

Negotiating Authority and Knowledge: Religion, Science, and Politics in the Fatwa Transformations of the Indonesian Ulama Council

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Abstract

This article examines the dynamics of Islamic legal thought in Indonesia as reflected in the fatwas issued by the Indonesian Ulama Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI) on issues of worship, science, and technology. While Islamic law is often perceived as a product of normative, text-based interpretation, in practice it has undergone significant transformation through its interaction with scientific innovation and socio-political contexts. Existing scholarship has tended to address the normative, scientific, or political dimensions separately, without adequately exploring their intersections. This article aims to identify patterns of change in MUI's fatwas and to explain how the dialectic among scriptural interpretation, institutional authority, modern science, and state policy has shaped these transformations. Employing a qualitative, library-based methodology, the research analyzes nine fatwas issued between 1975 and 2024 on four key issues—vasectomy, meningitis vaccination, qibla orientation, and lunar calendar calculation—within the framework of the sociology of knowledge. The findings reveal three main patterns of transformation: the relaxation of previously strict rulings, the annulment of earlier fatwas, and the refinement of legal norms. These shifts were driven by new scientific evidence (such as post-vasectomy recanalization, the development of halal vaccines, and modern astronomical methods), social pressures (public health imperatives and the need for religious unity), and political considerations (alignment with state policies). Accordingly, MUI's fatwas should be understood not merely as products of normative *ijtihad* (legal reasoning) but as social constructions negotiated at the intersection of religious authority, scientific legitimacy, and political interests. These transformations highlight the MUI's efforts to maintain the relevance of Islamic law in the face of modernity's challenges and rapid scientific advancements.

[Artikel ini membahas dinamika pemikiran hukum Islam di Indonesia sebagaimana tercermin dalam fatwa-fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) terkait isu ibadah, sains, dan teknologi. Selama ini, hukum Islam kerap dipahami sebagai produk penafsiran normatif berbasis teks, padahal dalam praktiknya ia mengalami transformasi signifikan melalui interaksi dengan inovasi ilmiah dan konteks sosial-politik. Kajian sebelumnya cenderung memisahkan dimensi normatif, ilmiah, atau politis, tanpa menelaah secara komprehensif persinggungan di antara ketiganya.

Artikel ini bertujuan mengidentifikasi pola perubahan dalam fatwa MUI sekaligus menjelaskan bagaimana dialektika antara penafsiran keagamaan, otoritas institusional, sains modern, dan kebijakan negara membentuk transformasi tersebut. Dengan menggunakan metodologi kualitatif berbasis studi pustaka, penelitian ini menganalisis sembilan fatwa yang diterbitkan antara 1975–2024 terkait empat isu utama—vasektomi, vaksin meningitis, arah kiblat, dan penentuan awal bulan kamariah—dalam kerangka sosiologi pengetahuan. Temuan dalam artikel menunjukkan tiga pola utama perubahan: pelonggaran ketentuan yang semula ketat, pembatalan fatwa sebelumnya, dan penyempurnaan norma hukum. Pergeseran ini dipicu oleh bukti ilmiah baru (seperti kemungkinan rekanalisasi pasca-vasektomi, hadirnya vaksin balal, serta metode astronomi modern), tekanan sosial (kebutuhan kesehatan publik dan persatuan umat), serta pertimbangan politik (dukungan terhadap kebijakan negara). Dengan demikian, fatwa MUI tidak semata-mata dipahami sebagai hasil ijtihad normatif, melainkan sebagai konstruksi sosial yang lahir dari negosiasi antara otoritas agama, legitimasi sains, dan kepentingan politik. Transformasi ini menegaskan upaya MUI untuk menjaga relevansi hukum Islam di tengah tantangan modernitas dan percepatan kemajuan sains.]

Keywords: Fatwa; Indonesian Ulema Council; Legal Politics; Religion and Science; Sociology of Knowledge.

Introduction

The development of contemporary societies is characterized by an accelerating pace of social transformation and shifting paradigms of thought, driven by globalization, social mobility, scientific and technological advancements, and increasingly complex socio-political dynamics.¹ This phenomenon creates a paradox for religious authorities.² On the one hand, they are expected to safeguard the authenticity of religious teachings; on the other hand, they must respond to emerging realities that often extend beyond established frameworks of religious interpretation.³ In Indonesia, the Indonesian Ulema Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI), as the country's most authoritative fatwa-issuing body with both normative authority and wide-reaching socio-religious influence, stands at the center of this dual challenge. Advances in medicine, astronomy, and geodesy have generated novel legal questions, while political dynamics in an increasingly open democratic climate exert pressures from multiple directions—ranging from state actors seeking religious legitimation for public policies to social groups with both conservative and progressive orientations.⁴ These

¹ See: Satyajit Majumdar et al., "Technology and Innovation for Social Change: An Introduction," in *Technology and Innovation for Social Change*, ed. Satyajit Majumdar et al. (Springer India, 2015), 1–3; David Brady et al., "The Consequences of Economic Globalization for Affluent Democracies," *Annual Review of Sociology* 33, no. 1 (2007): 313–34; Andrii Dub, "The Impact of Innovations and Technological Development on Modern Society and Global Dynamics," *Economic Affairs* 68, no. 4 (2023): 2317–25.

² Abdelmajid Charfi, "Islam: A Changing Religious Institution in the Era of Globalization," in *The Islamic World and the Mediterranean: From Colonial Legacy to Political and Cultural Interdependence*, ed. Gustavo Gozzi (Taylor and Francis, 2025), 15–20.

³ See: Arifah Millati Agustina and Nor Ismah, "Challenging Traditional Islamic Authority: Indonesian Female Ulama and the Fatwa Against Forced Marriages," *Journal of Islamic Law* 5, no. 1 (2024): 125–46; David Kloos and Nor Ismah, "Siting Islamic Feminism: The Indonesian Congress of Women Islamic Scholars and the Challenge of Challenging Patriarchal Authority," *History and Anthropology* 34, no. 5 (2023): 818–43.

⁴ See: Imam Yahya and Sulistiyono Susilo, "Conservative Muslims in Indonesia's Religious and Political Landscapes: Ahok's Blasphemy Case as A Political Leverage," *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (2024): 2392293; Syafiq Hasyim, "Fatwas and Democracy: Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI, Indonesian Ulema Council) and Rising Conservatism in Indonesian Islam," *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 8,

combined factors place MUI in a dilemma,⁵ where every fatwa it issues emerges from a complex negotiation among religious authorities, the demands of adapting to modern developments, and the expectations of diverse social constituencies.

A concrete manifestation of this dilemma can be observed in the revisions of several fatwas issued by the MUI. For instance, the fatwa on meningitis vaccination for pilgrims undertaking *hajj* and *‘umrah* (pilgrimages that take place throughout the year) aimed to strike a balance between compliance with international health standards and the principle of halal consumption. The fatwa on vasectomy and tubectomy engaged the principle of protecting lineage (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*) in dialogue with medical necessity. The fatwa on determining the beginning of the lunar month (*ḥilāl*) navigated the tension between astronomical calculation (*ḥisāb*) and moon sighting (*ru’yah*) in pursuit of national calendar unification. Additionally, the fatwa on the qibla direction revised traditional practice in light of modern scientific findings. These revisions illustrate MUI’s efforts to maintain the relevance of Islamic law in responding to scientific advancements, socio-political changes, and the demands of modern society.⁶ Given the strategic role of MUI’s fatwas as authoritative references for Indonesian Muslims, each revision carries wide-ranging implications not only for religious practice but also for the legitimacy of religious authority and the capacity of Islamic law to adapt to modernity.⁷ Accordingly, studying these changes is crucial for understanding the interplay between religion, science, and politics in shaping Islamic legal thought in Indonesia, even in domains of ritual worship (*‘ibādah*) traditionally regarded as stable and sacrosanct.

Existing scholarship has demonstrated that religious interpretations, socio-political dynamics, and scientific advancements significantly influence the formulation of MUI fatwas. However, most studies have examined these factors in isolation, without adequately addressing their reciprocal interactions. Research has generally focused on one of three main dimensions: the methodology of MUI’s fatwa determination,⁸ the relationship between fatwas and political authority,⁹ or the engagement of science and religion in the fatwa process.¹⁰ These approaches have provided valuable insights, but they have not fully

no. 1 (2020): 21–35; M. Asrorun Ni’am Sholeh, “Towards a Progressive Fatwa: MUI’s Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic,” *Abkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 20, no. 2 (2020): 506–30.

⁵ Mohamad Abdun Nasir, “The ‘Ulamā’, Fatāwā and Challenges to Democracy in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 25, no. 4 (2014): 489–505.

⁶ Ansori Ansori et al., “Reformulation of Islamic Law in Indonesia: Study on Indonesian Ulama Council’s Fatwa,” *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi dan Penelitian Hukum Islam* 4, no. 2 (2021): 158–9.

⁷ See: Saifuddin Zubaidi, “Cigarette Fatwas, Contestation of Religious Authority and Politics in Indonesia,” *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 20, no. 1 (2020): 61–78; Ahmad Suaedy et al., “Language, Authority, and Digital Media: The Impact on the Legitimacy of Fatwas,” *Abkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 23, no. 1 (2023): 1–24.

⁸ See: Nadirsyah Hosen, “Behind the Scenes: Fatwas of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (1975-1998),” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 15, no. 2 (2004): 147–79; ; Muhammad Rasyid et al., “Science and Its Role in Changes in Islamic Legal Thought (An Analysis of Changes in the Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulama Council Due to Recent Scientific Findings),” *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum dan Pemikiran* 23, no. 2 (2023): 120–37.

⁹ See: Mohammad Atho Mudzhar, *Fatwa-Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia: Sebuah Studi tentang Pemikiran Hukum Islam di Indonesia 1975-1988* (INIS, 1993), 139–46; Muhammad Lutfi Hakim et al., “Between Exclusivity and Inclusivity of Institutions: Examining the Role of the Indonesian Ulama Council and Its Political Fatwa in Handling the Spread of Covid-19,” *Khazanah Hukum* 5, no. 3 (2023): 230–44.

