is critical of some aspects of Sufism; Nasr is a stalwart defender and adherent of Sufism. Nasr prefers to deem himself a “renewer” rather than a “reformer” of the Islamic intellectual tradition and an adherent of perennial philosophy within that tradition.

Nasr’s works unequivocally expose the fact that among the targets of his criticism are secularism, modernism, rationalism, evolutionism, materialism and imperialism. And it is ironic, Nasr argues, that some Muslims adopt such ideology and preface it with the adjective “Islamic” (Smith 1991, 80-81). We can grasp this standpoint more readily if we try to place it within the system of Nasr’s thought. He is the advocate of traditional Islam, and for him, such “isms” are alien and contrary to Islamic tradition.

Perhaps the best way to understand this is to see how Nasr characterizes his own intellectual position:

If I were to summarize my so-called “philosophical position”, I would say that I am a follower of that *philosophia perennis* and also *universalis*, that eternal *Sophia*, which has always been and will always be and in whose perspective there is but one Reality which can say “I”. This *sophia* is based on a universal metaphysics with its applications to the domain of cosmology, psychology, art, etc. (Nasr 1980, 119).

Seyyed Hossein Nasr the Neo-Suhrawardian

Seyyed Hossein Nasr is considered an extraordinary and remarkable thinker of the caliber of Ibn Sina (980-1037) and Suhrawardi (1155-1191) (Faghfoory 2003, 2-6). Therefore Nasr's thought can be appreciated and understood better if we place it in the framework of the tradition of Islamic philosophy. When we examine the history and development of Islamic philosophy, we become aware that there is an outstanding figure whose thoughts resemble those of Nasr. Suhrawardi, the founder of the School of Illumination, tries to integrate the tradition of the Peripatetics⁵—which is rational—and the tradition of Gnosis—which is based mainly on intellectual intuition (*dhawq*). He was the one who restored and elaborated the philosophy of the Peripatetics—although in some respects he criticizes it—and married it with Hermetism,⁶ Zoroastrianism,⁷ Pythagoreanism,⁸ Platonism⁹ and other spiritual traditions.¹⁰ Building on the basis of such traditions, he constructs his own philosophy, namely the Philosophy of Illumination (*ḥikmat al-ishrāq*).

When we examine the structure of thought of Nasr and Suhrawardi we can see the close affinity between the two. Suhrawardi argued about the unity and universality of the Divine Principle, to which end he introduced such terms as *al-ḥikmah al-ladūniyah* (divine wisdom) and *al-ḥikmah al-'atiqah* (ancient wisdom) (Nasr 1964, 61-62; Nasr 1963, 376). Such a standpoint is shared by Nasr, who holds the conviction that there is such a thing as perennial and universal wisdom; therefore he has advocated the school of Perennialism (*sophia perennis* or *philosophia perennis*). Both Suhrawardi and Nasr are highly appreciative of discursive reasoning and intellectual intuition (*intellectus*) and base their philosophy on the two. The issue of the encounter between the East and the West is the concern of both Suhrawardi and Nasr. At this point one of the works of Suhrawardi relating to this issue should be mentioned, *Qiṣṣat al-Ghubat al-Gharbiyah* (the Story of the Occidental Exile).

The influence of the works of Suhrawardi was not confined to the Islamic world but also reached other traditions such as Hinduism, Judaism and Zoroastrianism (Nasr 1964, 82). The same can be said about Nasr's works. Suhrawardi's philosophy is rich in the sense that he not only deals with religious and ethical philosophy but also the philosophies of nature, art, logic and mathematics. He sees that these elements, although diverse, represent the unity or, in other words,

are the ways to understand the relationship between the Manifold (*kathrah*) and the One (*wahdah*). The same underlying theme is also seen in Nasr's philosophy, which likewise stresses the very relationship between unity and multiplicity and between philosophy and a religious universe.

In some ways, Suhrawardi's masterpiece, *Hikmat al-Ishrāq*, can be compared with Nasr's magnum opus, *Knowledge and the Sacred*. Suhrawardi claimed that this book was written in a very short period because it was revealed by the *rūh al-quds*. (Nasr 1964, 66). The same things hold true for Nasr's magnum opus. This work was written in the space a few months and was regarded by Nasr a gift from heaven.

Nasr's magnum opus deals extensively with the relationship between knowledge and the sacred, and introduces the concept of *scientia sacra*. Suhrawardi's magnum opus also deals with this relationship between knowledge and light (as a symbol of the sacred) and elaborates on the so-called *al-'ilm al-anwārī*¹¹ (the science of the lights) or *al-'ilm al-ḥudūrī* (knowledge by presence) (Yazdi 1996, 51).¹² Suhrawardi's book also deals with metaphysics and the hierarchy of realities—which he argues is in fact the hierarchy of lights¹³—logic, physics and psychology, cosmology—which deals with emanation and the relationship between the one and the manifold—astronomy and the angelic worlds, the states of the seekers after truth, eternal time, and eschatology and spiritual union.¹⁴ Similar themes also appear in Nasr's book. *Knowledge and the Sacred* deals with the meaning of tradition, sacred science, theophany and the cosmos, eternity and temporal order, multiplicity of the sacred forms, and knowledge of the sacred as liberation.

I consider Nasr to be one of the heirs to Suhrawardi's tradition of thought. When we trace the history of Islamic philosophy, we come across such figures as the medieval Iranian philosopher Mir Damad (d. 1630), and the leading Iranian Shi'ite philosopher of the Shafavid period Mulla Sadra (ca. 1571-2 to 1640), who appreciated Suhrawardi and his school. They are all the heirs to Suhrawardi's thought. When we go through Nasr's books we see that Suhrawardi is one of the outstanding figures whom Nasr appreciated deeply and is influenced by in his thought. Mulla Sadra is another of the prominent figures who has influenced Nasr, even though I see Mulla Sadra as the one of the cogs in the framework of Suhrawardi's tradition of thought, although in some ways he tried to develop and criticize it. Mulla Sadra, according

to Henry Corbin (1990, 112), is the profoundest commentator on Suhrawardi's works and thoughts. That is why I think it is of relevance to consider Nasr as Neo-Suhrawardi, the heir of Suhrawardi's tradition of thought in the contemporary world.¹⁵

Seyyed Hossein Nasr's Visit to Indonesia: Making Intellectual Contact

At the end of June 1993, Seyyed Hossein Nasr came to Indonesia. This visit was regarded as a significant moment in Islamic discourse in Indonesia. During his stay in Jakarta he gave three lectures under the sponsorship of the Paramadina Foundation and Mizan Publishing House: first, one held in the building of YTKI (Indonesian Workers Foundation) on June 27, 1993, on "Islamic Art and Spirituality"; second, in the Wisata International Hotel on June 28, 1993, on "Spirituality, the Crisis of the Modern World, and Future Religion"; and third, at the Paramadina Foundation on June 29, 1993, on "Perennial Philosophy" (Azra 1993, 106). These three topics also serve to indicate the issues in which Nasr's influence in Indonesian intellectual discourse has become apparent.

These seminars functioned to explicate the typology of Nasr's thought, which has been known, *inter alia*, from the translations of his works into Indonesian (Azra 1993, 111). The discussants of these seminars were Nurcholish Madjid, M. Dawam Rahardjo, Komaruddin Hidayat, Din Syamsuddin, and Quraish Shihab (Ali-Fauzi 1993).

