

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA



# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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# Table of Contents

## Articles

- 1 *Kevin M. Dunn*  
Australian Public Knowledge of Islam
- 33 *Sirojudin Abbas*  
The Struggle for Recognition: Embracing the Islamic Welfare Effort in Indonesian Welfare System
- 73 *Greg Fealy and Bernhard Platzdasch*  
The Masyumi Legacy: Between Islamist Idealism and Political Exigency
- 101 *Ahmad Najib Burhani*  
Revealing the Neglected Missions: Some Comments on the Javanese Elements of Muhammadiyah Reformism
- 131 *Mohammad Tholchah Hasan*  
Mafhūm Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah  
'Inda Jam'iyah Nahdah al-'Ulamā'

## Book Review

- 155 *Muhaimin AG*  
Islam Jawa: Antara Holisme dan Individualisme

## Document

- 185 *Ahmad Najib Burhani*  
The 45<sup>th</sup> Muhammadiyah Congress  
Contest between Literal-Conservative and Liberal-Moderate Muslims in Indonesia

Ahmad Najib Burhani

## Revealing the Neglected Missions: Some Comments on the Javanese Elements of Muhammadiyah Reformism

**Abstraksi:** *Belakangan ini tumbuh satu kecenderungan untuk menghubungkan gerakan Islam radikal dengan "Islam modernis". Himbauan untuk kembali kepada al-Qur'an dan Sunnah, yang menjadi inti pemikiran Islam modernis, telah membawa mereka pada corak pemahaman Islam literal. Akibatnya, bukan saja mereka menegasikan khazanah dan tradisi Islam, tapi juga cenderung tidak mau kompromi dengan kebutuhan melakukan kontekstualisasi Islam ke dalam sistem sosial-budaya masyarakat lokal.*

Di Indonesia, Muhammadiyah adalah organisasi terkemuka yang mewakili gerakan Islam modernis. Oleh karena itu, Muhammadiyah tidak bisa lepas dari berbagai kecenderungan radikal, meski tentu dalam derajat yang jauh lebih rendah dibanding organisasi Islam lain seperti Front Pembela Islam (FPI), Laskar Jihad (LJ), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) dan Hizbuttahrir Indonesia (HTI).

Artikel ini menampilkan sisi lain Muhammadiyah. Ketimbang memahaminya sebagai gerakan Islam puritan, artikel ini justru menunjukkan bahwa Muhammadiyah memiliki tingkat apresiasi dan bahkan toleransi sangat tinggi terhadap budaya Jawa, yang sedianya dinilai sebagai wujud paling kentara dari Islam sinkretik. Dan potret toleran Muhammadiyah ini muncul pada masa-masa awal setelah berdirinya pada 1912, di mana tingkat kedekatan dengan budaya Jawa—ranah budaya kelahiran organisasi ini—masih terjaga dengan baik. Inilah yang menjadi fokus utama pembahasan artikel ini. Satu periode dalam perkembangan Muhammadiyah di mana elemen-elemen puritanisme belum berkembang sebagai satu gerakan organisasi.

Salah satu ekspresi sikap kompromis Muhammadiyah terhadap budaya Jawa bisa dilihat dalam susunan pengurus inti organisasi ini. Tidak diragukan lagi, hampir semua barisan pengurus awal Muhammadiyah adalah abdi dalam kraton Yogyakarta. Pengalaman Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923), pendiri

Muhammadiyah, memberikan ilustrasi terbaik dari kecenderungan di atas. Di samping giat menyuarakan perlunya reformasi dan modernisasi Islam, dia pada saat yang sama adalah seorang abdi dalem kraton yang loyal. Tidak heran jika sikap sembah terus dipertahankannya ketika dia menghadap Sultan Yogyakarta. Begitu pula Ahmad Dahlan dikenal sangat kompromis terhadap ritual-ritual keagamaan (slametan) kraton, seperti grebeg Maulud, yang oleh Clifford Geertz (1960) dikategorikan sebagai praktik keagamaan kaum priyayi, bukan kaum santri.

