Volume 2 Number 2 (2025) January – June 2025 Page: 18-29

Al-Qadim: Journal Tafsir dan Ilmu Tafsir (JTIT) https://ejournal.nurulqadim.ac.id/index.php/jtit/index ISSN Print : 3047-5341 ISSN Online : 3047-0099

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The Controversy of Non-Muslim Leadership in Indonesia: A Comparison of Sahiron Syamsuddin's Hermeneutic Approach and Adian Husaini's Textual Interpretation

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Article history

Submitted: 2025/07/29;

Revised: 2025/08/03;

Accepted: 2025/08/05

Abstract

This article aims to examine the views of Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini on non-Muslim leadership in the Indonesian context. The method used in this study is a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical and comparative model. Both figures were chosen because they are both influential Indonesian Muslim scholars in the discourse of Qur'anic interpretation. This study uses a comparative approach, highlighting Sahiron Syamsuddin's hermeneutic approach-particularly through the theory of ma'na cum maghza—and Adian Husaini's textual-normative approach. The results of the study show significant differences between the two. Sahiron interprets QS. Al-Mā'idah [5]: 51 contextually by considering maqāṣid alsharī'ah and social reality, thus concluding that non-Muslims can become leaders as long as they fulfill the requirements of integrity, justice, and trustworthiness. In contrast, Adian interprets the verse textually and refers to the opinion of Buya Hamka, who expressly prohibits non-Muslim leadership over Muslims. These differences in views reflect the epistemological and ideological background of each figure in interpreting the sacred text.

Keywords

Non-Muslim leaders, hermeneutics, comparison, Sahiron Syamsuddin, Adian Husaini



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INTRODUCTION

Islam or the Qur'an is very intense in paying attention to all aspects of human life, including the issue of leadership. In this case, the Qur'an mentions the word 'leader' not only focused on one word. The mention of *khali>fah* in QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30, '*ima>mah*' in QS. al-Anbiya' [21]: 73, *U>>lu al-Amr* in QS. Al-Nisa [4]: 59, *sultha>n* in QS. Al-Isra [17]: 33, '*mulk*' in QS. [3]: 26, '*qawwa>mah*' in QS. Al-Nisa [4]: 34 and '*auliya>*" in QS.

Ali Imran [3]: 28 (Rahlan Maulana & Anwar, n.d.). All of the words mentioned above have the broad meaning of leader, depending on the context. This proves that leaders have a significant role and influence in human life.

As time goes by, the emergence of democracy allows everyone to have the right to become the leader of a region, including non-Muslims. So various opinions and interpretations emerged from classical interpretation scholars regarding the validity or legality of non-Muslim leaders. For example, Ibn Taimiyyah allowed non-Muslims or infidels to become leaders of Muslims on condition that he be fair. He made a statement "it is better to be led by a just infidel leader, than to be led by an unjust Muslim leader." Apart from that, many scholars do not agree with or forbid non-Muslim leaders. They are Sayid Qutb, Ibn Katsir, Wahbah Zuhaily, al-Mawardi, Abdul Wahab Khalaf, Hasan al-Banna, and Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani (Khalik, 2014). Regarding the prohibition of making non-Muslims or infidels the leaders of the Muslim community, Imam Mawardi is of the view that this is contrary to Islamic law (shari'a). The reason is that the priest or leader is the successor and successor to the prophethood in maintaining religion and the state. Therefore, a leader must be someone who understands sharia or syariat. He only allows positions below the leader, such as ministers or administrative assistants (Edo Prasetyo et al., 2021).

In the Indonesian context, the issue or debate about the legality of non-Muslim leadership is also quite dynamic. This fact was very evident when Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, also known as Ahok, was caught up in a blasphemy case. The incident began when Ahok was campaigning on Pramuka Island, Kepulauan Seribu, Jakarta. He urged local residents not to be easily deceived by politicians who used Al-Maidah [5] verse 51 (Sofwan, 2016). Ahok explained that he made this statement for a reason. Many of his political opponents used this verse as a weapon, arguing that electing a non-Muslim leader, including Ahok, was haram. Since that incident, numerous academic studies and popular news articles have examined the legitimacy of non-Muslim leaders in Indonesia. The public in this case is divided into two camps. Some defend Ahok and others accuse him of blasphemy. One of those defending Ahok is Sahiron Syamsuddin. Sahiron was even immediately brought in as an expert witness to mitigate the prosecutor's charges against Ahok. In an interview, Sahiron said, "Pak Ahok criticized politicians who used Surah Al-Maidah verse 51 for certain political interests, so he (Ahok) did not defile it. From a linguistic perspective, Aulia is not a leader, but more of a loyal friend. In a country that has a constitution, has a parliament, has the MPR and DPR, the mufti in Egypt said that it is permissible for Muslims, non-Muslims, and even women to be elected," Sahiron continued. (Purwanto, 2017).