It is of note that *Republika*, an Indonesian newspaper targeting the Muslim community, presented Nasr as its figure of the week ("Tokoh Pekan Ini: Prof. Seyyed Hossein Nasr"). The seminars by this scholar were highly appreciated. Azyumardi Azra, at that time a faculty member at the Paramadina Foundation and the Syarif Hidayatullah State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) Jakarta,¹⁶ noted that that these seminars—which dealt with issues ranging from Perennialism, spirituality, religiosity, to the crisis of modern world—had a relevance to Indonesia since it would face the same problems as other modern nations, such as spiritual and environmental crises. Haidar Baqir, the Director of Mizan Publishing House, pointed out that the seminars were of pertinence to Indonesians suffering spiritual unrest. *Republika* also presented reports entitled "Prof. Seyyed Hossein Nasr: The Religion of the Future Cares for the Environment" (Prof. Seyyed Hossein Nasr: Agama Masa

Depan Peduli Lingkungan), and “Seyyed Hossein Nasr: Spokesman of Islam in the West” (Seyyed Hossein Nasr: Juru Bicara Islam di Barat). *Panji Masyarakat*, an Indonesian Muslim-interest magazine, presented a report entitled “Nasr Admonishes Modern Man” (Nasr Menegur Manusia Modern). *Tempo*, an Indonesian weekly magazine, also gave recognition to this figure by presenting an interview with him entitled “Returning to Wholistic Tradition” (Kembali pada Tradisi yang Utuh).

It is of crucial importance to note that the entry on “Seyyed Hossein Nasr” only appears in the supplement to the Indonesian version of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* published in the year of 1996. When we compare this entry with Azyumardi Azra’s “Tradisionalisme Nasr: Exposisi and Refleksi: Laporan dari Seminar Seyyed Hossein Nasr” (The Traditionalism of Nasr: Exposition and Reflection: A Report from the Seminar of Seyyed Hossein Nasr), we find that this entry incorporates, among other things, Nasr’s lectures in Jakarta in 1993. The photograph of Seyyed Hossein Nasr appearing in this entry is a reproduction from *Tempo* magazine, which was possibly taken when Nasr gave the lectures in Jakarta in 1993.

It is of significance to make clear that Ihsan Ali Fauzi, one of the editors of *Ulumul Qur’an*, wrote two articles on “Nasr’s perspectives on Traditionalism” on the occasion of Nasr’s lectures in Jakarta at the end of June 1993. This reveals that Nasr’s visit to Indonesia attracted a great deal of attention among Indonesian intellectuals and the mass media.

The Recognition of Seyyed Hossein Nasr’s Ideas in Indonesia: A Bibliographical Overview

This section of the paper provides a bibliographical overview of the recognition of Nasr’s ideas in Indonesia, by focusing on publications about Nasr in the 1990s. This serves to examine the direct impact of Nasr’s visit to Indonesia in June 1993. An examination of the publications on Nasr in Indonesia reveals that the studies and quotations on Nasr increased in frequency shortly before and after Nasr’s visit to Indonesia at the end of June 1993. This allows us to suppose that Nasr’s visit to Indonesia functioned to stimulate the curiosity of Indonesian intellectuals about the typology of thought of this particular thinker.

The works of Seyyed Hossein Nasr have found readers in Indonesia. Some Indonesians read Nasr’s works either in their original versions or in Indonesian translations. There are several books by Nasr available

in Indonesian translation, which appeared after the Iranian revolution in 1979. These range from popular books like *Ideal and Realities of Islam*¹⁷ and *Muhammad: Man of Allah*; to serious ones such as *Sufi Essays, Islam and the Plight of Modern Man, Three Muslim Sages: Ibn Sina, Suhrawardi, and Ibn Arabi*, and *Science and Civilization in Islam*.

This reveals that Nasr, as an Iranian scholar, became better known to Indonesian audiences after the Iranian revolution, although he was not one of those involved in the revolution (Discussion with Kaptein, March 20, 2005). Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that he most represents the Shi'ite outlook. In contrast to the leader of Iranian Revolution Ayatollah Khomeini (1902-1981) and the Iranian cleric Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i (1902-1981), Nasr better fits the profile of a scholar rather than a Muslim cleric affiliated to Shi'ism. His position in Indonesia should not be perceived in connection with religious doctrine, but rather with religious scholarship and intellectual activity. Muslim intellectuals, particularly Indonesian intellectuals, mostly perceive Nasr as a scholar and a thinker because, among other factors, he tries to transcend Shi'ism and Islam, even attempting to seek out the affinity underlying all religions. It is worth reasserting that Aslam (1998: 24) makes a point of the fact that Nasr's Shi'ite backgrounds do not excessively colour his writings and thoughts.

The nature of Nasr's influence in Indonesia differs from that of revolutionary thinkers such as Ali Shariati and the Iranian scholar and the architect of Iranian Revolution Murtadha Mutahhari (1919-1979). The influence of Nasr is focussed more on intellectual dimensions, while that of Shariati and Mutahhari is concerned with intellectual activism and social movements.

Nasr's visit to Indonesia in 1993 marks a significant moment in the appreciation of Nasr's works and thought. Since his visit to Indonesia, there have appeared a number of new translations of Nasr's books, ranging from those dealing with popular issues such as *A Young Muslim's Guide to the Modern World* and *The Garden of Truth: The Vision and Promise of Sufism*; to those devoted to more serious issues such as *Islamic Art and Spirituality, Traditional Islam in the Modern World, Knowledge and the Sacred, Islamic Spirituality: Foundations, and Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*.

The Indonesian translations of Nasr's books deal with issues as diverse as an introduction to Islam, Sufism, spirituality, sacred art, "traditional

Islam,” the biography of the prophet, Islamic science, *scientia sacra*, the crisis of modern man, and classical Islamic philosophy. These books, although with differing intensities, reflect Nasr’s Perennial perspective.

When we examine the Indonesian translations of Nasr’s articles, we likewise begin to realize that the Iranian revolution contributed to the background against which these articles were translated. The translation of Nasr’s preface to Tabataba’i’s *Shi’ite Islam* can be considered as an answer to the curiosity of Indonesian people on the nature of Shi’ism, the religion which drove the revolution in Iran. However, it needs to be remarked that in his preface Nasr does not try to be a propagator of Shi’ism, but rather attempts to expound Shi’ism as one of the facets of Islam.

The translations of Nasr’s articles appearing in *Al-Hikmah* (Nasr 1993a; Nasr 1995) —a journal published by the Muthahhari Foundation, which is alleged to have an affiliation to Shi’ism—can nevertheless not be deemed to be propagation of Shi’ite doctrine. These are best represented as publications in which the intellectuality of an Iranian Muslim scholar pertaining to matters important to the development of the Muslim community are expounded. This impression becomes obvious when we scrutinize Nasr’s articles appearing in *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam Paramadina* (1998a), Nasr’s preface to Schuon’s *Islam & Filsafat Perennial* (Islam and Perennial Philosophy) (1998b), and Nasr’s preface to Bakar’s *Hierarki Ilmu* (Hierarchy of Science) (1997a). In these articles, Nasr does his best to investigate the Islamic roots of perennial philosophy, the necessity for religious pluralism, and the issue of the hierarchy of science in Islamic tradition.

It is of significant interest that the maiden issue of *Ulumul Qur’an* showed its appreciation for the works and ideas of Seyyed Hossein Nasr, as can be seen from the translation of Nasr’s article on “Islam in the World: Cultural Diversity within Spiritual Unity.” From this it can be seen that *Ulumul Qur’an*, one of the leading Islamic journals in Indonesia, has perceived Nasr’s ideas to be of significance for the Muslim world at large and for the Indonesian community in particular. This fact likewise can throw light on the place and acceptance of Nasr’s ideas in the constellation of intellectual thought in Indonesia.