¹⁰ See: M. Asrorun Ni’am Sholeh, “Towards a Progressive Fatwa: MUI’s Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic,” *AFKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 20, no. 2 (2020), 281–98. Ali Sodiqin, “Religion and Science:

elucidated the mechanisms of negotiation that arise when all three factors interact. This study addresses that gap by holistically examining the interaction, negotiation, and even competition among religious reasoning, scientific findings, and political influence in shaping MUI's fatwa revisions. This approach moves beyond normative and methodological considerations by integrating sociological and political perspectives. The article argues that the transformation of MUI's fatwas results from a dynamic interplay among religious values, the imperatives of scientific and technological development, and the socio-political contexts framing their issuance.

Research Methodology

This study employs a qualitative approach based on library research, focusing on an in-depth analysis of MUI fatwas that have undergone substantive revisions. The primary data consist of nine fatwas: three concerning vasectomy and tubectomy, two on the use of the meningitis vaccine for *hajj* and *'umrah* pilgrims, two addressing the determination of lunar months, and two concerning the qibla direction. The first five fatwas are categorized under the domain of science and technology, while the remaining four fall within the domain of ritual worship (see Table 1). Fatwas were purposively selected based on the criterion that each theme contains more than one fatwa, thereby indicating a shift in perspective or a substantive revision. All primary data were retrieved from official websites published by the MUI.¹¹ Secondary data include academic literature, peer-reviewed journal articles, books, and previous studies related to Islamic law, the relationship between religion and science, and the politics of fatwas in Indonesia.

Table 1
Primary Data

No.	Fatwa Identities	Fatwa-Issuing Body/Forum	Fatwas Themes
1.	Fatwa on Vasectomy and Tubectomy (1979)	MUI Fatwa Commission	Science & Technology
2.	Fatwa on Vasectomy (2009)	Ijtimā' Ulama of the MUI Fatwa Commission	Science & Technology
3.	Fatwa on Vasectomy (2012)	Ijtimā' Ulama of the MUI Fatwa Commission	Science & Technology
4.	Fatwa No. 5 of 2009 on the Use of the Meningitis Vaccine for <i>Hajj</i> and <i>'Umrah</i> Pilgrims	MUI Fatwa Commission	Science & Technology
5.	Fatwa No. 6 of 2010 on the Use of the Meningitis Vaccine for <i>Hajj</i> and <i>'Umrah</i> Pilgrims	MUI Fatwa Commission	Science & Technology
6.	Fatwa on the Determination of the Beginning of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl ('Īd al-Fitr), and Dhū al-Hijjah ('Īd al-Aḍḥā) (1980)	MUI National Congress	Ritual Worship
7.	Fatwa No. 2 of 2004 on the Determination of the Beginning of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, and Dhū al-Hijjah	MUI Fatwa Commission	Ritual Worship
8.	Fatwa No. 3 of 2010 on the Qibla	MUI Fatwa Commission	Ritual Worship
9.	Fatwa No. 5 of 2010 on the Qibla Direction	MUI Fatwa Commission	Ritual Worship

Analysing Medical Fatwas of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (2010–2021),” *Journal of Islamic Law* 6, no. 1 (2025): 1–20.

¹¹ Several fatwas issued by the MUI are available at <https://fatwamui.com/> and <https://mui.or.id/info-fatwa>.

Sources: <https://fatwamui.com/> and <https://mui.or.id/info-fatwa>.

Data analysis combined content analysis with critical discourse analysis. Content analysis was employed to systematically map the substantive elements of the fatwas, including scriptural arguments, legal sources, and the differences in reasoning between initial fatwas and their subsequent revisions. Critical discourse analysis was employed to reveal the power relations, ideological interests, and socio-political pressures that influenced the formulation and revision of fatwas,¹² as well as MUI's strategies for navigating the interplay between religious norms, scientific authority, and public policy. The integration of content analysis and critical discourse analysis facilitates a nuanced understanding of both the meanings and implications of MUI fatwa transformations, as well as the factors that influence them.¹³ The theoretical framework draws on Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, which holds that knowledge—including religious knowledge—is never neutral but shaped by social position, historical experience, and particular interests.¹⁴ This perspective enables the study to interpret fatwas not merely as the outcomes of Islamic jurists' *ijtihad* (legal reasoning), but also as reflections of Islamic law's adaptation to social change, scientific progress, and the power dynamics that shape the contemporary landscape of Islamic law in Indonesia.

MUI: Structure, Classification, and Dynamics of Fatwas

The MUI is a religious institution that plays a strategic role as a unifying body for Muslim scholars (*'ulamā'*), community leaders (*ʿuamā'*), and intellectuals in Indonesia.¹⁵ Established on July 26, 1975, in Jakarta, the MUI emerged from a congress of *'ulamā'* and intellectuals representing diverse regions of the country, including delegates from 26 provinces at that time, as well as leading Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Syarikat Islam, Al-Washliyah, and others.¹⁶ Its establishment reflected the urgent need for an institution capable of bridging the aspirations of Indonesian Muslims with the state, while simultaneously providing authoritative religious guidance to address national challenges.¹⁷ Within the framework of state–religion relations, MUI positions itself as a mediator between the *'ulamā'* and the *umara'* (government), fostering a complementary and mutually reinforcing partnership. This mediating role is evident in MUI's responses to strategic issues encompassing religious, social, and national dimensions—whether by

¹² Achmad Muhibin Zuhri et al., “Packaging Fatwa in the Post Truth Era: MUI Fatwa Contest Facing New Religious Authority,” *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama dan Sosial Budaya* 8, no. 1 (2024): 87.

¹³ See: Mary B. Ziskin, “Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Qualitative Inquiry: Data Analysis Strategies for Enhanced Understanding of Inference and Meaning,” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 32, no. 6 (2019): 614–15.

¹⁴ Carlton W. Berenda and Karl Mannheim, “Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge,” *Books Abroad* 27, no. 3 (1953): 310. See also: Martyn Hammersley, “Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* and the Public Role of Sociology,” *Journal of Classical Sociology* 22, no. 2 (2022): 176–98.

¹⁵ See: Majelis Ulama Indonesia, “Sejarah MUI,” 2002, <https://mirror.mui.or.id/sejarah-mui/>.

¹⁶ Mudzhar, *Fatwa-Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, 54–5.

¹⁷ Muhammad Asad, “Ulama in Indonesian Politics: Analysis on the Attitudes of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) on the General Elections,” *Akademika* 16, no. 1 (2022): 87–8.

legitimizing state policies, criticizing and correcting policies deemed inconsistent with Islamic principles, or proactively issuing legal norms to address emerging issues.¹⁸

Among the most important instruments of MUI's authority are its fatwas. The MUI fatwas constitute formulations of legal norms presented as opinions, advice, or binding religious guidance, issued either orally or in writing in response to direct public inquiries or contemporary issues of concern.¹⁹ These fatwas are produced through a process of *ijtibād jamā'ī* (collective juristic reasoning) within four main institutional forums:²⁰ (1) the MUI Fatwa Commission, tasked explicitly with deliberating and issuing fatwas; (2) the National Sharia Council (Dewan Syariah Nasional, DSN) of MUI, which addresses issues of Islamic economics and finance; (3) the National Congress (*Musyawarah Nasional*), a quinquennial forum attended by MUI leaders from across Indonesia, Islamic organizations, universities, *pesantrens* (Islamic boarding schools), and independent '*ulamā*'; and (4) the Ijtimā' Ulama of the MUI Fatwa Commissions across Indonesia, a triennial gathering of central and regional fatwa commission members aimed at capturing regional religious concerns while formulating national responses to pressing socio-religious and political issues.²¹ These four forums confirm that MUI fatwas are not individual opinions, but rather the result of a collective consensus among Indonesian '*ulamā*' and Muslim intellectuals.

According to data published on the MUI's official website, a total of 573 fatwas were issued between 1975 and 2024. Fatwas can be categorized into four broad themes: (1) religious issues, (2) food, medicine, cosmetics, and science and technology, (3) Islamic economics, and (4) fatwas issued through the Ijtimā' Ulama forum of the MUI Fatwa Commissions of Indonesia. The first theme, religious issues, is further divided into four subcategories: ritual worship (comprising 66 fatwas), creed and sectarianism (comprising 17 fatwas), social issues (comprising 88 fatwas), and culture (comprising three fatwas). The second theme—POM and science and technology—comprises 87 fatwas. The third theme, Islamic economics, encompasses 160 fatwas and covers a wide range of sectors, including Islamic banking, Islamic capital markets, Islamic insurance, Islamic accounting, Islamic pawnbroking, Islamic multi-level marketing, Islamic financing, Islamic guarantees, and Islamic commodities.²² The fourth theme includes 152 fatwas addressing strategic national

¹⁸ See: M. Asrorun Ni'am Sholeh, *Menghidupkan Fatwa: Dinamisasi Fatwa untuk Kemashlahatan Bangsa* (Sekretariat Komisi Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 2024), 21–2; Mualimin et al., "Are Fatwas Visible on New Media? Dissemination of the Fatwas of the Indonesian Ulama Council on Instagram," *El-Mashlahah* 15, no. 1 (2025): 21–40.

¹⁹ Fatwas can be classified into various categories, including *madhhab*-based fatwas, court fatwas, state fatwas, individual fatwas, and collective fatwas. Each category addresses diverse areas such as ritual worship, social affairs, economic matters, scientific issues, and more. See: Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen, "A Typology of Fatwas," *Die Welt Des Islams* 55, nos. 3–4 (2015): 278–85.