In contrast to Sahiron Syamsuddin's defense of Ahok, criticism came from Adian Husaini. Regarding this case, Adian extensively reviewed the interpretation of Al-Maidah verse 51. In his writing, he drew heavily on Buya Hamka's opinion on the prohibition of appointing non-Muslims as leaders. He explained Hamka's opinion in great detail and connected it to the Ahok case. According to Adian, those who believe they have been lied to by Al-Maidah verse 51 are the same as accusing Buya Hamka of lying and fooling Muslims (Husaini, 2016b).

The opinions of the two figures above are essentially differences in interpretation of the text, in this case, the text of the Qur'an, QS Al-Maidah [5] verse 51. If examined in depth, the cause of the differences in interpretation can be revealed using the hermeneutic method. Hermeneutics is not only an attempt to uncover the meaning of the text, but also examines the perspectives of the author and interpreter of the text.

Discussions on non-Muslim leadership have certainly been extensively studied. However, to the author's knowledge, no study has specifically compared the thoughts of Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini in the realm of leadership. The related studies that have been discussed are as follows: First, the thesis entitled "The Controversy of the Hermeneutics of the Qur'an as a Methodology for Interpreting the Qur'an (Analysis of the Thoughts of Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini) by Ahmad Roisy Arrasyid. As a result, Sahiron Syamsudidn supports the application of the hermeneutics method in interpreting the Qur'an with three conditions (a) the development of the current method of reading the Qur'an is a necessity, (b) hermeneutics is relevant and visible in the development of the ulumul Qur'an, (c) in essence between hermeneutics and the science of interpretation are the same in terminology. While Adian Husaini rejects hermeneutics with five reasons (a) conventional interpretation is mature and established (b) hermeneutics is a Western and Christian tradition, not Islam, (c) hermeneutics contains accusations of suspicion towards classical scholars of interpretation, (d) deconstruction of revelation, and (e) truth becomes relative (Ar-Rasid, 2022).

Based on the aforementioned phenomena, this paper aims to analyze and compare the opinions of Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini regarding non-Muslim leadership in Indonesian Muslim society with hermeneutics paradigm. The reason for selecting these two figures is their strong influence in the academic world in Indonesia. Another reason is to observe their differing paradigms regarding the status of non-Muslim leadership in Muslim society. Therefore, to address this question, the author proposes at least three research questions: a. How the characteristics of the interpretation approach used by Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian

Husaini; b. How do Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini interpret non-Muslim leadership in Muslim society? c. What are the implications of these two figures' opinions for Indonesian society?

This paper has significant significance in the discourse on non-Muslim leadership in Indonesia. Theoretically, this research can contribute to the intellectual treasure of interpretation in Indonesia, particularly in the study of tafsir (Islamic exegesis). Furthermore, the figures used for comparison are contemporary figures with significant influence in Indonesia. Practically, this study can serve as a reference for existing and future research. This study also brings a more comprehensive view of how to determine leader criteria.

METHODS

The methods used in this research are comparative, analytical, and descriptive. Primary sources include books, journals, and literature. Secondary sources include studies and research findings on relevant websites or official sites. The primary data used are, of course, the work of Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini. Secondary data was obtained from books on hermeneutics, journals, and websites discussing leadership, Sahiron Syamsuddin, Adian Husaini, and hermeneutics.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. Biography of Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini

a. Sahiron Syamsuddin

Sahiron Syamsuddin was born in Cirebon on August 11, 1968. He studied Islam since childhood and was a devout and accomplished student. He attended the Raudhatul al-Thalibin Islamic Boarding School in Babakan Ciwaringin, Cirebon. He received his formal primary and secondary education at the same Islamic boarding school from 1981 to 1987. Sahiron then continued his higher education at IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, majoring in Hadith Interpretation from 1987 to 1993. He then pursued postgraduate studies at McGill University in Canada, where he completed his thesis, "An Examination of Bint al-Shati's Method of Interpreting the Qur'an." He took his doctoral program at the University of Bamberg in 2001-2006 and the University of Frankfurt, Germany, and completed it in 2010. From here, it can be seen how strong the scientific tradition, especially in Islamic studies and interpretation, is in Sahiron Syamsuddin (Ar-Rasid, 2022).