As for the appreciation of Perennialism, in general, and of Nasr’s ideas, in particular, it is worth remarking that one edition of *Ulumul Qur’an* brought together the article of Nasr on “*Philosophia Perennis*

and the Study of Religion,” the article of Md. Salleh Yaapar (Nasr's former student at Temple University, U.S.) on “*Ta'wil* as a Form of Islamic Hermeneutics,” and a dialogue with Baharudin Ahmad (Nasr's former student from Malaysia) on “Islamic Traditionalism.” The editors of *Ulumul Qur'an* also invited reactions and opinions from readers pertaining to Nasr's perspective.

Some of these reactions were published in the subsequent edition of this journal. In *Ulumul Qur'an* 3 (4), (1992), we come across these reactions. The first is the reaction of Victor Tanja, a clergyman and a lecturer at the Theological College (STT) of Jakarta; the second is the reaction of Nurul Fajri, a faculty member at IAIN Jakarta. Tanja maintains that Nasr's traditionalist perspective is of relevance to the future of mankind since it pays more attention to the affinity underlying all religion. It is worth noting that he also reviewed the Indonesian translation of Nasr's book, *Ideals and Realities of Islam*, a couple of years before writing this reaction (Tanja 1992, 36-37). This reveals that he was already familiar with the ideas of Nasr. Fajri criticizes Nasr's traditionalist perspective, in the sense that it pays too much attention to normativity rather than to the empirical dimension of the matters under observation (Fajri 1992, 38-39). This indicates that *Ulumul Qur'an* tried to provide a medium for intellectual interactions with Nasr and his perennial perspective. It likewise enables us to grasp how Perennialism has been developed by Nasr's former students from Malaysia and how Indonesian intellectuals have interacted with it.

It is also of particular interest to note that one of the editors of *Ulumul Qur'an*, Abdul Hadi WM, studied in Malaysia, and once taught in the Faculty of Humanities at Malaysian University of Science (USM). Abdul Hadi WM's writings¹⁸ shows that he has an appreciation for Nasr's ideas, which most likely was due, among other factors, to his intellectual contact with Malaysian scholars.¹⁹ It gives the impression that he, as a man of letters, tries to synthesize art and mysticism using, amongst other things, the perspective of Perennialism. At this point, we catch sight also of the affinity of his efforts with those of Md. Salleh Yaapar.

M. Dawam Rahardjo, one of the editors of *Ulumul Qur'an*, has also shown an interest in Nasr and Perennialism. This, among others, can be observed in his article on “*Fitra*” (1992), in which he makes extensive use of Nasr's *Knowledge and the Sacred*, and Schuon's *The*

Transcendent Unity of Religions. In his article on “From Iqbal to Nasr” (1987), Dawam admits that Nasr is one of those scholars who have produced substantive thoughts on human nature.

Budhy Munawar-Rachman, one of the editors of *Ulumul Qur'an* and a faculty member at Paramadina Foundation, has also demonstrated his appreciation of Nasr's outlook. This, among others, can be discerned from his articles on “Unveiling the Limits of Inter-religious Dialogue” (1993c) (in which he highlights Perennialist perspectives on *scientia sacra* and hierarchical chain of being), “Interfaith Dialogue and the Relation between Religions” (1993b) (in which he employs the perspective of Perennialism to investigate the issue of interfaith dialogue), “Perennial Philosophy as an Agenda of Global Ethics” (1998), “Religion, Modernity, and the Pluralism of Nation” (1993) (in which he applies the perspective of Perennialism), and “Restoring the Harmony of the Religious Community” (n.d.) (in which he makes use of Nasr's perspective on the multiplicity of sacred forms).

Munawar-Rachman's article, which was written in collaboration with Ihzan Ali-Fauzi on “Tradition and the Future of Islamic Philosophy” (1989), contains explications of Nasr's philosophical position. His extensive introduction (1995) to Komaruddin Hidayat's and Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis' *Agama Masa Depan: Perspektif Filsafat Perennial* (Future Religion: The Perspective of Perennial Philosophy) demonstrates that he is well-acquainted with Nasr's and the Perennialists' ideas. He underlines that it is only recently that the discourses on Perennialism had become known in Indonesia. Hidayat and Nafis are among the few to have popularized Perennialism in Indonesia. This reveals that Munawar-Rachman's writings are centred on Nasr's core ideas, namely Perennialism and *scientia sacra* as perspectives in perceiving the realities of religions. He is likewise aware of the significance of Nasr's thought within the framework of the living tradition of Islamic philosophy. It seems that his concerns with philosophy and spirituality directed his attention to Nasr's ideas and Perennialism.

Haidar Baqir, the director of Mizan Publishing House and one of the editors of *Ulumul Qur'an*, who is said to have been one of Nasr's students when he pursued his Masters degree at Harvard University ca. 1990-1992, has displayed appreciation for Nasr's ideas concerning Islamic science (Baqir 1989a, 1989b). Nevertheless Baqir's works clearly

demonstrates that he is far more strongly attracted to Khomeini's and Ali Shariati's philosophical and religious standpoints than those of Nasr.

The role of *Ulumul Qur'an* in promoting Perennialist ideas became more obvious when it carried the article of Huston Smith entitled "Postmodernism and the World's Religions" (1995a), along with an interview with this Perennialist on the "Weaknesses of Postmodernism" (1995b). This reveals that journals play a significant role in introducing new ideas, and *Ulumul Qur'an* is just such a journal, which has played a considerable part in disseminating the ideas of Nasr and other Perennialists.

An examination of the works of Kautsar Azhari Noer, a faculty member at the Paramadina University and Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, reveals that he too possesses a great appreciation for Nasr's ideas. This can be witnessed for instance from his articles "Man: Theomorphic or Full of Sin?" (1994a), "Comparative Study of Religions" (1998b), "Sufi Perspective on Religious Dialogue" (1999), "Enriching the Religious Experience through Dialogue" (1994b), and "Passing Over: Enriching the Religious Experience" (1998a). These writings deal with a number of Nasr's ideas like the concept of man, religious pluralism, and Sufism. It appears that Kautsar Azhari Noer's appreciation of Nasr's ideas is, among other things, due to his intellectual interest in the ideas of mystical philosophers. It deserves remarking that his Ph.D. thesis at IAIN Jakarta was on the "Concept of *Wahdat al-Wujud* in the Thought of Ibn 'Arabi" (1993).

Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, a researcher at the Paramadina Foundation, has showed enthusiasm for Nasr's ideas. This, among others, can be perceived from his article on "Historical References for Inter-religious Dialogue" (1998) in which he refers to the Indonesian translation of Nasr's *Islam and the Plight of Modern Man* besides referring to the book he himself made in collaboration with Komaruddin Hidayat, *Agama Masa Depan: Perspektif Filsafat Perennial* (Future Religion: the Perspective of Perennial Philosophy).

Interestingly, the appreciation of Nasr's ideas, in particular, and of Perennialism, in general, within the Indonesian intellectual landscape can be observed through the book on *The Perennialist Perspective on Religiosity* (Sabri 1999). It can also be witnessed in the many writings espousing and using Perennialist perspectives, such as "Spiritualization of Islam and the Future of Civilization" (Arifin 1996) and "Religion and the Crisis of Humanity" (Nashir 1999). There are also such articles

as “The Religion of the Future from a Spiritual Perspective” (Athiyah 1993) (which employs the perspective of Perennialism), “Spiritual ‘Violence’ in Postmodern Society” (Latif and Ibrahim 1994) (which explicates Nasr’s perspectives on religion), and “‘Traditional’ Islamic Education in the Modern Era: A Study of the Thought of Seyyed Hossein Nasr” (Rohman 1999).

