



## KH. R. Ansnawi's Thoughts on Nationalism Values against Colonialism and Imperialism

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### **Abstract**

#### **Purpose**

*The research aimed to explore KH.R. Asnawi's thoughts as one of Nahdlatul Ulama founders, on nationalism and patriotism values against colonialism and imperialism in Indonesia.*

#### **Methods**

*This qualitative study applied a historical research design relying on KH. R. Asnawi's works as the primary data source. The secondary data sources included books and journals discussing KH.R. Asnawi's thoughts of nationalism and patriotism values. The research also implemented Focus Group Discussion to understand his thoughts comprehensively. The data collected was then analyzed qualitatively using historical and political approaches*

#### **Results/Finding**

*The study found that KH. R Asnawi's thoughts of nationalism was fiqh centric that he was a religious nationalist figure. While the statesmanship values contained in his works included unity, justice, love for the homeland, and divine values.*

#### **Conclusion**

*The study concluded that KH. R. Asnawi's thoughts of nationalism and statesmanship values belongs to the integrism type influenced by theology, fiqh and pesantren education.*

#### **Keywords**

*nationalism, statesmanship values, KH. R. Asnawi*

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### Abstrak

#### Tujuan

Penelitian bertujuan untuk pemikiran KH.R Asnawi salah seorang pendiri Nahdlatul Ulama tentang nilai-nilai kebangsaan dan kenegarawanan dalam menghadapi penjajahan Belanda.

#### Metode

Penelitian kualitatif ini berbentuk kajian sejarah dengan mengndalakan sumber-sumber primer yang berupa karya-karya KH.R. Asnawi, serta data-data sejarah lainnya. Adapun sumber sekunder dari penelitian ini adalah buku-buku dan jurnal yang membahas tentang KH.R. Asnawi. Data-data ini kemudian didukung dengan Focus Group Discussion (FGD) yang dilakukan guna memahami tentang KH.R. Asnawi lebih dalam. Data yang terkumpul lalu dianalisis dengan menggunakan pendekatan sejarah dan politik.

#### Hasil/Temuan

Hasil dari penelitian ini menemukan bahwa pemikiran KH.R. Asnawi tentang nasionalisme bercorak fiqh sentris, sehingga dapat dikatakan bahwa beliau adalah tokoh yang nasionalis religius. Sedangkan nilai-nilai kenegaraan yang terkandung dalam pemikiran KH.R. Asnawi melalui karya-karyanya adalah persatuan, keadilan, cinta tanah air, dan nilai ketuhanan.

#### Kesimpulan

Berdasarkan pembahasan yang dilakukan, maka dapat dikatakan bahwa pemikiran KH.R. Asnawi tergolong pada tipe integrisme yang mana pemahamannya dipengaruhi oleh teologi, fiqh dan pendidikan pesantren.

#### Kata Kunci

nasionalisme, nilai-nilai kenegarawanan, KH. R. Asnawi.

### المخلص

#### الهدف

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف أفكار كباهي الحج رادين أسناوي، أحد مؤسسي حركة نهضة العلماء (NU) حول القيم الوطنية ورجال الدولة في مواجهة الاستعمار الهولندي.

#### الطريقة

هذا البحث النوعي هو في شكل تحليل المحتوى من خلال الاعتماد على المصادر الأولية في شكل أعمال كياهي الحج رادين أسناوي، فضلا عن بيانات تاريخية أخرى. أما المصادر الثانوية لهذا البحث فهي الكتب والمجلات التي تناقش كياهي الحج رادين اسناوي. ثم تم دعم هذه البيانات من خلال مناقشة مجموعة التركيز (FGD) التي أجريت لفهم أفكار كياهي الحج رادين أسناوي. ثم يتم تحليل البيانات التي تم جمعها باستخدام المناهج التاريخية والسياسية.

#### النتائج

وجدت نتائج هذه الدراسة أن أفكار كياهي الحج رادين أسناوي عن القومية هي أفكار فقهية، يعني إنه شخصية قومية دينية. أما قيم الدولة الواردة في أفكار كياهي الحج رادين أسناوي من خلال مؤلفاته فهي الوحدة والعدالة وحب الوطن والقيم الإلهية.

#### الخلاصة

أن أفكار كياهي الحج رادين أسناوي ينتمي إلى نوع التكامل الذي يتأثر فهمه بالدين والفقہ والتعليم الداخلي الإسلامي.

#### الكلمات الرئيسية

القومية، قيم الدولة، كياهي الحج رادين اسناوي

## INTRODUCTION

KH. R. Asnawi is one of the founding figures of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU). His role and work in terms of nationality can be felt and studied through various literatures. He was involved in social and political activities, both in practice and in thought. KH. R. Asnawi's thoughts and action has been widely studied by various groups, especially regarding nationalism and state values. The development of nationalism was still experiencing pros and cons because nationalism as a product of human thought was once considered a 'new religion' (Anwar, 2014) It developed significantly accompanied by a spirit of independence from colonialism that led to a democratic life at the beginning of the nineteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century (Alfaqi, 2015).

