

KIYAI HAJI AHMAD DAHLAN, HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT

by

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### ABSTRACT

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This thesis represents the part that Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan played in the Islamic modernist movement of the early twentieth century in Yogyakarta. It is concerned with his life and thought, and the establishment of the Muhammadiyah, a major non-political Muslim organization. The Muhammadiyah played an important role in the development and modernization of Muslim education by the reformulation of Islamic doctrines in the light of modern knowledge.

Through the Muhammadiyah, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan successfully spread his idea to the Muslim society in Yogyakarta. It became a popular means for Islamic reformers throughout Indonesia to launch ideas of modernization into the thoughts and customs of the Muslims.

## ABSTRAIT

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Titre de la These : LA VIE ET PENSÉE DE  
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Cette these a pour but de représenter le rôle tenu par Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan dans le mouvement moderniste Islamique au début de 20ième siècle à Yogyakarta. Elle s'interesse à sa vie et pensée ainsi qu'à l'establissement de la Muhammadiyah, une très grande organization apolitique Musulmane. La Muhammadiyah a joué unde rôle important dans le développement et la modernization de l'education musulmane, en reformant les lourdes doctrines Islamique à la lumière de la connaissance moderne.

A travers la Muhammadiyah, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan a repandu avec succès ses idées sur la société Musulmane à Yogyakarta. Ce qui est finalement devenu un moyen populaire pour les reformateurs Islamique à travers l'Indonesie de lancer des idées modernes dans les pensées et coutumes des Musulmanes.

# النَّاسُ أَغْدَاءُ مَا جَهِلُوا

al-Nās A<sup>c</sup>dā' mā Jahilū

People are hostile  
to strange things

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan



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## INTRODUCTION

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the early twentieth century, events occurred to re-awaken Muslim countries all over the world. During that period, the Muslims began to wake up from their slumber, after having lived for a long period of time under the shackles of colonization. They realized that the loss of independence, deviation from the teachings of Qur'ānic principles and tradition of the Prophet Muhammad had brought them to a stage of stagnation and backwardness. This awareness drove them to launch several organization programmes by which they combine political effort to achieve their independence and religious reform. These efforts were carried out by Muslim modernists in every part of the Muslim countries all over the world. Furthermore, the circumstances were propitious for the emergence of a physical movement. In certain countries, this occurred in an organized way, and in the certain others in a relatively haphazard fashion.

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-1897), was born in the large village of Asadabad near the city of Hamadan in the

Northwest of Iran.<sup>1</sup> Because of his views, he had to leave his homeland; he went to India and was forced out, and sought refuge in Egypt from whence he was exiled to Paris. He then visited Istanbul where he was well received by Grand Vezier Ali Pasha. Afterward Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī left Istanbul for Cairo where he was welcomed by Riyāz Pasha and taught philosophy and theology at the Azhar University in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> He appeared with two main objectives: political and theological. In his political objective, he tried to combine, consolidate and coordinate all Muslim countries against foreign domination and exploitation. In theological effort, he tried to redeem Islam from the false doctrines and abuses which had brought about the decline of his generation. He advised people to purify Islam of un-Islamic practices that had appeared in the course of time. It was this idea which was to be known as his Pan-Islamic idea.<sup>3</sup> In fact, he became the harbinger of the reformist and modernist movement<sup>4</sup> toward the end of the nineteenth century.

His views had a great impact on whole areas of the Middle-East, and greatly influenced the outlook of the Egyptian Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh (1849-1905). <sup>C</sup>Abduh was a powerful thinker, a prolific writer and a great reformer. 'Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh was opposed equally to despotism in Muslim lands to



foreign control over Muslim countries. He wanted the Muslims to take the good things in modern civilization without abandoning the Islamic principles."<sup>5</sup>

Similar ideas were forcefully advocated by the famous editor of al-Manār, Muḥammad Rashīd Ridā (1865-1935) of Syria. He settled in Egypt to be nearer to his teacher, Muḥammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. "Muḥammad Rashīd Ridā became convinced that the foremost task was to combat the menace from within."<sup>6</sup>

The reformist movement of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh was followed by the Salāfiyah movement (go back to the ancestors) of Muḥammad Rashīd Ridā.

The reform movement, according to Inamullah Khan, was a "purification with efforts for reconstructing with a view to reasserting the authority of the Qur'ān and that of the Holy Prophet. This movement wanted to keep Islam alive and fresh by sustaining a continuous interpretative progress."<sup>7</sup>

In India, Sayed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), who was born in 1817 in Delhi, established the modernist Aligarh Institute in 1866. To acquaint himself with western civilization and culture, and to know the secret of its power, he undertook a trip to England in 1869. On his return from England, he started to publish a journal called the Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq<sup>8</sup> which first appeared in December 1870 with the sub-title Muhammadian Social

Reformer. He started writing a commentary on the Holy Qur'ān in modern terms in Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq. As Sayed Ahmad Khan said: "When I am endeavouring to introduce these modern branches of knowledge among the Muslims, it is also my duty to defend the religion of Islam and to reveal its original bright face."<sup>9</sup>

Another reformer and modernist of Islam in the Indian sub-continent was Sir Muhammad Iqbāl (1873-1938). He was born in Sialkot, India, and gave a lecture on the principle of reform movements in the structure of Islam which later became the title of his book, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. His discussion was divided into two parts: the first section tried to "...extract from the total thought of modern Islam in the sub-continent ideas which display a desire for progress as well as for religion, and simultaneously analyzes their underlying function of facilitating a reconciliation between religion and modernity;..."<sup>10</sup> The second section "...discusses the problem of whether modernist Islam, so far as it is represented by such ideas, had come to differ significantly from traditional Islam."<sup>11</sup>

In this sense, these reformists can also be called "modernists" as Inamullah Khan described them, saying, "the modernist movement is an attempt to re-express Islam in modern terms and terminologies and reapply it to the present situation."<sup>12</sup>

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These two countries were examples of a reformist and modernist model which had greatly influenced the reformist and modernist movements in Indonesia. To some extent, these movements are similar if compared with Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan and the Muhammadiyah in Indonesia. Though geographically, certain contemporary problems of the community and colonial government differed from one country to the other, the problems the reformists faced were mostly similar to one another.

According to the modernist Muslim point of view, taqlid (blind imitation) has most conspicuously been the inertia in Islam. Even in the pre-modernist period, the principle of taqlid was attacked by such religious leaders as Ibn Taymiyah<sup>13</sup> (d. 1328), and Shah Wali Allāh<sup>14</sup> of Delhi (d. 1762). In the modern period, taqlid was the first principle to be eliminated by modernist Muslims from the guiding doctrines of Islam.

"They claim the possibility of ijtihad (exertion) for all time, and they declare that the only true Islam is the original Islam, i.e., based upon the teachings of Qur'an and Hadith."<sup>15</sup>

In every community where reformist and modernist ideas were expressed, conservatives and traditionalists would oppose reform. These groups were very resistant to accepting anything new. They almost never changed their minds and they became an antagonistic group toward the reformists and modernists in

every instance.

Conservatives sought refuge in the asylum of no change. They became more rigid in their outlook and approach. Every change, they thought, would be a change for the worse. So, they concluded, the only way to save Islamic values and culture, in this hour of chaos and confusion, was to stick to the past stubbornly and to guard it jealously.<sup>16</sup>

So-called "traditionalism is to be viewed as a negative attitude toward all types of western innovation. Modernist thus represent a dynamic outlook, essentially pragmatic and adaptable. Traditionalism is a static position, fundamentally passive and hardly able to react to external stimuli."<sup>17</sup>

Every historian of Indonesia would agree that during the first decade of the twentieth century there were at least two significant phenomena which appeared. Both phenomena had been incubating for at least three centuries of colonial rule. Firstly, Indonesian national consciousness evolved with the formation of certain national **organizations** which were instrumental in the long struggle of the Indonesian people against Dutch imperialism. This movement toward independence was motivated by the spirit of Islamic teachings. This meant the Muslims believed that struggle and revolt against Dutch colonialism was a holy duty according to the Islamic point of view.

If they died on the battlefield, they were considered martyrs and would be guaranteed a place in paradise. Secondly, the majority of Indonesian people were Muslims, but Islam in Indonesia was languishing, engulfed by heterodox elements. Thus, by the early twentieth century, Indonesia was ripe for the various Islamic movements. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was one of the leaders who successfully brought a reformist and modernist aspect to religious values as well as to the educational institutions of Indonesia. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's contact with the leading reformers in the Middle-East and Saudi Arabia, as well as in his own country, so strongly influenced him that he proceeded to create a socio-religious movement in Indonesia, and through it, he spread his ideas to every part of the country.

The organization of this thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals with the biography of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. This biography discusses the important periods of his life, his birth and his early pesantren education. After obtaining some basic religious education in Indonesia, he went on pilgrimage and continued advanced studies in the holy cities in Saudi Arabia. During his stay, he was influenced by the Islamic reform movement which had been launched by Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh in Egypt at that time. Upon

coming back to Indonesia he started to propagate his Islamic modernist ideas by establishing the Muhammadiyah organization. According to the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, the Muhammadiyah was a "Reformist Muslim organization in Indonesia, founded Nov. 18, 1912, by Kyahi Haji Ahmad Dahlan, in Yogyakarta, after the example of reformist movements in Egypt and India."<sup>18</sup> He devoted his life to spreading a modernistic view of Islam.

In chapter two, the writer shows how bid'ah (innovation) and khurafat (superstition) flourished in Muslim society in Indonesia corrupting and deviating the religious faith from the teachings of Islam. Dahlan tried to call them back to original sources of Islam, the Qur'an and Hadith, by re-expressing Islam in modern terms.

To understand how far Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was influenced by Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh's thought, the writer compares Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh, an important leader of Islamic modernism in Egypt, with Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the leader who successfully established the Muhammadiyah as the Islamic modernist movement in Indonesia. Subsequently, Dahlan's movement in a general sense can be seen as an extension of modernist thought that swept across all the Islamic countries at the turn of the 19th century. Finally, the writer describes

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's ideas on ijtihad and morality, the central concept of his thought which brought new breath to the purification of Javanese Islam in Indonesia.

The third chapter outlines his reform movement in Muslim Education. At that time, in Indonesia, education was divided between the Pondok-pesantren (Religious School) which only taught religion, and the Dutch educational system which ignored religious instruction. This, of course, created two different groups in society. Each was separated from the other by its totally different educational background. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan realized this and tried to combine both in his own system, the Pondok-Muhammadiyah. He wished to produce intellectual, yet religious, Muslims. His goal was to make the Indonesians capable of fulfilling the demands of the modern world.

The conclusion, or the last chapter, shows Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan as Indonesia's most important modernist, both in the religious and educational fields. The writer hopes this study will contribute to an understanding of the ideas of the founder of the Muhammadiyah organization.

#### A Note on the Spelling of Indonesian Words

The Indonesian language was born out of Malay, and has

gone through at least three periods of development. These are the Dutch colonial period, from the beginning of the seventeenth century until 1942, the Japanese occupation period from 1942 to 1945, and the period of national independence from August 17, 1945 up to the present.

According to the Latin spelling, changes were made unofficially during the Japanese occupation period. The most important change was that of the Dutch vowel oe, formerly used in Indonesian to express the sound of u, as in the English word "put". The only exception to this change is those people who prefer to use the old spelling oe in their names. This change has been confirmed by the Minister of Education and has been called the Republic Spelling or Suwandi's Spelling since March 19, 1947.<sup>19</sup>

The new spelling, based on Suwandi's Spelling, emerged in 1954 at the second congress of the Indonesian language at Medan. The results of the congress were incorporated into the language in 1957. This resulted in the combination of Malay (Persekutuan Tanah Melayu) and Indonesia in 1959.<sup>20</sup> Some changes are as follows:

Old

New one

dj djalan (street)

j jalan



<u>Old</u>	<u>New one</u>
j jakin (sure)	y yakin
nj njata (clear)	ny nyata
sj sjarat (condition)	sy syarat
tj tjepat (fast)	c cepat
ch chidmat (respect)	kh khidmat

This new spelling has been adopted for all Indonesian wording throughout this thesis. In addition, most Arabic terms will be found in their Indonesian equivalents.

The new spelling has some similarities to English. These are as follows:

<u>Indonesian</u>	<u>English</u>
j	j (as in jar)
y	y (as in yellow)
c	ch (as in chat, chalk)
kh	kh

The main differences in transliteration from Arabic are as follows:

<u>Indonesian</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
ts	th	ث

<u>Indonesian</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
h	h	هـ
kh	kh	كـ
dz	dh	ذـ
sy	sh	شـ
sh	s	سـ
dh(dl)	d	دـ
th	t	تـ
dh	z	زـ

### Indonesian Names and Titles

Following the indigenous custom, many Indonesian, especially the Javanese, have only one name.<sup>21</sup> In accordance with this custom, a person's name could be chosen to describe the condition of the person to whom that name is given. Usually a child's name changes when the child grows up, or when he has chosen a certain occupation. For instance, a boy whose name is Suta (meaning "son"), changes his name into Sastra (meaning "letter") when he grows up and becomes a secretary of the village administration. It is easy to realize that this custom of name-giving developed in ancient times. So-called mana, or magic, was quite influential and played an important role in Indonesian life.

During the influence of Hindu culture in Indonesia, many Indonesian were proud to have names of heroes from Hindu epics or names from Sanskrit literature.<sup>22</sup>

The spread of Islam among Indonesians has brought about the combination of Muslim names attached to native names, like Wahidin (from Wahid al-Din) Sudirohusodo (from su, an old Javanese prefix meaning "good" or "superior", often put before the names; diro, from the old Javanese "dhira" meaning "hero"; husodo, from the Sanskrit word "ausadha" meaning "remedy"). Therefore, Sudirohusodo was a Javanese physician who founded the Budi Utomo movement. Sometimes Indonesia Muslims put the name of the Prophet Muhammad in front of their native Sanskrit name. Muslim names in full are also very often used.

The aristocratic titles like Pangeran, Raden Ngabehi, Raden Mas, and Raden, were used during the colonial period, but after the revolution for independence, some individuals dropped the aristocratic title and decided to use their academic titles, if they were educated at the university level.<sup>23</sup>

Many educated Indonesian intellectuals assumed academic titles which are still much prized in terms of social status. These titles conform with those in use in Holland, and some of them are still used today. To prevent these titles from

being confused by the English reader, the most important ones are as follows:

Mr. is an abbreviation of Meester in de Rechten, i.e. Master of Law, but this has been changed to S.H. (Sarjana Hukum). This title is placed at the end of the person's name. It indicates that the person has a law degree, and usually at least four or five years of study at the university level.

Ir. is an abbreviation of Ingenieur, i.e. Engineer, a degree in engineering, which usually involves five to six years of study at the university level.

Drs. is an abbreviation of Doctorandus, which indicates that the person has completed all work toward his doctorate with the exception of the Ph.D. dissertation, after which the title of Dr. (Doctor) can be used.<sup>24</sup>

The old Javanese title, Kiyai meaning "Honourable" or "Chief", has taken the meaning of "Shaykh" since Islam has entered Indonesia. It is now very often placed before the name of Ulama (Muslim scholars) who are held in high esteem by Indonesians.

Another honourable title which Islam has brought to Indonesia is the title of Haji (from Arabic Hājj), or persons who have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Nikki R. Keddie, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn "al-Afghānī" (London: University of California Press, 1972), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Kerim Kamī Key, "Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and the Muslim Reform Movement," The Islamic Literature, 3rd year, No. 10 (October, 1951), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Oesman Amin, Lights on Contemporary Moslem Philosophy (Cairo: The Renaissance Bookshop, 1958), p. 65.

<sup>4</sup>D. van der Meulen, "Crisis in the World of Islam," The Moslem World, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (October, 1936), p. 351.

<sup>5</sup>The Muslim World, "Muslim Personalities Muhammad Abduh," The Muslim World, A Weekly Review of the Motamar, Vol. IX, No. 5 (August, 1971), p. 3.

<sup>6</sup>Maryam Jameelah Begum, "Rashid Rida's 'Manar' Movement for Islamic Renaissance in Egypt," Muslim News, Vol. IV, Bo. 11 (May, 1966), p. 28.

<sup>7</sup>Inamullah Khan, "Islam in the Contemporary World," in God and Man in Contemporary Islam Thought (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1972), pp. 11-12.

<sup>8</sup>Bashir Ahmad Dar, Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1971), p. 116.

<sup>9</sup>The Muslim World, "Muslim Personalities Syed Ahmad Khan," The Muslim World, A Weekly Review of the Motamar, Vol. IX, No. 9 (September, 1971), p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>Nasim Ahmad Jawed, "Religion and Modernity: Some

Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Indo-Pakistani Ideas," The Moslem World, Vol. LXI, No. 2 (April, 1971), p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Khan, "Islam in the Contemporary World," p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Jawed, "Religion and Modernity," p. 74.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> J. M. S. Baljon, Jr., "A Comparison Between Two Reformers," The Islamic Literature, 4th year, No. 2 (February, 1952), p. 30.

<sup>16</sup> Voice of Islam, "Conservatism vs. Modernism in Islamic Law," Voice of Islam, Vol. VI, No. 8 (May, 1958), p. 310.

<sup>17</sup> Hisham Sharabi, Arab Intellectuals and the West, The Formative Years, 1875-1914 (London: The Middle East Institute, 1969), p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, "Muhammadiyah," Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. by H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), p. 409.

<sup>19</sup> Sultan Takdir Alisyahbana, Tatabahasa Baru Bahasa Indonesia, Part I (Jakarta: Pustaka Rakyat N.V., 1953), p. 33.

<sup>20</sup> Indonesia, "Completion of the New Indonesian Spelling," Indonesia (Ottawa: Indonesian Embassy, August, 1972).

<sup>21</sup> George McTurnan Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution

in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952),  
p. ix.

<sup>22</sup>Timur Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement: Its  
Cotribution to Indonesian Nationalism," (unpublished M.A.  
thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1954), p. 4.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Kahin, Nationalism, p. ix.

## CHAPTER I

### THE IMPORTANT PERIODS OF Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's Life

#### 1. Ancestry, Birth and Early Education

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan belonged to a very distinguished and respectable family of Yogyakarta which traced its genealogy to a well-known wali (saint preacher), called Maulana Malik Ibrahim. He was the first and most prominent wali of the wali songo (nine saints), who had successfully spread Islam among the Javanese in the early period. He migrated to Java during the reign of the Majapahit Kingdom. He settled and remained at Gresik (East Java) until he died on April 8, 1419. His body was then buried in Gresik.<sup>1</sup> Some sources mention that he came from Maghrib, hence he was sometimes called Maulana Maghribi. According to the History of Java, written by Thomas Stamford Raffles, he was a descendant of Zayn al- Abidin, grandson of the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>2</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's father was Kiyai Haji Abu Bakar, son of Kiyai Haji Muhammad Sulaiman, son of Kiyai Murtadha, son of Kiyai Ilyas, son of Demang Jurang Juru Kapindo, son of Demang Jurang Juru Sepisan, son of Maulana



Sulaiman (Ki Ageng Gribig), son of Maulana Fadlullah, son of Maulana Ainal Yaqin, son of Maulana Ishaq, and son of Maulana Malik Ibrahim.<sup>3</sup> Kiyai Haji Abu Bakar was appointed a khatib (one who gives the sermon in the Sultanate Mosque of Yogyakarta).

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's grandfather, Kiyai Haji Muhammad Sulaiman, was a juru kunci (holder of the key and the person responsible for the maintenance of the graveyard) at Nitikan.<sup>4</sup> His mother, Nyai Haji Abu Bakar, was the daughter of Kiyai Haji Ibrahim, a penghulu (religious judge) at Yogyakarta, son of Kiyai Haji Hasan, and son of Kiyai Muhammad Ali.<sup>5</sup>

Yogyakarta, the place where Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was born, formerly belong to the so-called Mataram Kingdom. In negotiations signed in the village of the Gianti on February 13, 1755, Mataram was divided into two states, Surakarta, which remained under the Susuhunan, and Yogyakarta, headed by Prince Mangkubumi. The Dutch wording of this treaty was composed by the V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) representative.<sup>6</sup>

It was agreed that Prince Mangkubumi should bear the royal name of Hamangkubuwono, and that only his legal descendants would have the right of succession. The new Sultan then

received half of Mataram and gave both his new state and his capital the name of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat or Yogyakarta, as the Dutch named it later on for their convenience. After further arrangement between Yogyakarta and Surakarta, under the supervision and with the approval of the Dutch, the area of Yogyakarta finally became what is presently known as the Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (Special Region of Yogyakarta).<sup>7</sup>

Raden Muhammad Said's rebellious movement ended in 1757 with a further division of Surakarta into two smaller states, that of Surakarta proper under the Susuhunan, and Mangkunegaran under Raden Muhammad Said, who assumed the new name of Prince Mangkunegara. Yogyakarta, however, had undergone a further split. During the British interim government from 1812 to 1814, Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles granted a small part of the Yogyakarta region to Prince Natakusuma, a son of Sultan Hamangkubuwono I and brother of the then-ruling Sultan Hamangkubuwono II. The Prince named Pakualam, was recognized as being independent from the Sultan.

Furthermore, when the Dutch returned in 1816, the old state of Mataram had fallen apart into four distinct states, namely, Surakarta, Mangkunegaran, Yogyakarta and Pakualaman.<sup>8</sup>

The historical and sociological explanation for this

differentiation is, that Islam played different roles in various parts of the archipelago. The rulers of the coastal principalities Demak and Banten embraced Islam, and apparently found it a convenient ideological tool in their struggle for independence, first from Majapahit, and later from Mataram. Though successful at first, these Muslim princes had only won a Pyrrhic victory. Subsequently, the Hinduized Kingdom of Mataram adopted Islam itself, and having done so, managed to subdue its rebellious coastal vassals, destroying in the process the most dynamic parts of the Islamic community in Java.<sup>9</sup>

All Java was now truly Muslim. The rulers of Mataram, to all intents and purposes were Muslim rulers, sometimes even sultans. But this Mataramese Islam was an Islam with a difference; it constituted a syncretic absorption of certain aspects of Islam into the Hindu-Javanese. Of course, some Muslims of Yogyakarta were very traditional, conservative, static and were bound to unlawful conduct and influenced by incorrect beliefs, which led them far from the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and Tradition of the Prophet.<sup>10</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was born in 1868 to Kiyai Haji Abu Bakar and Nyai Haji Abu Bakar. He was born in Kauman (Yogyakarta, Central Java) amidst the above-mentioned social

and religious circumstances. The village was well-known for being strongly religious. All of its inhabitants were Muslim.

As a child, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was called Muhammad Darwis, but after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, he adopted the name of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan.<sup>11</sup> He probably adapted this name from one of the famous ʿulamāʾ (scholars), who had been one of his teachers in either Saudi Arabia or in Indonesia.

His father, Kiyai Haji Abu Bakar, was very happy and thankful to God for having been given Muhammad Darwis as the first son. Meanwhile, three of the other children were daughters, but his youngest child was also a son.<sup>12</sup>

Like most Indonesian children from religious families at that time, Muhammad Darwis was not sent to a government school by his parents. He was sent to pesantren (religious school) to study the Qurʾān, al-Tawhīd (the Unity of God), al-Hadīth (Tradition of the Prophet), al-Tajwīd (Correct Reading), al-Saraf (Linguistic science, including inflexion), al-Fiqh (Religious Law), al-Falak (Astronomy), al-Akhlāq (Ethics), Arabic, and other subjects. This was the first education he received. However, he later moved to another pesantren to follow more advanced studies.<sup>13</sup>

During his childhood, Muhammad Darwis always associated

with friends of the same age. Most of his friends liked him very much, because of his good conduct and high morals.<sup>14</sup> In his leisure time, Muhammad Darwis used to do handicrafts. He made various kinds of toys, either for his own use, for his brother and sisters, or for his friends.<sup>15</sup>

From his earliest years, he was able to study the inadequacies of the Indonesian pesantren education. He criticized the system for compelling students to memorize the twenty names of God's attributes, and for forcing students to ape the Qur'ān readings of the teachers without understanding the meaning either of the Arabic names of God or of the passages of the Holy Book.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, what could he do as a young man without complete knowledge?

Therefore, after obtaining some basic religious education, he went to Mecca in 1890, at the age of 22. He stayed there for one year and studied al-Qirā'at (rules for reading the Qur'ān), al-Nahw (Grammar), al-Tafsīr (Commentary on the Qur'ān), al-Hadīth, al-Tawhīd, al-Tasawwuf (Mysticism), al-Fiqh, al-Qawā'id (Principles), al-Falak, Arabic and other religious subjects.<sup>17</sup> During his studies in Saudi Arabia, the money from his rich sister ran out. Subsequently, he returned to his country, whereupon he assumed the name of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan.

In Java there were the Kiyais and the <sup>C</sup>Ulamā' under whom Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan had originally studied; viz: Kiyai Haji Muhammad Nur, who was his brother-in-law, Kiyai Haji Shahid, Kiyai Muhsin, Kiyai Abdul Hamid of Lempuyangan, Raden Ngebehi Sosrosugondo, and Raden Wedana Dwijosewoyo. He studied al-Hadīth from Kiyai Mahfudh and Shaykh Chaiyat. In the field of Falak his teacher were Kiyai Haji Dahlan of Semarang, son of Kiyai Termas, and Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek of Bukit Tinggi. His teachers in the Qirā'at were Shaykh Muhammad Amin and Said Bakri Sabak.<sup>18</sup>

He studied the collection of books known as Kitābs (Religious Books). Most of them were written by Shaykh Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. These included:

- 1) Kitāb al-Tawhīd by Shaykh Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh
- 2) Kitāb al-Tafsīr Juz' <sup>C</sup>Amma by Shaykh Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh
- 3) Kitāb al-Islām wa'l Naṣrānīyah by Shaykh Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh
- 4) Kitāb fi'l Bid'ah by Ibn Taymīyah
- 5) Kitāb Izhār al-Haqq by Rahmat Allāh/al-Hindī
- 6) Kitāb al-Hadīth by the <sup>C</sup>Ulamā' of the Hanbalī school
- 7) Kitāb Shubuhāt al-Naṣārā by Shaykh Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh
- 8) Kitāb Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif by Farīd Wajdī

9) Kitāb Kanz al-<sup>C</sup>Ulūm

10) Kitāb al-Tawassul wa'l Wasīlah by Ibn Taymīyah.<sup>19</sup>

When compared to other pupils, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was classified as a diligent and serious pupil. Consequently, he became an <sup>C</sup>Ulamā' (Kiyai), in the particular subject he liked very much, namely al-Falak. He combine his knowledge of religion and astronomy. Eventually, he came to be known by the people as the <sup>C</sup>Ulamā' Falak.<sup>20</sup>

Around 1903, he again visited the Holy City where he stayed for approximately two years. He not only performed the Hajj, but also studied. Among his teachers in Mecca were Shaykh Muhammad Shatta, Kiyai Mahfudh and Shaykh Ahmad Khatib.<sup>21</sup> After studying and making contact with several Islamic modernists from various Muslim countries, especially the leading reformers of the Middle-East and Saudi Arabia, he launched his ideas of Islamic modernism in Indonesia. In order to make his life stable, he immediately married Siti Walimah. She was a daughter of Haji Fadil, the penghulu of Yogyakarta, and later became well-known as Nyai Dahlan.<sup>22</sup>

This marriage to Nyai Dahlan resulted in six children:

- 1 Johannah, the first wife of Haji Hilal
- 2 Haji Siraj Dahlan, the director of Madrasah Mu<sup>C</sup>allimīn

- 3) Siti Busyro, the wife of Haji Isom Jakfar
- 4) Haji Siti Aisyah, who became the second wife of Haji Hilal after her sister Johannah died, and later became well-known as Aisyah Hilal
- 5) Irfan Dahlan, sent to study at the Ahmadiyah school in India. He did not return to Indonesia, but stayed in Bangkok until he died.
- 6) Siti Zuhrah, the wife of Haji Masykur of Banjarmasin.<sup>23</sup>

During his life, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was also married to a number of widows. However, he did not spend very long with any of them, as he stayed permanently with his first wife, Siti Walimah, until he died.<sup>24</sup>

## 2. His Ideas and Efforts

He might have begun to propagate his ideas of reform at this time had not the death of his father given him another responsibility; for he had to succeed to the latter's position as a khatib in the Sultanate mosque. A few years later the other Kiyai recognized him and gave him the title of khatib-amin<sup>25</sup> (one of sincerity, honesty and devotion).

This did not distract him from his thoughts of reform. So, in addition to his job in the mosque, he began teaching



and expounding these thoughts in his langgar. In addition to his teaching and his work as khatib, he ran a batik business<sup>26</sup> (the production of special material for clothing made by hand).

