

THE FORMATION OF THE MUHAMMADIYAH'S IDEOLOGY, 1912-1942

by  
Achmad Jainuri

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## ABSTRACT

Author : Achmad Jainuri  
Title of thesis : The Formation of the Muḥammadiyah's Ideology, 1912-1942  
Department : The Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University  
Degree : Doctor of Philosophy

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This thesis studies the formation of the basic ideology of the Muḥammadiyah during the period 1912-1942, analyzing in particular the fundamental aspects of its religious and social beliefs. The words and deeds of its leaders were crucial during the period in forming the Muḥammadiyah's ideology, for these alone provided the basis for the movement's program. Their religious outlook reflected the movement's philosophical view of this world and the role of reason in understanding religion. This view was marked by openness, tolerance, and pluralism in dealing with other ideas, and a belief in the salutary character of change. What set the Muḥammadiyah apart from other reformist groups was its insistence that the way to revive belief in and observance of Islamic injunctions was not limited to merely purifying certain aspects of religious practice (*ʿibādah*), especially *khilāfīyah* (controversial) matters such as *takhayyul* (fancy), *bidʿah* (innovation), and *khurāfah* (superstition), but in pursuing social reform in line with a theology of practical action. For the Muḥammadiyah, basic Islamic teachings served to encourage social responsibility; religious principles thus underlay every action.

## RESUME

Auteur : Achmad Jainuri  
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Cette thèse étudie la formation de l' idéologie de base de la Muḥammadiyah pendant la période 1912-1942 en analysant tout particulièrement les aspects fondamentaux de ses croyances religieuses et sociales. Les paroles et les actes de ses leaders furent cruciaux pendant la période de formation de l' idéologie Muḥammadiyah puisque ceux-ci ont constitué les fondements du programme du mouvement. La perspective religieuse de ces dirigeants ont reflété la vision philosophique du monde du mouvement ainsi que du rôle de la raison dans la compréhension de la religion. Cette approche fut caractérisée par l' ouverture, la tolérance et le pluralisme face à d' autres idées et par la croyance dans le côté salutaire du changement. Ce qui a distingué la Muḥammadiyah des autres groupes réformistes fut son insistance selon laquelle le moyen pour raviver la foi et l' observance des commandements islamiques ne se limitait pas seulement dans la purification de certains aspects de la pratique religieuse (*‘ibādah*), en particulier les sujets *khilāfīyah* (controversés) tels que la *takhayyul* (fantaisie), la *bid‘ah* (innovation) et la *khurāfah* (superstition) mais aussi dans la poursuite de réformes sociales selon une théologie d' action pratique. Pour la Muḥammadiyah, les enseignements islamiques de base devaient servir à encourager la responsabilité sociale; les principes religieux étant sous-jacents à toute action.

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Achmad Jainuri

May 1997

## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In transliterating the Arabic names and terms in this thesis I have used the transliteration scheme employed at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. In dealing with the problem of variations in the spelling of Indonesian names and words, I have adopted the following system: Indonesian words, terms and place-names not in quotations are spelled in two ways: those which are derived from Arabic are transliterated according to the rules for Arabic (for example, Muḥammadiyah rather than Muhammadiyah); the remainder are written employing the new Indonesian spelling used since 1972 (for example, Yogyakarta not Djogjakarta or Jogjakarta). Organizational names as well as Indonesian words in quotations are spelled in the original form (for example: Moehammadijah or Muhammadiyah, not Muḥammadiyah). For proper names, in quotation or not in quotation, this thesis employs the spellings used by the individual him/herself. The following is a transliteration table from Arabic to English and Indonesian.

Arabic	English	Indonesian	Arabic	English	Indonesian
ا	o	o	ذ	d	dl/dh
ب	b	b	ط	t	th
ت	t	t	ظ	z	zh
ث	th	ts	ع	c	c
ج	j	j	غ	gh	gh
ح	h	h	ف	f	f
خ	kh	kh	ق	q	q

د	d	d	ك	k	k
ذ	dh	dz	ل	l	l
ر	r	r	م	m	m
ز	z	z	ن	n	n
س	s	s	و	w	w
ش	sh	sy	ه	h	h
ص	ṣ	sh	ی	y	y

Long vowels (آ, ئ, و), are indicated by placing a macron above the characters: ā, ī, ū.

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## INTRODUCTION

Continuity and change were two distinct features of Islamic development in early twentieth-century Indonesia. Continuity manifested itself in the tendency of Muslims to: 1) hold on to a great variety of beliefs and practices, many of which were deemed unacceptable in certain quarters; and 2) confine Islam within the limits of a mere other-worldly religion which inspired no change in social, cultural, and material life. Change, however, reflected an ongoing process of re-Islamization among Indonesian Muslims.<sup>1</sup> This process involved: 1) an attempt at fostering a real understanding of religious practices as well as an effort directed at the purification of Islamic belief and ritual from corrupt influences; 2) a reaffirmation of principal Islamic teachings on worldly affairs; and 3) an interpretation of Islam which provided a basis for the claim that Islam contained within itself the ability to adapt and change. Supporters of this process contended that Islamic teachings could be interpreted to accommodate and even encourage change in the face of time, space, or experience. At the root of this interpretation was desire to reconcile Islam and modernity by creating a worldview that is compatible with both. Significantly, change was seen as a process involving the re-Islamization of Muslims rather than the proselytization of non-Muslims. The target, therefore, was not Indonesians in general but the Muslims themselves; it stressed the quality of faith rather than the number of adherents.

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<sup>1</sup>"Re-Islamization" refers to the ongoing process of teaching Indonesian Muslims how to live up to the standard teachings of Islam. Mitsuo Nakamura, "The Crescent Arises Over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in A Central Javanese Town" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1976), pp. 1-2; Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam Under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1958), p. 9.

*The Muḥammadiyah in the Context of Other Indonesian Religious Movements.*

Religious and social change have been key components of various Islamic movements since the early twentieth century. While the leaders of these movements conducted their organizations on similar religiously inspired missions, there were some differences in terms of the programs which they emphasized. The first Islamic organization to emerge in the early twentieth century was Sarekat Islam, a Muslim nationalist movement founded to improve the mercantile skills of Indonesian Muslim traders. This combination helped to pave the way toward independence from Dutch colonialism and freedom from the economic domination of the Chinese traders. The Muḥammadiyah and Sarekat Islam had a good relationship with one another until the 1920s, when the latter developed a new policy forbidding its members from holding membership in the Muḥammadiyah, and vice versa. The reason for this prohibition was the Muḥammadiyah's refusal to support Sarekat Islam's confrontational political attitude. Relations between the Muḥammadiyah and al-Irshād were on the other hand marked by mutual understanding of their respective missions. The leaders of both movements, Ahmad Dahlan and Shaikh Ahmad al-Surkati, concurred with each other in their efforts at rehabilitating Indonesian Muslims by improving religious and socio-economic conditions - Surkati concentrating on the Indonesian Arab community and Dahlan on the native Indonesian Muslims.<sup>2</sup> Persatuan Islam also claimed to work in the social field, but it focused more on religious propagation than on the social dimension. Persatuan Islam grew in a region which, according to Benda, had

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<sup>2</sup>Bisri Affandi, "Shaykh Aḥmad Al-Surkatī: His Role in Al-Irshād Movement in Java in the Early Twentieth Century" (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1976), p. 64.

been least affected by the old Hindu-Buddhist civilization; there, Islam manifested itself in a purer form.<sup>3</sup> This factor influenced its religious program. Unlike the Muḥammadiyah which preferred the quiet and peaceful spread of ideas, Persatuan Islam engaged in public debates and polemics through speeches and publications. It challenged those who did not agree with its ideas to defend their views in public debates.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to the circumstances which faced Persatuan Islam, the local conditions where the Muḥammadiyah grew were religiously heterodox. Thus, the milieu played an important role in making the movement tolerant in its religious outlook and efforts at propagation.<sup>5</sup> Its religious understanding cultivated social ethics and emphasized moral responsibility. These characteristics distinguished the Muḥammadiyah from other Islamic reformist movements.

As one of the largest Indonesian Islamic organizations, and one which concentrates its endeavors on social welfare, the Muḥammadiyah has been seen as representative of the "reformist" and "modernist" trends among Indonesian Muslims.<sup>6</sup> Nasr defines these labels as describing any movement which simultaneously intends to preserve part of the past, justify the present, and

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<sup>3</sup>Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia: 1900-1942* (London and Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 90.

<sup>5</sup>The paradox is that the public perceives the Muḥammadiyah as a fanatical and intolerant organization, when in fact its methods of propagating the faith are anything but this. Moreover, it is seen as being anti-Javanese, and yet it embodies Javanese virtues in many ways. Nakamura, "The Crescent Arises Over," p. 321.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3; such labels are found in some other scholarly works: Alfian, *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of A Muslim Modernist Organization Under Dutch Colonialism* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989); Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*; Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun*; Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1970); Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960).

legitimize the perceived future, hence, creating a connection between the old and the new.<sup>7</sup> Both the reformist and modernist trends are based primarily on the argument that Islamic values are an important component of any process of reform in Muslim world. The reformists believe that they can live in the modern world without neglecting the principles of their religious teachings. In justifying the validity of this paradigm, the Muḥammadiyah in particular believed that the fundamental sources of Islam can be translated into the concrete realities of the religious, social, economic, and political life of Indonesian Muslims.<sup>8</sup> Such a notion is different from the approach adopted by Muslims in Indonesia in the early part of this century, who limited themselves to observing only a bare minimum of religious ritual (*ʿibādah*). Thus, the Muḥammadiyah's reforms were aimed not only at reversing this limited religious understanding but also at gearing its programs towards a distinct formula of action, which would allow Indonesians to grapple with the problems of their rapidly changing world.

In the Muḥammadiyah's own outlook the reform mission embraced many features of contemporary religious and social life. As discussed in chapters two and three below, some of these features may be traced to its basic religious outlook and philosophical views, which deal with the relation between religious and social responsibility. But because efforts at religious purification seemed always to dominate the agenda of the writers who advocated Islamic reform in Indonesia, this created the impression that reform was always restricted to efforts at purifying Islam from religious innovation (*bidʿah*) and superstition (*khurāfah*).<sup>9</sup> The

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<sup>7</sup>Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, "Reflections on the Myth and Reality of Islamic Modernism," *Hamdard Islamicus* 13, 1 (1990), p. 67.

<sup>8</sup>*Kesimpoelan Djawaban Masalah Lima Dari Beberapa ʿAlim-ʿOelama* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah, 1942), pp. 11-17.

<sup>9</sup>This is Gibb's observation of the process of modern Islamic reform in Egypt, the Near East, India, and the other Islamic countries. He finds that the readiest and

Muḥammadiyah, however, gave a much wider sense to the term. It was all too often said, as in the case of a recent study on the Islamic reform movement in Indonesia, that "all reformist movements in the later Islamic period were based on the move towards Islamic purification as advocated by Ibn Taymīyah (1263-1328), who vowed to purify Islam from vices."<sup>10</sup>

This thesis intends to argue that the Muḥammadiyah's reformist mission always placed a greater emphasis on social welfare; that the basic principles of faith (*īmān*) and *ʿibādah* are not limited in their impact to belief and ritual *per se*, but have various implications when placed in a social context; and that, notwithstanding these assertions, the implementation of these beliefs and rituals requires the performance of standard daily religious practices. It is perhaps because of this acknowledgment of the importance of religious practice that the Muḥammadiyah is still regarded as being concerned merely with the purification of beliefs and rituals. And yet it is this study's contention that, in the early period of the development of the movement, the principles of social reform and the theology of practical action were transformed into various infrastructures which were not confined to the field of religious dispute and whose purpose was largely that of providing social support.

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most widespread support for ʿAbduh's reform was directed towards the eradication of vices and distortions which permeated the religious life of the people. H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 33. In India and Pakistan, for example, these aspects, which come under the theme of "the proper application of shariʿah," have been emphasized in the discussion of *tajdīd* and in the reconstruction of religious thought from the eighteenth century to the present time. Sajida S. Alvi, "The *Mujaddīd* and *Tajdīd* Traditions in the Indian Subcontinent: A Historical Overview," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 18 (1994), p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>Thoha Hamim, "Moenawar Chalil's Reformist Thought: A Study of an Indonesian Religious Scholar (1908-1961)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1996), p. 9.

### *Significance*

There are several works which have discussed the historical, political, and religious aspects of the Muḥammadiyah movement. However, no single work has dealt with its ideological orientation in a comprehensive manner. The works of Alfian and M. Sirajuddin Syamsuddin, for example, stress the movement's political character, analyzing the role of the Muḥammadiyah in Indonesian politics during the first thirty years of its existence and during the New Order period respectively.<sup>11</sup> Fathurrahman Djamil's "Ijtihad Muhammadiyah Dalam Masalah Fiqh Kontemporer"<sup>12</sup> is a comprehensive study of the religious outlook of the movement, but it concentrates for the most part on certain issues of *fiqh*. Alwi Shihab on the other hand focuses on the relations between the movement and the Christian community of Indonesia.<sup>13</sup> Peacock, who adopts an ethnographic approach to his research, places the Muḥammadiyah's reform movement in the context of the vast social changes in Indonesia in the latter part of the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> Nakamura, in his anthropological field study of the Muḥammadiyah, discusses the process of Islamization in the setting of a local urban center in Kotagede, a region in south Yogyakarta, and its implications for the socio-

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<sup>11</sup>Alfian, "Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics: The Muḥammadiyah Movement During the Dutch Colonial Period, 1912-1942" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969); M. Sirajuddin Syamsuddin, "Religion and Politics in Islam: The Case of the Muhammadiyah in Indonesia's New Order," (Ph.D dissertation, UCLA, 1991).

<sup>12</sup>Fathurrahman Djamil, "Ijtihād Muhammadiyah Dalam Masalah Fiqh Kontemporer: Studi Tentang Penetapan Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah" (Ph.D dissertation, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1993/1994).

<sup>13</sup>Alwi Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement and Its Controversy with Christian Mission" (Ph.D dissertation, Temple University, 1995).

<sup>14</sup>James L. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam* (Menlo Park, California: The Benjamin/Cummings Publishing Company, 1978).

economic lives of the people in that town.<sup>15</sup> As ethnographic studies, both of the last two works emphasize the cultural configurations and interrelationships of the members of the Muḥammadiyah in a particular geographic environment and historical context. Nakamura does talk about the implications of the ideology of the Muḥammadiyah in the social sphere, but neglects to discuss how this ideology was formed. The distinctive feature of the present thesis, which differentiates it from previous studies on the Muḥammadiyah, is its emphasis on the formation of ideology. This study is the first to analyze the religious outlook of the Muḥammadiyah and its social implications. This analysis also shed some light on the factors underlying the change in ideological orientation within the Muslim community in early twentieth-century Indonesia.

### *Methodology*

This study is conducted with an ideological approach. By ideology, we mean the religious interpretation of various interdependent ideas held by the Muḥammadiyah, ideas which reflected the movement's particular moral, social and political interests and commitments. Such an approach explains and evaluates social conditions, the role of individuals in society, as well as the effects of social action programs.<sup>16</sup> It assumes that the elements of ideology were accepted as tentative philosophical formulations, which were modified in accordance with sociocultural changes.<sup>17</sup> By applying this approach, this study explores the

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<sup>15</sup> Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises*, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal* (New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1995), p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> George A. Theodorson and Achilles G. Theodorson, *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1969), p. 195.

correlation between the ideological orientation and the actual activities of the Muḥammadiyah.

### *Objectives*

The primary purpose of this study is to provide a detailed analysis of the religious outlook of the Muḥammadiyah and its implications for social reform. It aims at describing the nature of Islam and its social dimension, and for that purpose directs its attention to its religious resources in particular.<sup>18</sup> By gathering information from many sources, this thesis attempts to answer the following questions: How did the Muḥammadiyah transform the idea of renewal within the Indonesian context? How was this idea transformed into an ideological orientation? How did its religious outlook cultivate the salutary character of change? And what were the implications of this religious orientation for its program of social reform?

### *Sources*

The sources for this study are primarily the opinions of the numerous leaders of the movement in its early stages. These can be found scattered in various private collections and official organs; they reflect a great variety of religious thought and social ideas current during the period 1912-1942. It is often claimed by Indonesianists that it is difficult to describe accurately the incipient stages of the Muḥammadiyah due to the lack of primary sources. On the contrary, this thesis argues that in addition to a strong oral tradition which still prevails

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<sup>18</sup>This thesis suggests that in order to enhance a substantive knowledge of Javanese Islam and its social influences, one's primary attention must be focused upon its religious resources; otherwise, sociological conceptualizations alone will soon be worn out by situational changes. See Nakamura, "The Crescent Arises," p. xiii.

among the members of the movement, there is ample evidence that the central leadership as well as the branches of the Muḥammadiyah published books and newspapers to disseminate their ideas of reform in 1920s and 1930s. There we find many of the writings and views of such figures as Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923), Ibrahim (1875-1934), Hisjam (1882-1945), Hadjid (b. 1897), Soedja<sup>c</sup> (b. 1889 ?), Fachrodin (1890-1929), Haanie, Moechtar (b. 1889), Mas Mansoer (1896-1946), Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (1890-1954), M. Faried Ma<sup>c</sup>ruf (1908-1976), Hamka (1908-1985), Junus Anies (1903-1979), and Boestami Ibrahim (b. 1897 ?). They were compiled privately, documented officially, and published in *Soeara Moehammadijah*, *Adil*, and other Muḥammadiyah organs.

The most notable collections, compiled by Hadjid, are *Falsafah Ajaran K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* (the Philosophical Teachings of Ahmad Dahlan) and *17 Kelompok Ayat-ayat Al-Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān Ajaran KHA Dahlan* (the Teaching of Ahmad Dahlan on 17 Groups of Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic Verses). Soedja<sup>c</sup>'s *Muhammadiyah dan Pendirinya*, published recently by the central leadership of the Muḥammadiyah, provides valuable historical information on the movement during the early period. Mas Mansoer's prolific writings, providing religious insight and information about the organizational structure of the Muḥammadiyah during his tenure as leader (1937-1943), are scattered in *Adil* and some other publications. The document "Notulen Hoofdbestuur Vergadering Moehammadijah 1922 and 1923," containing official notes concerning the organizational programs during the period 1922-1923, was particularly useful for this study. Two other official documents of the Muḥammadiyah, *Kesimpoelan Djawaban Masalah Lima* and a Javanese manuscript *Panggoegahing Islam* (the Awakening of Islam) provide crucial information on the movement's religious ideology. *Modernisasi dalam Islam* provides many insights on the idea of renewal in Islam. It was written by Boestarni

Ibrahim, a leader of the Muḥammadiyah branch of East Sumatra during the 1920s and 1930s. As far as we know, these sources have never been utilized for studying the basic outlook of the movement. In fact, even the better known sources have only been exploited for the light they shed on the Muḥammadiyah's religious outlook, again to the exclusion of the movement's social activities.

### *Scope and Outline*

This study is limited to the period 1912-1942, the last decades of the colonial occupation. It was during this period that the Colonial Islamic Policy created serious challenges to the political as well as to the social and religious life of Muslims. Such challenges led the Muḥammadiyah to adopt an anti-establishment stance with respect to the colonial authorities. Considering the nature of the problems raised and the context of the responses given, the period under review is considered the most dynamic in the history of the Muḥammadiyah movement. The thesis itself is divided thematically into four chapters. Chapter 1 traces the transmission of the idea of renewal to various Islamic movements in Indonesia in the early twentieth century. It discusses the role of the pilgrims (ḥājjis), of the Indonesian students in Mecca and Cairo, and of various publications in providing inspiration to Indonesian reformers. It also shows how the basic religious outlook of the modern Islamic movements shaped their idea of reform, and how it was applied within the context of socio-religious affairs. It analyzes the characteristics and ideas of these movements concerning reform and ideological orientation.

Chapter 2 analyzes the Muḥammadiyah's interpretation of basic Islamic teachings in order to provide the principles of social reform. It concentrates on the basic religious outlook of the movement, its worldview or philosophical view and

the role of rationalism in its understanding of religion. This focus helps explain its religious outlook, which cultivated certain characteristics of openness, tolerance, and pluralism in dealing with other people or ideas, and its belief in the salutary character of change. Chapter 3 outlines the philosophy of the movement, and deals in particular with the relation between religion and social responsibility. The views and insights of the founding fathers of the movement on the topic of social reform are presented, particularly as regards such as concepts as welfare (*maṣlaḥah*), kindness (*birr*), virtuous act (*ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ*) and social life (*muʿāmalah*) in general, and the interpretation of certain Qurʾanic verses which directly relate to social responsibility, such as the injunction to take care of orphans. This chapter also examines the social significance of certain slogans such as "enjoining the good and forbidding the wrong" (*al-ʾamr bi al-maʿrūf wa al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*), "vie with each other in good works" (*fa-stabiqū al-khayrāt*), and "sincerity" (*ikhlāṣ*), which became the mottoes of the movement. Chapter 4 discusses the Muḥammadiyah's practical orientation towards understanding Islam. It describes in detail the religious principles underlying action, and analyzes how these principles motivated the emergence of social actions. The last chapter contains some concluding remarks.

CHAPTER I  
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE IDEA OF ISLAMIC REFORM  
WITHIN THE INDONESIAN CONTEXT

Increased contacts between the Middle East and Indonesia<sup>1</sup> in the early twentieth century provided an important stimulus in bringing the ideas of reform and religious change to the attention of Indonesian Islam. In this chapter we see how the pilgrims (*ḥājjis*), the increasing number of Indonesian students who studied in Mecca (*muqīm*) and later in Cairo, and the increasing availability of publications, became the sources of inspiration to Indonesian reformers. Our discussion below shows that the basic religious outlook of the modern Islamic movements outside Indonesia shaped the idea of reform. We also witness variations in the perception of these movements on reform and their application within the context of socio-religious affairs. A clearly discernible correlation can be detected between their ideological orientations and the actual activities of the modern Islamic movements in Indonesia.

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<sup>1</sup>Although some scholars state that the Middle East, and in particular Cairo, inspired the reform movements in Indonesia they do not elaborate on how this inspiration ever reached the region. Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 32-42, 296; C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Aspects of Islam in Post Colonial Indonesia* (The Hague/Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1958), p. 45.

## I.1. The Establishment of Religious Networks

### I.1.1. *The Inspiration of Religious Reform*

The idea of reform has been a central theme of the modern Islamic movements in Indonesia since the early twentieth century. There are many similarities between earlier reform movements in some other Muslim countries and those in Indonesia. Some of these may be traced back to the seventh-eighth A.H./thirteenth-fourteenth century reform movement led by Ibn Taymīyah (661-728/1263-1328). He was a follower of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (164-241/780-855), and a typical representative of orthodoxy. He strongly opposed popular Islamic practices which, according to him, found no justification in the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*.<sup>2</sup> He rejected the authority of the medieval schools, thus earning the enmity of the orthodox 'ulamā' who wanted to maintain the medieval beliefs and practices of Islam. His call for a return to the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* was understood as an invitation to accept the formulations of the early generations of Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

The reform movements that emerged in the Muslim world during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries exhibited this common characteristic. In the seventeenth century Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (975-1034/1563-1624) laid down the theoretical basis of a similar reform. He attacked both the theory and practice of heterodox sufism. He realized that the challenge

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<sup>2</sup>For details of Ibn Taymīyah's views on unprophetic religious practices, see Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimiya's Struggle Against Popular Religion* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976).

<sup>3</sup>Fazlur Rahman, "Revival and Reform in Islam," in P.M. Holt, A.K.S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 632-635.

which many preachers of Sufism posed to Islam was serious. Commenting on the state of the religious life of his community, he said that people had developed a wrong view of Sufism and of its relation with shari'ah. Those who followed Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* cared little for the shari'ah. They believed that the goal of the shari'ah was simply to obtain knowledge; hence anyone who realized the truth of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* did not have to perform the duties of the shari'ah.<sup>4</sup> Like Ibn Taymiyah, Shaykh Aḥmad focused on re-emphasizing the shari'ah. The Wahhabi movement, founded by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1115-1206/1703-1792) during the eighteenth century, was much more radical and uncompromising towards "un-Islamic" teachings, and the superstitious cults linked with popular sufism.<sup>5</sup> Other reform movements also came into being at around this time. Again, in India, in the eighteenth century, Shāh Walī-Allāh (1114-1176/1703-1762) emerged as the forerunner of the modern Islamic movements in the Indian Subcontinent. His teachings had a potent influence on subsequent generations<sup>6</sup> who further developed his ideas in founding a number of Islamic modernist,<sup>7</sup> reformist,<sup>8</sup> and even traditionalist<sup>9</sup> movements.

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<sup>4</sup>Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī not only differentiated the concept of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* of Ibn al-ʿArabī, he also formulated a philosophy based upon the ultimate Ṣufī experience of Divine transcendence which would be compatible with the religion of the Prophet, called *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* or *Tawḥīd Shuhūdī*, "Unity of Being in vision." For a detailed analysis of this subject, see Muhammad Abdul Haq Ansari, *Sufism and Shari'a: A Study of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī's Effort to Reform Sufism* (London: The Islamic Foundation, 1986), pp. 102-118.

<sup>5</sup>For his condemnation of certain practices of popular Ṣufism, see Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (Salimah, Kuwait: International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, n.d.), pp. 25-30.

<sup>6</sup>The teachings of Shāh Walī Allāh were carried on by his sons, Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1745-1823), Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn (b. 1163/1749), Shāh ʿAbd al-Qādir (b. 1167/1753), and Shāh ʿAbd al-Ghanī (b. 1169/1755), and his grandson, Shāh Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Shahīd (1779-1831). See Sajida S. Alvi, "The *Mujaddid* and *Tajdid* Traditions in the Indian Subcontinent," p. 1; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* (Canberra: Maʿrifat Publishing House, 1982), pp. 78-102; 103-

The basic ideas propagated by the earlier movements, in fact, inspired the modern reform movements. It was, therefore, not an accident that the most important ideas of the modern Muslim thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries came from the purificationist-reformist background of the earlier reform movements. They too wished to maintain a pristine Islam as a source of inspiration in seeking a response to the socio-political challenges of modernization. The impact of modern Western culture upon the Muslim world, which received added momentum with the political and economic hegemony of the West, contributed to the deepening identity crisis which had begun to develop in Muslim societies from Morocco to Indonesia. This crisis brought with it many political, social, and religious challenges for the Muslims. In the early period of the history of Islam, the Muslim community had confronted cultural challenges from alien civilizations, but at least they had never found themselves in a subordinate position. The

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173; Talip Küçükcan, "An Analytical Comparison of the Aligarh and the Deobandi Schools," *The Islamic Quarterly* 38 (1994), p. 49.

<sup>7</sup>The most representative of this group was the Aligarh movement founded by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817-1898), and then the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ which was founded in 1891. Aziz Ahmad, "Political and Religious Ideas of Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi," *Muslim World* 52 (1962), p. 30.

<sup>8</sup>The Ahl-i Ḥadīth might represent this orientation. Founded in the late 19th century, its main concern was to effect a return to the norms of the *Sunnah*. Committed to revitalizing Islamic law, it denied the blind acceptance of medieval schools of law. It insisted that the Qurʾān and the *Sunnah* were the only valid sources which could be used. Influenced by Ibn Taymīya on the issues of popular religion and its manifestations, the Ahl-i Ḥadīth warned of the danger of ṣūfism to the teachings of Islam; therefore, it discouraged the institutional forms of the Ṣūfī tradition. Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 205.

<sup>9</sup>The Deoband School might be said to represent this movement. It was founded by three famous figures, Muḥammad Qasim Nanautawi (1813-1887), Rashīd Aḥmad Gangohi (1827-1905), whose understanding was characterized by the traditional orthodox element of Shāh Walī-Allāh's religious thinking, and Imdadullah (1817-1899). B.D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India, 1860-1900* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 72-79.

challenge at that time was primarily how to provide a solid political infrastructure for the expanding empire of Islam. But in the modern era, the cultural challenge was one of facing the technological inferiority of Muslim societies *vis-à-vis* the West, while the political challenge involved setting an agenda for liberating the Muslim world from Western occupation. Such challenges subsequently influenced the orientation of reform movements which focused their efforts primarily on deriving socio-political solutions to problems on the basis of a religious perspective.

The tendency to see Islam as the fundamental reference for solving every problem has in fact become the dominant ideological orientation among Muslims. In the context of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the starting point of this orientation was the problem of internal decay, and the need for internal reform. Many were in some way committed to the Islamic tradition, and yet at the same time upheld reform, wishing thereby to show that the modern Islamic movement was not only a legitimate but a necessary implication of the social teachings of Islam. Based on this assumption, Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905), the most outspoken modernist of this period, suggested that priority lay in the need to reconstruct the intellectual basis of the Islamic world-view. This task involved two steps: first, a restatement of what Islam really is and, second, a consideration of its implications for modern society.<sup>10</sup> The former, as Gibb puts it, may be identified as a true Islam which is pure from corrupting influences and practices. The implications of this idea led to such efforts as the reformulation of Islamic

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<sup>10</sup>Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 140.

doctrines in the light of modern thought, the reformation of Muslim higher education and the defense of Islam against European and Christian influences.<sup>11</sup>

This precedent may not only explain the similarity between the ideas of the early and later reform movements but may also reveal the factors which were conducive to the emergence of such movements. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Middle East (especially Egypt), the Indian Subcontinent, and Indonesia, there were similarities in the interpretation of Islam as the basis of religious as well as of specific socio-cultural reforms. During this period, all of these regions were occupied by Western colonial regimes: Egypt and the Indian Subcontinent by the British and Indonesia by the Dutch. It is therefore undeniable that their respective colonial experiences played an important role in forming their ideas of reform and their response to it.

This thesis however asserts that certain similar approaches, experiences, and responses to challenges point to a particular influence on the part of the Egyptian reform movement over Indonesia. With specific reference to the Muḥammadiyah movement in early twentieth century Indonesia, this influence can be categorized as "polymorphic," in that it manifested itself in a variety of fields.<sup>12</sup> Here, the basic religious outlook and the modernist ideas of the Muḥammadiyah, its efforts at social reform, and its attitude towards the colonial government and the Christian community may be considered as reflections of this influence. Although this study regards 'Abduh's inspiration as crucial, other religious beliefs

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<sup>11</sup>H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1947), p. 33; see also Charles C. Adams. *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh* (New York: Russel & Russel, 1968), pp. 68-90.

<sup>12</sup>R.K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 467-468.

and ideas of reform from Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries, such as India and Turkey, may also have had a role in inspiring the modern Islamic movements in Indonesia. In focusing on this period, however, the Middle East seems to dominate in disseminating new religious ideas, thus supplanting India's position of influence on the Indonesian archipelago in the early period.

### I.1.2. *The Ḥājj and Muqīm*

In Indonesia, reform activities may actually have begun much earlier than many scholars have estimated.<sup>13</sup> The chief goal of the first phase of reform was to purify Islamic religious practices and beliefs of local traditional influences. To a great extent, this effort was a continuation of the re-Islamization process among Indonesians, a process which was originally aimed at promoting more orthodox religious observances. The role of the ḥājjs, who returned from the pilgrimage to Mecca, was crucial in developing the religious insight of Indonesian Muslims. In Roff's view, with the new status of ḥājj, the pilgrim might reasonably be assumed to have changed his perception of Islam and the Muslim community. He was consequently a part of his own personal experience and his community, and by virtue of having re-enacted the origins of the faith, he was capable of linking the

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<sup>13</sup>Some writers have argued that Islamic reform movements in Indonesia began at the start of the nineteenth century, coinciding with the rise of the Paderi movement, which was stimulated by the return of some ḥājjs from Mecca. Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reformism in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, Modern Indonesia Project, 1970), p. 4. A recent study, however, shows that they began as early as the seventeenth century with the existing intellectual networks between Indonesian and Middle East scholars. Azyumardi Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1992), pp. 484-485.

two and revitalizing that to which he had returned.<sup>14</sup> This was how the ḥājj's new status was realized by himself and recognized and accepted by the people of his homeland. In this way, the pilgrimage, one of the pillars of Islam, became vital to the advancement of Indonesian Islam in the Dutch colonial period. It helped to build an Islamic identity for Indonesian Muslims, a not unimportant result when it is remembered that the latter were converted only in relatively recent times, and that converts still retained the old local traditions in their religious beliefs and practices. From a theological perspective, going on pilgrimage was not only considered as fulfilling one's religious duty but also as the best way to improve one's knowledge of Islam. Mecca therefore not only became a holy destination but also represented the place where Muslims could obtain a basic understanding of their faith.

The growing number of pilgrims in fact changed the orientation of Islam in Indonesia, gradually rendering it more devout (*santri*). According to Hurgronje, many pilgrims first became habituated in Mecca to their daily ritual duties, and returned home as well-disciplined faithful. Even those who had studied Islam in the traditional Indonesian Islamic seminary (*pesantren*) at home, or in the mosque before their departure to Mecca, were quite open to the current ideological

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<sup>14</sup>William R. Roff, "The Meccan Pilgrimage: Its Meaning for Southeast Asian Islam," in Raphael Israeli and Anthony H. Johns, eds., *Islam in Asia*, vol. 2 (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984), p. 244. For the indigenous urban middle class of the Indonesian Muslims at the end of the nineteenth century, making the pilgrimage to Mecca and returning with the title of ḥājj was a way to achieve equality with the Javanese aristocracy, *priyayi*, a class that enjoyed many privileges from the Dutch colonial government. Mitsuo Nakamura, "Professor Haji Kahar Muzakkir and the Development of the Reformist Movement in Indonesia," paper given at the annual set of public lectures on Indonesia (Canberra: Monash University, 1977), p. 7.

developments in the Middle East, such as Pan-Islamism.<sup>15</sup> Politically, such influences were feared by the Dutch administrators, who considered the religio-political effects of pilgrimage and study in the Middle East to be undesirable. For this reason, in the early nineteenth century, the Dutch made the pilgrimage more difficult through taxation and passport restrictions; indeed, various debilitating regulations lasted throughout the century.<sup>16</sup> Regardless of the fears of the Dutch,<sup>17</sup> Indonesian Muslims had discovered the value of the pilgrimage as a means of securing religious knowledge. It encouraged Muslims to pay greater attention to their religious duties. The members of the older generation wished to devote their last days to worshiping and praying in the Holy Land, while those of the younger devoted themselves entirely to religious studies during their stay in Mecca.<sup>18</sup> This

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<sup>15</sup>Christian Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Custom and Learning of the Moslems of the East-Indian-Archipelago* (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1931), p. 249. The Pan-Islamic idea among the reformist Muslims in Indonesia was oriented towards building a feeling of Muslim brotherhood in order to oust the Dutch colonial government. This feeling induced the Dutch government to enforce a tight censorship over any ideas coming from the Middle East.

<sup>16</sup>Fred R. von der Mehden, *Two Worlds of Islam: Interaction Between Southeast Asia and the Middle East* (Gainesville, Fl.: University Press of Florida, 1993), p. 3. For further discussion of the Dutch colonial attitude towards the ḥājjis. see Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), pp. 91-98; W. Roff, "South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century," in P.M. Holt, A.K.S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, eds., *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), especially page 171.

<sup>17</sup>According to Roff, this could have resulted from their lack of Islamic knowledge. See *Ibid.* An example cited by Hurgronje indicates that one day the Resident of Palembang heard that Islamic law was being taught in the mosque from a book called *sabil al-muhtadīn* (the Path for those who wish to be guided), in which the Sacred law was explained in the usual way. The Dutchman, associating it with *perang sabil* (Holy War), believed that war against the Dutch was being preached publicly. From that time onwards colonial officials did everything in their power to oppose the preaching in the mosques. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 246.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 220.

growing consciousness of religious practice has been called by Kostiner as the first and main step towards reform.<sup>19</sup>

The continuous transmission of religious ideas from the central lands of Islam to Indonesia was intensified by a considerable growth in the number of pilgrims, due in part to better transportation and growing stability in the Dutch East Indies. In the mid-nineteenth century, some two thousand pilgrims travelled annually to Mecca from Indonesia; by the end of the century, the number had risen to between seven and eleven thousand.<sup>20</sup> Although the pilgrimage itself only required a month's stay in Mecca, many participants decided to stay there temporarily or permanently. This group gradually formed the colony which was known as the *Jāwā* (Javanese) community.<sup>21</sup> The colony facilitated the stay of Indonesian pilgrims who wanted to reside in Mecca, whether for a short period

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<sup>19</sup>Joseph Kostiner, "The Impact of the Ḥaḍramī Emigrants in the East Indies on Islamic Modernism and Social Change in the Ḥaḍramawt During the 20th Century," in Israeli and Johns, eds., *Islam in Asia*, vol. 2, p. 214.

<sup>20</sup>J. Vredenburg, "The Hadjdj: Some of Its Features and Functions In Indonesia," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 118 (1962), p. 93, and Appendix II, pp. 148-149; Von der Mehden, *Two Worlds of Islam*, p. 3; The highest number was 11,788, which represented a "Great Pilgrimage" year, in 1895. The figure fluctuated from this number to as low as 7,000 in 1900. Together with many hundreds more from Aceh and elsewhere who departed from Singapore, they comprised in all about twenty per cent of the total number of pilgrims from overseas. Roff, "South-East Asian Islam", p. 172; and for a complete table of regional participation in the ḥajj, see Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), pp. 249-253.

<sup>21</sup>In nineteenth century Mecca the word *Jāwā* was used for people from the whole archipelago of the Dutch East Indies. D. van der Meulen, "The Mecca Pilgrimage and Its Importance to the Netherlands East Indies," *The Muslim World* 31 (1941), p.52; it was also used for the Southeast Asians staying in Mecca, see Von der Mehden, *Two Worlds of Islam*, p. 13; Snouck Hurgronje explained the *Jāwā* colony in this sense in the last chapter of his book. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, pp. 215-292.

devoted to prayer<sup>22</sup> or for a longer one in order to deepen their religious knowledge. Hurgronje spent six months in Mecca in 1884-1885 in order to carry out his observations,<sup>23</sup> and portrayed the community in the mid-nineteenth century in these terms:

The very kernel of the Jāwah colony is the teachers and students. In Mekka they are the ones most highly regarded; from their countryfolk on pilgrimage they enjoy the deepest awe, and from Mekka they control the religious life of their homes. Almost all Jāwah who teach in the Holy City have risen to this height in Mekka herself. There are indeed in the East-Indian Archipelago opportunities for thorough Islamic studies, but no Jāwah would dare to come to Mekka otherwise than as a pupil. The careers of these learned men thus form a very important part of the history of the Jāwah colony.<sup>24</sup>

The academic life in the colony attracted many students from the archipelago, students who later became part of the network involved in the transmission of Islamic knowledge among Indonesian Muslims. This tradition was maintained by families who would send a son to Mecca to devote his life to learning the Islamic sciences in the name of the whole family, and who supported him financially during his period of study there. Besides, there were many *waqf*-houses in Mecca, each founded to accomodate pilgrims or students from different localities in Jāwā such as Aceh, Banten, Pontianak and some other cities. Many such houses were established by individuals while performing the ḥajj, who later contributed to their upkeep; others were built with money collected by a (*Jāwī*)

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<sup>22</sup>Van der Meulen, serving as a Dutch official in Jedda at this time, observed that nearly all pilgrims preferred to stay in the Holy City for the fasting period. Van der Meulen, "The Mecca Pilgrimage," p. 59.

<sup>23</sup>He had an opportunity to stay for a year in Arabia, and of that about half the year in Mecca, where he pursued studies in the Islamic sciences. The other half he spent in Jeddah. The chief object of his research was to study the daily lives of the Meccans and of the thousands of Muslims from all parts of the world living in Mecca for material or spiritual purposes. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. iii.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 254.

shaykh and his countrymen.<sup>25</sup> Any effort to facilitate the transmission of Islamic knowledge was seen as a worthy activity. These facts demonstrate that Indonesian Muslims appreciated the value of education, and that there was broad-based social and cultural support for its pursuit. Even the average Indonesian Muslim of that time was encouraged to acquire at least the principal teachings of Islam to enable him or her to perform daily religious duties.

### I.1.3. *Subjects of Study*

The subjects studied by Indonesians in Mecca during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were those which would be of greatest use in enhancing the daily religious practices of the Muslim community in the homeland. Channeled through the contacts and networks that existed during this period, the transmission of religious knowledge eventually reached a broader spectrum of Indonesian Muslim communities. These students subsequently became instructors in their own communities upon returning home, and in this way influenced the development of Islamic thought and activities in their country. Thus, the pursuit of different branches of learning benefitted not only an educated elite of *ʿulamāʾ*, but also contributed to a reawakening of interest in religious teachings on the part of Muslims at all levels.

In nineteenth century Mecca, the study of the Qur'ān was paramount. It ranged from the art of recitation (*tajwīd*) to exegesis of the text. But the use of the Qur'ān for ritual purposes was of primary importance. Of only slightly less importance was study of the ḥadīth. Other branches of religious knowledge such as

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 254-255.

Islamic theology (*‘ilm al-kalām*) and Islamic law (*fiqh*), were considered as the most important elements of the religious life of the community, and, therefore, were taken seriously by students and teachers. The *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn* (Revivification of the Sciences of Religion) of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) was recognized in particular as a standard encyclopedia of religious doctrine. In this work, Ghazālī explains that the instrumental branches of religious knowledge were essential for a complete understanding of Islam. Among these branches he enumerates the science of Qur’ānic exegesis (*‘ilm al-tafsīr*), the science of ḥadīth (*‘ilm al-ḥadīth*), biographies of illustrious companions, and Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fīqh*). These he considers to be praiseworthy and their acquisition therefore binding on the community as a whole (*farḍ kifāyah*).<sup>26</sup> In addition, a sound grasp of Arabic grammar, poetics, rhetoric, arithmetic, logic and philosophy could help in comprehending the Holy Book.<sup>27</sup> In the late nineteenth century, these subjects defined the level of study attained by the student seeking knowledge. Beginners were required to learn Arabic,<sup>28</sup> to master Qur’ānic recitation according to the rules of *tajwīd*, and to know the Qur’ān by heart before attending lectures on Qur’ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*). The exegesis of the Qur’ān, the

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<sup>26</sup>Al-Ghazālī, *Tahdhīb Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār Sa‘ud, n.d.), pp. 27-30.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 29; Hurgronje, *Mekka*, pp. 158-162.

<sup>28</sup>The most important aspects of this subject were inflection (*ṣarf*) and grammar (*naḥw*). The *Alfīyah* of Ibn Mālīk (600-672/1203-1274) was the authorized handbook of *naḥw*. This work was in rhymed verse, which helped a student memorize grammatical rules; this was in keeping with Arab tradition, where learning by heart was the usual method of instruction. Ibn ‘Aqīl (694-769/1294-1367) wrote a commentary on the *Alfīyah* of Ibn Mālīk, on which al-Suyūṭī in turn wrote a gloss. Ibid., p. 192; *E.I.*, vol. 3, pp. 698-699, 861.

explanation of traditions (*sharḥ al-ḥadīth*), and *uṣūl al-fiqh* were special subjects studied only by those who had completed their propaedeutic studies.<sup>29</sup>

From the perspective of the Islamic reform movements in nineteenth century Indonesia, some branches of religious knowledge were especially useful. Theology had become a means of cleansing Islamic belief of superstitious (*khurāfah*) elements, whereas law ensured the purity of ritual practices from the corrupt influences of innovation (*bid'ah*). These were in fact critical issues in the first phase of the Islamic movement in Indonesia. Early in the nineteenth century the Paderi movement attempted to reform Islamic practices based on this pattern. The movement gained important stimulus from the return of several ḥājjis from Mecca at that time.<sup>30</sup> Their negative attitude towards customary practices (*ʿādah*) drew a reaction from *ʿādah*-oriented groups, represented by the officials of the kingdom and various clan chiefs.<sup>31</sup> It resembled, according to some scholars, the Wahhabi movement in eighteenth-century Arabia.<sup>32</sup> The Paderi movement's efforts, on the one hand, reflect the strong links in religious thinking that existed between Mecca and Indonesia in the nineteenth century, while on the other they

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<sup>29</sup>Hurgronje, *Mekka*, pp. 158, 197.

<sup>30</sup>Hamka, *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. Abd Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Muda Agama di Sumatra* (Jakarta: Umminda, 1983), p. 14; Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup>Deliar Noer argues that another factor which created the conflict between the Paderi *ʿulamāʾ* and the *ʿādah*-oriented groups was an internal struggle for power in the area with no group emerging victorious except the Dutch. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 18.

<sup>32</sup>The hypothesis of Wahhabi influence on the Paderi movement is discussed in Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek*, pp. 32-45; Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 14; Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, p. 4; Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 65-70. For a detailed survey of the character of the movement, see C. Dobbin, "Islamic Revivalism in Minangkabau at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 8, 3 (1974), pp. 319-356.

represent an early manifestation of a local Islamic reformist movement, one which however was solely directed towards religious renewal.

Arithmetic was needed for the application of the law of inheritance (*mawāriṭh*), the division of which was determined according to the science of distributive shares in an inheritance (*‘ilm al-farā’iḍ*). The reformists employed it in turn for practical astronomy (*‘ilm al-falak*) in order to determine the calendar and daily prayer times, which was called the arithmetical (*ḥisāb*) approach. In this way, the reformists differed from the traditionalists who adopted the visual (*ru’yah*) method. This difference was mostly apparent in determining the beginning and the end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān and the beginning of the Feast of Breaking the Ramaḍān Fast (‘Īd al-Fiṭr or Lebaran).<sup>33</sup> For the reformists, the use of *ḥisāb* was motivated by, in addition to a wish to keep up with scientific progress, the simple fact that Indonesia's geography and climate often made it difficult to sight the moon.<sup>34</sup>

So important was *‘ilm al-falak* for practical religious purposes in the early twentieth century that people could easily find someone to teach the subject. Ahmad Dahlan (1285-1340/1868-1923), the founder of the Muḥammadīyah, continued to study this science in his homeland under the guidance of Kiyai Dahlan Semarang and Kiyai Saleh Darat Semarang (Semarang, Central Java) as

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<sup>33</sup>There was often disagreement among various groups and individuals over the day on which Lebaran should fall. The reformists calculated ahead of time by means of astronomical data; the traditionalists waited, with true caution, to see the moon appear. Such differences sometimes provoked religious conflict between the groups. Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), p. 380.

<sup>34</sup>Anwar Katsir, *Hisab* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1979), pp. 19-20; Siradj Dahlan, "Ilmoe Falak," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* (1356 H), pp. 100-114.

well as Shaykh Muhammad Djamil Djambek (Bukit Tinggi, Sumatra).<sup>35</sup> He encouraged Muslims to use this knowledge to correct the direction of prayer (*qiblah*) of most mosques in Indonesia, which, according to him, were oriented in the wrong direction. His call to undertake this task was answered by some Muslim youths in Yogyakarta, who changed the *qiblah* of the Sultanate Mosque in Yogyakarta so that the Muslims might direct their prayers in the direction of the *Ka'bah* (in Mecca), as it should be.<sup>36</sup>

These two cases, i.e. the Paderi movement in Sumatra and the efforts of Ahmad Dahlan, both of which preceded the foundation of the Muhammadiyah, reveal certain correlations between the religious sciences pursued by the Indonesian Muslims in Mecca in the late nineteenth century, and the themes expressed in the early stage of Islamic reform in Indonesia. They reflect an orientation solely directed to the performance of the practical elements of religious duties.

Another characteristic of all the early Islamic movements in Indonesia is the fact that they were sporadic and individualistic, at least in terms of their reform activities. But in their later development, they became more organized and pursued a variety of options in the areas of their particular concerns. This change may be attributed to the growing influence of religious reform and intellectual currents

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<sup>35</sup>Solichin Salam, *K.H.A. Dahlan: Amal dan Perdjoangannya* (Jakarta: Depot Pengadjaran Muhammadiyah, 1968), p. 8; Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Dari Jamaluddin al-Afghani Sampai K.H.A. Dahlan* (Yogyakarta: Persatuan, n.d.), p. 75.

<sup>36</sup>This action angered Kiyai Haji Kamaluddiningrat, the head *penghulu* (*Kepala Penghulu*), so much that Dahlan was accused of having been a sponsor of this incident. As a consequence, Dahlan's own prayer-place (*muşallā*) was destroyed by the *Penghulu*. Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah dan Pendirinya* (Yogyakarta: P.P. Muhammadiyah, Majelis Pustaka, 1989), p. 9; Mustafa Kamal Pasha, Chusnan Yusuf and A. Rasyad Shaleh, *Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gerakan Islam* (Yogyakarta: Persatuan, 1975), p. 19.

from Cairo, where 'Abduh's ideas on reform were attracting attention. This influence was primarily conveyed to Indonesia by the circulation of books and periodicals. Thus, while the ḥājj and the *muqīm*'s networking in Mecca were responsible for the transmission of religious ideas in the first phase of the Islamic movement in Indonesia, printed materials were the chief means of spreading reformist ideas at the turn of the century.