Scholars have different views on nationalism. However, in the Indonesian context, nationalism was born as a resistance to colonialism driven by religious organizations (Maftuhin et al., 2017, pp. 240–241). Ulama, who are members of the religious organization movement participated in carrying out the resistance. The struggle that involved the ulama was not only based on the desire to liberate the homeland from colonialism, but also defended the Islamic teachings and beliefs and in admonishing *ma'ruf nahi munkar*. They became a symbol of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. With faith, a spirit of patriotism and nationalism, the ulama sacrificed to bring the nation free from colonialism. One scholar who contributed to the fight against imperialism and colonialism, as well as the struggle before and after Indonesian independence, was KH. R. Asnawi.

KH. R. Asnawi was a scholar involved in various efforts against colonialism and imperialism of the colonial government. He has served as a commissioner of the Syarikat Islam (SI) in Mecca. After returning to his homeland, he and SI leaders founded the Mu'awwanatul Muslimin Madrasah, Kenepan Kingdom of Kudus and Madrasah Qudsiyah in 1919. They focused efforts on the education of the generation that was left behind because of discrimination carried out by the colonial government. KH. R. Asnawi and his students were also involved in the construction of the Menara Kudus Mosque as a center for worship and social interaction. It was a place to unite the fighting spirit in liberating themselves against discriminatory behavior by non-indigenous people.

The *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* was carried out by KH. R. Asnawi not only through the establishment of strategic places, such as schools and mosques, but also through other propaganda media as books and works of poetry. KH. R. Asnawi was firm in preaching the symbols of Islam conveyed through his speeches. His involvement in the struggle organization continued on 16 Rajab 1344 H./31 January 1926 together with other scholars by founding Jam'iyah Nahdlatul Ulama as a forum for struggle. KH. R. Asnawi has experienced various punishments, from paying fines to prison sentences. However, this did not dampen his enthusiasm for nationalism and the independence of the nation to become a sovereign state. Based on the discussion above, this research discussed KH. R. Asnawi's thoughts on nationalism and the state values. This was important because KH. R. Asnawi was a national figure who had a strong contribution to the struggle for independence. More than that, this research explained the pattern of nationalism built by KH. R. Asnawi, as well as his state values.

## METHOD

This qualitative study made uses of a historical research design that relied on historical-documentary data sources, namely written relics as books, archives, and documents (Muhajir, 2018). It can be as comparative-historical, legal, bibliographic

studies, biographical studies (Sukmana, 2021). The focus of this research was KH. R. Asnawi, a figure who was considered to inspire the birth of the spirit of patriotism and nationalism. As it was also character research, the researchers had three indicators to consider in this study comprising the character's integrity, monumental works, and contribution. The character's integrity could be seen from the depth of his knowledge, his leadership, his success in the field he is involved in, to having uniqueness or advantages compared to people of his generation. His monumental works could be written works, real works in physical or non-physical forms that are beneficial to society or human empowerment, both contemporaries, or later. His contribution or influence could be found in his thoughts recognized and considered to provide inspiration for the next generation (Harahap, 2006).

The primary source of research data is the works of KH. R. Asnawi, such as Fiqh because it is related to the existing law in the country as well as other historical data. The secondary sources of this research are books and journals that discuss KH. R. Asnawi. The collection of data and information is carried out using the library search method, namely visiting a library or institution that has a collection of books or archives related to the theme of this research. Furthermore, a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted to understand KH. R. Asnawi deeper. The data collected is then analyzed using the method of content analysis, with historical and political approaches and descriptive analytical methods.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Nationalism in Islam and Indonesianness

Nationalism is a love and loyalty to the homeland, state and nation. Etymologically, nationalism comes from the word "nation." This word is usually used to denote culture, language, and ancestry outside of a political context (Lestari, 2018, p. 26). while in the political context, the word nation is defined as a group located in an area that has the same citizenship rights, has the same characteristics that distinguish it from other groups (Syaharuddin, 2019, p. 91). The word "nation" is added "-al" as national, then gets the suffix "-ism" to become nationalism. In Indonesian, this word becomes nationalisme. Nationalism is understood as an ideological movement that aims to achieve and maintain a self-government, in which citizens have the assumption that they have an actual or potential nation (Mugiyono, 2014, pp. 1–2). Thus, it can be understood that the word nationalism is a loyalty that arises in a person because of an awareness of collective identity, as well as loyalty combined with a will to unite. Terminologically, nationalism has various meanings as put forward by scholars. There are at least five opinions in interpreting nationalism. The first opinion was expressed by Abdul Munir Mulkhan who argued that nationalism is a national unity in one political area. Second, Marvin Perry argues that the commonality of language, culture, and history marked by shared triumphs and sufferings in a country creates bonds that are consciously formed. Third, Hariyono argues that nationalism functions as an ideological filtering tool that makes it possible to filter ideology from outside against the ideology developed by a country (Alfaqi, 2015). Fourth, Smith (2009) argues that nationalism is an ideological step to achieve and maintain independence, unity, and identity among groups whose members are determined to form an "actual nation" and a "potential nation." Fifth, Benedict Anderson argues that nationalism is something abstract (Alfaqi, 2016). The various meanings of nationalism put forward by the thinkers above are indeed different from one another. Therefore, the meaning of nationalism depends on each character in interpreting the nationalism.