Masih terkait dengan pengurus inti organisasi—yang juga disebut sebagai “santri priyayi”—Muhammadiyah pada masa-masa awal memberi perhatian sangat besar pada sejumlah isu kesejahteraan sosial dan modernisasi pendidikan, ketimbang reformasi Islam model Salafisme Rashid Rida yang puritan. Karena itu, gagasan purifikasi Islam tidak muncul sebagai isu utama. Justru, Muhammadiyah menjadikan Jawa sebagai identitas budaya yang hendak dirumuskan. Budaya Jawa menjadi landasan perilaku organisasi (Javanese code of behaviour), dan bahasa Jawa menjadi media komunikasi anggota berikut jurnal-jurnal keagamaan yang mereka terbitkan, bukan bahasa Arab atau bahasa Jawa berhuruf Arab (Pegon) yang telah lama digunakan sebagai media keagamaan Muslim Nusantara. Soewara Moehammadijah, Pepadanging Moehammadijah dan Soengoeting Moehammadijah adalah terbitan-terbitan Muhammadiyah dengan bahasa dan huruf Jawa. Ahmad Dahlan sendiri membolehkan khutbah Jum’at dalam bahasa Jawa.

Di samping itu, pengurus inti Muhammadiyah juga senantiasa tampil dengan jenis pakaian Jawa, menggunakan nama-nama Jawa, dan selanjutnya terlibat dalam pergerakan yang berbasis pada dan mengatasmakan kemajuan budaya Jawa, lebih khususnya kaum priyayi. Poin terakhir ini sejalan dengan kenyataan bahwa sebagian besar pengurus inti Muhammadiyah, termasuk Ahmad Dahlan, memiliki hubungan sangat erat dengan pergerakan kaum priyayi baru dalam Budi Utomo (BU) yang berdiri pada 1905.

Berdasarkan fakta di atas, Muhammadiyah pada periode awal menyuguhkan satu bentuk ideal hubungan Islam dengan ke-Jawa-an (Javanism), sebagaimana konsep Jawa curiga manjing warangka. Dalam hal ini, Islam diilustrasikan sebagai curiga (keris) yang sejalan secara harmonis (manjing) dengan sistem sosial-budaya Jawa, diilustrasikan sebagai warangka. Lebih dari itu, hubungan ideal di atas juga bisa dijelaskan mengacu pada konsep sastra gending yang diperkenalkan Sultan Agung (1603-1645), raja Mataram terbesar. Di sini, Islam dilihat sebagai sastra sementara budaya Jawa sebagai melodi (gending), setara dengan hubungan tak terpisahkan antara substansi (zat) dengan sifat. Jadi, Muhammadiyah merupakan varian Jawa dari Islam yang berkembang di Indonesia.

Ahmad Najib Burhani

## Revealing the Neglected Missions: Some Comments on the Javanese Elements of Muhammadiyah Reformism

الخلاصة: لقد نشأ في الآونة الأخيرة اتجاه لربط الحركة الإسلامية الراديكالية بالإسلام التجديدي. والحث على الرجوع إلى القرآن والسنة قد أدى بأنصار الحركة التجديدية إلى فهم الإسلام فهما حرفيا، يترتب ذلك على نفي التراث والتقاليد الإسلامية، كما يترتب على عدم التوفيق لأهمية سياقية الإسلام ضمن النظام الاجتماعي والثقافي للمجتمع المحلي.

تعدّ محمدية من أقدم المنظمات الإسلامية التجديدية. ومن ثم، لا تنفصل الحركة المحمدية عن الاتجاه الراديكالي رغم أنها أقل درجة من غيرها من المنظمات الإسلامية مثل الجهة الدفاعية الإسلامية، وعسكر الجهاد، ومجلس المجاهدين الإندونيسيين، وحزب التحرير الإندونيسي.

تعرض هذه المقالة وجهة نظر جديدة لمحمدية، بحيث أنها تقدّم أرفع تقديرها وتسامحها للثقافة الجاوية باعتبارها تجسيدا واضحا للإسلام التقليدي المليء بالبدع والخرافات. وظهرت صورة التسامح لمحمدية في أوائل إنشائها عام ١٩١٢، بحيث كانت علاقتها بالثقافة الجاوية قوية. هذا هو محور هذا البحث، وهو عصر من العصور لتاريخ محمدية لم تتطور فيه العناصر الإصلاحية لتصبح حركة منظمة.

ومن المواقف التوفيقية لمحمدية من الثقافة الجاوية ما يتجلى في هيئة الرئاسة التنفيذية لهذه المنظمة. وواقعي أن معظم أعضاء هيئة الرئاسة في أوائل العصر كانوا موظفي سلطنة جوكرتا. وكانت خيرة المؤسس والرئيس الأول لمحمدية، أحمد دحلان (١٨٦٨-١٩٢٣) توضح هذه الموقف التوفيقية، فكان رجلا مواظبا على دعوة المجتمع إلى تجديد



الإسلام وهو في آن واحد موظف من موظفي السلطنة المطيعين، فلا عجب إذا قابل السلطان ظل متذلا أمامه بكل احترام. وكان معروفا بموقفه التوفيقى لأنواع من احتفالات دينية أقامها السلطنة، منها: الاحتفال بمولد النبي، والذي اعتبره كليفور د جيرت (Clifford Gertz) من الممارسات الدينية للمسلمين الريايين (المسلمين البيروقراطيين الذين يشتغلون لخدمة السلطان)، لا للمسلمين المطيعين.