It was his batik business that gave him the opportunity to travel from one city to another. In doing so, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan not only carried his batik cloths, but also carried with him his ideas of rehabilitating the Muslims and reforming Islam in Indonesia.<sup>27</sup>

Since he had a knowledge of astronomy, he immediately began to introduce this subject and built his langgar facing 24.5 degree Northwest. He changed the qiblah (the direction of prayer toward the Ka<sup>c</sup>bah) of the great mosque of Yogyakarta.<sup>28</sup> This was the first of his reform ideas to be executed. However, he received a negative reaction from some Ulamā' who did not like the change. They brought the question to the attention of the Sultan. Subsequently, the direction of the original qiblah was restored in the great mosque and the penghulu, Kiyai Haji Muhammad Khalil, ordered his langgar to be completely destroyed.<sup>29</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan could only accept this punishment, but he said: "If these people now do not accept my theory which is right, in the near future they will be

convinced of my theory and they will accept it."<sup>30</sup> This was quite true, because later on, not only did the Muslims in Yogyakarta accept the reform, but also those outside the city.

The second event was the Cīd al-Fitr, the feast of breaking the fast at the end of the month Ramadhan, or the first day of Shawwal. The feast was officially celebrated by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.<sup>31</sup> According to Dahlan's astronomical calculations based on the Islamic Calendar, the Cīd al-Fitr had to be celebrated the following day. But the other Cūlamā' at Yogyakarta, using the Javanese Çaka Calendar, calculated that the celebration was two days later.<sup>32</sup> With his knowledge of astronomy, he went to the Kraton, the Sultan's palace, to tell him that the Cīd al-Fitr should have been celebrated the following day, not two days later. First of all, the Sultan called together the group of Cūlamā', and after discussing the question with them, the Sultan accepted Dahlan's point of view.<sup>33</sup>

Professor Robert Van Niel wrote about Dahlan's ideas as follows:

Dahlan had been in Middle-East earlier in the century and had studied at the center of Reformist teachings. He had returned to his home in Yogyakarta and made

himself very unpopular by pointing out that the directional orientation of the main mosque in town was due West which was not exactly the direction of Mecca. This aroused such resentment among the Orthodox teachers that the Sultan of Yogyakarta 'exiled' Dachlan back to Mecca for a while. Upon his return he decided to advance his Reformist concept in a calmer manner and toward more important ends.<sup>34</sup>

The writer **disagrees** with Robert Van Niel that the Sultan of Yogyakarta exiled Dahlan back to Mecca for a while. As a matter of fact, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan went on a second visit to Mecca on his own. He wished to follow advanced studies, but soon the money from his rich family ran out, as well as what he had saved from his batik business. Also, he had been appointed a khatib of the Sultan's mosque, and the Sultan could not have exiled Dahlan back to Mecca.

These two events served to introduce the ideas of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. These represented the first steps toward his Islamic reform. He protested against wide-spread untruth, and unorthodox practices and beliefs among the Indonesian Muslims.<sup>35</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Muhammad 'Abduh launched the modern Islamic reform movement in Egypt. Under his disciple, Muhammad Rashid Ridā, this movement became known as the Salafiyah and had an unnoticed but tremen-

dous influence upon Islamic thinking in Indonesia.<sup>36</sup> It was the Egyptian periodical, al-Manār, sent throughout the Muslim world, which successfully brought new breath to the Muslims. Egypt's reform movement influenced other Islamic countries, including Indonesia. However, very few copies of al-Manār slipped through the Dutch harbour (douane) into the hands of young Indonesians, such as Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan.<sup>37</sup>

The Dutch policy toward Islam in Indonesia, as summarized by the able Dutch adviser, C. Snouck Hurgronje, was as follows:

1. in matters relating to pure religious worship, the government with all sincerity must give the fullest freedom;
2. in social question, the government must respect the existing national institutions while leaving open to them the opportunity of a "desirable" evolution in "our" direction, and must make efforts to promote this evolution;
3. in matters relating to politics the government must suppress all kinds of Pan-Islamistic ideas, which aim at inviting foreign powers to influence the relation between the Dutch government and its eastern subjects.<sup>38</sup>

The Dutch government was concerned that Modernist

Muslim Ideas, such as Pan-Islamism, could be dangerous to the colonial authority in Indonesia. Therefore, they strongly censored Arabic books and magazines entering Indonesian territory. Nevertheless, through Indonesian Muslims who studied abroad, such literature entered the country. After finishing their overseas studies in places such as al-Azhar or Mecca, they brought forbidden reformist literature with them and entered via the fishing harbour of Tuban in East Java, not through the normal ports of entry at Jakarta, Semarang or Surabaya. They succeeded in smuggling a few Arabic magazines and newspapers into Java. Among these were al-<sup>c</sup>Urwat al-Wuthqā, al-Mu'ayyad, al-Liwā', al-<sup>c</sup>Adl, all from Cairo, and Thamarāt al-Funūn and al-Qistās al-Mustaqīm, both from Beirut.<sup>39</sup>

Complete series of these magazines and newspapers, as well as other books, were sufficient to support the young Ulamā' of Indonesia, like Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, in instigating Islamic reform in Indonesia during the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>40</sup>

C. W. J. Drewes described the situation as follows:

Reformist ideas were brought from Egypt by Indonesian students as well as propagated by **progressivist** group among the Arab population of Indonesia. As its main

theses are well known, I need not dwell on them here. In Indonesia the situation was as follows. The reform movement radiated mainly from two centers: Minangkabau and central Java. Most probably, however, it would never had spread so widely in so short a time if its propagation had remained the concern in individuals. As it happened, in Java this propagation was taken in hand by a religious association. Muhammadiyah by name.<sup>41</sup>

The movement toward Islamic reform and modernism was launched in Egypt by Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. His faithful pupil, Muhammad Rashīd Ridā, edited the magazine, al-Manār from 1897. The magazine reached and was accepted by the three famous <sup>C</sup>Ulamā' in Singapore at that time, namely, Said Muhammad bin Agil, Shaykh Muhammad Alkalili, and Shaykh Thahir Jalaluddin.<sup>42</sup> They, in turn, established the monthly al-Imām in 1910. It contained articles of popular knowledge, comments on events of importance in the world, especially in the Muslim world, and discussed religious questions. In general it emphasized the need for progress in the Muslim community and urged that it not be left behind in competition with the west. In all areas, Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh's point of view and those of the periodical al-Manār of Egypt were cited.<sup>43</sup> The periodical was distributed in Indonesia in those areas where Malay was spoken or written, In Sumatra, Java (where it had agents in Jakarta, Cianjur, Surabaya and Semarang).<sup>44</sup>

In the mean time, the three <sup>C</sup>Ulamā' at Minangkabau (West Sumatra) were Haji Abdullah Ahmad, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and Haji Muhammad Thayeb of Tanjung Sangayang, who published al-Munīr there. Most of them had been educated in Saudi Arabia and had been in contact with the Islamic modernists.<sup>45</sup> Haji Abdullah Ahmad was active in writing and became the editor-in-chief and director of al-Munīr. Both his friends, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and Haji Muhammad Thayeb Tanjung Sangayang, acted as his assistants.<sup>46</sup>

The periodical's aim was to guide the people in finding true religion, to augment their knowledge, and strengthen their brotherhood and peaceful relations. It also intended to defend Islam from any attack of criticism. Subjects included religious questions, like the need for religion, the history of the Prophet, the four schools (madhab) and other issues concerning the religious aspects of Muslim communities. This periodical was also distributed in large numbers, not only from its place of publication in Sumatra, but also in Java, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Malaya. It is significant that Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the young <sup>C</sup>Ulamā' in Yogyakarta was one of the subscribers to al-Munīr, and sometimes he translated several articles from it into the Javanese language for readers in Java.<sup>47</sup>

Having had contact with several reformist magazines, al-Imām from Singapore and al-Munir from West Sumatra, as well as al-Manār from Egypt, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan started thinking about how he could best find a way to reconcile the Muslim people in Indonesia with the Holy Qur'an and the Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, as Indonesian Muslims had deviated far from pure Islam.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan needed to find people interested in helping him. Therefore, he joined Jamiat Chair (The Benevolence Society) which was established in 1905 in Batavia<sup>48</sup> (now called Jakarta). The organization was open to every Muslim without discrimination as to his origin, but the majority of its members were Arabs.<sup>49</sup> The members and leaders of the committee of the organization were, in general, wealthy people who were able to devote part of their time to the new organization without interfering with their earning a living.<sup>50</sup> The organization devoted itself to two kinds of activities. The first was sending several Indonesian students to Turkey to pursue advanced study with scholarships from the Ottoman government.<sup>51</sup> But later, the organization also promoted Islam by establishing a library and newspaper.

In the meantime, on May 20, 1908, western-educated elite intellectuals founded the Budi Utomo (Noble Endeavour)



as the first Indonesian Nationalist movement. They aimed to analyze the aspiration of the people. The founder, Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo, became known as the father of Indonesian Nationalism, and the twentieth of May is officially celebrated by the Republic of Indonesia as the Hari Kebangkitan Nasional, or the day of National Re-awakening.<sup>52</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan joined the Budi Utomo with the intention of giving religious lectures to its members. Members of the Budi Utomo were generally employed in various government offices, and he found that he was able to give religious instruction to people who were subsequently appointed to key positions.<sup>53</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan had the good fortune of meeting Shaykh Ahmad Soorkati, a modernist Muslim of Sudanese origin. Shaykh Ahmad Soorkati hailed from a religious family, and of course, already knew many verses of the Qur'an when he was still a child. He was unable to fulfill his wish to study in Egypt, so after his father's death he went to study at Medina in Saudi Arabia. He stayed there for four years and after that he went to Mecca where he studied for at least eleven years more. During his studies and teaching in Saudi Arabia, he received the highest certificate given to a religious teacher by the government in Istanbul.<sup>54</sup> He was the first

Sudanese who ever received this certificate, and one of four among contemporary teachers in Saudi Arabia.<sup>55</sup>

In 1911, he came to Indonesia, and was immediately appointed as teacher at Jamiat Chair, where he had the opportunity to launch his ideas of Islamic reform. His opinions, like those of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, had been strongly influenced by Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abduh's thoughts as published in al-Manār. As one of the Arab-born pioneers of the movement, Shaykh Ahmad Soorkati spread modernist orthodoxy in Indonesia, especially among the local Arab community.

Once while travelling by train to Surabaya with the intention of seeing his friends and followers, an important event occurred. As soon as Ahmad Soorkati took his seat, he saw in front of him a young man, dressed very neatly but simply with a Haji's turban on his head. A glance at this man's face showed he was very tired, probably from heavy reading and inadequate sleep. The face had a small well-trimmed beard and reflected a resolute character, perseverance, and deep intelligence. This made Ahmad Soorkati think that he could be a Kiyai. The appearance of this young Kiyai impressed Shaykh Ahmad Soorkati, but his impression changed into astonishment when he saw this young Kiyai reading an Arabic book,

entitled al-Tafsīr. This book, al-Tafsīr by Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh, contained precisely the teachings which Shaykh Ahmad Soorkati himself was eager to spread among the Arab community.<sup>56</sup>

One can imagine Ahmad Soorkati's feeling at that moment; he felt very excited. For years he had been looking for someone with whom he might cooperate in rehabilitating Islam and the Muslims in Indonesia. Men such as the man sitting in front of him with Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh's Tafsīr were very scarce in Indonesia at that time, since many publications and articles were being scattered over Java by the orthodox Ulamā', such as Yusuf Nabhani, who condemned Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh and his followers as heretics. Apparently, however, there were some men among the Javanese who read Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh's Tafsīr. Shaykh Ahmad Soorkati introduced himself to the young Kiyai, who was none other than Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan.

It was Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh's Tafsīr which made the long conversation between the two men amiable. From the context of the Tafsīr, they discussed the high points and low points of Islam, the Muslim, and other aspects of religious life in Indonesia. At the end of their conversation, they promised each other that each would work to rehabilitate Islam and the Muslims in Indonesia; Shaykh Ahmad Soorkati would work among the Arab community by establishing al-Irshād organi-

zation, and Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan among the Indonesians by establishing the Muhammadiyah organization.<sup>57</sup> This event is only one momentous point for Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan in his endeavours to spread his ideas to the masses. Actually, he had been discussing and profoundly thinking for a long time about establishing the Muhammadiyah movement before and after that event.

On November 11, 1911, Sarekat Islam (Muslim Association) was established by Muslim traders. This association grew out of its forerunner, Sarekat Dagang Islam (Muslim Trade Association) founded in Solo (Central Java) by Kiyai Haji Samanhudi to counteract Chinese business competition.<sup>58</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan showed great interest in this organization because it aimed to promote the social status of its members. It used the religious segment of Indonesian society, whether orthodox or reformist, to strengthen its hold in the villages and urban centers. Two prominent leaders of the Muhammadiyah were Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan and Kiyai Haji Mas Mansur, who had been advisers to the Sarekat Islam until Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan founded the Muhammadiyah organization.<sup>59</sup>

### 3. The Founding of the Muhammadiyah Organization

The significance of the Muhammadiyah organization in the development of modern Islamic thinking and reform in Indonesia **cannot** be appreciated without knowing the social and religious background of Indonesian people in the first decade of the twentieth century. Indonesia had constantly been at the crossroad of commerce and traffic, and occasionally, of warfare. Therefore, it had always been receptive to foreign civilizations.<sup>60</sup>

History tells us that Islam was carried to Indonesia from Gujerat, in Western India, where Islam had been strongly influenced by Hinduism. This mixture of Islam with Hinduistic elements rapidly spread among the Indonesians as a new religion. It grew particularly among the Javanese, who had previously been familiar with Hinduism. At that time, there was no critical insight among the Indonesians into real differences between Hinduism and Islam.<sup>61</sup>

As Islam became well established in Indonesia and put down roots, Muslims in other parts on the world became increasingly conscious of the growing Muslim community. Lines of communication were established with Egypt, Mecca, and Hadramaut. Indonesian intellectuals became aware that they

were attached to heterodox teachers. A sort of orthodoxy developed among the Indonesians. Even those Indonesians who leaned toward heterodox mystic practices came to speak of themselves as sunnite (followers) of school of al-Shāfi<sup>c</sup> i.<sup>62</sup>

Most Muslim scholars in the last decade of the sixteenth century in North Sumatra, such as Hamzah Fansuri and Abdur-Rauf of Singkel, were mystics. In Java, too, the wali-songo (nine saints) were also mystics. In Indonesian Muslim society the balance was generally tilted against the orthodox doctrine. Theologians and jurists were caught up in the wake of the sūfis,<sup>63</sup> and by and large theology and jurisprudence came to compromise with doctrine.

The success of Islam in the early centuries was indeed due partly to the simplicity and intelligibility of its teachings, but also largely to its consession to the existing and indigenous custom. The place which Islam has taken in the cultural history of Indonesia and the influence which it has exercised on the course of events are strikingly different from what we find in India. In that country, Hinduism and Islam, in spite of the influence which each has exercised on the other in the fields of both religion and thought, stand face to face in sharply-separated camps as a result of

social and political differences, which culminated in the creation of two independent states, Bharat and Pakistan.

In Indonesia, however, the contrast faded; the process of syncretism, of growing into one of two essentially different religious and philosophical systems,<sup>64</sup> advanced uninterruptedly after the introduction of Islam.

Furthermore, there were beliefs in jimats or amulets having the power to do harm or good to men. This state of affairs did not, however, remain unchanged, and time has incontestably worked for Islam. In **regions** which were more or less outside the sphere of Hindu influence, the thin stratum of Hinduism wore off quickly, and in **regions where Hindu influences were strong**, orthodoxy gradually gained a footing, and after penetrating more deeply began to combat the local complex of habits.<sup>65</sup>

The Dutch role in Indonesia was expanded and consolidated. The Dutch succeeded in conquering the Islamic kingdoms which, during the former period, had retained their sovereignty and power. By means of wars and contracts with the Indonesian rulers, the Dutch gained control of the whole archipelago.<sup>66</sup> During these decades, too, the influence of the government was penetrating ever more deeply into native society. These sharp contrast in the economic and the

political worlds were heightened because they ran along racial lines.<sup>67</sup> With the development on native consciousness, the colonial relationship quickly became charged with racial feeling.

The illiterate masses had no idea of what was taking place, but the new contacts and forces aroused in them vague feeling and thoughts. Their aspirations were stirred up far beyond and possibilities of fulfilment. To enlist the interest of the masses an appeal was made to the one common element in Javanese life, the element which gives the Javanese a feeling of solidarity, Islam. "Islam was at this time stiffening its resistance to the increased Christian missionary movements."<sup>68</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan lived during that particular segment of Indonesian history, reflecting the struggle for national freedom, and especially for Islamic reformation and modernization. The history of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's part in the struggle for independence would not be complete without mentioning his role in the fight against the policies of suppression of the Dutch colonial government in Indonesia. The greatness of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan as a leader lies in his ability to bring the faith into harmony with modern rational thought, reasserting the freedom to return to the original



sources of Islam. The character and personality of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was distinguished by his modesty, honesty, and friendliness. "He was vehemently opposed to everything pertaining to conservatism, formalism and traditionalism in superstitious customs, as found in Islamic life in the early twentieth century."<sup>69</sup>

Former Indonesian President Sukarno eulogized Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan as follows: "We know Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, not only as a founder and father of Muhammadiyah, but as one of the pioneers of freedom and Islamic reformer in Indonesia."<sup>70</sup>

The idea of establishing Muhammadiyah became well-known among the various <sup>C</sup>Ulamā' who had been in contact with Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. Even before the actual organization was set up, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan had become widely known in the big cities, especially among the Muslims in Yogyakarta, Surabaya and Jakarta. Besides being a successful businessman and one of the <sup>C</sup>Ulamā' of the Yogyakarta Sultanate, he had the reputation of being a man of high principles, as well as an astronomer.<sup>71</sup> After profound thought and consideration, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan founded the Muhammadiyah organization on November 18, 1912, in coincidence with the 8th of Dhu'l Hijjah, 1330 H.<sup>72</sup>

The name of the Muhammadiyah reverberated through his nightly prayers. The name Muhammadiyah originated from that of the Prophet Muhammad, and means **praise-worthy**. The word Muhammadiyah, in its large sense, includes all people who embrace Islam; all who are faithful followers of the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>73</sup>

The pioneers who became members of the Hoofdbestuur (Head Quarter) of the early Muhammadiyah were:

1. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan
2. Kiyai Abdullah Sirat
3. Kiyai Haji Ahmad
4. Kiyai Haji Abdurrachman
5. Raden Haji Sarkawi
6. Kiyai Haji Muhammad
7. Raden Haji Jaylani
8. Kiyai Haji Anies
9. Kiyai Haji Muhammad Fakihi.<sup>74</sup>

The factors which brought about the establishment of the Muhammadiyah organization are briefly, as follows:

Internally,

- a. Some of the Muslims were not aware that they had deviated far from the Qur'an and the Hadith, and that this led them to unlawfulness, which overshadowed the life

of the society.

b. Indonesian Muslims were very unhappy because they were poor, uneducated and backward.

c. The Indonesian Muslims struggle lacked unity in both attitude and action. There was no sense of "Uchuwah Islamiyah", which would have tied them together under strong Muslim organization.

d. Islamic educational institutions were failing because they were unable to fulfil the demands of the modern world.

e. Some Indonesian intellectuals were of the opinion that religion was out of date, and therefore it had to be left behind.

Externally,

a. The Muhammadiyah was also intended to oppose Dutch colonialism and imperialism in Indonesia.

b. The organization also competed with the activities of Christian missionaries.<sup>75</sup>

As soon as Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan founded the Muhammadiyah and began to actively propagate his ideas through it, he very naturally became a controversial figure. His followers hailed him as a "Mujaddid al-Islam",<sup>76</sup> because he was

restoring faith and life to the Muslims in Indonesia, freeing their minds from the shackles of blind obedience, and cleansing Islam in Indonesia from the mud of indigenous and Hinduistic practices.

The Muhammadiyah, though rather limited in its programmes at the start, grew rapidly especially in the 1920's.<sup>77</sup> As the number of its branches increased and spread to different places and islands, diverse projects were undertaken in a variety of places. Projects were organized in Java, Sumatra, other islands and even abroad. Though projects were instituted during the Dutch period, as well as the Javanese and Republic periods, the basic aims of the movement did not change. These aims can be summarized under the four following areas:

1. The purification of Indonesian Islam from corrupting influences and practices.
2. The reformation of Muslim education.
3. The reformulation of Islamic doctrine in the light of modern thought, and
4. The defense of Islam against external influences and attacks.<sup>78</sup>

Although it was not undertaking vast activities, the Muhammadiyah organization developed politically. Kiyai Haji

Ahmad Dahlan moved step by step to complete the aim of the Muhammadiyah. During the early period of its establishment, the organization did not spread far beyond the Yogyakarta area. When most of the <sup>C</sup>Ulama in Yogyakarta understood and recognized the Muhammadiyah, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan wanted to extend the organization to areas outside Yogyakarta. Therefore, he sought approval from the Dutch government, since the organization did not actually participate in political activities.

G. H. Bousquet, a French scholar on Islam, wrote an article about the Muhammadiyah's political point of view. He stated:

In the political field the Muhammadiyah is neutral in the sense that it refuses to take sides officially. Its exclusive object is to spread Muslim culture. For this reason, in contradistinction to the nationalist groups, it is held in high favour by the authorities. It would be very wrong, however, to suppose from this its members entertain no political bias. Indeed, it would not be wholly incorrect to say that they are quite as anti-Dutch as other nationalists, Muslim or otherwise. I can vouch for this. Yet the government displays great solicitude toward this society, an attitude which I do not think shows much political intelligence.<sup>79</sup>

On December 20, 1912, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan submitted his proposal aiming to established the Muhammadiyah organization

(rechtspersoon). The proposal was submitted to the Dutch Governor General at Batavia (now called Jakarta). It was accepted by the government with stipulation No. 81, issued on August 22, 1914.<sup>80</sup> (See Appendix I). This stipulation required that operation of the Muhammadiyah be restricted to the Yogyakarta region. Nevertheless, three branches of the Muhammadiyah were established on the outskirts of Yogyakarta. These were located in Srandakan, Wonosari, and Imogiri.<sup>81</sup>

As long as the Muhammadiyah was not permitted to operate far outside Yogyakarta, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan encouraged people to establish organizations, using names other than Muhammadiyah. These included the organization founded at Solo and called Ṣiddīq Aṣanah Tablīgh Faṭānah (The Truth of Honesty and the Call of Intelligence), Nūr al-Islām (The Light of Islam) at Pekalongan, al-Munīr (Radiating) and Ṣirāt al-Mustaḳīm (The Right Path) at Makassar, Jāmi'at al-Rahmah (Association of Mercy) at Kisaran, Muḥibb al-Iḥsān (Love of Charity) at Bengkulu, Nūr al-Ḥaqq (The Light of Truth) at Kuala Kapuas, and that at Garut called al-Hidāyah (Guidance).<sup>82</sup>

Furthermore, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan continued to stimulate the people in Yogyakarta, the birthplace of the Muhammadiyah, as much as possible. He encouraged the establishment of study groups. There were some study groups under

the guidance of the Muhammadiyah itself. These included Ikhwān al-Muslimīn (The Muslim Brotherhood), Taqwīm al-Dīn (The Reform of Religion), Hayāt al-Qulūb (The Life of Hearts), Diwān al-Islām (The Council of Islam), Tahārat al-Ābā' (The Purification of Fathers), Wa'l-Fajr (And The Dawn), Jāmi'at al-Muslimīn (The Society of Muslims), Jāmi'at al-Ummahāt (Society of Mothers), and Sharikat al-Mubtadi (The Association of Beginners). Most of these groups eventually melted into divisions and sub-divisions of the Muhammadiyah organization.<sup>83</sup>

The Muhammadiyah was a non-political Islamic social organization, in the general sense. Still the scope of its operations encompassed all aspects of the life of the Muslim in society. It aimed to guide Muslims towards Islamic modernist ideas and educational reform.

George McTurnan Kahin wrote of the activities of the Muhammadiyah, as follows:

... The Muhammadiyah, an organization founded in 1912 at Yogyakarta by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, a believer in modernist Islamic ideas. Originally devoted largely to education, the organization broadened its activities to include a wide range of social services: free clinics, poor relief, orphanages, publishing of the Koran in Javanese and Malay, libraries, etc., as well as Moslim schools. It conceived itself essentially as a propagator of Moslim culture and the non-political ideas of the modernist movement.<sup>84</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was not only making contact with the C<sup>U</sup>lamā of Java, but those outside as well. As a matter of fact, in 1917, Shaykh Abdul Karim Amrullah, a religious leader from Minangkabau (West Sumatra), travelled to Java to see Haji Umar Said Cokroaminoto in Surabaya. After long discussion with Cokroaminoto concerning political matters, Shaykh Abdul Karim Amrullah went to Yogyakarta to see Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. At this meeting both of them seriously discussed the Muhammadiyah and other aspects of Islamic modernism. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan requested that all of Shaykh Abdul Karim Amrullah's writings, which had appeared in al-Munir be copied and translated into Javanese. His ideas and opinions could then be read by a large number of people in Java.<sup>85</sup>

Furthermore, Shaykh Abdul Karim Amrullah, also known as Haji Rasul, was a modernist pioneer of the Thawalib School. He was also responsible for spreading the Muhammadiyah in Minangkabau. Even in distant Minangkabau, the organization became deeply involved in the three-sided struggle between the adat forces (local mores), the orthodox Muslims (kaum tua), and the modernist (kaum muda)). This was more than a religious conflict because the Dutch administration had supported the adat group since the Padri Wars in the early nineteenth cen-



ture, thus making many Muslims ill-disposed toward the Dutch. Causing additional friction, modernists in Minangkabau also had political advancement as their goal.<sup>86</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan realized that any organization which did not include women would not be successful. Because women were considered such an important element in the society, he invited women to attend the religious courses which he held regularly. This was called Sapatresna (Whoever is in love). Six cadres of women of the Sapatresna, aided by others who later joined them, founded Aisyiyah (after 'Aishah, the Prophet's wife) in 1918. This organization acted autonomously in internal affairs, but external matters were completely under the control of the Muhammadiyah's main organization. A parallel organization for young women (girls), Nasyiatul Aisyiyah (N.A.), was later set up.<sup>87</sup>

The Aisyiyah expanded its activities by holding Tabligh (religious instruction) for its members, for women of the general public, and for women workers employed in batik enterprises. The organization stressed the importance of a woman's role as mother, since the first education received by the children was at home. Therefore, women (as mothers rearing their children) had the greatest responsibility in the task of advancing the society.

Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah successfully established a women's musalla (mosque) at Yogyakarta. That was the first Aisyiyah musalla in Indonesia, and it became the center for the organization's activities.<sup>88</sup>

The task to which Muhammadiyah had set itself was not limited to preaching, religious instruction, or the publishing of religious books. School were founded, teachers were trained, and all kinds of social work was done. Muhammadiyah set up orphanages and houses for destitute children, asylums for the needy and poor, clinics and hospitals, partly funded by money from public revenue.

Once when Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was travelling back home to Yogyakarta, after having given tabligh at Solo, he saw many uniformed boys standing in a line. After deep thought, he was inspired to establish the boy-scout movement of the Muhammadiyah in 1918. It was popularly called Hizbul Wathan.<sup>89</sup> According to Solichin Salam, the first time Hizbul Wathan appeared in public was on January 30, 1921, in the ceremony whereby the Sri Sultan of Yogyakarta moved from his kraton (palace) to Ambarukmo.<sup>90</sup> Since that time Hizbul Wathan has been known to the people.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, as leader of the Muhammadiyah organization, always place religious interests before his own.

He never stopped travelling from one place to another, making contact with the CUlamā', and expanding the Muhammadiyah organization. As the instrument for spreading his Islamic modernist ideas,<sup>91</sup> he declared that this organization was most important to the people and the leaders of the society, and that it was to be responsible in leading the people back to their religious roots. He said that having people live together successfully in a society was the most significant knowledge for all human beings throughout the world.

Actually, the guidance of our life should be the Holy Qur'ān. In following the Holy Qur'ān one finds unification with other Muslims and the formation of the Ummah (Muslim community), which is necessary for this reason:

1) All human beings, though living in different nations on this planet, indeed, originated from Adam and Eve. Consequently, the human essence was one of flesh and blood.

2) In order that all of us enjoy happiness in our lives in this transitory world, we should have no ties to this life, as the society could be destroyed, therefore, symptomatically destroying all nations.<sup>92</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan appealed to all leaders to meditate on the society and its surroundings. He urged them to be vigilant, because everything was yet unstable. He did not see this as pertaining to only one nation but to all nations throughout the world.

Apparently, that unification of the Ummah has not yet

appeared in accordance with the religious point of view. This situation has made people unhappy and anxious about having to coexist in the world with other people.

1) All leaders were not yet united and were still far away from religion and knowledge. Of course, this lack of knowledge only narrowed the perspective of world leaders. We are still looking for the fundamental values of the society.