²⁰ *Ijtibād jamā'ī* refers to the process of Islamic legal reasoning conducted collectively by a group of qualified *mujtahids*. In contemporary contexts, *ijtibād jamā'ī* is regarded as closer to the truth and more beneficial (*maṣlahah*) than individual *ijtibād*. This is primarily due to the growing difficulty of finding a single jurist with sufficient qualifications to issue comprehensive legal rulings amid complex modern challenges that require interdisciplinary expertise across diverse fields of knowledge. See: Muḥammad al-Rūqī, *Al-Ijtibād al-Fiqhī: Ayyu Dawrin wa Ayyu Jadid* (Al-Najāh al-Jadidah, 1996), 34.

²¹ Sholeh, *Metodologi Penetapan Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, 80–1.

²² See: Agus Fakhri et al., "Contesting the Boundaries of Sharia Compliance: Legalizing Income Smoothing in Indonesian Islamic Banking," *Asy-Syir'ah: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah dan Hukum* 59, no. 1 (2025): 19–35;

issues (*masā'il asāsīyyah waṭaniyyah*), contemporary religious issues (*masā'il fiqhiyyah mu'āṣirah*), and legal issues related to state legislation (*masā'il qānūniyyah*), all of which were issued through the Ijtimā' Ulama forum (see Table 2).

Table 2
MUI Fatwas, 1975–2024

No.	Fatwa Themes	Total Fatwas	Fatwa-Issuing Body/Forum
1.	Religious Issues	174	MUI Fatwa Commission (1976–2024) and National Congress (1980, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015, and 2020)
2.	Food, Medicine, Cosmetics, Science, and Technology	87	MUI Fatwa Commission, in cooperation with the LP-POM of MUI
3.	Islamic Economics	160	DSN-MUI (2000–2024)
4.	Strategic National Issues, Contemporary Religious Issues, and Legal Issues Related to Legislation	152	Ijtimā' Ulama of the MUI Fatwa Commissions of Indonesia (2003, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2015, 2018, 2021, 2024)

Source: Authors' classification.

Table 2 demonstrates that the MUI fatwas extend well beyond ritual and doctrinal matters, encompassing contemporary and complex fields such as food and pharmaceuticals, science and technology, and Islamic economics. The publication of 573 fatwas over nearly five decades underscores MUI's central role in providing Islamic legal guidance to Indonesian society.²³ This pattern highlights at least two significant aspects: first, the persistent demand among Muslims for religious guidance in response to rapidly emerging new issues; and second, MUI's responsiveness in addressing social, political, economic, and scientific developments by issuing contextually relevant fatwas. Thus, MUI fatwas can be understood not only as normative legal products but also as socio-historical artifacts arising from the dialectical interaction among scriptural texts, societal needs, and the contemporary national context.²⁴

In formulating its fatwas, the MUI relies on the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, *ijmā'* (consensus), *qiyās* (analogy), and methods of *ijtihād* grounded in *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Islamic legal theory).²⁵ Previous studies indicate that MUI fatwas tend to reflect the opinions and *ijtihād* models developed by classical '*ulamā'*', as preserved in the reliable books (*al-kutub al-mu'tabarah*), and that the MUI

Syihabudin et al., "Contemporary Dynamics of Sharia Economic Law: DSN-MUI Fatwa No. 21/2001 in Takaful Dispute Rulings," *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 4, no. 2 (2025): 868–98; Muhammad Ilyas Marwal et al., "Responsive Law of the National Sharia Council of the Indonesian Ulema Council's Fatwa on Permissibility of Electronic Money," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 8, no. 1 (2025): 1–25.

²³ Fuad Mustafid et al., "Positivization of the Council of Indonesian Ulema's Halal Fatwa: Policy and Position in Indonesian Legislation," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 23, no. 1 (2024): 155–66.

²⁴ See: Zakaria Syaifei, "Tracing Maqasid al-Shari'ah in the Fatwas of Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI)," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 11, no. 1 (2017): 111–2; Ibnu Elmi Achmat Slamet Pelu and Jefry Tarantang, "Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia sebagai Solusi Permasalahan Umat Islam di Indonesia," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 14, no. 2 (2020): 307–16.

²⁵ See: Alfitri Alfitri, "Bureaucratizing Fatwā in Indonesia: The Council of Indonesian Ulama and Its Quasi-Legislative Power," *Ulumuna* 24, no. 2 (2020): 375–6; Mukhamad Agus Zuhurul Fuqohak and Muh Amiruddin, "Socio-Genetic Motives of MUI's Fatwa Regarding Covid-19 Based on Quran-Hadith," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Hadis* 22, no. 1 (2021): 19–48.

has not yet fully developed a distinctive or original methodology of *ijtihād*.²⁶ For example, Asrorun Ni‘am Sholeh found that out of 209 fatwas, 22 (11%) were based on the principle of *sadd al-dharī‘ah* (eliminating pretexts), as elaborated by the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī schools of law (*madhhab*).²⁷ Deny Hudaeni demonstrated that the MUI employs both *ijtihād intiqā’ī* (comparative–selective) and *ijtihād inshā’ī* (constructive–innovative) methodologies, as articulated by Yūsuf al-Qarāḍāwī.²⁸ Meanwhile, Muhammad Taufiki identified 28 fatwas issued between 1997 and 2007 that applied *ijtihād taṭbīqī*, a method developed by al-Shāṭibī.²⁹ These findings suggest that MUI’s methodology is not static but is gradually adapting by combining classical traditions with contemporary approaches.³⁰ Furthermore, Mohammad Atho Mudzhar has emphasized that, in addition to scriptural sources (*dalīl naqlī*) and *uṣūl al-fiqh* analysis, MUI fatwas are also shaped by ideological, social, cultural, and political factors.³¹

In certain contexts, the MUI also incorporates the expertise of scientists, particularly through the Institute for the Assessment of Food, Drugs, and Cosmetics (LP-POM) of the MUI, to determine the halal status of food, medicines, cosmetics, and other consumer goods.³² This scientific input has become indispensable in light of new challenges posed by rapid scientific and technological progress, which require an interdisciplinary understanding to ensure that fatwas remain relevant in the contemporary context.³³ Accordingly, the MUI fatwas may be interpreted not only as normative products of Islamic law but also as responsive and dynamic manifestations of Islamic legal engagement with socio-cultural change, scientific advancement, and political demands that shape Indonesia’s religious landscape.³⁴

²⁶ Hosen, “Behind the Scenes,” 178–9.

²⁷ Sholeh, *Metodologi Penetapan Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, 268–74.

²⁸ *Ijtihād intiqā’ī* is a method of Islamic legal reasoning that involves revisiting fatwas issued by earlier scholars. Its objective is to compare the evidence and legal conclusions of previous rulings and select the opinion deemed strongest and most relevant to current circumstances. In contrast, *ijtihād inshā’ī* is a more creative and innovative form of legal reasoning aimed at addressing novel issues that earlier scholars had not previously discussed. However, this approach may also be applied to longstanding issues that require new perspectives due to changing social conditions. See: Deni Hudaeny Ahmad Arifin, “Aplikasi Ijtihad Intiqaiy dan Inshaiy dalam Kehidupan Modern: Studi tentang Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia dalam Penerapan Konsep Ijtihad dan Inshaiy Tahun 1998-2003” (Thesis, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2005); Yūsuf al-Qarāḍāwī, *Al-Ijtihād fī al-Sharī‘ah al-Islāmīyah: Ma‘a Naẓarāt Taḥlīlīyah fī al-Ijtihād al-Mu‘āṣirah* (Dār al-Qalam, 1996), 117–33.

²⁹ *Ijtihād taṭbīqī* is a method that aims to bridge theoretical legal principles with the practical challenges faced by Muslim communities in contemporary contexts. See: Muhammad Taufiki, “Penerapan Konsep Ijtihad Taṭbīqī Asy-Syāṭibī dalam Fatwa MUI: Kajian terhadap Fatwa MUI Tahun 1997-2007” (Thesis, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2008).

³⁰ Pelu and Tarantang, “Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia sebagai Solusi Permasalahan Umat Islam di Indonesia,” 311.

³¹ See: Mudzhar, *Fatwa-Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, 139–42; Mohammad Atho Mudzhar et al., *Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia MUI dalam Perspektif Hukum dan Perundang-Undangan* (Puslitbang Kehidupan Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2012), xxix–xxxiv.

³² Diky Faqih Maulana et al., “The Urgency of MUI Halal Fatwa about Food, Beverage, Medicine and Cosmetic Products for the Consumer Protection,” *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Konstitusi* 5, no. 2 (2022): 199–214.

³³ JM Muslimin et al., “Islam and Medicine: A Study on the Fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council on Vaccines,” *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 6, no. 1 (2021): 85–106.

³⁴ See: Mar’uf Amin, *Solusi Hukum Islam (Makharij Fiqhiyyah) sebagai Pendorong Arus Baru Ekonomi Syariah di Indonesia (Kontribusi Fatwa DSN-MUI dalam Peraturan Perundang-Undangan RI)* (Thesis, UIN Maulana Malik

MUP's Fatwa Transformations on Worship, Science, and Technology: Norms and Islamic Legal Reasoning

This study identifies significant shifts in the fatwas issued by the MUI on worship, science, and technology. These shifts are evidenced by the issuance of multiple fatwas on the same themes, albeit through different forums, contexts, or legal formulations. In the field of science and technology, two major themes underwent revisions. First, the fatwas on vasectomy and tubectomy were issued three times: in 1979, 2009, and 2012. Second, the fatwas concerning the meningitis vaccine for *ḥajj* and *ʿumrah* pilgrims were issued twice: in 2009 and 2010. In the domain of worship, two themes also experienced changes. The first concerns the determination of the beginning of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, and Dhu al-Ḥijjah, with fatwas issued in 1980 and 2004. The second concerns the direction of the qibla, with two fatwas both issued in 2010 (see Table 3).