Differently, Sayid Jamaluddin Al Afghani put forward the spirit of Pan Islamism rather than nationalism itself (Tariq, 2011). Pan Islamism developed and exerted a strong enough influence in growing the spirit against colonialism. Pan Islamism was considered as a different alternative to the spirit of nationalism. Nationalism was a product of

Western culture and was lack of religious values, Pan Islamism was full of Islamic values. The rejection of nationalism was also stated by Abu al-A'la al-Maududi who said that nationalism was actually contrary to Islamic teachings (Donohue & Esposito, 1982). More than that, nationalism placed other nations in a position that was disproportionate, did not provide benefits, had the potential to cause division, discrimination, and even sin.

In contrast to Al Maududi, Hasan Al Banna actually accepted nationalism with a certain note (Al-Anani, 2013). Nationalism is similar to al-wathaniyah and al-qaumiyah. Al wathaniyah means love for the homeland that has a tendency to bring out the spirit of patriotism based on the land of birth, region, and place of residence. Meanwhile, al-qaumiyah is more synonymous with nationalism, because it is based on a sense of one nation and state. Ideology, vision, and aspirations to achieve common goals are prominent characteristics possessed by the concept of al-qaumiyah as a concept that refers to political society (Amin, 2012). Al Banna had a tendency to accept the concept of nationalism, although he still distinguishes nationalism by distinguishing between al-wathaniyah and al-qaumiyah.

In the Indonesian context, nationalism can be seen from the spirit of revival led by the ulama. They are members of various organizations such as Sarekat Islam (SI), Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Their initial commitment was to free themselves from colonialism. SI was an organization that was originally called Sarekat Dagang Islam, which focuses more on the economic revival of the people to fight the hegemony of colonialism. Therefore, Ulama's nationalism can be seen from the thoughts and efforts of economic revival for a common goal. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah built nationalism in the context of education, da'wah and social affairs which was initiated by the anxiety that KH. Ahmad Dahlan on the reality of the backwardness of the people at that time, as well as his understanding of Surah Al-Ma'un contained in the Koran. The scholars who joined NU also inflamed the spirit of nationalism. KH. Hasyim Asy'ari and KH. Wahab Hasbullah were an example of an NU cleric who taught Islam and nationalism as an entity, and was involved in its realization in national life (Menchik, 2014). In NU's view, nationalism was not only a doctrine contained in Islam, but also a part of faith itself. This can be seen from the expression *hubb al-wathan min al-iman* which means love for the nation and state is part of faith.

The struggle for '*amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*' carried out in national politics was actually inseparable from the efforts to enforce the word of Allah in the motherland. Instilling morals and ethics in politics was also put forward by scholars as an effort to realize a polite and civilized political life, without having to justify various ways (Mahfudh, 2014). This is what the ulama did as a form of implementation of high politics and their national politics. As done by KH. R. Asnawi as a charismatic cleric from Kudus, Central Java.

### **KH. R. Asnawi's Writing**

KH. R. Asnawi preaches one of them through literacy. Da'wah literacy that he poured in his works in the form of books and syi'ir. The best known of KH. R. Asnawi's legacy is the Book of Fashalatan; which discusses specifically about the prayer chapter. He also wrote a book explaining aswaja theology, namely the Book of Mu'taqad Seked. Other fiqh essays are also contained in the Book of Syariatul Islam lit Talimin Nisa wal Ghulam, which explains fiqh for women and children. He also works through his syi'ir-syi'ir, such as shalawat Isra 'Mi'raj (Rajabiyyah), Syi'ir Advice, Shalawat Asnawiyyah, Shalawat Independence, and Dua un-Marriage. (Solikhin, 2016)

KH. R. Asnawi's works continues to be firmly held and preserved by his students. KH. R. Asnawi's writing style follows one of the characters of his Koran teacher, KH. Muhammad Sholih bin Umar Assamarani or familiarly called Mbah Sholeh Darat. Characteristics of his works often use Javanese with the arrangement of letters Pegon al-marikiyyah. KH. R. Asnawi's other work describes his figure with a strong Nahdlatul Ulama background and love for his nation, namely Shalawat Asnawiyah. (Badri, 2016)



The eleven stanzas of Shalawat Asnawiyyah contain a deep meaning. The most important spirit of the Asnawiyyah prayer is praise to the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Because the core meaning of shalawat is praise and flattery to the Prophet Muhammad. in which there is a secret of life and waiting for his intercession in the future. Another content of Shalawat Asnawiyyah is a prayer that illuminates the heart with the flattery and guidance of the Qur'an. KH. R. Asnawi emphasizes the importance of faith in one's self in praying to Allah SWT. Therefore, as humans, we need to know the existence of God. KH. R. Asnawi wrote it in the Book of Mu'taqad Seket as follows:

*Wiwitipun wajibing manungsa punika nyumerepi dhateng Pengran, . . .  
Ingkang kula sumerepi punika sifatipun mboten dzatipun."* (Asnawi, n.d.)