2) Nowadays, most leaders are capable only in their speech-making, not in their actions. They are not genuine leaders who are able to reach out to the people and communicate by their good conduct and character.

3) All of us, as leaders of the Ummah, still put self-interest before that of the public. Of course, with such leaders the Ummah will separate into diverse parts, losing its character and its ability to hold people together.<sup>93</sup>

From all this, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's point of view was clear. The leader of the organization strove to build up a religious structure of wide scope, one that would encompass all aspects of social life. The purpose of the organization was, and is, to prepare Muslims to meet citizens of the world and to prepare them for international culture relations, so that they need not feel ridiculous or embarrassed by parochial practices.<sup>94</sup>

The westernized leaders have come to see their own people with the eyes of Europeans, and they feel that their people are entangled in obsolete folk customs and enslaved by anachronistic fears which have no basis in fact and no place

in the modern world. They are putting forward an organized effort to overcome these aspects of Islam which they feel bring no credit to their religion and are out of joint with contemporary practices in western nations. They have not fully accepted the materialism of the west, but are drifting in that direction.<sup>95</sup> Some of the leaders would feel at home in a convention of humanists.

On August 16, 1920, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan again requested that the Dutch government at Batavia permit the Muhammadiyah to expand its organization outside Yogyakarta. He received approval in the form of stipulation No. 40. Furthermore, on May 7, 1921, he submitted the last proposal for completely establishing the branches and sub-branches of the Muhammadiyah throughout the country (formerly called Nederlandsch Indie). This too was approved with the government's stipulation No. 36, issued on September 2, 1921.<sup>96</sup> (See Appendix II).

Having received the legal power to form branches and sub-branches all over the country, the organization was expanded, though rather slowly at the beginning. In 1922 it recorded only about 15 branches in Java, but in 1961 there were 524 branches and 2,216 sub-branches throughout the country.<sup>97</sup>

Naturally, this led to some reaction from the anti modernists of fundamentally traditional orthodoxy. They were mainly represented by the scribes and those directly under their influence. With the help of at least some of the scribes, the right-wing Muslims, hesitatingly adopted the technique of modern organization.<sup>98</sup> One of the C'Ulamā' who was absolutely opposed to Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was Kiyai Haji Asnawi of Kudus. The latter endeavoured to retard the spreading of the Muhammadiyah to his region. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan did not worry about this opposition, and therefore, he never stopped travelling, propagating his ideas, and making contact with a large number of C'Ulamā' in one place and another.<sup>99</sup> Also, some C'Ulamā' travelled to see him.

Once when Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan went to Pekalongan (Central Java) on a mission, a young Kiyai from Sumatra, had the opportunity to see him. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan opened the meeting by repeating the word Allāhu Akbar three times. The young Sumatran was surprised and thought that this Kiyai could be the one with whom he needed to study. First of all, he wanted to know whether or not Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was a pious man. Soon after the Kiyai went home to Yogyakarta, the young Sumatran went there as well. Early one morning, he went to where Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan lived. There, he

found the Kiyai taking a walk in the garden in front of his house. He was reciting verses of the Qur'ān, as was his habit. This profoundly impressed the young Sumatran and he immediately asked the Kiyai whether or not he could join the Muhammadiyah and follow his teachings. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan tested his sincerity by saying that joining the Muhammadiyah was a difficult undertaking; opposition to the organization was very strong. The young Sumatra, nevertheless, convinced Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan of his sincerity and his willingness to serve the Muhammadiyah. Later on he became the representative of the Muhammadiyah of Minangkabau. Eventually, he was elected as a chairman for the whole organization. This man, Abdurrasyid Sutan Mansur, then settled in Yogyakarta.<sup>100</sup>

As an organization, Muhammadiyah abstained from taking part in political life, though it did not object to its members doing so. Muhammadiyah remained circumspectly outside politics, although its members often belonged to other organizations active in the political field.<sup>101</sup> Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan saw that political activity would be meaningless without active participation, however, members of his organization were encouraged to participate in political activities only if they so desired.

The two organization that had the most influence upon the development of the political élite during this period were probably the Muhammadiyah and the Budi Utomo. This close relationship between the Muhammadiyah and the political élite eventually brought the former close to the nationalist question, although its announced policy was somewhat ambiguous. In the year that the Budi Utomo held its congress, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan made such an impression at the meeting, especially with his tablīgh,<sup>102</sup> of the Muhammadiyah committee, that he received requests from several places in Java to set up branches of the organization.

By adopting the tactics of the European missionary groups, using the antipathy toward the Communists, and by applying the reformist ideas of Islam, Dahlan's Muhammadiyah gradually became popular. His personal abilities, the efforts of his co-workers, Haji Abdullāh Sirat, Mas Joyosugito, Haji Agus Salim, Haji Fakhruddin, Kiyai Haji Ibrahim,<sup>103</sup> and the efforts of a number of students at the teacher's training school in Yogyakarta were in large measure responsible for the success of the organization.

Another organization with whom the Muhammadiyah had close relations was Sarekat Islam (Muslim Association). Although the Muhammadiyah refused to associate with Sarekat



Islam on political affairs, it did cooperate with Sarekat Islam on religious questions which had political overtones.<sup>104</sup>

In this case, Robert Van Niel wrote:

Another important voice from the Central Javanese lands was that of Ahmad Dahlan of Yogyakarta, the founder of Muhammadiyah. He remained in close contact with the Sarekat Islam but devoted most of his attention to the Muhammadiyah, which carefully refrained from all political activity. Through his efforts there was close liaison between these two organizations which complemented each other; the Muhammadiyah working in the cultural field, the Sarekat Islam in the political.<sup>105</sup>

The Sarekat Islam reoriented itself, proceeding with a dual programme of action. Firstly, there was more emphasis placed on Islamic principles than ever before, but this was in a contemporary context. Unity and cooperation among all Muslims was stressed, a concept usually termed Pan-Islamism. Even in the Middle-East this wider concern had been stimulated, and although there is always some doubt as to the actual strength inherent in Pan-Islamism, there is no question that in the early 1920's it was generally regarded as a real issue. Pan-Islamism was a factor against which Snouck Hurgronje had warned the government on numerous occasions in the past.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, it was only natural that the government tended to look with some disfavour upon this apparent strengthening of the movement.

From October 31 through November 2, 1922, the first all-Islam congress was held in Cirebon (West Java). The congress sent congratulations to Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) in Turkey and created an Islamic council to handle religious affairs for the Sarekat Islam. Quite unexpected, but of great future significance, was the split in the Indonesian Islamic community, which occurred at this congress.<sup>107</sup> This occurred between the reformist groups, represented by the Muhammadiyah and the al-Irshād (an Arabic organization) who were on one side, and the orthodox religious teachers and scholars, who were on the other.

The split was certainly not to the advantage of the Sarekat Islam, and a second all-Islam congress was delayed until May, 1924, when it was finally held in Garut (West Java). The split became complete there, as only the reformist elements appeared at the congress. The central leadership of the Sarekat Islam now became closely linked with reformist tendencies in Islam.

The Garut congress raised the Caliphate question, which became a matter of discussion and debate for some months. The fate of this question and the entire Pan-Islamic issue was finally settled by events in the Near-East which put an end to Indonesian Pan-Islamic aspirations. When

Pan-Islam disappeared as an issue, the Sarekat Islam constituted itself into a political party. It then made a natural and easy shift to Islamic reformism and modernism.<sup>108</sup> The shift was made doubly easy by the fact that the leader of the Sarekat Islam, the Islam congresses, and the Muhammadiyah were in many instances one and the same.

The educational and philanthropic work of an expanded Muhammadiyah appeared to have some relation to political life, but did not, in fact, exert influence because of the philosophy behind Muhammadiyah actions and the incidental result of the non-political activities of the association. There are five facets of the Muhammadiyah's ideology which had their impact upon politics in prewar Indonesia, such as described by Fred R. Von Der Mehden:

1. an emphasis on rationalism and opposition to superstition,
2. the belief in an educated population as the basis for political development,
3. the middle-class influence of a large number of santri who joined the movement,
4. an interest in Javanese culture, and
5. an aversion to Communism and Christianity.<sup>109</sup>

#### 4. Last Period of His Life

The Dutch government, of course, became interested in the many changes which had been brought about by the Muhammadiyah. Out of fear, the Dutch ousted their advisor, a Muslim by name of Said Usman, of Batavia. Subsequently, they appointed three Dutch advisers who were supposedly qualified for the task. These were Dr. Hazeu, Van Ronkel, and Professor Schrieke, who were appointed with the intention of having them change and reform Islamic thought in Indonesia.

Due to the many changes in Indonesian life instituted by the Muhammadiyah, the oriental scholar and famous Christian missionary, Dr. Zwemer, travelled from Europe to Sumatra to see Haji Abdullah Ahmad of Padang. Then he went on to see Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan in Yogyakarta, seeking to learn about the new spirit of Islamic thought which had appeared in the Far-East territory. He wanted to learn about its relationship to modernist movements from abroad.<sup>110</sup>

At one time a great Islamic leader from Tunis, Sayyid <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Aziz al-Tha<sup>e</sup>labi, was exiled from his country by the French government, the colonial power in the country at that time. He had the opportunity to visit most of the Muslim countries all over the world. During his trip, he contacted

Mawlānā Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Alī and Mawlānā Shawkat <sup>C</sup>Alī in India.

Later, he also went to see Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan in Java. He recognized the great developments which had been launched by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan through the Muhammadiyah. He admired the Indonesian Muslims and the reformed Islam. He respected Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, and on the 25th anniversary of the Muhammadiyah in 1936, he wrote a beautiful article recalling his happy meeting with Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan and expressing the opinion that the Muhammadiyah would take an important role in Islamic history and in the future of Indonesia.<sup>111</sup>

Even toward the end of his life, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan never stopped disseminating his ideas. Once he went on a mission to Banyuwangi in the eastern part of Java. On his return to Yogyakarta, he received a threatening letter which said:

You are pretender and false Kiyai. Do but come once again, if you are true in your mission; we will receive your arrival with a sharp knife and big stick, so that you may go home soulless. Bring your wife with you also, so that she may be finished, or we make her a slave.<sup>112</sup>

Being as tenacious as he was, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan prepared to go back to Banyuwangi even after receiving this letter. He asked his wife to follow him. His followers

suggested that he not go, but he said: "If sinful men dare to do this, why should I, a man who brings the truth in spreading the religion of God, be afraid of them. We must go and teach them a lesson."<sup>113</sup> Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was correct, and the threat came to nothing. When he arrived at Banyuwangi and started speaking about his ideas and the Muhammadiyah, nobody came forward to oppose him.

In the meantime, there were people who, after meeting with him, became convinced of the truth of the Muhammadiyah's principles, but wanted first of all to see and examine his daily life. One man, who had disguised himself as a poor wanderer short of money and cloth, visited Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan and asked for cloth and some money for expenses for his trip. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan opened his cupboard and invited the guest to choose himself whatever he wanted. The Kiyai also gave him money for the expenses for his trip. This act of charity by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan convinced the man in disguise. He subsequently joined the Muhammadiyah organization, and proceeded to be elected chairman in his village. Furthermore, he returned the cloth and money to Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's family, but they rejected it. This man was Raden Sapari, the railway station master at Sumberpocung, a village in Central Java.<sup>114</sup>

Haji Sujak, one of the closest friends and followers of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, recounted that when Ahmad Dahlan established the Muhammadiyah school along western lines, no support came from the Muslim community in Yogyakarta. He was, therefore, unable to pay the salaries of the teachers. In order to get money for the payment of the teachers, he sold the furniture from his house.<sup>115</sup>

These are just a few examples of the character of the founder of the Muhammadiyah. He was a man full of wisdom and prudence, tenacity, perseverance, piety, sincerity, clemency, and humbleness.<sup>116</sup> The success of the Muhammadiyah organization was, of course, reflected in the genuine conduct and character of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan himself. Ahmad Dahlan's dynamic character is shown by his saying: "We must not reject the existence of change in nature. This change is a change of progress. Progress aims at the well-being of the world."<sup>117</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan devoted his entire time to his movement. His motto was, "Speak little, but work hard." He organized study groups in the morning, afternoon, evening and night, for children, old people, women, intellectuals and others,<sup>118</sup> till the last breath of his life. At least seventeen times he left Yogyakarta by day or night, followed by his wife, and travelled from one place to another, attending

organization meetings, giving the tabligh, as well as officially inaugurating branches and sub-branches of the Muhammadiyah organization.<sup>119</sup>

When his health deteriorated, he was sent to a sanatorium at Tosari (Pasuruan, East Java). His physician and followers advised him to take a rest from his daily activities, but even at the sanatorium he continued to propagate the ideas of his movement. When his wife suggested that he should rest, he said:

I must work hard to lay the corner-stone of this tremendous undertaking. If I slow down or stop my work it will be because of illness. Nobody else is able to lay the corner-stone. I feel that my life will not last much longer, and if I work hard to finish this project, which is almost finished, it will be easy for the people who come after me to complete the work.<sup>120</sup>

These words proved quite true, because not long afterwards, on February 23, 1923, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan passed away at the age of fifty five, in Kauman. He was buried at the Karangjajen graveyard of Kemantren Mergangsan, about 2,5 kilometres southeast of Yogyakarta. On the day of his entombment, private as well as government schools in Yogyakarta officially closed out of respect for the great leader Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan.<sup>121</sup>

Before his death he called upon his close friend and



brother-in-law, Kiyai Haji Ibrahim, who at that time had not yet taken an active part in the organization, to succeed him in leading the Muhammadiyah. Though it was difficult for Kiyai Haji Ibrahim to reject this responsibility, it was also difficult to accept. Nevertheless, Kiyai Haji Ibrahim, with sincerity, and honesty, accepted the task of leading the Muhammadiyah organization.

This organization still carries out the ideas which were set forth by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. As its founder, he played an important role in the history of Indonesian national re-awakening, especially in the struggle for independence and the establishment of modernist Islamic practices in Indonesia.

Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Yunus Salam, Riwayat Hidup K. H. A. Dahlan: Amal dan Perjuangannya (Jakarta: Department of Education of Muhammadiyah, 1968), p. 2; see also Solichin Salam, Sekitar Wali Songo (n.p.: Menara Kudus, 1960), p. 26

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Stamford Raffles, The History of Java, Vol. II (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 113.

<sup>3</sup>Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>A. Mukti Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement, A Bibliographical Introduction" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1957), p. 28, n. 3 that Nitikan is the place in Yogyakarta where the graves of notables are situated, A ~~man~~ is usually employed to maintain the graveyard, and he is called "Juru Kunci".

<sup>5</sup>Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup>Selosoemarjan, Social Change in Yogyakarta (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 12.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>9</sup>Harry J. Benda, "Continuity and Change in Indonesian Islam," Asian and African Studies, Vol. I (n.p.: The Israel Oriental Society, 1965), p. 130.

<sup>10</sup>Solichin Salam, Muhammadiyah dan Kebangunan Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: N.V. Mega, 1965), p. 42.

<sup>11</sup>It used to be customary for Indonesians to change their names after performing the Hajj pilgrimage. This custom has been abandoned by most young Indonesian Hajis who went to Mecca after Indonesian independence in 1945.

<sup>12</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 28, n. 2.  
He claimed that Haji Abu Bakar had seven children:

1. Nyai Ketihharum
2. Nyai Muhsin or Nyai Nur
3. Nyai Haji Saleh
4. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan
5. Nyai Abdurrahman
6. Nyai Haji Mohammad Fekih (mother of Haji A. Badawi)
7. Basir

<sup>13</sup> Deliar Noer, "The Rise and Development of the Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1963), p. 115.

<sup>14</sup> Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Salam, Muhammadiyah, p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Salam, Muhammadiyah, p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> In giving the names of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's teachers in Mecca and the number of years of his stay there, A. Mukti Ali quoted Professor George McTurnan Kahin without mentioning the name of his book. Professor Kahin's informant stated that on his visit to Mecca in 1890, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan stayed for one year, and on his second visit in 1915 he stayed for two year. But Deliar Noer mentioned, that his second visit to Mecca was not in 1915, but in 1903. Nevertheless, both of them agreed that he stayed for one year on the first visit and two years, (another source says four years). Suara Muhammadiyah, the official periodical of the Muhammadiyah, in its issue no. 27, November, 1952,

does not mention the dates of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's pilgrimage to Mecca, but gives the impression that his first stay in Mecca was much longer than the second one (see p. 368).

The three shaykhs were among the most famous teachers of Indonesian students in Mecca in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. Shaykh Muhammad Shatta, was the father of Sayyid Bakri. In Mecca he was called Sayyid Abu Bakr Shatta, the learned author of I<sup>c</sup>ānat al-Ṭālibīn and benefactor and later father-in-law of Abdussyakur, from Surabaya (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century, tr. by J. H. Monahan (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1931), pp. 185, 188-9, and 283).

Kiyai Mahfudz, originally from Termas (Madiun, East Java), settled in Mecca. He was a famous Ulamā', especially in the subjects of al-Fiqh, al-Ḥadīth, and Uṣūl al-Fiqh. He wrote many books on these subjects in Arabic. His father, Kiyai Abdullah, was the founder of the pesantren of Termas. After Kiyai Abdullah's death, he was succeeded by his son, Kiyai Dimiyati (the brother of Kiyai Mahfudz). This pesantren has been continued to the present by Kiyai Habib. He was also a descendent of Kiyai Abdullah (see A. Mukti Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," pp. 38-39 n. 6).

Shaykh Ahmad Khatib originally came from Minangkabau. He went to Mecca, resided there and married a Kurdish girl from a famous and rich family. He was well-known for his knowledge of Falak, al-Fiqh, and Uṣul al-Fiqh, and wrote numerous books on his subjects in Arabic and Malay. He had a large circle of students, most of them from Indonesia including Dr. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, one of the pioneers of modern thinking in Minangkabau, Sumatra. See Hamka, Ayahku, Riwayat Hidup Dr. Abd. Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama (Jakarta: Wijaya, 1950), p. 60. See also Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 47.

<sup>22</sup> Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 30.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Syamsi Sumarjo, Pengetahuan Muhammadiyah dengan Tokoh-tokohnya dalam Kebangunan Islam (Yogyakarta, 1967), p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 116.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> See Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 31.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Sumarjo, Pengetahuan Muhammadiyah, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> See Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement", p. 32, n. 13. These two questions, brought forward by Ahmad Dahlan, were very important from the religious point of view. Facing the direction of the qiblah correctly during the prayer is one of the prerequisites of the prayer; and to continue fasting on the first of Shawwal (the tenth month of the Muslim Calendar) is prohibited (haram).

<sup>34</sup> Robert Van Niel, The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite (The Hague, 1960), p. 85.

<sup>35</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 36; Charles C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 102-103; C. C. Berg, "Indonesia," in H. A. R. Gibb, ed., Whither Islam (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1932), especially pp. 268-272.

<sup>37</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 14.

<sup>38</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Het Mohammedanisme",

Verspreide Geschriften (Bonn: Kurt Schroeder Verlag, 1924), IV, 2, pp. 219-20. It is interesting to note that this article was published for the first time in 1911, in H. Colijn, Neerlands Indie (Amsterdam, 1911), Part I, pp. 243-265, as quoted by Timur Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement: Its Contribution to Indonesian Nationalism," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1959), p. 31.

<sup>39</sup> Umar Amin Husin, "Sejarah Perkembangan Politik Modern di Indonesia," Hikmah, Vol. VII, No. 20-21 (Nomor Lebaran), 1374 [1954], pp. 21, and 24-26, as quoted by Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 15.

<sup>40</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 15.

<sup>41</sup> G. W. J. Drewes, "Indonesia: Mysticism and Activism," in Gustave E. von Grunebaum, ed., Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization (The University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 301.

<sup>42</sup> H. Abubakar, Salaf. Muhi Atsaris Salaf. Gerakan Salafiyah di Indonesia (Jakarta: Permata, 1970), p. 126.

<sup>43</sup> Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 51.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Abubakar, Salaf, p. 126.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Hamka, Ayahku, pp. 49-50 and 62.

<sup>48</sup> Hamka, "Beberapa Catetan Disekeliling Pribadi Kiyai H. A. Dahlan," Panji Masyarakat, No. 1+2, November, 1959, p. 8.

<sup>49</sup> Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 90, n. 80. Several prominent members of the Indonesian community, including Kiyai H. A. Dahlan of Yogyakarta and R. Hasan

Jayadiningrat, brother of the regent of Serang, were members of Jami<sup>c</sup>at Chair around 1910. They remained, however, passive members of the organization.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>51</sup>Husin, Sejarah Perkembangan, as quoted by Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement." The name of the five Indonesian boys were:

1. Abdul Muttalib Shahab
2. Abdurrahman al-Aidrus
3. Said Bajened
4. Ahmad Bajened
5. Umar al-Attas

<sup>52</sup>Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement," p. 27.

<sup>53</sup>See Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 117, n. 140. Budi Utomo also include people of the Kauman quarter which gave birth to the Muhammadiyah. They were Haji Sujak, Haji Fachruddin, Haji Tamim, Haji Hisyam, Haji Syarkawi and Haji Abdulgani, all prominent members of the Muhammadiyah.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 98, n. 97. This was explained in an interview with Shaykh Muhammad Nur al-Ansari, Jakarta, 1955. There were three others who received certificates similar to Soorkati's at that time. Two of them came to Indonesia later. They were Shaykh Badullah Fadaqa Dahlan who came to Jakarta in 1914 to become head of Jami<sup>c</sup>at Chair School, and Muhammad Abdulhadi bin Dari who went to Padang in 1925 and later moved to Medan, Pontianak.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 99, n. 98. Shaykh Ahmad's devotion to learning is also illustrated by his name Soorkati, which was first a nickname given to him by his uncle when the latter saw him always coming home with many (=katti) books (=soor) --Sudanese dialect. Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Nur al-Ansari, Jakarta, 1955, who also came from Sudan.

<sup>56</sup>Hamka, "K. H. A. Dahlan," in Encyclopaedi Islam Indonesia. Orang-orang Besar Islam di dalam dan di luar Indonesia (Jakarta: Sinar Pujangga, 1952), pp. 7-9.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 1

<sup>58</sup> See Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 162, n. 3. The founders of the Sarekat Dagang Islam at Solo were K. H. Samanhudhi, M. Asmodomejo, M. Kertotaruno, M. Sumowerdoyo, M. Haji Abdulrajak. Oetoesan Hindia, April 21, 1914. The batik traders in Solo, irrespective of their racial or national origin, at first cooperated with each other, but with the success of the revolution in China in 1911, the Chinese traders began to look down upon the Indonesians. (Haji Agus Salim during his seminars at Cornell University on February 20, February 25, and March 4, 1953.) They even regarded themselves as equals with the Dutch. Clashes between Indonesians and the Chinese were reported as a result of this attitude.

<sup>59</sup> Abubakar, Salaf, p. 130.

<sup>60</sup> Benda, "Continuity," p. 123; see also J. D. Legge, Indonesia (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, n.d.), p. 47. See also Kafrawi, "The Path of Subud, A Study of 20th Century Javanese Mysticism Founded by Muhammad Subuh Sumohadiwijoyo," (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1970), p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 9.

<sup>62</sup> Kenneth Perry Landon, Southeast Asia Crossroad of Religions (Chicago, 1947), p. 142.

<sup>63</sup> See the doctoral dissertation of Raymond Le Roy Archer, "Muhammadian Mysticism in Sumatra," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Malayan Branch, Vol. XV, Part 2, (September, 1937), pp. 90 et passim; see also Drewes, "Indonesia," pp. 284 et passim.

<sup>64</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," pp. 10-11.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 12.



<sup>66</sup>M. Hutasoit, Compulsory Education in Indonesia, (Paris: Unesco, 1954), pp. 14-15.

<sup>67</sup>Amry Vandenbosch, The Dutch East Indies, Its Government, Problems, and Politics (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942), p. 316.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 317

<sup>69</sup>Solichin Salam, "Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan," The Indonesian Herald (Jakarta: November, 1962).

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," pp. 30-31.

<sup>72</sup>Salam, Muhammadiyah, p. 54.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>76</sup>Hamka, "K. H. A. Dahlan," p. 10. Muhammad Hani, a pupil of Ahmad Dahlan, in his Indonesian translation of Muhammad 'Abduh's Risalat al-Tawhid, says that Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was the "Mujaddid Islam", or modernist in Java during the 20th century.

<sup>77</sup>Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 50.

<sup>78</sup>Gibb, Modern Trends, p. 33. These words have been taken almost unchanged from H. A. R. Gibb, as quoted by Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 50. Gibb's analysis of the basic principle of Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh's reform movement in Egypt is generally considered to be applicable to those of the Muhammadiyah movement in Indonesia also.

<sup>79</sup> G. H. Bousquet was a French scholar on Islam. He wrote a provocative book just before World War II, advancing the thesis that the Dutch administration was not sufficiently cognizant of the dangers inherent in the Muslim educational association. "Non-political Islamic Movements in Indonesia," in Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia, by Fred R. Von Der Mehden (n.p.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), p. 194.

<sup>80</sup> Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 32.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> George McTurnan Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), p. 87.

<sup>85</sup> Hamka, Ayahku, p. 62.

<sup>86</sup> Fred R. Von Der Mehden, Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia (n.p.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), p. 200.

<sup>87</sup> Salam, Muhammadiyah, p. 87.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>89</sup> K. H. Asnawi Hadisiwaya, "Kyahi Haji Ahmad Dahlan," Panji Masyarakat, I, No. 3 (1959), p. 17. See also Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 126.

<sup>90</sup> Solichin Salam, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan, Reformer Islam Indonesia (Jakarta: Jayamurni, 1963), p. 52.

<sup>91</sup> Hadisiwaya, "Kyahi Haji Ahmad Dahlan," p. 18.

<sup>92</sup>K. H. Ahmad Dahlan, "al-Islām - al-Qur'ān," Fajar, quoted by Imam Prakoso Ciptohadiwardoyo of Semarang, who had been looking for a long time for the writings of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. Fortunately, he found the article in Javanese under the title "al-Islām - al-Qur'ān" in the al-Manar at the Muhammadiyah's library in Surakarta in 1926. This article was translated and written by Imam Prakoso in Fajar, II, No. 8 (1960). He still looking for another writing of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan in order to obtain directly his ideas on Islamic modernism in Indonesia.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Landon, Southeast Asia Crossroad of Religions, p. 191.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 33.

<sup>97</sup>Salam, Muhammadiyah, p. 67.

<sup>98</sup>C. A. O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, Aspect of Islam in Post Colonial Indonesia (The Hague, 1958), p. 45.

<sup>99</sup>Abubakar, Salaf, p. 130.

<sup>100</sup>Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 64.

<sup>101</sup>Van Niel, The Emergence, p. 166.

<sup>102</sup>Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 199, n. 143. A tabligh division of the Muhammadiyah was especially formed in anticipation of the Budi Utomo congress, so that a more organized tabligh could be held at this meeting.

<sup>103</sup>Hamka, "K. H. A. Dahlan," p. 10.

<sup>104</sup>Mehden, Religion and Nationalism, p. 198.

- 105 Van Niel, The Emergence, p. 110.
- 106 Ibid., p. 208.
- 107 Ibid., p. 209.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Mehden, Religion and Nationalism, p. 196.
- 110 Hamka, "K. H. A. Dahlan," p. 13.
- 111 Ibid., p. 15
- 112 Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 58.
- 113 Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 34.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid., p. 36.
- 116 H. M. Farid Ma'ruf, "Analisa Akhlak dalam Perkembangan Muhammadiyah," Almanak Muhammadiyah (Jakarta: Pusat Pimpinan Muhammadiyah, Majlis Taman Pustaka, 1961-1962), p. 13.
- 117 Salam, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan, p. 72.
- 118 Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 36.
- 119 Salam, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan, p. 27.
- 120 Salam, Muhammadiyah, p. 46.
- 121 Salam, Riwayat Hidup, p. 14.

## CHAPTER II

### RELIGIOUS INNOVATIONS IN THE PURIFICATION OF JAVANESE ISLAM

#### 1. Corrupting of Religious Faith

In speaking about corruption of religious faith in Indonesia, the Muhammadiyah was concerned with promoting those practices and beliefs among Muslims that it considers as religiously correct by convincing Muslims to abandon those having no historical justification. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan gave serious attention to the problem of corruption of religious faith in society. The flourishing growth of bid<sup>c</sup>ah (innovation) and khurafat (superstition) illustrated the principal means by which the religious message of Islam has been subject to contortion. According to Howard M. Federspiel, bid<sup>c</sup>ah was defined as believing that certain behaviour and tenets of faith were held to have been ratified by the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the tenets were not. "Bid<sup>c</sup>ah generally appears because of a desire to increase religious performance, but due to ignorance the action undertaken is not actually that which is sanctioned"<sup>2</sup> by Islam.