Table 3
MUP's Fatwa Transformations on Worship, Science, and Technology

No.	Themes	Fatwa Identities	Fatwa-Issuing Body/Forum	Legal Norms
1.	Science & Technology	Vasectomy and Tubectomy (1979)	MUI Fatwa Commission	<i>Ḥarām</i> due to permanent sterilization is forbidden in Islam.
		Vasectomy (2009)	Ijtimā' Ulama of	<i>Ḥarām</i> , reaffirming the 1979 ruling.
		Vasectomy (2012)	MUI Fatwa Commissions	<i>Ḥarām</i> , but permissible under strict conditions: non-permanent, guarantee of recanalization, legitimate <i>Shar'iah</i> motives, no medical harm, and not intended as a general contraceptive program.
2.	Science & Technology	Fatwa No. 5 of 2009 on Meningitis Vaccine for <i>Ḥajj</i> and <i>ʿUmrah</i>	MUI Fatwa Commission	Mencevax™ ACW135Y is <i>ḥarām</i> (contains pork derivatives) but permissible in an emergency due to lack of alternatives.
		Fatwa No. 6 of 2010 on Meningitis Vaccine		Mencevax™ ACW135Y is <i>ḥarām</i> ; only halal vaccines (e.g., Menveo, Chinese vaccines) are permitted.
3.	Worship	Determination of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, and Dhu al-Ḥijjah (1980)	MUI National Congress	Global <i>ru'yah</i> for Ramaḍān and Shawwāl; local <i>ru'yah</i> (per country) for Dhu al-Ḥijjah.
		Fatwa No. 2 of 2004 on Determination of Lunar Months	MUI Fatwa Commission	Determination by combining <i>ḥisāb</i> and <i>ru'yah</i> conducted by the Ministry of Religious Affairs; nationally binding; foreign <i>ru'yah</i> accepted if sharing the same <i>maṭla'</i> with Indonesia.
4.	Worship	Fatwa No. 3 of 2010 on Qibla	MUI Fatwa Commission	Qibla in Indonesia is toward the Ka'bah (<i>jihāt al-Ka'bah</i>), sufficient by facing west.

Ibrahim Malang, 2017), 12; Achmad Roziqi et al., "Institutional Ijtihād and Socio-Legal Adaptation: The Formulation of Waṣīyah Wājibah in Indonesia's Compilation of Islamic Law," *Asy-Syir'ah: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah dan Hukum* 59, no. 1 (2025): 1–18.

		Fatwa No. 5 of 2010 on Qibla Direction		Qibla is northwest, reflecting Indonesia's geographic position. Mosques facing west do not require alteration.
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Source: Authors' classification.

The first topic concerns fatwas on vasectomy. On June 13, 1979, the MUI Fatwa Commission unequivocally declared vasectomy *ḥarām* (prohibited), considering it a form of permanent sterilization forbidden in Islam. This decision was reached after deliberation by three prominent '*ulamā*' known as *kiai*: Rahmatullah Shiddiq, M. Syakir, and Syafi'i Al-Hadzami.³⁵ The prohibition was reaffirmed in a fatwa issued at the Ijtimā' Ulama of the MUI Fatwa Commissions on January 26, 2009, chaired by Ma'ruf Amin, with Ichwan Sam serving as secretary. This fatwa, which addressed inquiries about vasectomy as a male contraceptive method—including its potential reversibility—cited Qur'ānic verses, *ḥadīth*, Islamic legal maxims (*al-qawā'id al-fiqh*), and '*ulamā*' opinions to reinforce the earlier ruling.³⁶ On July 1, 2012, the issue was revisited at another Ijtimā' Ulama. A team of twelve '*ulamā*' concluded that while vasectomy generally remained *ḥarām*, it could be conditionally permitted if five strict criteria were met: (1) the motive did not contravene Islamic principles; (2) it did not result in permanent infertility; (3) recanalization to restore reproductive function was guaranteed; (4) it posed no medical harm; and (5) it was not adopted as a general contraceptive policy. The fatwa was signed by Ma'ruf Amin (chair) and Asrorun Ni'am Sholeh (secretary).³⁷

Second is the fatwa on the meningitis vaccine. On July 16, 2009, the MUI Fatwa Commission issued a fatwa signed by Anwar Ibrahim (chair) and Hasanuddin (secretary), in response to Saudi Arabia's requirement that *hajj* and '*umrah*' pilgrims be vaccinated against meningitis. The ruling declared the then-available vaccine *ḥarām* because it contained porcine elements but permitted its use under the principle of *darūrah*, given the absence of halal alternatives. The ruling was based on Qur'ānic prohibitions against consuming unlawful substances (Sūrat al-Baqarah: 173, Sūrat al-Mā'idah: 3, and Sūrat al-An'ām: 145), *ḥadīth* affirming that every disease has a cure, and *al-qawā'id al-fiqh* prohibiting harm.³⁸ A year later, in 2010, the MUI revised its stance, declaring the porcine-based vaccine (Mencevax™ ACW135Y) absolutely *ḥarām*, since halal alternatives such as Menveo (Italy) and vaccines from China had become available. The fatwa emphasized that only halal vaccines should be used for pilgrims.³⁹

Third, there are fatwas concerning the determination of the lunar calendar. On July 27, 1980, during the Second National Congress in Jakarta, the MUI Fatwa Commission issued a

³⁵ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy and Tubectomy," 1979.

³⁶ "Fatwa of the National Ijtimā' of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy," 2009.

³⁷ "Fatwa of the National Ijtimā' of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy," 2012.

³⁸ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 5 of 2009 on the Use of Meningitis Vaccines for Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims." See: Dewi Nurul Izzah, "Critical Study of the Hadith *عن أبي هريرة عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: كل داء له شفاء* Ta'ā'ī' al-*ḥadīth* and Its Relation to Medicine," *Nabawi: Journal of Hadith Studies* 5, no. 2 (2024): 159–79; Aizan Ali @ Mat Zin, "Navigating Sunan Sittah in Exploring the Prophetic Style of Coping with Mental Health Issues: A Case Study on Sadness," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Hadis* 26, no. 2 (2025): 279–302.

³⁹ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 6 of 2010 on the Use of Meningitis Vaccines for Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims."

fatwa stipulating two rulings: (1) the beginning of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl should be determined through global *ru'yab*, and (2) the beginning of Dhu al-Hijjah should follow local *ru'yab* in each country. This fatwa, signed by Ibrahim Hosen (chair) and Musytari Yusuf (secretary), did not include detailed reasoning or textual evidence but directly provided the legal dictum.⁴⁰ A significant shift occurred with the issuance of the fatwa on January 24, 2004, which endorsed a combined method of *ru'yab* and *ḥisāb*, as conducted by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. It also mandated that Indonesian Muslims adhere to official government decisions, while accepting foreign *ru'yab* results only if the *maṭla'* (the geographical boundary for moon sighting) aligned with Indonesia's horizon.⁴¹

Fatwas on the qibla direction have evolved over time. On February 1, 2010, the MUI Fatwa Commission ruled that Indonesian Muslims should face west when praying, reasoning that Indonesia lies east of the Ka'bah. Supporting this fatwa, the Commission cited Qur'ānic verses, *ḥadīths*, '*ulamā'*' opinions, and a paper by Ali Mustafa Ya'qub, then Vice-Chair of the Commission, who argued that Muslims unable to see the Ka'bah directly should orient themselves toward its general direction (*jihāt al-Ka'bah*).⁴² However, only five months later, in July 2010, this ruling was revised. The new fatwa declared that the qibla for Indonesians was northwest, based on astronomical studies by A. Ghazalie Masroeri, a prominent expert in Islamic astronomy (*'ilm al-falak*). Nonetheless, the MUI recommended that existing mosques already oriented westward should not be reconstructed or realigned. Both fatwas were signed by Anwar Ibrahim (chair) and Hasanuddin (secretary).⁴³

Forms of MUI's Fatwa Transformation: From Relaxation to the Revocation of Previous Norms

Based on the preceding discussion of the dynamics of MUI's fatwa transformations—particularly in the areas of worship, science, and technology—it is evident that the institution has proactively reviewed, revised, and adapted its rulings in response to societal needs and scientific advancements. Within this framework, at least three primary forms of fatwa change can be identified: (1) a shift from a strict to a more flexible legal stance to accommodate specific circumstances; (2) the annulment of previous rulings following new discoveries or information; and (3) the refinement of earlier rulings to provide more precise, more detailed, and practical guidance. These three forms of transformation reflect the adaptability of Islamic jurisprudence, demonstrating that MUI fatwas are not rigid legal products but are responsive to the challenges of contemporary times.⁴⁴

Relaxation of Legal Norms

⁴⁰ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission at the MUI National Congress on the Determination of the Beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal (Eid al-Fitr), and Dhu al-Hijjah (Eid al-Adha)," 1980.

⁴¹ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 2 of 2004 on the Determination of the Beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal, and Dhu al-Hijjah."

⁴² "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 3 of 2010 on the Qibla Direction."

⁴³ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 5 of 2010 on the Orientation of the Qibla."

⁴⁴ See: Tri Harnowo and Fachry Hasani Habib, "Islamic Law and Environment Issues: Indonesian Ulama Council's Fatwas on Climate Change," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 24, no. 1 (2024): 101–18; Hakim et al., "Between Exclusivity and Inclusivity of Institutions," 230–44.

A clear example of the transformation of fatwas through legal relaxation is the case of vasectomy and tubectomy. Initially, both contraceptive methods were considered impermissible sterilization practices.⁴⁵ In 1979, the MUI Fatwa Commission issued a ruling that categorically prohibited vasectomy and tubectomy because they constituted sterilization.⁴⁶ This prohibition was reaffirmed during the Ijtima' Ulama Fatwa Commission in 2009, held in Padang Panjang, West Sumatra, where the practice was declared strictly forbidden. The ruling was based on Qur'ānic references (Sūrat al-An'ām: 137 and 151; Sūrat al-Isrā': 31; Sūrat al-Shūrā: 50; and Sūrat al-Nisā': 119), emphasizing the prohibition of killing children for economic reasons or altering God's creation. It also relied on relevant Prophetic traditions and principles of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Despite the theoretical possibility of recanalization, the MUI argued that vasectomy did not guarantee restored fertility. Consequently, the legal provision of the fatwa stated:⁴⁷

"Vasectomy as a contraceptive method involves cutting the spermatic ducts, resulting in permanent sterility. Recanalization does not guarantee the restoration of fertility. Therefore, the Ijtima' Ulama Fatwa Commission of Indonesia has ruled that vasectomy is ḥarām."