It is also important to note the appreciation shown for Nasr in a book (Saefuddin 2003) meant to be a reference text for the course of “Modern Trends in Islam” at the State Institute of Islamic Studies in Indonesia, which indicates the place of Nasr’s thought in the curriculum of Islamic higher education in Indonesia. This particular book highlights Nasr as one of the exceptional thinkers in the contemporary world.

Reviews of Nasr’s books are also indications of the reception of his ideas, such as the review of his *Knowledge and the Sacred* (Ali 1995), which is an example of how one of Nasr’s books has been studied and criticized. Autobiographies of some young Indonesian intellectuals (Ali-Fauzi and Bagir 1990) may also throw light on the appreciation of Nasr’s ideas. Some of these have shown enthusiasm for Nasr’s ideas and perspectives. They likewise admit that Nasr’s perspectives, in some ways, contributed in shaping their intellectual outlooks. This gives the impression that Nasr’s ideas occupy a particular place in the minds of some young Indonesian intellectuals.

Three articles of Zainal Abidin Bagir’s which appear in *Koran Tempo*, an Indonesian newspaper, are worth specific remarks. Bagir’s first article provides a review of *The Philosophy of Seyyed Hossein Nasr*. He points out that Nasr was chosen to be a figure for the series of the Library of Living Philosophers, and this was an acknowledgment of Nasr’s standing in philosophy. Bagir criticizes Nasr’s ideas at least in two respects: (a) Nasr justifies the intellect before assuming its existence; and (b) Nasr’s analogizes scientists’ claims on “Quantum mechanics” with Perennialists’ claims on “intuitive science.” Despite this criticism, Bagir appreciates Nasr’s contribution in presenting philosophy and Perennialism authentically to the modern audience (Bagir 2002a).

Zainal Abidin Bagir’s second article presents a biography of Nasr. Nasr is portrayed as a traditional man who lives in the most modern state yet at the same time persistently rejects modernism (Bagir 2002b). Bagir’s third article provides an interview with Nasr. Bagir specifically underlines Nasr’s statement that the Muslim community is in need of

thinkers who straddle two positions. The first foot should stand in the Islamic philosophical tradition, whilst the second should stand in an adequate understanding of the modern world (Bagir 2002c).

Turning to studies on, and quotations from, Nasr's works and thought, which *per se* show a degree of appreciation and acceptance of his ideas, it becomes apparent that they appeared after the Iranian revolution. Such studies and quotations increased in frequency shortly before and after Nasr's visit to Indonesia at the end of June 1993. These studies and quotations deal with issues as diverse as spirituality, Sufism, science, *scientia sacra*, sacred art, "traditional Islam," Perennialism, religious pluralism, and the crisis of modernity. These issues are centred on the main pillars of Nasr's structure of thought, namely Perennialism, "traditional Islam," and *scientia sacra*. One should note that the notion of Perennialism which has spread widely in the Indonesian intellectual context is not altogether a consequence of Nasr's influence. There are other Perennialists, such as Frithjof Schuon, Huston Smith, and René Guénon, who have helped to foster the discourse on Perennialism in Indonesia. Nevertheless, when we observe the writings of Indonesian intellectuals, it becomes clear that Seyyed Hossein Nasr is the most well-known Perennialist to the Indonesian audience.

Nurcholish Madjid: His appreciation for and affinity with Seyyed Hossein Nasr's ideas

Nurcholish Madjid (1939-2005) is considered one of Indonesia's most prominent Muslim intellectuals of the last century. He pursued his secondary education at the modern *pesantren* of Gontor, Ponorogo, East Java (1960). He went on to study Arabic Literature and Culture at IAIN Jakarta, from which he graduated in 1968. In the seventies, he provoked discourse and debates on "secularization." "Secularization," for him, is not understood as the implementation of secularism but as the liberation of the Muslim community from sacralizing values and objects which in reality ought to be considered profane (Madjid 1987, 207-259). In 1984, he obtained his doctorate from the University of Chicago for his thesis on "Ibn Taymiyya on *Kalam* and *Falsafa*: The Problem of Reason and Revelation in Islam." It was at Chicago that Madjid had the opportunity to make intellectual contact with Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988), the main proponent of Islamic Neo-Modernism, who became Madjid's Ph.D. supervisor.

Fazlur Rahman is one of the figures who shaped Madjid's intellectual persona. Rahman is concerned with the reconstruction of Qur'anic ethics as they have become manifest in such principles as *tawhīd* (the unity of the divine / strictly monotheistic principle), *īmān* (faith), *Islām* (submission), *fiṭrah* (natural disposition), *mujāhadah* (spiritual effort), and *iṣlāh fi al-ard* (reformation on earth) (Madjid 1999a, xiv-xv). When we sift through Madjid's works, we come across similar concerns. Rahman is impressed by classical figures such as the Hanbalite theologians Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1318) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1292-1350) (Madjid 1999a, xiv-xv). When we scrutinize Madjid's works, we begin to realize that Madjid is also impressed by those two figures, to the point where he even wrote his Ph.D. thesis on the thought of Ibn Taymiyya.

Madjid is likewise interested in the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd (a.k.a. Averroes, d. 1198). Madjid considers Ibn Rushd to be one of those who personify both rationality and religiosity and, at the same time, provides proof of the organic unity between rationality and religiosity. Interestingly, Madjid maintains that rationality is an inextricable element of Islam (Madjid 1997a, 163-164). In line with this train of thought, Madjid also gives recognition to Averroism, which, according to him, played a significant role in the advancement of Western society. (Madjid 1992, c-ci). For Madjid, Rahman is well acquainted with the classical treasury of Islam, but not with the treasury of the modern social sciences (Madjid 1999a, vii-xix). It seems that Madjid has attempted to fill this lacuna; for this reason we come across the perspectives of the social sciences in his works.

Due to his closeness to the Indonesian scholar Hamka (1908-1981) on a personal level, Madjid was attracted to Hamka's idea of modern *taṣawwuf* (Madjid 1993a, 95-99). When we examine Madjid's works, particularly before his departure for Chicago, we become aware that in the political domain, he seems interested in the thought of Indonesian Muslim politician Mohammad Natsir (1908-1993) (Madjid 1983, 30-35).

The main preoccupation of Madjid's works is interpreting the doctrines of Islam in ways that are human, just, inclusive and egalitarian, based on *tawhīd* and ethics (Nafis 1995, vi). Madjid is concerned with bridging the discourses on Islam, Indonesia, and modernity. This is, *inter alia*, clearly seen in his book entitled *Islam, Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan* (Islam, Modernity and Indonesianness). In another

publication, Madjid is at pains to approach Indonesian Islamic thought in the context of universal Islam, and his efforts in this regard can be described as the “indigenization and contextualization of Islam” (Nafis 1995, vi-ix). This reveals that Madjid, like many other Muslim thinkers, is concerned with the intricate interplay between local Islam and universal Islam.

A review of Madjid's *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban* (Islam, Doctrines and Civilizations) makes the point that the main thrust of Madjid's ideas has moved from “secularization,” in his own particular sense, to pluralism (Hidayat 1998c, 175). This however, does not necessarily mean that Madjid did not pay attention to the idea of pluralism. In his early writings like *Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan* and *Islam, Kerakyatan, dan Keindonesiaan* (Islam, Democracy and Indonesianness) (1993), he also underlined the necessity of admitting the relativism of the exoteric aspects of religion and the need to come to terms with the universal values underlying religions.

It was, among other avenues, through the seminars of Seyyed Hossein Nasr in 1993 that Madjid got the opportunity to have intellectual contact with Nasr. In the dialogue session, Madjid pointed out that Nasr's critique of modernists is out of proportion. Madjid proposed that some Muslims often perceive the West and, in this case also, Islamic modernism in a very negative light; whereas, he argued, one must nevertheless admit that modernists such as Muhammad Abduh and Muhammad Iqbal made significant contributions in the development of Islamic thought and movements (Azra 1993, 107). This clearly shows that Madjid disagrees with Nasr on some issues such as the issue of the encounter between Islam and modernity.