#### I.1.4. *The Publications*

In the early decades of this century, *al-Manār* (the Lighthouse) emerged as the most important vehicle bringing reformist ideas from Egypt to Indonesia. This journal, the mouthpiece of the Egyptian reformers, had many enthusiastic readers both inside and outside Egypt.<sup>37</sup> In the Malay-Indonesian world, the actual circulation of this journal was rather small, reflecting the fact that it was usually received by community groups who maintained contact with people in certain Middle Eastern countries like Turkey and Egypt. Ahmad Dahlan had regular access to *al-Manār* through one such community group.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, many of the people who were directly involved in the social, political and religious problems of

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<sup>37</sup>Among its readers were Arab emigrants in Indonesia and Indonesian students in Mecca. Bisri Affandi, "Shaykh Aḥmad Al-Surkatī: His Role in Al-Irshād Movement in Java in the Early Twentieth Century" (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1976), p. 34.

<sup>38</sup>The Arab community in Jakarta who founded al-Jam'īyah al-Khairīyah (The Association for the Good) in 1901, were among the readers of *al-Manār*. From them Ahmad Dahlan, who was a member of the association, obtained copies of this journal. Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Dari Jamaluddin Al-Afghani*, pp. 72-73; Solichin Salam, *K.H. Ahmad Dahlan: Tjita-tjita dan Perjuangannja* (Jakarta: Depot Pengadjaran Muhammadiyah, 1962), p. 30; for the registration number of Ahmad Dahlan in al-Jam'īyah al-Khairīyah, see Aboebakar Atjeh, *Salaf: Muhji Atsaris Salaf Gerakan Salafijah di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Permata, 1970), p. 103.

the country, were among the readers of *al-Manār*. They also corresponded on various topics covered in the journal.<sup>39</sup> This correspondence served to establish a dialogue on reform ideas between Egyptians and Malay-Indonesians in the early decades of this century.<sup>40</sup> In this way readers in the Malay-Indonesian areas became aware of the international and Middle East issues affecting Muslims. The journal also provided an intellectual insight into the times and encouraged its readers not only to explore the sources of reformist ideas but also to disseminate them among their own people. This goal was to be realized by, among other means, the establishment of local magazines which substantively reflected the reformist ideas of *al-Manār* and its predecessor, *al-ʿUrwah al-Wuthqā* (The Indissoluble Bond).

The founding of local magazines was just one more link in the chain of reformist ideas connecting the Middle East with the Malay-Indonesian region. The ḥājjs and the Malay-Indonesian students in Mecca were also instrumental in the publication of local periodicals in Malay and Indonesian. In the Malay states (including Singapore at the time) there were a number of such magazines founded earlier this century, including the monthly magazine *al-Imām* (the Leader, founded 1906), a weekly newspaper, *Neracha* (The Scales, 1911), and a monthly journal, *Tunas Melayu* (The Malay Young Generation, 1913), all of them closely connected with the four prominent figures of the urban Malay Muslim community,

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<sup>39</sup>On the issue of Islam and nationalism, for example, a reader in Indonesia asked *al-Manār's* editor whether there were ḥadīths which forbade the idea of the nation state, and what was the attitude of Islam itself toward nationalism. See *al-Manār* 33 (1933), pp. 191-192; for other issues in the correspondence sent from the Malay-Indonesian region during the publication of *al-Manār*, 1898 to 1936, see Jutta E. Bluhm, "A Preliminary Statement on the Dialogue Established Between the Reform Magazine *Al-Manār* and the Malayo-Indonesian World," *Indonesia Circle* 32 (1983), pp. 35-42.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 35.

Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir Jalāl al-Dīn al-Azhari,<sup>41</sup> Shaykh Aḥmad al-Hadī, al-Ḥājj ʿAbbās Muḥammad Ṭāhā, and Shaykh Muḥammad Salīm al-Kalali, all of whom had extensive contacts with the Middle East.<sup>42</sup> These periodicals contained many references to *al-Manār*.<sup>43</sup> *Al-Imām* was read extensively in Indonesia and anywhere else that Malay was spoken or written.<sup>44</sup>

Like *al-Manār* of Cairo, and *al-Imām* of Singapore, Haji ʿAbdullah Ahmad's fortnightly magazine, *al-Munīr* (the Illuminative), which began publication in Padang, West Sumatra in 1911, offered Indonesian readers a taste of the new thought. Ahmad Dahlan, one of its readers in Java, translated some of the articles into Javanese for those who read only that language.<sup>45</sup> The emergence of *al-Manār*, *al-Imām*, and then *al-Munīr* formed an ideological link in a new transmission of reform, one which extended from the Middle East and passed through Malaysia/Singapore before finally reaching Indonesia, and especially West Sumatra. Singapore represented a cross-section of the Muslim peoples of the Middle East and Indonesia. Its reputation as a transit point contributed to its role as

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<sup>41</sup>Shaykh Ṭāhir admitted that al-Azhar of Cairo had "opened his eyes" and that it was because of his love for this institution that he added "al-Azhari" to his name. Hamka, *Ayahku*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>42</sup>For the backgrounds and educational experiences of these individuals in Mecca and Cairo see, William R. Roff, "Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua: Innovation and Reaction," a chapter in *The Origin of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 59-67; Ibrahim bin Abu Bakar, "Islamic Modernism in Malaya As Reflected in Hadi's Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1992), pp. 80-124.

<sup>43</sup>*Al-Imām*, for example, often cited the opinions of ʿAbduh, and translated some articles from *al-Manār*. Roff, "Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua," p. 59.

<sup>44</sup>The magazine had its agents in Sumatra, Java (Jakarta, Cianjur, Surabaya, and Semarang), Kalimantan (Pontianak and Sambas), and Sulawesi (Makassar, today known as Ujung Pandang). Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 35.

<sup>45</sup>A. Mukti Ali, *Alam Pikiran Modern di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Nida, 1971), p. 42; Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 111.

a publication and distribution center for religious writings. Although it was also considered as a center of Islamic life and learning,<sup>46</sup> this did not mean that Singapore had a role equal to that of Cairo - after all it did not have educational institutions like al-Azhar. Nevertheless, Singapore remained an important destination on the pilgrimage route.<sup>47</sup> Its role was limited mainly to giving both technical and spiritual support to those who needed to be escorted to Mecca.<sup>48</sup> During the past century and in the first decade of the current one many people travelled to Singapore to find work and thus obtain the means to undertake the pilgrimage;<sup>49</sup> Singapore in such cases became the starting point of the journey. The importance of the role of Singapore as a center on the Middle East-Indonesia route, on the other hand, was its position in keeping the course of reform ideas flowing to their final destination, the Indonesian Archipelago.

#### 1.1.5. *Students and the Reform*

Unlike the pilgrims and Indonesian students in Arabia, those who went to Cairo (and especially the University of al-Azhar) did not play a role in the

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<sup>46</sup>In the nineteenth century, many students from all over the archipelago but especially from Patani, Aceh, Palembang and Java came to Singapore to study under the guidance of scholars from Ḥaḍramawt and the Hijaz. Roff, "South-East Asian Islam," p. 177.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>The most important knowledge is *manāsik al-ḥajj*, a set of rituals during the pilgrimage.

<sup>49</sup>Although Vredendregt does not mention explicitly who they were, it may certainly be understood that they were Indonesians. See Vredendregt, "The Ḥadjdj", pp. 127-129; this also can be linked with the growing number of Javanese emigrants in Singapore in the early nineteenth century. Craig A. Lockard, "The Javanese As Emigrant: Observations on the Development of Javanese Settlements Overseas," *Indonesia* 11 (1972), p. 44.

transmission of knowledge to their homeland until the early decades of the present century. The number of the Indonesian students in Cairo significantly increased in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Most of them were already active in modern Islamic movements in Indonesia, in that they belonged to the second generation of Islamic reformism.<sup>50</sup> Although as early as 1890 there existed at al-Azhar the office of the Shaykh of the Javanese *riwāq*,<sup>51</sup> i.e. the guardian of the students from the *Jāwā* quarter,<sup>52</sup> their number was still marginal.<sup>53</sup> If Dār al-ʿUlūm,<sup>54</sup> as one study observes, was preferred over al-Azhar by students from

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<sup>50</sup>For a discussion of these students and their role in reform movements, see William Roff, "Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920's," *Indonesia* 9 (1970), pp. 80-87; and a recent study, Mona Abaza, *Islamic Education Perception and Exchanges: Indonesian Students in Cairo* (Paris: Association Archipel, 1994), pp. 73-86.

<sup>51</sup>According to the Law of October 15, 1885 a student who is not registered as belonging to a *riwāq* or *ḥārah* (the student lodges at al-Azhar University) is not to be counted as a student of al-Azhar. Bayard Dodge, *Al-Azhar: A Millennium of Muslim Learning* (Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1961), p. 132.

<sup>52</sup>Roff, "Indonesian and Malay Students", p. 80. Elsewhere in this article he argues that there had been Indonesian students in Cairo for many years prior to the first quarter of the twentieth century, but it was apparently not until 1922 that they increased in number. *Ibid*, p. 73.

<sup>53</sup>The best known figure among the Indonesian students at al-Azhar in the early period was Shaykh Ṭāhir Jalal al-Dīn, who originally came from Minangkabau, West Sumatra. After studying at Mecca for some years, he went to al-Azhar in 1310/1892. He left Cairo in 1906 and chose Malaya as his new base for spreading his reformist ideas. Hamka, *Pengaruh Muhammad ʿAbduh di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1961), p. 8.

<sup>54</sup>The Dār al-ʿUlūm was founded in Cairo in 1872 (or 1892 according to some sources) by ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (1239-1311/1823-1893) in order to train teachers of Arabic and Turkish, and to offer an alternative religious and secular education to that provided in al-Azhar. Its creation went hand in hand with the growing interest of the Muslim intelligentsia in modernizing the system of education. It later joined Cairo University (founded in 1902) in 1945. Abaza, *Islamic Education*, footnote 4, pp. 25-26; *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 131-132.

Java during the earlier period,<sup>55</sup> this marginality may not only have been in numbers but also in the interest in the religious ideas being spread by Muḥammad ʿAbduh at al-Azhar at the time. It has even been suggested that al-Azhar never actually became a reformist educational institution in spite of ʿAbduh's efforts. This failure was due to the strong opposition of both the al-Azhar Shaykhs and of the Khedive ʿAbbas Ḥilmī.<sup>56</sup> For this reason, the hope that al-Azhar would become an agent in the spread of ʿAbduh's reform ideas before the end of the nineteenth century was never realized. Thus, if there were Indonesian students at al-Azhar at the time, they might not have become acquainted with reformist ideas; on the contrary they may have been more influenced by the Shaykhs who opposed reform.

The fact that there were few if any Indonesian students at al-Azhar during the early twentieth century is supported by evidence that nearly all the leaders of the Indonesian reform movements were of Meccan background.<sup>57</sup> They, however, kept in touch with ʿAbduh's ideas during their stay in Mecca as well as when they returned home. Ahmad Dahlan was one of those who managed to do so. He went

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<sup>55</sup>Based on a case study, it was found that during the period 1925-1936, six young men from the city of Kotagede attended Cairo University and the American University in Cairo in order to study secular subjects, taught in modern Arabic as well as in English. See Nakamura, "Professor Haji Kahar," pp. 7-8.

<sup>56</sup>The Khedive ultimately appointed ʿAbduh as *muftī* in order to keep him from becoming the Shaykh al-Azhar, which position was subsequently given to the conservative Shaykhs Salīm al-Bishrī and then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shirbīnī, who successfully opposed ʿAbduh's reform efforts. Yvonne Haddad, "Muḥammad ʿAbduh: Pioneer of Islamic Reform", in Ali Rahnema, ed., *Pioneers of Islamic Revival* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1994), footnote 59, p. 62; Dodge, *Al-Azhar*, p. 139.

<sup>57</sup>Despite the fact that al-Surkati (the founder of al-*Irshād* in Indonesia) was from Sudan, he never studied at al-Azhar but went to Mecca to complete his education. He was, however, much influenced by ʿAbduh and Riḍā and corresponded with the al-Azhar scholars who were followers of ʿAbduh. Abaza, *Islamic Education*, 54.

to Mecca in 1890 and stayed there for a period of time to study. In 1903 he again visited Mecca, staying there this time for 18 months.<sup>58</sup> He studied under several 'ulamā' in Mecca, one of them being Shaykh Aḥmad Khatīb, who gave him the opportunity to read 'Abduh's writings.<sup>59</sup> He was quite interested in *Tafsīr al-Manār*, in addition to other collections which provided the religious reformist ideas of 'Abduh.<sup>60</sup> Thus, if Egypt may be considered as one of the chief sources of reform ideas in the early twentieth century, it was not through the students who studied at al-Azhar but through Egyptian publications in the form of periodicals and books. These influenced the opinions of readers in Indonesia, who then modified them to suit the local situation. This modification, especially in the case of the Muḥammadiyah, was expressed in various activities which reflected more the populist rather than the elitist aspects of Egyptian reform.

## I.2. Modern Islamic Movements and the Idea of Religious Reconstruction

The emergence of a religious network between the Middle East and Indonesia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries maintained the continuity of the Islamic religious tradition. The modern Islamic movements in the early decades of this century reflected this process, a process which eventually led to

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<sup>58</sup>H. Soedja', *Muhammadiyah dan Pendirinya* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Majlis Pustaka, 1989), pp. 1, 13.

<sup>59</sup>Shaykh Aḥmad Khatīb was a follower of the Shāfi'ī *madhab*; however, he did not prohibit his students from reading 'Abduh's writings. He did this however with the intention of refuting the ideas of the Egyptian reformist. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 74.

<sup>60</sup>Some scholars list the titles of 'Abduh's books that Ahmad Dahlan actually read. Among them were : *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, *al-Islām wa-al-Naṣraniyah*, *Tafsīr Juz' 'Amma*, *Tafsīr al-Manār*. Solichin Salam, *K.H. Ahmad Dahlan*, p. 6; Hadikusuma, *Dari Jamaluddin Al-Afghani*, 75.

efforts at reform. There were some characteristics in the Indonesian experience which were common to social and religious reform movements in all Muslim lands under colonial rule; a situation which gave rise to a dispute over the question of the relation between the world of Islam and the West. This section discusses such characteristics as the stages of development, the role of leaders in directing the movements, and the themes they stressed. As we shall note later, one of the most important of these themes was the purification of Islamic teachings. Moreover, these movements also held in common similar ideas respecting reform, social mobility and economic activities.

#### I.2.1. *Muslim Reformers and the West: An Overview*

The relations between the Muslim world and the West in the second half of the nineteenth century attracted the attention of two reformers in particular, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801-1873) and Khayr al-Dīn Tūnisī (d. 1889),<sup>61</sup> both of whom had direct experience with the West. They both thought that it was reasonable for Muslims to accept scientific knowledge from the West, a thesis which was of great

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<sup>61</sup>Hourani includes them among the first generation of liberal Arabic thinkers. Rifāʿah Badawī Rafīʿ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was an Egyptian reformer who lived in Paris from 1826 to 1831, serving as *imām* to the Egyptian students in that city. The thought of the French Enlightenment left a permanent mark on him. When he returned to Egypt, he worked for a time as translator in the new specialist schools, and in 1836 was appointed head of the new School of Languages. At the same time, he acted as inspector of schools, examiner, member of educational commissions and editor of the official newspaper, *al-Waqāʾir al-Miṣriya*. His contemporary, Khayr al-Dīn, was a Tunisian who in 1871 controlled the interior, finance, and foreign affairs ministries, and in 1873 became prime minister. He held that position for four years, and used it to carry out many reforms. Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939* (Cambridge, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 67-99.

importance to the development of the reformist movement.<sup>62</sup> ʿAbduh took this idea a step further by saying that Muslims were only taking back what they had originally given.<sup>63</sup> Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, the ideological father of the Aligarh movement, committed himself to co-operating with the British and emphasized social reforms based on Western models.<sup>64</sup> Unlike Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, however, Ahmad Dahlan of the Muḥammadiyah discouraged cooperation with the Dutch colonial regime. Nevertheless, like Ahmad Surkati of al-Irshād and later Ahmad Hassan (d. 1958) of Persatuan Islam, Ahmad Dahlan tried to conceal his anti-Dutch sentiment while at the same time encouraging Indonesian Muslims to derive as much cultural benefit as possible from the West. This is an example of the "love/hate" orientation toward the West in the early twentieth century.<sup>65</sup> It reflected the conviction of certain reformists that the institutions which had evolved in the West could be employed by Muslims to mobilize themselves in response to the challenges of the modern world, in spite of the fact that they also showed their hatred for the West because of imperialist domination.

Some Muslim leaders questioned how the West was able to achieve such a dominant position in the modern world. Among the many explanations of this

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<sup>62</sup>They argued that since European civilization was based mostly on what Islam had contributed to it in the past, it was the duty of Muslims to take it back. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah wa al-Irshād al-Qawmī, 1958), p. 79; Khayr al-Dīn Tunisi, *Muqaddimah Kitāb Aqwam al-Masālik fī Maʿrifat Aḥwāl al-Mamālik* (Tūnis: Maṭbaʿat al-Dawlah, 1284/1867/1868), p. 6. In another book Ṭaḥṭāwī states his conviction that most of man's knowledge had been translated from Arabic. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Manāhij al-Albāb al-Miṣrīyah fī Mabāhij al-Ādāb al-ʿAṣrīyah* (Cairo, 1912), p. 373.

<sup>63</sup>*Al-Manār* 9 (1906), pp. 597-598.

<sup>64</sup>David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 74-75, 77-78.

<sup>65</sup>Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Muslim Modernization In India and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 14.

phenomenon, the chief one was the spirit of rationality.<sup>66</sup> This ethic, in fact, once monopolized by the Christian world and especially by Protestants, became the common property of modern society, both in Christian and non-Christian lands.<sup>67</sup> Among the Muslim reformers, both Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and ʿAbduh raised the issue of reason in connection with religion in their efforts at reforming their

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<sup>66</sup>In the Western world, this spirit was identified with the emergence of capitalism. Two articles discussing the issue, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" and a supplementary article "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism," which appeared in 1906, constituted the first of Max Weber's essays on the sociology of religion. Robert W. Green, ed., *Protestantism and Capitalism: The Weber Thesis and Its Critics* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1959), p. vii. In other works, Weber maintained that history always moves in the direction of rationalization. One of the forms of rationalization was "action", whose function was to organize all means systematically in order to achieve goals effectively and efficiently. He, however, believed that rationalization of action could not be separated from spiritual power, whose function was to motivate changes in behavior. In European history, this was exemplified by Protestantism, which culminated in the Calvinism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His analysis held that the puritans were stimulated by the doctrinal spirit which always demanded rationalization of action to establish a systematic movement. Max Weber, *The Theories of Social and Economic Organization*, edited with an introduction by Talcott Parsons. (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 115, 151, and 185; idem, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1958) pp. 13-31; James L. Peacock, *Muslim Puritans: Reformist Psychology in Southeast Asian Islam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 2.

<sup>67</sup>For the influence of Protestant ethics on non-Western societies, see Robert N. Bellah, "Epilogue: Religion and Progress in Modern Asia," in *Religion and Progress in Modern Asia* (New York: Free Press, 1965), pp. 168-229; idem, "Reflection on the Protestant Ethic Analogy in Asia," *Journal of Social Issues* 19, 1 (1963), pp. 52-61; idem, "Religious Aspects of Modernization in Turkey and Japan," *American Journal of Sociology* 61, 1 (1958), pp. 1-5; Clifford Geertz, "Modernization in a Muslim Society: The Indonesian Case," in Robert N. Bellah, ed., *Religion and Progress in Modern Asia*, pp. 97-108; idem, "Religious Belief and Economic Behavior in a Central Javanese Town," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 4, 2 (1956), pp. 134-158; idem, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960); James L. Peacock, *Muslim Puritans: Reformist Psychology in Southeast Asian Islam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Maxime Rodinson, *Islam and Capitalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974); Bryan S. Turner, *Weber and Islam* (London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974); W. F. Wertheim, "Religious Reform Movements in South and Southeast Asia," in *East-West Parallels: Sociological Approaches to Modern Asia* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1964), pp. 133-146.

communities. Although this was not the first time the question had been raised in Islam,<sup>68</sup> the question as it was posed in the twentieth century acquired a new dimension because of the emergence of a new scientific world view. In connection with this issue, ʿAbduh argued that Islamic teaching was based on rationalism and the rule of reason. It was through the power of reason that Muslims were expected to distinguish truth from falsehood and hence to abide by religion.<sup>69</sup> Rationalism in ʿAbduh's thought led him to reject *taqlīd* and to accept interpretation (*taʿwīl*) based on reason rather than accept the literal translation of the religious sources.<sup>70</sup> The paradigm underlying the process of reform in the modern Muslim world was based primarily on the argument that the basic principles of Islam contained within themselves the seeds of rational religion, social conscience and morality which could serve as the basis of modern life. It was also seen as being able to create a religious elite which could articulate and interpret the real meaning of Islamic values and so provide a foundation for the emergence of a new society.

ʿAbduh's ideas, however, do seem elitist and intellectually oriented,<sup>71</sup> and individualistic rather than collective in nature. The adoption of modern organizational structures by Indonesian Islamic movements in the early twentieth

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<sup>68</sup>The Muʿtazilites and Muslim philosophers had asked the same question, and had given their own solutions. Because of his continuing insistence on the use of reason ʿAbduh was categorized as being a kind of neo-Muʿtazilite. Rahman, "Revival and Reform", p. 645; Haddad, "Muhammad ʿAbduh," pp. 45-46.

<sup>69</sup>Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Al-Islām wa al-Naṣrānīyah maʿ al-ʿIlm wa al-Madaniyah* (Cairo: al-Manār, 1938), pp. 54-55; Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tarīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh*, vol. 1 (Egypt: Maṭbaʿat al-Manār, 1931), p. 613.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 11, 613.

<sup>71</sup>Egyptian reformism, in comparison with its Indonesian counterpart (as shown by the Muḥammadiyah), was more narrowly theological, elitist, and intellectually oriented. Nakamura, "Professor Haji Kahar Muzakkir," p. 8.

century shows that they did not operate along the same lines as the Egyptian reformers did. This decision not only reveals their desire to rationalize their struggle along more efficient and effective lines, but it is also a clear example of the continuing practice of borrowing institutions from the West. In view of their effectiveness, modern organizational practices had been utilized to implement a variety of social endeavors, ranging from permanent institutions such as schools, orphanages and hospitals to the mobilization of social assistance for community emergencies. Although there had been different nuances in the internal structures of Sarekat Islam, the Muḥammadiyah, al-Irshād, Persatuan Islam, and Nahḍat al-‘Ulamā<sup>3</sup> (a subject which will be discussed below), nonetheless all these organizations used foreign ideas in this area. This differentiated them from their contemporaries such as the Jadidists<sup>72</sup> in Central Asia, who adopted more traditional forms of organization in pursuing their goals.

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<sup>72</sup>The Jadidist movement, pioneered by the Tatars, was not restricted to religious reform, but extended to the economic and cultural spheres. Figures such as Abdul Nazir Kursavi (1775-1813), Shihabeddin Marjani (1815-1889), Razaeddin Fahredin Oglu (1854-1939), and Musa Jarullah Biqi (1875-1949), were among those who concentrated on religious issues. A cultural and linguistic renaissance followed closely the religious reform. This was a collective endeavor undertaken by Kayyum Nasyri (1824-1904) of the Volga Tatars, Ismail Garprinskii (1851-1914) of the Crimean Tatars, Hasan Malikov Zerdabi (1837-1907) of Azeris, and Abay Kunanbaev (1845-1904) of the Kazakhs. The modernization of the Muslim educational system brought to the fore certain well-known figures such as Marjani, Gasprinskii, and Hussein Feitskhani (1826-1866), Marjani's leading student. Alexandre Bennigsen, "Modernization and Conservatism in Soviet Islam," in Dennis J. Dunn, ed., *Religion and Modernization in the Soviet Union* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977), pp. 240-242; Serge A. Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 24-25.

### I.2.2. *The Movements and their Leadership*

For Indonesian Muslims, the early twentieth century saw the emergence of Islamic movements such as the Sarekat Dagang Islam (Muslim Trade Association) in 1905 (which later changed its name to Sarekat Islam in 1911),<sup>73</sup> the Muḥammadiyah in 1912, al-Irshād in 1913, Persatuan Islam in 1923, and Nahdat al-ʿUlamāʾ in 1926.<sup>74</sup> Naturally, these organizations did not begin with a fully developed structure and organization. When Haji Samanhudi founded Sarekat Dagang Islam, his lack of modern organizational skills and his under-appreciation of the importance of propaganda caused it to fall virtually into oblivion until 1911, when Tjokroaminoto came on to the scene.<sup>75</sup> For the first few years after its establishment, the Muḥammadiyah's popularity languished due to the lack of effort shown by its founding members. Ahmad Dahlan alone was active in *tablīgh*, and in spreading the Muḥammadiyah's message to his close friends in Yogyakarta,<sup>76</sup> partly because it had been forced to limit its activities to the region of

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<sup>73</sup>The organization changed its name to Partai Sarekat Islam (Muslim Association Party) in 1921 and then again to Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Association Party) in 1930. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 101; the name of Sarekat Islam formally reappeared when the party fused its political aspirations into Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Development Unity Party) in 1973. Muhammad Abdul Gani, *Cita Dasar dan Pola Perjuangan Syarikat Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), p. 8.

<sup>74</sup>There were some other Islamic movements and organizations founded during this period, such as Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia in 1929 (West Sumatra), al-Jamʿiyah al-Khayriyah in 1905, and Persatuan Ulama Madjalengka in 1917 (Java), but most of them were local or only lived for a short time.

<sup>75</sup>*Hikmah* 10, 1-2 (1957), pp. 36, 43; Timur Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement: Its Contribution to Indonesian Nationalism" (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1959), p. 26.

<sup>76</sup>Aboebakar Atjeh, *Salaf* (Djakarta: Permata, 1970), p. 113.

Yogyakarta.<sup>77</sup> Persatuan Islam, which laid much more emphasis on the spread of religious ideas, for a long time neglected its organizational development.<sup>78</sup> Nor did the organization of the Nahdat al-‘Ulamā’ originally have any well-defined policies, except in connection with the change of rule in the Hijaz.<sup>79</sup> There were no statutes agreed upon until some time after its founding, and no accurately registered membership.<sup>80</sup> From a developmental perspective, therefore, all of these movements were at first loosely organized; nevertheless as they developed, their activities tended to become more systematic. They acquired organization and established a stable leadership, patterns of activities, rules and values. Such phenomena are generally characteristic of social movements as described by Blumer.<sup>81</sup> Movements of this kind tend to pass through certain stages in their evolution before reaching their final shape.<sup>82</sup> In considering the development of

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<sup>77</sup>*Statuten dan Qaidah Moehammadijah* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomité Moehammadijah, 1935), p. 10.

<sup>78</sup>Muhammad Isa Anshari, *Manifes Perjuangan Persatuan Islam* (Bandung: Pimpinan Pusat Persatuan Islam, 1958), p. 6.

<sup>79</sup>The religious ideology of the new rulers of the Hijaz made some ‘ulamā’ in Indonesia worry about prohibiting *madhhab* practices in Mecca. Their concern over this issue led them to establish Komite Hijaz in 1926 whose main purpose was to send a delegate to meet King Ibn Saud in Mecca to express their concern. Abdul Halim, *Sejarah Perjuangan K.H. A. Wahab Hasbullah* (Bandung: P.T. Baru, n.d.), p. 12; for details on the issues proposed to the King, see Aboebakar, *Sedjarah Hidup*, p. 473.

<sup>80</sup>Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 230.

<sup>81</sup>Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements," in Alfred McClung Lee, ed., *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1966), p. 202.

<sup>82</sup>Using the scheme of stages suggested by Dawson and Gettys, these may be defined as the stage of social unrest, the stage of popular excitement, the stage of formalization, and the stage of institutionalization. See C.A. Dawson and W.E. Gettys, *Introduction to Sociology* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1935), pp. 710-726. But every social movement tends to traverse a cycle of change. When the last stage occurs someone usually feels a new need and either the institution changes to

such movements, the crucial aspect deserving attention is their internal mechanisms,<sup>83</sup> through which they are able to grow and become organized. At the stage of development, the role of leaders in influencing those mechanisms is quite important. In the case of the movements referred to above, the leaders' role was more pronounced in the formation of their respective ideological orientations.

At the ideological centre of all these movements lay the Islamic faith. Although culturally enriched by national and local elements, they essentially reflected the religious outlook and aspirations of the central lands of Islam, where the standard of teaching and tradition was set. The leaders of all five movements had in fact visited Mecca, where they performed the ḥajj. Some of them even spent a number of years in the Hijaz deepening their Islamic knowledge (during a period of *muqīm*), among them Haji Ahmad Dahlan of the Muḥammadiyah, Haji Ahmad al-Surkati of al-Irshād, Haji Zamzam of Persatuan Islam, and Haji Hasjim Asj'ari of Nahḍat al-'Ulamā'.<sup>84</sup> The only exceptions to this rule were Haji Samanhudi, the founder of Sarekat Dagang Islam, and Haji Muhammad Yunus, the co-founder of

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meet that need or in time it is superseded. Jerome Davis, *Contemporary Social Movements* (New York: The Century Co., 1930), pp. 8-9.

<sup>83</sup>Blumer enumerates five important aspects of these mechanisms: (1) agitation, (2) development of *esprit de corps*, (3) development of morale, (4) the formation of an ideology, and (5) the development of operating tactics. See his "Social Movements," pp. 203-214.

<sup>84</sup>There is no specific information on the number of years Ahmad Dahlan stayed in Mecca. He went to the Holy Land in 1890 and stayed there from 1903 to 1905. M. Junus Anies, et. al., *Kenalilah Pemimpin Anda: Riwayat Hidup dan Perjuangan Ketua-Ketua P.P. Muhammadiyah A. Dahlan s/d Pak AR* (Yogyakarta: P.P. Muhammadiyah, Majlis Pustaka, n.d), p. 5; and Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Dari Jamaluddin al-Afghani*, p. 75; Ahmad Surkati lived in Medina for four years before going to Mecca where he studied for eleven years; Haji Zamzam spent three and a half years in Mecca. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, pp. 63, 84. Hasjim Asj'ari at least spent seven years in Mecca. Aboebakar, *Sedjarah Hidup*, pp. 66, 69, 70, and 72.

Persatuan Islam.<sup>85</sup> Ahmad Dahlan and Hasjim Asj'ari even studied under the same 'ulamā' while in Mecca.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, some of them also derived their ideas and

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<sup>85</sup>Haji Samanhudi went to Mecca in 1904 at the age of thirty-six, and it was after his return from the Holy Land that he founded the Sarekat Dagang Islam in Solo, in October 1905. He probably stayed in Mecca for only a few months. Timur Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement," p. 34. Nor did Muhammad Yunus stay in Mecca for an extended period of time. He was primarily a trader who was interested in religious matters and had collected books on Islam. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 84.

<sup>86</sup>One of the recognized 'ulamā' with whom they studied was Shaykh Ahmad Khaṭīb, an Imām of the Shāfi'ites at the Masjid al-Ḥarām. Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 273. This does not preclude the possibility that they also studied separately or jointly under some other 'ulamā'. It is also suggested that both Ahmad Dahlan and Hasjim Asj'ari studied at the same *pesantren* in Semarang. Ahmad Adabi Darban, "Sejarah Kauman Yogyakarta Tahun 1900-1950: Suatu Study Terhadap Perubahan Sosial" (M.A. thesis, Universitas Gajah Mada, 1980), p. 59.

aspirations from Egypt,<sup>87</sup> India,<sup>88</sup> and Turkey.<sup>89</sup> Their experiences had a significant impact on the doctrines and the ideological orientations of the movements they founded.

On a theoretical level, ideology is formulated on the basis of national priorities. It plays a significant role in the life of a movement; and becomes an essential internal mechanism in its development. It consists of a body of doctrines and beliefs which are formulated in its objectives and purposes. There is a body of

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<sup>87</sup> The first generation of the Indonesian Islamic reformers, such as Ahmad Dahlan and Ahmad al-Surkati, received their inspiration from Egypt through publications. Moreover, Ahmad al-Surkati, during his stay in Mecca, acquainted himself with the teachings of ʿAbduh by corresponding with some al-Azhar scholars under the influence of ʿAbduh. *Majlis Daʿwah al-Irshād, Riwayat Hidup Syech Ahmad as-Surkati*, part 1 (Surabaya: Siaran Majlis Daʿwah, 1972/1973), p. 3. Meanwhile, the second generation, many of whom were later active in the Muḥammadiyah, studied at al-Azhar and Dār al-ʿUlūm in Cairo. They included Haji Mas Mansoer, Muhammad Farid Maʿruf, and ʿAbdul Kahar Muzakkir. Roff, "Indonesian and Malay," pp. 81, 84; Mona Abaza, *Islamic Education*, pp. 74-79; Nakamura, "Professor Haji Kahar Muzakkir," p. 8; Kiyai Haji Mas Mansoer, *Kumpulan Karangan Tersebar* (Yogyakarta: P.T. Percetakan Persatuan, 1992), p. x

<sup>88</sup> Tjokroaminoto, the leader of Sarekat Islam, received inspiration from India. His work *Islam dan Sosialisme* (Islam and Socialism) was much influenced by Rafīʿ Aḥmad Qidwāʿī's (1894-1954) ideas; similarly his *Tarich Agama Islam* (the History of Islamic Religion) was based on Amīr ʿAlī's (1849-1938) *The Spirit of Islam*, Maulana Muḥammad ʿAlī's (1878-1931) *Muḥammad the Prophet*, and Kwaja Kamāl al-Dīn's (1870-1932) *The Ideal Prophet*; he even translated some parts of Muḥammad ʿAlī's Qurʾānic exegesis before his death. See H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Sosialisme* (Djakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1950), idem, *Tarich Agama Islam* (Djakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1952); Jusuf Wibisono, *Islam dan Sosialisme* (Djakarta: Pustaka Islam, n.d.), p. 3; Timur Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement," p. 48; Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto: Hidup dan Perdjuangannja* (Djakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1952), p. 72.

<sup>89</sup> The Arab community who later established al-Jamʿiyah al-Khairiyah began in 1890 to send several youths to Turkey to pursue advanced studies, but this activity was soon hampered by lack of funds as well as by the decline of the caliphate. Aboebakar, *Sedjarah Hidup K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim dan Karangan Tersiar* (Djakarta: Panitia Buku Peringatan Almarhum K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim, 1957), p. 228; ʿAbdu-l Muʿti ʿAlī, "The Muḥammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction" (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1957), p. 49.

criticism of the existing structure which the movement is seeking to change; a body of defence doctrine which serves as a justification of its objectives; and a body of belief dealing with its policies, tactics, and practical operation.<sup>90</sup> Ideology provides a movement not only with the necessary platform to resolve its problems but also, as Blumer suggests, a set of values, a set of convictions, a set of criticisms, a set of arguments, and a set of defences. In other words, it gives direction, justification, weapons of attack as well as of defence, inspiration, and hope.<sup>91</sup>

Basing ourselves on this ideological framework, we can detect three major orientations among the Muslim groups that concern us: the conservative-traditionalist, the modern-reformist, and the puritan-radicalist. The conservative-traditionalists were those who had resisted the Westernizing tendencies of the last century in the name of Islam as understood and practised in their particular areas; its members were found particularly among the 'ulamā', ṣūfī orders, and generally among the rural populations and lower classes. The modern-reformists insisted that Islam is relevant to all areas of life, public as well as private, but that traditional views and practices must be reformed in the light of the original sources

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<sup>90</sup>All of the movements referred to in this chapter gave expression to their respective ideologies in the texts of their statutes. For the Sarekat Islam, see Petrus Blumberger, *De Nationalistische Beweging in Nederlandsch Indië* (Haarlem, 1931), pp. 58-59; for the Muḥammadiyah, see *Statuten Lan Pranatan Tjilik Oemoem Toemrap Pakoempoelan Moehammadijah Hindia Wetan* (Ngajogjakarta: Pangreh Gede Moehammadijah, 1928); "Statuten Moehammadijah," in *Statuten dan Qa'idah*, pp. 21-42; and *Azas dan Pedoman serta Anggaran Dasar dari Persjerikatan Moehammadijah*, duplicated by Pengoeroes Moehammadijah Tjabang Pontianak, pp. 17-21; for al-Irshād, see Affandi, "Shaykh Aḥmad Al-Surkatī", appendix I; for Persatuan Islam, see *Qanun Asasi dan Qanun Dachili Persatuan Islam* (Bandung: Persatuan Islam, 1968); and for Nahḍat al-'Ulamā', see *Statuten Perkoempoelan Nahdlat ul-'Oelama, 1926*. These citations are taken from Choirul Anam, *Pertumbuhan Perkembangan Nahdlatul Ulama* (Sala: Jatayu, 1985), appendix III.

<sup>91</sup>Blumer, "Social Movements," pp. 210-211.

of authority, the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* (the authoritative precedent of the Prophet Muḥammad and, for the Shī'ites, also the twelve Imams) and of contemporary conditions and needs. For modern-reformists the shari'ah applied to all of life, but they emphasized its flexibility and tended to interpret it in terms of Western-derived ideas. Puritan-radicalists also wanted to interpret Islam in terms of the original sources of authority in the light of contemporary needs, but they strongly objected to the modernists' tendency to westernize Islam. For them the shari'ah was indeed flexible and capable of development to meet changing needs, but interpretation and development had to be done in a genuinely Islamic manner. They also criticized many of the traditional ideas and practices.<sup>92</sup>

### I.2.3. *The Ideological Orientation of Islamic Movements*

Scholars have tried to identify these orientations with specific Islamic movements in Indonesia in the early twentieth century. They label the Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ as traditionalist and Sarekat Islam, the Muḥammadiyah, and al-Irshād as modernists.<sup>93</sup> The Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ, for its part, was sponsored by the ʿulamāʾ,

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<sup>92</sup>William Shepard, "Fundamentalism Christian and Islamic," *Religion* 17 (1987), 358; also his "Islam and Ideology: Towards A Typology," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (1987), pp. 307-335; Hans Bräker, "The Islamic Renewal Movement and the Power Shift in the Near/Middle East and Central Asia," in Ch. Lemerrier-Quellejey, G. Veinstein, and S.E. Wimbush, eds., *Turco-Tatar Past Soviet Present* (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1986), pp. 515-516. The puritan-radicalist orientation used in this thesis to some extent resembles Shepard's "fundamentalist." It does not, however, include the call, as is commonly understood in the West for an "Islamic state" which would bring all public law into conformity with the shari'ah, nor does it imply the more recent concern with such matters as the "Islamicizing" of knowledge, economics and politics.

<sup>93</sup>Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 148-161; Deliar Noer, "The Rise and Development of the Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia," (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1963), pp. 516-

who were preoccupied with the religious life of the majority of Muslims at the time. In its statutes, this movement claimed to be a religious organization basing itself on the doctrines of the *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* and holding firmly to the teachings of only one of the four *madhāhib*, the Shāfi'ī.<sup>94</sup> Ideologically, this position set the organization apart from the mainstream of the reformist movements which did not bind themselves to any specific Islamic school of law. The Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ's commitment to spreading Islam according to the teachings of the Shāfi'ī school of law, and to preserving certain Indonesian religious traditions, has led some scholars to interpret the emergence of the Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ as a reaction to the reformist movements in Indonesia.<sup>95</sup>

Some scholars also include Persatuan Islam as modernist, but this study prefers to call it a "radical" group.<sup>96</sup> Some of the movements defined themselves in ways that parallel these orientations. Al-Irshād, for example, claimed in its statutes that part of its mission was to spread the idea of "Islamic reform,"<sup>97</sup> while Persatuan Islam clearly identified itself as a movement which was bound to

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543; and Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam Under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945* (The Hague/Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1958), pp. 32-102.

<sup>94</sup>*Statuten Perkoempoelan Nadlatoel-ʿOelama*, article 2, quoted in Anam, *Nahdlatul Ulama*, appendix III.

<sup>95</sup>Zamakhsyari Dhofier, a well-known author raised in the Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ tradition, comments that the Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ then became the defender of the religious tradition of the people in rural areas against the influences of the modernist Muslims. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari: Penggalang Islam Tradisional," *Prisma* 1 (January, 1984), p. 80; see also his *Tradisi Pesantren* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), p. 149.

<sup>96</sup>Federspiel mentions that this radicalist phenomenon has existed since the time of Haji Zamzam. Federspiel, "The Persatuan Islam," p. 19; Syafiq A. Mughni, *Hassan Bandung Pemikir Radikal* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1994), pp. 36-38.

<sup>97</sup>Statutes of al-Irshād, article 2.2, quoted in appendix I of Bisri Affandi, "Shaikh Aḥmad Surkatī," p. 161.

eradicate innovation (*bid'ah*), superstition (*khurāfah*), whim (*takhayyul*), *taqlīd*, and the practice of associating something with God (*shirk*) in the religious life of Muslims.<sup>98</sup> It argued that the eradication of superstitious beliefs and innovative practices should be reformed radically.<sup>99</sup> However, neither Sarekat Islam nor the Muḥammadiyah identified itself as reformist in their statutes. Both organizations referred to their mission in general terms, stating their goal to be the advancement of the religious life of Muslims.<sup>100</sup> Although Sarekat Islam based its movement on Islam, it nevertheless gave only secondary attention to the purely religious aspects of its program. As for the Muḥammadiyah, the movement which impressed many people as a religious movement, it concentrated more on educational, social, and welfare activities.<sup>101</sup> The efforts of al-Irshād in religious matters were indeed impressive, but they were mostly oriented to the exclusive Arab-Indonesian communities.

Thus, Persatuan Islam represented the radical element among the Islamic movements in Indonesia in the early twentieth century, and this radicalism

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<sup>98</sup>Statutes of Persatuan Islam, Article 5. Aboebakar, *Sedjarah Hidup*, 216.

<sup>99</sup>Classifying the religious trends in Indonesia into three categories, conservative-reactionary, moderate-liberal, and revolutionary-radical, Muhammad Isa Anshari, the leader of Persatuan Islam in the 1950s, identifies the Persatuan Islam with the third category. Muhammad Isa Anshari, *Manifes Perdjjuangan*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>100</sup>While Sarekat Islam proposed to advance the commercial and material interests of Indonesians, look after their spiritual developmen, and help those in need, it also bound itself to advancing the religious life of the Indonesian people in accordance with the laws of the religion. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, pp. 96-97; the Muḥammadiyah formulated its goals for the first time in its statutes, to spread Islam in the Netherlands Indies, and to promote religious life among its members. See article 2 of *Statuten Lan Pranatan Tjilik Oemoem*, pp. 9-10. Literally, the formulation of the goals of the movement changed many times, but its essence was always the same.

<sup>101</sup>*Kitab 40 Tahun Muhammadiyah* (Djakarta: Panitia Pusat Perajaan 40 Tahun Berdirinja Perserikatan Muhammadiyah, 1952), p. 32.

subsequently encouraged the emergence of an ideologically extreme group, devoted to defending the religious views of the traditionalist camp. With the foundation of the Nahḍat al-‘Ulamā’ in January 1926, only two years and three months after that of Persatuan Islam, the traditional aspirations were accommodated. These events reflected increasing tensions between reformists and traditionalists over religious issues, whereas up to the early 1920s religious disputes between the reformists and the traditionalists were usually resolved through joint discussions. In Surabaya, the town in which the Nahḍat al-‘Ulamā’ was born, Kiyai Haji Abdul Wahab Hasbullah, who had returned from Mecca in 1914, and Kiyai Haji Mas Mansoer, who had finished his studies at al-Azhar in 1915, founded an organization called Jam‘īyat Nahḍat al-Waṭan. Abdul Wahab, who was later known as one of the founders of the Nahḍat al-‘Ulamā’, was very active in coordinating religious study groups. His efforts were directed towards training younger ‘ulamā’ how to respond to criticism from the reformist group as well as to facilitate contacts between the two groups in order to discuss religious and political matters. Mas Mansoer, who established a branch of the Muḥammadiyah in Surabaya in 1921, was an effective partner in creating an atmosphere of dialogue, and only left the leadership of the Nahḍat al-Waṭan in 1922.<sup>102</sup>

For a period of time, Surabaya was an arena where both sides could express their ideas. All the prominent leaders of Islamic movements came to the city to listen to the debates. It is said that in the 1920s Ahmad Hassan, before joining the Persatuan Islam, visited Surabaya from Singapore in connection with his family's *batik* business and while there had discussions with Indonesian

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<sup>102</sup>Aboebakar, *Sedjarah Hidup*, pp. 469-471; Junus Anies, *Kenalilah Pemimpin*, pp. 14-15.

‘ulamā’ on issues of *khilāfiyah*.<sup>103</sup> Ahmad Surkati and Ahmad Dahlan were also reported to have participated in the discussions. Ahmad Dahlan travelled to the city several times and even hosted the traditionalist group when it came to Yogyakarta for a discussion.<sup>104</sup> It became clear from this series of debates that the traditionalist group would have to coordinate itself as an organized movement. Although Abdul Wahab had trained many cadres to face the reformists, he felt that it was not enough and would not guarantee the success of his group in the face of this new religious ideology.<sup>105</sup> The momentous decade of the 1920s and the main issues which had been the crucial topics of discussion during this period encouraged this new organization to declare itself formally as the defender of the *madhhab*.

With the emergence of the Nahdat al-‘Ulamā’, the religious aspirations of the so called *abangan* were protected from the humiliations of some reformists. Their level of religious understanding was strengthened by the teaching methods of *madhhab*, in which they received instruction from the ‘ulamā’ on matters of religious practice. These were the people whose faith was most liable to be undermined, whether by the influence of local tradition or by lack of knowledge of their own religion. This situation led the Nahdat al-‘Ulamā’ to defend the view that *madhhab* and *taqlīd* were permissible in religious life. In other words, it was reasonable for the people of their day to adopt *taqlīd* as a way to apply religious practices, given the absence of an absolute (*muṭlaq*) *mujtahid*. Clarifying this issue in its *Qānūn Asāsī* (Basic Rule), the Nahdat al-‘Ulamā’ stated that *taqlīd* was

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<sup>103</sup> Federspiel, "Persatuan Islam," pp. 19-20.

<sup>104</sup> Saifuddin Zuhri, *K.H. Abdulwahab Chasbullah: Bapak Pendiri Nahdlatul-‘Ulama* (Jakarta: Yamunu, 1972), p. 24; Aboebakar, *Sedjarah Hidup*, pp. 470-471.

<sup>105</sup> Anam, *Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan*, pp. 29-30.

forbidden (*ḥarām*) for those who had the capability of *ijtihād*, and necessary (*wājib*) for those who did not. The latter were allowed to follow one of the four *madhāhib*.<sup>106</sup> But since none of the people of that period were able to fulfil the requirements of a *mujtahid*, *taqlīd* was the only option. The Nahḍat al-‘Ulamā’ argued that to understand and practice religious teachings properly people must follow their predecessors, just as the generation born in the period of *ṣaḥābah* (the *tābi‘ūn*) followed the *ṣaḥābah*, the successors of the *tābi‘ūn* (the *atbā‘ al-tābi‘īn*) followed the *tābi‘ūn*, and subsequent generations followed their predecessors.<sup>107</sup> Although, the Nahḍat al-‘Ulamā’ advanced coherent arguments justifying their support of *taqlīd*, it is nevertheless also true that the organization never progressed beyond this stage. Its critics blamed their policy for encouraging the emergence of *bid‘ah* practices, which formed the main target of the reformists. For this reason, the reformists accused the traditionalist ‘ulamā’ of being unwilling to change their religious outlook because of vested interests.<sup>108</sup>

If the reason for allowing *taqlīd*<sup>109</sup> was based on the assumption that earlier generations had somehow achieved perfection,<sup>110</sup> this should not have precluded the possibility that some later generation could at least fulfill the requirements of a good *ummah*. In the eyes of the reformists, the strict application of *taqlīd* caused a

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<sup>106</sup>K.H. Hasjim Asj‘ari, *Qanun Asasi Nahdlatul ‘Ulama’* (Kudus: Menara, 1971), pp. 63-66.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>108</sup>*Sual-Djawab* 2 (1930), p. 15.

<sup>109</sup>The discussion of *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* among the reformist and traditionalist groups in Indonesia has been analyzed by many writers. See, for example, Federspiel, "The Persatuan Islam", pp. 72-82; Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, pp. 233-234; Anam, *Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan*, pp. 164-165.

<sup>110</sup>Hasjim Asj‘ari argues, although not explicitly, that, at least, a given generation knows its own generation. Hasjim Asj‘ari, *Qonun Asasi*, pp. 53-56.

psychological burden for Muslims. There was the constant worry that every effort to understand Islamic teachings always depended on the interpretations of other people. While there were indeed certain limitations to the scope of *ijtihād*, given the complex problems of the period, an effort had to be made to create an atmosphere which encouraged its practice. It was to provide this psychological support, the reformist groups maintained, that "the gate of *ijtihād*" should still be regarded as open,<sup>111</sup> and that *ijtihād* be recognized as a valid part of the ongoing process of Muslims' striving to understand religious, social, and historical phenomena. The declaration of the Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ that it was an organization maintaining the doctrines of the *ahl al-Sunnah wa-al-Jamāʿah* and that it recognized just one *madhhab* was understood not only as denial of the existence of other *madhāhib* in Islam but also as an incitement to the adoption of blind imitation (*taqlīd aʿmā*), the lowest level of *taqlīd*. This worrying phenomenon, in fact, became a matter of great concern to certain members of the Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ. As expressed by Choirul Anam, a youth activist of NU, they realized that this was one of the weak points of the organization compared to the other Islamic movements. Generally, the rank and file members of the Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ were satisfied with the answers provided by the *kiyai*, and did not strive to achieve the same level of knowledge as their masters possessed. He further maintains that, given this attitude, the process of eliminating *taqlīd* from the organization's membership could prove to be a slow and difficult process.<sup>112</sup> The dominant impression then was that the Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ did not seem willing to attempt a rationally-tinged religious re-education of its followers, so as to make them individually capable of understanding the tenets of their religion.