However, advances in medical science have led to new evidence emerging in 2012, indicating that recanalization can successfully restore spermatic function and male fertility, enabling men to father children again.⁴⁸ This evidence was presented by the Ministry of Health, supported by field data from the National Population and Family Planning Agency (BKKBN) and the official statement of the Indonesian Urological Association (IAUI). In response, the MUI, through its Fourth Ijtima' Ulama Fatwa Commission at the Pesantren Cipasung in Tasikmalaya, West Java, issued a new fatwa. It reaffirmed that vasectomy remains prohibited if performed for purposes contrary to *Shari'ah* (Islamic law), results in permanent sterility, cannot be re-canalized, or causes harm. However, under specific conditions, the practice may be permitted within a limited scope.⁴⁹ This shift exemplifies the transformation of a previously strict ruling into a more flexible one, shaped by considerations of public interest (*maṣlaḥah*), necessity (*ḍarūrah*), and advancements in medical progress.⁵⁰

Revocation of Previous Rulings

The annulment of previous rulings represents another form of fatwa transformation, a common phenomenon in the dynamics of *ijtihād*, particularly when new scientific knowledge or significant contextual changes arise. This pattern is evident in the case of the meningitis vaccine for pilgrims. In 2009, the MUI issued a fatwa prohibiting the use of the meningitis

⁴⁵ Ilyas Angsar et al., *Pedoman Pelayanan Kontrasepsi dan Keluarga Berencana* (Direktorat Kesehatan Keluarga, Kementerian Kesehatan Republik Indonesia, 2020), 65–6.

⁴⁶ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy and Tubectomy."

⁴⁷ "Fatwa of the National Ijtima' of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy," 2009.

⁴⁸ "Fatwa of the National Ijtima' of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy," 2012.

⁴⁹ "Fatwa of the National Ijtima' of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy," 2012.

⁵⁰ See: Harnowo and Habib, "Islamic Law and Environment Issues," 101–18; Hakim et al., "Between Exclusivity and Inclusivity of Institutions," 230–44; Rasyid et al., "Science and Its Role in Changes in Islamic Legal Thought," 120–37; A. Kumedi Ja'far et al., "Construction of Contemporary Fiqh in the Disorders of Sexual Development Problems Through the Integration of Maqāshid al-Sharī'a and Medical Science," *Al-Adalah* 22, no. 1 (2025): 63–90.

vaccine. This ruling was prompted by Saudi Arabia's policy requiring all pilgrims entering the country, including Indonesian *hajj* and *umrah* pilgrims, to be vaccinated against meningitis. At that time, Indonesian pilgrims were administered Mencevax ACW135Y, produced by GlaxoSmithKline Beecham Pharmaceuticals in Belgium. According to the company's official statement delivered on May 22, 2009, to the Indonesian Ministry of Health, the vaccine was produced using media containing porcine enzymes and fats. The fatwa declared:⁵¹

"The statement from GlaxoSmithKline Beecham Pharmaceuticals, Belgium, producer of Mencevax™ ACW135Y, delivered at the Ministry of Health on May 22, 2009, confirmed that the active ingredient of the Meningitis vaccine Mencevax™ ACW135Y is derived from bacterial colonies cultivated in media containing porcine enzymes and fats."

At that time, no halal alternative was available. Therefore, invoking the principle of *darūrah*, the MUI ruled that the vaccine was intrinsically prohibited but could be used out of urgent need. To substantiate this ruling, the Commission referred to the Islamic legal maxim "*al-darūrāt tubīh al-maḥẓūrāt*" (necessities permit prohibitions) and the opinions of '*ulamā*' such as Muḥammad Khaṭīb al-Sharbīnī in *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj* and al-'Izz ibn 'Abd al-Salām in *Qawā'id al-Aḥkām fī Maṣāliḥ al-Anām*, both of whom permitted the use of impure or prohibited substances for treatment when no lawful alternatives were available.⁵²

In 2010, halal-certified alternatives, such as those produced by Novartis Vaccine & Diagnostics S.R.L. and Zhejiang Tianyuan Bio-Pharmaceutical, had become available. Expert reviews confirmed that these vaccines met halal standards because they were not produced using porcine derivatives. Consequently, the MUI revisited its earlier ruling and issued a new fatwa declaring that only halal vaccines could be used, effectively revoking its previous fatwa. It was codified in the new ruling:⁵³

"The provision in MUI Fatwa No. 5 of 2009, which permitted the use of the meningitis vaccine derived from porcine sources for pilgrims based on necessity (ḥājah), is no longer valid."

Thus, the dispensation permitting the use of haram vaccines became irrelevant, as the necessity ceased with the availability of halal alternatives. This change highlights that MUI fatwas are not static but rather flexible and responsive to scientific advancements, consistently prioritizing the *maṣlaḥah* of the Muslim community in Indonesia.⁵⁴

Refinement of Previous Rulings

The refinement of previous rulings occurs when an earlier fatwa remains relevant but requires supplementation for greater comprehensiveness. This pattern is evident in the determination

⁵¹ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 5 of 2009 on the Use of Meningitis Vaccines for Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims."

⁵² "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 5 of 2009 on the Use of Meningitis Vaccines for Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims."

⁵³ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 6 of 2010 on the Use of Meningitis Vaccines for Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims."

⁵⁴ See: Edi Kurniawan et al., "Beribadah di tengah Wabak Covid-19: Analisis terhadap Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia No 14 Tahun 2020 Berasaskan Teori Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah al-Shāṭibī," *Jurnal Fiqh* 19, no. 1 (2022): 83–108; Rasyid et al., "Science and Its Role in Changes in Islamic Legal Thought," 120–37; Zainal Azwar and Farid Afif Rinaldi, "Consistency of the Indonesian Ulama Council in Using Istiṣlāḥ as a Method for Legal Istiṣbath," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 9, no. 1 (2024): 1–24.

of the beginnings of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, and Dhu al-Ḥijjah. In its 1980 fatwa, the MUI stipulated that the determination of lunar months should rely solely on the observation of the crescent moon (*ru'yah al-bilāl*), taking into account the concept of *maṭla'*. The fatwa emphasized two points: first, that the beginning of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl could be determined internationally if an international Islamic judicial body recognized by the Muslim world were established; second, that the determination of Dhu al-Ḥijjah should follow each country's *maṭla'*.⁵⁵ At this stage, the fatwa relied exclusively on testimonial evidence of moon-sighting, without reference to scientific or state authority.

A significant refinement emerged in the 2004 fatwa when the MUI introduced the *ḥisāb* alongside moon-sighting as legitimate methods for determining the lunar calendar. Furthermore, the fatwa emphasized the role of the state—specifically the Ministry of Religious Affairs—as the official authority responsible for determining the beginning of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, and Dhu al-Ḥijjah, in consultation with Islamic organizations and relevant institutions. It was codified in the ruling:⁵⁶

“The determination of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, and Dhu al-Ḥijjah shall be based on both ru'yah and ḥisāb by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, represented by the Minister of Religious Affairs, and shall apply nationally.”

Thus, the 2004 fatwa can be viewed as a refinement of its 1980 predecessor, integrating the dimensions of science (astronomy) and politics (state authority) to ensure nationwide uniformity in the observance of fasting and religious festivals.

An example of refinement is the determination of the Qibla direction. On February 1, 2010, the MUI issued a fatwa instructing Indonesian Muslims to face west to orient themselves toward the Ka'bah. This conclusion was based on an internal scientific paper authored by a commission member, which cited Qur'ānic verses, Prophetic traditions, and '*ulama'*' opinions.⁵⁷ However, the fatwa did not involve a rigorous astronomical analysis. Consequently, it was criticized for being overly simplistic, hastily issued, and insufficiently attentive to Indonesia's precise geographic location, which is not directly east of the Ka'bah.⁵⁸ In response, the MUI consulted experts in '*ilm al-falak*', including A. Ghazalie Masroeri from the NU, who presented detailed astronomical analyses. These findings led to a revised fatwa in 2010, which clarified that Indonesian Muslims should face in the direction of the northwest, with regional variations depending on geographical location. The MUI further ruled that mosques and prayer halls already aligned toward the west did not require reconstruction.⁵⁹ This refinement demonstrates MUI's effort to integrate religious texts with

⁵⁵ “Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission at the MUI National Congress on the Determination of the Beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal (Eid al-Fitr), and Dhu al-Hijjah (Eid al-Adha).”

⁵⁶ “Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 2 of 2004 on the Determination of the Beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal, and Dhu al-Hijjah.”

⁵⁷ “Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 3 of 2010 on the Qibla Direction.”

⁵⁸ Ahsin Dinal Mustafa, “Qibla Directions Through Ulama's Fatwa: Comparative Study between Qibla Direction Fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council and Dar Al-Ifta Al-Misriyyah,” *Al-Hilal: Journal of Islamic Astronomy* 1, no. 1 (2019): 107–25.