كانت محمدية في العصور الأولى تهتم بأمور الرفاهية الاجتماعية وتبديد التربية اهتماما أكبر من اهتمامها بشأن إصلاح الإسلام على النمط السلفي لرشيد رضا. لذا، لم تظهر فكرة إصلاح الإسلام باعتبارها فكرة أساسية، وبالعكس جعلت محمدية "جاوى" هوية ثقافية لها. وأصبحت الثقافة الجاوية منطلقا للسلوك التنظيمي، كما أصبحت اللغة الجاوية لغة الاتصال بين أعضائها، ولغة المجلة الدينية التي أصدرتها ليست عربية ولا الجاوية بالحروف العربية، وهي التي قد طال استخدامها لدى المسلمين بإندونيسيا الأرحيبيل كوسيلة دينية. وكانت *Soewara Moehammajidah* (صوت محمدية)، *Pepadangin Moehammajidah* (تنوير محمدية)، و *Soengoeling Moehammajidah* من النشرات أو المجلات المصدرة باللغة وبالحروف الجاوية. وكان أحمد دخلان نفسه أجاز للخطباء إلقاء خطبة الجمعة باللغة الجاوية.

إضافة إلى ذلك فإن هيئة الرئاسة التنفيذية لمحمدية لبسوا دائما لباسا جاويا، واستخدموا أسماء جاوية، وتورطوا في حركة مبنية على تقدّم الثقافة الجاوية، خاصة المسلمين الريايين. وذلك متلائم مع القواقع بأن معظم أعضاء هيئة الرئاسة، بما فيهم أحمد دخلان، كان لهم علاقة وطيدة بحركة الريايين المتحددين في منظمة بودي أوتومو (Budi Utomo) التي أنشئت عام ١٩٠٥.

بناء على تلك الوقائع، كانت محمدية في العصور الأولى تثبت نمطا مثاليا لعلاقة الإسلام بالثقافة الجاوية، وتمثل هذه العلاقة في تناسب الإسلام مع النظام الاجتماعي والثقافي الجاوي، كما تمثل العلاقة في فكرة الآداب الموسيقية التي عرف بها سلطان أغونج (١٦٠٣-١٦٤٥)، وهو أعظم ملوك ماتارام، بحيث أن الإسلام عبارة عن الآداب، والثقافة الجاوية هي الموسيقى، شأنها شأن الذات والصفات. وخلاصة القول إن محمدية تمثل صورة جاوية للإسلام الذي يتطور بإندونيسيا.

This paper seeks to discuss Muhammadiyah's attitude towards the Javanese cultural identity in the movement's earliest days. That is, how the movement interacted with the ideology, psychology, and cosmology of Javanese culture. The views, insights, and behaviour of the founding father and early prominent figures within the organisation are presented, notably the way in which the former interpreted elements of Javanese culture. To analyse the data available, this work attempts to explore and articulate the 'grammar of symbols'.<sup>1</sup> That is, the modes and forms in which Muhammadiyah manifests itself, through behaviour, language, dress, membership, and name. In doing so, this paper intends to observe Muhammadiyah's attitude to expressions of surface culture, such as *grebeg* and *sekaten* (traditional Javanese ceremonies), *wayang* (the shadow play), Javanese language and script, and traditional dress.

This paper provides some new insights into early Muhammadiyah by discussing a number of matters in the early history of this modern movement that are often overlooked. The first matter that should be discussed is the characteristics of the movement's members. Seen from this point of view it clearly emerges that Muhammadiyah behaved according to a specific pattern.

