

HASBULLAH BAKRY AND THE REFUTATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN POST COLONIAL INDONESIA¹

Ismatu Rofi

Abstraksi

Hubungan Islam-Kristen di Indonesia sedikit banyak telah menarik perhatian para sarjana Barat maupun sarjana Indonesia sendiri. Salah satunya adalah Hasbullah Bakry. Pria kelahiran 25 Juli 1926 di Palembang ini berasal dari keluarga terpelajar yang agamis yang mengelola sebuah pesantren di Muaradua, Palembang - Sumatra Selatan.

Pemahaman Hasbullah Bakry terhadap Kristen merupakan pemahaman seorang Muslim yang selalu mengaitkan dan mendasarkan persepsi intelektualnya kepada ayat-ayat Qur'an tentang Kristen.

Hasbullah Bakry telah berusaha mengetengahkan pandangannya tentang Kristen melalui tulisan-tulisannya yang berbeda cara pandangnya dengan para pemikir sebelumnya. Salah satu pendapatnya antara lain menguraikan eratnya hubungan keluarga antara nabi Ismail yang dianggap pembentuk bangsa Arab dengan Nabi Ya'kub, yang dianggap bapak bangsa Israel.

Tulisan ini berusaha menggambarkan perkembangan Kristen di Indonesia sejak pertama kali datang di Indonesia sampai saat ini serta hubungan Islam-Kristen yang pada kenyataannya sangat kompleks.

Tanpa mengesampingkan pembahasan mengenai polemik yang terjadi diantara pemeluk Islam dan Kristen terutama para sarjananya, Hasbullah Bakry telah berusaha memberikan solusi yang mungkin dapat diterima kedua belah pihak mengenai persepsi umat Islam terhadap ajaran-ajaran Kristen yang banyak menimbulkan polemik maupun persoalan hubungan keagamaan yang kompleks antar pemeluk Islam dan Kristen.

ملخص

ان علاقة الاسلام والنصرانية قد لفتت اهتمام علماء الغرب و إندونيسيا منهم حسب الله بكرى أحد علماء إندونيسيا الذي ولد في ٢٥ من يوليو سنة ١٩٢٦ بباليمبانج، جاء العالم من الأسرة المدرسية الاسلامية التي أدارت معهداً بموارادوا - باليمبانج سومطره الجنوبيه.

كانت نظرية حسب الله بكرى في النصرانية نظرية المسلم الذي رأى هذا الدين من وجهة نظر الإسلام فلعله بالآيات القرآنية المتعلقة به. وفي إظهار آرائه عنه كتب رسائل ومقالات حيث رمى الآراء مخالفة لأراء العلماء قبله. ومن آرائه أنه قاس قرب صلة الاسلام والنصرانية بقرب صلة اسماعيل جد العرب ويعقوب جد بنى اسرائيل.

تصور هذه المقالة نمو النصرانية بإندونيسيا منذ مجئه حتى يومنا الآن، وكذلك تصور علاقة الإسلام والنصرانية المنعقدة.

بغض البصر عن القضايا المتنازعة بين المسلمين والنصارى وخصوصاً علمائهم جاء حسب الله بكرى بحل حيث قبله الظرفان فيما يتعلق بنظرية المسلمين في تعاليم النصرانية التي توقع النزاع أو في قضية الصلة الدينية المنعقدة بين المسلمين والنصارى.