The doctrines of Islam, Madjid contends, show the interrelationship between science and faith (Madjid 1997a, back cover). Madjid goes on to elucidate that science, once it becomes scientism, turns out to be a closed ideology. This ideology holds the conviction that science is final, absolute and self-sufficient; and the essence is none other than empirical reality (Madjid 1995c, 240). At this point, we begin to realize an affinity with Nasr, who holds the same conviction.

Madjid is likewise aware of the danger of materialism inherent in the process of modernization. Materialism, Madjid holds, emphasizes the quantitative aspects of a thing rather than its qualitative aspects.

Furthermore, it holds to the conviction of the utilitarian view of science. The emphasis on the quantitative has implications in undermining the presuppositions of traditional cosmologies and the social role of a religion (Madjid 1997b, 72-73).

Modern science, for Madjid, is not concerned with seeking the truth, but rather with solving the puzzles inherent in the established scientific paradigm. This is because the problem of ultimate truth correlates inadequately with material utilitarianism. Indeed, modern science after Descartes has sought to avoid ultimate questions. Madjid esteems rationality. Nevertheless, he underlines that the extreme rationality of modern man can lead to danger (Madjid 1997b, 73-88). This reveals that Madjid's position in relation to modern science is similar to that of Nasr.

On Perennialism, Madjid asserts that the perennial world view has become a concern for some intellectuals. Perennialism, as far as Madjid is concerned, is also "Primordialism," since it is convinced that human beings have a potential for good. This potential has always existed; therefore it is called perennial. Madjid contends that that potential is none other than *fitra* in Islamic terminology. Based on such notions, we can indeed speak of "universal humanity" (Madjid 1995d, 111, 118).

To grasp more readily the relationship between Madjid's notion of *fitra* and the notion of *sophia perennis*, of which Nasr is a proponent, I refer to Madjid's exposition:

The primordial covenant with God stored beyond man's consciousness gives rise to the everlasting human reality. This is what Ibn Miskawayh called *al-hikmah al-khālidah*,²¹ and became the title of his book, and was later translated into Latin as *sophia perennis*. And this is none other than God's *fitra* to mankind, which never changes, and is the root of true religiosity (Madjid 1999b, 95).

Here, Madjid clearly endeavours to relate his concept of *fiṭrah*, which he elaborates from the works of Ibn Taymiyya, to the notion of *sophia perennis* developed by the Perennialists. Furthermore, it is of particular interest to highlight Madjid's explanation that man often does not have the "sensitivity of *fiṭrah*," which is greatly needed in apprehending the Truth, because of the dense accumulations of his socio-cultural experiences (Madjid 1998a, 13-14). When we turn to Nasr's works, we become aware that what Madjid calls the "sensitivity of *fiṭrah*" is close to what Nasr calls "*intellectus*" (the eye of the heart).

Madjid also endeavours to link up his notions of *dīn* and *islām* to the notion of sophia perennis: "And the Truth instructs the attitudes of obedience (*dīn*) and of submission (*islām*) to God, both of which represent the *fiṭrah* which is *ḥanīf* (tending to goodness), and together form the eternal wisdom (*ḥikmat al-khālidah*)" (Madjid 1995c, 192).

In order to show how Madjid appreciates Nasr's ideas, I refer to Madjid's vindication:

There are many indications pointing out the direction in which the development of human society in relation to religion is heading, namely, according to Nasr, that the facility implicit in universal cultural communication make it easier for one having good intentions to arrive at what is described as *al-ḥikmah al-'atīqah* or *sophia perennis*, which is none other than the *ḥanīfiyah* doctrine of Ibrahim (Madjid 199b, 7364-).

Madjid is also drawn to the ideas of other Perennialists. In one of his works, Madjid refers to Frithjof Schuon's *The Transcendent Unity of Religions* pertaining to the perspective of continuity of Abrahamic tradition. He likewise refers to Martin Lings' *Ancient Beliefs and Modern Superstitions*, pertaining to the issue of primordial man (Madjid 1995c, 213-216) and to the role of the intellect to perceive what things are within and beyond the cosmos (Madjid 1995d, 118). In one of his works, Madjid refers to Huston Smith on the matter of the significance of Islam as a source of liberation (Madjid 1992, 80).

Madjid believes that everyone has an awareness of what he or she considers central in life (Madjid 1999b, xi). The movement of Muslims to the Ka'ba, in the eyes of Madjid, can be considered as a symbol of movement to the Center (Madjid 2002, 158). At this point we begin to realize the affinity of Madjid's ideas to those of Nasr, in particular, and of the Perennialists, in general.

Madjid's concerns with the ideas of origin, symbol, and transcendental unity of religion, which are among the core ideas of Perennialism, can be perceived from the following quotation:

Religion is a system of symbols. When we give up on the system of symbols, we are being foolish. When we try to return to the Origin (Symbol), we will find the affinity. The symbol that is often used in Sufi circles is the Ka'bah. The Ka'bah is the symbol of the heart of religion²² and the religion of the heart... There is an expression; for the person who understands the heart of religion and religion of the heart, all religions become the same (although they remain different in their uniqueness) (Madjid 1998b, xxxviii-xxxix).

This reveals how the ideas of Madjid interact with those of the Perennialists, in general, and of Nasr, in particular. It seems that Madjid's appreciation for Perennialism can be found more clearly in his works after Nasr's visit to Indonesia in 1993. Madjid, according to Komaruddin Hidayat and Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis (1995, xii), also uses the analysis and method of Perennial philosophy, although in some ways he limits his use of it.

Madjid is convinced that all truths originate from God, the Truth (Madjid 1995d, 138). For him, the basis of that universal truth is *tawhīd*, the main mission of the messengers. Madjid proposes that it is *islām* in its generic sense (Madjid 1992, 180-181) which can be considered as the embodiment of that universal truth. Madjid goes on to explain that *islām* in its generic sense means submission to God; that is why the Qur'an states that all (authentic) religions are *islām*. Nevertheless one cannot hope to find the term *islām* in the nomenclature of other religions (Madjid 1998b, xxxv).

However Madjid is against American Futurists John Naisbitt and Patricia Aburdene when they say, "spirituality, yes; organized religion, no" (Madjid 1995d, 126). When we examine Nasr's works, we can discern the affinity of Madjid's position to that of Nasr, who holds the conviction that "spirituality cut off from living tradition is dangerous."

As far as Madjid is concerned, inter-religious dialogue pertaining to principles of faith is not only possible, but is also needed, if not obligatory (Madjid 1999b, 80). Pluralism, in the eyes of Madjid, is *sunnatullāh* (God's decree) (Madjid 1992, lxx). Madjid envisages that Islam teaches Muslims to have *al-ḥanafīyah al-samḥah*, that is, the spirit of seeking of truth patiently and tolerantly as well as without fanaticism (Madjid 1995d, 151). This spirit helps Muslims to find the affinity of (esoteric dimensions of) religions within the plurality of their exoteric dimensions.

Madjid's concern for pluralism within the Indonesian context pushes him to elaborate the significance of Pancasila²³—particularly its first principle—in dealing with the issues of religious pluralism. Madjid maintains that Pancasila can be considered the common platform (*kalimah sawā'*) of Indonesian people (Madjid 1995d, 76). It seems that Madjid is trying to place national discourses like Pancasila within the context of religious discourse as well as to discern

religions in their local contexts. This idea is addressed particularly to the Muslim community in Indonesia in order to help foster religious pluralism. That is why he employs the Qur'anic term *kalimah sawā'* to designate Pancasila.