As an expert in tafsir, Sahiron has written numerous works, particularly on hermeneutics and interpretation. These include *Hermeneutika dan Penegembangan Ulumul Qur'an* (2009), *Studi al-Qur'an Kontemporer: Wacana Baru Berbagai metodologi tafsir* (2020), *Metodologi Penelitian Living Qur'an* (2007), *Hermeneutika al-Qur'an Mazhab Yogya* (2003), *Hermeneutika al-Qur'an dan Hadis* (2010), *Islam, Tradisi dan Peradaban* (2012), and *Integrasi Hermeneutika Hans Georg Gadamer ke dalam Ilmu Tafsir? Sebuah Proyek Pengembangan Metode Pembacaan al-Qur'an pada Masa Kontemporer* (2006) *Metode Intertekstualitas Muhammad Syahrur dalam Penafsiran* (2002, with Abdul Mustaqim), *Ranah-ranah Penelitian dalam Studi al-Qur'an dan Hadis: Metode Penelitian Living Qur'an dan Hadis* (2007), *Studi al-Qur'an: Metode dan Konsep* (2010), *Studi al-Qur'an Kontemporer* (2002), and others (Aji, 2022).

Sahiron Syamsuddin is an expert in exegesis who is famous for his new or contemporary style of interpretation method which he named *Ma'na* cum *Magza*>. Before understanding Ma'na' cum Magza>, Sahiron invites us first to recognize various typologies of contemporary interpretation. First, according to Rotraud Wieland, contemporary interpretation is classified into six types (1) based on Enlightenment rationalism, (2) based on modern science, [3] based on literature, [4] based on the historical perspective of the Qur'anic text, [5] based on the nuance of returning to the understanding of the early generation of Islam and [6] based on thematics. Meanwhile, Abdullah Saeed divides the current model of interpretation into three types, namely textualist (textualist approach), semi-textualist (semi-textualist approach), and contextualist (contextualist). According to Sahiron, the typology created by Abdullah Saeed above is very good but still does not cover the whole. Sahiron created a new typology in terms of the meaning of verses as a breakthrough from the previous typology. First, the conservative quasi-objectivist school is the view that the teachings of the Quran must be understood, interpreted, and practiced today. This school's weakness is its lack of attention to contextualizing verses. Furthermore, these scholars tend to lack the passion to provide new interpretations or understandings. A striking characteristic of this group is that the essence or message of God is contained in the literal verse. Second, the subjectivist school is an interpretation that asserts that every interpretation is entirely subjective to the interpreter and that the truth conveyed is relative. They also tend to ignore the original meaning of the verse when it was revealed. As a result, the interpretations made tend to be 'free' and 'wild'. The third school, the progressive quasi-objectivist school, is an understanding that combines the two schools above. They agree with the conservative quasi-objectivists who still use the original meaning but only as a starting point. What is most important is

understanding the meaning behind the text. Fazlur Rahman calls this *ratio legis*, al-Talibi with *maqasid*, and Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd with *magza*. Sahiron believes that the most acceptable for now is the third opinion, progressive quasi-objectivism. However, the drawback of this group is the lack of exploration of 'significance'. Sahiron divides it into two parts: phenomenal significance and ideal significance. Phenomenal significance is the main message understood and applied contextually and dynamically, consisting of the significance of historical and dynamic phenomena. Historical phenomena encompass the main message during the time of the Prophet, while dynamic phenomena are the messages of the verses applied to current life. Therefore, understanding the context and reasons for the revelation of verses is a necessity. Second, ideal significance is the ideal accumulation of previously established significance (Syamsuddin, 2020).

Thus, *Ma'na*> *cum Magza* is an approach in which one explores or reconstructs the historical meaning and main message, namely the meaning (*ma'na*) and the main/significant message (*magza*>) that may have been intended by the author of the text or understood by the historical audience, then develops the significance of the text for the current context. The three most important elements include historical meaning (*al-ma'na al-ta ri khi*), historical phenomenal significance (*al-magza al-ta ri khi*) and dynamic phenomenal significance (*al-magza al-mutaharrik*). The stages of this method are (a) analyzing the language of the Qur'anic text, (b) paying attention to the historical context of the revelation of the Qur'anic verses at the macro and micro levels, (c) exploring the intent (*magza*>) of the verses (Syamsuddin, 2020).