Therefore, bid<sup>c</sup>ah is an unintentional mistake, but a mistake which should be corrected. Khurafat, connected to religious beliefs and practices associated with other religions, usually came from a religion established in a region prior to the advent of Islam. The leadership of the Muhammadiyah notes that, among Indonesian Muslims, khurafat was linked with the practices and beliefs preserved from the time when Animism, Hinduism and Buddhism had dominated the archipelago.<sup>3</sup> The Muhammadiyah's leadership considered that practices and beliefs in the category of khurafat would be abolished as soon as Muslims became cognizant of their true faith.

Reformist Muslims regard bid<sup>c</sup>ah as traditionalist persistence on the importance of jurisprudential principle as the primary judge of what is and what is not honourable among Muslims. According to H. A. Badawi, a predominant influence on the Muhammadiyah, bid<sup>c</sup>ah meant a new guidance and certainty in religious belief, which intended to parallel with ibādah (worship), in order to be considered as ibādah.<sup>4</sup> According to him whatever was called bid<sup>c</sup>ah was misleading. According to Khuda Bukhsh, "Bid<sup>c</sup>ah ... let light into Islam, but it has also let in diserve corrupt practices amongst the subject-races with whom Moslems came into contact, thus fundamentally metamorphosing Islam."<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Badawi explained the

meaning of khurafat, to be belief which did not guide but only followed the ancestor.

The desire for a more personal and emotional form of belief was associated, in particular, with the sūfī orders which from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries formed the chief proselytizing element in Islam. The term sūfī constitutes what we understand in our modern terminology as a mystic, (while one better known as tasawwuf expresses what we mean by mysticism.) Sūfism in Islam appears to have started as far back as the seventh century, or the first century of the existence of Islam as a religion. Through time it was to develop and spread in different forms all over the Muslim world. Sūfism offered satisfaction to the religious instinct of the general body of followers by its more directly personal emotional approach.<sup>6</sup> Sūfism, as the missionary arm of Islam, was willing to allow a degree of accommodation between Islamic orthodoxy and the other religious traditions from which it sought converts. In Java, the sūfis "face the Shiva-Buddha mystic on equal terms as mystics to mystic, to teach the supremacy of the new religion."<sup>7</sup>

Sūfism for Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was not an other worldly experience, as described by A. Mukti Ali:

The Muhammadiyah recognizes the high regard which Indonesian Muslims have for sufism, but is also aware that what is commonly regarded as sufism by average Indonesian is quite out of harmony with the forming modernist philosophy of life. Therefore, the Muhammadiyah does not reject sufism in itself but takes account of it and seeks to give it an entirely new meaning. Its purpose, according to the Muhammadiyah, should be to cleanse the heart and spirit of mankind from all uncleanness, meannesses and faults brought into being by the lusts of the lower nature, by saṭan. It should be not another - worldly experience achieved by magical practice but a practical and measurable influence for the good in human relations.<sup>8</sup>

This understanding of sufism supports the intention of the Muhammadiyah to influence the Muslims to act intelligently and to lead improved and useful religious lives. On the other hand the dhikr, that is the endless repetition of the name of Allāh resulting in a trancelike state, was rejected in the Muhammadiyah.<sup>9</sup> Both the first and second aims of purification in Indonesian Islam, and the reformulation of Islamic doctrine as mentioned in the previous chapter, were always in the thoughts and actions of the Indonesian religious leaders.

Of the many objectionable practices which had found their way into Islam as harmful innovations, only some of the most typical instances can be described here. These practices, partly of pre-Islamic (Hindu) origin, had been permitted to creep into Islam and had kept their hold over the common



people. The religious leaders had been negligent and easy-going, and perhaps the Kiyais themselves had encouraged the hold of objectionable practices upon the common people.<sup>10</sup>

"Islam is largely a veneer covering a great deal of heathen superstition and animistic belief, and even of later Hinduism, but Mohammedanism gains ground more and more, and penetrates as well as spreads."<sup>11</sup> Many abuses were the offshoot of the cult of saints, such as the offering the prayers and sacrifices at their tombs.

In general, the leaders of the village are especially active in calculating lucky days, in controlling malignant spirits, and in providing jimat (magic formulae) or charms. A jimat could consist of the statement, "Lā ilāha illallāh,"<sup>12</sup> written several hundred times on paper; the paper would be rolled into a small tin box and the box tied around a person's neck or wrist, would be worn at all time except when bathing. A jimat to make one invulnerable may be a statement of faith in the power of Allāh. The person making such a jimat has to have magical powers because he makes a small wound, apparently, in the right side or in the right arm of the person buying the charm. He inserts the jimat in the wound, binds the flesh over it, utters Arabic prayers over it, removes the bandage, and if there is no sign of a scar or wound, the charm is

effective and person invulnerable.

According to A. Mukti Ali, other abuses are the veneration of the kris (a kind of sword), veneration of the aqiq (a semi-precious stone, the cornelian), veneration of tombs, and the like, which are popularly believed to possess special power.<sup>13</sup>

The Muhammadiyah was also against the concept of kramat<sup>14</sup> (shrines), the belief that certain objects could be of use in solving people's problems by their being employed in the performance of a certain ceremony. These beliefs were widespread, for a long time, all over the country. Belief in specific tombs, those of certain Muslim saints, and also belief in certain dukuns<sup>15</sup> (practitioners) who can predict good or bad fortune still survive until the present time.

In the religious ceremonies followed by the Muslims there are many elements retained from the earlier ancestor cult and Hindu beliefs. Thus, in the funeral ceremony the Hindu ritual of keeping an incense pot burning near the body of the deceased person is often followed; another non-Islamic practice is found in the custom of having children walk three, five or seven times under the coffin.<sup>16</sup> Other magico-religious customs, particularly those relating to the sowing and harvesting of rice, are practiced according to the ancient

animistic cult by both Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

These beliefs are of special importance at the village level where the evidence of syncretic adaptation is particularly obvious. The Indonesian peasant finds no great difficulty in combining, in varying mixtures, his obligations as a Muslim with his acceptance of older beliefs and customs.

There are many specific aspects of beliefs and practices accepted by many traditionalists but which are opposed in Muhammadiyah writings as bid'ah. The Muhammadiyah, early in their history accepted the principle that the sermon at Friday prayer could be delivered in native dialects rather than in Arabic, as preferred by the traditionalists, although it was recognized by almost all orthodox Muslim groups that ordinary worship had to be recited in Arabic.<sup>17</sup>

Another aspect Muhammadiyah writers also condemned as bid'ah was the talqin<sup>18</sup> (guide of the dead). Talqin occurred after burial when the deceased was given the last lesson on the principles of Islam to prepare him for questioning by the angels after death. The holy book does not cite this practice.

Insignificant parts of ritual prayers were also considered by Muhammadiyah as bid'ah, such as the usalli,<sup>19</sup> voicing the intention to pray at the beginning of the prayer. The traditionalist emphasize usalli as significant point of

worship. However, it was rejected by the reformists as not having been practiced during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>20</sup> Certain ceremonies and ritual meals celebrating the death of a Muslim, upheld by some traditionalist group, have been called as khurafat in Muhammadiyah statements. They considered such ceremonies to be usual in the Animism of the Indonesian archipelago and to have no secure tradition in early Islam.<sup>21</sup>

The Muhammadiyah relation to the schools of jurisprudence has brought it into dispute with traditionalists in a number of situations. In the formative years of the Muhammadiyah prior to 1925, a position had already been taken in the movement condemning bid'ah but the issue was not accentuated. Later, the endeavour to abolish bid'ah and khurafat was given more attention, because of the interests of some of the new leadership and the spread of the movement to Sumatra where Muslim modernist<sup>22</sup> had already taken up the issue. Furthermore, it was about this time that the real issues which included bid'ah, changed in accepted ritual, particularly on Java. Consequently, in 1920, the Muhammadiyah introduced and practiced certain changes in religious ritual, and traditionalist Muslims condemned Muhammadiyah leaders as heretics and renegades for improving what they considered as false

doctrines.<sup>23</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan understood that the traditionalists or conservatives were limited in their outlook and generally rigid in their thought. They had failed to reconcile their traditional theories with the facts of modern society. Most religious scholars agree that the early reformers included the Muhammadiyah proper in the fight against ignorance and blind prejudice, especially those against conservatives, who had accepted interpretation of Islamic belief and practice and quarrelled that such additions were justified by the Shāfi'ī code.<sup>24</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan realized that custom was established and that if something new came, the people would be reluctant to accept it, because unusual things were considered unsuitable for them, although it was very clear to him that to adopt modern values, would bring happiness.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the people were still unwilling to receive modern ideas, except for broad-minded people who were always thinking about the ummah (Muslim community).

The traditionalists were mainly concerned with pure religion, such as ʿibādah (worship); Islam was for them mostly fiqh, jurisprudence. In this relation they conceded taqlīd and repudiated the validity of ijtihād. Many of the

traditionalists were also concerned with sūfism<sup>26</sup> (mysticism).

Sūfism among the traditionalists frequently led to practices which were close to shirk, associating God with beings and objects.

Deliar Noer described as follows:

... In the beginning the modernists, like the traditionalists, were also concerned with pure religion. Both fiqh and sūfism had drawn their attention. We will remember their fight against the accretions which had crept into the ibadah (rituals) of the Muslims, like ushalli, talqin, the veneration of wali (saints) and kramat (shrines), the belief in spirits derived from animism, and the various tarekat practices which were likely to cause its followers to fall into syirk, at least into the watering down of the idea of tawhid, i.e., the oneness of God.<sup>27</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, in his efforts to purify and reconstruct Islam, reasserted the authority of the Qur'an and that of the Prophet Muhammad. He showed the characteristics of an ignorant society living in the modern times.

1. The obscuring of tawhid which consequently caused disintegration among the ummah.
2. People were fearful to face the risk of life, so that they were dead in their lives.
3. They struggle toward independence against the colonialists, but afterwards they surrender themselves to their passions.
4. Moral degradation was a significant factor impeding

the success of all efforts for development.

5. Justice and prosperity could never flourish in a society if the souls and spirits lacked the guidance of God.

6. Prosperity could not be if the aims of life were not clear and religion was not used as a guide.<sup>28</sup>

The Muhammadiyah represented the reformist and modernist movement, emphasizing the importance of taking religious principles directly from the Qur'ān and Hadīth, and it tried to express Islam in modern terms. The Muhammadiyah within the context of Islamic history, was concerned with the relationship of the Islamic past to the contemporary situation. "The Muhammadiyah acknowledges the importance of the tradition of Islam as it developed in the early centuries of its activity."<sup>29</sup> Modern times have seen the decline of the vitality of the Muslims. Therefore, reform is needed to bring the Islamic world to its former position of strength. There are numbers of Muslim countries which have lost political control in certain areas of the world because moral degradation, spiritual disintegration, intellectual corruption and poverty,<sup>30</sup> took place in Muslim societies. In consequence, "Muhammadiyah subscribes to the teachings of the acknowledged leaders of Islamic reform and modernism of the

past century, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh and Rashīd Ridā as the best way to remove these conditions and revitalize Islam."<sup>31</sup>

By following the ideas and concepts of reforms elucidated by these harbingers, especially by endeavouring to discover and follow the genuine principles in the holy book of Islam, the Muhammadiyah realized that revitalization of Islam would be fulfilled.

## 2. Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh's Modernism and Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan

In making a comparison between Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh, an important leader of Islamic modernism in Egypt, and Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the leader who successfully established the Muhammadiyah as the Islamic modernist movement in Indonesia, it is not my intention to say that Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan of Indonesia is on an equality with Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh of Egypt.

When Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh first studied in al-Jāmi<sup>C</sup> al-Ahmadī at Tantā,<sup>32</sup> he found that the educational system had remained unchanged since the third century of Hijrah and had consisted largely of memorizing texts without an attempt at



understanding. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan also criticized the unsatisfactory system and method of his early pesantren education. Therefore, after obtaining a religious education from his country, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan went to study and perform a pilgrimage to the holy city in Saudi Arabia.<sup>33</sup>

Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh revolted against this system by running away from school.<sup>34</sup> Fortunately, his great uncle Shaykh Darwish Hadr successfully allured and stimulated his interest in learning, and Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh joined the al-Azhar University. During his study at al-Azhar, he suffered the same problem. However, after being in contact with Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī,<sup>35</sup> Muḥammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh changed from a sterile visionary into practical one. The young student became Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's close pupil, and with his fertile mind developed these ideas into a new code which was to give Islam fresh life. After absorbing knowledge from his teacher, he became the Grand Mufti<sup>36</sup> of Egypt and was successful in bringing about the reform of al-Azhar. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, coming back to his country, from his second visit of study in Saudi Arabia, established the Muhammadiyah organization, and was also appointed as a khatib of the Sultan's mosque of Yogyakarta. Through his organization, he launched his Islamic educational reform against the pesantren system

of education, at a non-university level. This reform of education will be discussed on the next chapter of this thesis.

By launching of his reform movement the name of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh was made known not only in Egypt, the place where he was born, but to all the Muslim world, and even to parts of the western countries as well.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, the popularity of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the Muslim leader of Indonesia, was restricted only to areas of his own country. However, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan obtained his ideas and inspiration<sup>38</sup> by following and reading many of books and articles of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh.

The Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh movement played an important role in the history of Egypt insofar as it served to establish the ideal of patriotism and democracy in the country. There is no doubt that Egyptian thought has been profoundly affected by the teachings of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan also played an important role in Islamic history in general and in Indonesian history in particular. By establishing his modernist movement, the Muhammadiyah, he was able to mobilize his people, stir their hearts, move their souls, motivate their sentiments, and evoke their sacrifices in order to seek pure and pristine Islam and work for its glory.<sup>39</sup>

Religious reform for Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh was the most effective and surest means to bring about a change in the social condition of his people.<sup>40</sup> Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh maintained that the validity of religion was not an abstract principle detached from social life, but a potent factor in the collective activities of the community. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan and his modernist movement, also considered that social conditions of the people in society was a most significant aspect. It was to expound and insist that the true meaning of Islam could not be limited to ‘ubūdiyyah, but it also covered all earthly matters; social, economic and political. From the start of his modernist movement he outlined a social programme which created, during his lifetime, several majlis (councils). These majlis embodied and administered the various social programmes:

1. Majlis Tabligh: to organize tabligh (propaganda). It carried out Islamic preaching activities inside and outside of the Muslim community on all levels.
2. Majlis Pengajaran: to coordinate education by supervising and giving instruction in its schools.
3. Majlis Taman Pustaka: to coordinate all activities by supervising the publication and printing of books, brochures, pamphlets, etc.

4. Majlis P.K.U. (Penolong Kesengsaraan Umum): to coordinate and maintain the activities of Muhammadiyah in the establishment of hospitals, clinics, orphanages, and poor-houses.
5. Majlis Aisyiyah: to coordinate the activities of women, with a branch for girls called Nasyiatul Aisyiyah (N.A.).
6. Majlis H.W. (Hisbul Wathan): to organize, by giving guidance and directions, scouts and youth.<sup>41</sup>

These majlis were to be increased afterwards in accordance with the development of the social and political situation of the organization and the government. Those created after his death were the Majlis Tarjih, Majlis Tanwir, Majlis Hikmah, Majlis for Guidance and Workers, Majlis Economy, and Majlis Waqaf.<sup>42</sup> All of them are still in operation at the present time.

The Muhammadiyah set down its programme of activities based on teachings of Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abduh as M. Siddik has said:

The Muhammadiya organization was founded in 1912 by Haji Ahmad Dahlan, who pressed for revival and purification of the practice of the teachings of Islam along the lines adopted by Muhammad Abduh and his followers in Egypt. This organization concentrated its efforts on socio-welfare activities with emphasis on modernization of education and improvement of health condition of the Muslims.<sup>43</sup>

Both Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh and Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan had previous experience in reform movements before turning actively to their own reform movements. Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh collaborated with the famous <sup>C</sup>Urabi revolt in 1882,<sup>44</sup> on uprising directed mainly against the British. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan participated with Jamiat Chair, Budi Utomo and Sarekat Islam, in an attempt to raise national consciousness and oust the Dutch colonists from Indonesia.<sup>45</sup> After the subjugation of the revolt by the British, Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh was expatriated from his country on the charge of issuing a fatwā in support of the rebellion. He left for Syria and then visited Paris in 1884, where he joined Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī in the publication of al-<sup>C</sup>Urawah al-Wuthqā.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, the partnership between Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī did not last a long time. Because of his disagreement with the political method of the latter, Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh travelled to the Ottoman Empire. By the time the Khedive Tawfiq allowed him to return to Egypt in 1888,<sup>47</sup> Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh's point of view and experience had been broadened by extensive travel in the east and the west. Khedive Tawfiq appointed Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh qādī in a local court.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan by joining three organizations, expanded his experience in organization, and in political

life. Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh had travelled abroad, but Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan only travelled from one place to another in his own country, carrying on his batik business and making contacts with the 'Ulamā' in every city to introduce his modern ideas. Saudi Arabia was the only place outside Indonesia which was visited by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan during his lifetime.

The influence of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh on Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's thought is well described by Alfian:

...What Abduh had expounded in his various works, notably with regard to the need for the Muslim community to improve and modernize their educational system and social conditions so that they could prepare themselves to take greater responsibility in running their country and moving it up to the level of the modern world surrounding it, Dahlan with his Muhammadiyah appeared to have worked toward that same end. This might seem to suggest that Dahlan was fairly influenced by Abduh. But to say that Dahlan was largely, if not completely, influenced by Abduh could not be convincingly substantiated ..., as we have seen above, before Dahlan was really get acquainted with the works of Abduh he had already exercised his own self-ijtihad, and therefore he had shown that he had the necessary capability to develop his own intelligence to decide for himself what he thought was best and beneficial.<sup>48</sup>

Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh was a prolific writer. He became editor-in-chief of al-Waqā'i' al-Misriyah.<sup>49</sup> He was popularly known by the distinguished title of al-Ustādh al-Imām<sup>50</sup> (the Master and Guide), first given to him by his disciple

and friend Muhammad Rashīd Ridā. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan did not have the talent as a writer and journalist of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. The way Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan channeled his ideas was not by his pen but by his direct contact with several ʿUlamāʾ, by meeting and discussing with the various leaders, and by giving tabligh to the masses. Therefore, some followers called him an amaliyah <sup>51</sup> (action) man.

Muhammad Rashīd Ridā, who was a very close friend and disciple of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh, wrote a very important work about his teacher Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan did not have friends and disciples like Rashīd Ridā. Rashīd Ridā became a great writer and champion of journalism and editor-in-chief of al-Manār. He wrote a three volume book with the title Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. The first volume, an autobiography of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. The second volume contained the writing of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh while the third consisted of speeches and written articles by his admirers pertaining to his death. <sup>52</sup>

R. H. Hajid was an intimate friend and pupil of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. He wrote a small book entitled Falsafah Pelajaran K. H. Ahmad Dahlan (K. H. Ahmad Dahlan's Philosophy of Teaching). The book was divided into seven lessons, with commentaries by the author. In general, the contents

can be condensed into three aspects: religious, political and educational. Under the religious aspect, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan gave a fatwa which reminded the people that they had to realize the function and duty of living in this transitory world. He also showed that in the beginning Islam had glistened but after a long period of time it had become dark. Actually, he said, the people were stagnant and dark, not Islam as a religion.<sup>53</sup>

In the political sphere, he appealed to all leaders in the society to sacrifice material wealth and to exercise their religious spirit to endeavour to bring the people to truth. These leaders would be responsible for improving the society. Dahlan hoped that leaders would not exploit the ignorance of the people.<sup>54</sup> In the educational sphere, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's interests were very strong. He showed that education is divided into two stages viz., theory and practice. According to him theory meant that the lessons were gradually given to the pupils by the teachers in the classroom, using methods and system which were in accordance with the age and capacity of the pupils. The most important aspect of all theoretical knowledge was that it should then be practiced in society.<sup>55</sup>

A great deal of literature about Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abduh has



been written by various scholars in the east and the west, showing that he was a great modernist leader and champion of reform. The unique place which he occupies in the Egyptian renaissance entitles him to be acclaimed as the father of modern Egypt.<sup>56</sup> There were no scholars who wrote with any comprehension about Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of the Muhammadiyah. Some scholars and people have called Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan the father of the Muhammadiyah,<sup>57</sup> and his name is mentioned sporadically in some literature, but no comprehensive study has been done as yet.

In his teachings Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh firmly maintained the equality of women, reinforcing his argument with Qur'anic quotations such as "I will not suffer the work of any workers among you to be lost, whether male or female, the one of you being from the other."<sup>58</sup> Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan also realized that women should be considered equal and that is why he established the Aisyiyah (Women's organization). In his tabligh, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan explained that Islam had given a better status to women than any other religion but that most of the Muslims did not follow their religious obligation in this respect.<sup>59</sup> He said that a happy home in which a woman was given an equal status with man could alone guarantee the well being of society.

The most serious aspect of Muhammad<sup>C</sup>Abduh's view in this regard is that concerning polygamy. Albeit polygamy was permitted by the Shari<sup>C</sup>ah; according to him, the practical difficulties involved made the permission virtually ineffective. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan said that Islam is the only religion which recommended monogamy as the most equitable form of marriage. The Qur'an permitted polygamy under certain circumstances: when the necessity arises for the welfare of the society. Only under very exceptional circumstances did monogamy fail to provide a home for widows and orphans as definite injunctions provided equal justice to all wives. Muhammad<sup>C</sup>Abduh was painfully aware of the harmful effects of the institution of polygamy on family life which, in its turn, had passed on these evil influences to the nation as a whole. Describing at length the moral deterioration of family life as a result of the practice of polygamy, Muhammad<sup>C</sup>Abduh came to the conclusion that the permission to marry more than one wife had outlived its utility since people now indulged in polygamy only to satisfy their sexual desires.<sup>60</sup> The same rational attitude is evident in Muhammad<sup>C</sup>Abduh's observations regarding the status of women. His views about their rights were extremely helpful to the feminist<sup>61</sup> movement in Egypt.

Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh realized the importance of the natural sciences and it was disappointing for him to see that the Culamā' and the people were apathetic towards them. In his early writings, published in the weekly al-Ahrām,<sup>62</sup> he vehemently defended the cause of science on which, he said, depended the prosperity of the nation. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan said that science has threatened the secure foundation of human civilization and imperilled mankind in a way that no human mind can understand. Science should be harnessed to the service of mankind like religion; in other words, science and religion were united in an Islam based on the Qur'ān and Hadīth.<sup>63</sup> Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh said, "tolerance towards science and learning, was in the nature of Islam, as revealed in the flourishing of sciences under Muslim rulers."<sup>64</sup> Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh believed in the co-existence of science and religion. From his point of view, there was no contradiction between science and Islam. Islam, to him, was an ally of science.<sup>65</sup> It encouraged the study of natural phenomena to which there were many references in the holy Qur'ān.

Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh glorified Islam as a rational religion of highest degree. By virtue of its being the only religion based on the synthesis of reason and revelation, Islam, in his opinion, was capable of being the future religion of

mankind. As Nadaf Safran says:

Religion is a general sense, the province of which is to discover means of happiness that are not clearly discernible to reason. But it is reason which has the final authority in the recognition of this sense, in directing its exercise in its appropriate sphere, and in accepting beliefs and rules of conduct which that sense discovers for it. How can the right of reason to do this be denied when it is reason which examines the proofs of these beliefs and rules in order to arrive at a secure knowledge of them and to be assured that they emanate of certainty from God.<sup>66</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan also held that Islam is the natural religion and the religion of commonsense. The Muslims, therefore, could not but rise to prominence and power when they faithfully acted on the teaching of the holy Qur'ān. He said about Islam in Indonesia. "Islam will never disappear from the surface of the earth, but it might disappear from Indonesia if the Indonesian Muslims do not stand for it."<sup>67</sup> This statement was based on calculation, but it was also made to shock his people into seeing reason. Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh delivered many fatwās which were characterized by a spirit of liberality and freedom from bondage to tradition and a desire to show that the religion of Islam is entirely adaptable to the requirements of modern times.

Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh was a most enthusiastic admirer of Europe and its culture. He relished his trips to England

and France and cherished his friendships with European celebrities from all walks of life, insisting throughout his career that Islam be re-interpreted in the light of modern thought. According to Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh, Islam is no longer content to lie inactive and be criticized. Now its missionaries are rapidly pushing its doctrines southwards through Africa, and making slow but steady progress in the west itself.<sup>68</sup>

The efforts of the Christian missions served as a model for the activities that Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan embarked upon with the Muhammadiyah. First and foremost came the propagation of the Muslim faith, called tabligh. In this case W. A. Visser 't Hooft said as follows:

Dr. Kraemer had many valuable contact with Islam, especially at Yogyakarta, where he got into touch with the important Muhammadiyah Movement. This seeks to influence Islam throughout Java by modern methods such as religious propaganda, teaching, the care of the poor and sick, the publication of literature, etc.

.....  
The movement and some of its leaders, however, appealed to him in virtue of the healthy spirit of energy which characterized it, and its general effect was to strengthen his faith in the Javanese. The founder and the first leader of the Movement, Haji Dahlan, and now dead, had his real sympathy as a moral and religious personality of a superior type and a revelation of the possibilities of the Javanese race.<sup>69</sup>

Nearly all of the biographies of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh have shown that the principal aim in his life was the religious reform of Islam. This point of view, however, is true only to a certain degree. If one studies the activities of the Egyptian reformer, considers especially the extent of his teaching, and examines more carefully his works, one will be able to see that above all it was reasons of a moral order which explain the reform of Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. Later, it was he, as Grand Mufti, who affirmed the right of ijtihad (exertion), that is the liberty to think independently of all authority. And it was he who declared on several occasions that the studies of the Muslim Ulamā' were not worth an hour of effort if they did not lead to action, or relate to the conduct of life. For Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh, theory and practice were always closely connected. And it is only arbitrarily that one can separate his ideas from his actions.

As a matter of facts, 'Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh was a born moralist, and he wanted more to act directly on the conscience than to isolate himself in order to build a theological system more or less coherent."<sup>70</sup> These views were inspirational to Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan who was himself a moralist in all aspects of his actions.

### 3. Ijtihad and Morality as His Central Concept of Religious Thought

The formulation of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's religious beliefs and morality is concerned with the interpretation of freedom in ijtihād with a view to rebuild the law of Shari'ah in the light of modern thought and experience. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan undertook a study of Islamic sources and showed that they contained within them the potentialities of evolution and of application to a newer situation. He maintained the orthodox classification of the sources of Usūl al-Fiqh, viz., Qur'ān, Sunnah (Tradition), Ijmā', and Qiyās<sup>71</sup> and threw a new light upon the potentialities they hold for the future.

The Qur'ān is the basic source of law and being the Divine Revelation, gives the eternal principles for human guidance. These principles of life, endow man with a new revolutionary outlook and awaken in him a unique insight into life, so that he may reform and refashion his entire life in accordance with the spirit of Islam.<sup>72</sup> According to the belief of every Muslim, the Qur'ān is a divinely revealed book and as such, all positive laws given therein have superiority over man-made laws. It is a historical fact that the text of the Qur'ān has not undergone even the slightest change.

It is the real foundation on which the whole superstructure of Islam rests, and being the only absolute and final authority in every discussion relating to the principles and laws of Islam, it is to say that the Holy Qur'ān is the sole source from which all the teachings and practices of Islam are drawn. In this respect, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan owes much to Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh's al-Tafsīr, its deep understanding to and interpretation of the Holy Qur'ān.

The second main source of Islam was the tradition of the holy Prophet. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan held that the traditionists concentrated merely on the authenticity of the chain of transmitter and did not pay any attention to the subject-matter at all.<sup>73</sup> He grasped that it was obligatory for the Muslims to accept and follow those traditions of the Prophet Muhammad which referred to religious injunctions. Those which deal with worldly affairs, they were not necessarily called upon to follow.

The Hadīth has come to supplement the Qur'ān as a source of the Islamic religious law. Muslims can always turn to both sources for answers to all problems, be they legal or religious. The importance of the Hadīth in this regard can be realized when one considers the zeal and enthusiasm with which every group of Muslims, every party, every movement



supplied itself with a selection of tradition which would give Prophetic authority for its particular point of view. To Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the Qur'an and Tradition of the Prophet were primarily sources for the Muslims in guiding all aspects of their in the community.

The third source of Islamic law was Ijmā<sup>c</sup> which, in his opinion, was not properly recognized as a legal notion in Islam. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, influenced by Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abduh, thought that Islam recognized that man is able by his intellect to arrive at knowledge of God.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, he opposed the restricted authority of taqlīd and suggest that ijtihād or independent investigation for the purpose of forming one's own point of view on any matter of religion, would be better. Ijmā<sup>c</sup> however, while invoking great academic discussions in early Islam, remained a mere idea, and never really assumed the form of a permanent institution in any Muslim country. Its validity consisted in the consensus of the Mujtahids<sup>75</sup> on a point of law, and such a consensus became a permanent source of law. This was a process through which new values established and preserved in Islam.