⁵⁹ “Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 5 of 2010 on the Orientation of the Qibla.”

scientific evidence while also accommodating social and political realities.⁶⁰ It illustrates how fatwa refinement incorporates both astronomy and state considerations to provide more precise and socially acceptable legal guidance.⁶¹

The Dialectics of Religion, Science, and Socio-Politics in the Transformation of MUI Fatwas

The development of Islamic legal thought is shaped by complex dynamics involving religious authority, scientific inquiry, and socio-political influences.⁶² These three elements interact in the formulation of Islamic law while simultaneously generating challenges in producing rulings that remain contextually relevant and responsive to the needs of modern society.⁶³ The religious dimension requires conformity with the *Shari‘ah* through interpretation of the Qur‘ān and *ḥadīth*; science introduces empirical findings that may reshape initial assumptions;⁶⁴ and politics—whether in the form of state policy or internal dynamics within religious organizations—often determines both the direction and substance of a fatwa, particularly when social, economic, or public-image considerations are at stake.⁶⁵

As the authoritative institution responsible for issuing fatwas in Indonesia, the MUI frequently navigates the interplay of three key forces.⁶⁶ In Islamic law, a fatwa serves as a normative guide followed by the Muslim community;⁶⁷ however, its formulation is never isolated from negotiations among textual interpretation, scientific knowledge, and socio-political context. Variations in fatwa evolution—ranging from the relaxation of previously strict prohibitions and annulment of earlier rulings to normative refinements—demonstrate that fatwas are not solely grounded in scriptural sources. They are also shaped by scientific

⁶⁰ See: Annisa Mawarni and Dhiyuddin Tanjung, “Problematics of Qibla Direction Determination in Sei Lapan Brandan District, Langkat Regency (Analysis of MUI Fatwa No. 5 of 2010 on the Amendment of MUI Fatwa No. 3 of 2010),” *Journal of Law, Politics and Humanities* 4, no. 3 (2024): 233–6; Muhammad Iqbal Juliansyahzen et al., “Between Sharia, Gender, and Science in the Construction of ‘Iddah: The Response of Banyumas’ Ulemas,” *EL-Mashlahab* 14, no. 1 (2024): 189–210.

⁶¹ See: Hakim et al., “Between Exclusivity and Inclusivity of Institutions,” 230–44; Ahmad Musonnif et al., “Government Position in Religious Authority Contestation in Indonesia: Reviewing the Government Authority in Determining the Beginning of Islamic Months,” *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syar‘iah* 16, no. 2 (2024): 336–62.

⁶² See: Nur Khaera et al., “The Paradigm of Islamic Legal Products in Indonesia,” *Mazhabibuna* 4, no. 1 (2022): 44–5; Muntasar Muntasar et al., “Power Structures and Religious Legitimacy: The Influence of Dayah Ulama in the Politics of Aceh Analyzed Using Powercube Theory,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 13, no. 1 (2025): 437–62.

⁶³ Amer Zulfikar Ali, “Brief Review of Classical and Modern Tafsir Trends and Role of Modern Tafasir in Contemporary Islamic Thought,” *Australian Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, no. 2 (2018): 42–5.

⁶⁴ See: Muhammad Alfin Ghazali, “The Role of Science in Hadith Criticism: Between Naqd Ijabi and Naqd Salbi,” *Nabawi: Journal of Hadith Studies* 6, no. 1 (2025): 93–124; Ali Imron and Anif Yuni Muallifah, “Fiqh of Biotechnology: Reinterpreting Qur‘anic Verses on the Impurity of Pigs and Its Implications for the Halal Status of Vaccines,” *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur‘an dan Hadis* 26, no. 1 (2025): 189–216.

⁶⁵ Muhammad Taufiq et al., “Between Sharia and State: Fatwa Authority and Pandemic Responses in Indonesia, Turkey, and Morocco,” *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syar‘iah* 17, no. 1 (2025): 377–94.

⁶⁶ See: Popi Adiyas Putra et al., “Fatwa (al-Ifta’); Signifikansi dan Kedudukannya dalam Hukum Islam,” *Al-Mutharahab: Jurnal Penelitian dan Kajian Sosial Keagamaan* 19, no. 1 (2022): 36; Skovgaard-Petersen, “A Typology of Fatwas,” 279.

⁶⁷ See: Shahir Akram Hassan and Wan Mohd Khairul Firdaus wan Khairulidin, “Research Design Based on Fatwa Making Process: An Exploratory Study,” *International Journal of Higher Education* 9, no. 6 (2020): 242–3; Setyaningsih, “Fatwa Institutions in Islamic Law,” *Awang Long Law Review* 5, no. 1 (2022): 315–6.

discoveries and Indonesia's evolving political realities. Thus, changes in MUI fatwas reflect a complex dialectic among religious understanding, scientific reasoning, and socio-political influences.⁶⁸

Fatwas on Vasectomy

The MUI fatwas on vasectomy have undergone significant changes over time. In 1979 and 2009, the MUI categorically prohibited vasectomy, viewing it as a form of permanent sterilization contrary to Islamic teachings.⁶⁹ Their normative reasoning was based on three main arguments. First, Qur'ānic verses prohibit the killing of children for economic or other motives, as found in Sūrat al-An'ām: 137 and 151, Sūrat al-Isrā': 31, Sūrat al-Shūrā: 50, and Sūrat al-Nisā': 119. Second, the *ḥadīth* were cited as prohibiting permanent alteration of God's creation, including a narration reported by Imām Aḥmad, which was interpreted as evidence that vasectomy constituted an impermissible act of mutilation without a valid *Shari'ah*-based justification. Third, through *qiyās*,⁷⁰ vasectomy was equated with castration, which permanently removes reproductive capacity and thus contradicts the Islamic encouragement to increase progeny, as mandated in the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*.⁷¹

Over time, however, scientific findings began to challenge these assumptions. Medical studies presented by the IAUUI demonstrated that vasectomy is not necessarily permanent, as sperm duct recanalization procedures can restore reproductive function with increasingly reliable success rates. This evidence weakened the perception of vasectomy as an absolute sterilization method. In response, the MUI revised its earlier stance in 2012. Maintaining that vasectomy is impermissible when intended for prohibited purposes, when harmful, or when leading to irreversible infertility, the fatwa allowed conditional permissibility if supported by medical assurances that fertility could be restored, provided the practice was not promoted as a mass contraceptive campaign.⁷²

This revision was not driven solely by scientific considerations but was also influenced by state policy. A letter from the Ministry of Health (No. TU.05.02/V/1016/2012, dated June 11, 2012) explicitly requested a review of the fatwa, proposing a change in its legal status to *mubāḥ* (permissible). The government justified this by emphasizing vasectomy's effectiveness within the national family planning program, an agenda prioritized since the New Order era to control population growth.⁷³ Within this framework, vasectomy and tubectomy were considered highly effective and relatively safe compared to other

⁶⁸ Sodikin, "Religion and Science," 1–20; Hakim et al., "Between Exclusivity and Inclusivity of Institutions," 230–44.

⁶⁹ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy and Tubectomy."

⁷⁰ Mahmood Jawad Abu-AlShaeer, "From Qiyas to Quantification: Reimagining Evidentiary Standards in Islamic Law through Statistical Methodologies," *International Journal of Syriab and Law* 1, no. 1 (2025): 27–40.

⁷¹ "Fatwa of the National Ijtima' of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy," 2009. See also: Abdel Omran Rahim, *Family Planning in the Legacy of Islam* (Routledge, 1992), 187–90.

⁷² "Fatwa of the National Ijtima' of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy," 2012.

⁷³ Dasrizal Dahlan and Jusmawati Jusmawati, "Islam Law Review About Applications of Contraception Vasetomy and Tubectomy Methods to Muslim Community in West Sumatera," *Al Hurriyah: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 7, no. 1 (2022): 33–4.

contraceptive methods.⁷⁴ Consequently, the MUI's prohibition was perceived as an obstacle that fueled resistance among devout Muslims.⁷⁵ Through the BKKBN, the government sought religious legitimacy by involving the MUI and presenting medical and demographic evidence to support its case. Ultimately, the MUI responded with a more flexible fatwa, while still discouraging the open mass promotion of vasectomy.⁷⁶

The evolution of fatwas on vasectomy and tubectomy illustrates the interplay of religion, science, and politics in shaping Islamic legal thought. The 2012 fatwa represents a compromise in which the MUI maintained its normative authority while accommodating public policy priorities. Although the MUI based its decision on scriptural evidence, it also took into account scientific findings and governmental demands. This case highlights that Islamic legal reasoning cannot be divorced from national socio-political dynamics and modern scientific developments, with each fatwa emerging as a product of this tripartite dialectic.⁷⁷

Fatwas on the Meningitis Vaccine

The intersection of religious reasoning, scientific knowledge, and state interests is also evident in the fatwas concerning the meningitis vaccine. In 2009, the MUI permitted the use of non-halal vaccines on the grounds of necessity and *maṣlahah*, given the absence of halal alternatives.⁷⁸ The decision emphasized the urgent need to safeguard the health of Indonesian pilgrims performing *ḥajj* and *ʿumrah*, even if this required using vaccines derived from porcine substances. This fatwa drew upon Qurʾānic verses, *ḥadīths*, and classical *ʿulamāʾ* opinions, such as those of Muḥammad Khaṭīb al-Sharbīnī in *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj* and Al-ʿIzz ibn ʿAbd al-Salām in *Qawāʿid al-Aḥkām fī Maṣāliḥ al-Anām*, who permitted the use of prohibited substances in cases of necessity. However, the MUI stressed that the Indonesian government bore the responsibility of producing halal alternatives in subsequent years.⁷⁹

This 2009 fatwa also signaled MUI's political alignment with government policy, which mandated meningitis vaccination for *ḥajj* and *ʿumrah* pilgrims in compliance with Saudi regulations.⁸⁰ The timing of the fatwa—issued just one month after a formal meeting between the Minister of Health and the MUI leaders in June 2009—underscores this

⁷⁴ Ilham Syahputra et al., "Implementation of Program to Increase Men's Participation in the Use of Vasectomy Contraception," *Jurnal Administrasi Publik: Public Administration Journal* 10, no. 1 (2020): 92–101.

⁷⁵ Muhyiddin Muhyiddin, "Fatwa MUI tentang Vasektomi: Tanggapan Ulama dan Dampaknya terhadap Peningkatan Medis Operasi Pria (MOP)," *Al-Ahkam* 24, no. 1 (2014): 71.

⁷⁶ "Fatwa of the National Ijtima' of the MUI Fatwa Commission on Vasectomy," 2012.