b. Adian Husaini

Adian Husaini is an academic and Islamic scholar born in Bojonegoro on December 17, 1965. He received his primary education at the al-Muhsin Mosque in Bojonegoro. He then continued his elementary education at SDN Banjarjo 1 and SMPN 1 Bojonegoro. Although he attended public schools, Adian spent his time at several Islamic boarding schools, such as the Ar-Rosyid Kendal Islamic Boarding School in Bojonegoro and the Ulil Albab Islamic Boarding School in Bogor. He completed his higher education at the Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB) majoring in veterinary medicine. After completing his undergraduate studies, he continued his postgraduate studies at Jayabaya University, Jakarta, majoring in International Relations, and the Doctoral Program in Islamic Thought at the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization-International Islamic University Malaysia (ISTAC-IIUM) (Husaini, 2007).

Adian Husaini views hermeneutics with a negative perspective. He has written several books on hermeneutics. First, in his book, "Wajah Peradaban Barat dari Hegemoni Kristen ke Dominasi Sekular-Liberal," he views hermeneutics, secularism, and pluralism as forms of Western invasion of Islamic thought. Adian wrote: "The phenomenon of the spread of hermeneutics among Islamic academics is also inseparable from the hegemony of Western thought in Islamic studies. Hermeneutics, now, in various Islamic universities, is like an epidemic, but feels proud, because it feels like finding something new. Because it feels this 'new toy' will bring benefits to the community, the 'old stuff' in the form of Islamic tradition is criticized and wants to be thrown away". From this, we can see how tendentious views on hermeneutics by Adian Husaini. Furthermore, Adian also considers hermeneutics unsuitable for interpreting the Qur'an. Basically, hermeneutics is a method of interpreting the Bible that contains many errors in it (Husaini, 2005).

Adian Husaini's method of interpretation is textualist and avoids contextualizing verses. In his book, he clearly states, "The method of interpreting the Qur'an must be in accordance with the textual meaning of the Qur'an itself, and not contextually (according to conditions and situations)" (Husaini, 2007). From this, we can see and classify Adian Husaini into which school of interpretation he belongs. To borrow a term coined by Abdullah Saeed, Adian Husaini belongs to the textualist group (textualist approach). In fact, all of this can be seen from Adian's own background. He is known for his numerous writings, which are conservative and textualist in understanding the text and teachings of the Qur'an. He also actively criticizes anything that smells of liberalism, secularism, and pluralism. This fact can be seen in his writings, which he frequently uploads to online media. Some of the articles or titles that he published on the online news platform Hidayatullah.com include "The Founders of the Nation Aspired to Indonesia as a Tawheed State", "Muslims Must Have a Map of Apostasy", "Anies Should Not Hesitate to Appear as an Islamic Leader", "Education Must Give Birth to Mujahid Da'wah" and "Multiculturalism is as Dangerous as Pluralism" (Husaini, 2017).

Adian then continued by explaining how he interprets the Quran. First, the meaning of the words in the sentence structure must be explained as they are. Second, because the text of the Quran is in Arabic, the sentences or words interpreted must be appropriate. Third, the Quran is a universal divine message revealed to the Prophet Muhammad, so its understanding must follow the Prophet's sunnah. Fourth, interpreting the words and sentence structure in the Quran must be based on Arabic and cannot be interpreted based on the meaning of other languages. Fifth,

understanding the verses of the Quran does not require using the Bible and the Torah as references. Sixth, do not connect the Quran with scientific theories, science, knowledge, and technology because there is no basis at all. Seventh, all previous forms of interpretation are not absolutely binding. Our minds are free to understand the texts of the Quran based on mastery of Arabic (Husaini, 2007). From the explanation above, it is clear that Adian Husaini is someone who interprets the Qur'an textually and avoids contextualizing verses.

2. Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini's interpretation of non-Muslim leaders

a. Analysis of Sahiron Syamsuddin's Interpretation

As mentioned above, Sahiron Syamsuddin is the originator of the theory of *Ma'na' cum Magza'*. Sahiron did not write a book or discuss specifically non-Muslim leadership in Islam. However, we can understand his thinking that leadership in Islam is not based on any particular religious sentiment. This conclusion was reached after he interpreted QS al-Maidah [5]: 51 with the *Ma'na' cum Magza'* interpretation. Here is his explanation:

O you who believe, do not take the Jews and the Christians as your friends. Some of them are friends to others. Whoever among you takes them as a friend is indeed one of them. Indeed, Allah does not guide the wrongdoing people.