### The Characteristics of the Members

Muhammadiyah's application for an official licence recognizing it as a lawful movement, submitted to the Governor-General in 1912, lists the nine founding leaders of Muhammadiyah—most of whom were *abdi dalem* (court officials) of the *kraton* of Yogyakarta—as follows:

1. Mas Ketib Amin, Haji Ahmad Dahlan
2. Mas Pengulu, Abdullah Sirat
3. Raden Ketib Tjandana, Haji Ahmat
4. Haji Abdul Rahman
5. Raden Haji Sarkawi
6. Mas Gebajan, Haji Mohammad
7. Raden Haji Djaelani
8. Haji Anis
9. Mas Tjarik, Haji Muhammad Pakih<sup>2</sup>

The list clearly indicates that seven of the nine early leaders of Muhammadiyah were *abdi dalem* because of their aristocratic titles; four of them had the title of *Mas* and three others the title of *Raden*. Those who had no noble title in the Government licence application were only Haji Abdul Rahman and Haji Anis. However, both persons may have also been of *priyayi* (upper class) descent. This is because they were living in the *kauman*, a place and residence for *abdi dalem pamethakan* or *putihan* (officials responsible for religious affairs) of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

In addition to this, the heart of the movement in its incipient stage also consisted mostly of *abdi dalem* or sons of *abdi dalem* in the *kauman*. They were Dahlan's family, close friends, *santris* (students) and disciples. Haji Ibrahim, Dahlan's successor, was the son of the Chief Penghulu (Muslim leader) of Yogyakarta, Kyai Haji Muhammad Fadhil. Other prominent protagonists included sons of Wedono Haji Husni, namely, Haji Hisjam and Haji Muchtar, and the children of Raden Lurah Haji Hasjim, namely, Haji Sudjak, Haji Fachrudin, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Haji Zaini, and Siti Mundjiah.<sup>3</sup> Although the aristocratic titles were not attached, many other early figures within the movement may have also been *abdi dalem* or have been close to an *abdi dalem* through blood or marriage. It is plausible to make this assumption because of the fact that they were living in the *kauman* or had become members of Boedi Oetomo, a *priyayi* organisation. Haji Tamim and Haji Abdulgani, for instance, were two of seven persons who joined Boedi Oetomo as a precondition for applying for a licence to the Government to establish Muhammadiyah.<sup>4</sup>

As a quarter of the *kraton*, the *kauman* was reserved for court officials who had responsibility for the religious affairs of the Sultanate. The residents of the *kauman* were all interrelated in a kinship network. It was an exclusive village and the villagers practised endogamy.<sup>5</sup> Therefore most of those living in this quarter were from one family. It was through this big family that Dahlan was able to attract members of this *priyayi* village to join his movement, Muhammadiyah. Regarding this point, Alfian makes a note:

Dahlan had been able to form a significantly strong hard-core consisting of those who could be generally considered as representing the middleclass, and probably the upper middle class, level of the *Kauman* com-

munity. As they were to be very closely and intimately related to each other, it is probably not an exaggeration to suggest that Muhammadiyah during these formative years was more or less like a big family enterprise in which each member gave his own share by taking an active part in it.<sup>6</sup>

Further to the *santri-priyayi* of the kauman, the second group most attracted to Muhammadiyah was the non-*santri priyayi*, including those with a Western education. There were many prominent figures in Muhammadiyah from this group, such as Raden Sosrosoegondo, Mas Radji, Mas Ngabehi Djojosingito, and Dr Soemowidagdo.<sup>7</sup> From the annual reports of Muhammadiyah in its incipient stage, we can see that many names did not have the title of *Haji*, a person who made pilgrimage to Mecca. Many even used the Javanese name with an aristocratic title.<sup>8</sup> To mention some of them: Raden Pringgonoto (the fourth secretary of the central leadership), Raden Darmosewojo (*juru-periksa*, assistant), M. Sastrosoewito (the first secretary of the Department of Propagation), M. Soemodisastro (assistant in the Department of Propagation), R. Danoewijoto (the secretary of the Department of Education), Raden Reksodihardjo (assistant of the Department of Education), M. Warsodimedjo (assistant of the Department of Book and Documents), M. Sastromardjo (the secretary of the Department of Helping the People's Miseries), and M. Drijowongso (the secretary of the Department of Helping the People's Miseries).<sup>9</sup>

Raden Sosrosoegondo was a well-known *priyayi* and an influential figure in Boedi Oetomo who gave vital assistance to Muhammadiyah, such as in the founding and running of schools. Sosrosoegondo, a teacher of the Malay language at the *Kweekschool* (a training school for native teachers in Yogyakarta), was also the second secretary of Boedi Oetomo. Mas Ngabehi Dwidjosewojo, teacher of the Javanese language at the *Kweekschool*, was the first secretary of the central leadership of Boedi Oetomo. When the twice-monthly journal *Boedi Oetomo* was inaugurated in 1910, both Sosrosoegondo and Dwidjosewojo, along with Mas Boediardjo, became the editors. When the Volksraad (parliament with very limited powers) was officially opened on 18 May 1918 by Governor-General J.P. Graaf van Limburg Stirum (1916-1921), Dwidjosewojo became one of the representatives of Boedi Oetomo in the Volksraad.<sup>10</sup>