The sentence above provides an explanation that the first obligation of man is to know his God. The knowledge in question is not God in the sense of His essence, but His attributes. KH. R. Asnawi positions God in the highest position without the slightest rejection as a consequence of faith.

In addition to knowing and understanding the attributes of God, as a Muslim, it is also obligatory to know the attributes of His prophets and messengers. KH. R. Asnawi stated these qualities in his book, such as the mandatory characteristics possessed by prophets and apostles; mukhal nature; and the nature of the prophets and apostles as humans, such as carrying out biological activities (eating, drinking, having children, etc.) (Asnawi, n.d.). KH. R. Asnawi's love for Allah's messengers, especially the Prophet Muhammad. he poured it in a prayer called Shalawat Asnawiyyah. This prayer is divided into 5 dimensions that cannot be separated when dissected more deeply (Khosi'in, 2015).

First, the divine dimension, which assumes that if people live in this world, they will always depend on the will and power of Allah SWT. Second, the prophetic dimension; believe that Prophet Muhammad SAW is the last messenger and messenger whose intercession is awaited on the last day. Third, the Qur'anic dimension; To understand the teachings of Islam, making the Qur'an as a guide for daily life is a must. Not only that, reading the contents of both understanding Arabic and its interpretation and being fluent in tartil is a form of love for the Qur'an. Fourth, the theological dimension; The affirmation of Islam and faith is something sacred in Islamic teachings as a provision for salvation in the hereafter. Fifth, the national dimension; KH. R. Asnawi has the view that the four dimensions contained above will not be realized if the conditions of a nation and state are not peaceful and secure. He prayed in particular to the country of Indonesia so that it would become a safe, peaceful country, gemah ripah loh jinawe contained in this Asnawiyyah prayer. (Khosi'in, 2015).

The contents of KH. R. Asnawi's other works are also not far from national values. Almost all of his poetry mentions the importance of instilling a sense of love for religion and nation. So it is appropriate if the opinion of contemporary scholars, such as KH. Mushtofa Bisri said that KH. R. Asnawi is a cleric who highly upholds the diversity and unity of Indonesia, not because of his kinship even though he has lived in Saudi Arabia for a long time. So it is imperative for the students to popularize the Asnawiyyah Shalawat as a national prayer. KH. R. Asnawi's other works in the field of religion also have a lot to do with the science of monotheism and fiqh, considering that he is a competent figure in these fields (Badri, 2016).

While the work of syi'ir Sufistic advice KH. R. Asnawi also contains 62 points of advice as the basis for Muslim religious morality. In his stanzas, he continues to use his trademark by using Javanese and pegon Arabic styles in a hermeneutic manner (Lubis, 2020) by paying attention to the meaning content for future generations. This is because he is a figure who is known to "ngemong" and cares for his students. The process of creating syi'ir is based on his concern for Muslims to achieve the blessings of the world and the hereafter (Farida, 2020).

KH. R. Asnawi's work in the field of theology is also still guided by the arrangement

of aqidah. His book is entitled *Jawab Sualipun Mu'taqad Seked Miwah Sakdalilipun Saha Ringkesipun Move Ngangge Dalil Ijmali 'Aqli* or better known as Mu'taqaid Seket among the students. This book adheres a lot to the thoughts of Shaykh Nawawi Al-Bantani. For KH. R. Asnawi, studying the science of monotheism for Muslims is farḍu 'ain, which is an obligation for every individual to know and understand the science of monotheism. And from there, his perspective which combines the concepts of aqidah and monotheism is in line with the understanding brought by *Ahlusunnah Wal-Jama'ah*.

KH. R. Asnawi also left work in the field of jurisprudence. *The book of Fashalatan* becomes a small guide in the midst of society related to fiqh issues. The Book of Fashlatan discusses more about the prayer chapter. For KH. R. Asnawi, the main problem in the fiqh of worship is prayer. He refers to a hadith which means: "Salat is the pillar of religion. Whoever establishes prayer, then he is the enforcer of the religion. And those who leave the prayer, then he has knocked down the pillar of religion." He also cites another hadith to strengthen his argument which means: "Prayer in congregation has the virtue of 27 times better than praying alone" (Asnawi, 1956).

One other fact that is quite interesting is that KH. R. Asnawi once wrote a poem for Ir. Soekarno on his arrival to Kudus. The verse was sung by the santri and students of the Qudsiyyah Madrasah in 1948. One stanza of the poem reads *i.r. soekarno ra'sunaa, a'laa bindunsia raya* (Sukarno engineer our leader, supreme leader of Indonesia Raya), *Ir. Soekarno ra'sunaa ra'sun 'alaa indunsia* (Soekarno's engineer, our leader, leader of the Indonesian nation). KH. R. Asnawi also had time to translate the Book of Aljurnumiyah into Javanese. But his work was not printed and circulated (Badri, 2016).