According to Mohammad Rasyidi, Ijmā<sup>c</sup> was used during the limited time especially in the time of the first two Caliphs and part of rule of the third Caliph.<sup>76</sup> This source

was still discussed among the Muslim scholars in the Muslim countries.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan did not recognize Ijma<sup>C</sup>. He stood strongly for ijtihad<sup>77</sup> in almost all matters and did not like to limit its practice to the unanimity of certain jurists of any period.

The last source of Islamic law was Qiyās, which consisted in the use of analogical reasoning in the law-making process. This was the process through which the Islamic principles were applied to local problems in changing conditions. Through qiyās, which was another name for ijtihad according to the Shāfi<sup>C</sup>i school, the growth of Islamic law took place, and the basic principles were applied to concrete cases. Muhammad Iqbal said:

Qiyas, as Shāfi<sup>C</sup>i rightly says, is only another name for ijtihad which, within the limit of the revealed tests, is absolutely free, and its importance as a principle can be seen from the fact that, according to most of the doctors, as Qazi Shoukani tells us, it was permitted even in the lifetime of the holy Prophet.<sup>78</sup>

Theoretically, of course, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan considered that the door of ijtihad had always been open, and actually many a bold spirit had entered this door with appreciable gusto.<sup>79</sup> But it should be remembered that ijtihad

was the exclusive and jealousy guarded privilege of the competent and the knowledgeable. Really, ijtihād could only be free in one sense, i.e., in the sense of freedom of the conscience of the mujtahid from political pressure and surveillance by temporal authority. Paradoxically enough, this was best achieved in the absence of a rigid mechanism and regularized institution.

The qiyās or ijtihād which was derived from the Prophet Muhammad, occurred when the Prophet sent Ma<sup>C</sup>ādh ibn Jabal to Yaman as a judge:

When Muhammad sent Ma<sup>C</sup>ādh ibn Jabal to the Yaman to act as qāḍī, he asked him, how will you decide when a question arises; he replied, according to the book of Allah. And if you do not find the answer in the book of Allah? Then, according to the Sunna of the Messenger of Allah. And if you do not find the answer neither in the Sunna nor in the book. Then I shall come to a decision according to my own opinion without hesitation.<sup>80</sup>

It is the acknowledgement, made available through ijtihād, that made possible the keeping of the instruction. Hence, the mujtahid was not one who worked out academic opinions for his own sake, but who made every effort to find the answers to problems for religious purposes, by studying the workings of the divine mind. Al-Shāfi<sup>C</sup>ī was interested not only in what was said or done but in the underlying principles that guided the particular matter in question. His main principles

were correct, and what modern criticism disagree with is not the principle but some of the premises.

The only position which has been open to the Muslims since that time has been that of taglid, that is acceptance on authority, and imitation without question. According to orthodox practice, a Muslim may elect to follow any one of the four schools, the Hanafite, Shafiite, Malikite, and Hanbalite,<sup>81</sup> as he may desire, but having made his choice, he is required to adhere strictly to this school. Most Indonesian Muslims, in general, belong to the Shāfi'i school.<sup>82</sup>

As for ijtihad, every believer who has the necessary qualifications, namely, knowledge of the sources and of the proper manner of dealing with them, is required to exercise ijtihad and is blame worthy if he does not. Even the common believer who does not have sufficient knowledge to use ijtihad should know enough of the Qur'an and the Sunna to be able to judge in a general way, though not in a detailed way, the proof upon which the school to which he has chosen to belong its requirements.

Therefore, if he wants to revive the spirit and vitality of Shari'ah and jurisprudence, namely ijtihad which should be maintained in the nation, and which is the only means for providing solutions for the multi-various temporal

problems, solutions that have the qualities of depth of thought and force of persuasion, solutions that are unsuspected and unimpeachable and are also capable of defeating morbid opinion and minds, then the only way of doing so is to establish a new method of ijtihād. "From the point of view of Islamic legal system, ijtihād means exerting of striving oneself to the best of one's ability for the purpose of forming an opinion in a case of law concerning a doubtful and difficult point."<sup>83</sup>

The Muhammadiyah movement, which represented the modernist Islamic movement in its efforts to practice the Islamic law and jurisprudence, did not attach itself to al-Shāfi'ī school,<sup>84</sup> but established a council of prominent religious scholars to consider contentious matters of religious belief. This practice was called Majlis Tarjih,<sup>85</sup> the Muhammadiyah council's name, and was an effort to institutionalize that practice inside the movement to influence its members and the religious scholars outside the movement.

This majlis was eventually established under Kiyai Haji Ibrahim, the successor of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, at the organization congress of Pekalongan in 1927.<sup>86</sup> Actually, the ideas brought about were based on Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's thought about Islamic law.<sup>87</sup> "The establishment

of the Majlis Tarjih was also motivated by the fear that existing controversies in the Muslim community in general might creep into the organization's body at the expense of the progress of the organization."<sup>88</sup> So, decision of the council would then be considered as a guide for the leaders and members of the Muhammadiyah.

The Majlis Tarjih was not charged with formulating a totally new jurisprudential code similar to any of the classical codes followed by the traditionalists. Any such endeavour would clearly have perpetuated a system regarded as reprehensible in the Muhammadiyah, by creating a substitution for the older code that would challenge the paramountcy of scripture as well. "The function of this council was to issue fatwa or to ascertain the hukm (judgement) of particular problems of which the Muslim community differed among itself."<sup>89</sup> Rather, the principle was reasserted that constant interpretation of the sources was necessary to keep the law in accordance with the needs of the contemporary period and that the Muslims were obliged to derive principles directly from scripture with a developed and elaborate jurisprudence.

From the moment of its inception, the Majlis Tarjih has studied these matters in the light of Islamic scriptures

and tradition, and made recommendation to the organization concerning such problems. In a sense, it is a new jurisprudence, for these recommendations are one source of guidance for other branches of the organization and for some members of the movement. The decision, however, were not considered sacrosanct, and some decisions could be reconsidered at later sessions of the Majlis Tarjih.<sup>90</sup>

The majlis did not want to consider itself the sole rightful guidance. It recognized its own weaknesses and invited other to test its decisions.

We also call on all <sup>c</sup>Ulamā' to be willing to discuss the decisions of the Majlis Tarjih, to point out its errors or the weakness of its arguments ... the matter will again be reviewed / by the Majlis Tarjih / ... For a decision is only based on our knowledge and ability at the time it was made ... The Majlis Tarjih will not prohibit the study and discussion by the madrasah of the Muhammadiyah of problems on which no decision has been given by the Majlis, or to examine the arguments of the Majlis in arriving at a decision.<sup>91</sup>

It has emerged that the decisions of the Majlis Tarjih have been consistent with historical Muslim practice, even though such decisions sometimes came into conflict with existing practices in modern Indonesian society. Its conservative point of view is apparent in matters involving religious obligation and belief, and in matters pertaining

to family life and the relationships between the sexes.

The development and improvement of the Majlis Tarjih did not actually function as expected. H. M. Yunus Anies, the prominent leader of Muhammadiyah, has commented as follows:

1. The majlis became the principal stage of the Muhammadiyah. It gradually solved the quarrel concerning law and ceremony of worship which was backwards and stagnant.
2. All the decisions taken by the Majlis Tarjih were not contradictory to, but parallel and relevant to the Qur'an and Hadith.
3. Because decisions on laws considered by Majlis Tarjih often were slow, some members of the Muhammadiyah became inert.
4. With the establishment of the Majlis Tarjih some people assumed that the Muhammadiyah would become the new mazhab (school), called Mazhab Tarjih. Actually, the Majlis Tarjih was only responsible to resolve the laws which were disputed among the Muslims.<sup>92</sup>

An examination of Suara Muhammadiyah, the Muhammadiyah's official organ, indicated that the Majlis Tarjih had not been



at all influential among Muhammadiyah councils and has not given direction to the movement. It has emerged that the importance of Majlis Tarjih has been to review problems involving religious tradition for general guidance and, perhaps more importantly, to certify official decisions of policy in religious terms.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, as the leader of Muhammadiyah modernist movement, had in mind moral reform as a means to the realization of his ends and, in this respect, was closely connected with Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. Religion, for Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, is the most adequate means, and the most efficient instrument for realization of this moral reform.<sup>93</sup>

He was determined that the holy Qur'an and the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad would be the fountainheads of inspiration under the guidance of morality.<sup>94</sup> With the change of circumstances and conditions which is consequent upon knowledge and experience, conventional values lose their true import. They cannot, therefore, be considered, from the point of later generations, as essential to morality. "In order to have a moral point of view one has to rise above the level of conventional values, to a plane of existence which is not tinged with a local hue derived from the ethos of a people."<sup>95</sup> For Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the goal of moral

activity is integration of self or personality.<sup>96</sup>

In fact, the holy Qur'an lays down the guiding principles of human conduct and behaviour, and with them we should plan to a technique for the creation and formation of a healthy and sound Islamic personality in all spheres and aspects of individual and collective life. So, in order to build up emotions and to form moral consciousness and mental attitude for an Islamic society, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan had to trace back his concept of morality to the holy Qur'an and Hadith.<sup>97</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan believes that the moral law has a content aspect as well. For him, the goal of moral activity is integration of self or personality. The idea of personality gives us a standard of value, it settles the problems of good and evil. That which fortifies personality is good, that which weakens it is bad. Art, religion and ethics must be judged from the stand point of personality."<sup>98</sup>

As he was a strong personality, he demanded of his people that all social functions, all songs and slogans, every festivity and fair be directed to inculcate the mission and spirit of Islam. The spirit and the activity of the entire social organization should lead to the promotion and advancement of Islam's intellectual, moral and spiritual values to the creation of a healthy humanity as a whole.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Howard M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia," Indonesia, No. 10 (October, 1970), p. 64.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., where he quotes from Panitia Kecil Majelis Tabligh Sub Bid'ah Churafat, "Tabligh menghadapi Bid'ah Churafat ... Agama-agama lain, dsb.nya," Tuntunan Tabligh, 3, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>H. A. Badawi, "Bid'ah dan Churafat yang merusak Tauhid," Almanak Muhammadiyah (Jakarta: Pusat Pimpinan Muhammadiyah, Majelis Taman Pustaka, 1961-1962), p. 40...

<sup>5</sup>S. Khuda Bukhsh, "Islam and the Modern World," The Moslem World, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (1929), p. 65.

<sup>6</sup>H. A. R. Gibb, Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey (London: O.U.P. 1961), p. 135.

<sup>7</sup>A. H. John, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History," Journal of Southeast Asian History, Vol. II, no. 2 (1961), p. 17.

<sup>8</sup>A. Mukti Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction," (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, Montreal; 1957), p. 51.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>John Rauws, "Islam and Christianity in Malaysia," The Moslem World, Vol. I, No. 3 (1911), p. 243.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth Perry Landon, Southeast Asia Crossroad of Religions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 151.

<sup>13</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 52.

<sup>14</sup> Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah," p. 70.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Embassy of Indonesia, The Religious Life of Indonesia (Washington, D.C.: Embassy of Indonesia, n.d.), p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah," p. 66.

<sup>18</sup> Howard M. Federspiel, Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, 1970), p. 22.

<sup>19</sup> Hamka, Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama (Jakarta: Wijaya, 1950), p. 50.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Deliar Noer, "The Rise and Development of Modernist Islam Movement in Indonesia," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1963), p. 498. See also Hamka, Ayahku, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah," p. 65.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> K. H. Ahmad Dahlan, "al-Islām - al-Qur'ān," Fajar, Vol. II, No. 8 (1960), p. 6.

<sup>26</sup>Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 497.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 510.

<sup>28</sup>Yusuf Abdullah Puar, "Kenangan Hari Wafat ke 37 Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan dan Pembaharuan Pembangunan Islam, 23 Pebruari 1923 - 23 Pebruari 1960," Panji Masyarakat, Vol. II, No. 17 (1960), p. 19. See also Bustami Ibrahim, "Suka Duka Dalam Muhammadiyah," 30 Tahun Muhammadiyah Daerah Sumatra Timur (Medan: Panitia Besar Peringatan, 1957), pp. 49-50.

<sup>29</sup>Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah," p. 60.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Usman Amin, Muhammad Abduh, translated from the Arabic by Charles Wendell (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1953), p. 3.

<sup>33</sup>Solichin Salam, Muhammadiyah dan Kebangunan Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: N.V. Mega, 1965), p. 43.

<sup>34</sup>H. Abubakar, "Contoh Riwayat Hidup Pembaharuan di Mesir," Kitab Peringatan 40 Tahun Muhammadiyah (Jakarta: Panitia Pusat Perayaan, 1952), p. 40.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Mahmudul Haq, "Element of Rationalism in Muhammad Abduh's Thought," Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies, (Calcutta: Institute of Islamic Studies, 1958-1959), p. 50.

<sup>37</sup>A. Mukti Ali, "Perbandingan Alam Pikiran Modern di Indonesia dan Mesir," Panji Masyarakat, No. 3 (July, 1959), p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Solichin Salam, "K. H. Ahmad Dahlan: Hidup dan Perjuangannya," Fajar, Vol. II, No. 15 (1960), p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Haq, "Muhammad Abduh's Thought," p. 52.

<sup>41</sup> Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," pp. 57-58.

<sup>42</sup> Kusnadi M. D., Muhammadiyah in Brief (Yogyakarta: Head Office of Muhammadiyah, 1972), pp. 8-9.

<sup>43</sup> M. Siddik, "Islamic Movement in Indonesia," The Muslim World, A Weekly Review of the Motamar, Vol. IX, no. 18 (1971), p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Haq, "Muhammad Abduh's Thought," p. 49.

<sup>45</sup> Louis Fischer, The Story of Indonesia (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1959), p. 54.

<sup>46</sup> Haq, "Muhammad Abduh's Thought," pp. 49-50.

<sup>47</sup> Faris Glubb, "Shaykh Muhammad Abduh, Reformist and Revivalist," Muslimnews International, Vol. I, No. 4 (1962), p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> Alfian, "Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics: The Muhammadiyah Movement During the Dutch Colonial Period (1912-1942)," (unpublishe Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1969), p. 239.

<sup>49</sup> Nadaf Safran, Egypt in Search of Political Community (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 62.

<sup>50</sup> Haq, "Muhammad Abduh's Thought," p. 51.

<sup>51</sup> Yunus ~~Salam~~, Riwayat Hidup K. H. A. Dahlan, Amal

dan Perjuangannya (Jakarta: Depot Pengajaran Muhammadiyah, 1968), p. 26.

<sup>52</sup>Ali, "Perbandingan," p. 8.

<sup>53</sup>R. H. Hajid, Falsafah Pelajaran Kj. H. Ahmad Dahlan (Yogyakarta: Pusat Pimpinan Muhammadiyah, Majelis Tabligh Bagian Siaran, 1954), p. 17.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Haq, "Muhammad Abduh's Thought," p. 51.

<sup>57</sup>Puar, "Kenangan Hari Wafat," p. 18.

<sup>58</sup>Glubb, "Shaykh Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abduh," p. 24.

<sup>59</sup>Solichin Salam, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, Reformer Islam Indonesia (Jakarta: Jayamurni, 1963), p. 54.

<sup>60</sup>Haq, "Muhammad Abduh's Thought," p. 24.

<sup>61</sup>Charles C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 135.

<sup>62</sup>Haq, "Muhammad Abduh's Thought," p. 60.

<sup>63</sup>Dahlan, "al-Islam," p. 5.

<sup>64</sup>Haq, "Muhammad Abduh's Thought," p. 60.

<sup>65</sup>Adams, Islam and Modernism, p. 136.

<sup>66</sup>Safran, Egypt in Search, p. 65. This is a quotation which Safran got from Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abduh's Risalat al-Tawhid, 5th ed., (Cairo, 1346 H.), p. 142.

<sup>67</sup> Hamka, "K. H. A. Dahlan," Kitab Peringatan 40 Tahun Muhammadiyah (Jakarta: Panitia Pusat Perayaan, 1952), p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Glubb, "Shaykh Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abduh," p. 24.

<sup>69</sup> W. A. Visser 't Hooft, "Six Years Pioneering in Java." The Moslem World, Vol. XIX, No. 3 (1929), p. 239.

<sup>70</sup> Usman Amin, "Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abduh, the Reformer," The Moslem World, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2 (1946), p. 153.

<sup>71</sup> N. J. Coulson, A History of Islamic Law (Edinburgh: University Press, 1964), p. 76.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 404.

<sup>73</sup> Amir Hamzah Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan Pendidikan dan Pengajaran Islam (Yogyakarta: Penyelenggara Publikasi Pembaharuan Pendidikan/Pengajaran Islam, 1962), p. 51.

<sup>74</sup> Adams, Islam and Modernism, p. 128.

<sup>75</sup> Khurshid Ahmad, "Iqbal and the Reconstruction of Islamic Law," Iqbal Review, Vol. I, No. 1 (1960), p. 73.

<sup>76</sup> Mohammad Rasyidi, "Unity and Diversity in Islam," in Islam the Straight Path, ed. by Kenneth W. Morgan (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), p. 408.

<sup>77</sup> Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 51.

<sup>78</sup> ~~Allama~~ Muhammad Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (Lahore: Dr. Javid Iqbal, 1972), p. 178.

<sup>79</sup> Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 52.

<sup>80</sup> Eric E. F. Bishop, "al-Shāfi <sup>c</sup>ī (Muhammad ibn Idrīs)



Founder of a Law School," The Moslem World, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (1929), p. 174. This tradition was also quoted by A. Rahman I. Doi in his Introduction to the Hadith (Lagos, Nigeria: Islamic Publication Bureau, 1970), who took it from al-Tirmidhī and Abū Dāwūd. As these two collections are normally taken to be authentic, the writer feels that this very traditions may possibly be among the authentic tradition. See A. J. Wensinck, A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition (Leiden: E. J. Brill Ltd., 1927), p. 156.

<sup>81</sup>Abdullah Syahrir, "Ijtihad dalam Islam dan Dunia Pengetahuan Modern," Hikmah, Vol. XII, No. 20 (1959), p. 17.

<sup>82</sup>Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 151.

<sup>83</sup>A. Rahman I. Doi, Introduction to the Hadith (Lagos, Nigeria: Islamic Publication Bureau, 1970), p. 88.

<sup>84</sup>H. Abubakar, Salaf, Muhyi Atsaris Salaf, Gerakan Salafiyah di Indonesia (Jakarta: Permata, 1970), p. 135.

<sup>85</sup>Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah," p. 67.

<sup>86</sup>M. Yunus Anies, "Asal Mula Diadakan Majlis Tarjih dalam Muhammadiyah," Suara Muhammadiyah, Vol. LII, No. 6 (1972), p. 3.

<sup>87</sup>Wiriyosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 51.

<sup>88</sup>Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 128.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>90</sup>Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah," p. 68.

<sup>91</sup>Noer, "The Rise and Development," p. 130. This is a quotation which Noer got from the Buah Congress XXVI (Yogyakarta: Hoofdcomité Congress Muhammadiyah, 1937), pp. 31-31.

<sup>92</sup>Anies, "Asal Mula," p. 13.

<sup>93</sup>Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 64.

<sup>94</sup>M. Jindar Tamimy and M. Jarnawi Hadikusuma, Penjelasan Muqaddimah Anggaran Dasar dan Kepribadian Muhammadiyah (Yogyakarta: P. T. Persatuan, 1972), p. 57.

<sup>95</sup>K. G. Sadiq, "Iqbal on the Conception of Morality," Iqbal Review, Vol. X, No. 3 (1969), p. 46.

<sup>96</sup>Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 61.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>98</sup>This is Muhammad Iqbal's statement in the English translation of his Introduction to the Secret of the Self, as quoted by K. G. Sadiq in "Iqbal on the Concept of Morality," Iqbal Review, Vol. X, No. 3 (1969), p. 46.

### CHAPTER III

#### HIS REFORM MOVEMENT OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

##### 1. Old System of Pondok-pesantren Education

Before Islam came to Indonesia the Pondok-pesantren system of education had existed in the archipelago. During the period under Hindu influence, the system of education became centred around the temples, where problems concerning the community and religion were discussed.<sup>1</sup> In addition, they were used as schools where the youth received religious instructions from the village teacher, who always lived solely on gifts, but enjoyed a high respect among his pupils and his village people.

The main aim of this kind of education was to transfer the culture of the older generation to the younger generation. During the Hindu period, education was only given by the priest, and no subject except religion was taught. At the time of the Islamic period, this method of teaching continued with very little change; however, the content changed significantly from Hinduism to Islam,<sup>2</sup> and the centre of teaching moved from the temple to the masjid<sup>3</sup> (mosque).

In Java, coinciding with the spread of Islam, the first wali of the Wali Songo (nine saints), Maulana Malik Ibrahim, established the Pondok-pesantren in Gresik<sup>4</sup> (East Java). Many people came from various parts of the country to study there. Many of them became religious teachers and propagandists of Islam and later successfully spread Islam throughout the Island.

In general, a Pondok-pesantren consists of a group of small houses situated around the mosque. Usually, these houses have been established with the financial support of the community, in the form of a waqf (endowment), zakat (alms tax) or sedekah (charity) from the rich Muslim people. But sometimes a Pondok-pesantren has also been established by the santris (pupils) themselves, who come from throughout the country to study in a Pondok-pesantren. The teaching is centred on the veranda of the mosque. The small houses where the santris stay and sleep are called pondok, which corresponds to the dormitories of present time. Pesantren literally means the residence of santri, the place where the santris pursue their religious studies. So, Pondok-pesantren means the place of education for santris.<sup>5</sup> The term santri itself refers to the pupils who came to study in a Pondok-pesantren.

The houses in which the santri lived were divided into

"kombongan", housing pupils who came from the same region. For instance "kombongan Bandung", housing pupils from the Bandung regency, a "kombongan Cianjur" etc. In some places, "kombongan" was also called bilik, which means room or dormitory.

According to R. A. Kern in his article "Pasantren" in the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, the Pondok-pasantren is a seminary for students of theology (santri) on the Island of Java and Madura. He states that the Pondok-pasantren is the institution for advanced theological training, and consists of several buildings, which though it is not build out in the countryside, is at least in a separate part of the village.<sup>6</sup> He describes the Pondok-pasantren as follows:

The pasantren consists in the first place of the houses of the teacher and his assistants, then of lecture-room, a chapel, rarely a Friday mosque, the lodgings of the students (pondok), rice-barns, all of which occupy a considerable space. The pondok alone possess a peculiar form of architecture not found in other buildings. A pondok is a quadrangular building built of the usual materials.<sup>7</sup>

In general, one Pondok-pasantren was not so different from another. C. Snouck Hurgronje pointed out that in Aceh the rangrang was built in the form of a dwelling-house, but with less care. In lieu of three floors of different eleva-

tion as found in most of Aceh's houses, it has only one floor on the same level throughout, and is divided on either side of the central passage into small chambers, each of which serves as a dwelling-place for from one to three muribs<sup>8</sup> (pupils).

The interior of a pondok (building) is described by R. A. Kern as follows:

The interior is divided by two walls into three long compartments of about equal breadth, the central one of which forms a corridor running from an end of the building to the other. The two outer ones form the living rooms; each of them is divided into cells of equal size by partitions. The door of the pondok is the centre of one of the shorter outer walls; it opens into the corridor. Only blank walls are seen on right and left as one centres; then it is noticed that very low little doors are let into these walls, made of the same material as they are; these admit to the cells. The little doors are at regular intervals in the two walls, two always being opposite one another.<sup>9</sup>

The pondok which housed the santris, was surrounded by many small buildings which were called dapur (kitchen), where food was cooked by the santris.

Actually, the term Pondok-pesantren has long been known in the archipelago to refer to the Islamic educational institution, or religious school. The school was sometimes known by different names, for example in Aceh it is called

rangrang or dayah, in Minangkabau (West Sumatra) surau, in Pasundan (West Java) pondok, in Madura penyantren.

The person who governed and led the Pondok-pesantren was called Kiyai in Java, Tengku in Aceh. The Kiyai was a central figure of the Pondok-pesantren and his good conduct and praiseworthy character was the standard followed by the santris in their daily lives. The Kiyai was assumed to be a venerable man who had a degree in Islamic knowledge and dedicated his knowledge to society. Most of them spent their lives and devoted themselves to their duty as muballigh (propagandists), guru ngaji (Qur'anic teachers), kiyais (religious teachers in Pondok-pesantren) and some of them became dosens (teachers who teach at the university level).

In order to become more capable in teaching in Pondok-pesantren, most kiyais made the pilgrimage and studied for a few years in Mecca.<sup>10</sup> After returning, they became hajis and good kiyais, and automatically the Pondok-pesantren where that kiyai stayed would become known in the community.

There was no tuition in Pondok-pesantren. The kiyai and the santris worked and lived together in the community, helping the farmers by cultivating the land in order to be self-supporting.<sup>11</sup> Usually after harvest time the kiyais and the santris received gifts from the rich Muslim farmers in

the form of property such as zakat (money, revenue, and animals), zakat fitr at the end of Ramadhan, and sedekah. Actually, the Pondok-pesantren did not appear to be very different from the community around it. Therefore, the Pondok-pesantren was the educational institution of the people and was representative of the people's condition at that time.

The kiyai taught voluntarily in the Pondok-pesantren without receiving a regular salary. He usually depended on his own income from the ricefield, a small plantation or trade.<sup>12</sup> But sometimes certain Pondok-pesantren had funds from the land of their pious foundation (waqf).

Pondok-pesantren were also located in the perdikan desas<sup>13</sup> (free villages), which had been given as private property. In the Islamic period, village units of a certain region, were presented by the Sultan to the kiyai for the purpose of establishing a religious educational institution. Of course, the perdikan desas were usually free from paying taxes or obligations and were not under governmental control. All authority was in the hand of the kiyai, but the government also appointed a head of the perdikan desa, called the Lurah Mutihan.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, all of the perdikan desas were abolished by the Dutch government in the year 1916-1917.<sup>15</sup> All lands of perdikan desas were bought by the government



a very low prices.

Before students (santris) entered the Pondok-pesantren, they had learned to recite from the Qur'an either from their parents at home or from a special teacher in the langgar or surau. Primary or elementary religious education for the children of Muslims started at the most basic level with the so-called Qur'an school, with its training in reading the Qur'an, or rather in memorizing by heart short surahs from the Qur'an, which are used in performing the salāt.<sup>16</sup> Of course, practice in performing the salāt and other aspects of religious life are also taught. A. Mukti Ali pointed out that instruction in the langgar or surau is as follows:

Primary or elementary religious education was given in the langgar or surau. The beginning of learning for every Indonesian Muslim was the recitation of the Qur'an. In this less emphasis was laid on understanding the contents of the book than on correctly intoning the Arabic sound. The method of instruction was that the teacher would read the Qur'an word by word and the pupil would repeat that teacher's readings. The following day, the pupil would read the same portion of the Qur'an which had been read by his teacher the day before. There were no classes in the langgar. The amount of readings would depend on the intelligence of each pupil. ... When the pupil had practiced the Arabic script, he started with the recitation of the last of the 30 portions (juz') of the Qur'an. Next he proceeded to learn from a small catechism the essentials of religious doctrine, usually twenty attributes of God, besides which he also was trained in the performance of the five daily prayers.<sup>17</sup>

Usually after memorization of the Qur'ān was complete, a little ceremony called "kataman" was held. The "kataman" was to stimulate other pupils to pursue and complete their Qur'ānic instruction. Sometimes coinciding with the celebration of "kataman" is a ceremony of circumcision, followed by a festival with special food, called slametan (salvation and happiness ceremony), and also sometimes it is followed by entertainment such as pencak and dabus.<sup>18</sup>

According to Mahmud Yunus, education in Pondok-pesantren in about 1900 was conducted in a very old-fashioned way.<sup>19</sup>

In order to understand the old system of the Pondok-pesantren education, certain aspects are to be discussed in this thesis as follows:

a. Method of teaching.

Although there was no compulsory education at that time, it was believed that children of Muslims, whether boys or girls, should learn to recite the Qur'ān at the age of seven. According to the Islamic point of view, teaching the children was the responsibility of their parents. If the parents were not able to teach their children by themselves, they had to send them to the langgar or surau. When the santris (students) entered the Pondok-pesantren they continued

to study subjects other than the Qur'an. However, there were no subjects taught outside the area of religion.

The method of teaching in the Pondok-pesantren was divided into two categories, viz.: sorogan and weton.<sup>20</sup> Sorogan derived from sorog, a Javanese word (equivalent to "sorong" in Indonesian), means "to slide forward". The name is explained as follows. If a santri wanted to learn from a certain religious book (kitab), he would present this book to the kiyai by sliding it forward under his gaze. The kiyai then proceeded to teach the santri from the books presented one by one in this manner of "sliding forward" (sorog). This system was used for the first level of the Pondok-pesantren. Actually, there were no classes in Pondok-pesantren.