Sahiron, with his method, *Ma'na> cum Magza>*, certainly has procedures and stages that distinguish it from other theories. In general, there are three stages he proposed. First, determining the historical context of the verse at the micro and macro levels (historical analysis). In the case of QS al-Maidah [5] verse 51 was revealed in Medina. The social conditions of Medina at that time were a pluralistic nation with many religions and tribes. This situation certainly would have increased the risk of resistance and tension between tribes and religions. Therefore, the Prophet Muhammad made a peace commitment agreement stated in the Medina Charter. However, the peace did not run as it should due to the betrayal committed by the Jews of Medina against the Muslims. This event is called the micro context. The macro context of this verse is the *asbabun nuzul* explained by scholars of tafsir, for example, Ubadah bin Shamit's reluctance to make the Jews partners with the Muslims in war. In essence, this verse

was revealed during a time of conflict or war and not during the election of a leader (Syamsuddin, 2017).

Second, linguistic analysis. At least in QS al-Maidah [5] verse 51 there are two key words that we can analyze. First, the word 'awliya' in the Qur'an does not have a singular meaning. If the word 'awliya' is returned to its original form, it will have two possibilities, namely *al-wila>yah* and *al-wala>yah*. *Al-wilayah* is everything related to government affairs, power and action. In Arabic, the person who carries out such actions is called *wali* (in singular form) or *wula>t* (in plural form). Meanwhile, the word *al-wala>yah* is related to help and friendship between others. The perpetrator is called waliy or auliya'. Then, when connected with al-Maidah [5] verse 51, the second interpretation, namely 'waliy' with the meaning of helper, is more acceptable. The reason is by considering the use of the word from the perspective of the author and audience. The author and audience referred to are the Prophet and his companions at the time the verse was revealed. The Prophet once said that whoever is hostile to my guardian, I will declare war on him. If the word guardian is interpreted as a leader, it would not be appropriate because the Prophet himself was a leader. Therefore, the word guardian is more appropriate to be interpreted as a helper or friend. In fact, according to some scholars, the guardian referred to in the above hadith is Bilal bin Rabah, who is not a leader. The second key word is *al-yahu>d* and *al-nas}a>ra* in al-Maidah [5]:51. The word 'al' in Arabic grammar can have a general meaning or a specific meaning. In this case, Sahiron means Jews and Christians specifically during the time of the Prophet who betrayed the covenant, not Jews and Christians in general (Syamsuddin, 2017).

The third method is to determine the moral idea or intent of the verse (magza). Al-Maidah [5] 51 commands us to ally ourselves with trustworthy people, not those who are treacherous, like the Jews and Christians of the Prophet's time. We are also encouraged to commit to the agreements we have made. Finally, the verse has nothing to do with the election of leaders or regional heads. The benchmark for leadership in Islam is justice and leadership capability, not based on a particular religion (Syamsuddin, 2017).

b. Analysis of Adian Husaini's Interpretation

Just like Sahiron Syamsuddin, Adian Husaini did not write a separate book discussing non-Muslim leadership. However, we can find many written lectures and statements circulating on the internet. According to Adian, it is haram to make an

infidel a leader except in an emergency. He explained at least some of the arguments for its prohibition from the Qu'ran and classical fiqh scholars. First, QS. An-Nisa [4]: 141 (*Allah will not give way to the disbelievers to defeat the believers*). Second, Ibn Hajar al-Haitami's opinion in the *Tuhfah* book says that Muslims should not ask for help from dhimmi infidels unless they are forced to. Third, Imam Syarwani's opinion which prioritizes leadership is based on religious considerations first. If the Muslim is unable, then a non-Muslim will take over leadership. Fourth, Mahalli's opinion is that Muslims should not ask for help from infidels unless it is an emergency (Husaini, 2016).