### **KH. R. Asnawi's Socio-Political Gait**

KH. R. Asnawi's political role started when he participated in the establishment of the Syarikat Islam (SI), the establishment of SI was inseparable from his closeness to movement activists, including HOS. Cokro Aminoto, H. Agus Salim, and several other movement figures. In fact, he became a commissioner of SI Mecca in 1912. After his return from Mecca in 1916, he returned to Kudus by becoming an adviser to SI Kudus in 1918. And during the Dutch colonial rule, he was arrested for 3 years because he was considered involved as a riot mover anti-China (Sasongko, 2019).

KH. R. Asnawi once attended an Islamic congress in Cirebon. The congress ran from October 31 to November 2, 1922. There was a tough debate at the congress between traditionalist ulema (represented by KH. Wahab Hasbullah and KH. R. Asnawi) and modernist ulema (represented by KH. Ahmad Dahlan and Ahmad Surkati). The two sides disagree with each other about how each other's religion understands. Traditionalists who consider modernist scholars to be arbitrary in interpreting the Qur'an and Hadith without referring to previous scholars. The modernist ulema, on the other hand, think that the traditionalist ulema's religious way of adhering to madzhab causes the existing Islamic movements to exist. And since then, the relationship between the traditionalist ulema and the modernist ulema has been less than harmonious and has often led to disagreements in deciding the problems of the ummah. (Soeleiman & Fadel, Subhan, 2007).

From these differences of understanding, the forerunner to the formation of *jam'iyah* such as Nahdlatul Ulama was formed. Then in 1924 he met and consulted with KH. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah Jombang discussed how to care for the aqidah of *Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah* in the midst of the condition of the people who began to emerge from various religious views and sects. Finally, he agreed with the idea of KH. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah to form a *jam'iyah* that cares for and oversees the aqidah of *Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah*. Towards the founding of Nahdlatul Ulama on January 31, 1926 AD, he and KH. Bisri Syansuri was appointed as the representative of the Hijaz Committee in charge of protesting the actions of the Wahhabis in Mecca. Then as a follow-up to the formation of the Hijaz Committee, KH. R. Asnawi and his colleagues formed the *Jam'iyah Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) as a form of caring for the Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah understanding. After

solving the problem, on January 31, 1926 AD or coinciding with 16 Rajab 1344 H, he and KH. A. Wahab Hasbullah and other scholars who were present in Surabaya formed and founded the *Jam'iyah Nahdlatul Ulama* (Soeleiman & Fadeli, Subhan, 2007). Until the end of his life, he was considered a figure who was keen to fight for Nahdlatul Ulama.

KH. R. Asnawi's friendship with kyai in the archipelago such as, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, KH. Wahab Hasbullah, KH. Bisri Syansuri, and several other kyai became strong figures behind the background of the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama. KH. R. Asnawi became a central figure in the early process of the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama in 1926. Nahdlatul Ulama was founded on the basis of the unrest of the ulama when Wahhabi teachings began to spread in the Arabian peninsula which also had an impact in the archipelago. One of the spirit of struggle for the teachings of *Ahlusunnah Waljamaah* is to seek diplomatic relations, related to the plan of the Wahhabis in dismantling the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. (Soeleiman & Fadeli, Subhan, 2007).

KH. R. Asnawi is a figure who is diligent in fighting for independence from the hands of the invaders. To achieve independence, the Indonesian people must unite with their respective fighting spirit. KH. R. Asnawi's firmness in rejecting the invaders was influenced by the understanding of his teacher Mbah Sholeh Darat. This is proven through the fatwas that he issued in preaching. The same attitude was shown by KH. Sholeh Darat in his book *Majmu'atus Syari'ah* page 25 states that: “*Sopo wae Muslims seng nyerupani penganggone wong sak liyani ummat Islam kaya nganggo topi, jas utowo dasi, moko iso dadiake rusake Islam, senadyan atine wong Islam kui orak kekarep lan orak demen*” (any Muslim ummah whose lifestyle resembles that of a non-Muslim such as wearing a hat, suit, or tie can destroy Islam even though the hearts of Muslims do not expect and do not like it). From this brief understanding, it can be concluded that KH. R. Asnawi's sense of nationalism came from his teachers in fighting for Islamic law. KH. R. Asnawi fully understands the concept of Indonesian struggle and unity which requires the strength of the Islamic religion in fighting for Indonesian independence (Tholibin, 2008).

During the Japanese occupation, KH. R. Asnawi was accused of keeping a firearm. His boarding school and house were surrounded by Nippon soldiers. He was then taken to one of the Japanese headquarters in Pati. He was detained the whole night, after which he was summoned by the commander of the Nippon troops the next day wearing only a sarong. Surprisingly he was not asked about the possession of firearms but about his descendants, how many wives, children, and grandchildren. After the summons he was then ordered to return to Kudus.