⁷⁷ See: Rasyid et al., "Science and Its Role in Changes in Islamic Legal Thought," 125–29; Ade Dedi Rohayana, "The Mutualism Interactions in the Changes of Social and Islamic Law," *HIKMATUNA: Journal for Integrative Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2022): 21–4; Ali Sodikin, "Science-Based Ijtihad: Religious and Scientific Dialectic on Fatwas Regarding Congregational Worship Amid the Covid-19 Pandemic," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 21, no. 1 (2021): 79–98.

⁷⁸ Ade Nur Rohim, "Dharurah and the Realization of Maqashid Sharia: Analysis of the Implementation of Islamic Legal Maxims on Emergency," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah dan Masyarakat* 22, no. 1 (2022): 64–5.

⁷⁹ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 5 of 2009 on the Use of Meningitis Vaccines for Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims."

⁸⁰ Kompas, "Menkes: Vaksin Meningitis Wewenang MUI," June 17, 2009, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2009/06/17/16004473/~Kesehatan~Medis~Drugs~Vitamin~Mineral>.

coordination.⁸¹ Later, when pharmaceutical companies claimed to have developed halal meningitis vaccines free from porcine derivatives,⁸² the MUI responded by issuing a new fatwa in 2010 prohibiting the use of non-halal vaccines.⁸³ With halal options now available, the legal rationale (*'illah*) for the earlier permissibility no longer applies. This shift illustrates how scientific progress directly influenced Islamic legal interpretation. It also demonstrates the flexibility of the MUI's fatwa-making process in accommodating evolving circumstances, reflecting the dynamic interplay among religion, science, and politics.⁸⁴

Fatwas on the Determination of Lunar Months

The MUI's fatwas on the determination of lunar months illustrate the complex interplay of religion, science, and politics, while also reflecting Indonesia's religious life.⁸⁵ The 1980 fatwa recognized two legal frameworks concerning the concept of *maṭla'*.⁸⁶ First, for the months of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl, the MUI adopted a global *maṭla'*, consistent with the views of Mālikī, Ḥanafī, and Ḥanbalī jurists, as well as contemporary *'ulamā'* such as Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, to promote global Islamic unity in fasting and Eid celebrations. Second, for Dhu al-Ḥijjah, the MUI applied a national *maṭla'* (*wilāyat al-ḥukm*), drawing on the opinion of Ḥanafī jurists, such as Muḥammad Amīn al-Shahīr, as presented in *Radd al-Muḥtār*, who analogized the determination of Dhu al-Ḥijjah with locally defined prayer times.⁸⁷ This dual approach aimed to strike a balance between global Islamic solidarity and national cohesion.

In 2010, the MUI refined its position through two additional fatwas, introducing four key principles: (1) the beginning of lunar months must be determined by both *ru'yah* and *ḥisāb* under government supervision through the *sidang isbat* (closed meeting to confirm the beginning and end of Ramaḍān); (2) Muslims are obliged to obey the outcomes of the *sidang isbat*; (3) the Minister of Religious Affairs must consult the MUI and other Islamic organizations before finalizing decisions; and (4) moon sighting testimonies from neighboring regions may be used as supporting evidence.⁸⁸ These changes effectively narrowed the scope of *maṭla'* from a global to a regional context while reinforcing state

⁸¹ NU Online, "MUI Bersidang lagi Bahas Vaksin Meningitis," June 17, 2009, <https://nu.or.id/warta/mui-bersidang-lagi-bahas-vaksin-meningitis-xGRl8>.

⁸² Kemenkes, "Menkes Luncurkan Vaksin Meningitis Halal Secara Nasional," September 16, 2010, <https://kemkes.go.id/id/menkes-luncurkan-vaksin-meningitis-halal-secara-nasional>.

⁸³ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 6 of 2010 on the Use of Meningitis Vaccines for Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims."

⁸⁴ See: Sodiqin, "Religion and Science," 1–20; Hakim et al., "Between Exclusivity and Inclusivity of Institutions," 230–44.

⁸⁵ Nailur Rahmi et al., "Contestation of the Determination of 'Idul Adha and Its Implementation According to Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul 'Ulama," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah dan Masyarakat* 25, no. 1 (2025): 262–79.

⁸⁶ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission at the MUI National Congress on the Determination of the Beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal (Eid al-Fitr), and Dhu al-Hijjah (Eid al-Adha)."

⁸⁷ Muḥammad Amīn al-Shahīr Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Radd al-Muḥtār 'alā al-Durr al-Mukhtār Sharḥ Tamwīr al-Aḥsār* (Dār 'Ālam al-Kutub, 2003), 364.

⁸⁸ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 2 of 2004 on the Determination of the Beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal, and Dhu al-Hijjah."

authority in determining the Islamic calendar.⁸⁹ The fatwas combined scriptural reasoning with scientific methods and emphasized obedience to political leadership, citing *Sūrat al-Nisā'*: 59, *ḥadīth* on obedience to rulers, and *al-qawā'id al-fiqh* that prioritize communal unity over juristic disagreement.⁹⁰ This development reflects the MUI's effort to reconcile religious texts, scientific knowledge, and socio-political imperatives, thereby strengthening the Indonesian state's legitimacy as the final arbiter in religious calendrical disputes.⁹¹

Fatwas on the Direction of the Qibla

The evolution of MUI's fatwas regarding the qibla direction illustrates the gradual integration of scientific reasoning into the process of religious decision-making. In 2010, the MUI initially ruled that Indonesian Muslims need only face the direction of the Ka'bah rather than the precise structure (*'ayn al-Ka'bah*).⁹² This decision was based on three arguments: (1) *Sūrah al-Baqarah*: 149, where the term "*shaṭrah*" was interpreted as "toward the Ka'bah," supported by al-Qurṭubī's commentary indicating that most '*ulamā'*' agreed on a general orientation for those far from Mecca; (2) *qiyās* with the *ḥadīth* reported by Abū Hurayrah stating "between east and west is qibla," applied to Indonesia's location east of Mecca; and (3) harmonization of seemingly conflicting *ḥadīth*,⁹³ concluding that those near the Ka'bah must face it precisely, while those far away may orient toward its general direction.⁹⁴

This fatwa, however, drew criticism from astronomers and '*ulamā'*' specializing in '*ilm al-falak*,' who argued that it lacked scientific consultation.⁹⁵ In response to this controversy, the MUI issued a second fatwa only five months later, clarifying that Indonesian Muslims should face northwest with varying azimuth angles depending on local geography. This revision explicitly acknowledged astronomical calculations and positioned science as integral to determining the qibla direction.⁹⁶ Although the second fatwa did not formally abrogate the first, it effectively redefined the MUI's stance by introducing precision grounded in scientific evidence.⁹⁷ The MUI framed the two fatwas as complementary; yet, in practice, they reflect a substantive shift—from a general orientation to geographically nuanced,

⁸⁹ See: Thomas Djamaluddin, *Astronomi Memberi Solusi Penyatuan Ummat* (Lembaga Penerbangan dan Antariksa Nasional, 2011), 26–8; Ahmad Wahidi et al., "Implementation of the Mabims Criteria in Determining the Beginning of Islamic Month in Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Engineering, Technology and Social Science (ICONETOS 2020)*, Atlantis Press, 2021, 97.

⁹⁰ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 2 of 2004 on the Determination of the Beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal, and Dhu al-Hijjah."

⁹¹ Susiknan Azhar, *Kalender Islam; Ke Arab Integrasi Muhammadiyah-NU* (Museum Astronomi Islam, 2012), 179–82.

⁹² Abī 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' li al-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān wa al-Mubayyin limā Taḍammanahu min al-Sunnah wa ayyi al-Furqān* (Mu'assasah al-Risālah, 2006), 43–4.

⁹³ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 3 of 2010 on the Qibla Direction."

⁹⁴ This approach was emphasized by Mustafa Ali Ya'qub, one of the principal proponents of the MUI fatwa on qibla orientation. See: Mustafa Ali Ya'qub, *Kiblat: Antara Bangunan dan Arab Ka'bah* (Pustaka Darus Sunnah, 2010), 49–55.

⁹⁵ Annisa Mawarni and Dhiauddin Tanjung, "Problematics of Qibla Direction Determination in Sei Lapan Brandan District, Langkat Regency (Analysis of MUI Fatwa No. 5 of 2010 on the Amendment of MUI Fatwa No. 3 of 2010)," *Journal of Law, Politic and Humanities* 4, no. 3 (2024): 236.

⁹⁶ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 5 of 2010 on the Orientation of the Qibla."

⁹⁷ Kompas, "MUI: Tidak Ada Perubahan Arah Kiblat," July 16, 2010, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2010/07/16/13040936/~Nasional>.

azimuth-based directions. The qibla fatwa controversy exemplifies the MUI's effort to mediate public debates by striking a balance between textual legitimacy and modern scientific authority, thereby highlighting the evolving dialectic between religion and science in contemporary Islamic legal reasoning.

Negotiating Authority, Knowledge, and Power in the Transformation of MUI Fatwas

The evolution of MUI's fatwas concerning ritual and public life demonstrates that Islamic legal thought in Indonesia is dynamic, adaptive, and continuously negotiating with social realities. Fatwas should not be understood merely as products of normative *ijtihad* but rather as outcomes of complex interactions involving social, political, and epistemological dimensions.⁹⁸ Cases such as the determination of the lunar calendar, the revision of the qibla orientation, the permissibility of meningitis vaccines, and rulings on vasectomy illustrate that MUI's fatwas do not emerge in a vacuum. Instead, they function as responses to the demands of modernity, advancements in scientific knowledge, and state pressures. Within this context, the MUI seeks to maintain its religious authority while also addressing the broader needs of society. However, this process of negotiation often generates tensions, as fatwas inevitably extend into the public sphere, where they intersect with political interests, health policy, and the legitimacy of science.⁹⁹

In Indonesia's socio-political landscape, the fatwas issued by the MUI serve a dual function. First, they provide authoritative religious guidance for the Muslim majority, shaping moral reference points for both ritual practices and daily life. Second, they carry a political dimension, influencing—and at times shaping—public policy.¹⁰⁰ It is particularly evident in the case of the meningitis vaccine fatwas. The first fatwa (2009) permitted the use of non-halal vaccines under the principle of necessity, given the absence of halal alternatives, aligning with Saudi Arabia's requirement that all pilgrims be vaccinated.¹⁰¹ However, following the development of a halal vaccine, the MUI issued a second fatwa (2010) prohibiting non-halal vaccines and mandating the use of the halal version.¹⁰² This shift illustrates that fatwas are not grounded solely in scriptural reasoning but are also shaped by global health politics and

⁹⁸ Fathorrahman et al., "The Role of Religious Fatwas in Indonesia: An Analysis of Self-Government and Biopolitics During the Pandemic," *PETTIA: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Hukum dan Syariah* 9, no. 1 (2024): 91.