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<sup>111</sup> Ahmad al-Surkati, "Fatwa Kepada P.P. Muhammadijah," in *Majlis Daʿwah al-Irshād, Riwayat Hidup Syech Ahmad as-Surkati*, part 4, pp. 22-35.

<sup>112</sup> See Anam, *Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan*, p. 166.

#### I.2.4. *The Challenge of Da'wah*

All the movements stated that their sole intention was to spread Islamic teachings among the people, and that their objective was primarily directed towards maintaining the process of re-Islamizing the Muslims. This process was overshadowed by the fact that although Islam was the faith of a majority of Indonesians, there was nevertheless an enormous gap between theory and practice. There were no precise figures for the number of both "practising and non-practising Muslims." Those who practiced their faith were estimated to be less than 10 % of those who adhered to Islam.<sup>113</sup> They were called *santri* or orthodox, in contrast to the majority of Muslims, known as *abangan* or heterodox.<sup>114</sup> The latter group became the object of attention not only of Muslims wishing to re-convert them, but also of proselytizers representing other religious communities. In the nineteenth century, certain groups of the Dutch had great hopes that they would be able to convert this group to Christianity by means of their colonial Islamic policies.<sup>115</sup> They assumed that the syncretic beliefs of *abangan* in the rural areas would render them easily susceptible to Christianity.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>This figure is based on a much later statement by the Ministry of Religious Affairs in 1960, who estimated that no more than 10 % of the Indonesian population practiced Islam. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, p. 186.

<sup>114</sup>For the socio-religious ideas of these variants, see Geertz, *The Religion of Java*; and for the basis of regional support for the two groups, see Benda, *The Crescent*, p. 12.

<sup>115</sup>The Dutch Islamic Policy, based on Snouck Hurgronje's advice, showed a particular attitude towards Islam. It divided Islam into three separate aspects, ritual (*ibādah*), social (*mu'āmalah*), and political (*siyāsī*), each of which required a different solution. The colonial government gave Muslims the freedom to perform their *ibādah* as long as they did not disturb the authority of the government; through *mu'āmalah*, the colonial government exploited the existing social and cultural institutions in order to persuade the indigenous people to be in touch with

*Re-Islamization*: In their effort to re-Islamize this group, all the movements felt it necessary to base their mission on the grounds of Islamic *da'wah*. It is not surprising that each of the movements coordinated this effort under their own departments of religious propaganda (*majlis tabligh*). From this perspective, it is plausible to state that the history of the Indonesian Islamic movements has been the history of re-Islamization, in that they did not target Indonesians in general but Muslims alone. They all worked towards deepening the Islamic knowledge of Muslims rather than the proselytization of non-Muslims, and traditionally stressed the quality of faith rather than the number of adherents.

With regards to the discrepancy between the number of *santris* and the number of *abangans*, it has been argued that a community of devout Muslims in early twentieth-century Indonesia had never been established in the first place.<sup>117</sup> Muslims were faced with the task of creating the model of a devout community. It is therefore logical to say that the supposed religious deterioration, which was usually seen as a requirement for the emergence of a reform movement, could not be said to have come to pass.<sup>118</sup> The *abangan* groups' ignorance of Islamic rituals

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Dutch culture; and as for the *siyāsī* aspect, the government did not tolerate any Muslim activity suspected of having a connection with political movements. Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986), pp. 12-14. Pijper argues that the emergence of the Muḥammadiyah was, among other things, a response to the aggressive policy of the Dutch in those days to convert Indonesians, including Muslims, to Christianity. G.F. Pijper, *Studiën over de Geschiedenis van de Islam in Indonesië 1900-1950* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), p. 106.

<sup>116</sup>Benda, *The Crescent*, pp. 19, 208 (note 39).

<sup>117</sup>Geographically, the orthodox Muslims were based in certain regions such as Aceh and Minangkabau in Sumatra, West Java, and South Sulawesi. *Ibid.*, p. 12; in Java, they lived in those parts of the city known as *kauman*, and in the *pondok pesantren*.

<sup>118</sup>Since the reformist mission aims at reversing the deterioration of religious life, the idea of reform can occur only after an orthodoxy has been established. An established orthodoxy and a deterioration of religion must already exist before reform can take place. See John O. Voll, "Wahhabism and Mahdism: Alternative

does not mean that they intentionally ignored it; rather it indicates that the *da'wah* had not reached them. Their lack of knowledge of Islam was due to the process of conversion which directed them to an understanding of the religion that was more emotional than intellectual. Such was the general phenomenon of the Islamization process in the early period. If the meaning of reform in Indonesia also implied a process of re-Islamization, then the Nahdat al-'Ulamā<sup>3</sup> played a major role in this process. This was due to the fact that this organization from its very inception was popular and acquired a strong basis in rural areas, where most non-practising Muslims lived.

Indeed, because of its traditional presence amidst the syncretic Muslim population of rural Java, the Nahdat al-'Ulamā's activities were community-oriented. Its mission focused on guiding these communities in improving their religious knowledge. The movement took its inspiration from the example of the nine saints (*Walisongo*) who spread Islam peacefully throughout Java in the early period. One of these saints, whose efforts mirrored the policy of Islamization, was Sunan Kalijaga, who tended to be tolerant towards non-Islamic traditions. He did not want to abandon the old traditions all at once, since it would have caused difficulties in spreading Islamic *da'wah* among the people. What he did instead was give a new content to the old traditions so that the process of guiding them to the teachings of Islam was set in motion, to be completed either by later preachers or by the people's own religious consciousness.<sup>119</sup>

The *da'wah* effort directed at such communities prudently avoided doctrinal rigidity, with the result that it made only very gradual progress. This, in

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Style of Islamic Renewals," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 4, 1-2 (1982), p. 114; Rahman, "Revival and Reform," p. 632.

<sup>119</sup> Solichin Salam, *Sekitar Wali Sanga* (Kudus: Menara, 1974), pp. 28-30.

the eyes of the puritanists, was not sufficient to bring about the radical changes necessary in the religious life of Muslim Indonesians. The puritanists saw the 'ulamā' as trapped into defending the traditional religious orientation, whereby they in effect were maintaining the status quo. For this reason, Persatuan Islam took upon itself a radical religious mission. The efforts of the movement were concentrated upon defending the principles of Islamic beliefs from threats to the purity of the faith. Its members publicly challenged any individual or group who they believed had distorted proper religious belief and practice.<sup>120</sup> From this point of view, the relatively late emergence of Persatuan Islam, compared with that of Sarekat Islam, the Muḥammadīyah, and al-Irshād, made the former movement somewhat different in nature from others.

The new wave of Islamic ideas from the central lands of Islam not only encouraged a spirit of re-Islamization, thereby creating a new religious consciousness, but it also provoked a national awakening and a subsequent challenge to Dutch colonial domination. From the Muslims' perspective, the policies of the Dutch colonial government not only contributed to the deterioration of their social life and the postponement of their acquiring political power, but it also threatened their religious freedom. Throughout the country everything came up against that single thing called colonial policy.<sup>121</sup> This national sentiment, on the one hand, narrowed the gap between the conflicting groups of urban-centered reformism and rural-centered traditionalism and, on the other, aroused a national spirit of opposition to the colonial government's policies. Although this opposition subsequently created a variety of attitudes towards the colonial government, from

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<sup>120</sup>Federspiel, "The Persatuan Islam," p. 32.

<sup>121</sup>Chr. L.M. Penders, *Indonesia: Selected Documents on Colonialism and Nationalism, 1830-1942* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1977), p. 260.

which the issues of nationalism, cooperation and non-cooperation became subject to endless debate among the various factions within Indonesian society, there nevertheless emerged a determined effort to forge "a national unity."

Certain modernists diagnosed this situation and tried to advance ideas which they believed capable of resolving these problems. As regards political issues, the solutions proposed emerged from the debate over such issues as nationalism, the adoption of either a cooperative or non-cooperative attitude towards foreign colonialism, and the ways in which these problems were to be resolved. These questions also had significance for the solution of social problems. Here, the important issue was not whether to imitate or not to imitate foreign ideas and institutions in an effort to improve the social welfare and education of Muslims, but rather how to relate such solutions to the religious mission. Islam, regarded as providing a complete system of teaching, should be understood as containing within itself the insights required to arrive at a solution. On this basis, the modern Islamic movements continually tried to derive socio-political solutions from religious perspectives.

#### *1.2.5. Religion as an Instrument of Change*

Another general characteristic of the Islamic movements in early twentieth-century Indonesia was that religion functioned not only to legitimize their existence but also as an institutional means of social and religious improvement. It was important therefore that a certain purpose be formulated in order to allow for the measurement of how far they had gone in realizing their goals. The general tendency of these movements may be viewed as a collective enterprise to establish a new order of life. From a sociological perspective they may be said to have had

their origin in conditions of unrest,<sup>122</sup> dissatisfaction with the current standard of living and wishes and hopes for a new life.<sup>123</sup> The contextual significance of the Islamic reform movements in Indonesia lies in the socio-religious conditions faced by Indonesian Muslims in the early twentieth century, which were considered by many to have been far from the ideals of Islam.<sup>124</sup> Their emergence may also be considered as a reaction against the growing foreign domination of their society and the resulting cultural impoverishment.<sup>125</sup> These two factors contributed to a deepened Islamic consciousness among Muslims. It resulted in the defensive approach of the modern Islamic movements, which the orientalist label as "apologetic."<sup>126</sup> This defensiveness was a reaction against the encroachment of colonialism and Western culture on the Muslim peoples.

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<sup>122</sup>One of the traits of unrest is unstructured behavior and uncoordinated activities. Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements," pp. 171-173.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>124</sup>Hurgronje described Muslim religious life in the early twentieth century as a mixture of the local elements of *takhayyul* and *khurāfah*. Christian Snouck Hurgronje, *De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indie* (Baarn: Hollandia Drukkerij, 1913), pp. 30-36. Such was also the condition of religious life reported by Ahmad Dahlan to a meeting of Muslim leaders in Yogyakarta in 1335 H. It motivated both Ahmad Dahlan and Ahmad al-Surkati to promise each other to rehabilitate the life of Indonesian Muslims. See Roeslan Abdoelgani, "Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gelombang Pemukul Kembali dari Islam terhadap Imperialisme dan Kolonialisme," in *Muhammadiyah Setengah Abad* (Jakarta: Departemen Penerangan, R.I., 1962), pp. 41-42; Hadjid, *17 Kelompok Ayat-Ayat al-Qur'an Ajaran K.H.A. Dahlan*, p. 6; Hadikusuma, *Dari Jamaluddin Al-Afghani*, p. 76.

<sup>125</sup>Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action: Lifeworld and Style*, vol. 2 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987), pp. 391, 396; Stephen K. White, *The Recent Work of Jürgen Habermas: Reason, Justice and Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 124.

<sup>126</sup>H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950), pp. 39-62.

Some movements were alike in believing that the key to restoring Islam was through enhancing the people's understanding of religious teachings. The general theme of the reform movement, "back to the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*," therefore aimed at deriving both the spirit and the letter of the teachings contained in these two sources in order to respond to the challenges of the modern world. In the context of reformist ideas in early twentieth-century Indonesia, this process was designed to yield an interpretable Islam which both encouraged uniformity on certain fundamental teachings and yet allowed for a plurality of social, political, and humanistic responses. Therefore, change was a universal issue in every modern Islamic reformist movement. In Indonesia, change could be seen in the ongoing process of re-Islamization which involved, first of all, an attempt at fostering a real understanding of religious practices as well as an effort directed at the purification of Islamic belief and ritual from corrupt influences. Second, an interpretation of Islam was fostered which provided a basis of legitimacy for the claim that Islamic teaching contained within itself the ability to adapt and change. This provided an ethos which supported permissible changes in certain aspects of social life.

The emphasis on religious purification, which normally revolved around disputed religious issues (*khilāfiyah*), resulted in the various Islamic movements in Indonesia having to take up ideological positions that were reflected in their programs.<sup>127</sup> The resulting discussion on controversial issues<sup>128</sup> led to a

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<sup>127</sup>Persatuan Islam clearly sees its mission as being the resolution of these religious matters. It states that religious innovation, superstition, and whim must be eradicated radically. Although the mission of Al-Irshād was not as radical as that of the latter, it nevertheless expressed an interest in reforming the religious life of Muslims. It was not a coincidence therefore that its emergence was, among other reasons, stimulated by the religious disputes within the Indonesian-Arab community. See "Statute of Persatuan Islam", article 5; Isa Anshari, *Manifes*

polarization among Muslim scholars into two groups; the reformist group (*kaum muda*) and the traditionalist group (*kaum tua*).<sup>129</sup> Although this thesis will not elaborate upon these issues, it nevertheless argues that for the reformist group, their involvement in the discussion focused not only on correcting the implementation of religious practices but also on re-evaluating the way in which Muslims practice their religion. This religious stance drew fire from the traditionalists,<sup>130</sup> who felt that they were being attacked unfairly for supporting heterodox practices long established in the Muslim community, many of which

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*Perjuangan*, pp. 25-26; "Statute of Al-Irshād," article 2.2; Majlis Da'wah al-Irshād, *Riwayat Hidup Syech*, p. 5.

<sup>128</sup>The heated conflict between the *kaum muda* and *kaum tua* in some parts of Sumatra on religious matters, such as *bid'ah* and *taqlīd* motivated Sulṭān Soelaiman Sjarifoel Alamsjah of the local kindom of Serdang to sponsor a meeting between the two groups, which was held in February 1928. See Tengkoeh Fachroedin, ed., *Verslag Debat Faham Kaoem Moeda dan Kaoem Toea* (Medan, 1934). In Java, some 'ulamā' of the two groups also held intensive meetings to discuss the dispute.

<sup>129</sup>The terms *kaum muda* and *kaum tua* were often used in West Sumatra to refer to the reformist group and the traditionalist one. Another term for *kaum muda* was *malim baru* ('ulamā' muda). People used *malim*, instead of 'ulamā', to describe the reformist group because in their minds the word 'ulamā' was too exalted for them. Likewise, another term for *kaum tua* was *kaum kuno* (ancient group), which was a cynical term used to denote this group's rigid and conservative character. B.J.O Schrieke, *Pergolakan Agama di Sumatra Barat: Sebuah Sumbangan Bibliografi* (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1975), p. 69. To mention some organizations representing the two groups: in Sumatra the first group was represented by Persatuan Guru-guru Agama Islam (Union of Muslim Teachers), set up in Minangkabau in 1921, Sekolah Dinijah (Religious School), founded in Padang Pandjang in 1915, and Sumatra Thawalib, founded in 1920. The second group was represented by Ittihadul Ulama Minangkabau (Union of 'Ulamā' Minangkabau), founded in Bukittinggi in 1921, and Persatuan Tarbijah Islamijah (Union of Islamic Education), also founded in Bukittinggi in 1930. For the division of the two groups in terms of national organizations, see our earlier discussion on pp. 45-49.

<sup>130</sup>Most works on Indonesian Islamic reform movements generally deal with *khilāfiyah* matters. This is due to the fact that the idea of reform is mainly identified with the restoration of religious deterioration affecting only practical matters of 'ubūdīyah.

they were able to support with religious argument. The dispute became increasingly bitter because they touched upon issues of individual belief and the truth of each person's opinion. The traditionalists refused to change their religious practices, because they thought that change was an attack on the religion itself. The reformists on the other hand insisted that change was necessary as long as such corrupt influences, which they referred to as *bid'ah*, were practiced.

The second aspect of change, i.e. believing in the ability of Islam to adapt itself to changing circumstances, likewise characterized the reform movements in Indonesia. Their reform endeavors were primarily oriented towards rebuilding the social fabric of the community. The first step in this process usually was to search for the religious legitimacy of the proposed changes. In doing so, attention was drawn to the relationship between religious values and social change. Islam in fact had the potential, as an institution, to inspire the emergence of new ideas in the social sphere. Thus, in the early twentieth century, there were indeed certain theological assumptions which were favourable towards change; however, they were not sufficiently developed to respond to the challenge. Since there was no satisfactory alternative, Muslim reformists usually accepted western ideas. This trend was discernible in the movements which adopted a modern institutional format for their educational and social endeavors. This was a universal phenomenon, common to most Muslim countries at that time.

#### *I.2.6. The Common Features of the Reform Movements*

The correlation between the reform ideas of the movements and their memberships is another common characteristic. It is worth noting that each of the

movements, with the exception of the Nahḍat al-ʿUlamā,<sup>131</sup> was supported by a particular class of entrepreneurs. This corroborates what Geertz has called the "mosque and market" theory,<sup>132</sup> which points to a historical and functional connection between Islam and trade.<sup>133</sup> In fact, the founders and the most prominent leaders of the Islamic reformist movements in Indonesia were themselves members of the mercantile class. Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of the Muḥammadiyah, was a merchant. His successors and supporters were merchants as well. Similarly, Sarekat Islam was mainly a commercial organization founded by a prosperous merchant, which later developed into a political movement. Al-Irshād was pioneered by Indonesian Arab merchants.<sup>134</sup> Such was also the case with Persatuan Islam, whose founders, Haji Zamzam and Haji Muhammad Yunus, were religious teachers as well as well-known merchants. They came from merchant families who had migrated from Palembang (South Sumatra) and had then settled in Bandung (West Java). The movement showed its modernist tendency especially after Ahmad Hassan joined the movement. Hassan himself was from Singapore, and had migrated to Surabaya (East Java), only to settle finally in Bandung to take up a career as a merchant.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup>This organization received support from entrepreneurs, but the leadership was always dominated by the *kiyai*. Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi* (Bandung: Mizan, 1991), pp. 94, 96.

<sup>132</sup>Geertz, *Islam Observed*, p. 68.

<sup>133</sup>Showing the relationship between Islam and trade in south Central Java, Nakamura argues that Geertz's ideas cannot be accepted. Nakamura, "The Crescent Arises," pp. 12-13.

<sup>134</sup>Affandi, "Shaykh Aḥmad Al-Surkatī," p. 64.

<sup>135</sup>Mughni, *Hassan Bandung*, pp. 14-19.

Significantly, these kinds of factors played a less important role in the foundation of the Nahḍat al-‘Ulamā’, an organization which was sponsored by the ‘ulamā’ who were strongly rooted in the *pondok pesantren*. Nevertheless it was similar to other Islamic movements in that its promoters were of a higher class than the people who supported it. If the founders and leaders of the first four movements were middle class merchants and government officials, the leaders of the NU were mostly middle class *santri* landowners from rural areas. Although both belonged to the middle class, they were nevertheless quite different from one another. Those who constituted the first group were much influenced by the spirit of liberal society, while the second generally lived in a relatively closed society.<sup>136</sup> This difference subsequently characterized the orientation of the movements.

*Economic Factors:* The relationship between ideas of reform and economic activity seems to be a universal phenomenon. Thus Wertheim and Geertz find what they call a conspicuous analogy when they consider the parallels between European Protestant reformism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and Islam in Indonesia in the early twentieth century.<sup>137</sup> Weber goes on to indicate that those who made up the great trading class of the bourgeoisie, the merchants, financiers, and technical experts, were chiefly Protestants. Capitalist activity was extremely prevalent among the Protestant and Calvinist churches of the Huguenots of France, the Dutch merchant class and the Puritans of England.<sup>138</sup> In Indonesia, reform ideas grew prolifically in the mercantile and middle classes of urban communities. The mobility of traders had a great role in spreading ideas. As a

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<sup>136</sup>Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma*, p. 80.

<sup>137</sup>Wertheim, *East West Parallels*, pp. 133-145; Clifford Geertz, *Peddlers and Princes: Social Development and Economic Change in Two Indonesian Towns* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 49.

<sup>138</sup>Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, pp. 35-45.

*batik* trader, Ahmad Dahlan, for example, often visited one city or another for business purposes. His trade network gave him a platform to spread the ideas of the Muḥammadiyah, once this organization was allowed to operate outside Yogyakarta. The emergence of branches of the Muḥammadiyah in some regions took place because of this discourse; in many instances they were in fact sponsored by the local traders.<sup>139</sup>

*Social Mobility:* There is a relationship between ideas of reform and the horizontal mobility of certain groups. This mobility, an important element of modernization,<sup>140</sup> could be found in the mercantile class of society in many parts of the world in the early years of this century. People who often move from one place to another indicate their readiness, at least psychologically, to leave behind traditional boundaries which formed a part of their culture since childhood. It also indicates their readiness to adapt themselves to a new environment, where they could live and develop in a new atmosphere. Daniel Lerner refers to such people as having a "mobile personality," who are distinguished by a high capacity for identification with the new aspects of their environment. They come equipped with the mechanisms needed to accomodate new demands that arise outside of

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<sup>139</sup>To mention only some of them, Nūr al-Islām (Light of Islam) in Pekalongan (Central Java) which was founded by Minangkabau traders, was transformed into a Muḥammadiyah branch. In Surabaya, the establishment of the Muḥammadiyah found fertile ground within the community of traders. *Muktamar Muḥammadiyah ke-40* (Surabaya: Panitia Muktamar Muḥammadiyah ke-40, 1978), p. 27. In Pekajangan, it was initiated by the prominent leaders of the community who were all *batik* merchants. Solichin Salam, *Muḥammadiyah di Pekadangan* (Djakarta: Iqbal, 1968), pp. 10-11. In East Sumatra, the same role was pioneered by the merchants. *30 Tahun Muḥammadiyah daerah Sumatera Timur* (Medan: Panitia Besar Peringatan, 1957), p. 99.

<sup>140</sup>Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 47-52.

their habitual experience.<sup>141</sup> Similarly, the entrepreneurial activity of Ahmad Dahlan and the leaders of some other movements at the time made it much easier to form such attitudes, compared to the non-mercantile groups. Using Wertheim's terminology, these reformist leaders may be described as urban traders of the first years of the present century. Their ethical philosophy and faith indicated typical bourgeois individualism and rationalism, which regarded mankind not as a totality but as a collection of individuals. Just as city dwellers resisted the authority of the feudal nobility and the feudal tradition, so too did they resist the authority of the recognized 'ulamā' and certain religious traditions. They lived in a world which offered opportunities to energetic, conscientious individuals who were full of confidence. They saw no sin in acquiring earthly possessions; they could become virtuous Muslims by devoting themselves diligently and honestly to their business.<sup>142</sup> Religious values in fact motivated them at certain periods of time to achieve worldly success.

*Purification of religious practices and social significance:* Another parallel can be seen in their belief that religion had to be purified from corrupted ritualism and mysticism. This led to an attitude that their lives should be thrifty, active and responsible.<sup>143</sup> In its application, this attitude encouraged the reform movements, and especially the Muḥammadiyah, to seek a social significance for every ritual form so that ritual would not be separated from social ethics. There was a certain worldly quality to this approach which could almost be qualified as anti-*taṣawwuf*.

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>142</sup> W.F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition: A Study of Social Change* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1969), p. 212.

<sup>143</sup> Syafiq A. Mughni, "Islam dan Modernisasi Dengan Rujukan Khusus Terhadap Masalah Indonesia," a paper presented at the inauguration of new students of the Muhammadiyah University Surabaya, 1985, p. 14.

But when it is considered carefully, we find that this is not the case; it was simply a matter of a different understanding of *taṣawwuf* on the part of the Muḥammadiyah, according to which it did not represent a rejection of the temporal world for that of the spirit. A ritual which was very individualistic and isolating was thus transformed by the movement into a positive endeavor for the sake of society. For a mysticism which rejects all worldly things and leads to mere asceticism was not acceptable to the Muḥammadiyah.<sup>144</sup> The value of gaining worldly property lies in its ability to facilitate religious observance. In this sense, it is in accordance with the idea that Islam actually teaches that an economically strong believer (*mu'min*) is better than an impoverished one.<sup>145</sup>

Although there are some similarities between Protestant reformism in Europe and Islamic reformism in Indonesia, there are also many differences. Historically, whereas Protestant reformism arose in reaction to what it perceived as a systematic abuse of religion, in Indonesian Islam reformist thought emerged in response to a lack of interest in religious practices and to the cultural and political domination of the West. If this background is not properly understood, those who hope that Islamic reform in Indonesia will produce the same results as Protestantism did in the West will be disappointed. Wertheim reflects this feeling in concluding that Islamic reformism in Indonesia has produced literalism,

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<sup>144</sup> Abdul Mukti 'Ali, "Muhammadiyah dan Universitasnya Menjelang Abad XXI," in Rusli Karim, ed., *Muhammadiyah Dalam Kritik dan Komentar* (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1986), p. 242; Raymond LeRay Archer, "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch* 15, 2 (1937), p. 110. This is what Weber means when he says that the Puritans' contribution was in bringing asceticism out of the monastery and into the home and marketplace. H. Wood, "Puritanism and Capitalism," *The Congregational Quarterly* 29, 2 (1951), p. 113.

<sup>145</sup> A ḥadīth mentions that "a strong believer is better and more favorable to God than a weaker one." Abī al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 5 (Beyrūt: Mu'assasat 'Izz al-Dīn, 1987), p. 218.

rigidity, exclusivism, and communalism.<sup>146</sup> The Islamic value system of "brotherhood, mutual responsibility, cooperation, forbidding the practice of usury," which has been fused with Indonesian socio-cultural elements such as mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) and a sense of communal belonging (*milik bersama*), leads one to assume that Western capitalism may be difficult to implement in the face of the Islamic reform effort in Indonesia. To expect the emergence of Western capitalism in Islamic societies is therefore to ignore the Islamic system of values which is different from that of Protestantism. However, the emergence of Islamic reform movements which employ implicitly Weberian arguments questions Weber's claim that the rationalizing tendency cannot be found outside Europe.<sup>147</sup>

Sociological research shows that the Islamic world has undergone a transition from a monetary economy to a collection of agricultural, military regimes.<sup>148</sup> In Indonesia (Java), the mercantile activity of the coastal areas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries led to the development of an agricultural society of the inner lands. The Muḥammadiyah, which emerged within the agricultural Kingdom of Yogyakarta, devoted itself to reviving the old Islamic tradition of cosmopolitanism. The spirit of rationalism, however, which was encouraged in the movement, had to deal with the superstitious and irrational tendencies of the people in the administrative areas of the Kingdom. In pursuing humanistic and religious aims, rationalization also deemed certain ritual practices which had no religious basis and which were ruinously expensive, to be useless. Such a rational

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<sup>146</sup>Wertheim, *East-West*, pp. 140-144.

<sup>147</sup>Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, p. 13.

<sup>148</sup>Bryan S. Turner, *Capitalism and Class in the Middle East: Theories of Social Change and Economic Development* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984), p. 30.

approach subsequently led to a reaction from certain groups within the Muslim community. This reaction, which claimed to be based on religious reasons, was actually motivated by socio-economic factors. It is on this issue that the Muhammadiyah found itself the target of the greatest opposition, when compared to other Islamic reform movements in Indonesia.

## CHAPTER II

### ISLAMIC RECONSTRUCTION: THE MUḤAMMADIYAH

This chapter focuses on the MuḤammadīyah as a socio-religious movement. It explains: 1) the religious beliefs of the movement, including its worldview and ethical values, and its attitude to the role of reason in understanding religion; and 2) the function of the basic Islamic teachings in providing the principles of its plan for social reform. It also pieces together the religious outlook of the founder of the movement, Ahmad Dahlan, and that of his contemporaries who had direct contact with him.<sup>1</sup> Their ideas are not recorded in a single official document,<sup>2</sup> but are found scattered in the oral tradition of religious gathering (*pengajian*), sermon (*khutbah*), and other public speeches. Among these sources, the work entitled *Falsafah Ajaran K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* (the Philosophical Teachings of Ahmad Dahlan)<sup>3</sup> is especially noteworthy for its valuable account of

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<sup>1</sup>Federspiel refers to this religious outlook as the philosophy of the MuḤammadīyah. Based on the more recent sources of the post-independence period, he divides it into four major points, namely: the principle of Islamic belief (*tawḥīd*), social organization, the individual's role, and the relationship of the past to the contemporary era. Howard M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia," *Indonesia* 10 (October, 1970), pp. 59-60.

<sup>2</sup>The documents which officially provided the fundamental ideology of the MuḤammadīyah were formulated after independence, and include: "Muqaddimah Anggaran Dasar Muhammadiyah" (Preamble of the Statute of the MuḤammadīyah), approved at the congress of 1946; "Khittah Muhammadiyah" (Guideline of the Struggle of the MuḤammadīyah), approved at the 33rd congress in 1956; "Kepribadian Muhammadiyah" (Identity of the MuḤammadīyah), issued in 1962; and "Keyakinan dan Cita-cita Hidup Muhammadiyah" (Ideology and Ideal of Life of the MuḤammadīyah), promulgated in 1969.

<sup>3</sup>Hadjid edited this text. He joined the MuḤammadīyah in 1916, and from that time onwards studied under Ahmad Dahlan's guidance until 1923. *Falsafah Ajaran K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* was compiled from notes taken at various *pengajian*-meetings attended by him. See K.R.H. Hadjid, ed., *Falsafah Ajaran K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* (Yogyakarta: Siaran, n.d.), p. 5.

the basic religious thought of Ahmad Dahlan, upon which the ideology of the movement itself was built.

### II.1. The Basic Religious Beliefs

The Muḥammadiyah leaders realized the necessity of interpreting the basic Islamic beliefs to provide the principles of religious and social reform. They showed an awareness of the need to overcome the religious inertia of Muslim Indonesians. Their first effort was to effect a transition from blind faith in the externals of religious life to a more in-depth knowledge of the basics of Islam. This amounted to insisting on spiritual fulfilment as the precondition of Islamic reform. This reform accounted for the emphasis on the principle of "proper" understanding and practicing the basic Islamic teachings in daily life that was characteristic of the Muḥammadiyah movement in the early twentieth-century.

When the Muḥammadiyah leaders adopted Islam as the movement's basic ideology and inspiration, they asserted that Islam was revealed by God to the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad, and was codified in such Holy Books as the Zabūr (Book of Psalms), the Tawrāt (Old Testament), the Injil (Gospel), and the Qur'ān.<sup>4</sup> In the application of this belief lay the basis of the Muḥammadiyah's doctrine that "truth" might not originate from any single individual or source but from many.<sup>5</sup> The Muḥammadiyah 'ulamā' held that Islam contains guidance for

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<sup>4</sup>"Islam, Djangan Lihat Merknja," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 30 (10 March, 1931), p. 676.

<sup>5</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Kedua," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 10; K.R.H. Hadjid, *17 Kelompok Ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an Ajaran K.H.A Dahlan*, pp. 46-47. This idea is discussed in the last part of this chapter.

the material and spiritual happiness of mankind in this world and in the hereafter.<sup>6</sup> The clear implication here is that Islam actually allows its followers to pursue their worldly happiness.<sup>7</sup> This happiness is, in fact, the main purpose of all religions, explained Haanie, one of Dahlan's pupils.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the revealed religions have reached a final stage with the prophethood of Muḥammad, whose teachings are contained in the Qur'ān and amplified in the authentic traditions of the Prophet. One official document of the Muḥammadiyah also emphasized that while there are certain differences, there are also many similarities between the earlier Scriptures and the Qur'ān. For example, all of these religions believe in the Unity of God (*tawhīd*).<sup>9</sup> Although differences appear in rituals and other aspects, they are

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<sup>6</sup>Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah, *Kesimpoelan Djawaban Masalah Lima Dari Beberapa 'Alim-'Oelama* (Djogjakarta, 1942), p. 13; see also "Matan Keyakinan dan Cita-Cita Hidup Muhammadiyah," in *Himpunan Keputusan-2 P.P. Muhammadiyah dalam Bidang: Tajdid Ideologi dan Garis Pimpinan* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1973), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>The early sources of the Muḥammadiyah show that there was a tendency among the Muslims to recognize only the happiness of the hereafter. Certain 'ulamā' even advised them to neglect their worldly life. The Muḥammadiyah wished to eliminate this tendency, arguing that worldly happiness was their right and therefore should be acquired. *Panggoegahing Islam* (Soerakarta: Pimpinan Moehammadijah, Taman Poestaka, 1928), p. 8; Mas Mansoer, "Mendjelaskan Faham Saja," *Adil* 8, 43 (27 July 1940), p. 1; idem, "Sebab-sebab Kemiskinan Ra'jat Islam Indonesia," *Adil* 8, 32 (11 May 1940), pp. 3-4, and 33 (18 May 1940), pp. 2-3; Aboe Masran, "Menjamboet faham toean Kijahi H.M. Mansoer," *Adil* 8, 40 (6 July 1940), p. 12.

<sup>8</sup>A.D. Haanie, *Islamisme dan Materialisme* (Djokjakarta: Drukkerij P.P.P.B., 1343 H), p. 67. Haanie, Dahlan's pupil, was the first to join the Muḥammadiyah movement. He was the leader of *Wal Fajri*, a group of *pengajian* in Yogyakarta whose foundation had been suggested by Ahmad Dahlan before this group merged with the Muḥammadiyah. He translated *al-Radd 'alā al-Dahriyīn* (Refutation of the Materialists) of al-Afghānī and *Risālat al-Tawhīd* (Theology of Unity) of 'Abduh into Indonesian. The translation of al-Afghānī's work was stimulated by the growing influence of Communism in Java in 1924. Hamka, *Pengaruh Muhammad Abduh di Indonesia* (Djakarta: Tintamas, 1961), p. 23.

nonetheless all part of the law of God (*Sunnat-Allāh*). God gives each community (*ummah*) His law, according to the situation in which the people of that *ummah* live.<sup>10</sup> Hence, Ahmad Dahlan maintained that these similarities and differences should encourage Muslims to discuss all religions rationally in order to discover the truth inherent in their teachings.<sup>11</sup>

Muḥammadīyah reformers repeatedly emphasized that Islamic teachings cover matters of faith (*‘aqīdah*), Islamic ethics (*akhlāq*), acts of worship and obedience (*‘ibādah*),<sup>12</sup> and social affairs (*mu‘āmalah*).<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, these aspects were divided into two distinct categories, namely, the unchangeable and the changeable. The areas of *‘aqīdah*, *akhlāq* and certain kinds of *‘ibādah* were unchangeable and could not be tampered with, even in the event of changes in time or place. Nothing could either be added to or subtracted from this body of law. The *mu‘āmalah*, on the other hand, deals with such social issues as trade, public service, and political activity, which could change according to time, place, and

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<sup>9</sup>Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah, *Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, p. 12; M. Djindar Tamimy, *Pokok-Pokok Pengertian Tentang Agama Islam* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1978), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Haanie, *Islamisme*, p. 67.

<sup>11</sup>He, for example, considered discussions of Christianity in a mosque is permissible, and proceeded to hold open dialogues with some priests in Yogyakarta and its surroundings. Solichin Salam, *K.H. Ahmad Dahlan: Tjita-Tjita dan Perdjoangannya* (Djakarta: Depot Pengadjaran Muhammadiyah, 1962), p. 59; another work, written by Solichin Salam under the pseudonym Junus Salam, was *Riwajat Hidup K.H.A. Dahlan: Amal dan Perdjoangannya* (Djakarta: Depot Pengadjaran Muhammadiyah, 1968), pp. 61-62.

<sup>12</sup>The general meaning of *‘ibādah* denotes any lawful action that is performed in order to achieve the grace and mercy of God. *Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1985.), p. 6.

<sup>13</sup>"Matan Keyakinan," p. 1.

public interest (*maṣlahah*), a point emphasized by Muḥammadiyah theorists of the early period.<sup>14</sup>

The *‘aqīdah* or *īmān* which is kept in the heart, expressed in good words, and put into real practice,<sup>15</sup> is the principle criterion by which God determines the true value of human endeavors. It stresses the Unity of God, His essence, His acts, and above all His transcendence in comparison with created beings. In this belief there lies the proof of the universe having one creator, whose attributes of knowledge, power, and will are to be traced in the effects of His handiwork. It insists that He is incomparable to anything in His creation. The only relationship between Him and His creatures consists in the fact that He is their originator, that they belong to Him and that they must return to Him. It is clear that everything comes from Him, and it is on this basis that God should be regarded as Creator, Protector, and Inspirer.<sup>16</sup> According to the basic teachings of *tawḥīd*, man's proper relationship to God must consist in an attitude of direct worship and obedience, without any intermediary. This definition of *tawḥīd* was behind the movement's commitment to safeguard Islamic belief (*‘aqīdat al-Islām*) from the corrupting

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<sup>14</sup>Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah, *Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, p. 13; in another formulation, the Muḥammadiyah states that Islam is primarily divided into visible (*zāhir*) and inner (*bāṭin*) aspects. The former aspect consists of *mu‘āmalah ma‘a llāh* (service to God), including such practices as *shahādah* (creed), *ṣalāh*, *zakāh*, *ṣawm*, and *ḥajj*, and *mu‘āmalah ma‘a al-nās* (service to human being) such as *amr ma‘rūf* (enjoining the good), *nahy munkar* (forbidding the wrong), and *ta‘āwun* (cooperation). The latter aspect deals with *īmān* and *akhlāq*. See M.A. Mahfoeld, "Islam dan Politik Pemerintahan Negeri," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* 10 (1352/1933-34), p. 132. A similar formulation can also be found in the "Instructie Consul Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah," in *Statuten dan Qa‘idah Moehammadijah* (Djakarta: Hoofdbestuur Congres Moehammadijah, 1935), pp. 65-66.

<sup>15</sup>Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Majlis Tabligh, n.d.), p. 8.

<sup>16</sup>Kyai Haji Sjamsoel Ma‘arif, *Pandon Moehammadijah* (Solo: Melati, n.d.), p. 12.

influence of polytheistic practices, and to perform *‘ibādah* in order to ingratiate oneself with God.<sup>17</sup> Particular *‘ibādah* (*‘ibādat al-khāṣṣ*) is any action performed completely in the way of God and in accordance with what His Apostle taught concerning prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimage. The central position of God in the midst of His Creation leads to the notion that everything in this world is related to Him. The most important duty of man is therefore to preserve a harmonious relationship with Him, his fellow human beings, and nature. However, any suggestion that He is allied with another being will damage this relationship, just as any mistreatment of another human being will disturb its equilibrium.

Although the Muḥammadiyah leaders concurred with other Muslims in these standard beliefs, there were different understandings concerning their actual implementation. The movement's assertion that Islam was revealed to the prophets and was codified in many Books provided the theological basis for the movement's adoption of a pluralist religious attitude. This was translated into an openness to accepting ideas from other people, and to admitting that the truth might not only be found in one's own beliefs but in those of others as well.<sup>18</sup> Such however was not the general religious understanding in the early decades of this century.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, the basic principles of *īmān* and *‘ibādah* were not limited in their impact to belief and ritual *per se*, but had various implications when placed in a social context. These standard beliefs and rituals provided the principles of social reform

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<sup>17</sup>"Sistematika dan Pedoman untuk Memahami Rumusan Matan: Keyakinan dan Cita-cita Hidup Muhammadiyah," in *Pedoman Bermuhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Badan Pendidikan Kader, 1990), p. 11.

<sup>18</sup>*Panggoegahing Islam*, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Kedua," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, pp. 10-11; "Terlaloe Dynamisch," *Adil* 8, 39 (29 June 1940), p. 8.

and the theology of practical action, that will be discussed in chapters three and four respectively. However, the practice of these beliefs and rituals required the performance of the standard daily religious rituals. Hence, it was seen as imperative that every effort be exerted in order to implement them in their original form and to preserve them from corrupting influences.

### II.1.1. *The Iṣlāḥ Views*

The religious reform mission was based on the concept of an inevitable religious deterioration after the death of the Prophet. This deterioration might be implied in the ḥadīth "Allah will send to this community at the turn of every century someone who will restore religion."<sup>20</sup> Acknowledgment of the truth of this process,<sup>21</sup> however, does not mean that Islam is defective in any way, for the

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<sup>20</sup>M. Boestami Ibrahim, one of the leaders of the movement in East Sumatra in the 1930s, quoted the ḥadīth in discussing the role of 'ulamā' in preserving the dynamics of Islamic teaching. M. Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi dalam Islam* (Medan: Pustaka Madju, n.d.), p. 15; see also Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol. 4 (Cairo: Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd, 1353/1950), p. 159, in the section "Kitāb al-Malāḥin,"

<sup>21</sup>For certain scholars, it is difficult to imagine that Islam should recognize its own imperfections to such a degree that it should have formulated in a ḥadīth a justification for regular reform. Rejecting Voll's idea that the Muslim community always tends to depart from the path of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, Landau-Tasseron, for example, argues that while the prevailing idea in the Islamic self-image is the assumption that the community of the Faithful does not err (*lā tajtami' ummatī 'alā ḍalāla*), it is hard to accept a call for reform because it leads to the assumption that Islam recognizes its own imperfection. Supporting Voll's thesis, Sajida Alvi, in her recent study on the *tajdīd* tradition in India, disagrees with Landau-Tasseron's thesis by arguing that the *tajdīd* tradition historically did not attempt to reform Islam but only the practices of Muslims. Ella Landau-Tasseron, "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the Mujaddid Tradition," *Studia Islamica* 70 (1989), pp. 79-80; Sajida S. Alvi, "The *Mujaddid* and *Tajdīd* Traditions in the Indian Subcontinent: A Historical Overview," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 18 (1994), p. 15; John O. Voll, "Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: *Tajdid* and

Qur'an itself clearly states that Islam, brought by Muḥammad, is a perfect religion. For Ahmad Dahlan, religious deterioration was not caused by any deficiency in Islam; rather it was related to the conditions in which Islam was practiced. In other words, the decline in the religious life of Muslims was not caused by the religious doctrine but by Muslims themselves.<sup>22</sup> This idea was expressed in the slogan: "Islam is concealed by the Muslims themselves," which was very popular among reformist Muslims in the early twentieth century both in and outside Indonesia.<sup>23</sup>

The reformers argued that the Prophet's contemporaries, who lived and interacted with him in Mecca and Medina, had no problem in incorporating Islam into their daily lives; they after all had the Prophet himself as their role model. But for those who lived far from the birthplace of Islam and long after the Prophet's death, the situation was very different. The influence of local traditions and the lack of basic knowledge of the faith affected their practice of Islam. The Muslims of Indonesia in the early twentieth century were faced with a gap of about fourteen centuries between them and the lifetime of the Prophet. Moreover, they lived far from the central Islamic lands, where the doctrines of Islam had been formulated. Because of these factors, the possibility of religious deterioration was very high. Furthermore, the non-Islamic traditions inherited by the Indonesians influenced

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*Islah*, " in John L. Esposito, ed., *Voices of Resurgent Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 33.

<sup>22</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Kelima," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 16; S.Sis (pseudonym), "Inilah Sebabnja ! Maka Itoe," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 30 (10 March, 1931), p. 679; Mas Mansoer, "Sebab-Sebab Kemunduran Ummat Islam," *Kumpulan Karangan Tersebar* (Yogyakarta: Persatuan, 1992), p. 145.

<sup>23</sup>"*al-Islām mahjūb bi-l-Muslimīn*" which was originally derived from a saying of 'Abduh, was also popular in the more remote branches of the Muḥammadiyah. *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (22-31 December 1930), p. 575; M. Boestami Ibrahim, *Al-Hidajah: Merentjanakan Kebangoenan Doenia Islam dan Pergerakan Moehammadijah* (Medan: Pimpinan Tjabang Moehammadijah, Bagian Taman Poestaka, 1939), p. 20; Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, ed., *Tafsīr al-Manār*, vol. 3 (Cairo: Manār Press, 1346-1354), p. 244; *Swara Islam* 3, 4 (April 1935), p. 18.

their observance of Islamic ritual. Most of them were Muslims by birth, generation after generation. Ahmad Dahlan reasoned that this kind of relationship with Islam might lead them to *taqlīd* in their attempt at understanding Islamic teachings.<sup>24</sup> Such Muslims did not accept Islam formally as people do when they convert to Islam before a religious official (*qāḍī*); nor did they receive any instruction in the fundamentals of their faith. The acceptance of Islam in this fashion, on the one hand, cultivated an overwhelming spirit of religious emotion, and yet on the other, it led to ignorance and lack of insight.

To reverse this deterioration and to implement Islam in the daily lives of Muslims, the Muḥammadiyah promoted *da'wah* as a means "to spread Islam and direct the lives of the Muslims in the Netherlands Indies based on the teachings of Islam."<sup>25</sup> Since the mission of the Muḥammadiyah was also concerned with developing deeper insights into Islam, the *da'wah* institution became an important element of the organization; indeed, the mission of the movement was embodied in its *da'wah*.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Ketiga," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>25</sup>Article 2 of the Statutes of the Muḥammadiyah. *Statuten Lan Pranatan Tjilik Oemoem Toemrap Pakoempoelan Moehammadijah Hindia Wetan* (Ngajogyakarta: Pangreh Gede Moehammadijah, 1928), pp. 9-10. In its later formulation, the *da'wah* mission is mentioned as the identity of the movement. See article 1 in *Muqaddimah dan Anggaran Dasar Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1986), p. 6.

<sup>26</sup>Both early and late Muḥammadiyah sources place great emphasis on *da'wah*. However, as far as non-Muslims were concerned, *da'wah* was limited to providing social assistance for developing public welfare, in order not to offend non-Muslims' religious sensibilities. Boestami Ibrahim, *Al-Hidajah: Merentjanakan*, pp. 39-40; *Kepribadian Muhammadiyah* (Jogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, n.d.), p. 18; *Himpunan Keputusan-2*, p. 14.

The effort to preserve the pristine character of these religious practices and to purify them of corrupt influences - an important component of reform -<sup>27</sup> was a direct result of the spirit of rationalization governing its actions and ideas. This rationalization, as discussed in the previous chapter, was a product of the thought of the founders and supporters of the movement, who belonged to the entrepreneurial class. Now, since rational and mathematical considerations determine the degree of profit or loss in every business transaction, it was subsequently decided, by the same supporters, that any endeavor which had no religious basis was useless, unprofitable and should not be carried out. This stand tallied well with the theological perspective holding that practices of this nature should not only be rejected but that they warranted religious sanction as well.<sup>28</sup> Not surprisingly, its commitment to adhere to this religious outlook unavoidably gave the Muḥammadiyah the reputation of being a "neo-orthodox" movement, whose main aim was to restore the pristine beauty of Islam through a return to the basic principles of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*.

In the context of the early twentieth-century, these matters formed an important element in the religious attitude which many Indonesians strove to implement in their daily life. Hence, a proper understanding of Islamic beliefs and rituals became a prerequisite for the dutiful fulfilment of God's commandments and the emulation of His Prophet Muḥammad. The Muḥammadiyah leaders, realizing this, instituted a campaign to eradicate all *bid'ah*, *khurāfah*, and *takhayyul*. Mas Mansoer saw this as necessary in order to protect Muslim beliefs from *shirk* which contributed to a weakening of *īmān*, loss of spirit, energy and

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<sup>27</sup>*Berita Resmi Muhammadiyah*, special number (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1990), p. 48.

<sup>28</sup>*Menuju Muhammadiyah* (Jogjakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1970), p. 20.

property, and which led to laziness and a sense of inferiority.<sup>29</sup> In addition, the commitment to the slogan "back to the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*" was so rigidly followed in determining the forms of *ʿaqīdah* and the manner of *ʿibādah*, that anything which was not mentioned either in the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* was considered by the Muḥammadiyah to be *bidʿah*.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the movement became even further identified with the effort to eradicate corrupt influences and practices which permeated the religious life of Muslims, a perception clearly visible in the writings of Geertz and Noer.<sup>31</sup> And yet, as we will show in the following pages, the primary sources reveal that in the early decades of its foundation, the movement actually concentrated its efforts on introducing the principles of social reform.

The Muḥammadiyah's mission was not solely restricted to religious reform; indeed, most of its activities were actually directed towards the cultivation of social solidarity, which in turn inspired its social and educational endeavors. Thus

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<sup>29</sup>Mas Mansoer, *Risalah Tauhid dan Syirik* (Surabaya: Peneleh, 1970), p. 7.

<sup>30</sup>The Muḥammadiyah took the position that no change was possible in the matters of *ʿaqīdah* and *ʿibādah*. Any change in these two fundamental areas was considered *bidʿah* (innovation). The movement argued that the term *bidʿah* was only connected with *ʿaqīdah* and *ʿubūdiyyah* matters, and that every *bidʿah* was erroneous. Moreover, there was no *bidʿah ḥasanah* (*bidʿah* which is good) in religious matters. With respect to innovation other than in religious matters the Muḥammadiyah regarded this as being permissible. It was in this domain that scope existed for modernization. Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaʿah Bidʿah Khurafat* (Yogyakarta: Persatuan, n.d.), pp. 23-24; H.A. Badawi, "Bidʿah dan Churafat Jang Merusak Tauhid," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* 22 (1961-1962), pp. 51-52; Hamka, "Orthodox dan Modernisasi," *Pandji Masjarakat* 1, 2 (1 July, 1959), p. 24; *Tanfidz Keputusan Mukhtar Tarjih Muhammadiyah XXII* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1990), pp. 47-48.