In the early days of the Indonesian independence revolution, he held a spiritual assembly ahead of the first Dutch military aggression. The assembly held a movement to read shalawat nariyah and prayers from surah al-Fiil. This This was done because not a few students and young people from Kudus and surrounding areas joined in the struggle against the colonialists. With spiritual provisions from KH. R. Asnawi, it is hoped that the youth will be pumped up before leaving for the battlefield in Genuk, Alas Tuwo, and others. (Setiawan, 2011). from here could understood more far that in every effort struggle good in the form of creation nor step practically what he does always include a prayer for safety and security for the nation and state of Indonesia (Bagus, 2020).

KH. R. Asnawi was once offered to become a penghulu by the colonial government. However, he refused. KH. R. Asnawi's perspective if he was appointed as a penghulu, then he would not be able to enforce the commandments of *ma'ruf nahi munkar* firmly because of his position which had to obey a colonial government. Unlike the case when he was only a private person, he was able to spread religion without having to bear the feeling of shyness and without being influenced by the understanding of Dutch colonialism. During his life KH. R. Asnawi had fought a lot for the religion and nation of Indonesia through his syi'ar and his da'wah involvement in the independence movement (Bagus, 2020).

As a scholar figure who is persistent in fighting for the teachings of *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* , KH. R. Asnawi is known to be active in preaching to various remote areas



around Kudus, Pati, Demak, and Jepara. In order to enlarge the path of his da'wah, he established two institutions, namely the Qudsiyyah Madrasah in 1916 and the Raudlatul Thalibin Islamic Boarding School in 1927 as an effort to institutionalize his da'wah. His charismatic figure as a scholar figure with a firm and firm attitude in affirming the commandments of *ma'ruf nahi munkar*, made him an exemplary figure for students in carrying out the religious process in Kudus (Masyhuri, 2017).

KH. R. Asnawi was well aware of the importance of the fighting spirit of the santri in expelling the invaders. Although he has preached a lot and spread Islamic teachings to the students, he became the pioneer and direct mover of the progress of the students. Be an inspiration to the students and fighters to fight against Dutch colonialism. With the development of these two areas, it is hoped that the students can compete with Chinese entrepreneurs in the field of education in the economic and political fields, as well as being a reference for the worship of the santri. KH. R. Asnawi is known as an anti-colonial figure, he optimistically ignites the fighting spirit of the students and will not submit to the Dutch or Japanese governments. Often in preaching KH. R. Asnawi burns the jihad spirit of the students to eliminate the invaders in the archipelago (Chamami, 2018).

KH. R. Asnawi's idea is to integrate piety with a law-abiding community (Muslims). This idea is reflected in his Sufism thinking which is not only trapped in contemplative worship rituals, but he places more emphasis on practical Sufism teachings in society. KH. R. Asnawi emphasized the importance of teaching knowledge to others. The teachings of KH. R. Asnawi Sufism carry the tarekat understanding of "*lit ta'limil 'ilmi*" which teaches understanding to the general public. KH. R. Asnawi's idea is a thought that is relevant to the reality of Muslims today who see not only from a religious level, but also to the benefit of the people from a social and economic perspective (Dhofier, 2011)

### **KH. R. Asnawi's Fiqh Centrist Nationalism**

Nationalism is one of the paths held by KH. R. Asnawi during his lifetime. He tried in such a way that Islam as a religion remained intact and the Indonesian nation was not controlled by the Dutch colonialists (Chamami, 2018). Therefore, KH. R. Asnawi's struggle was carried out through da'wah *bil hal* and *bil oral* in order to emphasize the existence of Islam and resistance to the Dutch colonialists. KH. R. Asnawi's arrest by the Dutch colonialists as a consequence of the accusation of moving the people in anti-Chinese riots led to him being arrested and imprisoned. In the practice of fighting to defend the country, and as a form of love for religion and the state, of course what KH. R. Asnawi did was a natural consequence. Like other freedom fighters who were exiled, imprisoned, even killed by the invaders. However, the interesting thing that was shown by KH. R. Asnawi was the sense of nationalism which was not only limited to his love for the country, but also this love he showed in '*amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* through da'wah *bil hal* and *bil oral*.

Da'wah *bil hal* can be interpreted by upholding the truth through the struggle to take up arms. However, the struggle and resistance shown by KH. R. Asnawi was not by taking up arms, but *rather softer*. KH. R. Asnawi and his followers mostly read prayers as a form of supernatural struggle and resistance. Although this does not necessarily negate his physical struggle to uphold justice, as in his preaching to the santri who ignited the spirit of jihad to eliminate the invaders in the archipelago (Chamami, 2018). Surah Al Fiil and sholawat nariyah are read as a form of supernatural resistance to the invaders carried out by KH. R. Asnawi and his followers (Chamami et al., 2021). Of course, this still caught the attention of the invaders because KH. R. Asnawi's influence was quite strong, especially for his followers.

Abdurrahman Mas'ud reports that KH. R. Asnawi was very uncooperative with the Dutch colonialists before the 1940s, and the Japanese invaders after the 1940s. (Chamami et al., 2021). Of course the prayers that are said as a form of resistance are carried out for

the safety of the community. However, there is something more to it than that. KH. R. Asnawi and the kiai and the public read a prayer with the intention that the Indonesian nation would be free from the dangers of war, especially world wars. In addition, also so that the Indonesian people are free from disbelief. This strengthens Alfian's opinion that ulama have an obligation to fight for Islamic religious values through many approaches, including political approaches (Alfian, 2000). The resistance shown by KH. R. Asnawi shows this, even though politics is not meant to gain power, but freedom from colonialism.