⁹⁹ See: Firdaus Yuni Dharta et al., "MUI's Fatwa on Interfaith Greetings and Religious Tolerance: Can Indonesia Find a Middle Ground?," *Frontiers in Communication* 10 (May 2025): 5; Yahya and Susilo, "Conservative Muslims in Indonesia's Religious and Political Landscapes," 2392293; M. Ridho Ilahi et al., "Fatwa Institutions in Handling Religious Blasphemy Crimes in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Al-Ahkam* 34, no. 1 (2024): 33–62; Qodariah Barkah et al., "Negotiating Islamic Law and State Norms in Child Marriage Practices in Coastal Indonesia," *Antmind Review: Journal of Sharia and Legal Ethics* 2, no. 1 (2025): 43–55.

¹⁰⁰ Ach. Fatayillah Mursyidi, "MUI and Its Fatwa: The Articulation of Modern Authority in a Religious Democracy of Indonesia," *ENTITA: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial dan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 2, no. 1 (2020): 24–5.

¹⁰¹ "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 5 of 2009 on the Use of Meningitis Vaccines for Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims."

¹⁰² "Fatwa of the MUI Fatwa Commission No. 6 of 2010 on the Use of Meningitis Vaccines for Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims."

national policy.¹⁰³ Other words, fatwas operate as hybrid instruments that link religious authority with state imperatives and international societal demands.

Science, moreover, has been a crucial driver prompting the MUI to revise its fatwas. Empirical evidence regarding the reversibility of vasectomy through recanalization procedures, for example, created an opportunity for ‘*ulamā*’ to reconsider the absolute prohibition of vasectomy, which was previously classified as permanent sterilization. The development of halal meningitis vaccines demonstrated that fatwas may change when new scientific knowledge provides *Shari‘ah*-compliant alternatives. In the case of qibla orientation, critiques from Muslim astronomers concerning the inaccuracy of a generic “westward” direction compelled the MUI to adopt azimuth calculations and modern astronomical instruments. The determination of the lunar calendar has likewise become a site of contestation between those prioritizing *ru’yah* and those favoring *ḥisāb*, with significant implications for the designation of national religious holidays. These examples underscore that science does not function merely as a supplementary consideration in fatwa-making but rather as a catalyst for the reinterpretation of Islamic law, even challenging the authority of classical texts.¹⁰⁴

The influence of science on fatwa revisions, however, cannot be separated from the internal dynamics of the MUI. Differences in educational backgrounds and epistemological orientations among its ‘*ulamā*’ generate a diversity of perspectives that shape collective *ijtihād*.¹⁰⁵ The qibla controversy exemplifies this divergence. Ali Mustafa Ya‘qub, a *ḥadīth* scholar educated in Saudi Arabia, maintained that facing “west” sufficiently conformed to scriptural texts and classical consensus, thereby rendering modern astronomical instruments unnecessary and potentially confusing for the public. In contrast, A. Ghazalie Masroeri, an astronomer with a strategic role in the NU, emphasized the importance of scientific accuracy and advocated revising the earlier fatwa.¹⁰⁶ Internal debates reveal that fatwas are not merely external responses to social pressures but also the result of epistemological contestations within the MUI itself, shaped by educational trajectories, organizational affiliations, and scholarly orientations.¹⁰⁷

These findings suggest that the transformation of Islamic law—including the fatwas issued by the MUI—reflects a negotiation among authority, knowledge, and power. Scientific knowledge is mobilized to confer new legitimacy upon fatwas, while political authority

¹⁰³ See: Eva Achjani Zulfa et al., “Regulation and Law Enforcement on the Protection of Halal Products in Indonesia,” *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 2 (2023): 3; Ahmad Asrof Fitri and Masykuri Abdillah, “Fatwa Reformulation for Sustainable Development: Halal Certification of Medical Risk Products,” in *Towards Resilient Societies: The Synergy of Religion, Education, Health, Science, and Technology*, 1st ed., ed. Maila D.H. Rahiem (CRC Press, 2025), 167.

¹⁰⁴ See: Rasyid et al., “Science and Its Role in Changes in Islamic Legal Thought,” 120–37; Sodiqin, “Science-Based Ijtihad,” 79–98.

¹⁰⁵ Ahmed Gad Makhlof, “Evolution of Islamic Law in the 20th Century: The Conception of Collective Ijtihād in the Debate Between Muslim Scholars,” *Oxford Journal of Law and Religion* 9, no. 1 (2020): 3–6.

¹⁰⁶ Muhammad Rasyid, “Studi Relasi Agama dan Sains pada Fatwa-Fatwa Falakiah Majelis Ulama Indonesia Tahun 1976-2010” (Dissertation: UIN Antasari Banjarmasin, 2024), 264–5.

¹⁰⁷ Muhammad Rasyid, *Monograf: Fatwa-Fatwa Falakiah Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Metode Penetapan Fatwa, Pengaruh Sosial Politik dan Pertimbangan Sains)*, ed. Rizki Zakwandi (Dotplus Publisher, 2025), 190–2.

influences the degree to which such knowledge is accepted or contested.¹⁰⁸ A concrete example is found in the fatwas concerning the determination of the lunar calendar, which consistently serve as arenas of negotiation among state authorities (notably the Ministry of Religious Affairs), major Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, and experts in astronomy. Therefore, fatwas should not be understood merely as normative *ijtihad* but as social constructs shaped by power relations, societal needs, and the legitimacy of knowledge.¹⁰⁹ This dynamic explains why the MUI often adopts compromise positions—retaining earlier fatwas while simultaneously issuing revised ones—to maintain broad societal acceptance without relinquishing its religious authority. This study contributes to the scholarship on Islamic law in Indonesia by demonstrating that transformations in fatwas cannot be separated from the contestations among religion, science, and politics.¹¹⁰ By emphasizing the interconnectedness of these dimensions, it argues that the MUI's fatwas are the products of multi-actor negotiations, reflecting how Islamic law functions as a socially embedded system that is continuously redefined within the context of Indonesian modernity.¹¹¹

Conclusion

The transformations of the Indonesian Ulema Council's (MUI) fatwas in the domains of ritual practice and science and technology reflect a dynamic dialectic among normative religious principles, scientific advancements, and the socio-political realities of contemporary Indonesia. An analysis of fatwas concerning vasectomy, meningitis vaccination, qibla orientation, and the determination of the lunar calendar reveals diverse patterns of change: from strict prohibitions to more flexible rulings, from outright revocation and revision of earlier fatwas to refinements that incorporate new dimensions of legal reasoning. These transformations have been driven both by new scientific evidence—such as the possibility of post-vasectomy recanalization, the emergence of halal-certified vaccines, and the application of modern astronomical methods in qibla determination—and by socio-political pressures, including the imperatives of public health, the need to preserve communal unity in celebrating Islamic holidays, and the competing demands of conservative and progressive constituencies. Therefore, fatwas should not be understood merely as products of normative *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) but as social constructions shaped through the negotiation of religious authority, scientific legitimacy, and political pressure—thereby reflecting the character of Islamic law in Indonesia as a living, adaptive, and continually evolving entity.

¹⁰⁸ See: Ainiyatul Latifah and Ade Solihat, "Power Relation and Knowledge: Linking Islamic Education to Socio-Political Reform in Saudi Arabia," *ATTARBIYAH: Journal of Islamic Culture and Education* 9, no. 2 (2024): 169–70; Zuhrotul Maryam, "Michel Foucault's Power Relations Theory on al-Maududi's Thought," *International Journal of Islamic Social Studies* 2, no. 1 (2024): 56–7.

¹⁰⁹ Omer Awass, "Fatwa, Discursivity, and the Art of Ethical Embedding," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 87, no. 3 (2019): 16–7.

¹¹⁰ Sodiqin, "Religion and Science," 1–20.

¹¹¹ See: Koko Komaruddin et al., "Public Understanding of the Implementation of Islamic Law in the Context of Modern Life in Indonesia," *Sanskara Hukum dan HAM* 2, no. 03 (2024): 153–60; Hakim et al., "Between Exclusivity and Inclusivity of Institutions," 230–44.

This study enriches the literature on contemporary Islamic law by demonstrating how the interplay among religion, science, and politics shapes the development of fatwas in Indonesia. Theoretically, the findings underscore the importance of adopting a socio-legal approach in fatwa studies, as only through an interdisciplinary perspective can the dynamics of Islamic legal authority be fully understood. Practically, this research provides a platform for reflection for the MUI and other religious institutions to become more transparent, participatory, and accommodating toward both scientific advancements and societal needs. However, this study faces limitations, particularly due to restricted access to MUI's internal *ijtihad* deliberations, which necessitated reliance on finalized fatwa documents and secondary literature. Future research should therefore include interviews with fatwa decision-makers, comparative analyses of the MUI and other fatwa institutions across the Muslim world, and investigations into the reception or resistance of Muslim communities toward newly issued fatwas. Such studies could deepen our understanding of fatwas not only as elite formulations but also as practices that are implemented, negotiated, and sometimes contested within the socio-religious life of Indonesian Muslims.

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