The other system, called weton, was lecturing, used rather than sorogan for the advanced santris. In Sumatra, this system was also called bandungan<sup>21</sup> (halaqah). The santris sat down in a circle around their kiyai, paid close attention to their kitab during the kiyai's lecture, signed their kitab to indicate where the lecture stopped when their kiyai finished his explanation.

In the sorogan system, the kiyai (teacher) more actively observed the advancing study of the santris. If the old lesson was not yet understood, the kiyai did not read the new one.

But in the weton system, the kiyai did not ask the santris whether they understood or not. He started with the new lesson each time. The santris were not allowed to ask the kiyai a question directly. They could address the question to the kiyai pembantu (assistant kiyai). Under this system of study, very few santris were successful. Among one hundred santris, only one went on to become a great kiyai<sup>22</sup> (Cālim).

b. Subject-matter.

As mentioned above, the subject taught in the Pondok-pesantren consisted only of religion. This included the Arabic (language), al-Tawhīd (the Unity of God), al-Hadīth (Tradition of the Prophet), al-Fiqh (Religious Law), al-Tajwīd (Correst Reading of the Qur'ān), al-Falak (Astronomy), al-Taṣawwuf (Mysticism), al-Akhlāq (Ethics), and other religious subjects.<sup>23</sup> The kitābs (religious books) which were used as textbooks for the abovementioned subjects, were written by the old CUlamā' long before the reformation era.

The kitābs written by the modernist CUlamā' like Muḥammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh, Farīd Wajdī and others were not taught in the old Pondok-pesantren.<sup>24</sup> This could be attributed to the difficulty in finding these books because there was censorship by the Dutch government at that time, and also the leaders of

the Pondok-pesantren themselves did not agree with the thoughts of the modernist <sup>c</sup>Ulamā'.

c. The Curriculum.

There was no specific structure of curricula within the Pondok-pesantren. The programme of learning was determined by the kitāb chosen by the kiyai. There were no classes and the level of study of santris depended on the kitābs which they had studied. Usually a change of kitāb meant promotion in grade or the level of study of the santris.

The regular class schedule also depended on the kiyai himself. Study usually began after subuh prayer in the morning and lasted until sunrise around seven o'clock. During the period after morning studies until one o'clock in the afternoon, some of the kiyais and the santris would work to earn their daily living. After that, studies resumed and continued from after zuhr prayer around two o'clock until <sup>c</sup>asr prayer at four o'clock. At night time studies started again after maghrib prayer at seven o'clock and continued until <sup>c</sup>ishā' prayer around nine o'clock.<sup>25</sup> On Friday night, a study session was held, attended by many people who lived in the area surrounding the Pondok-pesantren.

No examinations were held at the conclusion of these

studies. Sometimes, however, the kiyai presented an excellent santri with a certificate that gave him the authority to teach one kitab (religious book). Even for the santris who stayed and studied at the Pondok-pesantren for a long period of time, there was no standard for evaluating the quality or quantity of his knowledge. Studies without controls, such as examinations and grades, and with no integral curricula, produced very unsatisfactory results.

d. Extra Curricula Studies.

The extra curricula studies of the santris were conducted in a very independent way. They depended on the awareness of the santris themselves, because these extra curricula studies were not obligatory.

Other aspects of the old Pondok-pesantren made it very inconvenient to study. For example, some of the pondok itself, as the place where the santris lived, were very small buildings, and sometimes had no ventilation. Another problem was the water-basin in the Pondok-pesantren area where the people collectively took ablution. Sometimes the water was not changed for long periods of time. Therefore, many santris suffered ringworm. Such condition in Pondok-pesantren were not at all conducive to study and endangered the health of the santris themselves.<sup>26</sup>

e. Guardian of Pondok-pesantren.

The kiyai who established the Pondok-pesantren usually was considered the leader of the Pondok-pesantren. In operating **this** school, the head kiyai was assisted by the kiyai pembantu (assistant kiyai). When the head kiyai died or became very old, the Pondok-pesantren was usually to bequeathed to his child, like an inheritance.

The development of a Pondok-pesantren greatly depended on the achievement of the guardian kiyai. However, its development sometimes fell behind because the child of the head kiyai was neither interested in leading the Pondok-pesantren nor as capable of teaching as his father. The modernist ideas of that time were not yet generally accepted by the Pondok-pesantren, so they remained very conservative and narrow-minded concerning whatever came from outside.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, at the end of the nineteenth century, most of the Pondok-pesantrens, the Islamic educational institutions, became stagnate, out of date, and remained isolated from the communities surrounding them.

f. Relationship between kiyai and santri.

In the old society, the kiyai was considered a holy man. His leadership was that of a charismatic religious

teacher. The strength of his own character and his subsequent behaviour would bring him into contact with super-natural powers. Kiyai is also connected with the term "Guru" which means teacher,<sup>28</sup> derived from Sanskrit origin.

In general, the santris came to study in Pondok-pesantren not solely to seek knowledge, but also to obtain berkah (blessing) from the kiyai. Therefore, it was not necessary actually to understand what was explained by the kiyai, as long as a santri listened to the reading of the kitab by the kiyai and obtained berkah (blessing) from it.

The relationship between kiyai and santri was very close, even after the santris had completed their education. The santris showed full respect for their kiyai as they did for their parents. This relationship seems more authoritarian than democratic.

From the date the Pondok-pesantren was established, few changes were made and the long established system of education, based on Islamic education in Indonesia, continued until the Dutch government started to give education to the Indonesian people around 1900. However, as far back as 1476, a progressive educational organization called Bayangkare Islah<sup>29</sup> (Harbinger for Improvement), was formed in Bintara.

This organization aimed to make Islamic education more active



and to follow more closely a regular educational system.

This was the first Islamic educational organization established in Indonesia.

The actual deterioration of the Pondok-pesantren occurred after Diponegoro's war (1825-1830) in Java. Meanwhile, in the extreme west of Sumatra, the so-called Padri war (1821-1837) started, and in another region in the north of Sumatra, a stubborn war later on emerged and was called the Aceh war (1873-1904). These wars were against the infidel colonial rule and the non-believer. These were considered to be Islamic "Holy Wars."<sup>30</sup> During that time, the Dutch government became suspicious of many kiyais of the Pondok-pesantren.

To restrict the activities of the Pondok-pesantren, the Dutch government introduced an ordinance to govern religious education. This regulation was the so-called Guru Ordinance of 1905, and brought about a permit system, which proved very unsatisfactory. The ordinance, described by W. J. A. Kernkamp, was as follows:

Under the ordinance of 1905, supervision was restricted to the guru kitab (who give advanced instruction in the law) and the gurus tariqat (teachers of a mystical fraternity). According to the new ordinance the gurus Koran, (who teach the very elementary religion) are also included.<sup>31</sup>

• Around the year 1900, another form of Islamic school

developed in addition to the Pondok-pesantren. It became known as Madrasah<sup>32</sup> in several regions of the archipelago.

The Madrasah was established for children who had completed their studies in the masjid, langgar, or surau. The Madrasah presented a modern form of Islamic religious education in comparison to the langgar instruction and Pondok-pesantren.

"In these Madrasahs instruction was given in classes, using benches, tables, and blackboards."<sup>33</sup> The study system of the Madrasah at the elementary level was called ibtidā'īyah; at the secondary level it was called thānawīyah for the first three years, and ʿāliyah for the second three years.

In comparing the Madrasahs and Pondok-pesantren, it must be said that it was the Madrasahs that the more modern ideas on education and schooling have generally had the most influence. The Madrasah was more like a western-style school than the Pondok-pesantren, except that only religious subjects were taught. "In new madrasahs the curriculum was broadened, but for the time being instruction was still restricted to religious subjects and oriented toward Mecca."<sup>34</sup>

Generally speaking, neither institution comprising the Islamic educational system (the Pondok-pesantren and the Madrasah) was fulfilling the demands of the period. In addition to which Dutch government policy controlled the activ-

ities be reported to the office of Van Inlandsche en Arabisch Zaken.<sup>35</sup> This office was established by the Dutch government to control Islamic activities in Indonesia.

Islamic education was therefore restricted. At one time, the prominent scholar, C. Snouck Hurgronje was appointed to fill this office.

The Pondok-pesantrens themselves held onto traditional Islamic methods of education and did not accept the modernists' ideas which were being spread throughout the archipelago during the early twentieth century. Lack of progress in the Pondok-pesantren and Dutch control caused Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan to criticize profoundly the old and unsatisfactory system of the Pondok-pesantren. However, he realized that the Madrasah could later on be included in a programme of Islamic educational reform if the curriculum were broadened to include subjects other than religion.

## 2. The Dutch Policy and Educational System in Indonesia

With the collapse of the V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostindisch Compagnie, commonly referred to as the Dutch East India Company), in 1799, Indonesia became a colony of Holland, and a

colonial government was formed in Indonesia with a Governor General (G.G.) as its head. He was assisted by the council of the Indies. Being a Dutch colony resulted in numerous changes, however conditions in the educational system did not change, but remained essentially the same.

With a somewhat enlightened view in Dutch rule in 1816, some consideration was finally given to educational conditions. In 1818 attitudes changed and it was declared that Indonesians could be allowed to attend Dutch schools.<sup>36</sup> In practice, however, very few students could actually enroll in Dutch schools because of the very strict entry requirements concerning family background, class status, environment, and school fees. "The most difficult requirement was that the applicant had to understand sufficient Dutch to be able to follow the instruction intelligently."<sup>37</sup>

Colonial policy was influenced by the Dutch Liberal Party, and in 1854 a new regulation was proclaimed. It dealt with constitutional and administrative law, and a section was devoted to education. This specified that the Governor General should encourage the establishment of school for the "native" population in Indonesia.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, with the development of Dutch administration in Indonesia there grew a need for native authorities and clerks who could read and

write. Actually, the chief purpose in establishing these schools was not to educate the population, but to train the necessary native officials. These schools were established mainly in big cities, the capitals of the districts and regencies and were divided into two types. In the native schools of the Tweede Klasse (Second Class), the children of lower-ranking and middle-class officials were educated. Meanwhile, the children of higher ranking officials went to native schools of the Eerste Klasse (First Class), which catered to children of the aristocracy (priyayi) and well-to-do persons.<sup>39</sup>

In 1864, the Europeesch Lagere School (E.L.S. - Dutch Elementary School) was opened to qualified Indonesians of good standing. The native pupils, however, were not given the advantage of enrolling in that school until at least 1900. In 1864, an inspector of native school was appointed, and then in 1867, the Department of Education was established.<sup>40</sup> Before that, education was still not considered of any great importance. As a matter of fact, it was placed under the control of the Director of Agriculture, Arts, and Sciences.

Therefore, the establishment of a teacher-training school became necessary to educate teachers to teach in the

native schools. These schools rapidly increased as teachers were trained. At that time, Kweekschools were established not only to train teachers but also to train government clerks and plantation works. Nevertheless, the native schools did not increase in number, even though expenditures by the Dutch government were raised from 25.000 florins in 1863 to 1.250.000 florins in 1882.<sup>41</sup>

According to M. Hutasoit, in 1871, new regulations concerning education were issued in a royal decree which stipulated the following:

- 1) The number of teacher-training schools was to be increased.
- 2) The primary schools were to educate children of the aristocracy as well as those of the masses.
- 3) Teaching was to be in the local vernacular, or where this proved impossible, in Malay.
- 4) The basic subjects in this schools were to be reading, writing and arithmetic.
- 5) The optional subjects were to be advanced arithmetic, geography, history, physics, biology, agriculture, drawing, surveying, singing and the Dutch language.
- 6) All educational expenses, less the total sum of

school fees received, were to be paid by the government. This regulation was abolished at the beginning of the twentieth century when the village schools were introduced.

- 7) Religion was not to be taught as a school subject in government schools.<sup>42</sup>

With the progress of industrial development in Europe, the world began to pay attention to the region which included the Dutch East Indies. Europeans looked speculatively at the colonies, both as producers of raw materials and as buyers of European manufactured goods. The Dutch government took a renewed interest in the Indies. Soon, following commercial exploitation by the Dutch, there arose a feeling that the Dutch government had to accept some responsibility for the millions of people under her colonization. "The development of Island India proceeded into two directions: intensified exploitation of her natural resources and a concerted attempt to provide adequate education for her people."<sup>43</sup>

This policy became popularly known as the Etische Politiek (Ethical Policy). The Dutch government began to accept a moral duty toward the people of Indonesia after the Indonesians had spent three centuries under the shackles

Dutch colonization. This policy was adopted by the Dutch government at the instigation of H. Van Kol the colonial authority for the Social Democrats. He pushed from within the parliament, whereas Van Deventer pressured from outside.<sup>44</sup> When Van Deventer returned from Indonesia to Holland in 1897, he brought with him first-hand experience of the regression of the Javanese economy and of the minimal standard of living of the Indonesian people.

Furthermore, Bernard H. M. Vlekke published the article "A Debt of Honor," by Conrad Th. Van Deventer in the outstanding periodical De Gids of 1899. Bernard H. M. Vlekke pointed out as follows:

That the Netherlands had acquired many millions from Indonesia by means of the compulsory production of valuable crops and that, consequently, in a time when the colony was in dire need the funds to provide education for the indigenous people, the Netherlands were bound "in honor" to make restitution for those millions. He estimated the amount which should eventually be refunded as 187.000.000 guilders. With this sum, the school system could be improved and many other works of public interest undertaken. It was perfectly true that, if the Netherlands really believed in the principles of moral progress in Europe, they had a duty to provide for the needs of the Indonesians, and not only up to that limit of a certain amount of money, but to the best of their ability and with all resources at their disposal.<sup>45</sup>

Therefore, in 1907, what could be the most important



single unit of the educational system came into being under the Governor General J. B. Van Heutz (1904-1909). This unit was called Desa School, Volkschool (Village School). It consisted of a three-year course in the simple rudiments of elementary learning, with all instruction in the dialect of the particular region in which the school was located.<sup>46</sup>

This was the first time a western-style elementary education was introduced to the people. The so-called Desa School indicated that the students belonged to the desa (village). Actually, responsibility for the administration of the Desa School was usually given to the Regent. The central government and the local village shared the cost of the budget of these schools. The desa paid the cost of the construction, organization, and maintenance, while the government paid the salaries of the teachers.

The building structure of the Desa School in some places, especially in the small villages, was still very simple. One as W. Bryant Mumford depicted:

In the smaller villages the desa school consist of a two-room building with the simplest possible furnishings and equipment. The structure is usually a thatch-roofed from building with white-washed walls of split-bamboo or palm-leaf matting. There are not proper windows, but one side is open from about the six-foot level to the beam in which the roof rests. There is also a thin air space between the bottom of the walls and the ground to allow freedom of ventilation and prevent nesting of

rats. The floors are usually of beaten earth, sometimes of cement.<sup>47</sup>

The first grade children came for their instruction from 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 A.M., returning to their homes after finishing. The second grade was conducted from 10:30 A.M. until 1:00 P.M. This was necessary because only one teacher was employed. Meanwhile, the other room was used by the third grade for the entire morning from 8:00 A.M. until 1:00 P.M. Thus, only two rooms were utilized by two teachers for three grades, which all together numbered approximately ninety children.

Beside the Volkschool or Desa School, a Vervolkschool (Continuation School)<sup>48</sup> was also established for advanced elementary education. These schools gave two-year programmes and continued from the last grade of the Desa School. The graduates from the Vervolkschool obtained a diploma called the "tamat belajar." The continuation school was of a general nature, but it was adapted to meet the particular needs of the pupils according to their environment.

The other type of school, established in larger towns, was the Tweede Klasse or Second Class School.<sup>49</sup> It was to provide lower government officials with some education. Of course, this school was supported entirely by the central

government. The Second Class School provided a curriculum ranging from three to five years. Children from the surrounding area could attend if **their** parents were sufficiently interested and able to send them to school.

Along with the need for Dutch-speaking personnel by the government and western enterprises, a demand arose on all sides for educated native and Chinese employees to serve in the developing fields of agriculture and industry. Educated natives were also needed in places where the knowledge of the local dialect of the Malay language was insufficient. For this reason, three different types of elementary schools were established in the Dutch language:

(1) Europeesch Lagere School (E.L.S.) or the Dutch European School, as mentioned above, was opened in 1864. These schools really followed the same curriculum so that if at any time a pupil was to transfer from any grade in a Dutch ~~European~~ School in Java to the same grade in Holland, he would have been able to do so. It is estimated that the total Dutch population was around 300,000, with 45,000 children attending 300 European elementary schools.<sup>50</sup>

(2) Hollandsch Chinese School (H.C.S.) or the Dutch Chinese School, was established in 1908. These schools were subsidized by the government and managed essentially like

the Dutch European schools. Approximately 22,000 Chinese children attended them. However, besides that school there were also a few schools, outside the government system, which were organized and supported by the Chinese themselves to instruct in their language.

(3) Hollandsch Inlandsch School (H.I.S.) or the Dutch Indonesian School, was established for graduates of the first class school in 1914 under the sovereignty of Governor General A. F. Van Idenburg (1909-1916). This school offered more westernized classes to the children of the upper classes. During the first two years of the H.I.S. the pupils were taught in their "native" language with Dutch simply as a subject. Then in the third grade, or by the time the pupils became ten or eleven years old, the language of instruction changed to the Dutch and for the remainder of their courses these schools ran parallel to the Dutch European School. These schools were put under the control of the Inspectorate of Western Oriented Primary Schools and the regulations of the Dutch schools. The headmaster had to a Dutch teacher. <sup>51</sup>

After the completion of seven years, the school presented students with a certificate; therefore, the native or Chinese pupils who were interested in continuing on to the junior high school or the so-called M.U.L.O. could;

whereas, those who wanted to work were also able to get job.

Due to the increase in the number of pupils who had graduated from the elementary schools, there was an immediate need on the part of many school-age children for continued education. The government became determined to establish an educational system at the secondary level. In Indonesia, three types of secondary institution existed. The first and second could also be found in the Netherlands, whereas the third was specially designed for the Indies (Indonesia):

(1) The High School, was called Hoogere Burger School (H.B.S.) meaning Citizens' High School. Both a three and a five-year course were offered. Students studied the natural sciences, mathematics, the social sciences, and commerce. However, courses in the classics were not given. The result was that the H.B.S. obtained a fictitious reputation and the quality of education was threatened. To prevent this and to keep the H.B.S. in Indonesia, an attempt was made to maintain the same standards as found in the Netherlands.

(2) The Lyceum was identical to the high school in the Netherlands. It consisted of a six-year course. Instruction in the first two years was the same for all pupils and included Latin and Greek. The following four-year course included two departments; one which continued the teaching of

classical languages and prepared the students for further literary studies; the other which stressed sciences and mathematics, omitting classical languages.

(3) The General Secondary School, a special type of upper secondary school was created in 1918. It was called the Algemene Middelbare School (A.M.S., General Middle School) and was the natural continuation of the higher elementary school, called the Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (M.U.L.O., more comprehensive elementary education) established in 1914.<sup>52</sup> The "Eastern Classics" section of A.M.S. emphasized geography, history, and the culture of Indonesia. Courses in French and German were optional and those in Malay, Javanese, and English compulsory. "By finishing the Dutch Native School, the M.U.L.O. and the A.M.S., all of them schools with a bias towards western culture, the Indonesian could enter the university just as the Dutch could by passing through the Dutch Primary School, and the Dutch High School."<sup>53</sup> However, for the children who pursued the village school there were practically no opportunities for further education.

Besides the government schools mentioned above, there were many missionary schools organized by the church (Christian and Catholic schools). Schools operated by these two sects received the same subsidy as government public schools.

This was due to the Dutch constitutional reform of 1890 which proclaimed the neutrality of the government in religious matters.

But in 1890 a coalition of Church parties, Catholic and Protestant, came into control of the Government in the Netherlands after a long campaign waged largely on the issue of government subsidies to religious schools. With this shift at home the attitude of the East Indian Government also began to change. Thus the rapid growth of the number of government-subsidized Christian schools since 1890 reflects a similar development in the Netherlands.<sup>54</sup>

Actually, subsidies from the government were also granted to other private schools under the same conditions. Not only did missionary societies finance themselves through these subsidies, but there were also other groups, the Muslims, the Nationalists, the Europeans, the Chinese and the Arabs, who founded many private schools.

The M.U.L.O. school was formed as a special department of the general secondary school (of which it formed the lower grades). Later, the curriculum of the secondary school was divided into three departments in order to meet the various needs of the individual students. There were, in fact, many students who showed adequate capacities for further studies, but they either did not want to continue their studies after graduation or were not able to do so. The latter could be

divided into two groups: those with an ability for all subjects, comprising mathematics and exact sciences; and the others who may have adequate aptitude for language but lacked ability in mathematics. Consequently, the higher elementary schools were managed as follows:

1) Course A. Preparation for a business career and the teaching of subjects such as bookkeeping, business correspondence, typing and stenography.

2) Course B. Preparation for further study in which mathematics and physics were important.

3) Course C. Preparation for further study in which the stress was on languages and mathematics.

The decision as to which course would be studied was made after the first year, during which the instructors had many opportunities to observe the individual abilities of the students.<sup>55</sup> Many students of European and Chinese origin chose to study at the higher elementary school where Indonesian students were in the minority. The higher elementary school provided a natural link with the Dutch-Indonesian school and the school fee was considerably higher than that of the general secondary school. Since finances were also an important factor for Indonesian parents, fewer Indonesian students attended the M.U.L.O.



As an additional attempt to solve the problem of giving the native a European education, the Schakelschool<sup>56</sup> (Link School) was created in 1921, seven years after the first Dutch native schools. The purpose of establishing the Link School was to give the Desa School pupils the opportunity to continue to the M.U.L.O. After finishing the Desa School, some able pupils were selected to continue their education at the Link School which had a five-year course.<sup>57</sup>

The programme of the Link School took into account that the pupils had already had three years of schooling. They began with study of the Dutch language and carried on with other subjects as soon as they were able. The curriculum and the requirements for the teachers were nearly the same as in Dutch native schools. It actually took longer time still to be allowed entry to university (eight years of elementary and seven years of secondary education) from the Desa School than from the Dutch native schools. In practice, it was more difficult for the native student to continue on to university.

Vocational Education was created in accordance with the needs of pupils. They were given the opportunity of receiving training in certain occupations and professions which would benefit the welfare of the society.<sup>58</sup> The Dutch

government realized that and established vocational schools that could be grouped according to the type of schools from which the pupils came. After completion of either the second class or continuation schools, native pupils were offered the following: an elementary course in practical agriculture, instruction in such trade as carpentry and smithing, and normal schools for the preparation of teachers.<sup>59</sup>

1) The Peasant Farm Schools. The Dutch realized that the natural tendency for boys on leaving the second class school was either to return to their villages, not much wiser concerning the things they would need to know in their daily lives, or to attempt further education which would fit them for life in the European community. The government established native farm schools with the intention of preparing boys to be of practical assistance in improving the level of daily life in their own villages. The two-year programme covered agricultural training on a simple and practical level.

2) The Schools for Agriculture Teachers. The second level concerned the preparation of native agricultural instructors, who would teach the rudiments of farming to boys in the sixth year of the second class school. Candidates for these courses for agricultural teachers were required to have completed the five or six years of elementary school and

four years of general teacher training. These schools were not designed to produce highly scientific agriculturists but to equip a special group of teachers to go out and teach better methods of common farming.

3) The Trade Schools. Schools were established to train craftsmen and to prepare urban natives for living in an industrial community. The course consisted of two years of essentially practical studies. Three fourths of the time was spent in the workshop. This was due to the fact that large European plantation factories were located around the villages and the boys were in training for jobs in the mechanical departments of these mills.

4) The Normal School. The schools which were established for the training of teachers made a distinction between those who would teach at the second class and those who would teach at the continuation schools. In 1916, the Normal Boarding School programme, consisting of four years, was created for the first group. From that time on the number of such institution for both boys and girls steadily increased. Prospective pupils were required to have completed either the second class or continuation schools. In 1932, there were 33 public and private normal schools, with a total attendance of 3.300.<sup>60</sup> No special schools were provided for Desa School

teachers. They were trained by specially-drafted headmasters of second class schools, received practical experience in the class room each morning, and training in theory each afternoon.

Very little has been mentioned concerning colonial provisions for Indonesian education at the university level during the nineteenth century because such provisions were practically non-existent. The recipients of this type of education were so few that the university played only a small role in the policies of the colonial era. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, there were no colleges in Indonesia. Consequently, when secondary education was developed in Indonesia preparatory to university education, there were numerous pupils who could not continue their studies because their parents could not afford to send them to the Netherlands. Therefore, the need for education at the university level in Indonesia was great.

Universities were gradually opened and education was given in the following institutions (mentioned in the order of their openings):<sup>61</sup>

(1) The Technisch Hoogeschool (College of Engineering) was established at Bandung in 1920.<sup>62</sup> Bandung was chosen for this college because it was a rather important centre with

a cool climate. At first, this institute was opened only for the training of civil engineers who were needed most in irrigation and road building work. The curriculum was the same as at the Institute of Technology of Delf in Holland. This college, called the Institute of Technology Bandung (I.T.B.), still exists and is carrying on its mission as one of the great universities in Indonesia.

(2) The Rechthoogeschool (College of Law) was set up in Batavia in 1924. At the beginning, it only offered the opportunity to study "Indies Law" because those who needed a knowledge of Dutch law earned their degrees in the Netherlands. Therefore, the subjects offered included Indonesian language, Islamic law, and Adat law (customary law of Indonesia).

(3) The Geeneskundige Hoogeschool (Medical College). The need for physicians became great, especially after the organization of the public health bureau, which was generally concerned with the health of the population. An insufficient number of physicians were graduated from the Medical School of Java created in 1851, and later on called S.T.O.V.I.A.<sup>63</sup> (School tot Opleiding Van Inlandsch Artsen). The N.I.A.S.<sup>64</sup> (Nederlandsch Indisch Artsenschool), established in 1913, also produced medical practitioners but still the number of

graduates from both of these schools was insufficient to serve the health needs of the country. Therefore, in 1927 the medical college was established by converting the S.T.O.V.I.A. in Batavia, while the N.I.A.S. in Surabaya remained because lower ranking physicians were still needed in Indonesia.

(4) The Literaire Faculteit (Faculty of Letters), was formulated as an idea by Director of Education, J. Hardeman, in 1927, but its establishment did not materialize until 1940. This faculty worked in cooperation with the law college. In certain courses the professors were the same, i.e.: Islamic law, customary law, and Indonesian language, history, archeology, and social economy. Indonesian students were given training in subjects which were practical and were of scientific value.

(5) The Landbouwkundige Fakuliteit (Faculty of Agriculture) was also established in 1940. The need for fully-trained agriculturists and greatly increased both in field and laboratory work. It became necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the proper methods for planting, cultivation, fertilizing, etc. Progress and the welfare of the people could no longer simply rely on irrigation.

The Dutch educational system was entirely different

from the two native systems of the aristocratic school and the pesantren or madrasah. Dutch education was not widely spread through the country among the Indonesians until after the introduction of the so-called "Ethical Policy" in 1900. Although the problems had rarely been analyzed and the purpose was not clearly recognized, one or more of the following goals had usually been, at least subconsciously, in the minds of colonial educators. W. Bryant Mumford describes these ideas as follows:

First, to transform the native peoples into

Europeans;

Second, to train natives so that they would be

efficient workers for western exploitation;

Third, at the other extreme, to preserve the native

people in their own customs and cultures;

Fourth, to maintain respect for the ancient order and

to increase competence in the native arts and

crafts, and at the same time to prepare these

people for membership in the modern society

of a rapidly-shrinking and increasingly-

independent world.<sup>65</sup>

In 1900, with a native population in Java of approximately 30 million, less than 75,000 were at the government

schools were the first practical expressions of the Ethical Policy, as Paul W. Van Der Veur depicted it. Thus in 1900, the children receiving elementary instruction in Dutch numbered 17,025 Europeans, only 2,441 Indonesians, and 372 other Asians. Contrast this with the 1940 figures of 41,814 Europeans, 88,023 Indonesians, and 25,488 other Asians. In 1900-1904, the total number of students in the M.U.L.O., or lower secondary school, was 9 persons, of whom 8 were Europeans, none were Indonesians, and there was one another Asian. In 1910, there were 107 Europeans, 8 Indonesians, and 5 other Asians (see table in Appendices III and IV respectively).

However, the system of Dutch education was chiefly intellectualist and individualist. By receiving western education, most Indonesians, especially from the upper class, naturally came under the influences of western culture, and certain of them developed characteristic such as individualism, rationalism, and naturalism. This development occurred especially among the young Indonesians.