KH. R. Asnawi's refusal of the offer given by the Dutch East Indies government to him through the governor general of religion, Van Der Plas, also strengthened this. KH. R. Asnawi even explicitly stated that when the kiai entered the bureaucracy, he would not be free to say '*amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*'. In fact, the kiai need independence and freedom from anyone's influence (Chamami et al., 2021). What KH. R. Asnawi does is something that is inherent in the identity of a scholar. In addition to the freedom to '*amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*' which is really needed by the kiai, according to Masykuri Abdillah, this is needed to protect and avoid efforts to politicize religion for personal and group interests (Abdillah, 2011).

Therefore, the struggle carried out by the kiai, including KH. R. Asnawi, is a form of national politics. This is done not only through diplomacy and rejection of job offers. More than that, a moral and physical struggle. Support for the economy, politics and morals is carried out through various media such as madrasas and Islamic boarding schools as a place to design strategies in dealing with the invaders. (Suprayogo, 2009). Various supports like this provide an understanding that pesantren is not only a place to learn and recite the Koran, but more than that, it is a forum for formulating various things to deal with colonialism.

KH. R. Asnawi runs nationalism with a fiqh-centric pattern. This can be seen from his various works, such as *Book Fasalatan* (Asnawi, 1956), *Shari'atul Islam li Ta'limin Nisa' wal Ghulam* (Asnawi, 1934). In the context of fiqh, he gives the opinion that the provisions of fiqh can change according to the provisions of the times. Not textual, but contextual. He adheres to a sentence *al-hukmu yadurru ma'al illah, wujuudan wa 'adaaman* (legal certainty of something depends on the causative factor, if there is a cause, then it remains law, otherwise if no cause is found, then the law does not fall) (S. Amin, 2013). Reflecting on this sentence, KH. R. Asnawi's resistance to the invaders by forbidding Muslims to behave *tasyabbuh* (resembling) to the invaders at that time was very understandable. The prohibition of resembling the invaders from the way they dress in a suit, tie, and hat, as well as their way of thinking is a very reasonable thing. Of course the reason was because the colonizers took various actions that were not in accordance with existing norms, such as injustice, discrimination, and others. On the other hand, the prohibition like the colonialists in wearing suits, ties, and hats no longer applies when Indonesia has become independent. Because dressing in a suit, tie, and hat after independence no longer resembles a colonialist, but resembles the founding father of the nation, such as Bung Karno.

KH. R. Asnawi's nationalism pattern, who tends to be fiqh-centric, is not rigid. This means that the provisions of fiqh may change due to many factors, including the influence and changes in the situation as well as politics. In the past, KH. R. Asnawi not only forbade Muslims to imitate the invaders in terms of dress, but also forbade them from becoming employees or working for the Dutch government. However, this prohibition did not apply when Indonesia was already independent. In the 1950s, KH. R. Asnawi allowed Muslims to become government employees. More than that, Minan Zuhri said KH. R. Asnawi witnessed his grandson working in a government office and did not give any prohibitions (Amaruli, 2012).

KH. R. Asnawi's style of nationalism, which is different from other national figures, is what makes him look very thick with the doctrines of Islamic teachings, more precisely, the teachings of *ahlu sunnah wal congregation*. On various occasions, he conveyed the

meaning of love for the Indonesian people. For what KH. R. Asnawi did, he was often accused of being the mastermind behind the opposition to the colonial government at that time (Chamami et al., 2021). KH. R. Asnawi has succeeded in influencing his followers not to behave *tasyabbuh* and bring up the spirit of unity.

KH. R. Asnawi's love for his homeland was not only expressed through a fatwa and attitude, but also in the form of syi'ir. Syi'ir in Arabic which contains about independence was written by KH. R. Asnawi and can be seen as follows:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لحرة في اندونيسيا	بدت لداى انسانيا
واهلها منفرحو	نفرحا ابديا
لنيلها قد جاهدوا	انفسهم ما باقيا
تحت يدي كولونيال	يابان والهولنديا
ومنهم قد اعزروا	الى ديكول ايريان جيا
فانهم قد اخلصو	خدمتهم وطنيا
تقوى اليهم افئد	ةالشعب عوننا جليا
لامة ووطن	يقدموا بلاديا
عدالة خيرية	عمارة اقتصاديا
جزاهم الهنا	اعما لهم مريا
حرية الفكر التي	تنال ديمقراسيا
امين امين امين امين	يارب رب العالمين
امين امين امين امين	ويا مجيب السائلين

(Asnawi, n.d.)