If Madjid's philosophy of the affinities underlying religions can be called "perennial philosophy," the character of his "perennial philosophy" is Islamic, based on the idioms of Islam. To extend to a universal "perennial philosophy," Madjid must elaborate also the ideas and idioms of other religions and not only project the ideas and idioms of Islam onto other religions. However, one should note that Madjid's ideas are addressed to the Muslim community (in Indonesia) who tend to believe that their religion is the only truth (Munawar-Rachman 1993c, 8-10). The latter writings of Madjid seek to elaborate and synthesize his ideas with those of the Perennialists, although this is still not clear.

Interestingly, Madjid's concern for what he calls "universal theology" is problematic because of the implicit nature of theology (Munawar-Rachman 1993c, 10), which resembles a claim to truth and implies defence of a specific dogma. It can be concluded that Madjid's concern is "universal theology," while the concern of Nasr and other Perennialists is "universal perennial wisdom" (*sophia perennis universalis*).

Madjid points out that that the Qur'an suggests making use of reason in seeking after and accepting the truth, indicating that there is no contradiction between reason and religious experience. Moreover, Sufism, which deals with esoteric religiosity, is considered as the highest development of rationality (Madjid 1995b, 117).

The Sufis, in the eyes of Madjid, try to attain holistic truth in paradoxical forms. To attain this, they have to grasp the essence beyond its external appearances (Madjid 1995a, 478), which are, by nature, paradoxical and multiple. The concept of holistic knowledge and truth owes its origin to the Qur'anic story of the one attaining knowledge directly from God (*al-'ilm al-ladūnī*) (Madjid 1995a, 478). At this point we can grasp the affinity of Madjid's perspectives to those of Nasr. Madjid's treatment of *al-'ilm al-ladūnī* coincides with the knowledge Nasr describes as *scientia sacra*, or *al-'ilm al-ḥudūrī* in Suhrawardī's terminology.

Komaruddin Hidayat: His Appreciation for and Affinity with Seyyed Hossein Nasr's Ideas

Komaruddin Hidayat was born in Magelang, Central Java, on October 18, 1953. He pursued his education in two *pesantrens* in Central Java, namely the modern *pesantren* of Pabelan, Magelang (1969), and the *pesantren* of al-Iman, Magelang (1971). He went on to study Islamic Theology at IAIN Jakarta, from which he graduated in 1981. In 1990 he obtained his Ph. D. degree in the field of Western philosophy at the Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara, Turkey (Hidayat and Nafis 1995, 159). He is now a faculty member at UIN Jakarta and the Paramadina University. It is worth knowing that Nasr has students in Turkey (like Ibrahim Kalin). The German scholar Ernest Wolf-Gazo, who has been teaching in Turkey, is receptive to Nasr's ideas, as is apparent from some of his writings (Wolf-Gazo 2001, 277-303). It seems that it is through studying in such a milieu that Hidayat obtained further insight into Nasr's thought.

As for classical figures, Hidayat is appreciative, among others, of the Andalusian mystical philosopher Ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240) and Mulla Sadra (ca. 1571-2 to 1640). As for Indonesian figures, he is impressed by Harun Nasution (the former rector of IAIN Jakarta), and Nurcholish Madjid (Hidayat 2002, 230).

Komaruddin Hidayat wrote on the concept of man in the thought of Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Hidayat 1987) when he was still an undergraduate student. This shows that Hidayat was interested in the ideas of Nasr from the very beginning of his educational career.

Interestingly, Hidayat was also involved in the seminars Seyyed Hossein held in Jakarta at the end of June 1993. The topics of these seminars were "Islamic Art and Spirituality", "Spirituality, the Crisis of the Modern World, and Religion in the Future", and "Perennial Philosophy" (Azra 1993, 106). It seems that it was, among other avenues, through these seminars that Hidayat received the inspiration to write the book entitled *Agama Masa Depan: Perspektif Filsafat Perennial* (Religion of the Future: The Perspective of Perennial Philosophy).

In the dialogue session, Hidayat pointed out that another Iranian figure, namely Ali Shariati, was more popular than Nasr. For Hidayat, the ideas of Shariati are interesting, and for this reason have become more popular. The popularity of Shariati's ideas is due to the fact that

they are, in some ways, more workable, touching on the needs of *mustad'afun* (the oppressed), than those of Nasr (Azra 1993, 107).

The position of Hidayat towards Nasr is rather ambiguous; on the one hand, he is receptive to Nasr's ideas, particularly on Perennialism, and on the other hand, he considers Nasr's ideas to not be workable compared to those of Shariati. But it can also be said that this shows how Hidayat picks out perspectives and ideas from some thinkers that he regards as useful and meaningful in building his own perspective. This becomes clear when we examine his book in collaboration with Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, *Agama Masa Depan: Perspektif Filsafat Perennial*. This particular book in fact not only employs the perspective of Perennialism, but also the perspective of Postmodernism. In the preface of this book, Hidayat and Nafis assert that Perennial philosophy once became a topic of discussion in a newspaper in Jakarta; many were involved in this heated discussion. They also point out that this topic has been discussed among the staff of Paramadina (Hidayat and Nafis 1995, xi-xii).

Hidayat is also considered to be one of those who popularized Perennial philosophy in the Indonesian intellectual landscape. He once wrote an article entitled "Perennialism: An Alternative Approach in Studying Religion" (1993c; this article is republished in Hidayat 2014a). He distinguishes between "Religion"—as meta-historical and universal path to the Supreme Being—and "religion"—as experience in encountering the Supreme Being across the human's history. Elsewhere, Hidayat (2015, 40) points out that, "There is only One True Religion, but every believer tends to only embrace a religion." Hidayat's appreciation of Perennialism can be also observed from his article, "Religion for Humanity" (2014c), in which he underlines the metaphysical and perennial values within religion that are in line with the agenda of humanism.

Hidayat's article entitled "Schuon, Nasr and Cak Nur" (1993a) provides an exposition of the affinity between the three figures, namely Frithjof Schuon, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, and Nurcholish Madjid, who in some ways shaped his intellectual perspective. For Hidayat, there are affinities underlying the thoughts and positions of those three figures, for they pay more attention to the esoteric-inclusive aspects of Islam rather than its exoteric and exclusive domains. His article on "The Religion of the Future" (1994a) gives an elucidation of the religion and

religiosity of the future, employing, among others, the perspectives of Nasr and other Perennialists. In his article on “The Power of Religious Language” (1995), he makes use of the perspective of Perennialism, and refers specifically to Guénon’s *Fundamental Symbols: The Universal Language of Sacred Science*.

In the article on “Building a Dialogical and Inclusive Theology” (1998d), Hidayat underlines the necessity for a pluralistic and inclusive theology by, among other things, employing the Perennialists’ distinction between religious tradition and primordial religiosity. In his article on “The World’s Religions: The Problem of Development and Interrelation” (1998a), he investigates the main features of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism, and argues that there are universal principles underlying religions by referring to Frithjof Schuon’s *Survey of Metaphysics and Esoterism*, and an Indonesian translation of Huston Smith’s *World’s Religions*.

Hidayat’s article on “Spirituality without Religion?” (1992) attempts to argue that the mystical and spiritual dimensions within a particular religion can be alternatives to the modern need for spirituality, a similar stand point to that held by the Perennialists. The arguments contained in this article are then developed in Hidayat’s bestselling book entitled *Psikologi Kematian* (Psychology of Death, 2012a) most specifically in the section on “Spirituality and Human Anxiety”.