THE history of relations between Islam and Christianity in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago has been predominantly one of long-lasting discord which is more complex than just a contention between two communities or two systems of belief. It is a subject that has been little discussed by scholars, in spite of the fact that the four countries extending from the sixteenth to the beginning of the twentieth were a transitional period during which Indonesia was the scene of many religio-political contacts and encounters between these two Abrahamic religions stem-

ming from political reason derived from centuries of colonialization, which inevitably shaped the attitudes of Muslims towards their Christian overlords, and economic born of commercial competition as well as theological reason. The latter reason had let to both religions considering their respective massages from God to be the most relevant for all people everywhere, and hence to a commitment to proselytization (*da'wah* in Islam and *mission* in Christianity) has become a fundamental ingredient in the battle between the two religions. In short, the relations between the two communities have been formed through the dialectic of cooperation and conflict, tolerance and hatred, dialogue and debate throughout Indonesia history.²

This paper will examine the tensions between Islam and Christianity in Indonesia by providing albeit in brief an example of a disputant in the modern Indonesia, who is a prominent Moslim scholar in the post-colonial era, namely Hasbullah Bakry. The aim of this short paper is to analyze the method and themes he chose in depicting the essence of Christianity.³

Biblical Criticism, Missionary Activities and Moslim Apologies

The nineteenth century has been identified as a century in which religion became the subject of much analysis and criticism. It was also the era during which missionary activity into the eastern world reached its zenith. During that century, Biblical criticism and the emphasis on the rational analysis of religion, influenced by the spirit of the Enlightenment, had been vigorously adopted in European universities and churches.⁴ Hence, scholars and theologians at the time began examining the stories of miracles and historical events in the Bible, and investigating all the historical evidence provided by the holy scriptures concerning the trinity, the deification of Jesus Christ, His crucifixion and the resurrection in the light of rational scientific thought. As a result, many Christian doctrines were labeled as obsolete, doubtful or even superstitious; and a number of Christian authors did readily admit to the imperfection of some religious teachings. Some scholars went as far as totally rejecting the Christian faith entirely or at least, perceiving dogmas in a skeptical light.

Not surprisingly, some Muslims took advantage of this trend in Christian theological thought, and enthusiastically welcomed these doubts concerning Christian dogma. They used these doubts to affirm that Islam was the true interpretation of God's message and that Christianity

had been corrupted in the course of time. Consequently, from that time on, Muslims no longer bothered to defend Islam simply by evaluating Christian doctrine in the traditional way, as had been the practice of earlier scholars like al-Ghazali or Ibn Hazm, but took advantage of the recent developments in Biblical criticism which had introduced a more open and historical approach to the study of Christianity. A most glaring example of this trend is to be gleaned in the writings of a prominent Indian apologist, al-Kairanawi, in his *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*.⁵ This pattern was later adopted by the Egyptian scholars Muḥammad 'Abduh⁶ and Sayyid Quṭb.⁷

However, along the development of this skeptical trend, an opposite phenomenon started to gain ground in Christianity, namely, a strong spirit of evangelization. This spirit swept through the Christian community and continued to dominate it throughout the nineteenth century, resulting in the emergence of an unprecedented number of missionary movements, which assumed the responsibility for preaching the gospel. As a result, a number of young christians were sent to Asia and Africa in order to preach salvation through Christianity.⁸

In the case of Indonesia, as Alwi Shihab points out, the nineteenth century might rightfully called the "age of mission". It was a time when numerous young devout Christians (of the Mennonite society in particular), "longed to perform heroic deeds for Christ, which they despaired of performing at home, felt prompted to leave for Indonesia."⁹ However, in spite of the fact that the preaching of the Gospel was initially intended to answer the religious needs of the colonial residents, missionary activists also forcefully tried to attract the indigenous people to convert to Christianity. Thus, this missionary zeal, together with the generous financial support of the colonial government led to the birth of premature conversion of many indigenous Indonesia;¹⁰ and, as is noted, the first church to be established by the indigenous Javanese Christian populace was built in central Java in about 1895.¹¹

The endeavor to convert people in a predominantly Muslim area has always been arduous and slow, and the Indonesian archipelago proved no exception to this rule. Therefore, when an effort was launched to convert the Muslim community in Java, it was met with fierce political resistance. This resistance was engendered by theological as well as cultural reasons. For instance, this resistance acquired an antiforeign hue and was portrayed as an indigenous effort to pressure the native cultural identity from the onslaught of foreign influence. Neil for instance shows that be-

coming Christian was always portrayed as identical to losing one's cultural identity. Consequently, some Javanese were not baptized in order to keep their true Javanese character.¹²