### 3. Pondok Muhammadiyah's System of Education

#### a. Reformulation idea of Islamic education.

In speaking about the reform movement of Muslim



education in Indonesia, the chief ideas of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan cannot be separated from the establishment of the Muhammadiyah organization. In the previous chapter, it was mentioned that the Islamic educational institutions were initially poor in quality and did not function as was expected. The problem of educational backwardness was especially acute amongst the Indonesian Muslims, as the dualist educational system reflected ideas of both the western (Dutch) school and Pondok-pesantren system. Subsequently, two groups, having two different and distinct educational background, evolved in Indonesian society.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's interest in education first began during his studies at Pondok-pesantren and was later stimulated by the establishment of the Muhammadiyah organization. His idea of education was based in the Hadiths, which had previously been used by modernists. In general, the Hadith stated: "Seek knowledge from your cradle to your grave"; "The seeking of knowledge is obligatory upon every Muslims"; "He who goes forth in search of knowledge is in the way of Allah until he returns."<sup>66</sup>

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan realized the significance of the very first verse revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. Starting with the word "Read" and stressing the role of the

pen, the emphasis was based on learning. (it is worth noting that the precepts and practices of the holy prophet created in the Muslim mind an insatiable desire for acquiring knowledge.) In addition to these principles, Muslims were expected to acquire knowledge from the subsidiary branches and from the details of the injunctions and laws of Islam as according to their individual circumstances and needs.

The proclaimed purpose of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan in establishing the Muhammadiyah was to stimulate Muslim religious education and to improve the religious life of the members of the organization.<sup>67</sup> The educational aims of the Muhammadiyah could be extracted from the original ideas of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan as follows:

1. (Moral education) a good character was based on the Qur'ān and Sunnah.
2. (Individual education) a complete sense of individuality, a balance between mental and bodily development, between faith and intellect, between sentiment and thought, between this world and the hereafter.
3. (Social education) a willingness and interest in social activity.<sup>68</sup>

The ideas of Muslim education, in general, were based

on the need of people's lives and their society. Islam is a way of life and a truly Islamic system of education should therefore teach its followers not only the beliefs and religious practices of Islam but also their relevance and application to the revelation as found in the Holy Qur'an.

On another level, the philosophy of Muslim life was directly related to the ideas of Islamic education in Indonesia. The purpose of this was to bring the Muslim's life close to Allāh, as mentioned in the Qur'an, surah al-Dhāriyāt verse 56 as follows: "I have only created jinns and men, that they may serve Me."<sup>69</sup> His purpose was identical with the aims of the Islamic education in general. According to Mohammad Natsir, "to worship Allāh meant to be obedient and loyal to God and all His instructions thus benefiting the grandeur of this world and the gain of the hereafter."<sup>70</sup>

H. J. Langeveld's book Beknopte Theoretisch Paedagogiek gives us a better understanding of the aims of Islamic education as launched by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. His discussion is from a philosophical and anthropological point of view, in which man is basically a social creature, both individually and morally.<sup>71</sup> Based on Langeveld's analysis, Amir Hamzah Wiryosukarto described these aims as follows:

1. To infuse into the basic social fiber of men

the Islamic teachings of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.

2. To apply the innate individuality of the human being to the teachings of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.
3. To lay the framework of the Qur'ān and Sunnah on the innate morality on human beings.<sup>72</sup>

However, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan reformulated these three principal points in endeavouring to form the "Cālim intellect." That is to say, a Muslim ought to have an equilibrium between faith and knowledge, between general science and religious science, and between a spiritual strength and bodily strength. Here we shall discuss the aspects of the individual, of morality, and lastly, of society respectively.

Individual: The educational institution which had existed in Indonesia created two types of intellegentsia<sup>73</sup> who were quite different from one another. One group, having been given western education, had a knowledge of general science but was ignorant of religion. They were not concerned with religion and showed conservatism toward the santris from Pondok-pesantren. The other group, educated at the Pondok-pesantren, were educated in religious matters but lacked knowledge in areas such as general science. They felt

that those who had obtained a western education had been influenced by western culture and had deviated from Islam.

The dualist educational systems which emerged, produced Muslim individuals lacking an intellectual balance. This deviated from the Islamic teachings and the modernist movement realized that this condition was incompatible with the spirit of Islam.

The modernist movement referred to the words of the Prophet Muhammad, "Work well today, as if you were immortal; prepare for the hereafter as if it were tomorrow."<sup>74</sup> According to this precept the Muslim performed work for the glory of both this world and the hereafter. To reach this stage was the duty and responsibility of Islamic education which aimed to instill Muslims with a harmonious personality. The concern for daily prayers was very relevant for every Muslim in the attainment of this goal: "Oh, our God, present us benefaction in this world and benefaction at hereafter, and prevent us from torments of hell."<sup>75</sup>

As God has said in the Qur'an surah al-Baqarah, verse 143, every Muslim should attain a harmony of personality: "Thus have we made of you an ummat justly balanced, that ye might be witness, over the nations, and the apostle over yourselves."<sup>76</sup>

Thus following the Qur'ān, the Islamic educational system wanted to create people with both an individual and a social consciousness. The history of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century demonstrated in general, that education throughout the Muslim world and in Indonesia in particular existed under a dualist system. The conservative 'Ulamā' remained isolated and self satisfied. On the other hand, the modernist 'Ulamā' was broad minded and realized that conservative isolationism in Indonesia was incongruous with Islamic teachings. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan is included among the modernist 'Ulamā' who recognized this aspect of Islamic education in Indonesia.

Individual education produced people of morality: those who led their lives according to moral principles and those who possessed learning or scientific knowledge.

Morality: Morality for the Muslim people was straight forward according to the Qur'ān and Sunnah. However, a different interpretation occurred among various Muslims. The conservative 'Ulamā' who studied religion with taqlīd (blind imitation) followed the interpretation of the 'Ulamā' madhhab (school of law).

Occasionally, the conservative 'Ulamā' were influenced by development of political and historical thought in Inde-

nesia. For instance, the conservative Culamā' used a Hadīth to explain their non-cooperation with the colonial government at one time. The authenticity of that Hadīth was still doubted, but among the conservative, it was popularly accepted. It follows that: "Whoever endeavours to resemble one group, is often included in that group."<sup>77</sup> By using this Hadīth, the conservative Culamā' could also refuse anything coming from the outside. Clothing, speaking, and studying the Dutch language for instance were considered haram (prohibited).

According to R. H. Hajid,<sup>78</sup> Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's concern with the problem of conservative isolationism referred to the Qur'ān, surah Luqman, verse 21, as follows: "Nay, we shall follow the way that we found our fathers (following)."<sup>79</sup> The conservative could misinterpret this meaning for his own purpose, and most people accepted and believed whatever they were told, assuming anything from outside to be wrong.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a great conservative Cālim, Muhammad Saleh, at Semarang (Middle Java), who published a book, Kitāb Majmū' in Javanese, which gave a fatwā as follows: "Those who wear a cap, trousers, necktie and who cut their hair are considered haram in accordance with the agreement of the Culamā' established a long time ago."<sup>80</sup>

This fatwā profoundly influenced the Pondok-pesantren's life in the nineteenth century. But the modernist 'Ulamā' suggested a new Hadīth which read as follows: "Learn the language of other nations in order to avoid their treachery."<sup>81</sup> This attitude of establishing communication with other nations was maintained, but outside influence on the faith was avoided.

This new attitude toward interpretation changed many aspects of Islamic law. The conservatives gradually accepted what previously was considered harām. Their acceptance marked a period of transformation in Indonesia which altered every aspect of Muslim life.

Sociality: Every human being basically has a social function toward his neighbour. It is the duty of education to instruct the younger generation with a positive attitude toward its fellow men in society. During Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's lifetime, Indonesian society was backwards in almost every aspect of the people's life. The existence of poverty, ignorance, the people's indifference and the government's negligence of the people in general, all eroded the social attitudes and community spirit.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan tried to encourage people to pursue a spirit of mutual help in society. He was inspired by the saying of the Prophet Muhammad: "There is no faith



among men if a man does not love his Muslim brother as he loves himself."<sup>82</sup> This Hadīth obviously stresses the need for a social consciousness in order to fulfil religious duty.

Furthermore, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan emphasized the new ideas of mutual help from the traditional to the modern way. Simultaneously, he introduced the modern system of organization; for example, he urged the establishment of schools, hospitals, and poor-houses. He also started to organize the collection of zakāt and sadaqah and he stressed other religious projects.

These three elements were the essential ideas of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's reformulation of Islamic education in Indonesia. Consequently, the Muhammadiyah formulated the aims of education as follows: "The aim of the Muhammadiyah education was to form Muslim man; to develop a strong character, skill, self reliance, therefore enabling him to contribute to society."<sup>83</sup> Besides this, there were other aspects pertaining to the reformation principles of the Muhammadiyah education. There were: 1) Tajdid (Reformation), 2) Active, 3) Creative, 4) Optimism. This policy was more comprehensive and applied to the essential aspects of Muhammadiyah's education until present time.

b. Technical reformation of education.

The technical reformation of Muhammadiyah education consisted of changes in the methods of teaching, subjects and curriculum. Before discussing these aspects, the several kinds of schools which were established by the Muhammadiyah will be briefly described. In the educational field, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan first recognized the needs of the girls, because he realized that women were the essential element in the household. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan established a special course for women, called Fathul Asrār wa Miftāhus Sa<sup>c</sup>ādah<sup>84</sup> (The Disclosure of Secrets and the Key to Happiness). In that course, both religion and general science were taught. Aisyah Hilal, Busyro Isom, ZohroMuhsin, Wadiyah Nuh, Dalalah Hisyam were among students who took this course. The graduates from that course formed a cadre of the Muhammadiyah organization, especially in the field of work with women.

From the start, the Muhammadiyah divided its educational reform programme into two parts:

- 1) Giving religious education in the Dutch secular schools;
- 2) Establishing schools in which both religion and other sciences were taught.

The first school which was established by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was the elementary school set up in approximately 1912 at Kauman in Yogyakarta. Its pupils consisted of boys and girls. Another school was also established at Suronatan which later on was called the "standard school". As a consequence of the establishment of these two schools by the Muhammadiyah, the separation of boys and girls at school was begun. The standard school of Suronatan was only for boys, whereas the elementary school at Kauman was particularly for girls. Up to the present time the latter was known as the Pawiyatan Aisyiyah<sup>85</sup> of Kauman. At that time in the district of Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah also established many elementary schools at Karangajen, Baugasran, Ngadiwinatan and other places.

Besides establishing many schools which came under the control of the Muhammadiyah itself, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan also had good conduct and praiseworthy character and was able to approach the government schools to teach religious education. The government schools which he interested in teaching religious education were Kweekschool at Jetis, and M.O.S.V.I.A. (Middelbare Opleidings School Voor Inlandshe Ambtenaaren), the secondary training school for Indonesian officials at Magelang.<sup>86</sup> He realized that the students who graduated from

these schools would be appointed as teachers and officials in government offices where their role would be important to society.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's idea of teaching Islamic education at the government school and arranging the Pondok-Muhammadiyah like the government school system influenced Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, one of the most modern Ulamā' in Minangkabau<sup>87</sup> (West Sumatra). He spoke with Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan and learned of this idea when he travelled to visit Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan in Yogyakarta.

After establishing several elementary schools, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan also founded the secondary school, called the al-Qismul-Argo in 1918. In the beginning what took place at Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's house at Kauman was very simple. This school prepared the cadres of Muhammadiyah, eventually called Madrasah Mu<sup>c</sup>allimīn and Mu<sup>c</sup>allimāt Muham-  
madiyah. During the history of its development, that school has changed its name five times: al-Qismul-Argo, Pondok-Muhammadiyah, Kweekschool Islam, Kweekschool Muhammadiyah, and in 1932 this school was divided into two parts: Madrasah Mu<sup>c</sup>allimīn Muhammadiyah for boys and Madrasah Mu<sup>c</sup>allimāt Muhammadiyah for girls.

According to Chaidir Anwar, 32 schools, including one

Kweekschool, had been established by 1923.<sup>88</sup> The Muhammadiyah continued to establish several kinds of schools, not only in Yogyakarta, but also in other cities. They spread throughout the country. A Bustānul Athfāl (Kindergarten) was established for the first time in Yogyakarta in 1926. In the same year, another school, called H.I.S. met de Qur'ān was established at Jakarta and also at Kudus. Later on H.I.S. met de Qur'ān changed its name to H.I.S. Muhammadiyah. In 1928, another branch of that school was opened at Banda Aceh.

The Muhammadiyah later established another kind of school, called M.U.L.O., H.I.K. Muhammadiyah, and Schakel School Muhammadiyah, all based on the western system. Parallel to these schools, Muhammadiyah had also established specific schools where only religious subjects were taught. At the same time schools for male propagandists (muballighīn) and female propagandists (muballighāt), and Zu'ama' and Zā'imāt were also set up.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan realized that education in Indonesia at that time was already split into two: the Pondok-pesantren which taught no subjects except religion; and the secular Dutch education which ignored the teaching of religion. Therefore, the Muhammadiyah organized its own educational system which combined the two kinds of education

as described by Howard M. Federspiel:

The educational effort of the Muhammadiyah is worth some review at this point because the subject matter indicates just which religious teachings the movement sees as important for youth to know, and presumably, by extension, its entire membership as well. Its first efforts in education--in the first quarter of the twentieth century--were a reaction to the pondok schools where a poor quality education was provided in religious subjects. To counter the poor quality and narrow emphasis of the pondok schools, the Muhammadiyah established schools that provided instruction in religion and in general subjects taught in western schools. Such schools (sekolah umum) were intended for the general education of Muslim children and were not designed to provide specialized religious training, which was provided in several special schools founded by the movement. Unlike the pondok schools, which had stressed rote memorization of involved legal and theological treatises, these general schools of the Muhammadiyah sought to provide student with comprehension of basic Islamic teachings, simply expressed.<sup>89</sup>

There were the Muhammadiyah educational institutions throughout the country which had been in operation for years from elementary level to university. According to Mahmud Yunus, in 1957 there were 628 Madrasahs and 877 general schools with a total of 1559 schools.<sup>90</sup> Five years later, this had increased to 4,630 schools. (See Appendix V).

Many outstanding leaders have graduated with a Muhammadiyah education and have played an important role as religious teachers and propagandists in Indonesia. Many of them

became leaders of various religious organizations, military and government officials, and some of them became active in political parties.

On the basis of the several kinds of Muhammadiyah education which have been described, more details of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's reformed Muslim education in Indonesia will be discussed. In this case, the Pondok-Muhammadiyah could be chosen as the model of Islamic educational reform in Indonesia. There were reasons for electing Pondok-Muhammadiyah as the model reform, pointed out by Amir Hamzah Wiryosukarto:

- (1) Pondok-Muhammadiyah was established by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan himself as the continuation from the al-Qismul-Argo school.
- (2) Since that school was called Pondok-Muhammadiyah, general sciences were taught in addition to religious subjects. This was the first secondary school at Yogyakarta that taught general sciences and religious subjects together.
- (3) Pondok-Muhammadiyah was the first religious educational institution to be modeled after modern system at Yogyakarta.<sup>91</sup>

As mentioned above, the modification of al-Qismul-Argo to Pondok-Muhammadiyah took place around 1920. Later,

its name was changed to Mu<sup>c</sup>allimīn Muhammadiyah. That school has been in operation until now. In order to understand the reformation of Islamic education by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan at the Pondok-Muhammadiyah, there are certain aspects which must be discussed which contrast with the old system of Pondok-pesantren:

(a) Method of Teaching.

In Pondok-Muhammadiyah, the class system was used. That meant, the place of learning was given in classes, using benches for seating the pupils, tables, a blackboard and other equipment. The lessons were given by the teachers to a group of pupils of nearly the same age and knowledge. In the class system, the teacher has to watch the improvement of the whole class and also has to observe every pupil personally. In order to evaluate the progress of the pupils, tests and examinations were regularly given. Many aspects of this system were taken from the western educational system. Consequently, the results were more successful and effective than the results of the former system.

(b) Subject Matter.

In the Pondok-Muhammadiyah religion was taught as the main subject, beside that, general sciences were given.



The old kitābs (religious books) which were written by al-Ghazālī, al-Shāfi<sup>C</sup>ī, Ahmad ibn Hanbal were used along with the kitābs written by (the modernist 'Ulamā' like Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh, Muḥammad Rashīd Ridā and others. For instance, in the subject of Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, not only was the Jalālayn,<sup>92</sup> an old kitāb, but also the Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, written by Muḥammad Rashīd Ridā used. This kitāb, however, expressed the modernist idea of his teacher, Shaykh Muḥammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh. In addition to the study of general sciences at the Pondok-Muhammadiyah, arithmetic, history, geography, drawing, Malay and English language courses were studied too.

(c) The Curriculum.

The programme of classes at Pondok-Muhammadiyah was conducted on a daily, regular basis. A student studied for five years, which were divided into five grades. He had to pass an examination to attend a higher grade. The ijāzah was presented to students who passed the final examination. Instruction began at 8:00 o'clock in the morning and ended at 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon. The pupils' attendance was controlled by a daily list of absences.

The use of an integral curriculum at the Pondok-

Muhammadiyah established a standard of education and a graduate from this school was capable of working or of continuing his studies.

(d) Extra Curricular Study.

The internaat (dormitory) was only for the pupils of the fourth and fifth levels at the Pondok-Muhammadiyah, due to the restriction of space. The establishment of the dormitory was the most important aspect at Pondok Muhammadiyah. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan himself took care of it and wanted to reinforce good character in his pupils. At first, the dormitory was built at Jayengprakosan, then moved to Ngampilan and later on, moved to Notoprajan.

The idea to combine the dormitory with the school building was carried out after Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's death when the Pondok-Muhammadiyah changed its name to the Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah. The dormitory was easy to control as pupils had to follow prescribed regulations. These regulations included praying together, a time for eating, a time for learning, a time for sleeping, a time for physical exercise and a time for resting.

Below is a list quoted, according to Amir Hamzah Wiryosukarto, from the Almanak of Muhammadiyah of 1344 H.,

coinciding with 1924 A.D. on page 201 as follows:

A. Principles of Dormitory.

- 1) Islamic instruction.
- 2) Supervised gymnastic instruction.
- 3) Supervised physical exercise.
- 4) Guided individual study during forty five minutes, seven days a week.
- 5) Organized meeting at least one time a week.
- 6) Instruction in handicrafts one time a week.
- 7) Arrangements for first aid instruction one time a week.

B. The Daily Occupation.

- 1) Studying no more than five hours.
- 2) Physical work for four hours.
- 3) Sleeping, eight or nine hours.
- 4) At least two hours rest daily.<sup>93</sup>

The dormitory of the Pondok-Muhammadiyah instructed the student greatly. The teachers were kept in very close contact with each student in order to provide discipline and spirit.

(e) Guardian of Pondok-Muhammadiyah.

The life of each Pondok-Muhammadiyah was influenced by its guardians, especially Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan himself. This school was under control of the Muhammadiyah organization. Beside Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, there were many Kiyais who supported and taught at Pondok-Muhammadiyah. Kiyai Haji Siraj Dahlan, the son of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, graduated from al-Irshad at Jakarta, and also taught there. Others were Kiyai Haji Ibrahim, Kiyai Haji Hajid, and Kiyai Haji Hanad. Those who taught the general sciences at Pondok-Muhammadiyah were mostly teachers from the government's Kweekschool and all of them were friends of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan.<sup>94</sup> They were:

- 1) Joyosugito, who taught history,
- 2) Sosrosugondo, who taught Malay,
- 3) Darmowinoto, who taught drawing,
- 4) Pringgonoto, who taught English.

The teachers of arithmetic and geography are unknown. From the formation of teachers, it was obvious that the guardians of Pondok-Muhammadiyah consisted of the 'Ulamā' and intellectuals who embraced the ideas of modern thought.

(f) Relationship between Kiyais and Santris.

The pupils of Pondok-Muhammadiyah showed respect to their teachers in a natural way and did not consider them as holy men. The relationship between the teachers and pupils in Pondok-Muhammadiyah was democratic, so that the pupils were permitted to ask their teachers any questions. They were trained to have a critical attitude in thinking, which, in turn, was utilized in study.

During his lifetime, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan successfully introduced a modern Islamic educational system in Indonesia. The Muhammadiyah held that the basic authority of Islam was al-Qur'ān and al-Hadīth, both of which should be interpreted in the modern way. It also held that ijtihad was needed to solve modern problems. The Muhammadiyah was an Islamic social organization aimed at raising the dignity of Indonesia Muslims in all aspects of their life.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan realized the injustice of Dutch colonialism upon Indonesia as a whole. The Dutch colonial officials and settlers did not consider the Indonesians as people who had dignity. In the fight against this unjust treatment, Indonesians would have to be able to recognize and raise their own dignity by improving the level of their education. It was therefore in the early stages

that the Muhammadiyah concentrated its efforts in the field of education. It tried to reconcile western methods of education with Islamic principles. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan understood and considered the ways to accelerate the process of modernization in Indonesia. One of the best ways was through reform in education. Therefore, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's idea in establishing the Muhammadiyah was to create a modern Islamic educational system in Indonesia.

Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>M. Hutasoit, Compulsory Education in Indonesia (Paris: Unesco, 1954), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Suteja Brajanegara, Sejarah Pendidikan Indonesia (Yogyakarta, 1956), p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford Geertz, "Modernization in a Muslim Society: the Indonesian Case," in Religion and Progress in Modern Asia, ed. by Robert N. Bellah (New York: Free Press; London: Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1965), p. 99.

<sup>4</sup>Mahmud Yunus, Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: Pustaka Mahmudiyah, 1960), p. 201.

<sup>5</sup>Amir Hamzah Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan Pendidikan dan Pengajaran Islam (Yogyakarta: Penyelenggara Publikasi Pembaharuan Pendidikan/Pengajaran Islam, 1962), p. 32.

<sup>6</sup>R. A. Kern, "Pasantren," Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1960, p. 460.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, Vol. II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1906), p. 29.

<sup>9</sup>Kern, "Pasantren," p. 460.

<sup>10</sup>Yunus, Sejarah, p. 45.

<sup>11</sup>B. J. Boland, The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), p. 113.

<sup>12</sup>Yunus, Sejarah, p. 50. See also A. Mukti Ali,

"The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction,"  
(unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1957),  
p. 18.

<sup>13</sup>Yunus, Sejarah, p. 196.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Boland, The Struggle, p. 114.

<sup>17</sup>Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 17.

<sup>18</sup>Clifford Geertz, The Religion of Java (London:  
Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1960), p. 178.

<sup>19</sup>Yunus, Sejarah, p. 45.

<sup>20</sup>Wirjosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 74.

<sup>21</sup>Yunus, Sejarah, p. 195.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 202.

<sup>24</sup>Wirjosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 76.

<sup>25</sup>Yunus, Sejarah, p. 195.

<sup>26</sup>Wirjosukarto, Pembaharuan, pp. 77-78.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>28</sup>W. H. Rassers, Panji, the Culture Here, A Structural Study of Religion in Java (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff,



1959), pp. 223-224.

<sup>29</sup>Yunus, Sejarah, p. 190. The programme of the Bayangkare Islam were as follows:

1. Java and Madura was divided into several parts for activity in the educational field. The activity of each parts was led by a wali, assisted by a badal (assistant).
2. In order to be easily understood by the people in the community, education and Islamic teaching were introduced through the culture of the community as long it was not in conflict with sharia.
3. The harbinger wali and badal should be of good character and conduct with high standards for the people in the community to follow.
4. At Bintara itself should be built a great mosque for the central activity of spreading Islam and Islamic education.

<sup>30</sup>Bernard H. M. Vlekke, Nusantara, A History of Indonesia (The Hague: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1959), p. 284.

<sup>31</sup>W. J. A. Kernkamp, "Government and Islam in the Netherlands East Indies," The Moslem World, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (1945), p. 22.

<sup>32</sup>Boland, The Struggle, p. 116..

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Wirjosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 36.

<sup>36</sup>Amry Vandenbosch, The Dutch East Indies. Its Government, Problems, and Politics (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944), p. 198.

<sup>37</sup>Raden Lukman Jayadiningrat, From Illiteracy to University Educational Development in the Netherlands Indies, p. 10. This study was submitted by the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies council as a document for the Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Mount

Tremblant, Quebec, Canada, in December, 1942.

<sup>38</sup>Lloyd W. Mauldin, "The Colonial Influence of Indonesian Education," (microfilmed Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan University, 1961), pp. 16-17.

<sup>39</sup>Paul W. Van Der Veur, Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia (Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Program, 1969), pp. 1-2.

<sup>40</sup>Vandenbosch, The Dutch, pp. 199-200.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>42</sup>Hutasoit, Compulsory, p. 22.

<sup>43</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. 42.

<sup>44</sup>Robert Van Niel, The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite (The Hague: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1960), p. 3.

<sup>45</sup>Vlekke, Nusantara, p. 331.

<sup>46</sup>Van Der Veur, Education, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup>Embree, Simon, and Mumford, Island India, pp. 44-45.

<sup>48</sup>Van Der Veur, Education, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup>Embree, Simon, and Mumford, Island India, p. 46.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>51</sup>Hutasoit, Compulsory, p. 31.

<sup>52</sup>Van Der Veur, Education, p. 4.

- 53 Hutasoit, Compulsory, p. 33.
- 54 Vandenbosch, The Dutch, p. 209.
- 55 Jayadiningrat, From Illiteracy, p. 41.
- 56 Van Der Veur, Education, p. 4.
- 57 Hutasoit, Compulsory, p. 37.
- 58 Jayadiningrat, From Illiteracy, p. 52.
- 59 Embree, Simon, and Mumford, Island India, p. 47.
- 60 Ibid., p. 60.
- 61 Jayadiningrat, From Illiteracy, p. 46.
- 62 One of the Indonesian students attending this college a year after its establishment was Sukarno, who graduated with a degree in civil engineering in 1926.
- 63 From the beginning it used instruction in Malay, later on, in Dutch. The students who attended during the gestational period, 1895-1908, included such well-known figures as Cipto Mangunkusumo, Gunawan Mangunkusumo, Haji Agus Salim, Abdul Muis, Suwardi Suryaningrat and Sutomo.
- 64 There were differences between STOVIA and NIAS. From the start, NIAS had accepted the European and Chinese pupils, whereas STOVIA did not.
- 65 Embree, Simon, and Mumford, Island India, p. 97.
- 66 Deliar Noer, "The Rise and Development of the Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1963), p. 514.

<sup>67</sup> Howard M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia," Indonesia, No. 10 (October, 1970), p. 57.

<sup>68</sup> Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 67.

<sup>69</sup> Qur'ān, translated by Abdullah Yusuf Ali (n.p.: McGregor & Werent Inc., 1946), 51:56.

<sup>70</sup> Mohammad Natsir, Capita Selecta, (Bandung: N.V. Penerbitan W. van Hoeve, 1954), p. 58.

<sup>71</sup> H. J. Langeveld, Beknopte Theoretisch Paedagogiek (Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1949), p. 24.

<sup>72</sup> Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 61.

<sup>73</sup> Natsir, Capita Selecta, p. 71.

<sup>74</sup> Syamsi Sumarjo, Pengetahuan Muhammadiyah dengan Tokoh-Tokohnya dalam Kebangunan Islam (Yogyakarta: P.B. Muhammadiyah, 1967), p. 31.

<sup>75</sup> Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 62.

<sup>76</sup> Qur'ān, 2:143.

<sup>77</sup> Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 65.

<sup>78</sup> R. H. Hajid, Falsafah Pelajaran KJ. H. Ahmad Dahlan (Yogyakarta: P.B. Muhammadiyah, Majlis Tabligh Bagian Siaran, 1954), p. 13.

<sup>79</sup> Qur'ān, 31:21.

<sup>80</sup> Wiryosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 66. This is a quotation which Wiryosukarto got from Musa al-Mahfudz's article, "Perkembangan Agama Islam selama Dwi Windu Kemerde-

kaan R.I., " Kenang-Kenangan Pekan Raya Dwi Windu Kemerdekaan (Yogyakarta: Panitia Pekan Raya, n.d.), p. 81.

<sup>81</sup>Wirjosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 66.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>83</sup>Amir Hamzah Wirjosukarto, Pendidikan dan Pengajaran Muhammadiyah dalam Masa Pembangunan Semesta (Malang: Ken Mutia, 1965), p. 34.

<sup>84</sup>Solichin Salam, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan, Reformer Islam Indonesia (Jakarta: Jayamurni, 1962), p. 49.

<sup>85</sup>Solichin Salam, Muhammadiyah dan Kebangunan Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: N.V. Mega, 1965), p. 97.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Hamka, Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. Abd. Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama (Jakarta: Wijaya, 1950), pp. 62-63.

<sup>88</sup>Chaidir Anwar, Sejarah Pergerakan Ummat Islam di Indonesia (Bandung: F.K.S.S.-I.K.I.P. Bandung, 1972), p. 39.

<sup>89</sup>Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah," p. 61.

<sup>90</sup>Yunus, Sejarah, p. 235.

<sup>91</sup>Wirjosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 73.