In the article on “Spirituality and Social Transformation” (1991), Hidayat shares with Nasr the idea that Sufism can be an intellectual-spiritual answer to the problem of alienation of modern man. In his article on “Man and the Process of Self-Perfection” (1995b), he exposes man in the perspective of Sufism and refers to Nasr’s works. Hidayat titles one of his chapters “The Heart of Religion is a Religion of the Heart” (2014b), and clearly indicates mysticism constitutes the essence of religion.

In addition, Hidayat’s appreciation of Nasr’s ideas and intellectual position can be observed through his introduction to *Passing Over: Melintasi Batas Agama* (Passing Over: Crossing the Boundaries of Religion) (1998, xiv-xvi), in which he highlights the tendencies of those who emphasize religiosity and spirituality in which the formal boundaries of religions become relative. One can easily move from one religion to another. Nasr is one of them. By such creative adventures, one can gain new horizons and perspectives. Hidayat likewise employs

the Perennialist perspective in the sense that he admits the genius of every religion in apprehending reality.

In his book *Wahyu di Langit Wahyu di Bumi: Doktrin dan Peradaban Islam di Panggung Sejarah* (Revelation in Heaven, Revelation on Earth: Islamic Doctrine and Civilization in History), Hidayat (2002, 6, 72) does his best to underline the significance of Perennial philosophy. He portrays it as a school that strives after the higher truth transcending positive-empirical truth, in solving the conflict of truth claims offered by every religion, inasmuch as this particular school seeks to grasp the universal messages of God beyond the different traditions, languages and symbols.

The main thesis of Hidayat's *Agama Punya Seribu Nyawa* (Religion Has a Thousand Souls) (2012b, xvii-xxii, 267-277) is that religion will always survive, despite the attacks of atheism and secularism, and this is grounded in two main reasons: (a) humans have a primordial need for the supreme Being and a meaningful life; (b) rationality alone could not become the parameters of truth, since the myths within religion may also contain truth and goodness which cannot be attained by reason (*logos*). It seems that Hidayat's first argument has been inspired by Perennialism (one of whose main proponents is Nasr). His second argument has been drawn from Karen Armstrong's *The Case of God: What Religion Really Means*.

Concluding Remarks

When one observes the intellectual terrain of "Indonesian Islam," particularly those elements of it that I have identified in this paper, the level of appreciation for Nasr's ideas in Indonesia becomes clear. It is especially the notions of Perennialism, "traditional Islam," and *scientia sacra* that throw light on the process by which his ideas have taken root and gained influence and acceptance in Indonesia. Although Nasr is not the only one to have exerted influence through the discourse on Perennialism in Indonesia, he is the most well-known Perennialist to Indonesian audiences. It is surprising that those responsible for disseminating Nasr's ideas into Indonesian intellectual contexts, such as Komaruddin Hidayat, Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, Budhy Munawar-Rachman, Abdul Hadi WM, and Kautsar Azhari Noer, are not direct students of Nasr himself.

Nurcholish Madjid, to some extent, is receptive to Nasr's ideas and perspectives. When we closely examine Madjid's works, we can discern

the place of Nasr's perspective in Madjid's structure of thought. At this point we discover the affinity between the perspective of Nasr and that of Madjid concerning such issues as Perennialism, religious pluralism, the crisis inherent in the paradigm of modern science, and immediate knowledge from God. It is evident that Madjid is trying to synthesize some of Nasr's ideas with those developed in Ibn Taymiyya's tradition of thought, such as the notions of *islām*, *fiṭrah*, and *ḥanīf*. It is of note that the notion of Perennialism, which helps foster Madjid's perspective, does not solely belong to Nasr, however it is Nasr's Perennialism which has exerted the more distinctive influence in Madjid's thought.

Nevertheless, we likewise come across dissimilarities between the two concerning, for instance, the interplay between Islam, tradition, and modernity. This is because, on the one hand, Madjid represents the Neo-Taymiyyan school (the heirs to Ibn Taymiyya's tradition of thought in the contemporary world), while on the other hand, Nasr stands for the Neo-Suhrawardian school (the heir to Suhrawardi's tradition of thought in the contemporary world).

Komaruddin Hidayat has shown intense interest in Nasr's ideas, such as those concerning Perennialism, religious pluralism, and spirituality. When we study the works and thought structure of Hidayat, we become conscious that he has drawn on Suhrawardi's tradition of thought, and particularly the thought of Mulla Sadra, one of the many thinkers of the Suhrawardi tradition. Nevertheless, he cannot be deemed to be an heir to Suhrawardi's tradition of thought; it is Nasr who is entitled to this designation. This is because he likewise appreciates Ibn Taymiyya's tradition of thought as developed by, *inter alia*, Fazlur Rahman and Nurcholish Madjid.

The present-day state of "Indonesian Islam" has not appeared suddenly from nowhere, but it is the result of a long process of encounters with varied streams of Islamic religiosity from other parts of the world. Nasr belongs to those who influenced the religious field in Indonesia and accordingly contributed to shape distinctive character of "Indonesian Islam." Nasr's perennial ideas provide the philosophical foundation of religious pluralism. He emphasizes the common esoteric dimension of varied religions, and this in some ways has an impact on the discourse about esoterism and exoterism within the circle of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals. It is worth remarking that the stress on esoteric dimensions of religiosity and the disrespect of formalism constitute the nature of present-day discourse of "Indonesian Islam."

Nasr's criticism of modernism and modernity is not so influential in Indonesia. This is due to the competing viewpoint of Madjid, which underlines the positive features of both modernism and modernity. Nasr's criticism of modernity, however, left an impression in the mind of some Indonesian intellectuals, and made them more aware of the crisis of the modern world, most particularly the spiritual and environmental crises. These Indonesian intellectuals share with Nasr the conviction on the necessity of spirituality which is grounded on living religious traditions.

Nasr's popularity in Indonesia is not merely due to his Perennialist ideas but also due to the fact that he represents an advocate of living Islamic philosophy, which survives in the Persian world most notably in the form of the School of Illumination. Nasr's integration of philosophy and mysticism attracts the attention of a number of Indonesian intellectuals. Some of them even admitted that Nasr's perspective in some ways shapes their intellectual outlook. It goes without saying that Nasr's influence in the Indonesian landscape is more in the realm of intellectualism not on activism or social movements.