As a result of the hardship and slow growth of the Christian community in the archipelago, the missionary agenda was later carefully re-examined, and as Alwi Shihab explains, "they [missionaries] argued that Christianity ought to anticipate Islam in those regions into which Islam had not penetrated."¹³ Hence, missionaries began to consolidate their hold in the remote areas which had not yet been touched by Muslims, while at the same time disparaging Islam in the area of literature as a number of missionaries did. A case in point is F.L. Bakker, a prominent native-Dutch scholar who wrote *"Lord Jesus in the Religion of Islam"* in order to convince Indonesian readers of the influence of Christian doctrines upon Muhammad when he formed Islam and that Muhammad's imagination had led him to believe that he was the chosen prophet for the Arabs, as Moses had been for the Jews and Jesus Christ for the Christians.¹⁴ The publication of this book in 1957 opened the gate of controversy between the Muslim and Christian communities in post colonial Indonesia and engendered a most influential reply by Hasbullah Bakry, a former lecturer on comparative religions at the Sekolah Pendidikan Hakim Islam Negeri (National Islamic Judicial School) of Jogjakarta.

Hasbullah Bakry and Christianity in Indonesia

There is scant information regarding Bakry's biographical record except for the fact that he was born on Palembang in 25th of July 1926 into an educated religious family. His father, K.H. Muhammad Bakry, was a prominent 'alim an owner of a Pesantren (Islamic boarding shool) in Muaradua Palembang, South Sumatra. He received a classical education in his father's pesantren before attending a junior high school in 1944. From there, he went on to become a student of the law (syariah?) department at the state center for higher education for Islamic studies (*Perguruan Tingga Agama Islam Negeri [PTAIN]*) in Jogjakarta. During the Japanese occupation, Bakry became very active in PETA (Perwira Gyugun) which made him to become a military official in the area of post independence. He was later to occupy the prestigious position of councilor for Pusroh POLRI (the center for spiritual care of the Indonesian police), a position which he held until he retired.

In replying to Bakker, Bakry displays a certain measure of acquaintance with the actual text of the Bible. He also covers a wide range of topics and exhibits an unrivaled degree of knowledge about Christian doctrines. Indeed, in *Isa dalam Qur'an Muhammad dalam Bible*, he not only refutes Bakker's notions regarding Muhammad, but also tackles fundamental elements of Christian dogmas in which two dominant subjects appear to be at play. Two cases in point are the Trinity with its connection to the deification of Jesus and the description of Muhammad in the Holy Scripture.¹⁵ A few other subjects are discussed, albeit in brief, like the deviations of Christian theologians and ritual performance. Nevertheless, no other subject is treated as fully as these two fundamental questions.

Bakry's way of understanding Christianity is characterized by a close scrutiny of Christian beliefs, in which he does not separate out the biblical interpretation from his own intellectual perception of the Qur'anic verses concerning Christianity.¹⁶ His antitude, like that of many other Muslim scholars, accept the Biblical text when it agrees with the Qur'an, but rejects it when discrepancies appear between the two, preferring the Qur'an instead.¹⁷ Thus, by using the Qur'an vision of the Bible, Bakry manages to prove that the concept of the Trinity did not originate in the teaching of Jesus and that Jesus was only an ordinary human being who was sent by God to the Israelites.¹⁸ Therefore, with the trinity denied and portrayed as a logical contradiction due to its multiple divine entities and its ambiguity, the deification of Jesus is also rejected as it obviously deviates from the monotheistic teachings to which Muslims adhere. Consequently, quoting Van Onck's notion *on Islam de Krachth die de Wereld der Moslims beweegt*, Bakry defines the doctrine as a "*teori ketuhanan yang licik semata-mata*" (a subtle theological theory) which is as yet an incomplete and unconvincing problem for the Christian theologians.¹⁹ Besides their logical contradiction, he further argues, the trinity and the deification of Jesus have been proven to be ahistorical. Bakry also goes on to claim that this doctrine, which was not known in the early stages of Christianity, was introduced into the Christian community by saint Paul, a converted Jew. Therefore, because it was not introduced by Jesus, as Bakry maintains, it must have been challenged by those devout Christians who tried to adhere to his authentic teaching, and who believed that Jesus taught that no one is to be invoked besides the Heavenly Father.²⁰