The string of sentences written by KH. R. Asnawi above provides an explanation of how his love for his homeland and nation is non-negotiable. Syi'ir written by KH. R. Asnawi is a reflection of his love for the country, and is a mirror of faith (*hubbul wathan minal iman*) (Ikhsan, 2017). Of course, as a scholar, he puts God as the pinnacle and Owner of the Universe. In his work entitled *Mu'taqad Seket*, KH. R. Asnawi positions monotheism as the main teaching in Islam (Asnawi, n.d.). The prayers written by him provide an explanation that what the warriors have done for the sake of Mother Earth will be rewarded by God.

The love for the homeland (nationalism) shown by KH. R. Asnawi can also be seen from his other works, such as in the *prayer of Asnawiyah*. In his prayer, KH. R. Asnawi wrote in the third line before the end of the sentence . امان امان امان اندونيسيا ايا امان . That is, *safe safe safe safe Indonesia is safe* (Chamami et al., 2021). He really wants Indonesia to become a safe and peaceful country. KH. R. Asnawi uses fiqh as a medium to evoke nationalism. The sentence *qulil haqqa even though kana murran* (say the truth even though it is bitter) is a very meaningful expression for the enforcement of nationalism

itself.

### **KH. R. Asnawi's Statesmanship Values**

In the context of the statesmanship, KH. R. Asnawi is very strong in Sunni doctrine. KH. R. Asnawi approached and advised anyone who tried to disparte the Sunni spirit to get back on the right path (Chamami et al., 2021). The statesmanship in KH. R. Asnawi's view seems to be very closely related to religious teachings, especially the Koran. Therefore, in his syi'ir, he asked Allah for guidance in studying and reading the Qur'an carefully. Until the Qur'an becomes a bright light in shining the heart of the one who reads it (Chamami et al., 2021) Although the nationalism of KH. R. Asnawi has a fiqh - centric style, but he does not necessarily want fiqh to be formally-textualized as a law in a country. This is reinforced by the various attitudes shown by him, the most prominent of which is the change in the prohibition of wearing ties and suits, as clothing that resembles (*tasyabbuh*) invaders (infidels) during pre-independence, changed and allowed after independence. Likewise with the prohibition of being a government employee during pre-independence, and then allowed after independence. In this case, KH. R. Asnawi is very contextual.

The Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization as part of the *Ahulussunnah wal Jamaah* which was founded by KH. R. Asnawi along with the other founders is a proof that KH. R. Asnawi has a moderate view of Islam. This is because NU scholars themselves have campaigned on various occasions for Islam *washathiyah* (center). Namely, Islam that is not extreme left that tends to be liberal, even secular, as well as Islam that is fundamentally right. Moreover, the NU's recognition of Pancasila, Bhineka Tunggal Ika, and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is a form of state moderation. In contrast to those who want the establishment of an Islamic state and the formal enforcement of Islamic law.

KH. R. Asnawi does not have a textual view, but also refers to the views of previous scholars. Thing this could seen from attitude KH. R. Asnawi in refer to scholars like Shaykh Nawawi Al-Bantani. He mentioned that there are four signs of a person who has a religion. *First*, carry out worship with intention and sincerity. *Second*, carry out mandatory orders (*fardlu*). *Third*, stay away from things that are forbidden, and *fourth*, fully believe in the aqidah *ahlussunnah wal jama'ah* as practiced by Imam Ash'ari and Imam Maturidi. (Asnawi, n.d.). From this it can be seen that the state values of KH. R. Asnawi cannot be separated from his understanding of the opinions of previous scholars.

## **CONCLUSION**

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that the nationalism built by KH. R. Asnawi is fiqh centric, so it can be said that he is a religious nationalist figure. This fiqh-centric nationalism is very contextual, so it can change based on developments and social changes. This is adhering to the rules of fiqh which reads *al hukmu yaduru ma'a al illah*. This means that the law may change according to the prevailing time conditions. Therefore, there was a change in KH. R. Asnawi's attitude during the colonial period with the independence period. Prohibitions as a way of generating nationalism turned into a permissibility for nationalism itself. For example, the prohibition on wearing suits, ties, and hats during the colonial period was then allowed during the independence period.

While the statesmanship values contained in KH. R. Asnawi's various works include unity, justice, love for the homeland, and divine values. These values can be seen clearly in KH. R. Asnawi's poetry. In addition, the value of Unity can also be seen from *the Book of Fashalatan* which in its explanation there is an order to pray in congregation, and pray in congregation in the mosque. The love for the homeland (nationalism) can be seen from the various syi'ir works composed by him. This love is also shown directly through the prohibition of *tasyabbuh* (resembling) the invaders in terms of dressing and thinking. Meanwhile, the divine value is reflected in the *answer of Sualipun Mu'taqad Seked*

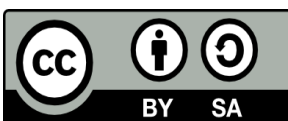
*Miwah Sakdalilipun Saha Ringkesipun Moved Ngangge Dalil Ijmali 'Aqli* or better known as *Mu'taqad Seked*. The religion adhered to by each individual teaches divinity, so that indirectly divine values need to be contained in the state because the state is a place where individuals (citizens) are located. It is not secular which separates religion from the state. Nor is it a fundamental textually uniting religion with the state.

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