<sup>92</sup>Yunus, Sejarah, p. 192.

<sup>93</sup>Wirjosukarto, Pembaharuan, p. 79.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

## CONCLUSION

In order to understand what was shown in the previous discussion about Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, a man of perseverance, independence, strong character and noble mind, it is necessary to know him. During his lifetime in the early twentieth century under the Dutch colonial control of Indonesia, he tried to introduce a broader and more philosophical concept of religion and a more modern system of education into Indonesia. His reforms touched on religion as well as education. He was influenced by the champion modernist of Egypt, Shaykh Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh and his disciple, Muhammad Rashīd Ridā through the latter's outstanding periodical, al-Manār.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan tried to implement original Islam. The Qur'an and the Hadīth were essentially in accord with modern science and democracy. He rejected taqlīd and practiced the so-called ijtihād. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, like Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh, also considered that the gate of ijtihād provided the possibility for individual interpretation of the faith through a process of intellectual develop-

ment. Consequently, the way was paved for the intellectual development of the Muslims. He did not condemn the four imāms, the founder of the legal madhāhib. He believed that the fatwās of the four imāms were subject to re-examination.

Before becoming fully active in propagating his ideas throughout the country, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan went twice on pilgrimage to Mecca and also studied there. Besides studying in Saudi Arabia, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan also contacted several leading Islamic modernists from other Muslim countries, the Middle East and the Muslim World.

Several reformist magazines, such as al-Imām which was published at Singapore, and al-Munir issued from Minangkabau (West Sumatra), inspired Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. In general, these magazines discussed the religious aspects of life in the Muslim communities in modern times.

Generally speaking, the Indonesians and Muslims were ignorant, poor and backward, resulting from the Dutch colonial policy which did not consider Indonesians as people with dignity. With the lack of a comprehensive educational system in the Pondok-pesantren system, only religion was taught. On the other hand, the Dutch European School system taught general sciences and ignored religion. Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan realized this and tried to combine the two

systems of education in his own school system, called the Pondok-Muhammadiyah. He endeavoured to form the "<sup>C</sup>ālim intellect" which established an equilibrium between faith and knowledge, between general science and religious sciences and between spiritual strength and bodily strength.

In addition, some Muslims, especially in Yogyakarta, were very traditional, conservative and static. Anyhow, they were surrounded by unlawful conduct and had been influenced by incorrect beliefs and corruption of the religious faith through the growth of bid<sup>C</sup>ah and khurāfāt, which led them far from the teachings of the Qur'ān and tradition of the Prophet Muhammad.

Subsequently, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan combined the duties of a religious teacher with that of a manufacturer of batik cloth. He concerned himself with the establishment of the Muhammadiyah, a major non-political Muslim organization which later on played an important role in the development and modernization of Muslim education and Islamic doctrines.

At the beginning of the establishment of the Muhammadiyah, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan faced all kinds of criticism and hostilities from various traditionalist and conservative Ulamā' in the community. He did not react to these



/criticisms. However the critics gradually came to agree with Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan's tabligh.

The character and personality of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan were distinguished by his modesty, honesty, and amiability. He was vehemently opposed to anything related to the conservatism, formalism, and traditionalism of superstitious religious customs. The greatness of Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan as a leader lay in his ability to harmonize faith with modern rational thought. Therefore, he brought about the return to the original sources of Islam, the Qur'an and the Hadith.

Politically speaking, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan separated political activities from religious reform by restating Islamic doctrine. Nevertheless, he did not embrace the narrow perspective of parochial politics. His leadership was broad minded and showed much insight. As a matter of fact, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan and the Muhammadiyah successfully attracted all segments of the community, the poor, the rich, the intellectuals, the women, the youth, as well as the general public. He was able to mobilize his people, stir their hearts, move their souls, motivate their sentiments, and evoke their sacrifices in order to seek pure and pristine Islam. He worked for the glory of Islam.

Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan tried to change the orthodox ideas of the Muslim community in Indonesia and build up a new system of thought. His interpretation introduced religious liberalism, thereby eliminating the rigidity of the older system. Consequently, he expected to be able to bring about the much desired change and development in the social, educational, religious and political conditions of the Muslims. Furthermore, he expected to gradually uplift the people from their backwardness.

From the previous chapters, we can assume that, not only did Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan have liberal ideas for which he made propaganda, but he set up an institution, the Muhammadiyah, to forward and preserve these ideas. There was a recognition of the importance of secular education along with religious one in a modern society. In this way he was half westernized because of adopting the model of western schools and including a goal, but of non-traditional subject matter. If he had not built institutions, it is doubtful that he would have achieved the successful result.

Through the Muhammadiyah, Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan successfully spread his ideas to Muslim society in Yogyakarta. The Muhammadiyah finally became a popular means for Indonesian Islamic reformers to launch their reform ideas. Members

of the Muhammadiyah should try to think about the seeds which were disseminated by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. Growth and development of the Indonesian Muslim society will be the result.

## GLOSSARY

This glossary of terms is intended only to identify briefly foreign words and terms emerging in the text of this thesis. The **definitions** given below are taken chiefly from the Encyclopaedia of Islam, The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, A Dictionary of Islam, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, and essays on Indonesia.

### A

- |                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Adat                 | - From the Arabic <sup>C</sup> adat. The word has been taken into Malay and other languages of the Indonesian archipelago to mean all things Indonesian that are custom, corpus, customary law. |
| Aisyiyah             | - The women's section of the <u>Muhammadiyah</u> .                                                                                                                                              |
| al- <sup>C</sup> Adl | - Justice.                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <sup>C</sup> Aliyah  | - Collegiate studies.                                                                                                                                                                           |
| al-Hidāyah           | - Guidance.                                                                                                                                                                                     |

- al-Imām - Leader.
- al-Irshād - Guidance; direction; an Arabic organization established by Ahmad Soorkati.
- al-Liwā' - Banner, standard.
- al-Manār - Guiding light; the name of periodical (ed.) established by Muhammad Rashīd Ridā in Egypt.
- Amaliyah, <sup>C</sup>amal - Deeds, virtue.
- A.M.S. - Algemene Middelbare School, General Secondary School; Senior, High School.
- al-Mu'ayyad - The Supported One.
- al-Qismul-Arqa - The Highest Section.
- al-Qistās al-Mustaqīm - The Just Balance.
- al-<sup>C</sup>Urwat al-Wuthqā - The Indissoluble Bond; a magazine set up in Paris by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abduh.

## B

- Badal - Substitute.

- Bandungan  
(halaqah) - System study of pesantren in Sumatra, where the santris (pupils) sat down in a circle around their guru
- Batik - An Indonesian process of textile-finishing, either printed by machine or by hand.
- Bayangkare Islah - Harbinger for Improvement; the first Islamic educational organization established in 1476 at Bintara.
- Beknopte Theoretische Paedagogiek - Concise Theory of Teaching.
- Berkah - Blessing.
- Bid<sup>c</sup>ah - Innovation; a view, thing or mode of action that has formerly not existed or been practiced. The modernists and reformists in Indonesia have combatted bid<sup>c</sup>ah in the field of din, pure religion.
- Budi Utomo - Noble Endeavour; the first Indonesian nationalist movement founded in 1908 by Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo.
- Bustānul Athfāl - Kindergarten.

D

Dabus

- A kind of performance where someone dancing by stabbing himself with a sharp knife and followed with musical instrument.

Dapur

- Kitchen.

Dayah

- Traditional Islamic religious school in Aceh.

Dhikir

- A Muslim practice commonly associated with Sūfism in which a formula is incessantly repeated as a means of removing extraneous thoughts from the worshipper's mind, and to prepare it for religious contemplations. A common form of dhikir is the repetition of the ninety-nine names of God. The name is also applied to the performance of litanies by groups of sūfis. Dhikir is widely believed among Muslims to give religious merit to the performer.

Dīwān al-Islām

- The council of Islam.

Dosen

- Lecturer.

- Dukun - Man who is able to control a spirit; magician.

## E

- Erste Klasse - First Class School; native school for the children of higher ranking officials.
- Etische Politiek - Ethical Policy. Moral duty of "Debt of Honor" of the Dutch government toward the people of Indonesia after the Indonesians had spent three centuries under the shackles of Dutch colonization.
- E.L.S. - Europeesch Lagere School; Dutch Elementary School.

## F

- Fathul Asrār wa Miftāḥus-Sa<sup>c</sup>ādah - The Disclosure of Secrets and the Key to Happiness.
- Fatwā - A decision of sacred law made by a religious scholar (Cālim), or



a legal scholar (muftī), or a judge (qāḍī). The decision is intended to aid individual Muslims, and religious courts in determining just what constitutes proper religious behaviour. The fatwā itself is not legally binding on any believer, but is considered only to be an advisory opinion.

## G

Geneeskundige  
Hoogeschool

- Medical College.

Guru

- Teacher.

Guru bantu

- Assistant teacher.

## H

Haji

- A Muslim who has accomplished the Meccan pilgrimage.

Halaqah

- Study system of pesantren in Sumatra; see Bandungan.

Harām

- Forbidden, unlawful, sinful;

refers to actions the performance of which is punished and omission rewarded.

- Hayāt al-Qulūb - The Life of Hearts.
- H.B.S. - Hoogere Burger School; high school.
- H.C.S. - Hollandsch Chinese School; elementary Chinese school.
- H.I.K. - Hollandsch Inlandsch Kweekschool; training school for native teachers.
- H.I.S. - Hollandsch Inlandsch School; elementary Indonesian school.
- Hizbul Wathan - Boy scouts of Muhammadiyah
- Hoofdbestuur - Headquarters.

I

- <sup>c</sup>Ibādāt; sing. - Rituals, the ordinance of divine
- <sup>c</sup>ibādah - worship; religious observances.
- Ibtidā'iyah - The Islamic school at elementary level.
- <sup>c</sup>Id al-Fitr - The feast marking the end of the fasting month, and one of the chief

feast days of Islam; it includes a special ritual service.

Ijāzah

- Certificate.

Ijmā<sup>c</sup>

- The agreement of the great 'ulamā' in Islam on a certain problem in a certain time. One of the four sources from which Islamic law is derived. It is frequently defined as the agreement of the mujtahids of the people (i.e., those who have a right, in virtue of knowledge, to form a judgment of their own), in any age, on any matter of faith. It is also defined by some as "agreement of the Muslim community."

Ijtihād

- A term used in Muslim jurisprudence to designate the process of arriving at new judgments in a rule of law in a particular case by drawing conclusions from basic sources of Islam (i.e. the Qur'ān and Hadīth).

Ikhwān al-Muslimīn - The Muslim Brotherhood.

Internaat; Asrama - Dormitory.

## J

- Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at al-Muslimīn - The Society of Muslims.  
 Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at al-Ummahāt - The Society of Mothers.  
 Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at al-Rahmān - Association of Mercy.  
 Jamiat Chair - The Benevolent Society.  
 Juru Kungī - Holder of the key and the person responsible for the maintenance of the graveyard.

## K

- Kataman - A gathering which is usually held after a pupil completes the study of the Qur'ān.  
 Kauman - A group of people, usually devout Muslims, living around a mosque in Java.  
 Kaum Muda - The reformists; modernists.  
 Kaum Tua - The traditionalists; conservatives.  
 Khātīb - Preacher in the mosque, usually at Friday prayer.  
 Khurafat - Superstition.

- Kitāb - Religious book written in Arabic.
- Kiyai - Religious teacher; a title of respect given to the <sup>C</sup>Ulamā', especially used for the Pondok-pesantren.
- Kombongan; bilik - Room.
- Kramat, keramat - Shrine; grave of saints.
- Kraton - Palace of Sultan.
- Kweekschool - Teacher's training school.

## L

- Landbouwkundige Fakuliteit - Faculty of Agriculture.
- Langgar - Prayer house.
- Literaire Fakuliteit - Faculty of Letters.
- Lurah Mutihan - The head of the perdikan desa, see Perdikan desa.

## M

- Madrasah - Religious school system.
- Madrasah Mu<sup>C</sup>allimīn - Religious school for male teachers.
- Madrasah Mu<sup>C</sup>allimāt - Religious school for female teachers.

- Majlis - Council.
- Majlis Hikmah - Council of Wisdom.
- Majlis Ekonomi - Council of Economy; a council of the Muhammadiyah which is concerned with economic planning.
- Majlis P.K.U. - Council of Health Services.
- Majlis Pengajaran - Council of Education by supervising and giving instruction in its schools.
- Majlis Tabligh - Council of Propaganda.
- Majlis Taman Pustaka - Council of activities by supervising the publication and printing of books.
- Majlis Tanwir - Conference of Muhammadiyah consuls, i.e., of regional commissioners of the Muhammadiyah Central board.
- Majlis Tarjih - Council of Opinions; a council of the Muhammadiyah which is concerned with finding fatwas.
- Majlis Waqaf - Council of religious endowments.
- Masjid; mesjid - Mosque where the Friday prayer is conducted.
- Madhhab, pl. Madhāhib - School of fiqh; in Indonesia the school of Shāfi'ī is important.

- M.O.S.V.I.A. - Middlebare Opleidings School Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaaren; the secondary training school for Indonesian officials.
- Muballigh - Bearer of news, used **for Islamic** propagandists.
- Muftī - Title of a religious official who is authorized to give interpretations of (Islamic) law.
- Muhammadiyah - Modernist Islamic social organization, founded in 1912 by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan.
- Muhibbal-Ihsān - Love of Charity.
- Mujtahid - Authoritative interpreter of the law; one who practice ijtihād.
- M.U.L.O. - Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs; junior high school.
- Murib (murid) - Student, pupil.
- Musalla - The prayer house; see Langgar.

## N

- Nasyi'atul Aisyiyah - The junior branch of the Aisyiyah which is

the women's section of the Muhammadiyah.

- |               |                                                                          |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| N.I.A.S.      | - <u>Nederlandsch Indisch Artsenschool</u> ;<br>medical practice school. |
| Normal School | - Teacher's training school.                                             |
| Nūrul-Haq     | - The Light of Truth.                                                    |
| Nūr al-Islām  | - The Light of Islam.                                                    |
| Nyai          | - Wife.                                                                  |

## P

- |                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Padri              | - A religious sect in the Minangkabau area of Sumatra at the beginning of the nineteenth century which sought to replace local custom ( <sup>C</sup> adāt) with a severe form of religious law ( <sup>C</sup> sharī'ah). |
| Pawiyatan Aisyiyah | - Aisyiyah movement.                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Pencak-silat       | - A system of fighting; traditional art of self defense.                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Penghulu           | - Administrator of mosque who also serves in other religious projects as well, religious or marriage official. In Minangkabau: adat chief; suku chief.                                                                   |



- Perdikan desa - Free village **exempt** from paying taxes
- Pesantren - Campus where religious education is given.
- Pondok - Traditional Islamic religious school; see Pesantren.
- Priyayi - Bureaucrat ; administrative civil servants.

## Q

- Qādi - Judge who **serves** in Islamic court.
- Qiblah - The direction of prayers toward Ka<sup>c</sup>bah (Mecca).
- Qiyās - Analogy, one of the four sources of Sunni Muslim jurisprudence.
- Qur'ān - The Holy Book of the Muslims.

## R

- Raden; Raden Mas - Title of Javanese nobility.
- Rangrang - Traditional Islamic religious school in Aceh; see Dayah.
- Rechtshoogschool - College of Law.

Patih; Bupati - R e g e n t (the head of a regency).

## S

- Sadaqah; sedekah - Alms; charity.
- Salafiyah movement - Go back to the ancestors.
- Salāt - Prayers; Muslim five time prayers  
a day, namely: Fajr or Subh (dawn  
prayer), Zuhr (noon prayer), Asr<sup>c</sup>  
(afternoon prayer), Maghrib (sunset  
prayer), and Ishā'<sup>c</sup> (night prayer).
- Santri - Student; pupil of a pesantren or reli-  
gious school in Java.
- Sapa tresna - Whoever is in Love.
- Sarekat Islam - Muslim Association.
- Sarekat Dagang  
Islam - Muslim Trade Association.
- Schakelschool - Link school.
- Shari<sup>c</sup>ah - The sacred law of Islam. An amorphous  
term since it has a different meaning  
to various groups of Muslims. Tradi-  
tionalist Muslims view the Shari<sup>c</sup>ah  
as the legal system defined by

the various madhhabs, while modernists speak of the principles and clear commands from the Qur'ān and Sunnah as constituting the Shari'ah.

Sharikat al-Mubtadi

- The Association of Beginners.

Shaykh

- Elder 'Ulamā'; in Javā: kiyai; also head, chief.

Siddiq Amānah  
Tabligh Faṭānah

- The Truth of Honesty and the Call of Intelligence.

Sirāt al-Mustaqīm

- The Right Path.

Slametan; kenduri

- Religious meal or feast; communal feast, popular among the Javanese, given to commemorate important events in an individual's life.

Sorogan

- Slide forward; a study system of Pondok-pesantren.

Sūfi

- A man who professes the mystic principles of taṣawwuf.

Sultan

- Ruler; power; Arabic: sultān.

S.T.O.V.I.A.

- School Tot Opleiding Van Inlandsch Artsen; Javanese Medical School.

Sunnah

- Used in Muslim theology and juris-

prudence to refer to the "acts, words and pattern of life" of the first three generation of Muslims, which have relevance in explaining the Prophet Muhammad's actions and behaviour.

Sunnah, applied to the Prophet, is the words, behaviour and pattern of life of Muhammad, which are considered to be divinely inspired and augmenting the Qur'ān as a pattern of conduct for Muslims. In this respect often synonymous with Hadīth.

Sūrah

- The name given to the chapters of the Qur'ān.

Surau

- Traditional Islamic religious school in Minangkabau.

Syirik

- The ascribing of partners to God; the worship of any creature, idol or objects.

T

Tablīgh

- Religious instruction.

- Tahārat al-Ābā' - The Purification of Fathers.
- Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq - The Correction of Ethics.
- Tajdīd - Reformation.
- Tammat Belajar - Certificate; see Ijazah.
- Talqīn - Pronouncement of certain prayers for the dead during a funeral.
- Taqlīd - Adopting the already established fatwās and practices as final and as having an authoritative character.
- Taqwīm al-Dīn - The Reform of Religion.
- Tarekat - Road, path; refers to a sūfī order.
- Tauhīd - The Oneness of God.
- Technische Hoogeschool - College of Engineering.
- Tengku - Religious teacher in Aceh.
- Thamarāt al-Funūn - The Fruit of Arts.
- Thanawīyah - The Islamic school at secondary level, three years or six years after elementary school.
- Thawalib School - Modernist school founded by Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah of Minangkabau.
- Tweede Klasse - Second Class School; native school for the children of lower ranking.

## U

<sup>c</sup>Uḅūḍiyah

- Worship, to serve (God).

<sup>c</sup>Ulamā'

- Muslim scholars, especially in religion; used in Indonesia also as a singular.

Ummah

- Muslim community.

Ushallī

- Vocal expression aloud of niyat of prayers.

Uṣūl al-Fiqh

- The science of the methodology of Muslim jurisprudence. It concentrates on extraction of principles and data for the formulation of religious laws. In Sunni **Islam** the traditional sources (uṣūl) are the Qur'ān, Sunnah, Qiyās (analogy) and Ijmā<sup>c</sup> (consensus).

## V

Van Inlandsch en Arabisch Zaken

- Concerning Indonesian and Arabic matters. One office established by the Dutch government to control Islamic activities in Indonesia.

- V.O.C. - Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie;  
Dutch East India Company.
- Volkschool - Sekolah Desa; village school (the  
three-year elementary school).
- Vervolkschool - The Continuation School, two years  
programme after the Volkschool.

## W

- Wa al-Fajr - And the Dawn.
- Wali - Saint.
- Wali Sanga - The Nine Saints, referring to the  
earliest propagandists of Islam in  
Java.
- Waqaf - Endowment; foundation.
- Weton - Study system of Pondok-pesantren;  
see Sorogan.

## Z

- Za'imah - Leadership.
- Zakat - A religious duty imposed on all  
Muslims to give a portion of their

wealth, as prescribed by religious law, in alms to the poor. It is one of the five commands of practical religious behaviour. In Indonesia, its most important application is the pitrah commonly referred to as the rice tax, used by the poor to celebrate the festival of Hari Raya (<sup>C</sup>īd al-Fitr).

Zu<sup>C</sup>amā'

- Leaders.



## APPENDIX I

Copy

No. 81

Enclosure: 1

Extract from the Register of Decrees  
of the Governor General of the Dutch  
East Indies.

Bogor, August 22, 1914.

Having read the request dated Yogyakarta, December 20, 1912, of Haji Ahmad Dahlan and Haji Abdullah Sirat, respectively chairman and secretary, in this function being the authorized person of the association, "Moehammadijah", founded for a period of 29 years;

In consideration of the articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Royal Decree of March 28, 1870, No. 2 (Statute-Book No. 64) as is amended by that of June 30, 1898 No. 24 (Statute-Book No. 242) and addended by that of May 14, 1913, No. 37 (Statute-Book No. 432).

Is founded to be in order and understood;

The statutes of the association "Moehammadijah" at Yogyakarta, as is amended in the General Assembly of June 15, 1914, refers to the submitted enclosure of the request to be approved, and therefore the association to be recognized as a legal person.

Extract copies of these will be sent to the addresses for information.

Coded with (chairman) Register  
The Government - Secretary  
(signed) unreadable

For this certified copy,  
The Secretary of the Central  
Board "Moehammadijah"

H. Hasim.

To  
Haji Ahmad Dahlan  
and Haji Abdullah Sirat  
chairman and secretary of  
the Association "Moehammadijah"  
at Yogyakarta.

Source: Solichin Salam, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan, Reformer Islam  
Indonesia. Jakarta: Jayamurni, 1963.

## APPENDIX II

Copy

No. 36

Extract from the Registered Decrees  
of the Governor General of the Dutch  
East Indies.

Batavia, September 2, 1921.

Having read and so forth;

Having read the request, dated Yogyakarta, May 7,  
1921, by Haji Ahmad Dahlan and Mas Djojosoegito, respec-  
tively chairman and secretary, who are also the authorized  
/ persons / of August 22, 1914, No. 81 of the legal organi-  
zation "Moehammadijah";

Furthermore, having read the article 4 of the Royal  
Dutch Decrees of March 28, 1870 No. 2 (Statute-Book No. 64).

Is found to be in order and understood;

to grant the approval of the amendment of the articles  
4, 5 and 7 of the statutes of the association "Moehammadijah"

at Yogyakarta, as described in the request;

Extract of these will be supplied to those who need  
it.

Stemt overeen met voorz. Register:

The Government Secretary,

(signed) unreadable

Copied according to the original.

The Secretary v/h H.B. Moehammadijah,

H. Hasim

To

The Committee (Executive)  
of the Assosiation "Moehammadijah"  
c/o Mr. Djojosoegito,  
at Yogyakarta.

Source: Solihin Salam, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan, Reformer Islam  
Indonesia. Jakarta: Jayamurni, 1963.

## APPENDIX III

Enrollment in Elementary and Secondary Schools  
with Instruction in Dutch (Public and Private)  
1900-40

Year	PRIMARY SCHOOLS ( <u>ELS</u> , <u>HIS</u> , <u>HCS</u> , <u>Special Schools</u> , <u>Vervolkschool</u> )				SECONDARY SCHOOLS <u>HBS 3</u> , <u>HBS 5</u> , <u>Lyceum</u>			
	Eur.	Indon.	Other Asian	Total	Eur.	Indon.	Other Asian	Total
1900	17.025	2.441	372	19.838	669	13	4	686
1910	21.731	5.108	4.106	30.945	929	50	60	1.039
1920	28.673	43.411	12.965	85.013	-	-	-	-
1930	38.236	71.618	24.807	134.661	3.371	213	364	3.948
1935	39.160	74.803	24.603	138.566	3.869	545	628	5.042
1940	41.814	88.023	25.488	155.325	4.920	818	868	6.606

Source: Paul W. Van Der Veur. Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Program, 1968.

## APPENDIX IV

Graduates from Schools with Instruction  
in Dutch (Public and Private)  
1900-40

Year	PRIMARY SCHOOLS ( <u>ELS</u> , <u>HIS</u> , <u>HCS</u> , <u>Special Schools</u> , <u>Schakelschool</u> )				MULO AND HBS 3 (Lower Secondary)			
	Eur.	Indon.	Other Asian	Total	Eur.	Indon.	Other Asian	Total
1900-04 (aver.)	1.057	143	28	1.228	8	-	1	9
1910-14 (aver.)	1.360	652	142	2.154	107	8	5	120
1920	2.143	1.948	392	4.483	361	83	39	483
1930	2.584	4.674	1.167	8.425	607	762	235	1.604
1935	3.489	6.431	1.893	11.813	619	995	338	1.952
1940	4.108	7.790	2.407	14.305	754	1.160	442	2.356

Source: Paul W. Van Der Veur, Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Program, 1968.

## APPENDIX V

Details Concerning Schools/Madrasahs of  
Muhammadiyah Throughout the Country  
(Date October 1, 1962)

No.	Region	Ele- men- tary	Sec- on- dary	Voca- tion- al	Uni- ver- sity	Total
1	Aceh	8	10	6	-	44
2	North Sumatra	65	8	3	1	77
3	Tapanuli	83	8	7	-	98
4	Riau/Indragiri	32	12	2	-	46
5	West Sumatra/Jambi	63	43	9	-	115
6	Palembang/Bangka	80	13	20	-	113
7	Bengkulu	89	8	12	-	109
8	Lampung	74	14	8	-	96
9	West Kalimantan	9	5	-	-	14
10	South/Southeast/ East Kalimantan	43	14	4	-	61
11	Banten	26	-	2	-	28
12	Jakarta, D.K.I.	19	12	3	2	36
13	Residency of Jakarta	162	4	3	-	169
14	Bogor	274	4	5	-	283
15	Priangan	356	30	10	-	396
16	Cirebon	19	5	1	-	25
17	Pekalongan	56	11	6	-	73
18	Banyumas	453	32	20	-	505
19	Kedu	202	14	17	-	233
20	Yogyakarta	374	67	28	2	471
21	Surakarta	550	36	25	1	612
22	Semarang	36	16	7	-	59
23	Pati	49	10	2	-	61
24	Bojonegoro	223	8	3	-	234
25	Madiun	57	7	8	-	72
26	Kediri	51	11	6	-	68
27	Malang	64	14	6	-	84
28	Surabaya	76	10	4	-	90
29	Besuki	58	12	4	-	74
30	Madura	35	1	1	-	37
31	North Sulawesi	43	8	3	-	54

No.	Region	Ele- men- tary	Sec- on- dary	Voca- tion- al	Uni- ver- sity	Total
32	South/Southeast Sulawesi	91	67	20	-	178
33	Southeast Indonesia/ Bali	4	7	3	-	14
34	Maluku/Irian Jaya	1	-	-	-	1
	T o t a l	3845	521	258	6	4630

Source: Quoted from the Muhammadiyah's Statistical Book on its Schools, Head Office (Majlis Pengajaran), 1962, p. 97.



## APPENDIX VI

Decision by the President of the Republic of Indonesia on the appointment of the three leaders as the heroes for the national independence of the Republic of Indonesia.

STATE SECRETARY

## DECISION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

No. 657, year 1961.

I, the President of the Republic of Indonesia

- To read :
1. Letter of the First Minister dated November 30, 1961 No. 29360/61;
  2. Letter of Minister of Education and Culture dated September 8, 1961 No. 56693/S;
  3. Letters of Minister of Social Affairs dated September 19, 1961 No. Kab. 11-42-10 and dated October 14, 1961 No. Kab. 11-49-42.

To consider: That the late Dr. Sutomo, the late K. H. Ahmad Dahlan and the late

K. H. Agus Salim, are worthy of praise by the state (government), in view of their merits as Indonesian leaders during their lifetime, who stimulated others by their love of the fatherland, and who led an organization against the colonialists in Indonesia;

- To remember:
1. Decision of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 217, year 1957, concerning the regulations stipulating the heroes of national independence.
  2. Decision of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 241, year 1958, concerning the regulations stipulating the heroes of national independence;

FIRST; to stipulate:

1. The late Dr. Sutomo,
  2. The late K. H. Ahmad Dahlan
  3. The late K. H. Agus Salim
- as heroes of national independence.

SECOND; to stipulate:

Definition in the decision of the President

of the Republic of Indonesia No. 217, year 1957, initiated to commemorate their death in a memorial service.

THIRD;

This decision is effective on the date of its stipulation. In order that everybody should understand, this decision was written in a state document of Republic of Indonesia.

Stipulated at Jakarta  
dated December 27, 1961.

President of the Republic  
of Indonesia,

signed

S O E K A R N O

According to the original,  
Deputy of State Secretary,  
signed  
Mr. Santoso

This decision quoted from Solihin Salam, Muhammadiyah and the Rising of Islam in Indonesia. Jakarta: N.V. Mega, 1965.

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