Moreover, in discussing the reliability of the Biblical description of the last prophet, unlike many early Muslim scholar who believe that the descriptions of Muhammad had been glued²¹ or removed or excluded from the scriptures,²² Bakry maintains an interesting position. This position was somewhat two-side. It delivers, on the one hand, a strong accusations to the Christians for concealing, distorting and falsifying the Scriptures, while on the other hand, making use of certain Biblical verses to demonstrate that many of them may be authentic, especially those dealing with the description of Muhammad and the rise of Islam; for he admits those to be truthful and accurate divine revelation.²³

This tendency to use Biblical material can be spotted for he collected the Biblical verses that are then quoted them in an almost literal fashion. thus, he takes Deuteronomy 18: 17-22, Isaiah 42: 1 and 4, Jeremiah 31: 31-32, Daniel 2: 38-45, Malachi 3: 1-2 from the Old Testament as well as Matthew 3 : 1-3 and 4: 17, and Mark 1: 14-15 from the New Testament and utilizes them as his major discussion points on the prophecy of Muhammad.²⁴ This, however, is no more than such a continuation of a medieval polemic. Moreove, it is quite obvious that the biblical verses were not quoted for their narrative of historical significance, but for the purpose of convincing Muslims of his points of view especially in emphasizing the notion that Islam is the last religion and Muhammad is the last messenger. In short, his attention to the "promising texts" is designed more to reinforce Muslim conviction than ascertain historical approval.

Bakry's methods of interpretation, however, has been recognized as a novel one by Indonesian Muslims. His extensive quotations from the Bible and his straight-forward approach to using them is seen as an interesting new development in the history of polemical inter-faith writings, particulary in the genre concerned with the refutation of Christianity in Indonesia. A brief example of this can be seen in Bakry's "Islamic interpretation" of Deuteronomy 18: 17(*prophet from among their brethren*) as follows:

This explains that the prophesied Prophet would rise from among the brothers of the Israelites but did not belong to the Israelites themselves. One of the brothers of Israel was Ismael (the founder of the Arabs), because Ismael was the elder brother of Isaac the father of Israel (Jacob). And the Prophet Mohammad clearly belonged to the Ismaelites (son of Ismael).²⁵

Furthermore, in explaining the Biblical references of the coming of Muhammad, Bakry lays particular emphasis on these "promising texts" which he consider to be authentic references to the revelation Muhammad. His interpretation of John 14: 16 (*'He will give you another counselor to be with you for ever'*) is worth quoting:

It means that the counselor will be the last prophet, and no other counselor will appear after his coming, and can bring new law. And the religious laws of that counselor will be valid until Dooms day. That prophet will be the last prophet (*khataman al-nabiyyin*) whose laws will regulate the needs of mankind until eternity.²⁶

In refuting the divine nature of Jesus, Bakry does not restrict his defence to a mere devaluation of the Christian creed by simply praising Islam. He makes use of the quotations taken from 'Ata ur-Rahim's *Jesus: Prophet of Islam*²⁷ which deal with the story of Michael Servetus who had lost his faith in the Trinity and who called believers in Trinity trinitarians and atheists.²⁸ He also mentions the letter of testimony from Adam Nueser, a former preacher in Heidelberg Germany, who embraced Islam and later asked for the protection of Sultan Salim II of Turkey (1566-1574). Similarly, he quotes a passage from Joseph Priestly's *History of the Corruption of Christianity* which illustrates five principles of Christian corruption.²⁹ Furthermore, quoting modern Christian theologians of unitarianism, Bakry argues that the doctrine concerning the deification Christ taught by Paul, John and the councils of Nicaea, Ephesus and Chalcedon is not that which Jesus taught but that which the Christian conscience conceived concerning Jesus Christ.³⁰