<sup>31</sup>The Muḥammadiyah's campaign to eradicate *khurāfah* and *bidʿah* seemed to have made the greatest impression on outside observers. Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960); Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia: 1900-1942* (London and Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press), 1973.

while purification of *'aqīdah* and *'ibādah* from corrupting influences was indeed necessary, and was a *sine qua non* for the implementation of Islamic beliefs and rituals in one's daily life, it was nevertheless recognized that these influences would only disappear when people had acquired a sufficient amount of religious knowledge. For such a purpose, *pengajians* for adults were organized in coordination with the *tablīgh* department,<sup>32</sup> and children were taught correct beliefs simultaneously with their formal education; religious education, however, was advocated as early as possible. Indeed, the provision of religious education was believed to be so important that much energy was spent on long term programs. Hence, the schools established by the movement not only provided secular knowledge but also basic Islamic teachings for the daily religious practices of the students.

### II.1.2. *The Muḥammadiyah's worldview*

The Muḥammadiyah's insistence on the fact that Islam consisted not only of a set of duties such as prayer (*ṣalāh*), fasting (*ṣawm*), almsgiving (*zakāh*), and ḥajj, but that it was commensurate with all aspects of life, led the movement to reject a piecemeal approach towards religion, and to avoid confining Islam within narrow categories or spheres. Rather, the movement's theorists advocated a more holistic approach towards religion that would incorporate Islam into the very fabric

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<sup>32</sup>The formation of various *pengajian* groups in Yogyakarta and surrounding areas seems to have been aimed at increasing the religious knowledge of adults. See Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah dan Pendirinya* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Majlis Pustaka, 1989), pp. 38-39.

of one's life.<sup>33</sup> They believed that Islam should direct its guidance only to the principles of conduct, and leave it to human beings to work out the details. According to Mas Mansoer, Islam explains the explicit benefits (*ḥikmah*) of certain actions and encourages people to learn from the example of history. It gives people the freedom to profit from worldly pursuits and at the same time avoid the pitfalls that accompany them. These are the basic principles of religion, and the true meaning of Islam is actually to submit to these principles.<sup>34</sup>

Hence, in order to derive answers from Islamic teachings for problems arising in this world, the campaign became a vehicle for the correct understanding of the faith and its incorporation into everyday life, as well as a means of influencing and correcting contemporary religious trends which were seen as narrow and overly legalistic in nature. Referring to this situation, Hadjid, a Muḥammadiyah leader in the early decades of this century, criticised those Muslims who only discussed matters of lawful (*ḥalāl*) and unlawful (*ḥarām*) conduct. He mocked the claims of those who believed that this was the time for concentrating on *'ibādah*, and that it was better to forget about social issues because the world was already very old.<sup>35</sup> The Muḥammadiyah leaders, on the contrary, believed that one of the critical duties of a Muslim was to serve his

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<sup>33</sup>M. Junus Anies, *Kenalilah Pemimpin Anda* (Yogyakarta: P.P. Muhammadiyah, Majlis Pustaka, n.d.), p. 7.

<sup>34</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Agama Islam: Apakah Jang Sangat Terpenting di dalam Agama Islam," *Soeara M.I.A.I.* 1, 2 continuation no. 24 (17 Dhū-l-ḥijjah, 1362), p. 10.

<sup>35</sup>A speech delivered by H. Hadjid at the opening ceremony of the Majlis Tabligh in Yogyakarta, November 13-14 1930, published as H. Hadjid. "Orang Islam Terbelakang Kalau Ta' Soeka Mengetahoei Ilmoe Barat," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (December 1930), p. 589; Mas Mansoer, "Mendjelaskan Faham Saja," *Adil* 8, 43 (27 July, 1940), p. 1.

community.<sup>36</sup> It consequently saw reform as having a very wide scope, covering many aspects of early twentieth century thought and practice in Indonesia. The problem was to relate the basic principles of Islam to those aspects of religious teachings which fall within the domain of worldly affairs. It is, therefore, important to discuss the Muḥammadiyah leaders' understanding of worldly affairs, their relation to specific religious affairs, and the importance of worldly affairs for the religious orientation of the movement.

"Worldly affairs," according to the Muḥammadiyah literature, held a position of equal importance *vis à vis* the particular pillars of Islam.<sup>37</sup> However, they were variable because they were subject to change in place, time, and *maṣlahah*. Reason also played a great role in these affairs in that it determined whether they were worthy, useless, meritorious, beneficial or otherwise.<sup>38</sup> With regard to their scope, the following saying of the Prophet Muḥammad was cited: "You know your worldly affairs better", which the Muḥammadiyah 'ulamā' understood to refer to any matter for which the Prophet had not given guidance.<sup>39</sup> In this sense, any action which was performed in order to achieve the grace and mercy of God was lawful. This belief was in accordance with the principle declaring that "everything is allowed except that which is forbidden."<sup>40</sup> Based on these principles, these 'ulamā' thus determined that the Muslims of their day were different from their counterparts of long ago, and were not obliged to follow every

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<sup>36</sup>*Muhammadiyah Movement*, p. 8.

<sup>37</sup>*Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 31 (20 Maret 1931), p. 701.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, *Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, pp. 13, 15.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 15; *Muhammadiyah Movement*, p. 6.

<sup>40</sup>Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazāir fī Qawā'id wa Furūc Fiqh al-Shāfi'iyah* (Cairo: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, n.d.), p. 66.

method used during the time of the Prophet, even where religion was concerned, since the use of such methods was very relative in character.<sup>41</sup> The use of the vernacular instead of Arabic in the Friday congregational sermon, for example, was a divergence from the tradition of the Prophet's period. The change itself was rejected by the traditionalist Muslims in the early twentieth century.<sup>42</sup> Hence, the general thrust of the Muḥammadiyah's conception of this world and its affairs, and its relation to the world beyond, was particularly attuned to the spirit of modernization affecting twentieth-century Muslims in Indonesia.

The movement's basic religious understanding of this world led to the idea that knowledge and happiness are important social elements. Accordingly, it was emphasized that every Muslim should acquire secular knowledge (*ʿilm al-dunyā*) just as he/she must acquire religious knowledge. Indeed, Hadjid considered it obligatory for Muslims to seek this knowledge, wherever and from whomever this knowledge might be obtained.<sup>43</sup> This principle also influenced Muslim parents to have their children study Western subjects, as long as they did not neglect their religious duties. In fact, Hadjid considered Western knowledge to be identical with progress, and Islam a religion which was concerned with progress.<sup>44</sup> The process

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<sup>41</sup>*Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, p. 16.

<sup>42</sup>Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, p. 17. Judging by the comments of certain ʿulamāʾ at the time, there were many other aspects of the Muḥammadiyah program regarded as unacceptable by traditionalists, for instance its religious propagation effort and its educational and social reforms.

<sup>43</sup>Hadjid, "Orang Islam Terbelakang," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (22-31 December, 1930), p. 588.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 588-590. Historically, the definition of progress or modernity has been synonymous with Westernization or Americanization. It is seen as the movement towards historically specific, localized and dated societies. Piotr Sztompka, *The Sociology of Social Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1994), p. 132; progress represents the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems which developed in Western Europe and

by which Muslims should acquire this knowledge was seen as being either through formal education or through direct contact and discussion with Westerners.<sup>45</sup> However, Ahmad Dahlan said that this knowledge should not only be understood theoretically, but also implemented for the benefit of the people.<sup>46</sup> The appreciation of secular knowledge broke with the general Muslim tendency to limit knowledge to religious subjects, and to regard any other form of mundane knowledge as secondary in importance. Moreover, this appreciation inspired the movement to undertake a reform of its educational system both in terms of its ideals and its practical aspects, an effort which was deemed important for prosperity and the attainment of happiness.

For the Muḥammadiyah leaders, this happiness was the second most important aspect of life. In some of his writings, Mas Mansoer repeatedly argued that Muslims were entitled to achieve material happiness and avoid poverty. Quoting a verse from the Qur'ān, 7:32, he maintained that God allows believers to enjoy the good things in this world, and that they therefore must not reject them.<sup>47</sup> In another *sūrah*, 2:177, it is also stated that a true believer is he who strives for

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North America from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and then spread to other European countries and to South American, Asian, and African continents in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Shmuel Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Protest and Change* (Englewood, Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966), p. 1.

<sup>45</sup>"Islam Terhadap Oemoem," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 30 (20 March 1931), p. 697.

<sup>46</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Ketujuh," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 17.

<sup>47</sup>"Say: Who has forbidden you to wear the decent clothes or to eat the good things which God has provided for His servants ? Say: These are for the enjoyment of the fathful in the life of this world (though shared by others); but they shall be theirs alone on the Day of Resurrection. Thus do We detail Our revelations for people who have knowledge" (the Qur'ān, 7: 32). See Mas Mansoer, "Sebab-Sebab Kemiskinan Ra'jat Islam Indonesia," p. 2.

wealth but who spends his property on good deeds and on helping the poor.<sup>48</sup> As a result, Mas Mansoer insisted that the 'ulamā' should inform Muslims and guide them according to what the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* prescribe for the attainment of a better life in this world. The poverty of Muslims was due to the fact that there were many 'ulamā' who told Muslims not to care about worldly matters. Mas Mansoer also believed that every social and religious effort required money, and that if Muslims were economically weak, it would be difficult for them to realize such endeavors.<sup>49</sup> Thus, he strongly exhorted Muslims to change their lifestyles and their system of education, which to that point had been directed solely towards spiritual edification, in order to achieve better living standards for themselves. The improvement of one's socio-economic status should not only be sought, he admonished, but must be given the highest priority.<sup>50</sup> Thus, starting from the opposite standpoint from that which Muslims generally held, the Muḥammadiyah leaders sanctified even "profane" works and ended by glorifying the most worldly tasks. This approach refused to apotheosize only the unworldly or other-worldly life, which concentrated on inner penitence and meditation, which knew nothing of profane works in the ordinary sense, and which encouraged contempt for all worldly things.

There was no doubt, as Mas Mansoer argued, that the primary concern of the Islamic mission, as a religion, is the welfare of individuals in the hereafter. However, it also could not be denied that life in this world is the only route to the happiness of the next world, and that it must be given due attention. Indeed, this

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<sup>48</sup>Malik Ahmad, "Inti Sari Adjaran Agama Islam," [a brochure for the guidance of members of the Muḥammadiyah] (Jogjakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1970), p. 19.

<sup>49</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Mendjelaskan Faham Saya," p. 1.

<sup>50</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Sebab-Sebab Kemiskinan," pp. 2-3.

world is the only place where an individual's future fate can be decided. Logically then, one assumed that after leaving this world, man's career was over and there was no means by which he could atone for his sins.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, this should not imply that a person must limit all his or her activities in this world to those of a spiritual nature in order to achieve the blessings of the world to come. On the contrary, Mas Mansoer taught that Islamic doctrine takes cognizance of the affairs of this world, and gives its adherents sufficient direction on how to achieve happiness in both this world and the next. Unfortunately though, at the time most Muslims neglected these aspects and limited themselves to a more ascetic approach; as a result they became materially impoverished, weak and backward.<sup>52</sup>

This basic religious outlook was an important element in the formation of the ideology of the Muḥammadiyah movement. This ideology rationalized and defended the movement's particular religious, moral, and social interests and commitments. As such, it provided logical and philosophical justifications for its members' patterns of behavior, as well as their attitudes, goals, and general way of life. Some elements of this ideology were accepted as truth or dogma, which unavoidably created certain conflicts with other groups of people or movements. A case in point is the acrimonious relationship that existed between the Muḥammadiyah and Sarekat Islam in the mid 1920s, which was caused by

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<sup>51</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Dunia," *Kumpulan Karangan*, p. 87.

<sup>52</sup>Mas Mansoer criticized some 'ulamā' who did not realize the backwardness of Muslims. He condemned the wrong perception of religion which led Muslims to live in misery, and surrender to these misfortunes in a way which was not actually demanded by their religion. As a result, these Muslims were easily ruled by foreign powers and forced to accept things that were contradictory to their religion. Mas Mansoer, "Sebab-Sebab Kemiskinan," p. 4; and his other article "Sebab-Sebab Kemunduran Ummat Islam," pp. 145-146.

differences in the ideological perceptions of both movements.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, certain elements of the Muḥammadiyah ideology were accepted as theoretical formulations and were, therefore, tentative. In addition, these formulations were constantly modified in accordance with contemporary socio-cultural changes. This adaptability explains why the Muḥammadiyah appeared to be more religious at certain times, or more socially oriented at others.<sup>54</sup> Certain branches might indulge in certain activities that other branches did not. Cases in point were the branches in Minangkabau which, from an early period, demonstrated a political tendency that was absent or minimal in other regions.<sup>55</sup> This allowed the Muḥammadiyah to

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<sup>53</sup>The Muḥammadiyah's religious ideology might be described as "non-*madhhab*," whereas certain other groups argued that following at least one of the *madhāhib* was compulsory. By maintaining this position, the Muḥammadiyah was often accused of having broken away from the mainstream of Islam. Similarly, the "non-political" orientation of the movement, a major component of its policy in the colonial era, drew criticism from some of the Sarekat Islam's leaders. Hasjim Asj'ari, *Qanun Asasi Nahdlatul 'Ulama'* (Kudus: Menara, 1969), pp. 65-68; *Boeah Congres Moehammadijah Seperempat Abad* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah, 1936), p. 33; "Muhammadijah 40 Tahun" *Suara Muhammadijah* 28, 27 (November 1952), p. 267; M. Junus Anies, *Pemandangan Agama Islam dan Kaoem Moeslimin* (Djokjakarta: P.B. Moehammadijah, 1929), p. 53.

<sup>54</sup>Under Ahmad Dahlan's leadership (1912-1923), the movement was more oriented to social welfare. This period was followed by the establishment of the necessary infrastructure upon which the Muḥammadiyah was to build its social programs. This infrastructure included various departments and autonomous bodies within the organization, such as: department of tablīgh; education; Aisyiyah (the women's section of the movement); Penolong Kesengsaraan Umum -P.K.U. (Relieving the People's Miseries); Boy Scouts (Ḥizb al-Waṭan); Taman Pustaka (Publications and Library). The Muḥammadiyah did indeed retain a social and educational character after this period but practical religious discussion came to dominate the concerns of the movement. This was indicated by the establishment of the Majlis Tarjih. Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadijah*, p. 31; *Boeah Congres 26* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomite Congres Moehammadijah, 1938), pp. 31-32.

<sup>55</sup>Federspiel argues that the branches in Minangkabau were more politically inclined than in Java, and stressed reform of religious ritual and belief, rather than the accommodation of Islam with Western learning, as was the case in Java. Federspiel, "The Muhammadijah," p. 58. At least for few years, the Muḥammadiyah in Minangkabau was more or less like a mass political movement - a direct challenge to both the Dutch and kaum adat. However, with the rise of

become a dynamic movement, accommodating and flexible in achieving its social endeavors. Its dynamic character made the Muḥammadiyah a modernist movement, right from its inception.

### II.1.3. *Ethical Values*

Another Islamic principle stressed by the movement was that of *akhlāq*. This denoted a quality of soul which stimulated the spontaneous execution of good or bad deeds. The Muḥammadiyah leaders regarded good conduct (*akhlāq al-maḥmūdah*) as an important aspect in building the character of every individual.<sup>56</sup> And considering the duties of Muslims towards both God and community, every person was required to have this quality. In their mission, the movement's leaders not only sought to inculcate such moral values but also developed them as a "social ethic" and as an indissoluble part of the movement's character. This ethic was formulated in the period of Haji Mas Mansoer's leadership (1936-1942). It was said at the time that the application of sound ethical values would not bear fruit if they were not based on trust in God (*tawakkul*). Certain other moral qualities, such as trustworthiness (*amānah*), righteousness (*benar*), pleasantness (*menyenangkan, cinta sesama*), consistency in fulfilling a promise (*menepati janji*), and sincerity (*ikhlas*) were also important components of this ethic in the eyes of

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Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia (Permi), an overtly radical political organization based on Islam and nationalism, in the early 1930s, the political role of the Muḥammadiyah members was to be gradually transferred to this new organization. Alfian, "Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics: The Muhammadiyah Movement During the Dutch Colonial Period," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969), pp. 393-394.

<sup>56</sup>Good behavior is called *akhlāq maḥmūdah* (morally praiseworthy behavior) and bad *akhlāq madhmūmah* (morally blameworthy behavior). *Risalah Islamiah Bidang Akhlak* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Majelis Tarjih, 1990), pp. 2-4.

the movement.<sup>57</sup> The emphasis on the ethical aspect of understanding Islam was quite critical for Indonesians in the early twentieth century. To that point, Islam had been dominated by a strong orientation towards *fiqh*, which stressed the values of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* more than anything else. As a result, a so-called "established Islam" or "official Islam" emerged, representing a religious understanding that revolved around *fiqh*. This somewhat narrow interpretation of Islam had been taught and propagated down the centuries by the *ʿulamāʾ*.<sup>58</sup> The position of *fiqh* in "official Islam," was so central that a religious scholar was denied the title of *ʿālim*, unless he were well-versed in the science of *fiqh*. Indeed so close was the relationship between Islam and *fiqh* that, in the eyes of the religious establishment, no other science of Islam was considered worthwhile.

One of the most important moral qualities stressed by the Muḥammadiyah leaders was *ikhhlās*. It, along with *īmān*, formed one of the basic foundations of the movement.<sup>59</sup> This moral quality, referred to by some as "a spirit of action," encouraged the growing endeavors of the movement.<sup>60</sup> Ahmad Dahlan called it a "core" of action. In his words:

All human beings are emotionally dead except the *ʿulamāʾ*, who are knowledgeable; these *ʿulamāʾ* are confused except those who really apply their knowledge; and they who are committed to the real action are all disturbed except those who have *ikhhlās* and are honest.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah*, pp. 24-29; *Risalah Islamiah*, pp. 23-43.

<sup>58</sup>Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, pp. 12-19.

<sup>59</sup>*Panggoegahing Islam*, pp. 27-30; Pimpinan Muhammadiyah Daerah Sumatera Timur, *30 Tahun Muhammadiyah daerah Sumatera Timur* (Medan: Panitia Besar Peringatan, 1957), p. 99.

<sup>60</sup>*Panggoegahing Islam*, p. 27.

<sup>61</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Pertama," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 7.

As a basis of action, *ikhlaṣ* brings to every action a degree of goodwill and affection. The dedication of the early generation of the movement to realizing its ideals was motivated by this moral spirit, and, in some ways, was matured by the challenge of the various reactions and responses from the people. This maturity led to the cultivation of patience (*ṣabr*) in the minds of the activists, allowing them to avoid feelings of desperation as they tried to complete their mission.<sup>62</sup>

A distinctive feature of the Muḥammadiyah's ethics was its call to every Muslim to serve God and one's fellow human-beings. Within a family or a community every individual stood in a social relationship to both divine and human society. This dual relationship motivated his social responsibilities, and by it he was linked to the whole life of society. This ethical understanding of religion led the movement towards active participation in social affairs in the early period. Hence, the Muḥammadiyah's main purpose was the inculcation of Islamic teachings in the minds of Indonesians so that they might follow this model code of conduct.<sup>63</sup> Through such endeavors, the movement's leaders believed that gradual social change could take place; change that would finally lead to the peaceful establishment of a truly Islamic society where virtue, welfare and happiness would prevail.<sup>64</sup> The religious outlook of the Muḥammadiyah leaders showed that Islam

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<sup>62</sup>*Panggoegahing Islam*, p. 21; M. Faried Ma'ruf, "Analisa Achlaq dalam Perkembangan Muhammadiyah," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* 22 (1961/1962), pp. 12-13.

<sup>63</sup>This purpose was mentioned in article 2 of its Statutes. In the revised version issued during the early phase of the Japanese occupation it is clearly stated that moral conduct was of crucial importance and should be inculcated upon all members of society. *Statuten dan Qa'idah Moehammadijah* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomité Congres Moehammadijah, 1935), p. 10; Ma'ruf, "Analisa Achlaq," p. 7; *Swara Islam* 3, 6 (December 1935), pp. 6-24.

<sup>64</sup>See "Preamble of Statutes of the Muhammadiyah," in Center of Muhammadiyah Leadership, *Statutes of the Djamiat Muhammadiyah* (Jogjakarta: Faida, 1958), p. 3.

had all the virtues needed for the formation of such a society, and that each aspect of Islam, manifested in *‘aqīdah*, *akhlāq*, *‘ibādah* and *mu‘āmalah*, was interrelated. They also stated that the life of mankind was nothing but obedience to God on the basis of the principle of *tawhīd*. They further espoused moral uprightiness, the importance of ethics, the purification of the soul, controlling one's base desires, as well as the attainment of wisdom and moral enlightenment.<sup>65</sup> Every Muslim, they argued, had the individual responsibility of morally reforming himself, and, through collective effort, that of bringing into being a Muslim community adapted to contemporary conditions. Thus, Islam becomes a way of making sense of the world and structuring the relationship between God, society and man.

#### II.1.4. *The Principles of Understanding Religion*

The ideological foundation on which the Muḥammadiyah doctrine was based held that the principles of Islam lie neither in the legal schools nor in the religious hierarchy, but in the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*.<sup>66</sup> Consequently, the movement's leaders argued that religious beliefs and duties must find their authority in these two primary sources, and that every Muslim is encouraged to understand Islam through them. They furthermore believed that the Qur'ān itself

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<sup>65</sup>"Sistematika dan Pedoman Untuk Memahami Rumusan Matan: Keyakinan dan Cita-Cita Hidup Muhammadiyah," *Himpunan Keputusan-2*, pp. 3-11; see also the decisions of the 18th Muḥammadiyah Congress in Solo in 1929, compiled in *Kitāb al-Īmān* (Jogjakarta: Persatuan, 1968), pp. 10-48; K.H.A. Badawi, *Mukhtaṣar Shu‘ab al-Īmān* (Jogjakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1971); *Risalah Islamiyah Bidang Akhlak*, pp. 6-43, 53-65; H.A. Malik Ahmad, "Inti Sari Adjaran Agama Islam," pp. 17-30.

<sup>66</sup>"Toentoetlah Igamamoe Islam," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (22-31 December 1930), p. 577; "Islam Terhadap Oemoem," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 31 (20 March 1931), p. 702; *Boeah Congres* 26, p. 31; *Almanak Muhammadiyah* 22 (1379/1959-1960), p. 14; "Matan Keyakinan dan Cita-Cita," p. 1.

consists of a complete set of teachings, which have been and always will be able to meet the demands of humanity from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad to the end of the world.<sup>67</sup> To implement these ideal teachings, however, they upheld the role of reason as an essential tool.<sup>68</sup> Naturally, all the legal injunctions of Islam have their sanction in the reasoning of every individual. Therefore, in the event that one lost the capacity for rational thinking, the obligation to continue performing such injunctions no longer applied.<sup>69</sup> This led to the right to make judgments based on an independent analysis of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*. This process of analysis was traditionally considered to be diametrically opposed to *taqlīd*, which was understood by the Muḥammadiyah leaders to mean the adoption of and adherence to the established ideas or *fatāwā* of earlier 'ulamā', without knowing the bases for their judgments.<sup>70</sup> Thus, the position of the leaders on these two issues was very clear - it accepted *ijtihād* and rejected *taqlīd*.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Kelima," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 16; *Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, p. 13.

<sup>68</sup>*Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, p. 15.

<sup>69</sup>Boestami Ibrahim, *Al-Hidajah: Merentjanakan*, p. 15.

<sup>70</sup>Djindar Tamimy, "Agama Islam Menurut Faham Muhammadiyah," in *Muhammadiyah: Sejarah, Pemikiran dan Amal Usaha* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya and Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang Press, 1990), p. 75.

<sup>71</sup>The rejection of *taqlīd* is found in Ahmad Dahlan's thought. And, even though he did not recommend *taqlīd* as a way of understanding religion, he acknowledged that it is hard to end this practice. See "Pelajaran Ketiga," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, pp. 12-13; Muhammad Bedja Darmalaksana, "Sedikit Tentang Madzhab Empat," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* 21 (1960/1961), pp. 236-239.

#### II.1.4.1. Reason

The issue of reason acquired a new meaning. It is noteworthy that the Muḥammadiyah leaders more frequently used the word "reason" than the term *ijtihād* to refer to a rational understanding of religion in the first quarter of this century.<sup>72</sup> Both reason and *ijtihād* reflected the interchangeable meanings used in understanding religion. *Ijtihād* required the use of reason in discovering fresh interpretations and meanings. Thus, reason became an integral part of the process of *ijtihād*. So important was the role of reason that the leaders recognized the necessity of using it in understanding religious teachings.<sup>73</sup> They in fact insisted that there was no conflict between reason and Islam.<sup>74</sup> They recognized the importance of reason and affirmed that it could guide Muslims in their understanding of the benefits of this-worldly pursuits.<sup>75</sup> Their position was grounded in the belief that reason is one of the most crucial element enabling the individual to perceive God's commandments, and to grasp various phenomena of

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<sup>72</sup>The word "reason" was used even later in a 1969 document outlining the "Ideology and Ideal Life of the Muḥammadiyah," which contained basic principles of the Muḥammadiyah's ideology. The word *ijtihād* was employed therein to elaborate the function of reason in this work under the title "System and Guidelines for Understanding the Formulation of the Ideology and Ideal Life of the Muḥammadiyah," *Himpunan Keputusan-2*, pp. 1, 4, and 9; the only early official document using the term *ijtihād* was *Kesimpoelan Djawaban Masalah Lima*, published in 1942. See *Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, p. 14.

<sup>73</sup>*Statuten dan Qa'idah Moehammadijah*, p. 67.

<sup>74</sup>Such a statement was needed in response to the conditions of religious understanding of Muslims in Indonesia in the early twentieth century. In 1940, Soekarno, a nationalist leader, criticized Muslims for not using reason in understanding Islam. The criticism was published in some Muslim newspapers such as *Pandji Islam*, *Berita N.O.*, *Al-Lisan*, and *Adil*. See, for example, "Terlaloe Dynamisch," *Adil* 8, 38 (22 June 1940), pp. 1-2; *Adil* 8, 39 (29 June 1940), pp. 8-9; "Kalau Koerang Dynamisch," *Adil* 8, 48 (31 August 1940), pp. 1,3.

<sup>75</sup>*Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, p. 15.

the world.<sup>76</sup> Hence, reason should be utilized in understanding and implementing all religious tenets.<sup>77</sup> Ahmad Dahlan emphasized repeatedly that every human being must use reason to correct his/her belief, behavior, goals in life, and understanding of the Truth.<sup>78</sup> He believed that, with reason, a person could determine his/her good conduct and achieve the goals of this world and the hereafter.<sup>79</sup> And, since religion was a basic need of human beings,<sup>80</sup> the interpretation of religious teachings should be based on reason in order to implement them in practical life. Religious teachings should also be oriented towards progress and advancement. As a result, the Muḥammadiyah leaders affirmed that reason was a crucial tool, first, for understanding the truth embodied in the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*; second, for grasping the purposes included in the meanings of both sources; third, for considering the situations in which religious

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<sup>76</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Kegaiban Akal," *Adil* 8, 31 (4 May, 1940), p.3.

<sup>77</sup>Haanie, *Islamisme*, p. 67.

<sup>78</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Keempat," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 15; it is important to note that Ahmad Dahlan always uses the term "human being" and not "Muslim" when illustrating the relationship between reason and man. He regarded all human beings as possessing in equal measure the critical faculty known as reason. The differences between them, he contended, lay in how each actualized his potential.

<sup>79</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Kelima," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 15; in another work, Ahmad Dahlan referred to "reason" as "healthy reason", capable of choosing and considering everything carefully. Ahmad Dahlan, "Kesatuan Hidup Manusia," in Abdul Munir Mulkhan, ed., *Pesan-Pesan Dua Pemimpin Besar Islam Indonesia Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, dan Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy'ari* (Yogyakarta, 1986), p. 11. This source was compiled from a written message of Ahmad Dahlan. It had originally been published under the title "Tali Pengiket Hidup" by Het Bestuur Moehammadijah, Taman Poestaka in 1923, and again by Majlis Tabligh in *Majalah Siaran Tabligh*, no. 8 (1983). The edition used in this dissertation is the one edited by Abdul Munir Mulkhan.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 10.

injunctions could be implemented; and fourth, for paving the way towards the implementation of Islamic teachings dealing with worldly affairs.<sup>81</sup>

This functional relationship between religion and reason shows that the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* are the principal sources of the Truth. Mas Mansoer said that those who used reason to understand these sources would easily accept their teachings.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, the use of reason in understanding the religious injunctions outlined in them should help in determining their explicit as well as their implicit meanings. This also meant that the understanding of certain ritual practices should not only take cognizance of their explicit, outward meaning, but also of the purpose for which they were commanded.<sup>83</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the Muḥammadiyah leaders always assigned a meaning to every ritual, and juxtaposed these with the context of real life. For example, it preached that spending property to help the poor and orphans was a requirement of *īmān*, *ṣalāh*, and *'amal al-ṣāliḥ*. And, although the earliest available sources of the Muḥammadiyah recognized the important role of reason in understanding the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, they did not mention whether or not reason was limited to understanding a certain text (*naṣṣ*) of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, especially when there was a dispute over the outward meaning of a text (*zāhir al-naṣṣ*).<sup>84</sup> The absence of any clarification of this issue

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<sup>81</sup>"Sistematika dan Pedoman," p. 9.

<sup>82</sup>Mas Mansoer, *Risalah Tauhid*, p. 4.

<sup>83</sup>Boestami Ibrahim, *Al-Hidajah*, p. 17.

<sup>84</sup>This issue is still a topic of discussion in the present. Whereas some say that *zāhir al-naṣṣ* should take priority over rational understanding, others declare the opposite. See Fathurrahman Djamil, "Ijtihad Muhammadiyah Dalam Masalah-Masalah Fikih Kontemporer" (Ph.D dissertation, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1993/1994), pp. 92-99; Arbiyah Lubis, *Pemikiran Muhammadiyah dan Muhammad 'Abduh: Suatu Studi Perbandingan* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1993), pp. 97-102.

also indicated that the main concern of the movement was not theological *per se*. Nevertheless, Ahmad Dahlan emphasized the significance of reason in applying the contents of the Qur'ān to practical life.<sup>85</sup> In the early decades of this century, the potential of reason was utilized to engineer a social infrastructure, which in turn enabled the fulfillment of Islamic teachings, and their ultimate purpose.

Ahmad Dahlan realized that reason should be developed through education. He maintained that, in principle, reason could accept any knowledge, since knowledge was its prerequisite. He thus drew an analogy between reason and the seed of a plant, saying:

Reason is like a seed which is planted in the earth, and in order that it should grow to become a big tree, it must be sprayed routinely. Likewise with human reason; it will not grow perfectly if it is not sprayed with knowledge. But the effort of spraying reason with knowledge should be in accordance with the will of God.<sup>86</sup>

The crucial means of rational education was "logic," which discusses anything suitable to real life.<sup>87</sup> For Ahmad Dahlan, "logic" was a method of correspondence between the ideal and reality. With regard to the ideal teachings of Islam, logic demands the concrete implementation of Qur'ānic teachings and their translation into social realities. This idea provided the basis for an important aspect of Muḥammadiyah teaching, namely, that "Islam is not theoretical but practical."

Knowledge therefore is an important element in preserving and developing reason. Moreover, Ahmad Dahlan emphasized that the development of reason required six elements: first, the problem must be formulated on the basis of an

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<sup>85</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Kesatuan Hidup Manusia," p. 11.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*

apprehension of the realities; second, thinking and acting must be conducted seriously; third, every action must be based on a clear reason in order to avoid error; fourth, one must preserve what has been acquired as though it were valuable capital; fifth, there must be firm belief in making any choice; and sixth, one must be able to place and solve problems properly, because knowledge will be useless if it is not practiced in accordance with real situations.<sup>88</sup> All of these criteria encourage individuals to possess intellectual and moral integrity, which, in turn, will lead him to wisdom.<sup>89</sup> This equilibrium was an important aspect of the individual religious life, Ahmad Dahlan declared. Moreover, he maintained that religion is a necessity for every human being; that it has basic principles which have to be obeyed; that religious reflection in real life depends on the individual who must express it; that the individual must, therefore, be equipped with knowledge, on the basis of which religion may be implemented.<sup>90</sup> These principles can be classified under three major headings, first, reliance on the basic principles of Islam, the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, as the primary sources of understanding Islam; second, the role of reason in deriving the content of these sources, and; third, the translation of religious understanding into concrete reality.

#### II.1.4.2. *Ijtihād and Tarjih*

Assigning such an important position to reason, as outlined above, may be seen as an encouragement to the effort of *ijtihād*. According to Muḥammadiyah doctrine, *ijtihād* could be performed individually or collectively, at least by those

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<sup>88</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

who were capable of it. Those who were not able to do so, according to the Muḥammadiyah's sources, had to choose *ittibāʿ* which, in this technical sense meant accepting or following the religious *fatwa* of another person, on the condition of knowing the principle on which the *fatwa* was based.<sup>91</sup> In other words, everyone who followed the idea or *fatwa* of an ʿālim was required to understand the meaning and the position of the religious argument justifying its decision. To assist people in achieving this understanding, the Council of Opinions (Majlis Tarjīḥ) was established on the basis of a decree issued by the 16th congress of the Muḥammadiyah at Pekalongan in 1927.<sup>92</sup> And, although it played an important role in solving the religious problems of Muslims, its establishment was seen as only being part of the answer; the rest was to be supplied by *ijtihād*.

The foundation of the Majlis Tarjīḥ was implicitly intended to provide a forum for experts to work together on a given problem. It also represented a revival of a form of consultation known as *mushāwarah*, an institution designed to avoid conflict over differences of views. Moreover, it provided a forum in which mutual understanding could be achieved in grappling with certain religious and social problems.<sup>93</sup> Although the council was established only after the death of the founder of the movement, its ideas and insights were unquestionably derived from him. The foundation of the council, however, did not mean that the Muḥammadiyah had decided to restrict itself to *ijtihād jamāʿī* in handling its

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<sup>91</sup>"Sistematika dan Pedoman," p. 9; Tamimy, "Agama Islam," p. 75.

<sup>92</sup>Surono W, "Peristiwa-peristiwa Bersejarah dalam Muhammadiyah," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* (1394/1974), p. 20.

<sup>93</sup>*Peringatan Congres Moehammadijah ke-21* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah Hindia Timoer, 1932), p. 49.

religious and social solutions.<sup>94</sup> On the contrary, before the existence of the council, *ijtihād* was also performed individually by recognized scholars within the movement. Their involvement in solving various religious as well as social problems went hand in hand with their participation in the movement. Ahmad Dahlan himself was involved in various kinds of problem-solving endeavors before and after the Muḥammadiyah was established. However, the official formulation of the movement's ideology did not occur in the period of Ahmad Dahlan but rather began to take shape at the hands of his successors. Moreover, this process reached its greatest momentum under the leadership of Haji Mas Mansoer, who prioritized it through his *Langkah Muhammadiyah 1938-1940* (The Steps of the Muḥammadiyah 1938-1940) program, which consisted of 12 important points. This program discussed *īmān*, religious understanding, *akhlāq*, self-discipline, unity, justice, and the improvement of the role of the organization in order for it to fulfill its mission.<sup>95</sup> The first seven points are elaborative and therefore give a clear insight into the normative bases of religion, while the rest are more technical in nature. As emphasized by Mas Mansoer, the program was intended to facilitate the implementation of the movement's mission.<sup>96</sup>

The Majlis Tarjih was an institutional body charged with the formulation of the theological bases of the Muḥammadiyah's ideology. Its role was to interpret or repudiate alternative ideological frames of reference. Any idea or theory that was approved by this body, therefore, could serve as a logical or philosophical

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<sup>94</sup>A recent doctoral dissertation concentrating on the *ijtihād* of the Muḥammadiyah on contemporary *fiqh* problems, argued that the Muḥammadiyah practices collective *ijtihād* only. See Fathurrahman Djamil, "Ijtihad Muhammadiyah," p. 100.

<sup>95</sup>Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah Muhammadiyah*, pp. 7-48.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 6.

justification for the programs and goals of the movement. As theoretical formulations, the elements of Muḥammadiyah's ideology could be modified in accordance with the dynamics of change and progress. This then was the framework through which the council dealt with the re-evaluation and re-formulation of the ideological orientation of the movement, and by so doing ensured its continuing evolution. The establishment of the council four years after the death of Ahmad Dahlan may be an indication of the extent to which he contributed to keeping the organization's ideology in step with the times. And although this council was intended to provide new concepts, in reality much of its attention was taken up with discussing trivial religious disputes.<sup>97</sup> It was a time when people needed a solid theological foundation upon which to model their socio-religious behavior. This need was also stimulated by the growing reaction to the movement<sup>98</sup> and the existing religious controversies raging within the Muslim community in general, which the supporters feared would infiltrate the Muḥammadiyah's ranks.<sup>99</sup>

*Membership of the Majlis:* A knowledge of the membership of the Majlis Tarjih is important for an understanding of the character of collective *ijtihād* (*ijtihād jamā'ī*). The Muḥammadiyah restricted membership in the Majlis to "ʿulamā" (male or female) who had the capability of weighing, choosing or solving

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<sup>97</sup>*Peringatan Congres Moehammadijah ke-21*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>98</sup>Syafiq A. Mughni, "Muhammadiyah dan Pemikiran Keagamaan: Reorientasi Wawasan dan Implementasinya untuk Aksi," *Berita Resmi Muhammadiyah* 24 (May 1995), pp. 16-17.

<sup>99</sup>"Penerangan Tentang Hal Tardjih," in *Himpunan Putusan Majlis Tarjih Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, n.d.), p. 371.

problems, through valid argument."<sup>100</sup> The council was composed of a group of individuals who had different areas of expertise enabling them to guide their communities in understanding and benefiting from the mercy of God. Moreover, they were leaders who were concerned with the problems facing their community. Therefore, they required not only spiritual knowledge but also practical skills, foresight and long-term commitment.<sup>101</sup> Conventionally, *ijtihad* had been performed on the basis of requirements that were suitable for the medieval period. If these requirements were to be applied in the present, it was doubtful whether *ijtihad* would be able to offer new insights into the role of religion in the context of modern developments. To implement *ijtihad* in the twentieth century, various situational requirements such as the Indonesian language, local and national laws, and the various rules of the Indonesian government had to be taken into consideration. Meanwhile, the accumulation of all these requirements in a single individual was an unrealistic expectation.<sup>102</sup> Therefore, the gathering of people from various backgrounds in the Majelis Tarjih represented a collective fulfilment of the requirements of *ijtihad*.

*Decisions of the Majelis:* Although the decisions of the council were to be regarded as guidelines for the leaders and members of the Muḥammadīyah, the movement did not prohibit its schools or *madrasahs* from studying religious issues which had not been discussed by its Majelis Tarjih.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, in formulating its decisions the council avoided showing hostility towards other opinions, i.e. it did

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<sup>100</sup> *Qaidah Lajnah Tarjih Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Majelis Tarjih, 1971), p. 3.

<sup>101</sup> Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, pp. 13,15.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>103</sup> "Penerangan Tentang Hal Tarjih," p. 372.

not challenge or denounce those opinions which were not approved by the council.<sup>104</sup> It was understood that the decisions reached took into consideration the preservation of Muḥammadiyah unity in particular and of Muslims in general. Furthermore, the Majlis Tarjih did not consider itself the sole rightful guide in religious matters. On the contrary, it recognized its own weaknesses and invited other 'ulamā' to correct its decisions.<sup>105</sup> This was a reflection of the tolerant character of the Muḥammadiyah in dealing with other opinions. Moreover, the council was able to provide people with another alternative to *taqlīd*, namely, *ittibāc* which helped those unable to perform *ijtihād* to avoid blindly adopting the opinions of others. This was in keeping with the position of the Muḥammadiyah on the issue of *madhhab* and its caution against blind acceptance of all the opinions of one school to the exclusion of the opinions and rationale of others. Nevertheless, some people feared that the creation of this council might lead to the establishment of a new *madhhab*, when in fact it had been created for the opposite purpose, i.e. to end the *madhhab*'s hegemony over the Muslims.<sup>106</sup> Fortunately, this fear was soon dissipated by the Majlis's insistence on giving its members the freedom to choose how they wished to understand their own religion. In addition, this council enabled the layman to find out the basis for each of his religious duties on his own, so that he could perceive the purpose behind them and not just implement them blindly. Thus, it was hoped, Muslims would be encouraged to liberate themselves from the shackles of *taqlīd*.

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<sup>104</sup> *Boeah Congres 26*, p. 31.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>106</sup> This domination was criticized by Ahmad Dahlan as a factor in keeping Muslims in a state of ignorance of their religion. Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Keenam," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 17.

In keeping with its role, the council tended to deal with practical religious matters and to formulate *fatwas* concerning them. In fact, at least up to the end of the Dutch colonial era in 1942, the Majlis Tarjih directed its agenda towards matters of *'ibādah* alone, such as ritual cleanness (*ṭahārah*), *īmān*, *ṣalāh*, *zakāh*, ḥajj, and religious endowment (*waqf*).<sup>107</sup> The intention was to provide members with guidelines demonstrating the proper way of performing their *'ibādah*. Moreover, it was hoped that an emphasis on such matters would lead to increasing religious awareness, and perhaps towards greater adherence to the basics of Islam. Hence one could detect a slight shift in the movement at that time, consisting of a transformation of its educational and social agenda to one more concerned with religious guidance and the behavior of its members.<sup>108</sup> And, even though its social activities developed rapidly through the agency of existing educational and social welfare institutions, the movement did not create any new social institutions. Furthermore, their development was parallel to the spread of the organization throughout the country. Consequently, the practical religious and social programs of the Muḥammadiyah were interchangeable facets of its agenda, one taking priority over the other whenever the actual state of affairs in the country dictated this to be necessary. Therefore by understanding properly the dynamics of this shift in emphasis (from social to religious affairs and vice versa), it did not signify a change in its ideological orientation,<sup>109</sup> but rather, a change in the emphasis that

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<sup>107</sup> "Muktamar Khusus Tarjih dan Putusan-Putusannya," in *Himpunan Putusan Majlis Tarjih*, p. 373.

<sup>108</sup> Hamka, "K.H.A. Dahlan," *Kitab Peringatan 40 Tahun Muhammadiyah: Sedjarah Pertumbuhan dan Bentuk Organisasi* (Djakarta: Panitia Pusat Perajaan 40 Tahun Berdirinja Perserikatan Muhammadiyah, 1952), p. 32.

<sup>109</sup> A recent view concluding that the debate over theological issues led the Muḥammadiyah develop into a movement of thought (Mughni, "Muhammadiyah,"

it placed on certain affairs at certain times. In other words, if the movement was constantly moving from the field of religion to that of education and vice versa, these moves were not changes in its ideology, but in the ways of helping Muslims in any way that it could. Nevertheless, the Muḥammadiyah remained steadfast in its commitment to real action, and not to theoretical or theological debate, until independence in 1945.

The practical religious orientation reflected the move towards purification that the movement strove for. Moreover, the intention to preserve the authenticity of certain religious beliefs and practices, based on the example of early Islamic history, was nothing more than enlightened conservatism, aiming for a purified form of the religion similar to that established by the Prophet Muḥammad. For the Muḥammadiyah, the call for a return to the basic principal teachings of Islam concentrated on the daily ritual activities that Muslims were required to perform. It also campaigned for the preservation of a certain religious outlook and worldview that encouraged social responsibility according to the contemporary situation and needs.

## II.2. The Philosophy of Openness, Tolerance, and Plurality

The position of the Muḥammadiyah 'ulamā' in understanding Islam was that the essence of Islam is God's revelation, which contains the principles underlying the social and spiritual life of human beings in this world and the hereafter. They were also convinced that worldly and religious matters are provided for in Islam, on the basis of the Qur'ānic verse declaring: "But seek, by

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pp. 16-17) is incorrect, for the Muḥammadiyah was and is still a movement concentrating on practical aspects of religious and social problems rather than purely a movement of thought.

means of that which God has given you, to attain the abode of the hereafter. Do not forget your share in this world...".<sup>110</sup> They also believed that the real truth of Islam is set down in the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*. And, realizing that Islam is interpretable, they were aware that different interpretations must be tolerated. Hence, the following section will discuss the principle of relativism in understanding religion, and how far such an attitude encouraged openness in dealing with other ideas, as well as engendering the movement's approach to change.

### II.2.1. *Relativism in Religious Understanding: Dahlan's Views*

The relativity of religious views was first discussed by Ahmad Dahlan and then later by Haji Mas Mansoer. Ahmad Dahlan laid down the basic principles for the movement, while Mansoer expanded them later on. Ahmad Dahlan criticized the general tendency of the Muslims of his day to regard themselves as having a monopoly on the truth. Furthermore, he declared that such claims were erroneous because they were based on the group's own perception and their aversion towards and rejection of others' ideas.<sup>111</sup> He thus suggested that it was important to learn from others, because from them other fragments of the Truth may be gained.<sup>112</sup> One of his pupils, Haanie, criticized those 'ulamā' who forbade Muslims from studying the Books of other faiths because Islamic writings provide ample

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<sup>110</sup> *Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, p. 16.

<sup>111</sup> He similarly pointed out that this phenomenon also occurred within the Jewish, Christian, and even secular communities. Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Kedua," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 10.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

information. Rather, he proclaimed that Islam encourages people to learn from each other.<sup>113</sup>

For Ahmad Dahlan, that which is good and true should be sought for, not blindly accepted, because the former encourages a spirit of activity and creativity, whereas the latter causes a passive attitude that is conducive to ignorance.<sup>114</sup> Stating that "men generally hate what they do not know," he explained the exclusiveness of religions as being caused by the fact that men are born in their own traditions. Muslims are born as Muslims, Christians as Christians, and Jews as Jews. Each of them grows up in his own environment, and accepts as true only that which is handed down from his own ancestors. Thus, each group believes that they hold the only truth; anything different is wrong. Ahmad Dahlan however suggested that such an attitude should be rejected by the man of faith.<sup>115</sup> Exhorting Muslims to develop wider insight, he encouraged them to study other religions and ideas. He was convinced that the truth, based on this wider insight, would provide greater support for the implementation of religion in anyone's life. In addition, he declared that studying ideas different from one's own does not mean that one will automatically accept them. After all, one who knows how to steal does not become a thief until he translates such knowledge into action.<sup>116</sup> Dialogue and the exchange of ideas are elements that are believed to cultivate a "selective and open-minded" attitude about others. Hence, Ahmad Dahlan not only emphasized this in his lectures but demonstrated it by engaging in friendly dialogue with his fellow Muslims as well as his Christian counterparts.

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<sup>113</sup>Haanie, *Islamisme*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>114</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Ketiga," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 12.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

His involvement in religious discussions with other 'ulamā' holding different opinions from his own indicates his confidence in dialogue as a means of achieving the truth. In 1898, for example, he invited the 'ulamā' from Yogyakarta and its surrounding area to discuss the problem of the direction to which Muslims turn when praying (*qiblah*). This idea was motivated by the fact that, according to Ahmad Dahlan, the position of the *qiblah* in the mosques of Yogyakarta was not right. And, although the meeting itself did not bring about any agreement, the atmosphere of the discussion was nevertheless reported to have been dynamic because of the presence of numerous, different opinions.<sup>117</sup> Soedja<sup>c</sup> tells us that one day, after a representative of Sarekat Islam gave a speech at an open meeting of Aisyiyah, Muḥammadiyah's women's movement, Ahmad Dahlan approved the request of the leaders of the *Indisch Sociaal Democratische Partij* (I.S.D.V.)<sup>118</sup> to speak before the members of the Muḥammadiyah. Consequently, Darsono and Semaun, the leaders of the I.S.D.V., were allowed to speak out against the repressive policy of the Dutch government and to campaign for the idea of socialism, respectively.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup>Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 9.

<sup>118</sup>The I.S.D.V. was established in Semarang in 1914. It then developed into a communist party after the Russian revolution.

<sup>119</sup>The meeting was reported to have been attended by government officials and foreign authorities, officials of local regents, and representatives of the *priyayi* class. The impact of the meeting caused many protest letters to be sent to the Muḥammadiyah. They came from the local officials and *priyayi*, and some of them proposed cancelling their membership in the Muḥammadiyah. They accused the movement of supporting the I.S.D.V. And, although the cadres of the Muḥammadiyah might have benefited from the meeting, they affirmed that their Islamic ideology was a better choice for the struggle for independence compared to the communism of the I.S.D.V. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

Such experiences convinced Ahmad Dahlan that no matter where the truth lay, it should be listened to and accepted.<sup>120</sup> Accordingly, he responded positively to the suggestion of his students to establish an organization to manage the school that he had founded, since this would ensure its continuation.<sup>121</sup> His meetings with Catholic and Protestant priests in Yogyakarta<sup>122</sup> showed his willingness to communicate with other religious leaders, a practice which, in fact, had been largely avoided by Muslim in the early twentieth century.<sup>123</sup> This activity was also carried on by his students. And, although this dialogue admittedly formed part of the *da'wah* mission,<sup>124</sup> it was also meant as a way to seek for similarities and differences between divergent ideas and faiths. Both approaches were needed in order to find a way of working together and encourage tolerance amongst

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<sup>120</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Ketiga," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 14.