In Muhammadiyah, Sosrosoegondo played a significant role. He was vice-chairman of the Department of Education and his contri-

bution to the modernization of Muhammadiyah's educational methods and system was extremely valuable, particularly when Muhammadiyah was still in its formative stages. It was Sosrosugondo also, with his power as one of the Board of Directors of Boedi Oetomo, who promoted the necessity and importance of giving religious education to children in schools.<sup>11</sup> It was probably a result of Sosrosugondo's efforts that Dahlan was allowed to teach religious subjects in the *Kweekschool* in Jetis and the OSVIA (*Opleidingschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*) in Magelang, both in Central Java.

Pursuing the idea even further, Sosrosoegondo went so far as to suggest that Muhammadiyah open up its own school in which religious and secular education were taught together. When Muhammadiyah brought Sosrosugondo's plan to fruition by opening up its own *Kweekschool*, Sosrosoegondo, Djojosoegito, and Raden Danuwijoto all made their own great contributions in the provision of secular subjects.

Djojosoegito's contribution to Muhammadiyah was far more significant after joining the movement. In the letter of authority (*besluit*) from the Dutch Government No. 40, 16 August 1920, and also No. 36, 2 September 1921, Djojosoegito was listed as a secretary of Muhammadiyah.<sup>12</sup> Djojosoegito was also one of the Dahlan's main companions during his religious and official trips in 1922. These included opening Islamic instruction in *Hoogere Kweekschool voor Inlandsche Orderwijzers* (*Sekolah Guru Tinggi untuk guru Bumiputra*, or the higher level teachers' training school) in Purworedjo, opening Islamic instruction at the OSVIA in Magelang, and organising the tenth anniversary meeting of Muhammadiyah in Surakarta.<sup>13</sup>

Four other important figures within Muhammadiyah were, M. Ng. Soemodirdjo, Dr Mas Somowidagdo, Raden Mas Prawirowiworo, and Mas Wiryopertomo.

The first, Soemodirdjo, played a significant role in the establishment of Muhammadiyah's boy scout organisation (Muhammadiyah *Padvinder*, or as it was later known, *Hizbul Wathan*) and *Siswa Praja* (Muhammadiyah's students organisation) in 1920.<sup>14</sup> It was he from whom Ahmad Dahlan obtained information about the boy scouts. The story goes that when returning from propagation in Solo, Dahlan watched some uniformed boys drilling neatly in front of the Mangkunegaran and became interested in this kind of activity for the Muslim youth. Hence, he summoned Soemodirdjo, principal of the Standard school Suronatan, and Sjarbini from Muhammadiyah's

school in Bausasran, to discuss the idea of establishing the same thing. The notion then was actualised in the form of the establishment of the Muhammadiyah Boy Scout Organisation in 1918. Soemodirdjo was most likely the figure mentioned in *Verslag Moehammadiyah 1923* as the first assistant of Muhammadiyah's Department of Publications and Library (Bahagian Taman Pustaka).<sup>15</sup>

When Muhammadiyah formally inaugurated one of its orphanages on 13 January 1923, Somowidagdo was one of the important guests in attendance. He was deeply touched by the movement's efforts to help alleviate the situation of the poor. Hence, he joined the movement, offering his skills and expertise. Dr Somowidagdo was then installed as the head of the Muhammadiyah's first clinic, which was established on 15 February 1923. Somowidagdo also became the second vice-chairman of Muhammadiyah's Department of Social Welfare (Bagian Penolong Kesengsaraan Umum).<sup>16</sup>

R.M. Prawirowiworo was the secretary of the Department to Assist Pilgrims (Badan Penolong Haji), opened in 1921 under the direct leadership and guidance of Ahmad Dahlan. Prawirowiworo was the person who assisted Dahlan negotiate with the Pilgrimage Shipping Company Nederland in 1922. He was also the person who helped Dahlan solve problems regarding Islamic instruction at HKS Purworedjo. Further to becoming a prominent activist in the central leadership of Muhammadiyah, Prawirowiworo was also an important member of Boedi Oetomo, being a member of its central leadership and a representative of the *Prinsenbond Mataram* (the organisation of the principalities of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta) on the Volksraad mission to the Netherlands. Prawirowiworo attached himself to Muhammadiyah prompted by his sympathy with this organisation and its leader, Ahmad Dahlan. In *Verslag Moehammadiyah 1923*, his name is mentioned as the second assistant of this movement in the central leadership and in the Yogyakarta chapter.<sup>17</sup> As the assistant to the Treasurer, Mas Wiryopertomo was also a prominent figure within the Department. Along with H.M. Sjoedja, he was responsible for assisting the pilgrims travel from Yogyakarta to Mecca in 1922.<sup>18</sup>