Bakry's answers to Bakker's work are of considerable value to our understanding of Muslim-Christian polemic in the later period. He builds a 'negative' illustration of Christianity to affirm the 'positive' one of Islam as the true religion. With regard to Bakker's notion that at the beginning of the mission it came to Muhammad's imagination that he had been sent as an apostle to the Arabs, like Moses to the Israelites and Jesus to the Christians, Bakry's argument in reply is deserving of quotation in full :

Our answer runs : in the words of his own sentence Dr. Bakker is already not *objective*. The people of Arabia truly exist, so also the people of Israel, but where is the people of Christianity? When we speak about the *Moslem people* or the *Christian people*, then we mean by that the people who *adhere to the Moslem faith* or those who *adhere the Christian faith*. About the prophet Mohammad being sent to the people of Arabia, we ask : Where is the verse,

one verse, in the Qur'an, which can be used as an argument for it? None! The prophet Mohammad was, according the Qur'an, sent to all mankind as the Last Prophet, as was prophesied by prophets and apostles previously sent particulary to their own peoples.³¹

It is also interesting to note his smooth answer to the question of whether Muhammad knew anything about the formulation of the Trinity according to Scripture and whether he misperceived Christians as the worshippers of God, Jesus and Mary. He simply says :

It is true that the prophet Mohammad did not know whether the

Trinity is formulated in the Scripture, just as Jesus himself did not know whether the Trinity is according to scripture. So also the prophet Abraham, for the Trinity was merely a speculative formulation of Athanasius himself. If God has the attributes of the Trinity, why did the prophets of the Old Testament not mention it? Had the God, the One God of the Old Testament changed Himself into the God of the Trinity in the New Testament? Impossible. Moreover Jesus himself did not teach about the Trinity in the New Testament.³³

Yet, in spite of his belief that the initial dissemination of Christianity in the archipelago had been closely associated with colonialism, Bakry stresses that the history of relations between the two faith and communities seems in some way to have had a dynamic of its own which has not been completely negative. In many cases, he affirms, Muslims and Christians have shared a common platform in order to achieve a better life for both communities. Indeed, Muslims and Christians alike have been actively involved in developing the country in the socio-economic and political spheres.³³ It can be seen therefore that in both communities there is a potential catalyst for change and mutual cooperation in the field of social development.

This positive appreciation of each other, however, is becoming increasingly fragile and sour with the rapid growth in conversion to Christianity. Moreover, these new converts inflict unnecessary pain upon Muslims by expressing their sentiments towards their previous faith on in the light of theological legitimacy, as may be seen in the cases of Yusuf Roni and Hamran Ambrie, who converted from Islam to Christianity.³⁴ According to Bakry, the sentimental expression of new converts, particulary to Christianity, threatens to propel the relationship between the two communities into mutual hostility and theological opposition. Therefore,

in order to reduce this negative atmosphere, the only way seems to be for the government to control the missionary activities in Indonesian world.³⁵