Regarding Surah al-Nisa [4]: 141, which Adian Husaini used as evidence, the author did not find the verse referring to the prohibition of choosing a non-Muslim leader. The majority of classical commentators agree that this verse relates to hypocrites during the time of the Prophet. Fakhruddin al-Razi interpreted this verse as a depiction of hypocrites who always looked at situations and conditions that were advantageous to them. If the Muslims won a war, they would say, "Were we not with you?" This sentence was actually intended to obtain a share of the spoils of war (ganimah). Likewise, if the momentum of the war was on the side of the infidels, they would also say the same (ar-Razi, 1981). See also a similar interpretation by Thabari regarding Al-Nisa [4], verse 141. This verse relates to hypocrites who always looked at the situation of Muslims. When Allah gave victory to the Muslims and obtained a large amount of spoils, these hypocrites felt they were part of those who participated in the war. Because they felt they had a role, they asked for a share of the spoils. If the infidels win the war, they also feel they contributed to the defeat of the Muslims. For this hypocrisy, Allah will punish them on the Day of Judgment by separating them from those who enter Paradise (al-Thabari, 1994). Again, this verse does not refer to leaders in Islam. It simply describes the two-faced nature of hypocrites.

From an audience and historical perspective, this verse further highlights the characteristics of hypocrites who ally themselves with the Jews. This is evident in its connection with the previous verse, verse 139 of Al-Nisa', الْمُوْمِنْي 'نَ الْمُلْهِ أَنْ الْمُلْهِ اللهِ الهُ اللهِ ال

The second argument put forward by Adian Husaini regarding the prohibition of appointing non-Muslims as leaders is the opinion of Buya Hamka. In his article, Adian wrote, "In the midst of the uproar over the discussion of QS. Al-Maidah verse 51 – which was triggered by the statement of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) – it is good for us to

examine how Buya Hamka interpreted QS al-Maidah: 51. Because, for decades, we have never heard of a single being who dared to accuse the interpreters of the Qur'an like Buya Hamka, of lying and fooling Muslims using al-Maidah: 51. Therefore, Ahok's statement in the Seribu Islands on September 27, 2016, was very historic. In his statement, October 11, 2016, the MUI officially stated that Ahok had insulted the Qur'an and insulted Islamic scholars. Let's look again at the excerpt of Ahok's statement which was also quoted in the official MUI statement: "... So don't believe people, it could be that in your heart of hearts you can't vote for me, right? Lied to using Surah al-Maidah 51, all sorts of things. That's your right, ladies and gentlemen, so I feel like I can't choose because I'm afraid of going to hell, being fooled like that..." So, it is interesting to examine the contents of Tafsir al-Azhar by Buya Hamka about QS al-Maidah: 51. After that, we ask, is it right for a prominent scholar like Buya Hamka to be said to have lied to and fooled Muslims? Also, to whom should those who insult the Quran and scholars apologize? Who deserves to give forgiveness? (Husaini, 2016).

If Adian Husaini's opinion is examined hermeneutically, we can conclude that he falls into the textualist group. Furthermore, he fails to contextualize the verse's understanding within the current Indonesian context. In terms of his interpretive method, he also violates his own established rules or principles of interpretation. In the seventh point above, he states that all previous forms of interpretation are not absolutely binding. In the case of non-Muslim leadership, he absolutizes his opinion by referring only to Buya Hamka.

3. Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini's Hermeneutical Approach and Implications in the Non-Muslim Leadership at Indonesian Context

Sahiron Syamsuddin's tafsir or hermeneutical approach generally aligns with contextual and inclusive teachings. Sahiron's perspective opens up space for a more responsive interpretation of the Quran to Indonesia's pluralistic social, political, and cultural realities. Through this approach, understanding Quranic verses is based on historical considerations, socio-cultural context, and the maqāṣid al-sharī'ah (the principles of Islamic law). Consequently, leadership criteria are no longer determined solely by religious identity, but rather by integrity, competence, and moral accountability.

In contrast, Adian Husaini's textual hermeneutical approach tends to be textual, conservative, and orthodox. He emphasizes the importance of a literal understanding of the Quran to maintain the purity of Islamic teachings. This approach encourages Muslims to adhere strictly to the text, without adequately sizing up the dynamics of

the contemporary social context. This type of interpretation has the potential to polarize society, as it limits leadership rights to certain groups based on exclusive religious interpretations.

CONCLUSION

The issue of non-Muslim leadership continues to be a debate among Muslims, including in Indonesia. Sahiron Syamsuddin and Adian Husaini represent two contrasting approaches in interpreting QS. Al-Mā'idah [5]: 51. Sahiron, through the ma'na cum maghza approach, interprets the verse contextually and emphasizes the importance of integrity, justice, and capability as criteria for leadership, not religious identity. Meanwhile, Adian Husaini uses a textualist approach that rejects non-Muslim leadership by referring to the literal and normative understanding of the verse. This difference shows the existence of epistemological diversity in the interpretation of the Qur'an that has an impact on the discourse of Islam and nationality in Indonesia.

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