<sup>121</sup> Soedja', *Muhammadiyah*, p. 17.

<sup>122</sup> Some of Ahmad Dahlan's biographers cite examples of this dialogue. Among them are Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Dari Jamaluddin Al-Afghani Sampai K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* (Yogyakarta: Persatuan, n.d.), pp. 112-113; Solichin Salam, *K.H. Achmad Dahlan: Reformier Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Djajamurni, 1963), pp. 55-57. In these sessions, Ahmad Dahlan was sometimes accompanied by his colleagues. When he discussed some religious issues with *dominee* (minister) Bakker, he asked Ki Bagus Hadikusumo and Soedja' to come with him. "Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (1890-1954)," *Suluh Pendidikan Muhammadiyah* 1, 3 (September 1954), p. 4.

<sup>123</sup> Prior to the establishment of the Muhammadiyah in Pekajangan, Pekalongan, in 1922, the local people considered the movement to be "a Christian organization" masquerading as an Islamic movement. Such an assumption was based on the story that the founder of the organization, Ahmad Dahlan, often contacted Christian priests; and that the way this movement conducted its *tabligh* mission resembled that of the Christian missionaries. See Solichin Salam, *Muhammadiyah di Pekadangan* (Jakarta: Iqbal, 1968), pp. 12-13.

<sup>124</sup> The strategic value of *da'wah* through this dialogue, lay in the fact that the common people were able to judge the truth for themselves because the dialogues were often conducted in public gatherings. In certain cases, the dialogue took place in order to correct some of the aspersions that certain priests had cast upon Islam. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

followers of all beliefs. Nor was Ahmad Dahlan alone in his efforts; Haji Fachrodin, one of the first generation of the Muḥammadiyah leaders, suggested to the Budi Utomo (Noble Endeavor),<sup>125</sup> that it establish a forum for religious dialogue amongst its members.<sup>126</sup>

### II.2.2. *The Philosophy of Tolerance*

In declaring that no one group or ideology can claim "to be the only truth," the Muḥammadiyah leaders took the attitude, when issuing an opinion, that "this opinion is the view of the Muḥammadiyah" instead of claiming that "the Muḥammadiyah's view is the only valid truth."<sup>127</sup> In addition, they even invited 'ulamā' from other organizations to comment on their own outlook; this was also partly done to demonstrate the Muḥammadiyah's appreciation of other 'ulamā'.<sup>128</sup> It was acknowledged that different groups of people may have divergent viewpoints because of differences in place, time, and ability in understanding Islam. This approach also enabled the movement to change certain decisions which at one point in time seemed like the right one but which at a later time did not.

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<sup>125</sup>This nationalist organization was not based on religion, and its members included Muslims, Christians, and Buddhists.

<sup>126</sup>M. Junus Anies, *Riwayat Hidup H. Fachrodin* (Jogjakarta: Persatuan, 1969), p. 17. Besides Ahmad Dahlan, there were other Muḥammadiyah activists such as Haji Fachrodin, Haji Soedja', Haji Tamim, Haji Hisjam, Haji Sarkawi and Haji Abdulgani who joined Budi Utomo, some having even been active in it prior to the establishment of the Muḥammadiyah. Akira Nagazumi, "The Origin and the Earlier Years of the Budi Utomo, 1908-1918" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1976), pp. 134-135.

<sup>127</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Kedua," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 11; Djindar Tamimy, "Agama Islam Menurut," pp. 70-71.

<sup>128</sup>*Boeah Congres* 26, p, 32.

Quoting two ḥadīths, Mas Mansoer addressed the issue of the relativism of religious views in his *Langkah Moehammadiyah ke-1938-1940* program, under the heading "Memperluas Faham Agama" (the expansion of religious views). He said that Islam is not difficult to implement for two reasons. First, one of the characteristics of its law is its allowance for change on the basis of the situation or environment of the person seeking to implement Islam. Some of the religious injunctions of *'ibādat al-khāṣṣ*, whose forms have been firmly determined by the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, and which therefore cannot be changed or re-interpreted, allow people to dispense with them under certain conditions, such as sickness or travelling. For example, those travelling are not required to pray in the standard manner. The sick, for their part, may pray in any way they are able to. Furthermore, while Islam requires every Muslim to fast, those who are sick or travelling are allowed to eat provided that they later make up for the lost day(s). This allows not only for the easy implementation of Islam, but also for a measure of flexibility in the interpretation of religious duties.<sup>129</sup> This notion acquires greater significance in its social applications, where the role of reason takes on greater importance.

Second, Islam does not restrict itself to a certain point of view.<sup>130</sup> Pointing out the explicit and implicit texts of the Qur'ān, Mas Mansoer maintained that the latter may provide a wide possibility for the expansion of religious views.<sup>131</sup> This

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<sup>129</sup>Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah Muhammadiyah*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>131</sup>Arguing that religion (Islam) is perfect, Mas Mansoer said that it cannot be contracted or expanded. The possibility of change is limited to religious interpretations or views, and does not apply to the religion itself. Ibid., p. 19. In the words of his contemporary, Boestami Ibrahim, "this change does not mean to make a new religion, but rather to renew religious understanding with a new interpretation." Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, p. 15.

possibility is determined by the quality of human interpretation. The more knowledge one applies in interpreting the teachings of scripture the easier one will understand it. Those who have difficulty in obeying religious injunctions should not attribute this difficulty to the religion, but to themselves,<sup>132</sup> and to their narrow insight in interpreting religious injunctions. To demonstrate this narrowness, Mas Mansoer explained that there were Muslims who were always afflicted by doubt when doing something. For example, when buying meat, some Muslims did not eat it before its status was clear, i.e. whether it was slaughtered or not, and if it was slaughtered whether it was slaughtered in the name of God or not. For Mas Mansoer, this approach was not good and was an example of how such narrowness actually came from one's own insights and not from Islam, since Islam does not force its followers to be so narrow-minded. In another example, he also criticized Muslims who forbade the wearing of clothes resembling those of non-Muslims, based on a weak ḥadīth.<sup>133</sup> For him, Islamic norms do not regulate the format of one's dress, but allow Muslims to dress as they see fit. In this case, religion only emphasizes the covering of one's body or *‘aurāt*.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup>This is a slogan commonly used by modernist Muslims. It was originally derived from *‘Abduh*, and was popularized by Ahmad Dahlan. See "Pelajaran Kelima," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 16; Ahmad Dahlan, "Ajaran dan Mutiara Kata," in *Salam, Riwayat Hidup*, p. 51; *Soera Moehammadijah* 12, 30 (10 March, 1931), p. 679.

<sup>133</sup>The ḥadīth says: "*man tashabbaha biqawmin fahuwa minhum* (whoever resembles a group of people, he/she is among them)." Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah*, p. 20.

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 19-20. Mas Mansoer's answer was given in response to the established opinion of the time on the subject. For certain Muslims, the issue of clothes was not a cultural but a religious one. At the second Muktamar of the *Nahdat al-‘Ulamā* in Surabaya in 1927, for example, it was decided that anyone wearing pants, shoes, a tie, or a hat which intentionally resembled those of non-Muslims, was the same as them (*kāfir*); and that if one intentionally wore them to celebrate Islamic festivals without remembering the infidelity, it was sinful. But if one wore them unintentionally, he would not be committing a forbidden but a

The principle of relativism in understanding religion creates in the first place an attitude which appreciates other ideas, since it is acknowledged that one cannot achieve a perfect understanding of religion with one's own limited knowledge. This relativity subsequently encourages every individual to be open to new ideas. Moreover, the disposition to accept new ideas will produce a readiness for new experiences, which, in turn, may express itself in a variety of forms or contexts. This general attitude was reflected in the Muḥammadiyah's willingness to accept some social institutions from the West, and to adopt a new system of education. At the 21st congress in 1932, Hadikusumo argued that the acceptance of these cultural forms was based on firm religious considerations, not on the spirit of imitation.<sup>135</sup> This disposition was also motivated by the consideration that the adoption of such ideas might benefit the movement by preparing it for new challenges. This process would also subsequently lead to the accomodation of change.<sup>136</sup> For the Muḥammadiyah leaders, change had its roots in a corrective attitude, a disposition which was never satisfied with looking at things as they were, but rather at how to make them better.<sup>137</sup> Ahmad Dahlan said that a key aspect of this attitude was actually the process of sustained growth and change,

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*makrūh* (hateful) act. See Pengurus Besar "Nahdlatul 'Ulama," *Kumpulan Masalah-masalah Diniyah Dalam Mukhtar N.U. ke-1 s/d ke-7* (Jakarta: El-Hamidyah, 1960), pp. 25-26.

<sup>135</sup>*Peringatan Congres Moehammadijah ke-21*, p. 57. In his observation of educational reforms in Sumatra and Java, Pijper acknowledged that the Muḥammadiyah's religious ideology provided the impetus to the acceptance of new ideas from many cultural backgrounds. G.E. Pijper, *Nederland en de Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955), p. 19.

<sup>136</sup>Criticizing the tendency of his contemporaries, who always rejected whatever was new or different, Ahmad Dahlan declared that there was no objection to adopting new ideas or things as long as they entailed benefits for human life. Ahmad Dahlan, "Kesatuan Hidup," p. 9.

<sup>137</sup>*Kepribadian Muhammadiyah* (Jogjakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, n.d.), p. 29.

which itself developed out of a socio-cultural attitude which generated a critical attitude towards ineffective or harmful traditions.<sup>138</sup> This capability may manifest itself in the most balanced form of *ijtihad*, one which simultaneously requires an open and critical attitude. It bespeaks a readiness to consider the development of universal values and to direct such values towards achieving the ideals of Islam. From the sociological perspective, the ability to adapt to new socio-cultural systems is recognized as one of the determinant aspects of modernization.

### II.2.3. *Religious Interpretation is Not Absolute*

According to Ahmad Dahlan, although religion is from God and is as such absolute, nevertheless, in order to be understood, it has to pass through the medium of human interpretation operating in the complex setting of the social environment.<sup>139</sup> It is in this process of being understood and being put into practice that religion becomes incomplete, and loses its absoluteness. As a result, one cannot infer the eternal character of religion because of man's limited and incomplete understanding of it. Hence, it is a great mistake to attribute absoluteness to any interpretation of religion because the absoluteness of a religion is in religion itself. No understanding of religion is ever absolutely right. Therefore, the Islamic teaching that had been formulated by the 'ulamā' could not be held up as the absolute truth, since no single interpretation is absolute. It is not fixed for all time or for all places.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>138</sup>Dahlan, "Kesatuan Hidup," p. 9.

<sup>139</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Keempat," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 15; *Kesimpoelan Djawaban*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>140</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Kelima," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 16; Mas Mansoer, "Sebab-Sebab Kemunduran Ummat Islam," *Kumpulan Karangan*, p.

The fact that the Muḥammadiyah sometimes changed its views on certain religious issues, is further proof of its willingness to reinterpret. For example, the movement had formerly allowed the practice of *qunūt*,<sup>141</sup> but later banned it after realizing that the ḥadīth in support of this practice was weak. Similarly, fearing the idolization of Ahmad Dahlan, the sources of Muḥammadiyah literature originally forbade the display of his picture on walls; however this decision was later revoked, and people were allowed to hang his picture as a decoration.<sup>142</sup> Every Muslim, abiding by the rules of systematic and methodical enquiry, may have the right to interpret Islamic teaching, but no one can claim to be the only one whose interpretation is correct. A proper understanding of the social aspects of Islam is contingent upon the pursuit of a rational and methodical inquiry. This rational process of inquiry, aimed specifically at reading the true meaning of the text of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, always takes place within the broader context of human inquiry concerning the world in general.

In principle, the Muḥammadiyah leaders were convinced that to understand Islam one needs to draw upon a broad range of knowledge. This was not intended to compartmentalize religious knowledge; rather, it placed it within the context of all scientific theories.<sup>143</sup> Prior to any attempt at understanding Islam, the

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145; S. Sis (pseudonym), "Inilah Sebabnja ! Maka Itoe," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 30 (10 March, 1931), p. 679; idem, "Toentoetlah Igamamoe Islam," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (22-31 December, 1930); Boestami Ibrahim, *Al-Hidajah*, p. 20; Djindar Tamimy, "Agama Islam Menurut", p. 72.

<sup>141</sup>This consists of standing momentarily, during the dawn prayer, after *rukūc* (bending of the body) in the second *rak'ah*, to recite a certain prayer.

<sup>142</sup>For these changes, see *Himpunan Putusan Tarjih*, pp. 281, 313; Djindar Tamimy, "Agama Islam Menurut," pp. 71-72.

<sup>143</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Watawa Shau Bil Haqqi," in *17 Kelompok*, p. 49; Mas Mansoer explained that a broader range of scientific disciplines would be able to reveal the secrets of Islam. With them, the Muslims will know that Islam inspires the emergence of progress and prosperity, and the development of sciences. Mas

framework of these theories should exist, and any understanding of Islamic doctrine should always be in the light of such theories; hence the understanding of Islam is bound to be coherent within such a framework. This framework may be broad or it may be narrow. The broader it is, the more expanded the horizon for the understanding of Islam; the more constrained the framework, on the other hand, the narrower the understanding of Islamic teachings.<sup>144</sup> This idea gained momentum in the application of *ijtihad jamā'ī* which was embodied in the movement's Majlis Tarjih. Although this religious institution, as previously stated, was at first much concerned with solving controversial religious matters, in its later development it also discussed more contemporary matters, whether of a religious or socio-economic nature.

*Religious Pluralism:* Another consequence of the principle of relativity in understanding religion developed by the founders of the Muḥammadiyah was its encouragement of a pluralist attitude within Muslim society. This idea maintained that the ideological and cultural differences within a society should be retained insofar as these differences did not conflict with the basic values and norms held by that society. It also held that culturally diverse groups could live in harmony and that mutual understanding rather than assimilation should be the goal of all. In the 1930s, after the death of Ahmad Dahlan, Mas Mansoer had a strong difference of opinion on various religious matters with Haji Moechtar, the secretary of the Muḥammadiyah. But they still sat together on the leadership board and carried out

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Mansoer, "Bagaimana Kaoem Moeslimin Dapat Bangoen Kembali," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* (1361/1942-1943), p. 189; *Pandji Masjarakat* 1, 5 (15 August, 1959), p. 21.

<sup>144</sup>Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, pp. 16-17.

the programs to which they were committed. It was an example of how different views did not affect the movement's endeavors.<sup>145</sup>

This idea of pluralism so much impressed Sugardo Purbakawatja, one of Ahmad Dahlan's students at the College of Education (*Kweekschool*) in Jetis, Yogyakarta during years 1914-1918, that together with the founder of the movement, he managed to establish certain contacts with the leaders of other religions. By the same token, Ahmad Dahlan did not hesitate to go to church wearing his Islamic ḥajj clothes.<sup>146</sup> Such an attitude made the Dutch think very highly of Ahmad Dahlan,<sup>147</sup> and even the Catholic missionary, Bakker, said that Ahmad Dahlan was a man of tolerance towards the Christians.<sup>148</sup> For this reason, the Dutch colonial government felt no threat from the emergence of the Muḥammadiyah, since they thought that it avoided the tactics of other political movements striving for independence.<sup>149</sup> Despite the general fears of the revolutionary potential of any Islamic movement, the Dutch government permitted the Muḥammadiyah to function so long as it concentrated on its original

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<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>146</sup>"Pendapat Tokoh-Tokoh Nasional," in *Muhammadiyah Setengah Abad, 1912-1962* (Jakarta: Departemen Penerangan R.I., 1963), p. 213.

<sup>147</sup>Mailrapport 195x/22, 1922.

<sup>148</sup>James L. Peacock, "Dahlan and Rasul: Indonesian Muslim Reformers," in A.L. Becker and Aram A. Yengoyan, eds., *The Imagination of Reality: Essays in Southeast Asian Coherence System* (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979), p. 256.

<sup>149</sup>Mailrapport 1782x/14, 1914.

missionary and educational objectives.<sup>150</sup> Thus, the Dutch government considered the Muḥammadiyah not only to be loyal but also "the representative of Islam."<sup>151</sup>

Ahmad Dahlan's views also led to a harmonious relationship with the other contemporary Muslim organizations. With al-Irshād and Persatuan Islam, for instance, the relationship was chiefly based on ideological affinity through which the Muḥammadiyah received support for its own religious ideology and facilitated the training of its preachers.<sup>152</sup> With the Sarekat Islam, the Muḥammadiyah members were able to channel their practical political aspirations.

In sum, openness, tolerance, and pluralism were traits that the Muḥammadiyah leaders of the first half of this century attempted to cultivate in the minds of Muslims, in the hope that a spirit of fairness would be the result. Muslims would come to realize that wrong is wrong though it comes from one's own self, just as truth is truth though it comes from others. Moreover, they warned Muslims not to seek the faults of others and blindly neglect their own.<sup>153</sup> These characteristics were also regarded as the ideal framework on which to build Muslim unity, and the unity of all people. This ideal was expressed at the 24th

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<sup>150</sup>Mailrapport 195x/22, 1922; also Peacock, "Dahlan and Rasul," p. 256.

<sup>151</sup>Mailrapport 524x/27, 1927. An example of the Dutch government's attitude towards the Muḥammadiyah was reflected in the instruction issued by the central government to the local Residents to demonstrate a more sympathetic attitude towards the organization. It started when Haji Fachroedin, the vice-president, was about to visit Minangkabau in 1927. See Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics: the Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971), pp. 86-88.

<sup>152</sup>In *Adil* of 2 September, 1939, the Muḥammadiyah claimed al-Irshād as its teacher. But in its edition of October 7, 1939, this daily clarified that this relationship was not like the relationship between teacher and pupil, but was more functional in nature because in fact the Muḥammadiyah was older than al-Irshād. *Adil* 8, 1 (7 October, 1939), p. 10.

<sup>153</sup>*Kepribadian Muhammadiyah*, p. 29.

congress of 1935, and was aimed at creating a climate which would allow the progress of human life without restricting it with ethnic, religious, and cultural considerations.<sup>154</sup> These attitudes also led the movement to declare its social programs to be non-sectarian.<sup>155</sup> Indeed, when the 21st congress of the Muḥammadiyah decided in 1932 to publish a daily newspaper, it stated that the newspaper would be a forum for the expression of news and ideas irrespective of their source.<sup>156</sup>

The idea of relativity in understanding religion has produced certain characteristics which, from a socio-psychological perspective, indicate a process of change in the ways of perceiving, expressing, and valuing. These characteristics are defined as modes of individual functioning, and a set of dispositions to act in certain ways.<sup>157</sup> They culminate in an "ethos" in the sense in which Weber speaks of "the spirit of Capitalism,"<sup>158</sup> or a kind of mentality.<sup>159</sup> As a spiritual

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<sup>154</sup> *Statuten dan Qa'idah*, p. 68.

<sup>155</sup> *Peringatan Congres*, p. 56.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102. This daily was *Adil*, founded in Solo in 1932. See *Almanak Muhammadiyah* 10 (1352/1933-1934), p. 125. Some examples of this openness may be seen in Soekarno's criticisms of the Muḥammadiyah's slowness in handling changes on certain issues, such as the elimination of the screen which divided women and men sections in public gatherings; his criticisms of the ways how Muslims practiced their religion and his ideas on the separation between religion and state. All of these were published in *Adil* 8, 35 (1 June, 1940), pp. 5-6; 8, 36 (8 June, 1940), pp. 3, 7; 8, 37 (15 June, 1940), pp. 5-6; 8, 38 (22 June, 1940), pp. 1-2; 8, 39 (29 June, 1940), pp. 8-9; 8, 46 (17 August, 1940), pp. 3-4; 8, 48 (31 August, 1940), pp. 1,3-4; and 8, 51 (21 September, 1940), p. 4.

<sup>157</sup> Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, *Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 16.

<sup>158</sup> In this instance Weber dealt with the connection between the influence of certain religious ideas and the rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism on the development of the spirit of modern economic life. Max Weber, *The Protestant*

phenomenon, such an "ethos" can be derived from Islam, a religion which claims to regulate all aspects of worldly life. Thus, one of the Muḥammadiyah leaders suggested that if modernization is stimulated by this "ethos," then Islam must be said to contain within itself the character of modernity, or, at least cannot be accused of harboring any factor which restrains the process of modernization.<sup>160</sup>

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*Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 27.

<sup>159</sup>Robert N. Bellah, "Meaning and Modernization," *Religious Studies* 4 (1968), p. 39.

<sup>160</sup>Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, pp. 5-6.

## CHAPTER III

### INTERPRETATION OF ISLAMIC DOCTRINE FOR SOCIAL REFORM

This chapter focuses on the philosophy of the Muḥammadiyah and in particular its views concerning the relationship between the basic tenets of the Muslim faith and social responsibility, a relationship based on deriving the principles enunciated by the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* regarding social reform. Hence, the chapter discusses: 1) the socio-economic conditions that prevailed in Indonesian society when the Muḥammadiyah first introduced its social programs; 2) the connection between various social ideas and the basic principles of Islam, such as *īmān*, *ṣalāh*, *ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ*, *birr*, as well as the interpretation of certain Qur'ānic verses and ḥadīths which directly relate to social responsibility, such as the injunction on taking care of orphans, and almsgiving; and 3) certain slogans, such as *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy ʿan al-munkar* and *fa-stabiqū al-khayrāt*, which became the mottoes of the movement, and which had important implications for the Muḥammadiyah's social agenda.

#### III.1. The socio-economic context

##### III.1.1. *The Colonial Economic Policies*

Numerous factors lay behind the poor economic conditions affecting the indigenous peoples of Indonesia during the colonial era. In tracing this deterioration, Baardewijk shows that the Cultivation System<sup>1</sup> was a major factor in

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<sup>1</sup>Between 1830 and 1880 Java was subject to a system of administration known as the *Cultuurstelsel* or Cultivation System. It was enforced by the Dutch colonial

destroying the economic potential of rural Javanese society. Indeed, the impact of this system ushered in a period of sustained stagnation in rural Java.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the Dutch also imposed the Land Rent (*Landrente*) System, which required indigenous farmers to pay a monetary tax that was formally linked to the yield of fields planted with food crops.<sup>3</sup> The two systems existed side by side from 1830 to 1880 and though each created its own frame of reference, both systems were actually different forms of commercial exploitation.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, the economic policy aimed at making Java profitable to the Netherlands also encouraged the Dutch colonial government to impose a variety of taxes on the outer islands. In 1908, for instance, the colonial government passed

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government and obliged farmers to reserve part of their land for the production of certain crops specified by the government.

<sup>2</sup>The Cultivation System was essentially a system of state exploitation- a complex whole of statute labor, monetary taxation and taxation in kind that was introduced in order to counter the problems of the colony's finances and the trading relationship with the mother country (the Netherlands). Frans van Baardewijk, *The Cultivation System, Java 1834-1880* (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1993), p. 10. In these terms, it was an outstanding success, producing large quantities of tropical export goods whose sale in Europe provided greater sums of money to help solve Holland's financial problems. R.E. Elson, "Peasant Poverty and Prosperity Under the Cultivation System in Java," in Anne Booth, W.J. O'Malley, and Anna Weidemann, eds., *Indonesian Economic History in the Dutch Colonial Era* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1990), p. 26; for the financial results of the Cultivation System, 1840-1859, see his table 2.1., p. 26.

<sup>3</sup>Under the Land Rent System, farmers were free to decide which crops to cultivate in order to earn the money to pay their taxes. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20. The Land Rent System was first enforced in Java in the Residencies of Banten (West Java) and Kedu (Central Java) in 1812. It was then extended to the rest of Java in 1873, with the exception of the *vorstenlanden* (princely states of Central Java) and the *particuliere landen* (private estates). W.R. Hugenholtz, "The Land Rent Question and its Solution 1850-1920," in Robert Cribb, ed., *The Late Colonial State in Indonesia: Political and Economic Foundations of the Netherlands Indies 1880-1942* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), p. 140.

<sup>4</sup>It was "a classic piece of colonial exploitation," whose guiding principle was that of forcibly increasing the productive capacities of Javanese agriculture for the benefit of the Dutch treasury. Elson, "Peasant Poverty," p. 26.

laws introducing taxation to West Sumatra. The new laws introduced the unwelcome burdens of personal taxation, which in turn led to a major public revolt and dissatisfaction.<sup>5</sup> Although in Java the Cultivation System and the Land Rent System were in fact potential sources of taxation, nevertheless, the taxes on revenue farms, markets (*pasar*) and pawnshops were the severest and most oppressive.<sup>6</sup> The Chinese minority played a major role in collecting these tax revenues for the government. They even made use of revenue farms for their own purposes at the expense of the indigenous people. It was reported that the Chinese collected large amounts of money from taxpayers and paid only a fraction of it to the government. Consequently, there were frequent complaints about the excessive taxes imposed by the Chinese.<sup>7</sup> In fact, it has been shown that the chief beneficiaries of the Cultivation System were a small number of Chinese entrepreneurs.<sup>8</sup> Not surprisingly, the opposition of the indigenous people to the tax system was not only directed at the revenue system itself, which the Dutch colonial government promulgated, but also at the Chinese who exploited the people through the system.

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<sup>5</sup>The new laws replaced the Forced Delivery System, under which the farmers in the territory were obliged to cultivate and deliver coffee at low, fixed prices to government warehouses. Ken Young, *Islamic Peasants and the State: The 1908 Anti-Tax Rebellion in West Sumatra* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1994), pp. 1, 33.

<sup>6</sup>L. Vitalis, "Effect of the Revenue Farming System," in M.R. Fernando and David Bulbeck, eds., *Chinese Economic Activity in Netherlands India: Selected Translations from the Dutch* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1992), p. 26.

<sup>7</sup>Anonymous contributors, "Chinese Control over the Rural Trade in Java in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in Fernando and Bulbeck, eds., *Chinese Economic Activity in Netherlands India*, p. 19; Vitalis, "Effect of the Revenues," pp. 28-42.

<sup>8</sup>M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (London: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 116-117.

The position of the Chinese community in the colonial economic system led to a "three-tiered" structure in which the upper level of business was dominated by the Europeans, and the middle level by the Chinese, while the indigenous population was restricted to the margins of petty trade.<sup>9</sup> Any effort exerted by indigenous traders for the sake of entrepreneurial advancement was firmly discouraged by the workings of the system. Moreover, adapting themselves to the colonial economic policy, the Chinese made use of certain economic opportunities to strengthen their economic position, with the result of further increasing the gap between them and the indigenous people.<sup>10</sup> The mutually beneficial relationship between the Dutch and the Chinese made the first tolerate whatever the second did in the collection of taxes.<sup>11</sup> This situation led to the emergence of certain patterns of business behavior by the Chinese which incited the wrath of indigenous entrepreneurs. Furthermore, their privileged status in the economic sector, for over a century of Dutch colonial rule, helped the Chinese to obtain an almost

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<sup>9</sup>Ruth McVey, "The Materialization of the Southeast Asian Entrepreneur," in her *Southeast Asian Capitalists* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1992), p. 19.

<sup>10</sup>The Chinese economic activities were historically formed by business-political relations. In the last decades of the twentieth century this relationship, which McVey discussed in her *Southeast Asian Capitalists*, has consisted of two principal components: the state (that is, the bureaucracy and political powerholders) and the Chinese groups. In it, the Chinese entrepreneurs depended on the bureaucrats for political protection while being economically bled by state officials. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-19.

<sup>11</sup>This situation can be illustrated by a nineteenth-century case, which was described in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie* in the 1850s. As traders and money-lenders, the Chinese penetrated deep into the villages despite official restrictions and gathered agricultural products both for sale in the coastal towns and for export. The means by which the Chinese traders acquired such products were often detrimental to the interests of the indigenous farmers who succumbed to small temptations. Nevertheless, the Dutch colonial administration turned a blind eye to such malpractices, because the Chinese were indispensable for revenue farming. See Anonymous contributors, "Chinese Control," p. 19.

monopolistic position in trade and distribution to the exclusion of native Indonesians.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the establishment of Sarekat Islam was, among other reasons, stimulated by the monopoly of the Chinese traders over certain ingredients of *batik* manufacture. Their economic domination over the course of time created much anti-Chinese sentiment, which in 1918 flamed the social riot in Kudus.<sup>13</sup>

The impact of the Cultivation System on the peasantry's standard of living<sup>14</sup> contributed to the process of urbanization. There are two forces, according to Broek's analysis, involved in the urbanization process: the "pull" towards the new place and the "push" from the original one. In other words, there is a connection and a comparison between the conditions under which one lives in one's original village and the improvement which one expects from moving to a

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<sup>12</sup>Selosoemardjan, *Social Changes in Jogjakarta* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 39.

<sup>13</sup>Initiated by the indigenous populace, most of which was Muslim, the cause of the riot seems to have been the humiliation of a Muslim by a Chinese. However, the Chinese sources mentioned that the riot was caused by business competition between Chinese and Muslim traders. This source said that since 1912, the economic fortunes of the Muslims were on the decline. Many Muslims were defeated in business competition and many of the laborers who had formerly worked in Muslim factories moved to Chinese-owned ones. Hence, it was the issue of labor desertion that made some *hājjs* provoke the people against the Chinese. Tan Boen Kim, *Peroesoehan di Koedoes: Soeatoe Tjerita jang Betoel telah Terdjadi di Djawa Tenga pada Waktoe jang belon Sabrapa Lama* (Batavia: Drukkerij Goan Hong & Co, 1920), pp. 4-27. See also *De Locomotief* (1 November 1918), pp. 1-2; Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Sarekat Islam Lokal*, Penerbitan Sumber-Sumber Sejarah no. 7 (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1975), pp.20-22.

<sup>14</sup>G.H. van Soest, a liberal opponent of the Cultivation System had said that "instead of promoting the prosperity of the Javanese, the Cultivation System unflinchingly brought them to ruin; after twenty years of operation, it presented a scene of unparalleled wretchedness and misery on the beautiful island of Java." G.H. van Soest, *Geschiedenis van het Kultuurstelsel*, vol. 3 (Rotterdam: Nijgh, 1869-1871), p. 223.

new town.<sup>15</sup> Van Niel demonstrates that in the period 1837-1851, there were substantial population movements as villagers attempted to avoid labor burdens and a lack of profit by moving away from agricultural lands into towns and larger cities, and out of the interior towards the coast.<sup>16</sup> This movement witnessed an increase from the 1870s onwards, especially in central and east Java where the land frontier was rapidly closing, landlessness increasing and many peasants being forced to seek wage labor away from the land.<sup>17</sup> Many migrants came for only a few months of the year, particularly in the months preceding the annual harvest when food and cash resources in the rural areas were often at desperately low levels. Others sought work in the towns in order to pay land taxes or settle debts with local traders and moneylenders.<sup>18</sup> Overall, people left their villages with the aim of living as cheaply as possible in the towns, and taking whatever work they

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<sup>15</sup>Jan O.M. Broek, *Economic Development of the Netherlands Indies* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1971), p. 19. Javanese towns such as Batavia in West Java, Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Semarang in Central Java and Surabaya in East Java underwent considerable changes from the 1830s onwards as Dutch colonial interests extended their control over the land and people. These towns were predominantly commercial and administrative centers coping with growing industrialization. John Ingelson, *In Search of Justice: Workers and Unions in Colonial Java, 1908-1926* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 13,15.

<sup>16</sup>Robert van Niel, "Measurement of Change Under the Cultivation System in Java, 1837-1851," *Indonesia* 14 (October 1972), pp. 102-104. The deteriorating economic situation afflicting Java in that period was also characterized by the beginning of emigration, both temporary and permanent, of the desperate Javanese to Malaya, Suriname and New Caledonia, as well as British North Borneo, Serawak and Kucing. Craig A. Lockard, "The Javanese as Emigrant: Observations on the Development of Javanese Settlements Overseas," *Indonesia* 11 (1971), p. 45. For detailed information on Javanese laborers in British North Borneo, Serawak and Kucing, see K.G. Tregonning, *Under Chartered Company Rule* (Singapore: University of Malaya, 1958), pp. 142-154.

<sup>17</sup>The Siauw Giap, "Urbanisatieproblemen in Indonesie," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-,Land- en Volkenkunde* 115 (1959), pp. 249-276.

<sup>18</sup>*Onderzoek naar de Mindere Welvaart der Inlandsche Bevolking op Java en Madoera*, part 6d (Batavia, 1912), pp. 1-17. See also Ingelson, *In Search of Justice*, p. 16.

could find until they had gained what they had set out to earn. The growing industrial and commercial sectors in the colonial cities in Java, which engaged wage-labor, were expected to answer their needs.<sup>19</sup> Most of these people obtained jobs which required only limited skills and paid low daily or hourly wages with no expectation of more than a few days' work at a time.<sup>20</sup> All of this clearly indicates that people who moved to the towns on a seasonal basis or as permanent migrants lacked the skills which would have enabled them to take any but the lowest paid labor jobs, or none at all.

In the early twentieth century, the economic conditions were not much different from the preceding decades. Moreover, these conditions were exacerbated by the economic consequences of the First World War.<sup>21</sup> Some Muslim leaders put the economic consequences of the war on the same plane as

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<sup>19</sup>Some of these enterprises were state-owned, while most were under private-foreign ownership, and all were managed by Europeans. Some others were in the hand of indigenous people, as was mostly case with the *batik* industry in Central Java, and were Chinese-owned, such as the cigarette industry, much of the furniture-manufacturing, and some other consumer industries. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>20</sup>Skilled workers such as clerical and administrative personnel, teachers, mechanics, carpenters, engine drivers and train conductors, were only a minority of the urban wage-labor force. They were the better paid and had the most job security, often with permanent employment. Only those who possessed the right lineage (through being born into a family with some claim to *priyayi* status) or family connections (with enough money or access to patronage to be able to afford the Dutch language schools) were able to obtain these prestigious posts. This was a small, exclusive group, which in 1930 numbered only 43,512, or 0.13 per cent of the native population in Java and Madura. *Ibid.*, pp. 18,20.

<sup>21</sup>The Indonesian population experienced the ups and downs of the Western economic sector in the Netherlands Indies, as well as the fluctuations in the world economy. During the First World War, for example, government expenditures for the armed forces put a severe strain on the colonial budget. Kees van Dijk, "The Threefold Suppression of the Javanese: The Fight Against Capitalism, the Colonial State, and the Traditional Rulers," in Robert Cribb, ed., *The Late Colonial State*, p. 267.

those following natural disasters, such as the plague, earthquakes and floods.<sup>22</sup> Oddly, people attributed even these disasters to Dutch colonialism, which was blamed for the disruption of a peaceful, prosperous society, where life had once been pleasant and easy-going. The comparison between the periods before and after the Dutch invasion was expressed in the Muslim nationalist organ, *Islam Bergerak*,<sup>23</sup> which hotly declared that only a century before, Indonesia had been a high-ranking society, whereas now its people were suffering and had become inferior in their own country.<sup>24</sup> They were treated as less than human and were constantly humiliated and abused. This issue was also discussed by the Muḥammadiyah in the later years of the 1920s. Regretting the poor social conditions endured by the Indonesian people, the movement asserted that in order to restore them to full and "normal human beings," access to knowledge had to be provided.<sup>25</sup>

Another consequence of the war was that international sea traffic had been disrupted, imports had become more expensive and exports had fallen drastically. Dutch plantations and companies reacted to the latter by reducing wages and lowering the compensation for the lands they used.<sup>26</sup> Thus, the living conditions of

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<sup>22</sup>*Islam Bergerak* (20 May 1918).

<sup>23</sup>*Islam Bergerak*, issued three times a month, was founded in Solo in 1916 by Sarekat Islam. Among its editors were Haji Misbach and Haji Fachrodin. In late 1922, when Haji Misbach was released from jail, Haji Fachrodin together with some other editors, who held joint membership in the Muḥammadiyah and the SI, left the editorial board of the magazine as a result of a dispute with Haji Misbach. M. Junus Anies, *H. Fachrodin* (Jogjakarta: Persatuan, 1969), pp. 18-19.

<sup>24</sup>*Islam Bergerak* (20 November 1918). Van Dijk, "The Threefold Suppression," pp. 271-272.

<sup>25</sup>*Panggoegahing Islam* (Soerakarta: Pimpinan Moehammadijah Soerakarta, Bagian Taman Poestaka, 1928), pp. 3-5.

<sup>26</sup>Van Dijk, "The Threefold Suppression," p. 267.

most urban Indonesians declined sharply during and immediately after the war, as wages failed to keep pace with the huge increase in the cost of living between 1918 and 1920. This overall inflation was compounded by massive rise in the price of rice in 1919 and 1920.<sup>27</sup> The end of the war did not bring an end to the economic problems of the Indonesian populace. Rather, these problems were worsened by a rapidly multiplying population.<sup>28</sup> The enormous increase in the population affected the welfare problem. In a society where no welfare safety net was provided by the state, the only social security for the majority of people was to be found in their own hands.<sup>29</sup> And although this deteriorating social condition was due to the systematic colonial exploitation of the people, the traditional Javanese rulers were depicted as participants in this lamentable status quo. In fact,

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<sup>27</sup>The index price of rice jumped from 140.5 in 1919 to 228.2 in 1920 (on a base of 100 in 1913) and remained at the high level of 191.6 throughout 1921. W.M.F. Mansvelt and P. Creutzberg, "Rice Price," *Changing Economy in Indonesia*, vol. 4 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), pp. 45-46. This sudden surge in the price of rice had a disastrous impact on urban wage earners who had to buy their rice in the markets and who were already suffering from the impact of post-war inflation. For many decades, Java had been dependent on rice imports for feeding its expanding population. Thus, when crops in the major rice exporting countries of Burma and Thailand failed in 1919 and 1920, the shortage of rice in Java became severe. Ingleson, *In Search of Justice*, p. 95.

<sup>28</sup>The 1845 census of Java estimated that the island held 9.5 million inhabitants. Later, the Netherlands Indies annual statistical reports began showing a rapid increase from 1860 onwards. Even at that time, Java's indigenous population was 12.5 million; by 1930 it had increased to almost 41 million, while in 1940, it was estimated at 46 million. J.H. Boeke, *Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies: as Exemplified by Indonesia* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953), p. 170.

<sup>29</sup>In the case of immigrants from villages to towns in early twentieth century Indonesia, Ingleson shows that ethnic and kinship ties, mutual benefit associations and the sense of community in the *kampung*s (villages) where they lived, formed the only social security network for the urban majority. Ingleson, *In Search of Justice*, p. 17.

these rulers were unable to do anything to reduce the burden of the people.<sup>30</sup> This is the reason that people believed that the creation of a better life for the natives was not to be expected from either the colonial government or the traditional indigenous rulers.

### III.1.2. *The Response of Sarekat Islam and the Muḥammadiyah.*

There were, indeed, other factors which gave rise to a plethora of crucial social problems; these were not only due to the economic oppression of the poor but also to the people's lack of education, which had contributed greatly to their subordinate position in society. This situation may be regarded as the crucible out of which emerged the various forms of organized activity such as social and reform movements, revolutions, and calls for a new moral order. The establishment of organized movements such as Sarekat Islam and the Muḥammadiyah in the early twentieth century was one of the alternatives through which people expressed their concern about their plight.

These two movements might be regarded as having had two different methods of expressing their socio-economic ideas: the "revolutionary" strategies of Sarekat Islam and the "reformist" ones of the Muḥammadiyah. Thus, during the 1910s and 1920s Sarekat Islam emerged as the loudest voice of resistance to the repressive Dutch regime. The movement demanded an end to the social and economic oppression of the Dutch and declared the revitalization of Islam as a political power to be the key to achieving this purpose. This, in turn, led Sarekat

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<sup>30</sup>They even contributed to the misery of the common people by adding their own demands for money and labor in order to fill the Javanese treasury. *Islam Bergerak* (1 October, 1918); van Dijk, "The Threefold Suppression," p. 272.

Islam, after its congress in 1917, to express a more revolutionary tendency,<sup>31</sup> emphatically proclaiming war against the political and economic domination of the West.<sup>32</sup> Rallies and strikes became common means of expressing the discontent of the movement with the government's handling of economic policy,<sup>33</sup> and therefore soon became the most characteristic feature of the Sarekat Islam movement. In late 1918 and all through the following year, the "economic struggle" - the organization of workers into trade unions and the launching of strikes - was aimed at protecting native workers, who were becoming increasingly restless because of inflation and declining wages while Dutch businesses were making huge profits.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the radical method endorsed by Sarekat Islam during this period reflected an "uncompromising" policy not only towards the Dutch but also towards its own allies, who did not agree with its policy.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>At its first congress in 1913, Tjokroaminoto was reported to have said that Sarekat Islam was loyal to and satisfied with the Netherlands. J. Th. Petrus Blumberger, *De Nationalistische Beweging in Nederlandsch-Indie* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1931), p. 59.

<sup>32</sup>At its third congress in 1918, Sarekat Islam showed its Marxist and socialist tendency, and singled out capitalism as the common and supreme enemy of the people. In addition, it declared that the Dutch colonial government and capitalism were one and the same. *P.S.I.I. Dari Tahun ke Tahun* (Djakarta: Departemen Penerangan & Propaganda P.S.I.I., 1952), pp. 4-5; Amry Vandenbosch, *The Dutch East Indies: Its Government, Problems, and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), p. 318.

<sup>33</sup>It was believed that strikes were also inspired by the religious obligation to fight oppression. They were the only weapon the laborers and poor farmers had to protest against the treatment they received, and to end a situation in which they were exploited. *Islam Bergerak* (1 September, 1918).

<sup>34</sup>Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 49, 109.

<sup>35</sup>Some radical SI leaders accused the Muḥammadiyah of manipulating Islamic teachings to preach servitude to fellow humans who did not like Islam, and that it did not feel the need to organize against enemies who hindered the progress of Islam. Haji Misbach even called the Muḥammadiyah "the Javanese capitalists",

Although Sarekat Islam and the Muḥammadiyah confronted contemporary problems in different ways, both maintained a deep conviction that the teachings of Islam exhort Muslims to improve their lot through action. This similarity encouraged some prominent leaders of the Muḥammadiyah to join Sarekat Islam.<sup>36</sup> Ahmad Dahlan himself, even while serving as the president of the Muḥammadiyah in 1913, sat as one of the commissioners of the Central Committee of Sarekat Islam. Furthermore, during the period 1914-1917 he was the sole adviser to the movement. Later, after a major reshuffling of SI's central committee following the latter organization's 1919 congress, Ahmad Dahlan held the same position as adviser together with Djojosoediro (an editor of *Neratja* in Batavia).<sup>37</sup> Like Ahmad Dahlan, another prominent leader of the Muḥammadiyah, Haji Fachrodin, was also active in Sarekat Islam since the early days of its establishment. The latter was in charge of helping those faced with lawsuits, and campaigned for the elimination of

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and *munāfiq* (hypocrite). In the eyes of the radicalists, both terms denoted dangerous enemies, the latter being regarded as worse and more dangerous than the first. *Islam Bergerak* (10 and 20 March 1922), (10 April 1922), and (20 November 1922). Based on these accusations Haji Ahmad Dahlan, Haji Fachrodin, and Haji Soedja<sup>c</sup> (of the Muḥammadiyah's central leadership in Yogyakarta), Harsosoemekso and Moechtar Boechori (of the Muḥammadiyah's branch in Soerakarta) resigned from the membership of *Islam Bergerak* and *Medan Moeslimin*. See *Islam Bergerak* (10 November, 1922); Anies, *H. Fachrodin*, pp. 18-19; Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, pp. 259-260.

<sup>36</sup>Ahmad Dahlan even asked his followers to join every possible association that could provide them with experience and help them to find solutions to the problems of their people. Anies, *H. Fachrodin*, p. 17. Besides Ahmad Dahlan, there were other leaders of the first generation who were active in Sarekat Islam and who later led the Muḥammadiyah, such as Haji Fachrodin, a member of the central leadership of the Muḥammadiyah from 1915-1929; Haji Mas Mansoer who was active in SI since 1915 and leader of the Muḥammadiyah from 1937-1943; and Ki Bagus Hadikusumo who was one of the leaders of SI Yogyakarta in 1913 and who led the Muḥammadiyah from 1944-1952. See *Orang Indonesia Jang Terkemoeka di Djawa* (Gunseikanbu, 2604/1944), pp. 435, 438; "Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (1890-1954)," *Suluh Pendidikan Muhammadiyah* 1, 3 (September 1954), p. 5; Junus Anies, *Kenalilah Pemimpin Anda* (Yogyakarta: P.P. Muhammadiyah, Majlis Pustaka, n.d.), pp. 5-28; idem, *H. Fachrodin*, pp. 17-25.

<sup>37</sup>Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, pp. 51,75, and 114-115.

oppression.<sup>38</sup> Together with some other leaders of the Muḥammadiyah, he expressed his ideas on the social and religious problems of the time in the journals *Islam Bergerak* and *Medan Moeslimin*.<sup>39</sup> *Islam Bergerak* often featured articles speaking of the absolute necessity of education for Muslims, a major concern of the Muḥammadiyah. It was only in an educational institution that the true meaning of Islam, a matter that had been neglected thus far by most Islamic leaders, could be rendered, it declared. Education was therefore the most important means of making people realize that Islam was a dynamic religion.<sup>40</sup> However, except for some religious gatherings or *tablīgh*, Sarekat Islam did not promote the cause of education.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>He, for example, criticized the improper way of planting sugar cane, which caused great suffering to the peasants. This critique was published in a socio-political journal, *Srie Diponegoro*, in 1919. As a result of this, he was accused of inciting people to revolt against the government and was punished with three months in jail or a £ 300 fine. He chose to pay the fine. Anies, *H. Fachrodin*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>39</sup>*Medan Moeslimin* (founded in 1915 in Solo), and *Islam Bergerak* were affiliated with Sarekat Islam. *Islam Bergerak* was a medium through which Islam was widely discussed, while *Medan Moeslimin* served to voice the political concerns of Muslims throughout the Dutch East Indies. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>40</sup>Some matters illustrated in the journal have a certain resemblance to ideas propagated by the Muḥammadiyah. The journal also emphasized the importance of using reason instead of *taqlīd* in understanding Islamic teachings. These similarities were due to the presence of editorial members who, before 1922, were mostly Muḥammadiyah members. They virtually dominated the editorial board. *Islam Bergerak* (10 May, 1918); Anies, *H. Fachrodin*, p. 19.

<sup>41</sup>As an organization, Sarekat Islam was divided into central and local leadership units. At the first SI congress in 1913, the central committee of the SI was seated in Surakarta. Under its command came three committees representing the departments of East, Central, and West Java. All SI branches were formally under the command of one of these three committees. However, at the second congress in 1914, the three committees for the departments of East, Central, and West Java were abolished and all the local SIs came under the direct command of the Centraal Sarekat Islam or Centre of Sarekat Islam (CSI). Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, pp. 50, and 73; *P.S.I.I. Dari Tahun ke Tahun*, p. 2. As the central board of leadership, the CSI did not concern itself with the membership but directed its

The cooperation between Central Sarekat Islam (CSI) and the Muḥammadiyah's central leadership reached its peak with the pact of 1920, in which the CSI committed itself to politics while the Muḥammadiyah chose to concentrate on the religious, educational, and social fields.<sup>42</sup> For the Muḥammadiyah, this division of duties confirmed its commitment to the socio-economic welfare of the people, while preserving its cooperation with CSI as a means of expressing its religious and political concerns. The intention to remove the social and economic burdens of the people occupied a central place in both CSI and Muḥammadiyah ideology; however, it was undeniable that, from the religious point of view, the Muḥammadiyah had to confront the ideas of certain groups within the CSI who had a different ideological orientation and a different approach towards alleviating social and economic hardships.<sup>43</sup> In the meantime, an ideological feud between Islamism and communism was growing within the CSI. In this feud, the Muḥammadiyah soon emerged as a strong, Islamic force capable of dislodging the communists from the CSI's ranks. This was eventually achieved

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efforts towards solving national issues with the colonial government through parliamentary action, and encouraging the economic development of Indonesians. On the other hand, the local SIs, which became a place for the masses, established cooperatives for various economic functions, and organized activities to protect the people from the unjust treatment of local government officials, who were often on the side of interest groups benefiting from colonial policies. Kartodirdjo, *Sarekat Islam Lokal*, p. 10; William A. Oates, "The Afdeeling B: An Indonesian Case Study," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 9, 1 (1968), p. 109.

<sup>42</sup>The CSI-Muḥammadiyah pact was discussed in *Bintang Islam* (10 June, 1927).