Concluding Remarks

This paper has tried to provide a brief introduction to the depiction of Christianity in the Indonesian archipelago from the early period to present century. It can be clearly observed that such a discussions had been greatly influenced by similar discussion in other parts of the Muslim world. Indeed, the influence of erudite Muslim writers, from all parts of the Muslim world, can be blatantly discerned in the arguments of fellow Indonesian Muslims. Written for a Muslim audience, these works aimed at preventing Indonesian Muslims from abandoning their own religion, that is Islam, and to convince some Christians about the falsify of their doctrines. On this level, therefore, one can declare that to some extent, there is nothing very new in Bakry's depiction of Christianity since it follows the pattern promulgated by other Muslim authors and bases his response and reaction on a literal interpretation of Qur'anic verses. However, one can also argue that he represents a unique reaction against the intrusive Christianization of the archipelago in their respective era. Hence, the response and attitude should be seen in the context of the complex relationship existing between the two communities over the centuries, and in relation to the need of Muslims to defend their religion from being influenced by a foreign power wielding religion as one of its weapons in the drive for colonial hegemony. *Allah 'alam bi al-sawab.*

End Notes

¹ The earlier draft of this writing was presented to the International Conference on "The Methodological Problems in the Study of Religion" held in Montreal Quebec February 21-23, 1997. I would like to thank Dr. Alwi Shihab of Hartford Seminary and Professor Howard M. Federspiel of Ohio University for their valuable advises, comments and constructive criticism. Those are, however, not responsible for any mistake and error I may make in this writing.

² See, Olaf Schuermann, "Christian-Muslim Encounter in Indonesia," *Christian Muslim Encounters*, eds. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Wadi Z. Haddad (Gainesville : University Press of Florida, 1988), 285-287.

³ In spite of these simplistic assertions, the history of relations between Islam and Christianity in Indonesia seems in some sense to have a dynamic of its own which has not been completely negative, for we know that Muslim writings are not solely polemical

character. Today, there are many writings and efforts calling for practical cooperation and common action, as seen in the establishment of the Institute for Inter-faith Dialogue (DIAN) by Djohan Effendi and Th. Sumartana. Other writings include those directed towards a positive dialogue in different forms proposed by Nurcholish Majid or Abdurrahman Wahid as well as narrative writings on the general history of religion such as Mahmud Yunus 'al-Adyan. In this article I would only show the approach taken and the themes focused on by Indonesian Muslim apologist in responding to the growth of Christianity in their own time. For information on the typology of Islamic response to other religions, see Jacques Waardenburg, "Twentieth-Century Muslim Writing on Other Religions: A Proposed Typology," *in Proceedings Union Europeenne Des Arabisants et Islamisants 10 th Congress* ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Edinburgh: PUEDAI, 1982), 107-114.

⁴ Christines Schirrmacher, "Muslim Apologetics and The Agra Debates of 1854: A Nineteenth Century Turning Point," *The Buletin of The Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies* 13, no.1 (1) (January-June 1994), 78-79.

⁵ Rahmat Allah al-Hindi al-Kairanawi, *Izhar al-Haqq*, ed. Ahmad Hijazi al-Saqqa (Al-Qahira: Dar al-Turath, 1977).

⁶ Muhammad 'Abduh, "Al-Islām wa al-Nasrāniyya" in *Al-A'māl al-Kāmil li al-Imām Muhammād 'Abduh*, ed. Muhammad 'Imārā (Beirut, n.p., 1972).

⁷ Sayyid Qutb, *Fi zilāl al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Ma'had al-Buhūth al-Islāmī, 1980).

⁸ Christine Schirrmacher, "Muslim Apologetics and The Agra Debates of 1854," 79.

⁹ Alwi Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement and its Controversy with Christian Mission," (Ph.D.diss., Temple University, 1995), 39.

¹⁰ Watt has clearly demonstrated that in the case of Indonesia, the intimate attachment between the missionary activities and the official Dutch representatives has led to the transformation of the missionary movements into an effective arm of colonialism. William Montgomery Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters* (London: routledge, 1991), 104-105. Suminto proved that the Dutch governmental financial support for missionary activities had been either doubled or tripled and consequently had become the subject of envy and hatred among the Muslims. Niels also stated that many churches were sponsored by either the central government in Holland or the representative colonial government and that the minister received a cash bonus from the government for every convert. See: Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990) and Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Book Ltd., 1979), 190-191; 224. Sidjabat, however, strongly disagreed with this notion of intimate religio-political relationship. He believed that the missionary movement had never been a mean of colonialism in Indonesia because the early evangelists in Indonesia were not Dutch. Walter Bonar Sidjabat, *Panggilan Kita di Indonesia Dewasa Ini* [Our Present Call in Indonesia] (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1964). See his other book, *Religious Tolerance and the Christian Faith: A Study Concerning The Concept of Divine Omnipotence in the Indonesian Constitute in the Light of Islam and Christianity* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1965).