Other *priyayi* figures that deserve some mention for their outstanding contributions to Muhammadiyah in its earliest days are Raden Wedana Djajengprekoso and M. Djojosumarto. Djajengprekoso was a noble person whose house in Yogyakarta was used by Muhammadiyah as the venue for its Congress in 1925.<sup>19</sup> Djojo-

sumarto's house was the place used for the debate between Ahmad Dahlan and Pastoor Van Driese.<sup>20</sup>

The Congress of Boedi Oetomo 1917, held in Ahmad Dahlan's house, played a significant role in spreading the ideas of Muhammadiyah throughout Java. Various members of this *priyayi* movement were interested in joining and founding chapters of Muhammadiyah in the places where they lived. The logical assumption would seem to be that the Boedi Oetomo members who then joined Muhammadiyah became the *priyayi* "faction" of this Islamic movement, the second of three pillars of the movement.<sup>21</sup>

Muhammadiyah's somewhat ambiguous political role can probably be partly attributed to the fact that one of its significant factions was the *priyayi*. Many among the *pamong praja* (Government officials) and teachers at the Government schools were *priyayi*. Undeniably, because of their occupations some *priyayis* had a close relationship with the Colonial Government. They enjoyed being members of Muhammadiyah because even though it was no less nationalistic than other organisations, it maintained a cooperative relation with the Government. There was however one particular occasion when their participation in this organisation was disturbed. Ahmad Dahlan invited some leaders of the ISDV (Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging, or Indies Social Democratic Association) to give some information about their movement to Muhammadiyah members. In response to that invitation, Adolf Baars, Semaun, and Darsono gave lectures. As a result some *priyayi* left Muhammadiyah, upset by its flirtations with the radical left.<sup>22</sup>

The third main group that provided the underpinning for the foundations on which Muhammadiyah was built, was merchants, traders and entrepreneurs. There is a strong possibility that Dahlan's work as a batik trader, generally known from his biography, was the first step in his acquaintance with such people outside Yogyakarta. In addition, it is very possible that it was through this connection that this group became his future supporters in Muhammadiyah. The contribution of this group to Muhammadiyah could be seen from its leadership in branches in Surabaya, Pekalongan, Pekajangan, Surakarta, and Kota Gede.<sup>23</sup>

In Pekalongan, Muhammadiyah leadership was chaired by Ahmad Rasjid (A.R.) Sutan Mansur, a Minangkabau trader. His participation in this movement was widely supposed to be the

inspiring factor which attracted the other traders in that town to join Muhammadiyah. Ranuwihardjo, a rich batik entrepreneur, is an example of the successful businessman who joined Muhammadiyah and then became a well-known leader of this movement in the town.<sup>24</sup> Many of the batik entrepreneurs in Pekajangan and Solo, some of the cigarette (*rokok kretek*) entrepreneurs in Kudus, and a significant number of silver entrepreneurs in Kota Gede were also prime supporters of Muhammadiyah. The most significant proof of the substantial number of merchants, entrepreneurs and traders in Muhammadiyah was the considerable donations given by these people to help run the movement.<sup>25</sup>

To summarise, it is clear that *santri-priyayi* of the kauman was the first of three main "factions" or pillar groups of Muhammadiyah. The second and third "factions" were non-*santri-priyayi*, including Western educated *priyayi*, and merchants, entrepreneurs and traders. All of them were representative of the middle class, most likely the upper middle class. This does not mean that Muhammadiyah in its incipient stage did not have members from the lower classes. As a religious movement, Muhammadiyah was trying to attract people from various classes and as many as possible. However participation in Muhammadiyah from the lower class at that time was only minor. In 1930, for instance, the farmers and working class only constituted 15 per cent (farmers 10 per cent, while working class 5 per cent) of the total membership of Muhammadiyah.<sup>26</sup> Taking this into consideration, it is not surprising to learn that in its early days Muhammadiyah was considered to be an elite organisation. In addition to this, Muhammadiyah was evidently an urban phenomenon.<sup>27</sup>