Endnotes

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1. In this collected volume, we can come across such names as ‘Abdullah Schleifer, Abul Fadl Mohsin Ebrahim, Alan Godlas, Amira El-Zein, Caner K. Dagli, David Cain, David Dakake, Emma Clark, Ejaz Akram, Fatimah Ali, Grace A. Brame, Gisela Webb, Ibrahim V. Pourhadi, Jane I. Smith, John A. Grim, John O. Voll, Joseph E. Lumbard, Laleh Bakhtiar, Latifah-Parvin Peerwani, Luce Lopez-Baralt, Mary Evelyn Tucker, Md. Salleh Yaapar, Mehdi Amin Razavi, Mohammad H. Faghoory, Muhiaddin Mesbahi, Oliver Leaman, Osman Bakar, Patrick Laude, Ramin Jahanbegloo, Reza Shah-Kazemi, Sachiko Murata, Terry Moore, Vivienne SM. Angeles, and William C. Chittick.
 2. Nasr is fascinated by Guénon’s critique of Western science. Guénon criticizes Western science as a product of reductionism, since it is cut off from the principles of a higher order and is only concerned with limited domain of reality (Abaza 2000, 94).
 3. Persian philosopher and historian Abu ‘Ali Ahmad ibn Miskawayh (932-1030) introduced the term *al-hikmah al-khālidah* as the title of his book (see: Javidan Khirad (*al-Hikmat al-Khalida*), Ms. Leiden Or. 640). Comparing the structure of this book with that of Aldous Huxley’s *The Perennial Philosophy* (1945) shows the similarities between the two.
 4. Huston Smith (1984) tries to pick out some important points of Nasr’s Perennialism, namely deduction, the intellect and its role, the great chain of being, and Esotericism.
 5. The term Peripatetic is ascribed to the heirs to Aristotle’s philosophical tradition. The term Peripatetics then is identical with Aristotelianism. This particular school supports the notion of “worldly realism” rejecting Platonic transcendent forms. Unlike other schools which are concerned with providing a way of life, Peripatetics emphasize a disinterested theoretical inquiry (Sharples, 1998: 304-305).
 6. Hermetism owes its origins to Hermes Trismegistus, Egyptian god of wisdom and science. Hermetism then can be understood simply as the teachings and philosophy of this primeval figure. This particular outlook represents a combination of Greek philosophy with Egyptian and other Near Eastern elements. It is concerned with the philosophical-esoteric teachings on god, man, and universe and with Gnosis as an intuitive and immediate knowledge of God and self (Procope 1998, 395-397).
 7. Zoroastrianism originates from the word Zoroaster, the holy prophet of the ancient religion of Iran. The main teaching of Zoroastrianism is there exists a creator of the universe and source of all goodness, namely Ahura Mazda. Evil, in Zoroastrian teachings, originates from another source, namely Angra Mainyu. This religion is based on soteriological and eschatological vision, aimed at deliverance through the alignment with divine will. It also teaches the harmony of human being and cosmos (William 1998, 872-874).
 8. Pythagoreanism owes its origins to the teachings of Pythagoras (sixth century B.C.). This particular school represents an amalgam of religious, philosophical and mathematical speculations. Its main doctrines are the immortality of the soul and its

- possibility to migrate into other domain of reality, therefore one has to purify his soul. In Pythagorean point of view, numbers always retained a mystical significance as a key to divine cosmos (Chibli 1998, 857-859).
9. Platonism is the outlook and the body of doctrine associated with Plato (d. 347 B.C.), an outstanding classical Greek philosopher. This school is based on the dualism of the One—defining principle—and the indefinite dyad—material principle. The Platonists are convinced of the existence of Platonic Forms which are identical with God's thoughts. In ethics, they hold the conviction that the goal of life is likeness to God (Dillon 1998, 421-424).
 10. As for the sources of Suhrawardi's philosophy see: Nasr 1964, 60-61; Corbin 1977, 10-14. See also : *Hikmat al-Isbrāq*, MS Leiden Or. 753, 1-3.
 11. This term is indeed stated in Suhrawardi's introduction to his book, *Hikmat al-Isbrāq* (see: MS Leiden Or. 753, 2-3; Corbin 1977, 10-12).
 12. Such knowledge is self-evident, attainable through intellection (Razavi 1997, 90-91).
 13. The notion of light and its hierarchy is also developed and elaborated in another of Suhrawardi's books (*Hayākil al-Nūr*, 1916).
 14. On the structure of *Hikmat al-Isbrāq* see: Ms Leiden Or. 753; Corbin 1977, 1-260; Walbridge 1992, 28-29.
 15. It is important to note that in the eyes of Muhammad Arkoun, such figures as Suhrawardi, Mir Damad, Mulla Sadra, and Seyyed Hossein Nasr are more aptly called theosophists rather than philosophers (Arkoun, 2004). The designation of Suhrawardi, Mir Damad, and Mulla Sadra as theosophists also appears in the works of Seyyed Hossein Nasr. And Nasr regards himself as being the heir to this tradition of thought, which was the later form of the development of Islamic philosophy—which tries to synthesize philosophy and Gnosis. Islamic philosophy thus comes in two different main streams: rationalistic and spiritualistic. Looking at the rationalistic tendency, we can name such figures as al-Farabi, Ibn Baja, and Ibn Rushd. And in the spiritualistic tendency we come across such names as Suhrawardi, Mir Damad, and Mulla Sadra. Both are valid and within the boundaries of Islamic philosophy.
 16. In 2002, the Syarif Hidayatullah State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) Jakarta was transformed into the Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta.
 17. See: *Islam dalam Cita dan Fakta*, translated by Abdurrahman Wahid and Hashim Wahid from *Ideals and Realities of Islam*. Abdurrahman Wahid, the former president of Indonesia, and his brother, Hashim Wahid are deemed to be the first translators of a book by Nasr into Indonesian. Consequently they played an important role in introducing the thoughts of Nasr into Indonesia.
 18. See, for instance, Abdul Hadi WM's articles, "Kembali ke Akar Tradisi: Sastra Transendental dan Kecenderungan Sufistik Kepengarangan di Indonesia," (1992, 12-29) —in which he refers to Nasr's works *Sacred Art in Persian Culture*; "Semangat Profetik Sastra Sufi dan Jejaknya dalam Sastra Modern," (1989, 102-112)—in which he refers to Indonesian translations of Nasr's *Ideals and Realities of Islam* and *Sufi Essays*; "Kembali ke Akar Kembali ke Sumber," (1998, 8-18)—in which he employs Nasr's perspective on "tradition" and refers to Nasr's *Knowledge and the Sacred* and the Indonesian translation of *Islamic Art and Spirituality*; "Ta'wil sebagai Teori Sastra dan Bentuk Hermeneutika Islam," (2002); "Syeikh Hamzah Fansuri," (1994, 48-56)—in which he refers to Nasr's *Islamic Art and Spirituality*; "Meister Eickhart dan Rumi: Antara Misticisme Makrifah dan Cinta" (2002); and "Krisis Manusia Modern: Tinjauan Falsafah terhadap Scientisme and Relativisme Kultural" (2003).
 19. Abdul Hadi WM (2002c) mentions his colleagues at USM such as Md. Salleh Yaapar. This intellectual contact continued, among other avenues, through the "*Istiqlal*

- International Poetry Reading-Festival *Istiqlal II 1995*" (Jakarta, October 18-22, 1995), in which both WM and Yaapar participated (Discussion with Yaapar, March 9, 2005).
20. Madjid's equation of *fiṭrah* to the concepts of Perennialism is relatively new. In his early writings, Madjid exposes the concept of *fiṭrah* as an elaboration of Taymiyya's notion of *fiṭrah*. Madjid frequently refers to Taymiyya's distinction of *al-fiṭrah al-ghārizīyah* (instinctive *fiṭrah*) and *al-fiṭrah al-munāzalah* (revealed *fiṭrah*). There should be cooperation between the two, namely between the heart and revelation (Madjid, 1987: 8-10).
 21. See: Ibn Miskawayh, Javidan Khirad (*al-Hikmah al-Khālidah*), Ms. Leiden Or. 640. Ibn Miskawayh (932-1030) was a Persian philosopher and historian.
 22. The notion of religion of the heart can be clearly seen in Seyyed Hossein Nasr and William Stoddart, eds. (1991).
 23. Pancasila is Indonesia's national philosophy. It constitutes five interrelated principles: a belief in one God, humanity, unity of Indonesia, democracy, and social justice.

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5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
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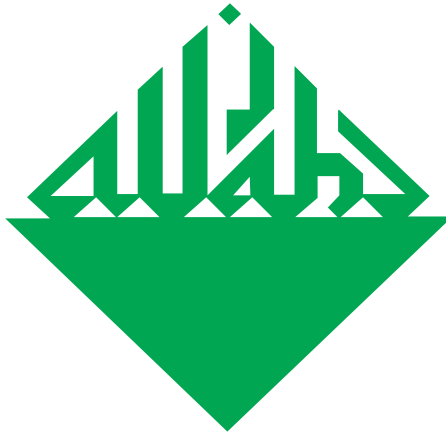
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