<sup>43</sup>The Red-SI, which advocated revolutionary means for liberating people from colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism, strongly opposed the policy adopted by the Muḥammadiyah. The former in fact accused the Muḥammadiyah of being foreign agents and the right-hand of the enemies of Indonesian nationalist movements. *Boeah Congres Moehammadijah Seperempat Abad* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah, 1936), p. 40.

at the latter organization's congress of 1923.<sup>44</sup> The Muḥammadiyah then began to expand its activities outside the residency of Yogyakarta.<sup>45</sup> Soon afterward branches were established in Surabaya, Madiun, Garut, and elsewhere. Furthermore, in some places such as Kepanjen, Kediri, and Pekalongan, the Muḥammadiyah was portrayed as "the bulwark of the SI," as it often organized rallies together with local SI members.<sup>46</sup> The Muḥammadiyah also continued to support the CSI in its campaign against "Red" SI members, at a time when some other religious officials, 'ulamā', and *kiyai* either stayed away from the CSI or joined other organizations. When the CSI began to decline in the middle of 1924, it received financial and organizational support from the Muḥammadiyah.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>In 1923, the CSI congress was held in Madiun where two important decisions were taken: first, the SI was to become Partai Sarekat Islam (PSI) of Hindia Timoer (East India), and second, "party discipline" was approved after having been debated since 1921. This party discipline was aimed at eliminating the communist element in the CSI. *P.S.I.I. dari Tahun ke Tahun*, pp. 6-7; Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto Hidup dan Perdjuangannya* (Djakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1952), pp. 129-134.

<sup>45</sup>The Muḥammadiyah revised its statutes and expanded its activities beyond the residency of Yogyakarta after having won a concession from the government to do so. The government's decision was announced in the Gouvernement Besluiten no. 40, 16 August 1920, allowing the Muḥammadiyah to expand to all of Java, and no. 38, 2 September 1921 to the rest of Indonesia. See *Statuten dan Qa'idah Moehammadijah* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomite Congres Moehammadijah, 1935), pp. 10, 18-19.

<sup>46</sup>*Islam Bergerak* (10 December, 1921); *Soewara Moehammadijah* 3, 1 (1 January, 1922), pp. 15-16.

<sup>47</sup>During 1924, the CSI had no organization, no news organ, no administration, and no office. Its leader, Tjokroaminoto, had to close his headquarters in Kedungjati by the end of 1923 due to his financial situation. He eventually settled down in Kauman, Yogyakarta, by the middle of 1924. As such, PSI became almost totally dependent on the Muḥammadiyah for its survival. Thus, the CSI had virtually transformed itself into a political arm of the Muḥammadiyah. Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, pp. 243-244.

However, the decision of "non-cooperation" with the Dutch colonial government, which was issued at the Partai Sarekat Islam (PSI) congress of 1924,<sup>48</sup> affected the relationship of the Muḥammadiyah with the SI. At first, the "non-cooperation" stance was limited to opposing any political council created by the Dutch as a representative institution, but it gradually began to oppose all aspects of colonial culture.<sup>49</sup> This attitude divided the organization. Those who were in favor of cooperation with the government were expelled from the PSI. Consequently, at the PSI congress of 1926 in Pekalongan, which again resorted to a second "party discipline" initiative, Muḥammadiyah members were forced out of the organization. Haji Fachrodin, who was also active in the PSI, left this organization for the Muḥammadiyah.<sup>50</sup> Responding to the "party discipline" of the PSI, the Muḥammadiyah stated that the real problem was not "cooperation" or "non-cooperation," but rather the sense of responsibility amongst the existing organizations. Each socio-political organization should focus on improving the

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<sup>48</sup>*P.S.I.I. dari Tahun ke Tahun*, p. 8.

<sup>49</sup>This stance was expressed in the *Hijrah* attitude, a policy of self-help and non-cooperation towards the government. The policy was made known in the form of a public announcement, issued in 1930. Harsono Tjokroaminoto, *P.S.I.I. Bergerak Terus* (Jokjakarta: Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia, Departemen Penerangan/Propaganda, 1950), pp. 28-32; Timur Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement: Its Contribution to Indonesian Nationalism" (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1959), p. 124.

<sup>50</sup>The issue of whether to adopt "cooperation" or "non-cooperation" became a subject of unending debate among the members of the PSI. After the Muḥammadiyah withdrew from this organization, a new conflict arose between the factions defending the political "non-cooperation", led by Abikusno, and the "cooperation" stance, led by Haji Agoes Salim. This dispute led to Haji Agoes Salim's decision to leave the party. *P.S.I.I. dari Tahun ke Tahun*, p. 11; Anies, *Haji Fachrodin*, p. 20; idem, *Pemandangan Agama Islam dan Kaoem Moeslimin* (Djokjakarta: P.B. Moehammadijah, Bahagian Taman Poestaka, 1928), p. 53. The split between the PSI and the Muḥammadiyah was seen by some people as the result of the "infiltration" of the colonial government into the PSI. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, p. 118.

socio-economic conditions of Indonesians, it declared, instead of indulging in internal squabbles. Thus, even though the Muḥammadiyah appreciated the movements favoring political "non-cooperation," it considered an active social development program no less important, even though it was less political. In fact, for it, the alleviation of misery and suffering was on a higher plane than political activism, as it fulfilled some of the basic religious duties incumbent upon Muslims.<sup>51</sup>

### III.2. Islamic Doctrine and Social Reforms

The Muḥammadiyah ideology was greatly influenced by the discourse and actions of its leaders, as well as by the socio-economic and political contexts in which it operated. Its ideological orientation was principally derived from religious doctrines justifying its social objectives. Subsequently, it created a set of alternatives dealing with the policies and practical operation of the movement. The role of Ahmad Dahlan was undeniably crucial in forming the Muḥammadiyah's social ideology.

Ahmad Dahlan explored many areas of religious thought in order to provide a theological basis for social reform and welfare. In *17 Kelompok Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'ān Ajaran K.H.A. Dahlan* (Teaching of Ahmad Dahlan on 17 groups of Qur'ānic Verses),<sup>52</sup> we find his principal ideas on social reform. In this work the elements of social responsibility are described alongside the basic aspects of

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<sup>51</sup>*Boeah Congres Mochammadijah Seperempat Abad*, p. 42.

<sup>52</sup>These selected verses of the Qur'ān were edited by one of his students, Hadjid. The editor argued that these verses were the most important parts of the Qur'ān, and ought to be taught and implemented. Hadjid, ed., *17 Kelompok Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an Ajaran K.H.A. Dahlan*, p. 2.

Islamic teachings. The former are identified as the indicators of *īmān*, the manifestations of *ṣalāh*, and the core of the *ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ*.<sup>53</sup> By equating social responsibility with religious duty, Ahmad Dahlan emphasized the human values underlying the basic beliefs and rituals in Islam. Some of his pupils later translated these ideas into action in the various branches of the Muḥammadiyah, as well as disseminating them in official publications.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-21, 32.

<sup>54</sup>Haji Hadjid, Hadji Soedja<sup>c</sup>, Hadji Fachrodin, and Ki Bagus Hadikusumo were among those who had direct contact with Ahmad Dahlan, and who published his ideas. Hadjid compiled these into two important volumes, *Falsafah Ajaran K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* and *17 Kelompok Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an: Ajaran KHA Dahlan*. Moreover, Soedja<sup>c</sup> expressed ideas akin to Ahmad Dahlan's in the official publications of the movement, and in his *Muhammadiyah dan Pendidirinya*, which was recently (1989) published by the central leadership of the Muḥammadiyah. Fachrodin, whose prolific writings were compared to Mas Mansoer's before independence, wrote in various newspapers, mostly in editorials, when he and Dahlan were active in Sarekat Islam. Furthermore, his *Tafsir Surat Ichlas* seemed to provide principles of social responsibility. Hadikusumo was also a prolific author. His *Poestaka Ihsan* discussed the social ethics which should be held by leaders. All of his works were published during the period 1924-1939. And, although Mas Mansoer did not have the same experience as these four leaders of the Muḥammadiyah in their intellectual relationship with Ahmad Dahlan, he often discussed ideas with him. Both Dahlan and Mansoer provided a stable foundation for the organizational orientation of the Muḥammadiyah during the periods 1912-1923 and 1937-1943 respectively, and directed the movement's efforts towards the socio-religious field. There was a sharpening of objectives, in which the leaders took on the role of "reformers" who wanted the movement to be governed by rules, policies, and tactics. In this sense, the ideas of Ahmad Dahlan and some other leaders of the Muḥammadiyah reflected the needs of the movement, and were acceptable to the organization, and their thinking ultimately became synonymous with the Muḥammadiyah's thinking, at least during their periods of leadership. Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements," in Alfred McClung Lee, ed., *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1955), p. 203. For examples of the ideas published by those leaders, see *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (22-31 December 1930), pp. 587-590; *Adil* 1, 26 (31 October 1932), 1, 27 (1 November 1932), 1, 32 (7 November 1932), 1, 33 (8 November 1932), 1, 42 (18 November 1932), and 1, 43 (19 November 1932); *Orang Indonesia Jang Terkemoeka*, pp. 434, 438; Anies, *Kenalilah Pemimpin Anda*, pp. 6-8, 14-28; idem, *H. Fachrodin*, pp. 14-43. "Ki Bagus Hadikusumo," pp. 4-5.

### III.2.1. *Īmān and Social Responsibility*

Ahmad Dahlan defined *īmān* as devoting one's soul, emotions and properties to the way of God. This was what Dahlan meant by being "put to the test."<sup>55</sup> Interpreting verse 9:44 of the Qur'ān, he declared that *īmān* should create emotions, ideas, wishes, good behavior, and any other virtue which might encourage a believer to act rightly. Indeed, such was the faith that was planted in the hearts of the Prophet and his Companions that they collectively sought to establish a new social order. Ahmad Dahlan began calling upon people to take this true faith as an example, because he was convinced that the faith of his day needed much improvement. Comparison between the two indicated to him that the faith of the Prophet's era was perfect (*kāmil*), whereas that of his own period was imperfect (*nāqiṣ*).<sup>56</sup> The social aspect of faith was, therefore, closely related to the meaning of *ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ*, *birr*, *khayr*, a relationship which was clearly expressed in the formulas *al-amr bi al-maʿrūf wa al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, and *fastabiqū al-khayrāt*.

*Spending one's wealth in the way of Allāh*: The correlation between faith and good action culminates in the endeavor of spending one's property in the way of God.<sup>57</sup> For the Muḥammadīyah leaders, this consisted of directing resources towards improving the social welfare of the people, many of whom were poor and lacking in the basic necessities of life. The socio-economic deterioration of the Indonesian populace in general and Indonesian Muslims in particular was especially conspicuous in the early twentieth century.<sup>58</sup> Mas Mansoer said that

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<sup>55</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Iman," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, p. 36.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 37-39.

<sup>57</sup>Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah*, p. 13.

<sup>58</sup>The conditions were described by Mas Mansoer as having been foretold of the Muslim people in a prophetic tradition. He quoted the Prophet: "There will be

within the Muslim community, this deterioration was caused by weak *īmān*, ignorance, selfish leadership, and poor facilities, all of which prevented Muslims from improving their religious practices and knowledge.<sup>59</sup> These conditions not only encouraged outsiders to show contempt for Islam<sup>60</sup> but also compelled Muslims to accept their miserable living conditions; an act which is actually forbidden by their religion.<sup>61</sup> Thus, to escape from this undesirable situation, according to Mas Mansoer, Muslims had to return to the true spirit of Qurʾānic injunctions, implement them in their daily lives, utilize material wealth for the public welfare, and encourage cooperation between ʿulamāʾ and intellectuals for the benefit of religion, community and nation.<sup>62</sup>

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people from all of directions circling you like people gathering before their food. The Companions asked: Oh Prophet, will we be in the minority at the time? He said: at the time you will be many but weak like foam, ..... ." Originally, this ḥadīth was printed in *Almanak Muhammadijah* (1361/1942-1943). Mas Mansoer, "Bagaimana Kaum Muslimin Dapat Bangun Kembali," *Pandji Masjarakat* 1, 5 (15 August, 1959), pp. 7, 21.

<sup>59</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Sebab-sebab kemunduran ummat Islam," in his *Kumpulan Karangan Tersebar* (Yogyakarta: Persatuan, 1992), pp. 145-146.

<sup>60</sup>The fortnightly magazine of the Muḥammadiyah branch at Betawi issued a communique to protest Sitti Soemandari's articles published in the Dutch monthly *Bangoen*, nos. 8 and 9 (15 October and 1 November 1937), which undermined the Prophet Muḥammad. The articles were issued to support the *Huwelijksordonnantie* (marriage ordinance) decreed by the colonial government. *Pantjaran Amal* 2, 22 (25 November 1937), pp. 491-492. In the same year, a "Motie dari Badan Pertahanan Islam" (motion from the committee of Islamic defense) was launched in Medan, Sumatra, to protest against Rombach's book, *Landen en Volken der Vreemde Werelddeelen in Woord en Beeld*, which described the Prophet as an unjust king of the Middle Ages. *Pantjaran Amal* 2, 20 (25 October 1937), pp. 448-449. Early in 1918, the Muḥammadiyah was involved in establishing "Tentara Kandjeng Nabi Muhammad" (Army of the Prophet Muhammad) in reaction to an article in *Djawi Hisworo*, a Javanese daily published in Solo, which insulted the Prophet by calling him a "drunkard" and an "opium smoker". *Neratja* (13 February, 1918).

<sup>61</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Sebab-sebab kemiskinan raʿjat Islam Indonesia," *Adil* 8, 32 (11 May, 1940), p.4.

<sup>62</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Bagaimana Kaum Muslimin," pp. 7, 21.

*‘Ibādah is intertwined with the maṣlahah of the Community:* In addition, Mas Mansoer was convinced that the Muḥammadiyah should base its efforts at social reform on the principle that every Muslim should love his fellow human beings as much as he loves himself.<sup>63</sup> The rationality of religiosity, which was a major characteristic of the movement, entailed that the fulfilment of the requirements of *‘ibādah* should not only depend on their implementation, but also on their purpose being fully understood by the believer. One of the movement's leaders, Boestami Ibrahim, believed that *‘ibādah* in Islam has to fulfill a certain purpose and must benefit the people, and that no *‘ibādah* which fails to do so can ever be complete. This was an essential point which had been neglected by many Muslims.<sup>64</sup> *Zakāh*, for example, which has a strong social reason behind its implementation, should also be understood as having two important purposes: first, encouragement of a spirit of generosity towards other people, through charity (*ṣadaqah*) and expense or outlay (*infāq*); and, second, the welfare of people in general.<sup>65</sup>

*Charity:* Hence, religious obligations towards others should not only be considered as sacred injunctions, but should also achieve the social purpose for which they were explicitly designed, namely, alleviating the misery of the poor and improving the social welfare of people. The Muḥammadiyah social program tried to coordinate the collection and distribution of charity funds in order to accomplish their social purpose. This idea was a response to a general tendency

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<sup>63</sup>Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>64</sup>M. Boestami Ibrahim, *Al-Hidajah: Merentjanakan Kebangoenan Doenia Islam dan Pergerakan Moehammadiyah* (Medan: Pimpinan Tjabang Moehammadiyah, Bagian Taman Poestaka, 1939), pp. 16-17.

<sup>65</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Tjara Mendjalankan Roekoen Islam," *Soeara M.I.A.I.* 2, 2 (19 Moeharram 1363/15 January 2604/1944), p. 6.

amongst Indonesian Muslims in the early decades of this century to pay little attention to the underlying purpose of charity; it was even the custom at one time to hand out collected amounts of *zakāh*, *ṣadaqah*, and *infāq* to a single person.<sup>66</sup> Thus, to fulfill their social objectives, the movement's leaders proposed a number of solutions, such as transferring *zakāh* property to other areas and capitalizing it for productive endeavors.<sup>67</sup> They believed that the investment of *zakāh* funds in joint economic ventures could yield even more money, which could then be given to those who deserved them. This would be more beneficial than the purely consumptive approach, which had been practiced till then, the movement declared.<sup>68</sup>

The Muḥammadiyah and its various social and religious endeavors might respectively act as *‘āmil*<sup>69</sup> and *fi-sabilillāh* of those who deserve to receive *zakāh* (*mustahiqqīn*). As an *‘āmil*, the movement was allowed to utilize the proceeds of *zakāh* to undertake business ventures, with the permission of the *mustahiqqīn*.<sup>70</sup> Practically speaking, the *mustahiqqīn* may automatically be defined as share-

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<sup>66</sup>M. Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi dalam Islam* (Medan: Madju, 1952), pp. 55-57; Those who deserve to receive *zakāh* are divided into eight categories (*aṣnāf*): *faqīr* (poverty-stricken), *miskīn* (poor), *‘āmil* (worker, agent) *mu'allaf* (new convert), *riqāb* (slave), *gharīm* (debtor), *fi sabilillāh* (for the cause of God), and *ibn al-sabīl* (wayfarer). See *Kitab Zakat* (Djokjakarta: Pengurus Besar Muhammadiyah, 1942), p. 9.

<sup>67</sup>For a detailed explanation of the transfer of *zakāh*, see *Himpunan Putusan Tarjih* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1967), pp. 362-363.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>69</sup>Usually the movement delegated the function of the *‘āmil* to an appointed committee in charge of collecting and distributing *zakāh*.

<sup>70</sup>In the process of transferring the sums of *zakāh* to a productive business, an *‘āmil* may act as a second party representing the *mustahiqqīn*, i.e. those who agree on their shares of *zakāh* being utilized for a productive business. The most important matter in this transaction is nonetheless their consent to the transfer. *Himpunan Putusan Tarjih*, p. 363;

holders of the companies which are financed from *zakāh*. In the 1920s and 1930s this idea was translated into the establishment of cooperatives, founded by local branches of the movement. As for the economic advancement of the people, the congress of 1932 requested that the central board of leadership encourage the foundation of cooperatives in the local branches, based on the success of the one in Yogyakarta. The proposal itself was not discussed further, and the central leadership board handed over responsibility for the establishment of cooperatives to the branches themselves.<sup>71</sup> In many other places, the general tendency was to use *zakāh*, *ṣadaqah*, and *infāq* funds to cover the operational costs of social programs. This tendency encouraged the establishment of social-welfare institutions which in turn helped to fulfill the social purpose of *ṣibādah*.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>*Peringatan Congres Moehammadijah ke XXI*, pp. 46-47. In Pekajangan, for example, the Koperasi Persatuan Dagang (Trading Alliance Cooperative), founded in 1937, reflected the economic efforts of the Muḥammadiyah in that region. The *Koperasi* divided its activities along two major lines, one, looking after the shop for dyes and raw materials, and the other engaging in business activities in both agriculture and textile production, such as *batik*-making, clothes-making, and renting lands for plantation. Its profit-making capacity is illustrated in its shop section, which earned four hundred guilders per month. In 1937 the profits were divided as follows: 10 % for reserve funds, 10 % for the directors, 10 % to the Muḥammadiyah treasury, 5 % for the running of shop, and 65 % for *aandeelhouders* (shareholders), who consisted of the members of the Muḥammadiyah. Two years later the division changed, to 25 % for Reserve funds, 10 % went to Directors, 10 % to the Muḥammadiyah treasury, 5 % for the running shop, 25 % for shareholders, and 25 % for customers, most of whom were shareholders. Solichin Salam, *Muhammadijah di Pekadangan* (Djakarta: Iqbal, 1968), pp. 17-18. Compare this to the breakdown reported by S.K. Price, who declared that shareholders got 50 % without mentioning the share of the customers. Susanna Kitty Price, "Pekajangan: Religion, Textile production and Social Organization in a Javanese Village" (M.A. thesis, Australian National University, 1977), p. 54.

<sup>72</sup>"Statuten Moehammadijah" in *Statuten dan Qa'idah Moehammadijah* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomité Congres Moehammadijah, 1935), pp. 21-22; "Notulen Hoofdbestuur Vergadering Moehammadijah" no. 21 (14 July, 1923); Muhammad Soedja', *Muhammadijah dan Pendorinya* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadijah, Majlis Pustaka, 1989), p. 31.

*Construction of the Social Welfare Institutions:* The spirit of finding new means of helping the community was not only limited to the collection and equitable distribution of financial resources; the Muḥammadiyah also established various institutions to resolve new social problems. The building of orphanages reflected a shift towards more organized and integrated solutions. In this system, the poor and the orphans not only received food and clothing but also education. In caring for orphans, the Muḥammadiyah divided them into two age groups, 1 to 6 and 6 to 19 years of age. The movement however continued to take care of orphans who, upon reaching the normal age limit were unable to live independently because of physical disability or other reasons.<sup>73</sup> They usually stayed in the orphanage or poorhouse and devoted themselves to working for other social institutions run by the movement.

Not surprisingly, education was crucial to the success of this endeavor. Everyone was allowed to pursue his/her education elsewhere if the local branch of the movement did not provide the type of education he/she needed. The movement also sent the students to a suitable Muḥammadiyah school or supported their training in other educational institutions. Cooperation with other institutions facilitated the realization of this effort. A special fund was also set up to finance those chosen by the movement to pursue advanced study in the Islamic sciences in other Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and India.<sup>74</sup> It was reported

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<sup>73</sup> *Verslag Moehammadijah di Hindia Timoer* (Djokjakarta: Pengoeroes Besar Moehammadijah, 1923), p. 68; *Konperensi P.K.U. Muhammadijah Seluruh Indonesia* (Djakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadijah, Madjlis P.K.U., 1961), p. 15a.

<sup>74</sup>The first fund was the Dahlan Fonds, established shortly after the death of Ahmad Dahlan in 1923. Later, this effort was continued under different names, such as "Studiefonds." *Verslag Moehammadijah*, pp. 43, 46; *Mu'tamar Muhammadijah ke-I* (Djokjakarta: Pengurus Besar Muhammadijah, 1950), p. 4; The "Studiefonds" consisted of a committee and members who campaigned for

that in 1923 there were some Indonesian students at the Deoband school, among the Ahmadiyah of Lahore and at Calcutta,<sup>75</sup> all of whom were sent under the auspices of the movement.<sup>76</sup>

*Social welfare - a collective Responsibility:* The shift from individual to institutional or collective effort in undertaking projects of social welfare required greater financial support. Many of the members of the Muhammadiyah could not believe it when Muhammad Soedja<sup>c</sup> proposed the building of a hospital, a poorhouse (*armhuis*), and an orphanage (*weeshuis*) in 1920.<sup>77</sup> They thought that social welfare was the colonial government's responsibility, not the Muhammadiyah's. Indeed, such were the costs that only the government was thought capable of meeting them.<sup>78</sup> Soedja<sup>c</sup> however argued that the projects were urgently needed, and that while the expenses could never be borne individually,

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financial donations. In 1937-1938, the Muhammadiyah planned to establish a "Studiefonds" in every regional branch. *Boeah Congres Moehammadijah Seperempat Abad* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomite Congres Moehammadijah, 1936), p. 24.

<sup>75</sup>There is no specific information about the educational institutions in Lahore and Calcutta. *Pantjaran Amal* 2, 18 (25 September, 1937), pp. 386-387. One of the students was concurrently a reporter on the journal of *Pantjaran Amal*, and reported on the issues developing in the Subcontinent. Among his writings were a series of articles on Islamic education in India published in the journal. See also *Pantjaran Amal* 2, 20 (25 October, 1937), pp. 438-439; 2, 21 (10 November, 1937), pp. 461-462; and 2, 23 (10 December, 1937), pp. 522-524.

<sup>76</sup>Those who were at the Deoband school were in the end transferred to the Ahmadiyah school at Lahore. "Notulen Hoofdbestuur Vergadering Moehammadijah," no. 30 (15-16 December, 1923), and no. 32 (29-30 December, 1923).

<sup>77</sup>These were the plans proposed by Muhammad Soedja<sup>c</sup> when he was officially appointed to head the department of *Penolong Kesengsaraan Oemoem*, P.K.O. (Assistance for the Relief of Public Sufferings) in a special meeting of the Muhammadiyah. Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah*, pp. 31-34.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

collectively they were indeed affordable.<sup>79</sup> In 1921, a poorhouse was built in Yogyakarta, one week after the official opening of a teacher training school (*kweekschool*).<sup>80</sup> These efforts were soon imitated by branches of the Muḥammadīyah at Betawi (Jakarta), Lumajang (East Java), and Purwokerto (Central Java).<sup>81</sup> In February 1923, the first clinic and polyclinic were officially opened to the public.<sup>82</sup> Given Islam's great concern with human welfare, such social endeavors not only satisfied religious demands but also met the needs of other Indonesians. This appreciation of the human spirit was one of the true characteristics of Islam, asserted the Muḥammadīyah leadership.<sup>83</sup>

*A Theological Issue:* The Muḥammadīyah was faced with a problem which went beyond the implementation of its religious concepts; it had also to deal with the theological issue of whether the organization was right to imitate the Dutch in building social-welfare institutions. The general perception in the early part of this century was that imitating the behavior and manners of non-Muslims was forbidden. This perception was based on a ḥadīth stating: "whoever imitates people (in something), he is a part of them," which was used to justify non-cooperation

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>80</sup>It was reported that this poorhouse had 16 rooms and had cost £ 15, 000 to build. *Soewara Moehammadijah* 3, 2 (1 February, 1922), p.12. For detailed information on the establishment of the *Kweekschool*, see *Soewara Moehammadijah* 3, 1 (1 January, 1922), pp. 10, 13-14. After the establishment of the poorhouse, the task of alleviating some of the burdens of the poor, such as providing them with daily meals, was transferred to this social institution. Those who already had a house were allowed to take their meal twice a day from the poorhouse. *Verslag Moehammadijah di Hindia-Timoer*, p. 69.

<sup>81</sup>*Soewara Moehammadijah* 7, 2 (1344/1925), p. 34.

<sup>82</sup>*Verslag Moehammadijah*, p. 66.

<sup>83</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Oekoeran Kebenaran Sesoeatoe Agama," *Adil* 8, 40 (6 July, 1940), p. 6.

with the Dutch colonial government. Those who advocated this stance extended their non-cooperative attitude to the cultural aspects of Dutch life as well. Their reason was that since the Dutch were unbelievers (*kāfirūn*), whoever emulated them was of the same status. This led Kijai Haji Muhammad Saleh, an *ʿālim* of Semarang, to issue a *fatwā* forbidding every Muslim from wearing the same clothes as the Dutch.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, the reformists believed that, if the ḥadīth quoted above was valid, then the word "resemble" in the text should be interpreted to mean resemblance in matters of the principles of faith (*iʿtiqād*). Some of them even said that the ḥadīth was weak and could not therefore be used to decide a legal matter.<sup>85</sup>

Such theological arguments did not inhibit the Muḥammadiyah from building schools, orphanages, and hospitals along Western lines. It took the position that the construction of these institutions was not stimulated by the spirit of imitation but by Islam.<sup>86</sup> However, the cultural cost was potentially a high one, since this process involved changes to the old patterns that had been practiced for a long time. Muslims have, after all, cared for the poor, the sick and orphans on an individual basis ever since the lifetime of the Prophet. Nevertheless, hopes of

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<sup>84</sup>The *fatwā* applied the legal status of *ḥarām* (forbidden) to those who "wear coats, pants, hat, tie, and hair styles (which resemble the Dutch)." Quoted from Amir Hamzah Wirjosukarto, *Pembaharuan Pendidikan dan Pengadjaran Islam* (Yogyakarta: Pembaharuan Pendidikan/Pengadjaran Islam, 1962), p. 65. This issue was also discussed in the second Mukhtamar of Nahḍat al-ʿUlamāʾ in Surabaya in 1927. For details on the legal decision, see chapter two, pp. 111-112, note 134. The cultural non-cooperative attitude also reflects the way people regarded the Dutch at the time. This was due to the fact that the resistance movement did not have enough military might. Therefore, the non-cooperative attitude was directed at both political and cultural issues. In this cultural opposition some Muslims used religious reasons as the basis of their argument.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 66; Mas Mansoer considered this ḥadīth weak. Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah*, p. 20.

<sup>86</sup>*Peringatan Congres Moehammadijah ke-21*, p. 57.

achieving even better results justified breaking away from traditional precedents, the Muḥammadiyah argued. Besides, the introduction of new social institutions did not always mean the eradication of old ones; in fact individual care of the poor and the orphaned was still undertaken by many members of the Muḥammadiyah. Rather, the Muḥammadiyah's effort was for a major organizational purpose. The mandate of the Muḥammadiyah was to solve social problems by carrying out religious injunctions in a collective manner. This "rationalization of action,"<sup>87</sup> was for the achievement of a purposeful cooperative endeavor.<sup>88</sup> The emphasis on organization and action accorded well with the saying: "a good action which is not organized may be defeated by an organized criminal one."<sup>89</sup>

### III.2.2. *Ṣalāh and Social Responsibility*

The spending of one's wealth in an attempt to realize the tenets of *imān* was also discussed in relation to another principal ritual in Islam, *ṣalāh*. In making the connection, Ahmad Dahlan based himself on the Qur'ān, 107:1-7,<sup>90</sup> wherein

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<sup>87</sup>See chapter one, p. 37, note 66.

<sup>88</sup>E. Wight Bakke, "Concept of the Social Organization," in Mason Haire, ed., *Modern Organization Theory* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959), p. 18.

<sup>89</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Adab Bermusyawah," *Kumpulan Karangan*, p. 116.

<sup>90</sup>Ahmad Dahlan's contemporaries noted that Muḥammad 'Abduh's interpretation of *sūrat al-mā'ūn* inspired Ahmad Dahlan to discuss the relation between *ṣalāh* and charity. Among them were those who had had direct contact with Dahlan through his lessons in *pengajian* or discussion. See M. Junus Anies, *Kenalilah Pemimpin Anda* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Muhammadiyah, Majelis Pustaka, n.d.), p. 8; idem, *Riwayat Hidup H. Fachroddin* (Jogjakarta: Persatuan, 1969), p. 23; Hadjid, *Falsafah Ajaran K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* (Yogyakarta: Siaran, n.d.), p. 5. The influence was also reported by some biographers of Ahmad Dahlan, such as Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Dari Jamaluddin al-Afghani sampai K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* (Yogyakarta: Persatuan, n.d.), p. 75; Solichin Salam, *Riwayat Hidup K.H.A. Dahlan: Amal dan Perdjoangannya* (Djakarta: Depot Pengdjaran

the characteristics of those who are false to their religion are identified as being uncharitable towards the poor and as encouraging others to be likewise.<sup>91</sup> Conversely, those who are faithful to their religion take care of and do their best for others.<sup>92</sup> This interpretation was convincing the Muḥammadīyah's members to donate funds in support of its expanding social programs. This, in addition to loyalty to the organization and its goals, was a major incentive to those who gave to Muḥammadīyah charities.

To reinforce the message, Ahmad Dahlan warned that those who were miserly with their money and neglected the needs of the weak would receive no benefit from their prayer, for they were false to their religion. Those who had faith in their religion should realize that their prayers were an indication of their obedience to the Most Powerful Being, who obliges the strong to take care of and do justice to the weak. Those who were not reminded by prayer of this obligation were not only dishonest in all they did, but were arrogant; hence they would lose God's favor.<sup>93</sup> Such people destroy human life in the world, and will be punished

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Muhammadijah, 1968), p. 8; Hamka, *Pengaruh Muhammad Abduh di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1961), pp. 17-24.

<sup>91</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Orang Yang Mendustakan Agama," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, pp. 20-21. In other words, those who betray their religion are described as those who do not appreciate the rights of other people. 'Abduh held a similar view to the effect that anyone who destroys the rights of orphans and the poor is not faithful to his religion. Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm: Juz' 'Amma* (al-Maṭba'ah al-Amīriyah, 1322 H), p. 162.

<sup>92</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Orang Yang Mendustakan Agama," p. 21. According to 'Abduh, this verse should also be understood as a form of *kināya* (indirect expression), suggesting that people should call upon their fellows to help the poor if they themselves have no money to spend. This can be done through collecting donations from other people. 'Abduh, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, p. 163.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 162-163; Dahlan, "Orang Yang Mendustakan Agama," pp. 20-21.

in hell for their deeds.<sup>94</sup> Consequently, Ahmad Dahlan's understanding of the *sūrah* led him, in a routine *pengajian*, to encourage his *santris* to apply this verse in reality.<sup>95</sup> The relationship between the commands to perform *ṣalāh* and to take care of the poor and orphans suggested that the latter was of equal legal force to the former, and therefore could not be treated any differently. The implementation of real *ṣalāh* should be manifested in the spending of one's wealth for humane purposes, and vice versa. It was further explained that there were two components to the above injunction for Muslims: first, to spend their own money, and, second, to persuade other people to do so, in order to help their fellow human beings who needed it. Although spending wealth on helping others was an obligation for those who had money and the act of convincing others to give was an obligation for those who did not, yet in practice the two were seen as going hand in hand.

Coordinating the collection of donations for certain projects and events and then spending the money thus raised were tasks familiar to the Muḥammadiyah. The cultivation of this ethos became a major feature of the movement and has had a significant impact on its members. There was a correlation between the movement's social mission and its world view, which encouraged people to be successful in worldly affairs along with attempting to fulfill their religious duties. The spirit of this teaching formed the minds of the first generation of the movement, who endowed it with their monetary resources as well as their ideas and actions, thus providing the basis for the Muḥammadiyah's social welfare

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<sup>94</sup>The Muḥammadiyah's interpretation was that wealth should not be monopolized by certain people. Those who had property had a responsibility to use it to alleviate the misery of the people. Punishment awaited those who neglected to fulfil this duty. *Peringatan Congres Moehammadijah ke-21* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah Hindia Timoer, 1932), p. 55.

<sup>95</sup>This issue will be discussed in chapter four, below.

activities.<sup>96</sup> These activities demanded so much money that the movement had to find various means of covering such costs.<sup>97</sup> The most notable effort during this period was the Post-paid Endeavor of the Muḥammadiyah (Franco 'Amal Moehammadijah),<sup>98</sup> which was a concession given by the Dutch colonial government for the sale of postage stamps between 22 September and 31 October 1941 throughout Indonesia.<sup>99</sup> In view of the success of this endeavor, the movement encouraged other Islamic organizations that they do the same in order to finance their own social programs. The Muḥammadiyah even asked the Jam'iyat al-Waṣṣliyah and the Nahḍat al-'Ulamā' to establish the Islamic Social Bureau (Sociaal Bureau Islam). This bureau's purpose was to derive solutions for the excessive social problems facing the Muslim community.<sup>100</sup> And, although the

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<sup>96</sup>Ahmad Dahlan himself auctioned his property to support the running of the Muḥammadiyah school. Soedja', *Muhammadiyah*, p. 56; *Peringatan Congres*, p. 43; Salam, *Riwajat Hidup*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>97</sup>Besides routine donations from its members, the movement obtained funds from the donation boxes placed in restaurants and at some public meetings, from brokers of commercial transactions, and from certain public occasions, such as sport events. In 1922, for example, the Muḥammadiyah's Boy Scout movement, Ḥizb al-Waṭan (the Troop of the Homeland) held a football competition for two weeks, the profits of which went to the social endeavors of the movement. For details of the distribution of the profits, see "Notulen Hoofdbestuur Vergadering Moehammadijah" no. 21 (24 August, 1922), and no. 14 (15/16 April, 1923); *Soewara Moehammadijah* 4, 3 (1 March, 1922), p. 15.

<sup>98</sup>"Post-paid endeavor" was a special project where an organization printed and sold stamps in post offices; the resulting profit was then given to that organization.

<sup>99</sup>The stamp itself was valid from 22 September 1941 to 31 July 1942. There were 5 kinds of stamps each valued 2, 3 1/2, 7 1/2, 10, and 15 cents which were respectively sold for 3, 5, 10, 12 1/2, and 20 cents. *Soewara Moehammadijah* 23, 7 (15 August, 1941), pp. 141, 150.

<sup>100</sup>*Adil* 8, 12 (23 December, 1939), p. 3. In an article entitled "Postzegel-actie dan Kaoem Moeslimien" it was made public that the Christian communities were allowed several times to collect their social funds from such endeavors. Perhaps this was among the reasons which encouraged the movement to propose such a measure. *Adil* 8, 10 (9 December, 1939), pp. 1-2.

funding and donations derived in part from the general population and the colonial government,<sup>101</sup> the majority of the contribution came from the endowments and charitable donations provided by the members of the movement.

### III.2.3. *‘Amal al-Ṣāliḥ* and Social Responsibility

Social responsibility also has its theological roots in the concept of *‘amal al-ṣāliḥ*. The Muḥammadiyah leaders believed that *‘amal al-ṣāliḥ* is a duty incumbent on every Muslim.<sup>102</sup> Consequently, Ahmad Dahlan said, anyone who claims to be a Muslim but does not practice *‘amal al-ṣāliḥ* is not a true believer.<sup>103</sup> *‘Amal al-ṣāliḥ* consists in the ethical principles acknowledged by people in general as being in their own interest, and something done for the good of society as a whole. It is manifested in the form of religious rituals, social responsibility, justice, honesty and sincerity. Clearly, therefore, *‘amal al-ṣāliḥ* consists of both physical

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<sup>101</sup> In 1923, Muḥammad Soedja<sup>c</sup> was in charge of coordinating the fund-raising drive among the Chinese community in Yogyakarta. The Muḥammadiyah's relations with this particular community were good and they were always invited to come to the annual meeting of the movement. With regard to the subsidies obtained from the government, the movement delegated this job to its branch at Betawi (Jakarta) for processing it. "Notulen Hoofdbestuur Vergadering Moehammadijah" no. 19 (7 June, 1923), and no. 69, 71 (23 September, 1923); *Soewara Moehammadijah* 3, 3 (1 March, 1922), p. 15. The Muḥammadiyah felt that it was the duty of the government to subsidize their social welfare project, which was actually the right of all Indonesians. The subsidy received by the Muslims, however, was far less than that of the other religious communities, namely, the Protestant and Catholic communities. *Peringatan Congres*, p. 45; Hamka, "Agama Islam dan Pemerintah Belanda," *Adil* 1, 19 (22 October, 1932), p. 2; Junus Anies, "K.H. Hisyam," in *Kenalilah Pemimpin Anda*, p. 12.

<sup>102</sup> *Propaganda Moehammadijah Bagean Penjiaran Igama* (Soerabaja: Pimpinan Moehammadijah Tjabang Soerabaja, n.d.), p. 1.

<sup>103</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Amal Sholeh," *17 Kelompok Ayat*, p. 50.

(*badanīyah*) and spiritual (*rūḥānīyah*) actions.<sup>104</sup> It stresses good endeavors which can promote sound relations among human beings. Consequently, it creates social fraternity and peaceful relationships.<sup>105</sup> This interpretation underlines the fact that *ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ* is based on principles which can be accepted by human beings in general.

In his discussion of this issue, Ahmad Dahlan connected good action with the concepts of *īmān*, *Islām*, and beneficence (*iḥsān*). From these three principal areas emerged the obligation to perform outward actions (*ʿamal ḡāhir*) for the sake of one's relationship with God and one's fellow human beings, such as neighbors, society, etc. In setting the priorities of good action, he declared that spending money for the sake of God was at the top of the list. That endeavor was a reflection of real *īmān* and of obedience to God.<sup>106</sup> The obligation to spend money was reinforced by the reality of the poverty afflicting Indonesian people. For Ahmad Dahlan, theological and practical considerations should not give rise to complicated debates, which lead to nothing, but should motivate people to undertake concrete actions. However, such actions should also be sincere, because only with a sincere motivation can any endeavor be accepted by God.<sup>107</sup>

Ahmad Dahlan also discussed the concept of *ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ* in connection with real truth and with the quality of patience needed in order to realize this truth. He argued that truth was not an abstract concept but a concrete one. It was a manifestation of any action which accorded with the reality of human needs. Thus,

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<sup>104</sup> Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Tafsīr Sūrat al-ʿAṣr*, Indonesian trans. (Bandung: Almaʿarif, 1960), pp. 16-17.

<sup>105</sup> "Ki Bagus Hadikusumo," p. 4.

<sup>106</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Amal Sholeh," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

he drew from that meaning certain human emotions such as feelings of pity, and love for one's fellow beings.<sup>108</sup> In the early twentieth century, these feelings were manifested in various endeavors aimed at easing the social burdens of people.<sup>109</sup> Ahmad Dahlan realized that the path towards resolving such problems was hard and difficult.<sup>110</sup> Yet, convinced that his decision was a correct one, he patiently directed the Muḥammadiyah's every effort towards obtaining its goals.<sup>111</sup> However, the Muḥammadiyah leadership also realized that there were a number of groups who disagreed with the endeavors of the movement.<sup>112</sup> Responding to their criticism, the movement tried to reduce tension by asking its members to ignore these attacks and to keep working hard for the sake of the people's welfare, one of the explicitly stated goals of the organization.<sup>113</sup> An official decision was thus

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<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>109</sup>For more information on the background of the Muḥammadiyah's social endeavors, see Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah*, pp. 29, 41; *Adil* 1, 26 (31 October 1932), p. 2; 1, 27 (1 November 1932), p. 2; 1, 32 (7 November 1932), p. 3; 1, 33 (8 November 1932), p. 2; 1, 42 (18 November 1932), p. 2; 1, 43 (19 November 1932), p. 2.

<sup>110</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Amal Sholeh," p. 51.

<sup>111</sup>As an ethical value, patience (*ṣabr*) is an indication of maturity, which integrates both mind and body and is expressed in behavior. In contrast to childish behavior, patience does not give way to desperation in the face of problems. *Panggoegahing Islam*, p. 21.

<sup>112</sup>Certain accusations were directed at the Muḥammadiyah, accusing it of breaking away from mainstream Islam, of being a slave of the capitalists and of being anti-political. These accusations were clearly expressed in a communique from one of the branches of the SI, which expressed the emotions felt by some SI leaders towards the Muḥammadiyah. This communique was nevertheless disavowed by the Central Leadership of the SI in Surabaya, which declared that it had been issued by an irresponsible SI leader. However, the relations between the SI and the Muḥammadiyah became uncongenial from that time on. *Soeara Moehammadijah* 8, 3 (1345/1926), pp. 70-74; *Suara Muhammadiyah* 28, 27 (November, 1952), p. 367.

<sup>113</sup>*Soeara Moehammadijah* 8, 3 (1345/1926), p. 72.

taken not to respond to published criticism, hoping that those who had launched false accusations would later take the side of the Muḥammadiyah.<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, the representatives of the movement needed to clarify certain issues in order to maintain unity among Muslims.<sup>115</sup> This refusal to respond to every attack on its views did not mean that the Muḥammadiyah had buried its head in the sand; rather, the movement adopted the attitude of "less talk more work" (*sedikit bicara banyak kerja*) while accepting constructive criticism in whatever areas it felt it was lacking.<sup>116</sup>

From a sociological perspective, in nearly every process of change there usually emerges a negative attitude in response to the positive one underlying this process - that is, resistance to changing situations and their possibilities.<sup>117</sup> Ahmad Dahlan argued that such a reaction was understandable when it derived from the general tendency of people to hate what they did not know.<sup>118</sup> Although a patient

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<sup>114</sup>Muhammad Junus Anies, *Pemandangan Agama Islam dan Kaoem Moeslimin* (Djakakarta: Pengeroes Besar Moehammadijah, Bahagian Taman Poestaka, 1928), p. 53.

<sup>115</sup>At the al-Islam Congress held in October 1922 in Cirebon (West Java), the Muḥammadiyah explained its religious outlook which had been until then misunderstood by many 'ulamā'. In responding to the accusation of Kiyai Asnawi of Kudus that the Muḥammadiyah had adopted the ideas of the Wahabis, Mu'tazilites, and even the Christians, Haji Fachroedin, one of the movement's representative at the congress, stated that the Muḥammadiyah was an open organization which enabled everyone to share his ideas. Although they still disagreed with each other on some religious views, the Congress nevertheless accepted the proposal presented by the Muḥammadiyah calling for the rejection of the colonial policy, which restricted the freedom of religious life. *Soera Moehammadijah* 3, 12 (1 December, 1922), pp. 25-26.

<sup>116</sup>*Verslag Moehammadijah*, p. 11.

<sup>117</sup>S.N. Eisenstadt, *Tradition, Change, and Modernity* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), p. 329.

<sup>118</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Ketiga," in *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 13.

attitude may be cultivated from this common reactive experience, the purposive orientation of every endeavor may also result in entrenching negative feeling. Hence, being patience and care were crucial to achieving the movement's goals. Mas Mansoer argued that the important consideration was not the speed with which something may be accomplished but the way in which it was achieved, no matter how much time it took.<sup>119</sup> This idea accorded with the notion that in implementing religious injunctions one should not concentrate on their outward form but rather on their purpose. Indeed, that principle was so well-received that it inspired the movement to commit itself to an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary approach in handling all its social programs.<sup>120</sup> Long-term endeavors such as hospitals, schools, orphanages and other social institutions in which the movement had concentrated its energies since the early period, show how this principle was applied in reality. It influenced the Muḥammadīyah's decision to turn down many persuasive offers to transform its social mission into a practical political movement.<sup>121</sup> In the evolutionary approach the improvement of human resources and welfare was seen as being chief importance, but as only obtainable through long-term effort.

The normative value of *ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ* should form the truth in the empirical experience as well as engender ethical values in human life. Ahmad Dahlan clearly stated his conviction that all of these were manifestations of *īmān*. Referring to *sūrat al-ʿaṣr* (103), he concluded that true *īmān* will automatically create good

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<sup>119</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Filsafat Waktu," in *Kumpulan Karangan*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>120</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Ketujuh," *Falsafah Ajaran*, p. 17.

<sup>121</sup>At the annual meeting of the Muḥammadīyah in 1923, Haji Misbach of (red) Sarekat Islam asked the movement to become involved in practical political affairs. But when the proposal was submitted for discussion, the meeting decided not to accept it. *Verslag Moehammadijah*, p. 10.

actions, particularly in the form of spending property in defence of one's belief. This was the truth which led to the emergence of a mechanism of mutual encouragement to do what was right and to be patient in the effort.<sup>122</sup> Anyone who held to such a commitment might feel an obligation to become involved in humanitarian efforts and to work for the benefit of the needy. So urgent was the need for action that the implementation of good deeds could not be restricted to certain times or periods. Referring again to *al-ʿaṣr* (103) Ahmad Dahlan emphasized that there was no specific time at which good or even bad deeds should be done. Since human beings control their own schedule they should be able to manage it for beneficial purposes. Time is God-given, and human beings should fill it with good endeavors.<sup>123</sup> So important was the meaning of this verse that certain scholars considered it to contain all of God's guidance and therefore regarded the *sūrah* as the most representative verse of the entire Qur'ān.<sup>124</sup> It explains in concise fashion the most important elements of Islam, among them *īmān*, *ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ*, and the need to abide by the truth and to be patient.<sup>125</sup> However, considering the beginning and ending of the *sūrah*, which respectively emphasize the importance of time and of being patient, it could also be understood

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<sup>122</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Watawa-shau Bishshobri," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, p. 52.

<sup>123</sup> When *sūrat al-ʿaṣr* was revealed there was a strong belief at the time that the afternoon was unlucky and a bad time for people to do good things. Nevertheless, God swore by the afternoon time (*ʿaṣr*) saying that it was not a bad one. Essentially, the merit of time depends on how human beings manage it. If anyone does a good thing during *aṣr*, he will surely achieve good results with his action, and vice versa. Ahmad Dahlan, "Suratul ʿAshri," and "Watawa Shau Bil Haqqi," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, pp. 30-31, 50; ʿAbduh, *Tafsīr Sūrat al-ʿAṣr*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>124</sup> This notion is based on the remark of al-Shāfiʿī that if the Qur'ān had not been revealed as a whole, but confined to a single chapter, then *sūrat al-ʿaṣr* would have been an excellent guide to people. *Ibid.*, p. 4; Ahmad Dahlan, "Suratul ʿAshri," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, p. 30.

<sup>125</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Watawa-shau Bishshobri," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, p. 52; *Soeara Moehammadijah* 8, 1 (1345/1926), pp. 308-312.

to convey ethical values of social responsibility. These values proposed a strategy for an enduring social change. As such, long term targets, patiently carried out, characterized most of the Muḥammadiyah's programs.

Ahmad Dahlan himself was reported to have been so deeply impressed by this *sūrah* that over the course of a seven month period all of his *pengajians* touched on its contents.<sup>126</sup> As had been the case with the verses from *sūrat al-mā'ūn*, which provided the practical foundation for understanding Islamic teachings, the time that he spent in discussing the verses from *sūrat al-ʿaṣr* may point to the gradual evolution in Ahmad Dahlan's mind of the Muḥammadiyah's social ideology. This ideology derived the essence of religious experience from loyalty to ethical attitudes and social values. Its strategy was built on the developmental or evolutionary philosophy of a gradually emerging ideal society.<sup>127</sup> The Muḥammadiyah members believed that social progress was best secured through a change in the social environment. Hence, the Muḥammadiyah's reform strategy avoided the use of violence, preferring the transformation of morality as its basic instrument of change.

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<sup>126</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Suratul 'Ashri" and "Watawa Chau Bishshobri," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, pp. 30, 52-53.