### Appreciation of the Javanese Cultural Identity

"You cannot be a Brahmin in the English countryside." This phrase, coined by Julian Pitt-Rivers in his essay on Mediterranean sociology,<sup>28</sup> provides us with the perfect analogy to understand that it was inconceivable for Muhammadiyah not to have adapted itself to Javanese culture. This is because Yogyakarta, the birthplace of Muhammadiyah, is a microcosm of Javanese society. As discussed above, Yogyakarta, especially the *kraton*, was the most reliable source for an assessment of Javanese culture. Hence, the fact that



Muhammadiyah was born in the heart of Javanese civilisation ineluctably meant that this movement had an inextricable link with Javanese cultural identity. Furthermore, the domination of the *abdi dalem* - the alliance between the *santri-priyayi* of kauman and secular *priyayi* - of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta in this modern organisation was a sure guarantee that Javanese culture could not be expunged *in toto*. The conduct of this organisation in its early period was mostly determined and guided by values inherent in Javanese culture and traditional belief systems. In short, it could be said that Muhammadiyah was a sort of portrait of a movement of the *abdi dalem* and *priyayi* in a Javanese kingdom.

Based on his anthropological study on Muhammadiyah in Kotagede in the 1970s, Mitsuo Nakamura, professor of anthropology at Chiba University, Japan, gives a description of Muhammadiyah in connection with Javanese culture. He says:

Reformist Islam is not antithetical to Javanese culture but an integral part of it, and what reformists have been endeavouring is, so to speak, to distil a pure essence of Islam from Javanese cultural traditions. The final product of distillation does retain a Javanese flavour; just as any highly pure liquor cannot lose their local flavours. But the universalistic essence of Islam is more fundamental, and it should be appreciated as it is first and foremost.<sup>29</sup>

Here, at least, five features could be subsumed under the appreciation shown by Muhammadiyah to Javanese culture. These features are behaviour, language, dress, membership, and name. What follows are some elaborations of how the members of Muhammadiyah dealt with these five features.

### *A Code of Behaviour*

Modification of beliefs and modification of behaviour usually go hand in hand. A particular set of tastes, preferences, and habits is practised by a particular individual or group of people. The *priyayi* generally behave within the limits of their code of behaviour and customs. The same kind of particularity is also relevant for other social groups, classes and the like, and Muhammadiyah in its early stages is no exception to this common rule.<sup>30</sup>

Muhammadiyah's prominent figures, including its founder Ahmad Dahlan, were Javanese themselves, and they never diverged from what was laid down by royal custom and tradition in their conduct towards the Sultan of Yogyakarta. Peacock illustrates this as follows:

A second incident, also reported among the "Several Anecdotes," suggests that in manner Dahlan kept a polite and humble attitude toward the Jogjakarta court. He wished to bring before the ruler, the Paduka Sri Sultan, a suggestion concerning the holding of the Garebeg feast. So that Dahlan could "speak freely and convey the contents of his heart without being dazzled by the Paduka Sri Sultan and the nobles of his staff," this personage received Dahlan in a darkened room at midnight. Although the biographer considers that the incident reflects Dahlan's bravery in daring to speak to exalted royalty, the Western reader is more struck by the submissiveness and politeness; Dahlan is here no Luther shouting "Here I stand" to the princes.<sup>31</sup>

What can be understood from this story, in contrast to Peacock's reading, is that instead of being an opponent of the Javanese king and culture, Ahmad Dahlan showed his respect for this kind of culture. He did not adopt an arrogant stance before the king and Javanese culture, but felt that he was part of the culture and the kingdom. As a result, he acted in the prescribed Javanese manner and displayed his native personality traits before the Sultan.

In line with this attitude, Muhammadiyah used the Javanese calendar (*Anno Javanico*, *tahun Saka*) along with the Arabic and Gregorian calendars in its correspondence and reports, as revealed by the *Almanaks* of the movement. The members of this movement were still accustomed to use the *Saka* calendar, created by Sultan Agung in the 1630s, in their daily activities.<sup>32</sup> The *Almanaks* also show that this movement did not feel anomalous or guilty using Javanese *pasar* (a five-day market week).<sup>33</sup> Muhammadiyah did, however, start recommending that its members use the Islamic calendar (*Anno Hijrae*) in the 26<sup>th</sup> Congress in Surabaya in 1926.<sup>34</sup>