¹¹ Th. Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads: Indigenous Churches, European Missionaries, Islamic Association and Socio-Religious Change in Java 1812-1936* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1993), 63-66.

¹² Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 192.

¹³ Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," 41.

¹⁴ F.L. Bakker, *Tuhan Yesus dalam Agama Islam* [Lord Jesus in the Religion of Islam] (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1957), 4, 15, 17.

¹⁵ This refutation, according to Bakry, was necessary in order to protect Islam from being corrupted by the Christians or being misunderstood by nominal Muslims as well as to draw the attention of those Muslim families who were about to adopt the Christian faith and to remind them of the errors of Christianity. This refutation would also serve as a guide to Christians and would encourage them to adopt Islam. Hasbullah Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an Muhammad dalam Bible* (Solo: Siti Syamsiah, 1959), 1-3. An English translation was printed in Malaysia under the title: *Jesus Christ in the Qur'an Muhammad in Bible* (Kuala Lumpur: S. Abdul Majeed & Co., 1990).

¹⁶ Hasbullah Bakry, *Al-Qur'an Sebagai Korektor terhadap Taurat dan Injil* [Qur'an as a Corrector of the Old Testament and New Testament] (Surabaya: n.p., 1966), 4-17.

¹⁷ For more detail see, Andrew Rippin, "Interpreting the Bible through the Qur'an," in *Approaches to the Qur'an*, eds. G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (London: Roudledge, 1993), 149-151. Another example may be found in David Thomas' article, "The Bible in Early Muslim Anti-Christian Polemic," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7, no.1 (1996): 29-38.

¹⁸ Hasbullah Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 35-40

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 73

²⁰ Hasbullah Bakry, *Pandangan Islam Tentang Kristen di Indonesia* [Islamic Viewpoint Regarding Christianity in Indonesia] (Jakarta: Firdaus, 1984), 35.

²¹ An extensive discussion of this notion can be found in Lazarus-Yafeh's, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, 19-49.

²² see David Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Chapter 1 and 2.

²³ This attitude can be gleaned from his discussion of the Qur'anic verses dealing with Mary and Jesus Christ (chapter 1) and concerning the verification of the New Testament by the Qur'an (chapter 2). See, Hasbullah Bakry, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 1-33.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 98-114 and 117-144.

²⁵ Quotation is taken for granted from the English version of Bakry's, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, 90. see also, *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 99.

²⁶ Hasbullah Bakry, *Jesus in the Qur'an* 126-127; compare to *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 154-156.

²⁷ 'Ata ur-Rahim, *Jesus: Prophet of Islam* (London: Diwan Press, 1977).

²⁸ Hasbullah Bakry, *Pandangan Islam tentang Kristen*, 31-33.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 37-39.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

³¹ Hasbullah Bakry, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, 84-85; *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 94.

³² Hasbullah Bakry, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, 86; *Isa dalam Qur'an*, 95.

³³ Hasbullah Bakry, "Kristen di Indonesia [Christianity in Indonesia]," *Panji Masyarakat* 266 (1 Maret 1979): 45-46.

³⁴ Hasbullah Bakry, "Membantah terhadap Hamran Ambrie [In refuting to Hamran Ambrie]," *Panji Masyarakat* 354 (21 Maret 1982): 19-22; see: *Pandangan Islam tentang Kristen*, 47.

³⁵ Hasbullah Bakry, *Pandangan Islam tentang Kristen*, 48-49.