<sup>127</sup>Carl Henry has discussed the meaning of social reform at length, defining it as a largely humanistic concern, seeking to advance new structures and not to redeem a fallen order. Carl F.H. Henry, *Aspects of Christian Social Ethics* (Grand Rapids, MI.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 18-20.

### III.2.4. *Birr* and Social Responsibility

In Ahmad Dahlan's view, the formation of social responsibility in Islam had its foundation in the concept of *birr*. He based his discussion of the topic on the Qur'ān, 2: 177, which according to him included all of the elements of *īmān*. The meaning of Islam and the concept of *'amal al-ṣāliḥ* are intertwined with truth and *taqwā* (fear of God). One's obedience to God could be demonstrated by spending one's wealth for the poor, or, at other times, by showing patience in the face of poverty and straitened circumstances.<sup>128</sup> In such a way *birr* is connected to certain signs of obedience to God, such as committing oneself to doing good or giving charity to those in need. It also implies honoring one's parents, being honest and truthful (in giving sworn statements), and keeping one's promises. The ethics of the members of the community, therefore, must be grounded in *birr* and rigorously applied in the life of the community. And, although an individual may be committed to some sort of *birr*, yet his actions cannot be true *birr* unless they are practically expressed through the above-mentioned behavior.<sup>129</sup>

In the above-cited verse of the Qur'ān, *birr* is linked to the concept of *taqwā*. It is stated that *birr* includes social as well as religious duties, and that those who fulfil all of these duties deserve to be called truly righteous people

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<sup>128</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Al-Birru," in *17 Kelompok*, p. 81. "It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces towards East or West; but it is righteousness to believe in God and the Last Day, and the Angels, and the Book, and the Messengers; to spend of your substance, out of love for Him, for your kin, for orphans, for the needy, for the wayfarer, for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves; to be steadfast in prayer, and practice regular charity; to fulfil the contracts which ye have made." Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān* (McGregor & Werner, 1946), p. 69.

<sup>129</sup> Ahmad Dahlan referred to these characteristics by citing the example of the *Anṣar* who treated the *Muhājirūn* with kindness in the early days of Islam. Ahmad Dahlan, "Al-birru," pp. 82-88.

(*muttaqīn*). The element of fear conveyed by the term *taqwā* denotes "the fear of responsibility" which is very different from the fear someone might have, say, for a wolf, or the fear that a guilty person might have of the police.<sup>130</sup> In a similar way, Ahmad Dahlan stated that the most important element of *birr* was obedience to God. It consisted of resolving to carry out His injunctions and avoid His prohibitions, on the basis of a sincere regard for Him. All of these were manifestations of *īmān*, which together formed the identity of a "Godfearing" person.<sup>131</sup> Taking these characteristics to be the main constituents of *birr*, Ahmad Dahlan tried to set this term within the general framework of Qur'ānic teaching. He thus referred to *birr* as expending something that one cherished (3: 92), and helping one another in what is good and pious, not in what is wicked and sinful (5: 3). He also maintained that all of these should be carried out on the basis of favoring other people above oneself and not hoping for any reward in return.<sup>132</sup> Since the Qur'ān placed significant emphasis on justice and social love, *birr* should be manifested in various good works, which in turn should be motivated by the will to practice justice and show love towards others.

It should be noted that while the most important element of *birr* was primarily identified with expending property for humanitarian concerns, another priority was the emphasis on how *birr* should be implemented. In the Qur'ān, 3: 133-134, it is stated that God ordered people to vie with each other in earning the

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<sup>130</sup> See Fazlur Rahman, "Some Key Ethical Concepts of the Qur'ān," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 11 (1983), p. 176; also Toshihiko Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'ān* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966), p. 208.

<sup>131</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Al-Birru," in *17 Kelompok*, p. 83; idem, "Iman," in *17 Kelompok*, p. 37. See also *Kembali Ke Jalan Lurus* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Majelis Tabligh, 1988), pp. 17-18.

<sup>132</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Al-Birru," in *17 Kelompok*, pp. 83-87.

forgiveness of their Lord, in giving alms in both prosperity and adversity, and in curbing their anger and forgiving their fellow men (God loves the charitable). Furthermore, the Qur'ān, 9: 44, which refers to expending money in the cause of struggle for the faith (*jihād*), states: "Those who believe in God and the Last Day will not beg you to exempt them from fighting with their wealth and with their persons".<sup>133</sup> Referring to these Qur'ānic verses, which explained the most crucial elements of *birr*, the Muḥammadiyah leaders declared that: first, the implementation of *birr* was absolutely urgent, and should be undertaken without delay; second, so urgent was this task that its implementation should be undertaken without consideration of whether it could be afforded or not; and third, such a sacrifice would ultimately create an attitude of *ikhlaṣ*, which became one of the important characteristics of being a "Godfearing" person.<sup>134</sup>

Thus, according to the Qur'ān, there is a correlation between *īmān*, *jihād*, and *taqwā*. Ahmad Dahlan explained that *īmān* forms the basis of *taqwā*, while *jihād* is one of its indications. Indeed, *īmān* and *jihād* should be understood as part and parcel of *taqwā*.<sup>135</sup> In an official document, some younger leaders of the Muḥammadiyah<sup>136</sup> connected *jihād* with *ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ* and stated that they were

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<sup>133</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Al-Djihad," in *17 Kelompok*, p. 55.

<sup>134</sup> Hadjid, *Falsafah Ajaran K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* (Yogyakarta: Siaran, n.d.), p. 7.

<sup>135</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Iman," in *17 Kelompok*, p. 37.

<sup>136</sup> Among them were Faqih Usman (1904-1868), M. Junus Anies (b. 1903), and M. Faried Ma'ruf, who were active in the central leadership of the Muḥammadiyah in the 1930s. Faqih Usman compiled the ideas of the early leaders of the Muḥammadiyah on the subject of *Kepribadian Muhammadiyah* (the personality of the Muḥammadiyah), a collection which was then perfected by, among others, Junus Anies and Faried Ma'ruf, and published under the title *Kepribadian Muhammadiyah* (Jogjakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, n.d.) (see especially p. 12 of the latter work); Junus Anies, *Kenalilah Pemimpin Anda*, pp. 41-45; *Himpunan Keputusan-2*, pp. 17-19.

one and the same thing, i.e. that they were equivalent, since *jihād* consists of giving one's belongings or property for the welfare of others, out of sincere devotion to God. Kindness and welfare are therefore the goals of *jihād*, and are principally manifested in three kinds of efforts: to establish the religion of God, to maintain justice and, to encourage social endeavors for the well-being of others.<sup>137</sup> And, although the scope of *jihād* covers a wide area in terms of expenditure of resources, energy, ideas, opportunities, and even one's own physical well-being, as is clear from the pertinent Qur'ānic verses, the movement emphasized the necessity of spending wealth.<sup>138</sup>

In addition to these meanings, Ahmad Dahlan added hard work to the list.<sup>139</sup> He considered it to be an important means of gaining worldly happiness.<sup>140</sup> Mas Mansoer explained that since everybody must work to fulfil his material needs, he must engage in economic pursuits and enter into relationships with others. In dealing with the members of one's family and even society at large, everyone was encouraged to use his abilities for the good of others.<sup>141</sup> Accordingly, work became a way-station of religious injunction and service, a bridge between theology and social ethics. In other words, work for the Muslim was a stewardship because of his religious responsibility. Man's labors thus became "good works" that radiated from a religiously dedicated life.

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<sup>137</sup> *Kepribadian Muhammadiyah*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>139</sup> Ahmad Dahlan, "Al-Jihad," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>141</sup> Mas Mansoer, "Menghidupkan Semangat Perjuangan," in his *Kumpulan Karangan*, pp. 142-144.

### III.3. Religious Precepts and their Social Significance

There are two important precepts which continue to inspire the social endeavors of the Muḥammadiyah: *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* and *fa-stabiqū al-khayrāt*. Both give theological insights into how the movement formulated its social orientation, and, as will be discussed in chapter four, they also provided the theological basis for the practical orientation of the movement. Likewise, the Muḥammadiyah's commitment to spreading Islamic values throughout Indonesian society meant that these precepts became the main themes of its *da'wah*.<sup>142</sup> Like the terms described above, these precepts had an important role in shaping the movement's social endeavors.

#### III.3.1. *Al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*

This well-known phrase is often identified with the Muḥammadiyah movement. It is derived from the Qur'ān, 3: 104 "Let there become of you a group of people that shall call for righteousness, enjoin the good and forbid the wrong. Such men will surely triumph."<sup>143</sup> This statement, interpreted by the leaders of the Muḥammadiyah to refer to the Muslim's duty to fulfil the commandments of God and to follow the Traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad, provided the inspiration

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<sup>142</sup> *Statuten dan Qa'idah*, p. 66; *Anggaran Dasar, dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga, Qa'idah-qa'idah, dan Sebagainja* (Jogjakarta: P.B. Muhammadiyah, 1950), p. 4.

<sup>143</sup> *Statuten dan Qa'idah*, p. 45.

for the establishment of the Muḥammadiyah.<sup>144</sup> Both duties were necessary, argued Hadikusumo in his preamble of the Muḥammadiyah's statutes,<sup>145</sup> in order to achieve God's benevolence and grace in this world and the hereafter, and in order to produce a peaceful and prosperous society, blessed by the boundless beneficence and mercy of God. This ideal society was later described as constituting an "ideal, magnificent, pure, unblemished and prosperous state under the protection of God the Merciful."<sup>146</sup> The nature of this society should thus reflect justice, honesty, brotherhood, and mutual cooperation based on the laws of God. The Muḥammadiyah described such a society as the "true Islamic society, which wholly guaranteed the implementation of justice, equality, safety, and freedom for all members of society."<sup>147</sup>

There are two important elements derived from the verse of the *sūrah*, which soon became the staples of the Muḥammadiyah's outlook. These were *da'wah* and *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*. The close relationship between the two was clearly reflected in the movement's endeavors. Muḥammadiyah leaders maintained for instance that the main purpose of its *da'wah* was to spread the precept *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*.

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<sup>144</sup> Soeara Moehammadijah 12, 22-23 (22-31 December, 1930), p. 573; 12, 30 (10 March, 1931), p. 679; *Propaganda Moehammadijah*, p. 11.

<sup>145</sup> Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (1890-1954) formulated a preamble (*muqaddimah*) to the Muḥammadiyah's statutes in 1945. He based this formulation on the ideas of Aḥmad Dahlān and on the situation faced by the movement in the transitional period of Indonesia's struggle for independence. M. Djindar Tamimy, *Risalah Pendjelasan Muqoddimah Anggaran Dasar Muhammadiyah* (Jogjakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1970), p. 2.

<sup>146</sup> *Muqaddimah, Anggaran Dasar, dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1990), p. 5.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*; Mas Mansoer, "Menegakkan Keadilan," in his *Kumpulan Karangan*, pp. 170-173; Tamimy, *Risalah Pendjelasan Muqoddimah*, pp. 34-35.

Accordingly, it summoned people to Islam by enjoining what was religiously acknowledged as good (*ma'rūf*) and forbidding what was religiously wrong, in all aspects of life.<sup>148</sup> Since the goal of *da'wah* was the formation of individual character, *da'wah* featuring *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* had two important goals. First, at the individual level, it aimed at increasing the religious insight and knowledge of Muslims, and at summoning non-Muslims to embrace Islam. Second, on the social level, it concentrated on the improvement of social life, based on *mushāwarah* and *taqwā*. This *da'wah* was used as a vehicle for delivering glad news (*tabshīr*), renewal (*tajdīd*), and reform (*iṣlāḥ*).<sup>149</sup> These objectives of *da'wah* reflected, on the one hand, a continuing Islamization process that had been in place for a considerable length of time and, on the other, the Muḥammadiyah's concern for the dissemination of Islamic values within Indonesian society. Its commitment to *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* illustrates its strong wish to implement Islamic values and further its impact on the religious and social life of Indonesians.

Although the obligation to undertake this *da'wah* was not the duty of all Muslims,<sup>150</sup> Hadikusumo nonetheless obliged the members of the Muḥammadiyah to perform it. The reason for this was that every member of the Muḥammadiyah

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<sup>148</sup> *Propaganda Moehammadijah*, pp. 2, 11; Tamimy, *Risalah Pendjelasan Muqoddimah*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>149</sup> Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, p. 11; *Kepribadian Muḥammadijah*, p. 18; Faried Ma'ruf, "Analisa Achlaq dalam Perkembangan Muḥammadijah," p. 12.

<sup>150</sup> Interpreting the Qur'ān, 3: 104, Ibn Taymīyah, for example, explains that the *da'wah* of *amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* is a *fard kifāyah* (collective duty) and not a *fard 'ain* (individual duty). Therefore, when some people perform this duty, others are exempt from this obligation. Ibn Taymīyah, *Al-Amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* (Jedda: Maktabah Dār al-Mujmata', n.d.), p. 22.

was considered to be a part of a single community, to which the Qur'ān referred.<sup>151</sup> This claim was related to another verse which referred to a community which believed in God, which was committed to enjoining the good and forbidding the wrong and which for this reason was described as the best people that had ever been raised amongst mankind.<sup>152</sup> Here, the predicate "best people" was related to the special duty of doing good things, and was used to remind Muslims that they should be deserving of such a predicate, which by its very implementation demonstrated one's essence as a human being.<sup>153</sup> Referring to the word *khayr* in this verse, which may be extended to mean beneficence, value, usefulness, wealth, and property,<sup>154</sup> it was reasonable to say that what was meant by good was anything which benefited all people, and which in application was directed to the promotion of human welfare.<sup>155</sup> Furthermore, the public welfare, or the good of the many, was to be valued above that of the individual. Every Muslim therefore was bound to do all the good he could for others, which could only be achieved by hard work. Since Man is a social creature, he must work for the good of the society to which he belongs, and of which he forms only a minuscule part. These principles shaped the movement's endeavors, which were based on *tawhīd*, *ʿibādah*, and obedience (*ṭāʿah*) to God.<sup>156</sup> And, since the essence of *tawhīd* was a

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<sup>151</sup> *Muqaddimah Anggaran Dasar*, p. 5.

<sup>152</sup> The Qur'ān, 3:110.

<sup>153</sup> *Panggoegahing Islam*, pp. 4-5, 9.

<sup>154</sup> The semantic scope of the concept of *khair* in the Qur'ān, according to Izutsu, covers both worldly affairs and religious beliefs. See his *Ethico-Religious Concepts*, pp. 217-220.

<sup>155</sup> H. Moechtar, "Moehammadijah dan Cooperatie," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 30 (10 March 1931), pp. 689-690.

<sup>156</sup> *Kepribadian Muhammadiyah*, p. 18.

belief in one God and *'ibādah* the overt and concrete working out of God's injunctions, *ṭā'ah* was therefore a commitment which referred to both belief and overt acts.

### III.3.2. *Fa-stabiqū al-khayrāt*

The principal doctrines of social responsibility are also to be discerned in the precept of *fa-stabiqū al-khayrāt*, which became the motto of the Muḥammadiyah's youth organization, Hizb al-Waṭan, founded in 1918.<sup>157</sup> This phrase is taken from the Qur'ān, 2: 148 and 5: 48, in which people are encouraged to vie with each other in doing good works. Both verses begin with by observing the plurality of religion and belief, followed by a reference to the various communities. In the second verse, it is categorically stated that God could have made all the peoples one nation, but He wished to test them, by making them vie with each other in doing good works for the sake of humanity. This accords well with the idea that the best individual is he who benefits his fellow humans.<sup>158</sup> Thus, the purpose of the creation of various nations and tribes and in making them know each other<sup>159</sup> was to encourage them to help one another in what is good and

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<sup>157</sup> *Buku Peraturan Hizbul-Wathan* (Jogjakarta: Pusat Pimpinan Muhammadiyah, Madjlis Hizbul Wathan, 1954), p. 26; Suroño W., "Peristiwa-peristiwa Bersejarah dalam Muhammadiyah," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* (1394/1974-1975), p. 19.

<sup>158</sup> Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 21; Ahmad Azhar Basyir, *Misi Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gerakan Islam* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1987), p. 20.

<sup>159</sup> M.A. Mahfoeld, "Islam dan Politik Peperintahan Negeri," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* 10 (1352/1933-1934), p. 125; Moechtar, "Moehammadiyah dan Cooperatie," *Soeara Moehammadiyah* 12, 30 (10 March, 1931), p. 689.

pious, not in what is wicked and sinful.<sup>160</sup> This meaning is parallel to the principal values of *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*, which consist of goodness recognized by all religions, human values, and national laws.<sup>161</sup> Moreover, it accords with the movement's principle of relativity in understanding religious belief, which recognizes that no single people or faith has a monopoly on the truth. Mas Mansoer argued that different religions, cultures, and national backgrounds are not the best standards for measuring the nobility of people; rather, one should measure it by their concern to do "good things." "Good things" in this perspective is basically a term referring to achievements which are useful and profitable in worldly life, and which also demand participation in worldly affairs, not withdrawal from them through a flight to the monastery.<sup>162</sup> This is defined in the Qur'ān, 35: 32,<sup>163</sup> as the supreme virtue, which the Muḥammadīyah leaders equated with charitable works. Hence, the movement's manifesto stated that if Muslims are to realize this virtue, however, they must work hard to achieve it, and not depend solely on the mercy of God.<sup>164</sup> This should guide the actions of every Muslim who seeks to realize the good and the meritorious life.<sup>165</sup>

Both *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* and *fa-stabiqū al-khayrāt* formed the mainsprings of the *da'wah* mission of the Muḥammadīyah

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<sup>160</sup>Ibid.

<sup>161</sup>*Kepribadian Muhammadiyah*, p. 26.

<sup>162</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Sebab-sebab kemiskinan," pp. 2-3.

<sup>163</sup>"We have bestowed the Book on those of Our servants whom We have chosen. Some sin against their souls, some follow a middle course, and some, by God's leave, vie with each other in charitable works; this is the supreme virtue."

<sup>164</sup>*Panggoegahing Islam*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>165</sup>*Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 31 (20 March 1931), pp. 700-701.

movement. The duty of constancy in carrying out this mission was justified by all the fundamental beliefs and rituals, and was expressed through good works. The familiar call to return to the principal teachings of Islam, the important meanings of *īmān*, *ʿibādah*, *birr*, *maʿrūf*, and *khayr*, all contributed to the basic motivations of social improvement. In theological terms, every Muslim was expected to exert his influence on society through his own family, in relations with his neighbors, in daily life, and in the fulfilment of his religious duties.

Finally, the reformist ideas of the Muḥammadiyah leadership stressed the appropriateness of the principles of Islam for improving society. These principles measured Muslim vitality simply by the depth of individual determination to realize social goals, especially since religious reform considered spiritual phenomena to be instruments congenial to social change. They attempted to energize those moral attitudes in Islam that were widely accessible, not peculiar to certain aspects of its teachings.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PRACTICAL DIMENSION OF ISLAMIC TEACHINGS

An important aspect of the Muḥammadīyah's ideology during its formative period was its insistence that the implementation of religious teachings in practical life was the final objective of the spirit of religion. It perceived Islam as being essentially a practical rather than a theoretical faith. It discussed the religious principles underlying action, and analysed how these principles motivated the performance of such actions. This chapter highlights the interplay of religious teachings and social realities which provided the movement with an ideological foundation and an opportunity to put that ideology into practice.

#### IV.1. The Principles of Real Action

Hadikusumo believed that the Islamic teachings which regulate human life were not only written down on paper but were to be found in everyday experience.<sup>1</sup> The relationship was one of text and context - the text being the theoretical teaching of the Qur'ān, and the context the practical one of Muḥammad's example.<sup>2</sup> During the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad, the role of interpreter was played by the Prophet himself; thus his *Sunnah* represented a

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<sup>1</sup>"Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (1890-1954)," *Suluh Pendidikan Muhammadiyah* 1, 3 (September 1954), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>*Panggoegahing Islam* (Soerakarta: Pimpinan Moehammadijah Soerakarta, Bagian Taman Poestaka, 1928), p. 18.

record of his practical interpretation of the Qur'ān.<sup>3</sup> These two dimensions of the religious outlook may be called normative and historical, and cannot be separated from each other. The normative outlook seeks to achieve a religious purpose while empirical historical experience lends a nuance to religious life. Dialectically, the historical experience is a reflection of the implementation of normative injunctions, whose formulation may be changed on the basis of new experiences, just as experience should always be modified on the basis of the changing normative formulation. Haji Fachrodin and Junus Anies, for example, were engaged in the discussion of the normative outlook of Islam and historical experience through its implementation. Fachrodin emphasized that both normative rules and empirical experience should be the same. Pointing to the case of the Muḥammadiyah, he drew an analogy between a normative outlook with a program or organizational rules and empirical experience with real action.<sup>4</sup>

*Ahmad Dahlan's Views:* Quoting certain verses of the Qur'ān, Ahmad Dahlan commented that however good the program might be, it would not achieve any purpose unless it was put into practice. He did not expend time elaborating on these verses, but encouraged their implementation. It was the concern of many Muslims at the time to set an example in applying Islam.<sup>5</sup> That idea was based on Ahmad Dahlan's interpretation of *īmān* as having a very practical orientation. For

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<sup>3</sup>The two in fact go together, for the Qur'ān without the *Sunnah* of the Prophet would be ineffective as a source for correct ritual practice, just as the *Sunnah* without the Qur'ān would be like a collection of actions without transcendent principles to back them up. Victor Danner, "Religious Revivalism in Islam: Past and Present," in Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Islam in the Contemporary World* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Cross Roads Books, 1980), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>Muhammad Junus Anies, *H. Fachrodin* (Jogjakarta: Persatuan, 1969), p. 28.

<sup>5</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Surat Shaf," in Hadjid, ed., *17 Kelompok Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'ān Ajaran K.H.A. Dahlan*, p. 98.

him anyone who claimed to be *mu'min* without practicing what had been commanded by God and His Prophet, was not a believer but a hypocrite (*munāfiq*),<sup>6</sup> a status which should be avoided by all Muslims. Elsewhere he pointed to various Qur'ānic verses in order to draw attention to the sanctions imposed on believers who did not practice what they believed in, and who asked people to do good things while they themselves neglected them. God hated such people and categorized them as foolish, imperfect and of poor character.<sup>7</sup> One ḥadīth also referred to the sort of people who always insisted that others avoid bad conduct while indulging in such conduct themselves, and spoke of their unavoidable sanction in the hereafter.<sup>8</sup> In keeping with the teachings of its founder, the Muḥammadīyah leadership was convinced that the commitment to practice Islamic teachings in reality found strong foundations in the basic principles of Islam. It referred to the Qur'ān, 9: 105: "...Do as you will. God will behold your works, and so will His apostle and the faithful; then you shall return to Him who knows alike the unknown and manifest, and He will declare to you all that you have done."<sup>9</sup> According to the movement, the message of Islam is a practical, and ethical life, a way of being and acting. It may be partially articulated in propositions, but it is essentially the establishment of a practical way of life.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Iman/Kepercayaan," in *17 Kelompok Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'ān*, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 96-97; see also the Qur'an, 61: 3-4; and 2: 44. The discussion of the relation between faith and real action can also be found in the ideas of 'Abduh, to whom Ahmad Dahlan often refers when dealing with his explanation of social aspects. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Manār, 1931), pp. 112-117.

<sup>8</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Surat Shaf," in *17 Kelompok Ayat*, p. 98.

<sup>9</sup>*Verslag Moehammadijah di Hindia-Timoer* (Djokjakarta: Pengeroes Besar Moehammadijah, 1923), p. 4.

<sup>10</sup>*Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (22-31 December, 1930), p. 575.

Consistency between theory and practice, another important aspect of *imān*, should become the individual ethic of every single Muslim, exclaimed Mas Mansoer.<sup>11</sup> This may result in engaging Muslims in a multiplicity of socio-religious practices. Their *imān*, with the particular vision that flows from it, should result in questions about the theoretical and practical implications of their faith concerning the socio-religious life.<sup>12</sup> The interface between faith (theory) and conditions of life (practice), realized through the medium of actual endeavors, safeguarded faith, to use Clodovis Boff's expression, from the empty "theorism" that ignored the problems of human life.<sup>13</sup> If the conditions in which the majority of Muslims lived did not become the starting-point for internal change, then religion could not relate meaningfully to real situations.

*Ahmad Dahlan and the 'Ulamā'*: Ahmad Dahlan considered Muslim leaders and 'ulamā' to be the ones responsible for changing these conditions. He criticised the 'ulamā' for not utilizing their knowledge for the benefit of people, and for not setting an example by doing things of practical importance; according to him, they only cared about their own group and not about the welfare of people in general.<sup>14</sup> The leaders of the Muḥammadīyah felt justified in criticizing the 'ulamā'. They based this feeling on the assumption that after Muḥammad's

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<sup>11</sup>Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Majelis Tabligh, n.d.), p. 24; M. Faried Ma'arif, "Analisa Achlaq dalam Perkembangan Muhammadiyah," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* 22 (1961/1962), pp. 17-18.

<sup>12</sup>See the first part of chapter three, pp. 120-136.

<sup>13</sup>Clodovis Boff, *Theology and Praxis: Epistemological Foundations* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1987), p. 239.

<sup>14</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Pelajaran Pertama," in Hadjid, ed., *Falsafah Ajaran K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* (Yogyakarta: Siaran, n.d.), p. 7; idem, "Kesatuan Hidup Manusia," in Abdul Munir Mulkhan, ed., *Pesan-pesan Dua Pemimpin Besar Islam Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: s.n., 1986), p. 8.

function as Prophet came to an end, the role of Muslims themselves in interpreting and understanding the basic sources thereupon became a necessity. Out of this situation there grew a body of learned men (‘ulamā’) whose role became increasingly important in preserving the dynamics of Islam. This was no exaggeration in their view, for one ḥadīth mentions that "the ‘ulamā’ are the heirs of the Prophets".<sup>15</sup> It was from the ranks of the ‘ulamā’ that Islamic reformers (*mujaddidūn*) originally emerged, and, therefore, it was logical to say that the continuity of revealed guidance extended from Adam to Muḥammad through the prophets, and from Muḥammad onwards through the reformist ‘ulamā’.<sup>16</sup> In theory, this idea should have been expressed institutionally in a variety of movements. The more religious organizations that were established, the more the endeavors would be undertaken; the stronger these organizations, the easier for them to coordinate joint endeavors (*amal bersama*).<sup>17</sup>

So important was the role of the ‘ulamā’ that at its congress of 1936, Muḥammadiyah leaders pleaded with them to take the examples of the Prophet and his Companions in guiding people from confusion and darkness. They also asked them to prioritize the most urgent tasks, at the head of which they placed elimination of the ignorance of the people. The ‘ulamā’, they added, should not be

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<sup>15</sup>H.M. Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi dalam Islam* (Medan: Madju, 1952), p. 16; see also Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol. 3 (Beyrūt: al-Maktabah al-‘Aṣrīyah, n.d.), p. 317, in the section "Kitāb al-‘Ilm."

<sup>16</sup>Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, pp. 10-11, 15; Ella Landau-Tasseron, "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the Mujaddid Tradition," *Studia Islamica* 70 (1989), p. 83.

<sup>17</sup>In his evaluation of the situation of early twentieth century Indonesia, one leader of the Muḥammadiyah said that it was very ironic that in spite of the increasing number of Islamic organizations, cooperation between them seemed to be non-existent. Some organizations even claimed that only their interpretation was the correct one. Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, p. 23.

concentrating on fine-tuning their own knowledge while allowing the *ummah* to linger in darkness.<sup>18</sup> The movement's leaders criticized those 'ulamā' who blamed the Muslims who converted to Christianity without considering their reasons for doing so. Likewise, it also argued that the 'ulamā' should not blame Muslims who indulged in forbidden practices when it was they who were at fault for not explaining the status of these practices in the first place.<sup>19</sup> The 'ulamā' were held to be the ones most responsible for guiding the *ummah*, for helping it cope with the mounting challenges of modern society, and for promoting equality among the people of Asia (*poetera Asia*) who were now struggling for prosperity and unity in Great Asia (*Asia Raya*). For this purpose, action on the part of the 'ulamā' was imperative.<sup>20</sup>

*What it is to be a Muslim ?*: Although the elements of religious knowledge and insight occupied an important position in the Muḥammadiyah's religious outlook, their implementation as real actions was regarded as more crucial. This idea had its basis in the principal doctrines of the Islamic faith, which were

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<sup>18</sup>Boeah *Congres Moehammadijah Seperempat Abad* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomité Congres Moehammadijah, 1936), pp. 10-11.

<sup>19</sup>Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, p. 17.

<sup>20</sup>K.H. Mas Mansoer, "Bimbingan," *Soeara M.I.A.I.* 2, 3 (6 Şafar 1363/1 February 2604/1944), p. 4; H.M. Moechtar, "Menoedjoe Kemenangan Achir dan Kesedjahteraan Achirat," *Soeara M.I.A.I.* 2, 5 (6 Rabī' al-Awwal 1363/ 1 March 2604/1944), p. 1. The campaign of action picked up its momentum in the period of the Japanese occupation. Many other articles were written explaining the importance of working hard to achieve the prosperity of Great Asia, in Masjoemi's organ. See also K.H. Mas Mansoer, "Angkatlah Tjangkoelmoe," *Soeara M.I.A.I.* 2, 1 (5 Muḥarram 1363/1 January 2604/1944), 1; K.H.M. Hasjim Asj'arie, "Keoetamaan Bertjotjok Tanam dan Bertani," *Soeara M.I.A.I.* 2, 2 (19 Muḥarram 1363/15 January 2604/1944), p. 4; Abdoel Halim, "Masjarakat Hidoep dan Semangat Bekerdja," *Soeara M.I.A.I.* 2, 3 (6 Şafar 1363/1 February 2604/1944), p. 5.

understood to include real endeavor as an important component of its meaning.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, Ahmad Dahlan argued that one's practical orientation was what defined one as a Muslim. He further said that one could not claim to be a Muslim unless he/she practiced Islamic teachings.<sup>22</sup> The Muslim creed (*shahādah*), for instance, which consists of an oath to implement these teachings, gives legitimacy to the importance of this commitment.<sup>23</sup> Besides confirming belief, according to Boestami Ibrahim, the *shahādah* implies witnessing through real actions<sup>24</sup> and reflects the ethical value of *ikhhlāṣ* in making a practical commitment to one's faith.<sup>25</sup> This is reflected in the Muḥammadiyah's statutes, where the organization was defined as being an Islamic *da'wah* movement, bound to realize its purpose through circumstantial expression (*ḥāl*), speech (*lisān*), and knowledge (*'ilm*).<sup>26</sup>

*Individual and Society:* The Muḥammadiyah programs were applied with a view towards transforming society on the basis of "theological practice." This

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<sup>21</sup>Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah Muhammadiyah*, pp. 8, 10.

<sup>22</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Watawa Shau Bil Haqqi," in *17 Kelompok Ayat-Ayat*, p. 50.

<sup>23</sup>Ahmad Dahlan, "Apakah Artinya Agama Itu ?," in *17 Kelompok Ayat-Ayat*, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup>Boestami Ibrahim, *Modernisasi*, p. 49.

<sup>25</sup>K.H. Mas Mansoer, "Tjara Mendjalankan Roekoen Islam," *Soeara M.I.A.I.* 2, 2 (19 Moeharram 1363/15 January 2604/1944), p. 6.

<sup>26</sup>Article 3 of the "Statuten Moehammadijah" in *Statuten dan Qa'idah Moehammadijah* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomité Congres Moehammadijah, 1935), pp. 21-22; *Statuten Lan Pranatan Tjilik Oemoem Toemrap Pakoempoelan Moehammadijah Hindia Wetan* (Ngajogjakarta: Pangreh Gede Moehammadijah, 1928), pp. 10-11; Mohammad Jazman Alkindi, "Gagasan dan Fikiran Ahmad Dahlan Yang Menjadi Dasar dan Amalan Muhammadiyah," *Almanak Muhammadiyah* (1416/1995), p. 217. In a later version of its statutes this commitment is formulated somewhat differently, with social programs at the top of its agenda. *Tafsir Anggaran Dasar Muhammadiyah* (Jogjakarta: Pusat Pimpinan Muhammadiyah, 1954), pp. 17-24.

required a purely individual involvement. Any effort to mobilize people to do good would not succeed unless the individual, who invited others to participate in such an effort, committed himself to do the same. Islam does indeed encourage collective improvement, but this cannot be achieved by individuals who themselves need to be improved.<sup>27</sup> This view was further discussed in relation to the concept of religious duty in Islam. The Muḥammadiyah leaders argued that both duty and right are inseparable, although the former should take priority. In the context of social life, duties and rights can be manifested in the form of mutual cooperation and assistance: the scholar shares his knowledge with the seeker; the stronger protects the weaker; and the rich helps the poor.<sup>28</sup> In each case it is a question of a duty for the former and a right for the latter.<sup>29</sup> They are all aspects of social responsibility, which are part of the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.<sup>30</sup>

Ahmad Dahlan did not restrict this practical dimension to social affairs, but expanded it to cover daily ritual practice as well. For instance, he did not hesitate to allow his students to use the Javanese language in prayer before acquiring some knowledge of Arabic.<sup>31</sup> This was in keeping with the Muḥammadiyah approach to

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<sup>27</sup>*Tafsir Anggaran Dasar*, p. 22. In the context of change, the individual takes priority over the community. The Qur'ān, 13: 11, says that "God will not change the condition of the community unless the individuals in this community change themselves." *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (22-31 December, 1930), p. 578; *Panggoegahing Islam*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup>Djarnawi Hadikusuma, "Pelaksanaan Konsepsi Sosial Ekonomi dalam Keluarga Muhammadiyah," in *Muhammadijah Membangun* (Bandung: Mu'tamar Muhammadiyah ke-36, 1965), p. 13.

<sup>30</sup>Mas Mansoer quotes some ḥadīths which elaborate upon this conduct as one of the characteristics of the believer. Mas Mansoer, *12 Tafsir Langkah Muhammadiyah*, pp. 10-12.

<sup>31</sup>Purbakawatja, one of Ahmad Dahlan's students, appreciated Dahlan's view *vis à vis* the general opinion of Muslims, who tended at that time to be rigid on

*da'wah*, and tolerance for the actual situation in which the believer was placed. But it was undeniable that the emphasis on practice became an important duty for the believer regardless of the level of religious knowledge he or she had. Moreover, this practical orientation encouraged people not to raise their hands to the sky, but to work hard for what they desired.<sup>32</sup> Although both prayer and action were to be simultaneous, the latter was the element most strongly emphasized. The importance of giving primary consideration to the social aspect of this religious precept suggests that Islam demands a practical, and active Muslim and thus regards good works as having a kind of sanctity. For no matter how pious an individual might be, if he does not commit himself to work, he will be reduced to misery and poverty.<sup>33</sup>

#### IV.2. From Theory to Practice: An Overview

Ahmad Dahlan suggested that Islam's emphasis on a practical orientation should also affect the way in which one approaches the Qur'ān. He argued that reverence for the teachings of the Qur'ān was not complete without implementing its contents. On one occasion, for instance, after expanding at some length on a particular *sūrah* (much to the annoyance of his pupils who wished him to move on to another), he challenged his *santris* to follow the Qur'ān's injunctions and act as foster parents to poor or orphaned children, and to bring them to the *pengajian* as

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this matter. "Pendapat Tokoh-Tokoh Nasional," in *Muhammadijah Setengah Abad*, p. 213.

<sup>32</sup>*Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 31 (20 March, 1931), p. 701.

<sup>33</sup>*Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (22-31 December, 1930), p. 575.

proof that they had understood the lesson.<sup>34</sup> Although from the viewpoint of devotional practice (*ʿubūdīyah*) reading the Qur'ān is a good thing, the Muḥammadiyah leadership encouraged people not to stop at this level. Rather, it called upon everyone to try to understand the scripture and implement its teachings in their daily lives. It would be useless for God to have revealed the Qur'ān as a guidance, only to restrict this guidance to mere reading of the text.<sup>35</sup> In keeping with this view, the normative texts of the Qur'ān were impressed on the minds of readers in an attempt to mould their behavior. This was aimed at producing a commitment to putting beliefs into actual practice. The Muḥammadiyah leaders saw this process, developed in answer to the challenges posed to Islam at the beginning of the twentieth century, as having been an important factor in the rise of the movement:

The Moehammadijah is established by *oemat Islam* (Muslim community) in Indonesia to meet the needs of all human beings (creatures of God); he (the founder) knows, sees and is sure that the Indonesian people in general do not understand Islamic teachings, though they embrace Islam; most Indonesian people cannot read and write, and they fall into the valley of poverty, though there are many sources of livelihood in Indonesia. Indonesian people generally do not know about health, nor do they know how to protect their body from disease, yet such things cause them to be lacking in will and make them too weak to search for food.<sup>36</sup>

When Ahmad Dahlan taught his *santris* the exegesis of certain Qur'ānic verses, he did not indulge in an elaborate interpretation but chose to suggest real

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<sup>34</sup>This incident occurred when Ahmad Dahlan discussed *sūrat al-māʿūn* (107) of the Qur'ān, which links those who deny the faith with the lack of care for the poor and orphans. This event was widely known as *geger surat aroaital* (the *sūrat al-māʿūn* affair). Junus Anies, *Kenalilah Pemimpin*, p. 6; Junus Salam, "Beberapa Anecdote," in *Riwajat Hidup K.H.A. Dahlan: Amal dan Perdjoangannja* (Jakarta: Depot Pengadjaran Muhammadiyah, 1968), p. 60.

<sup>35</sup>Soeara *Moehammadijah* 12, 22-23 (22-31 December, 1930), p. 577; *Menudju Muhammadiyah*, pp. 21-25.

<sup>36</sup>*Boeah Congres Moehammadijah Seperempat Abad*, p. 19.

applications of the spirit of the verses. The message of *sūrat al-mā'ūn* (107), which is mainly concerned with reminding Muslims of their duty to assist the poor, was made reality through the building of orphanages and poorhouses. This was in response to the socio-economic deterioration that had occurred during the colonial period, which affected with increasing severity the poor and children. This deterioration also continued during the period of the Japanese occupation. Although at first the Japanese rulers in Indonesia considered Indonesians as their partners in defending *Asia Raya*, and claimed to be "older brothers" to the Indonesians, they treated Indonesians harshly. The institution of the "involuntary worker for the Japanese war effort in Indonesia" (*romusja*) was but one indication of the misery caused to the people under that regime. The effects of *romusja* resulted in the issuance of a Muhammadiyah brochure on the issue, which in turn led to the establishment of Penolong Kesengsaraan Oemoem or P.K.O. (Helping People's Miseries), in Panarukan, East Java, one of the branches of the movement. The pamphlet read in part:

Because so many *romusja* have died of starvation, there are widows left by their husbands; thousands of orphans are stranded, left by their male parent. In such conditions, it may metaphorically be expressed that: "Indonesia is released from the mouth of the crocodile and enters into the mouth of the tiger".<sup>37</sup>

The message of the Qur'ān, 26:80, that God restores the health of the sick, was translated into the foundation of hospitals and polyclinics. The function of these health institutions was to promote awareness on health care. The tradition of the Prophet was also quoted in support of the establishment of health care institutions. The Prophet himself had shown concern about health because his own

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<sup>37</sup>*Sejarah Singkat Berdirinya Perawatan Anak-Anak Yatim P.A. "Tunas Harapan" P.K.U. Muhammadiyah Penarukan* (Panarukan: Pimpinan Muhammadiyah, 1976), pp. 2-3.

sound physical state allowed him to earn his own livelihood.<sup>38</sup> And, since the Prophet was the best example for Muslims in every aspect of life, his concern for health care should also be followed.<sup>39</sup> This reasoning provided the theoretical basis for the undertaking. As a result, information on health care began to be delivered on a wider scale to the people of the East-Indies. There was general ignorance of such matters and these were the very first to receive medical care.<sup>40</sup> The Muḥammadiyah hospitals and polyclinics were indeed opened to the public, but the poor were exempted from any fees.<sup>41</sup>

*Educational Institutions:* Similarly, the message of the Qur'ān, 96:1, on the necessity of reading, was translated into the founding of educational institutions. This effort consisted of two major components. First, it was directed at eliminating illiteracy. This was aimed at a wide range of people, including the poor and the rich, women and men, young and old, and both village and city-dwellers. Its purpose was to provide the minimum tools for the people to acquire religious knowledge.<sup>42</sup> Parallel to this effort, a "cursus" (course) was organized to discuss Islam and various related subjects and organizational skills.<sup>43</sup> All of these

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<sup>38</sup>*Boeah Congres Moehammadijah Seperempat Abad*, p. 19.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup>*Verslag Moehammadijah di Hindia Timoer*, p. 64.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>42</sup>Although the elimination of illiteracy began much earlier, nevertheless massive efforts were only announced nationally in 1937 by the 26th congress of the Muḥammadiyah, which urged the Muḥammadiyah's autonomous organizations and branches throughout Indonesia to carry out the program. *Boeah Congres 26* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomité Congres Moehammadijah, 1938), pp. 10-13; *Pantjaran Amal* 2, 20 (25 October, 1937), p. 446.

<sup>43</sup>A "cursus" or course of study was routinely held at certain times, and usually took place in a building of the government, private schools and houses of the people. This "cursus" was under the coordination of the Majelis Tabligh. In 1923

activities cultivated the spirit of reading and subsequently affected the growth of publications such as newspapers and books, which flourished in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>44</sup> Through printed materials, the movement was able to provide religious knowledge to its readers, as well as create a public forum in Indonesian society through which it could articulate ideas of reform. Another result of the effort to promote literacy was the founding of public libraries, which housed various collections on religious and secular subjects, as well as didactic materials for children and parents.<sup>45</sup>

The second major component of this effort was the establishment of schools. Ahmad Dahlan took the first step to realize this goal by founding his own school, located in his home, in order to provide a better education for the children

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the organization noted that there were 46 "cursus" groups in Yogyakarta and East Java. *Verslag Moehammadijah di Hindia-Timoer*, pp. 50-53.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11; Some of these newspapers and magazines were: *Suara Muhammadiyah*, *Suara Aisjah*, *Mutiara*, *Mitra*, *Pantjaran*, *Berita H.W.*, *Melati*, *Sinar*, *Suluh Remadja*, and *Surja* (published in Jogjakarta); *Papadanging Muhammadiyah*, *Adil*, *Islam Raja*, *al-Islam*, and *Tjahaja Islam* (Solo/Soerakarta); *Berita Muhammadiyah Daerah Sumatra Timur* (Medan); *Menara Kudus* (Kudus); *Swara Islam* (Semarang); *Nurul Muhammadiyah* (Malang); *Sinar Muhammadiyah* (Bandung); *Sinar Iman* (Blora); *Pantjaran Amal*, *Muhammadijah*, *Suluh Pendidikan Muhammadiyah*, and *Fadjar* (Djakarta). See Solichin Salam, *Riwayat Hidup K.H.A. Dahlan*, p. 36; Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java 1912-1926* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 252, note 7. Although some of them stopped publishing, these were replaced by new ones published by other branches of the Muhammadiyah. Muhammad Junus Anies, *Pemandangan Agama Islam dan Kaoem Moeslimin* (Djokjakarta: P.B. Moehammadijah, Bahagian Taman Poestaka, 1928), p. 60. To protect the continuity of the *officieel orgaan* of the movement, i.e. *Soeara Moehammadijah*, the 25th congress decided that all of the official organs published by its departments (Majlis) and branches in some regions should be united with *Soeara Moehammadijah*. By so doing, the branches could financially support the publication. The central leadership sent *Soeara Moehammadijah* to them at no charge. *Boeah Congres Moehammadijah Seperempat Abad*, p. 21.

<sup>45</sup>The compilations were written in Javanese, Malay, Arabic and some other local languages. In the Betawi (Djakarta) branch, the Muhammadiyah's public library had 525 titles on its shelves by the opening day (1 September, 1923). *Verslag Moehammadijah di Hindia-Timoer*, pp. 59, 100.

of his neighborhood who had no access to the government schools.<sup>46</sup> Ahmad Dahlan's experience in teaching in the latter led him to conclude that ethical and religious values were among the most important subjects in a school's curriculum.<sup>47</sup> The lack of a proper education for the people was a serious problem throughout the country. Such conditions encouraged the Muḥammadiyah to develop its own educational program based on the idea that the Islamic system of education should teach its followers not only the beliefs and religious practices of Islam but also their relevance and application to worldly life. There was also flexibility in the curriculum, which was carefully adapted to the type of school involved.<sup>48</sup> Thus, when Ahmad Dahlan founded his school, he chose to implement a curriculum that would answer the needs of society at the time, rather than fulfil purely intellectual purposes. And while this second component remained an important educational objective, it was not designed to produce 'ulamā' who occupied themselves solely with acquiring knowledge for its own sake, but rather, who put it to use in serving their people.<sup>49</sup>

In the system of education that he created, Ahmad Dahlan wanted, among other things, to improve relations between the two major religious orientations of the Muslim community, *abangan* and *santri* (*putihan*) Muslims. This polarization

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<sup>46</sup>The only education most children received at the time was Islamic, which they received in mosques in the evening or from their parents; some others were *santris* at *podok pesantrens* around their neighboring villages or far from their homes.

<sup>47</sup>H. M. Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah dan Pendirinya* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Majlis Pustaka, 1989), p. 16.

<sup>48</sup>For the contents of the curriculum of the Muḥammadiyah school, see Amir Hamzah Wirjosukarto, *Pendidikan dan Pengadjaran Muhammadiyah dalam Masa Pembaharuan Semesta* (Yogyakarta: Pembaharuan Pendidikan/Pengadjaran Islam, 1962), p. 52.

<sup>49</sup>Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 21.

was reflected in the religious life of his own community in Yogyakarta, with which he was involved on a daily basis. Both groups often became involved in heated disputes, undermining each other's position on almost every subject. The *abangan* Muslims were very proud of their politeness, respect for tradition, and secular knowledge. This group mocked the *santri* Muslims, saying that they were rude and knew nothing of the world because they had not attended public school. The *santri* Muslims, on the other hand, criticized the *abangan* Muslims for not practicing Islam as they should and found fault with them over their lack of Islamic knowledge. By promoting his school as a model among the people, Ahmad Dahlan hoped that the cultural and religious gaps between the two would be narrowed and that the *abangan* Muslims would acquire greater knowledge of Islam while the *santri* Muslims would become more familiar with secular knowledge. Such a development, in his view, would be very beneficial for their social life and their relations with other communities.<sup>50</sup>

The establishment of the Religious Elementary School (Madrasah Ibtidā'iyah Dīniyah) in 1911 was seen as an alternative which could accommodate all of society's needs in the areas of religious formation and education. Through this school, Ahmad Dahlan wanted to disseminate the principal teachings of Islam much needed by the *abangan* Muslims. To the Muslim youth in his district, whom he described as still wild (*liar*), and the government public school students also lacked knowledge of the basics of Islam, Ahmad Dahlan gave instruction on Islam at his home on every Sunday morning.<sup>51</sup> For the *abangan* Muslims, joining this

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>These students also studied Islam with Ahmad Dahlan at the *Kweeksschool* at Jetis, Yogyakarta, every Saturday afternoon. Some non-Muslim students routinely came to Dahlan's house, and discussed Islam with him. *Sejarah Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1995), pp. 8-9.

religious study club represented their best chance to obtain basic religious knowledge. This was because their minimal knowledge of Islam disqualified them culturally and psychologically from studying in the major centers of Islamic learning, such as the *pondok pesantren*.

Moreover, the decision to include secular subjects in the school's curriculum was meant to equip people with knowledge that would allow them to attain a higher standard of living within society. The increasing demands for laborers and skilled workers to fill the needs of business, factories, and offices had been met in the past by government schools. However, the only group that had the right to enter this type of school were the Javanese aristocracy and Christians.<sup>52</sup> By establishing a school modelled on that of the government's, Ahmad Dahlan sought to provide the same education for those who did not have access to the latter. The curriculum of the Madrasah Ibtidā'iyah Dīnīyah resembled in many ways that of the government school, emphasizing in particular a practical knowledge of modern sciences.<sup>53</sup> This ideal school, which was later expanded by the Muḥammadiyah and set up in areas other than Yogyakarta, was designed to produce a man of good character, knowledgeable in the religious as well as the secular sciences, and willing to work for the progress of his society.<sup>54</sup> Education was therefore considered as the most crucial element in rebuilding the community, whose

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<sup>52</sup>Edwin R. Embree, Margaret Sargent Simon, and W. Bryant Mumford, *Island India Goes to School* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, n.d.), p. 97; Soebardi, "Islam di Indonesia," *Prisma*, extra number (1977), pp. 27-29; Soegarda Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam Indonesia Merdeka* (Jakarta: Gunung Mulia, 1970), p. 22.

<sup>53</sup>Wirjosukarto, *Pembaharuan Pendidikan dan Pengadjaran*, p. 72.

<sup>54</sup>Surat Keputusan Pimpinan Muhammadiyah Tentang Qaidah Perguruan Dasar dan Menengah Muhammadiyah (Surabaya: Pimpinan Wilayah Muhammadiyah Jawa Timur, Majelis Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, n.d.), p. 2.

religious and socio-economic way of life had been ruined by years of colonial domination. The results to be gained from this endeavor were only expected to come in the long term, but it was felt that it had been right to respond to the challenges of the time in this manner. The Muḥammadiyah leaders described this step as "slow but sure" (*perlahan-lahan tetapi tentu*),<sup>55</sup> and saw it as a way to enhance the religious consciousness and knowledge of the people in order that they might be able to support their own efforts at putting their belief into practice.<sup>56</sup>

Various social endeavors of the Muḥammadiyah were seen by the movement as a means to achieve its goals, and by individual members as a way to fulfil the religious injunction to perform social duties.<sup>57</sup> The results of these social activities were twofold. First, they enhanced the religious consciousness of Muslims through social work. Their religious devotion was not limited to the performance of certain rituals, but could also be expressed through useful action. The sense of social responsibility gained from this experience resulted in the attitude that a better social life was the right of every individual Muslim as well as of society as a whole. Second, the Muḥammadiyah campaigned to protect Muslims from the encroachments of religious proselytizers from other faiths. This concern grew out of a situation where many Muslims were being converted to Christianity

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<sup>55</sup>This meant that however small the endeavor was, when it was constantly practiced, it became a big one. However, the faster and safer the work might be conducted the better it was to make up the ground lost to more developed societies. *Boeah Congres Moehammadijah Seperempat Abad*, p. 46.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 42; "Moehammadijah poenja Activiteit," *Adil* 1, 5 (6 October, 1932), p. 1.

through contact with schools, orphanages, and poorhouses run by Christian missions.<sup>58</sup>

Beginning in 1909, the Christian missions began to increase their activities in the educational field. The colonial government recognized and subsidized their schools. Sartono Kartodirdjo makes reference to regulations introduced at the time such as Surat Edaran Mingguan (the Sunday Cycle Letter) and Surat Edaran Pasar (the Market Cycle Letter), which forbade any official activity on Sundays, a decision which elicited a reaction from many groups of Indonesians. These groups questioned the principles lying behind those rules, which were actually unknown in their own culture. For Indonesian Muslims, these rules were considered as another form of Christianization.<sup>59</sup> The Muḥammadiyah's reaction to this policy consisted in direct opposition to any government initiative which it considered harmful to its activities and to Muslims in general.

*The Muḥammadiyah and Government:* So important were these practical endeavors of the Muḥammadiyah to the dissemination of its religious ideology and to protecting its religious freedom that the movement's leaders opposed any interference which could disturb the implementation of its mission. The Muḥammadiyah leaders had taken this stand side by side with other Muslim leaders in opposition to Dutch colonialism. Nevertheless, with regard to at least on one specific regulation, the Teacher's Ordinance (*Goeroe Ordonnantie*),<sup>60</sup> they

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<sup>58</sup>*Panggoegahing Islam*, p. 15.

<sup>59</sup>Sartono Kartodirdjo, ed., *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, vol. 5 (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1977), p. 62.

<sup>60</sup>Goeroe Ordonnantie was issued in 1905 and then replaced with a new one in 1925. But both ordinances were substantively the same, in which the native authorities still had supervisory authority and power over the religious teachers and *muballighīn*. Article 1 of the 1925 ordinance, for example, required the

took a special interest. They opposed this ordinance, arguing that it restricted the way in which Muslims could teach Islam. According to Fachrodin, the Muḥammadiyah began to feel strongly about the 1905-Teacher's Ordinance shortly after 1920 as some of its *muballighīn* discovered the application of the ordinance was considerably impeding their activities since they could not propagate their religion freely. At the end of 1921, Fachrodin presented the issue on behalf of the Muḥammadiyah to the first al-Islam Congress held in Cerebon. The Congress adopted a resolution demanding that the government withdraw the ordinance.<sup>61</sup>

In the meantime the ordinance was to become one of the major topics discussed in the various meetings of the Muḥammadiyah. Its leaders asked the government to rescind the decree and replace it with a new one which would relax the rules on Islamic religious instruction in the various public schools.<sup>62</sup> This

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religious teachers or *muballighīn* to have a letter of recommendation, which mentioned the nature of the lesson to be given, from the native authorities. Article 2 explained that the religious teacher was required to keep a record of his students and what courses were given to them, and the native authorities had the right to check the records at any time. Articles 3 and 4 detailed how this check was to be carried out. Article 5 emphasized that the right to give religious lesson could be withdrawn by the authorities whenever found necessary, such as because the teacher had indoctrinated his students to insult the government. Articles 6 and 7 expressed the penalties for not abiding by the ordinance such as: (1) giving lessons without the required letter of recommendation; (2) giving false information; (3) negligence in keeping up the required record; and (4) giving lessons after his letter of recommendation had been withdrawn by the authorities. Alfian, "Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics: The Muhammadiyah Movement During the Dutch Colonial Period (1912-1942)" (Ph.D dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969), pp. 343-345.

<sup>61</sup>Soewara *Moehammadijah* 3, 12 (1 December, 1922), p. 26; it was also issued in *Bintang Islam* 14-15 (10 August, 1926).

<sup>62</sup>The resolution, which also included the introduction of a holiday during Ramaḍān at the *Hollandsch Inlandsch School* (H.I.S. or Dutch Indigenous School) was discussed with the government after the advisor on Inlandsche Zaken (indigenous affairs) invited Muḥammadiyah leaders to resolve the matter. This decision was based on the results of a meeting held by the movement's leadership, 16 May 1923. See "Notulen Hoofdbestuur Vergadering Moehammadijah," no. 16 (11 May, 1923); the Muḥammadiyah's representatives met officials from the

demand was consistent with the government's treatment of the Christians, who were permitted to teach their religion every Friday in the government schools.<sup>63</sup> The Muḥammadiyah's position was essentially that Indonesian Muslims should feel free to practice their religion in their own country, without any interference from the government.<sup>64</sup> The movement's leaders likewise demanded that the Dutch hand over responsibility for Muslim religious affairs to Muslims themselves.<sup>65</sup> For them, this demand was a reasonable one since the Dutch government had decreed its "neutrality" towards religion.<sup>66</sup>

In 1929, the Muḥammadiyah leaders in Minangkabau achieved partial success in seeing the 1925-*Goeroe Ordonnantie* withdrawn in their region.<sup>67</sup> Elsewhere, the government finally gave certain concessions to the Muḥammadiyah by freeing its *muballighīn* from the obligations required by the ordinance, but the ordinance itself was not withdrawn. The ordinance still affected those who were

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advisor's office on 23 May 1923. *Verslag Moehammadijah di Hindia-Timoer*, p. 48. The ordinance was indeed replaced with a new 1925 *Goeroe Ordonnantie*, but from the wording of this new ordinance the substance of the document was still the same. See note 60 of this chapter.

<sup>63</sup>The Goeroe Ordonnantie forbade a Muḥammadiyah preacher (*muballigh*) from giving religious courses to the students of OSVIA at Magelang outside their school hours. The unfriendly attitude of the Native Head of Magelang considered the *muballigh* as a religious teacher, who had to require a permit from him in accordance with *Staadsblad* (statute-book) 1905 no. 550 and *Bijblad* (supplement) 6363. *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 46.

<sup>64</sup> Hamka, "Agama Islam dan Pemerintah Belanda," *Adil* 1, 19 (22 October, 1932), p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> *Verslag Moehammadijah di Hidia-Timoer*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>66</sup> *Adil* 1, 19 (22 October, 1932), p. 1.

<sup>67</sup>For detailed discussion on the issue in Minangkabau, see Hamka, *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup DR. H. Abdul Karim Amrulla dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera* (Jakarta: Umminda, 1982), pp. 166-171; Alfian, "Islamic Modernism," pp. 429-441.

categorized as religious teachers or non-*muballigh*. Muḥammadiyah leaders therefore continued to oppose the ordinance and asked that it should be completely revoked, but they were not successful.<sup>68</sup> Muḥammadiyah leaders also took part in opposing the Ordinance for Wild Schools (*Ordonnantie Wildescholen*),<sup>69</sup> saying that they could not accept that ordinance and would continue to run their own schools as before.<sup>70</sup>

The criticism by Muḥammadiyah leaders of the ruling authorities, both Dutch and native alike, continued to characterize the life of the Muḥammadiyah, although it was true that this criticism did not consist in radical confrontation. Their reaction was stimulated by the activities of the Dutch colonial government in introducing a number of ordinances which directly or indirectly undermined the role of Islam in society. At the 26th congress of the Muḥammadiyah in Yogyakarta in 1937, the movement's leaders officially opposed the ordinance on Muslim marital law (*Huwelijksordonnantie*) included in the civil registration (*Burgerlijke Stand*).<sup>71</sup> They also opposed the role of the government in supporting the *adat* law, which burdened Muslims with an extra tax when they followed Islamic marital law. Cases were reported that in some regions the local courts had suspended the legal status of Muslim bridegrooms because they did not pay the

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<sup>68</sup>*Pemandangan Alam Islam dan Moehammadijah 1932-1933* (Jogjakarta: H.B. Moehammadijah, 1933), p. 23.

<sup>69</sup>The ordinance was also called Ordinance for the Supervision of Private Education (*Toezicht Ordonnantie Particulier Onderwijs*), which was largely intended to control the non-religious Taman Siswa school system, issued in August 1932.

<sup>70</sup>"Ordonnantie Sekolah 'Liar' Dalam Praktik," *Adil* 1, 50 (29 November, 1932); Mohammad Hatta, "Berdjoang Menentang 'Wilde Scholen' Ordonnantie," *Adil* 1, 52 (1 December, 1932); *Pembela Islam* 55 (1932), p. 23.

<sup>71</sup>*Pantjaran Amal* 2, 20 (25 October, 1937), pp. 446-447 and 2, 22 (25 November, 1937), pp. 491-492.

*adat* marital tax, which was even higher than the bridal money (*mahr*) paid by a Muslim groom, to the local authorities.<sup>72</sup> This practice led many people to reconsider holding a wedding ceremony. The movement claimed that this situation encouraged people to practice free sex (*kumpul kebo*), which was forbidden by Islam.<sup>73</sup>

*Assistance for the hajj*: Realizing the importance of the pilgrimage, in 1921, the Muḥammadiyah sent Hadji Fachrodin as an envoy of the movement to place the grievances of the Indonesian ḥājjs before Sharif Ḥusayn at Mecca.<sup>74</sup> After his return from Mecca, the movement founded a temporary Section for Assisting the Ḥajj (*Bahagian Penolong Haji*) headed by Ahmad Dahlan himself.<sup>75</sup> Since then, many envoys under the coordination of Hadji Soedja<sup>c</sup> were sent to Mecca.<sup>76</sup> On the recommendation of the 26th Congress at Yogyakarta in 1937, the Muḥammadiyah replaced this section with a Permanent Committee for the Betterment of the Pilgrimage (*Badan Perbaikan Perdjalanan Hadji*).<sup>77</sup> Muḥammadiyah leaders felt that Indonesian Muslims should purchase their own ships for the yearly pilgrimage, and therefore organized a company, "N.V.

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<sup>72</sup>*Peringatan Congres Moehammadijah ke XXI* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah Hindia Timoer, 1932), p. 58.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup>M. Junus Anies, *H. Fachrodin* (Jogjakarta: Persatuan, 1969), p. 26; "Fachrodin (Hadji)," in *Encyclopedië van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 6, p. 132.

<sup>75</sup>Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 41; Anies, *H. Fachrodin*, p. 26.

<sup>76</sup>H.M. Soedja<sup>c</sup>, "Membela agama dan tanah air: Kapal Hadji Indonesia dimoelai," *Adil* 1, 26 (31 October, 1932), p. 2; 1, 27 (1 November, 1932), p. 2; 1, 32 (7 November, 1932), p. 3; 1, 33 (8 November, 1932), p. 2; and 1, 42 (18 November, 1932), p. 2.

<sup>77</sup>*Boeah Congres Akbar Moehammadijah ke-26* (Djokjakarta: Hoofdcomité Congres Moehammadijah, 1938), p. 10.

Indonesische Scheepvaart & Handel Maatschappij,"<sup>78</sup> which raised money for the purpose of buying ships by selling shares.<sup>79</sup> The leaders estimated that the company could reduce the cost of pilgrimage to as low as half the price charged by Kongsi Tiga, the sole agent of the ḥajj shipping company.<sup>80</sup> Ahmad Dahlan was convinced that the better price and service would motivate Muslims to perform ḥajj.<sup>81</sup> But in the field, the Committee faced various obstacles in the form of ordinances, protecting the monopoly of Kongsi Tiga.<sup>82</sup> And, before any ships could be bought, war broke out, which further delayed the project.<sup>83</sup> Although this project failed, eventually Muḥammadiyah leaders continued to press for better facilities and lower ticket costs from the government and shipping companies.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>The company was legalized by the Department of Justice (Departement van Justitie) Regulation No. 42/2/9 18 January 1941. Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 42.

<sup>79</sup>The shares were sold by instalment in three categories: 1 share, series A, £ 250 (the buyer would get 50 % reduction on the ticket for the ḥajj); 1 share, series B, £ 100 (20 % reduction) and; 1 share, series C, £ 50 (10 % reduction). *Soeara Moehammadijah* 23, 7 (15 August, 1941), p. 156.

<sup>80</sup>In 1922, one ticket cost £ 360.00. On the Muḥammadiyah's calculation, the ticket price could only cost £ 143.00 of the average calculation of 1000 pilgrims. The *Badan Perbaikan Perdjalan Hadji* detailed the total cost of 1000 pilgrims as follows: £ 65, 000 for the shipping lease, £ 25, 000 for food, £ 5, 000 for doctors, £ 3, 000 for medication, £ 20, 000 for agent and shaykh, £ 10, 000 for administration, and £ 15, 000 for quarantine; total: £ 143, 000. "Kapal Hadji Ichtihar Boemipoetera Tertahan-tahan: Oesaha Moehammadijah Dapat Halangan," *Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 36 (8 May, 1930), p. 675; Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 42.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>82</sup>"Kapal Hadji," p. 676.

<sup>83</sup>The Badan Perbaikan Perdjalan Hadji was taken over by the government in 1950 and placed under the administration of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Mu<sup>c</sup>ti 'Alī, "The Muhammadijah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction" (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1957), p. 59.

<sup>84</sup>In 1922, K. Keller, director of the Dutch shipping company "Pelajaran Kongsi Tiga," gave Ahmad Dahlan a 50 % reduction on ticket prices for 500 pilgrims coordinated by the Muḥammadiyah. Soedja<sup>c</sup>, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 42.

The ideas and examples of practical orientation provided by Ahmad Dahlan and other leaders of the movement became one of the most important characteristics of the Muḥammadiyah, causing it to be known as "the movement of action" (*gerakan amal*). This principle was formally included in the statutes of the movement, and was emphasized in the establishment of new branches.<sup>85</sup> Providing much-needed ideological orientation, the statutes provided a set of values which served as a justification of the movement's objectives. The principle of *gerakan amal* was also used to determine and evaluate both new and old branches. Thus, the central leadership could reject a proposal for the establishment of a new branch of the Muḥammadiyah, or downgrade an old one to a lower status, if it could not fulfill its obligations in this regard.<sup>86</sup>

#### IV.3. "Less Talk More Work"

The culmination of this process of character building appeared in the slogan "'less talk more work" (*sedikit bicara banyak kerja*)<sup>87</sup> which summarized

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<sup>85</sup>The regulation stipulated that any group of people wanting to establish a new branch of the Muḥammadiyah, must have certain activities that comply with the purposes of the movement. These activities should take the form of, at least, a routine religious gathering, or a central place of activities such as a mosque or school. See article 3 of "Statuten Moehammadijah," in *Statuten dan Qa'idah Moehammadijah*, pp. 21, 41; "Anggaran Rumah Tangga Muḥammadiyah," in *Muqaddimah, Anggaran Dasar, dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1990), p. 21.

<sup>86</sup>The Muḥammadiyah, for example, rejected the establishment of a branch in Pépé, Bantul, Yogyakarta in 1923, since its activities did not fulfill the requirements of the organization. See, "Notulen Hoofdbestuur Vergadering Moehammadijah," no. 19 (7 June, 1923); Muhammad Junus Anies, *Pemandangan Agama Islam dan Kaoem Moeslimin*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 56. The Muḥammadiyah often claimed that its policy was to "speak less but work hard to revive the social and religious life". See "Moehammadijah

the objectives of the Muḥammadiyah. As part of the ideological orientation of the movement, this slogan became an emotional and popular symbol, one of great appeal to the masses. The sense of rectitude and conviction embodied in this slogan inspired those who believed in the Muḥammadiyah's aims. Furthermore, it was hoped that all that was improper and wrong in the socio-religious life of people would be eradicated by this dynamic slogan. Also, since the movement considered itself to be a necessary agent in the reformation of Muslim life, it saw the slogan as promoting Islamic moral values. Thus, there was a belief that success could be attained, even if only by hard struggle.<sup>88</sup>

Although, the formation of an ideology for the movement was essentially a matter of developing an understanding of religious values, it was not enough merely to spout slogans. The movement's leaders realized the value of their own example in promoting a sound work-ethic. In the Muḥammadiyah literature, Ahmad Dahlan is held up as an example for his sincerity, hard work and other personal virtues.<sup>89</sup> His character-traits are shown to be in perfect keeping with the principles of the Muḥammadiyah ideology.<sup>90</sup>

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poenja Activiteit: membangoenkan ke-socialan dan ke-Islaman," *Adil* 1, 5 (6 October, 1932), p. 1.

<sup>88</sup>*Panggoegahing Islam*, pp. 9, 11.

<sup>89</sup>It was said that when his health deteriorated, he was sent to a sanatorium where his doctor and family advised him to take a respite from his daily activities. However, even at the sanatorium, he continued to propagate the ideas of his movement, and when his wife insisted on his taking a rest, he said: ["I must work hard to lay down the cornerstone of this tremendous work. If I slow my work or stop it because of my illness, nobody will be able to lay the cornerstone. I feel that my life will not last much longer, and if I am working hard to complete this work which is about to finish, it will be easy for the people to come to complete it"]. Solichin Salam, *K.H. Ahmad Dahlan: Tjita-Tjita dan Perdjuangannja* (Djakarta: Depot Pengadjaran Muhammadiyah, 1962), pp. 13-14; Hadikusuma, *Dari Jamaluddin Al-Afghani*, p. 113.

<sup>90</sup>Among these traits was *ikhlas* (sincerity), which lay at the foundation of various endeavors of the Muḥammadiyah. All these moral qualities were based on

*Members and Their Expected Behavior:* During the formative period, the membership of the Muḥammadiyah was dominated by the entrepreneurial class. Up to 1916, this class made up 47% of the total membership of the movement.<sup>91</sup> As in the earlier period, the new members were still dominated by the merchant class and some other middle class groups.<sup>92</sup> Merchants especially appreciated the value of hard work and had a very practical attitude towards profit-making. Therefore, when they committed themselves to the goals of the movement, their dedication became of vital importance to their achievement. For them, success could only come through hard work, not through irrational practices, such as by asking a sorcerer to protect or increase one's business, or by practicing certain traditional rituals in order to gain material benefit. Such characteristics highlighted the differences between the socio-ethical tendencies of the urban traders and the agrarian middle class in the early twentieth century.

In an article published in 1931 in the principal organ of the movement, *Soeara Moehammadijah*, the importance of real action was juxtaposed with superstitious beliefs. Real action was recommended not only by religion but also by the facts of history, which demonstrated that people could only achieve progress through honest labor. Superstitious beliefs, on the other hand, were not only a grave sin that should be avoided at all costs, but they were also useless because, rationally, they could not affect the actions of mankind at all.<sup>93</sup> It was

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some incident experienced by Ahmad Dahlan as leader of the organization. Salam, *K.H. Ahmad Dahlan*, pp. 50-62; see also Faried Ma'rūf, "Analisa Achlaq," pp. 9-13.

<sup>91</sup>*Soewara Moehammadijah* 5, 3 (1924), pp. 44-47.

<sup>92</sup>The composition of the membership as reported in the early 1920s consisted of 38.6% merchants, 24.6% government officials, and teachers, and 6% religious officials. *Sejarah Muhammadiyah*, pp. 11, 15.

<sup>93</sup>*Soeara Moehammadijah* 12, 31 (20 March, 1931), p. 701.

understandable from this explanation that the effort of purifying belief from corrupt traditional elements contained theological as well as social purposes, and that the religious consequence to be paid by those who practiced such beliefs was grave. Here, the rational logic of the reformists concluded that any action which was religiously forbidden should also be avoided in order to save one from material losses. Therefore the campaign to eradicate corrupt beliefs was not merely a religious consideration but a social one as well.

The principle of rationality and the emphasis on practical orientation enabled the movement to work for freedom of choice and action in religious life. This freedom permitted the interpretation of the basic sources on the basis of popular welfare, and injunctions of an explicit functional purpose. It also gave an impetus to the development of practical ways for realizing its objectives and achieving its social mission. The Muḥammadiyah's ideology of social reform was based on the ideas of the founders of the movement. According to this ideology, the mobilization of social endeavors was not only recommended by Islam but was needed in the face of the dynamics of socio-political change.

## CONCLUSION

The continuity of the Islamic reform movement in Indonesia was maintained by the emergence of a religious network linking the Middle East and Indonesia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Muḥammadiyah movement founded in 1912 was a part of this network. Its leaders were themselves mostly ḥājjs who had spent a number of years in Mecca and later in Cairo to deepen their Islamic knowledge. In the organization's formative period, men of such a background joined with members of the mercantile class to give the Muḥammadiyah its direction. Significantly, this combination produced a particular religious outlook, worldview, and system of ethical values, in which openness, tolerance, plurality, hard work, rational calculation, and a spirit of liberalism were all encouraged. All of these subsequently characterized the ideological orientation and patterns of activity of the movement.

The development of these characteristics shows that the most important objective of the Muḥammadiyah's reformist program was directed towards deriving practical solutions to social problems on the basis of a religious perspective. The tendency to see Islam as the fundamental reference for solving socio-economic problems was the dominant ideological orientation of the movement in the early twentieth century. It was an approach committed to the Islamic tradition, and yet at the same time it upheld reform. The Muḥammadiyah believed that the primary concern of any reform movement should be the reconstruction of the basic religious outlook. The task that it set for itself was therefore threefold. First, Islam provided the theological basis for the movement's

mission of social reform. This expressed itself in a variety of forms and contexts, such as a readiness to engage in new experiences, and an openness to ideas from other peoples, arguing that the truth may be found in any culture. The movement focussed on the premise that the reconstruction of Islam had logical as well as practical primacy and required substantive changes in the traditional approach to doctrinal interpretation. These intended changes included fostering a "proper understanding" of Islam, which assigned reason in an important position. Reason was seen as not only confirming the right of *ijtihād* and of liberating the mind from the bonds of *taqlīd*, but also as giving rational justification for the observance of religious injunctions. Moreover, the movement's "proper understanding" of Islam held that "worldly affairs" were of equal importance *vis à vis* certain pillars of Islam. This outlook rationalized the movement's particular religious, moral, and social interests and commitments, which subsequently provided philosophical justifications for its members' patterns of behavior, as well as their attitudes, goals, and general way of life. In early twentieth-century Indonesia, these insights, which had been developed sufficiently to respond to the challenge, favored change.

Second, the Muḥammadiyah leadership concluded that the basic principles of *īmān* and *ʿibādah*, when placed in a social context, had wider implications than is normally the case with belief and ritual *per se*. The implementation of these beliefs and rituals indeed required the performance of the standard daily religious practices, and, therefore, the movement urged that every effort be exerted in order to implement them in their original form and to preserve them from corrupt influences. Rational considerations rejected any impure additions to these practices because they were improper and useless. Moreover, such practices had an unavoidable impact on the social and economic life of the people because certain beliefs and practices often required material expense for their implementation. The

costs were considered as *tabdhīr* (squandering) and an undue burden on the majority of people, for those who indulged in superstitious beliefs and practices were usually poor. The theological foundations of rational religious understanding were laid down in interpreting the principal tenets of Islam. Here, the necessity of care for and of social responsibility towards one's fellow human beings are inseparable parts of *īmān* and *ʿibādah* in Islam.

Third, the Muḥammadiyah believed that as a true faith, the meaning of Islam becomes complete only in real actions. It saw Islam as practical, not theoretical - not an abstract doctrinal truth written in Scripture but a reflexive apprehension of this truth. The implementation of Islamic teachings was the ultimate goal of a real meaning of Islam, and, therefore it became a standard in measuring the commitment of a *mu'min* or a *muslim*. The movement's declaration to commit to work for human peace and the welfare of the people through concrete efforts<sup>1</sup> was the principal strategy of the movement in solving the social problems of the day. Believing that theological debate could only invite social conflict, the Muḥammadiyah's members translated its beliefs into action in the hope of creating social solidarity. It believed that the religious reform must be reflected in observable behavior, and that while religious thought was necessary, it was not the main priority. The movement's leaders were of the conviction that through actions people realized what religion meant to the welfare of the people.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, when one speaks about the reformist ideas of the Muḥammadiyah, one is not referring to an abstract theological debate but rather to an effort at implementing in the individual a particular religious ethos, which was directed to real action.

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<sup>1</sup> *Kepribadian Muhammadiyah*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11; see also Taufik Abdullah, "Reformisme Muhammadiyah," in Usman Yatim and Almizar Hamid, eds., *Muhammadiyah Dalam Sorotan* (Jakarta: Bina Rena Pariwara, 1993), p. 289.

Meanwhile, the emphasis on practical action also allowed the movement to respond to socio-religious challenges. During the period 1912-1942 the Muḥammadiyah always reacted well to change by adopting new techniques and forms of organization. The adoption of up-to-date methods was an important factor in the development of the movement. In general, the movement believed that method was almost by definition flexible and variable, taking its form from the nature of the situation, the exegesis of the circumstances, and the ingenuity of the people. It was within this framework that Mas Mansoer, during his leadership of the Muḥammadiyah, declared his intention to reform the organization. In doing so he sought to evaluate the way programs were implemented, in order to attain greater success for their mission.<sup>3</sup> Dialectically, practical action is a reflection of ideological formulation; conversely, ideological formulation had to be changed based on new, practical experience. This dialectical process subsequently generated important elements of the dynamic character of the movement during the Dutch colonial period.

The above-noted characteristics set the Muḥammadiyah movement apart from its contemporaries among the Islamic reform movements in Indonesia. This position elicited different reactions from other groups of Muslims, compared to what was directed at Persatuan Islam and al-Irshād. In keeping with this conclusion, this work suggests that further study is needed to determine whether the Muḥammadiyah's interest in *khilāfiyah* matters, especially such issues as *bid'ah*, *khurāfah*, and *takhayyul*, were ever the main reason for opposition to the movement, as has long been assumed.<sup>4</sup> On the other, this thesis believes that

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<sup>3</sup>Mas Mansoer, "Langkah Yang Keempat" *12 Tafsir Langkah*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup>Geertz, for example, has expressed such a view in his *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960); Deliar Noer, "The Rise and Development of

religious dispute was a superficial element, and that the primary cause for the reaction against the Muḥammadiyah was actually socio-economic and cultural in nature.

This hypothesis argues that such *khilāfīyah* matters were of crucial importance to Muslims because they were directly related to aspects of *‘ibādah*. From a sociological perspective, *‘ibādah* has both a moral and a symbolic role. If two Muslims respect the same symbols and share the same doctrines, they know that they belong to the same religious community. They can identify with one another as members of a group that has feelings of collective solidarity. Hence, people who share common symbols feel moral ties with one another and a righteous anger against outsiders who violate values that are important to them.<sup>5</sup> This explains why many Muslim leaders in the early twentieth century issued an angry response to those who disagreed with their religious practices and ideas. The movement's agenda may have been seen as a threat by the dominant power elite in the Muslim community who took shelter behind religious symbolism in order to maintain its privileged socio-economic position. Certain traditionalist *‘ulamā’* such as a pilgrimage *shaykh*, Kiyai Haji Abdulwahab Chasbullah and Kiyai Haji Asnawi of Kudus, owed their position and power to the very social system which was threatened by the Muḥammadiyah's programs.<sup>6</sup> This hypothesis

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the Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia During the Dutch Colonial Period (1900-1942)" (Ph.D dissertation, Cornell University, 1963), p. 389.

<sup>5</sup>Randall Collins, *Sociological Insight: An Introduction to Nonobvious Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 32, 44-46.

<sup>6</sup>The Muḥammadiyah leaders of Pekajangan said that the more successful the way the movement carried out its social programs, the less opportunity Kiyai Asnawi would have to gain his profits from the collection of *zakāh* and gifts from the pilgrims. "Notulen Hoofdbestuur Vergadering Moehammadijah," no. 21 (24 August, 1922). A Chinese source mentioned that Asnawi was involved in the social riot in Kudus in 1928. According to this source, this riot was caused by a defeated business competition of Hajis in Kudus by the Chinese traders. Asnawi

further questions why the movement, whose religious stance reflected openness, tolerance, and adaptibility could not, paradoxically, protect it from severe and sometimes violent reaction from various groups in Indonesian society.

In the early twentieth century, the most numerous and religiously influential group was that of the 'ulamā', who exercised considerable control over native socio-cultural and traditional educational institutions, Pondok Pesantren. They vigorously blocked the penetration of all modernizing influences. The most potent tool which enabled them to impose their cultural values was the traditional educational system financed and regulated by Islamic endowments. An educational system in its social context is, as Karl Mannheim has asserted, not merely "a means of realizing abstract ideals of culture," but also a part of the "process of influencing men and women" at multiple levels of social action.<sup>7</sup> The traditionalist 'ulamā' endeavored to construct a human type that would be ideologically compliant and which would culturally submit to the established institutional pattern. To this end the role of curriculum in their educational tradition was very important. Therefore, even the most modest efforts of the Muḥammadīyah to introduce modernization into the school curriculum were strongly opposed. Indeed the traditionalist 'ulamā' opposed all efforts at social reform and, in particular, endeavored to isolate the indigenous population from all Dutch influences. Vambery acknowledged their success in keeping the masses in

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was accused of inciting people by using religious symbolism to destroy the properties of the Chinese community. For this incident, he was one of the sixty nine activists sentenced for four years. Tan Boen Kim, *Peroesoehan di Koedoes: Soeatoe Tjerita Jang Betoel Telah Terdjadi di Djawa Tenga Pada Waktoe Jang Belon Sabrapa Lama* (Batavia: Drukkerij Goan Hong & Co., 1920), pp. 9-12, 93-97; see also chapter three, p. 124, note 13.

<sup>7</sup>Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (London, 1940), p. 271.

ignorance of all "non-religious" knowledge, and discrediting everything that comes from Europe.<sup>8</sup>

Hence it was to be expected that the traditionalist 'ulamā' should have desired to perpetuate their hold over the native institutional centers of cultural and economic power. A free inflow of so-called Dutch influence was bound to open the window to other ideas that would militate against the established ideology. In this context, the resistance was mainly directed against the fear of cultural reform, and it was, therefore, not only directed against the influence of the Dutch culture, but also against the Muḥammadiyah movement.

The traditionalist 'ulamā's reaction to the Muḥammadiyah movement was undoubtedly a direct outcome of the psychological desire to preserve their "religious ideology." But, in a certain degree, it was actually a reflection of their political attitude towards the Dutch occupation. It is reasonable to say that the political position of the Muslims under Dutch rule was very weak. Although they had a long tradition of militant resistance to the Dutch colonialism, the 'ulamā' nevertheless thought that to oppose the Dutch military at the time was impossible. This led to the decision to adopt a non-cooperative attitude towards the Dutch, both politically and culturally. They naturally justified this with religious reasons.

The Muḥammadiyah leaders believed that independence from the Dutch colonialism would evolve through adopting certain modern ideas and aspects of Western culture, even though some of them might have been derived from the Dutch. Convinced that such an attitude was right, they wanted to build a new culture appropriate to the demands of modernization. But their attempt to activate

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<sup>8</sup>Arminius Vambery, *Western Culture in Eastern Lands* (New York: Dutton, 1906), p. 278.

the forces of socio-cultural change was blocked not only by the traditionalist 'ulamā', but also by their own followers of a later generation, who did not fully preserve the spirit or the outlook of their predecessors.

## GLOSSARY OF ARABIC, INDONESIAN, and OTHER TERMS

<i>abangan</i> (Javanese)	-nominal Muslim, strongly influenced by Hindu-Buddhist and animist religious ideas
<i>abdi dalem</i> (Arabic & Javanese)	-royal servant
<i>adat</i> or <i>ʿādah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-tradition or custom
<i>ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamāʿah</i> (Arabic)	-Sunnites; a term which is formally claimed by the Nahdat al ʿUlamāʾ as its ideology
<i>akhlak, akhlāq</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-moral standard
<i>akhlāq al-maḥmūdah</i> (Arabic)	-good morals
<i>akhirat, ākhirah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-hereafter
<i>ʿālim</i> pl. <i>ʿulamāʾ</i> (Arabic)	-learned man in the Islamic teaching
<i>ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ</i> (Arabic)	-virtuous work
<i>amal usaha</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-endeavor
<i>ʿamal zāhir</i> (Arabic)	-outward action
<i>amanah, amānah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-truthworthiness
<i>ʿāmil</i> (Arabic)	-worker; administrative officer in charge of work
<i>ʿāmil zakāh</i> (Arabic)	-worker or agent who collects and distributes <i>zakāh</i>
<i>al-amr bi al-maʿrūf wa nahy ʿan al-munkar</i> (Arabic)	-enjoining the good and forbidding the wrong
<i>ʿaqīdah, pl. ʿaqāʾid</i> (Arabic)	-creed; article of faith, see <i>īmān</i>
<i>armhuis</i> (Dutch)	-poorhouse

<i>atbāʿ al-tābiʿīn</i> (Arabic)	-successors of the <i>tābiʿūn</i> , see <i>tābiʿūn</i>
<i>aurat</i> , <i>ʿaurah</i> pl. <i>ʿaurāt</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-weak spot; covering of one's body
<i>badanīyah</i> (Arabic)	-physical
<i>batik</i> (Indonesian)	-beautiful printed (originally designed by hand) cloth manufactured in Indonesia
<i>bidʿah</i> (Arabic)	-religious practice which deviates from the standard Islamic belief and ritual
<i>birr</i> (Arabic)	-devoutness; kindness; charity
<i>dakwah</i> , <i>daʿwah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-religious propagation
<i>dunia</i> , <i>dunyā</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-world
<i>farāʾid</i> (Arabic)	-obligatory shares, used for inheritance in Islamic law; see <i>ʿilm al-farāʾid</i>
<i>fastabiqū al-khairāt</i> (Arabic)	-vie with each other in good works
<i>fatwa</i> , or <i>fatwā</i> pl. <i>fatāwā</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-decision on a religious matter given by a recognized religious scholar
<i>fiqh</i> (Arabic)	-Islamic law, see <i>uṣūl al-fiqh</i>
<i>fī sabillillāh</i> (Arabic)	-for the cause of God
<i>farʿ</i> , pl. <i>furūʿ</i> (Arabic)	-branch, subdivision
<i>gerakan amal</i> (Indonesian)	-movement of action
<i>Goeroe Ordonnantie</i> (Indonesian, Dutch)	-Teacher's Ordinance
<i>gotong royong</i> (Indonesian, from Javanese)	-mutual cooperation
<i>hadji</i> , <i>haji</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-a title for a person who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>ḥajj</i> (Arabic)	-pilgrimage or to perform the pilgrimage

<i>ḥājj</i> (Arabic)	-pilgrim
<i>hal, ḥāl</i> pl. <i>aḥwāl</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-situation, condition
<i>halal, ḥalāl</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-lawful
<i>ḥārah</i> (Arabic)	-the student lodges at al-Azhar university, see <i>riwāq</i>
<i>haram, ḥarām</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-forbidden by Islamic law; unlawful
<i>hikmah, ḥikmah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-wisdom, underlying reason, maxim
<i>ḥisāb</i> (Arabic)	-arithmetic; a method used by the Indonesian reformists to determine the calendar and daily prayer times; the term mainly applied to determining the beginning and the end of fasting month ( <i>Ramaḍān</i> ); see <i>ruʿyah</i>
<i>ibadah, ʿibādah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-religious ritual
<i>ʿibādah khāṣṣ</i> (Arabic)	-particular <i>ʿibādah</i>
<i>ʿīd al-fiṭr</i> (Arabic)	-the feast of breaking the fast of <i>Ramaḍān</i> on the first day of the month of Shawwal (the tenth month of the Islamic calendar); it is the biggest annual celebrated by Indonesian Muslims; often called <i>Lebaran</i>
<i>iḥsan</i> (Arabic)	-beneficence
<i>ijtihad, ijtihād</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-the right of individual interpretation
<i>ijtihād jamāʿī</i> (Arabic)	-collective <i>ijtihād</i>
<i>ikhlas, ikhlās</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-sincere devotion, sincerity
<i>ʿilm al-falak</i> (Arabic)	-astronomy
<i>ʿilm al-farāʿid</i> (Arabic)	-knowledge of distributive shares in

	inheritance which are given to certain heirs according to Islamic law; see <i>farā'id</i> , <i>mawārīth</i> and <i>wārīth</i>
<i>ʿilm al-kalām</i> (Arabic)	-scholastic theology
<i>imam, imām</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-leader of the congregational prayer; head of a religious community
<i>al-Imām</i> (Arabic)	-a monthly magazine published in Malay in 1906
<i>iman, imān</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-faith, belief, see <i>mu'min</i>
<i>iṣlāh</i> (Arabic)	-reform
<i>al-Iṣlāh wa al-Irshād</i> (Arabic)	-reform and guidance; the name of an Islamic reform movement founded by Aḥmad al-Surkatī in Djakarta in 1913
<i>ittibāʿ</i> (Arabic)	-acceptance of a religious judgment from another who bases it on the fundamental sources of Islam
<i>iʿtiqād</i> (Arabic)	-principle of faith
<i>jadīdist</i> (from Arabic)	-reformist movement in Central Asia in the early twentieth century
<i>al-Jamʿīyah al-Khairīyah</i> (Arabic)	-Association for the Good; an Indonesian Arab association founded in Djakarta in 1905; the organization was open to every Muslim, but, in fact, the majority of its members were of Arab origin
<i>Jawa, jāwah</i> or <i>jāwā</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-Java
<i>Jāwī</i> (Arabic)	-the word was used for the whole archipelago of the Dutch East Indies, for the Southeast Asians staying in Mecca in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; Javanese
<i>jihad, jihād</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-fight, battle
<i>kafir, kāfir</i> pl. <i>kāfirūn</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-unbeliever

	from Arabic)	
<i>kaidah, qā'idah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)		-foundation; organizational norm
<i>kāmil</i> (Arabic)		-perfect
<i>kaum muda</i> (Indonesian)		-a term was often used in West Sumatra to call the reformist group in the early twentieth century
<i>kaum tua</i> (Indonesian)		-a term for traditionalist group, see <i>kaum muda</i>
<i>khilāfīyah</i> (Arabic)		-referring to differences of opinion on details of legal practice and doctrine which do not affect principles; controversial
<i>khatib, khaṭīb</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)		-Friday sermon giver, see <i>khutbah</i>
<i>khurāfah</i> (Arabic)		-superstition
<i>khutbah, khuṭbah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)		- Friday sermon
<i>kiblat, qiblah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)		-direction of prayer (to Mecca)
<i>kijaji, kyai</i> (Indonesian)		-'ulamā', used especially in Java.
<i>kraton</i> (Indonesian)		-royal palace
<i>kweekschool</i> (Dutch)		-teacher training school
<i>langgar</i> (Javanese)		-small prayer building, also called <i>muṣallā</i>
<i>Lebaran</i> (Indonesian)		-traditional celebration of 'Īd al-Fiṭr in Indonesia
<i>lisān</i> (Arabic)		-tongue, speech
<i>madhhab, pl. madhāhib</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)		-school of <i>fiqh</i>
<i>madrasah</i> (Arabic)		-school; usually refers to a religious school
<i>al-Manār</i> (Arabic)		-the Lighthouse; a journal founded by

Muḥammad ʿAbduh in Egypt in 1898

- manāsik al-ḥajj* (Arabic) -a set of rituals during the pilgrimage
- maslahah, maṣlahah* (Indonesian, from Arabic) -that which is beneficial
- mawārith* (Arabic) -inheritance; Islamic law of inheritance; see *wārith*
- muʿāmalah* (Arabic) -social affair
- muballigh* (Arabic) -a person who propagates Islam; see *tabligh*
- mujaddid* pl. *mujaddidūn* (Arabic) -reformer, see *tajdid*
- muktamar, muʿtamar* (Indonesian, from Arabic) -conference; the Muḥammadiyah holds it every five years
- munafik, munāfiq* (Indonesian, from Arabic) -hypocrite
- al-Munir* (Arabic) -a fortnightly periodical published in Padang, West Sumatra in 1911
- muqīm* (Arabic) -*Jāwī* peoples who stayed in Mecca temporarily or permanently in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to worship or to deepen their religious knowledge, see *Jāwī*
- mustahiqqīn* (Arabic) -those who deserve to receive *zakāh*
- musyawarah, mushāwarah* (Indonesian, from Arabic) -consultation
- muttaqūn* (Arabic) -righteous people (Muslims), see *taqwā*
- nāqiṣ* (Arabic) -decreased, imperfect
- nas, naṣṣ* (Indonesian, from Arabic) -textual injunction of the Qurʾān
- Neracha* (Malay) -a weekly newspaper published in the Malay in 1911
- pasar* (Indonesian) -market
- pengajian* (Indonesian) -religious lecture

<i>penghulu</i> (Indonesian)	-head of religious official at regency level
<i>Persatuan Islam</i> (Indonesian)	-Islamic Unity; a reformist organization established in Bandung in 1923
<i>Pesantren, Pondok Pesantren</i> (Indonesian)	-Islamic traditional seminary in Java
<i>priyayi</i> (Indonesian)	-Javanese aristocrat, usually connected with government administration
<i>putihan</i> (Javanese)	-devout Muslim, see <i>santri</i>
<i>qāḍī</i> (Arabic)	-religious official, magistrate
<i>qānūn asāsī</i> (Arabic)	-basic rule or law
<i>kiblat, qiblah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-the direction of Islamic prayer (Mecca)
<i>qunūt</i> (Arabic)	-submissive, obedient; standing upright while reciting the Qur'ān; standing in dawn prayer from the <i>rukū'</i> (bow) of the second <i>raka'ah</i> while reciting a special prayer
<i>riwāq</i> (Arabic)	-living quarters, dormitories and workrooms of the students of al-Azhar University in Cairo, divided according to provinces and nationalities, see <i>ḥārah</i>
<i>romusja</i> (Japanese)	-involuntary worker for the Japanese in Indonesia
<i>rūḥānīyah</i> (Arabic)	-spiritual
<i>ru'yah</i> (Arabic)	-vision, sight; see <i>ḥisāb</i>
<i>sadaqah, ṣadaqah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-charity
<i>sahabat, ṣaḥābah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-companion of the Prophet
<i>sahadat, shahādah</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-testimony, Muslim creed
<i>salat, ṣalāh</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-prayer, praying

<i>santri</i> (Indonesian)	-pupil of a <i>pesantren</i> in Java; devout Muslim
<i>Sarekat Islam</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-Muslim Association; a transformation of Muslim trade association founded in Solo in 1911
<i>sedikit bicara banyak kerja</i> (Indonesian)	-less talk more work
<i>sunnat al-llāh</i> (Arabic)	-the law of God
<i>ṣūfī</i> (Arabic)	-Islamic mystic; a member of an order which follows mystical interpretation of Islamic doctrines and practices, see <i>taṣawwuf</i>
<i>syirik, shirk</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-idolatry
<i>tablīgh</i> (Arabic)	-propagate religious message; see <i>muballigh</i>
<i>tabshīr</i> (Arabic)	-announcement of glad news
<i>tajdīd</i> (Arabic)	-renewal
<i>tajwīd</i> (Arabic)	-the art of Qur'ānic reciting
<i>takhayyul</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-belief in the disembodied spirit of a dead person; whim
<i>taqlīd</i> (Arabic)	-accepting the already established tradition and practice as final and as having an authoritative character
<i>taqlīd buta</i> (Arabic, Indonesian)	-blind acceptance
<i>taqwa, taqwā</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-devoutness, see <i>muttaqūn</i>
<i>taṣawwuf</i> (Arabic)	-Islamic mysticism, see <i>ṣūfī</i>
<i>tauhid, tawḥīd</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-the Unity of God
<i>tawakal, tawakkul</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-trust in God
<i>ta'wīl</i> (Arabic)	-interpretation

<i>Tunas Melayu</i> (Malay)	-a monthly journal published in the Malay in 1913
‘ <i>ulamā</i> ’ (Arabic)	-see <i>‘ālim</i>
<i>al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqā</i> (Arabic)	-the Indissoluble Bond; a journal founded by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and ‘Abduh in Paris in 1883
<i>uṣūl al-fiqh</i> (Arabic)	-Islamic jurisprudence, see <i>fiqh</i>
<i>wajib, wājib</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-obligatory, unavoidable
<i>wakaf, waqf</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-religious endowment
<i>wali, walīy</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-legally guardian (for a child); a man close to God, holy man, Sufi
<i>walisanga</i> (Indonesian)	-the nine <i>walis</i> ; referring to the earliest propagandist of Islam in Java
<i>waris, wārith</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-inheritor, heir; see <i>mawārith</i>
<i>weeshuis</i> (Dutch)	-orphanage
<i>zakat, zakāh</i> (Indonesian, from Arabic)	-almsgiving

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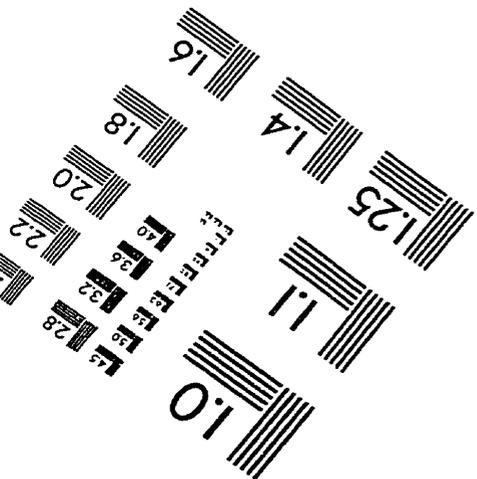
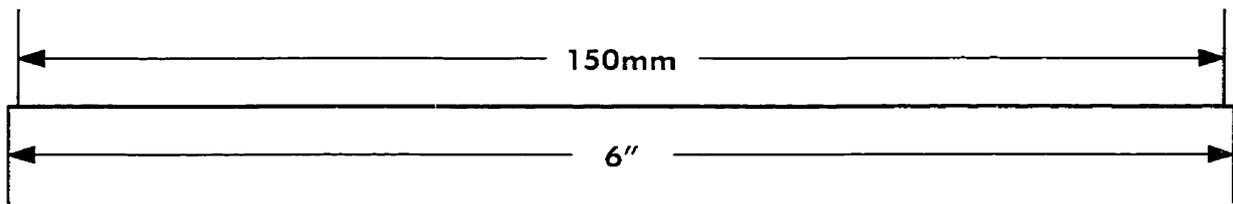
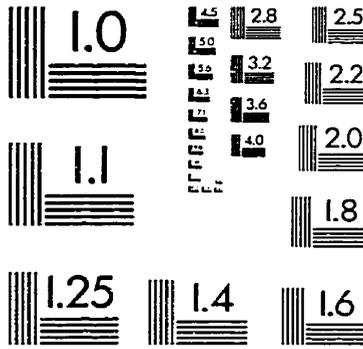
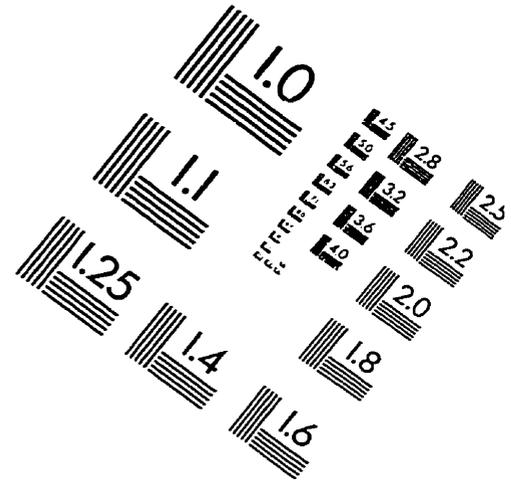
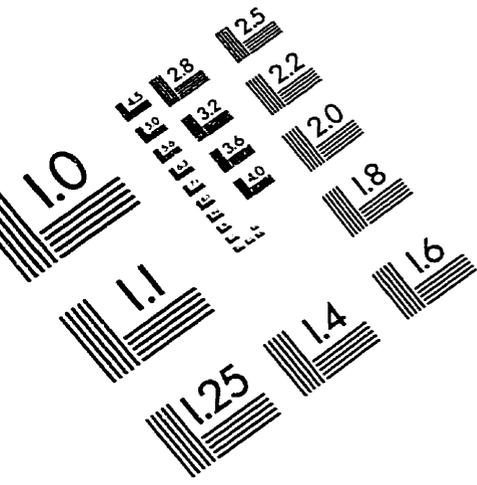
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