Another vivid example of Muhammadiyah behaviour that could be classified as a kind of appreciation for Javanese culture was its attitude toward *grebeg*. The three major *grebeg* that have been held routinely in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta are *Grebeg Mulud* (the commemoration of the birth of Muhammad), *Grebeg Besar* (the Feast of Sacrifice), and *Grebeg Pasa* (the ending of the Fast). Another *grebeg*, carried out rather differently from the oth-

ers, is *Grebeg Sultan* (the commemoration of the birth of the King). Among those *grebeg*, the *Grebeg Mulud* or *Maulud* is observed with the greatest festival. In this *grebeg*, the Sekaten is a firmly and incontrovertibly permanent feature.<sup>35</sup>

As an *abdi dalem pamethakan* (Islamic official), Ahmad Dahlan surely participated in the *grebeg* ritual. The celebration of *grebeg* undoubtedly contains many elements of superstition, and Muhammadiyah may not have agreed with some of the practices observed in the *grebegs*. Certainly, for some observers, in this case what motivated the behaviour of its members is still a matter of debate. However, what is clear is that the founding father Ahmad Dahlan remained an *abdi dalem* until his death. Even today Muhammadiyah does not condemn the *grebeg*.<sup>36</sup> Muhammadiyah considered the mentioned practices a vehicle of Islamic propagation. This is one of the reasons why Muhammadiyah continuously participated in the mentioned Sultanate rituals.<sup>37</sup> In connection with this living issue, Muhammad Hatta, former Prime Minister and the first Vice-President of Indonesia (and also a member of Muhammadiyah), stated, "The Muhammadiyah movement never will be able to realize its ideal of purifying the faith if it does not free from its Yogyakarta *kauman* roots."<sup>38</sup>

It is also interesting to note that at one point in time, Dahlan stated that Muhammadiyah members should not devote the whole of their attention to the elimination of Javanese traditions which appeared to violate Islamic rules. This was because he felt that gradually these traditions would be undermined by progress and education, and change as a consequence. This statement was related to the seemingly irrational practices of Javanese rural people which were considered by educated urban people the part of Javanese identity that needed to be rationalised and modernised.

Another example of Muhammadiyah's acceptance of Javanese culture was its attitude to *wayang*, or the shadow puppet theatre. As reported by an Orientalist, R. Kern, to the Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies on the congress of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta in 1925, this movement held a performance of the Javanese shadow puppet play which was, according to Kern, very syncretic in content. Muhammadiyah, however, at that time had no objection to this kind of cultural product. The philosophy and interpretation of the Qur'an from the standpoint of Javanese cosmology offered in this performance was greatly appreciated and received an enthusiastic applause.<sup>39</sup>

### *Language as Discourse*

The Arabic language is the language of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, the two main sources of Islamic theology, law and ethics. Hence it is easy to understand the language's supreme importance throughout the Muslim world. The supremacy of Arabic for Muslims assumed a virtually unassailable position following the development of the theological doctrine of the inimitability of the Qur'an (*i'jāz*), and consequently the belief of the irreproducibility of the Arabic language of that Holy Book. Therefore, Some Muslim scholars, such as Rashīd Ridā and Hasan al-Bannā, regarded Arabic as one of the Muslim 'identity markers'.<sup>40</sup>

Under those circumstances, a fierce debate arose regarding the lawfulness of translating the Qur'an into vernacular languages and the permissibility of using these in worship. Two primary factors prompted the debate on the translation of the Qur'an in the early twentieth century. They were: (1) as part of the growth of nationalism, the Turkish Committee translated the Qur'an into Turkish; (2) many other translations of the Qur'an were made, notably an English translation, made by Muhammad 'Ali, which was seized by the Egyptian authorities. Al-Jizāwī (*Syaikh al-Azhār* 1917-1928) said that the translation of the Qur'an into '*ajamī* (*foreign language*) was forbidden. Rashīd Rid reinforced Al-Jizāwī's opinion by saying that the Qur'an should not be translated in the Salafist press, including in the publication of *al-Manār* and *Tafsīr al-Manār*. This policy was defined, according to Rashīd Ridā, for the sake of Muslim unity, both religious and political.<sup>41</sup>

Muhammadiyah chose to adopt a different view. The view of the movement appeared to have been in line with Muslim scholars like Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Hajawī<sup>42</sup> (from Morocco), who believed that translating the Qur'an into vernacular languages was a collective duty (*fard kifāya*).<sup>43</sup> Hence, Muhammadiyah published one edition of the Qur'an in Malay and two editions in Javanese (one in Javanese script and one in Roman script).<sup>44</sup>

Besides translating the Qur'an into the Javanese language, other policies were adopted by Muhammadiyah to support the use of local languages, particularly Javanese and Malay, in its publishing. Instead of using Arab *pegon* (vernacular language in Arabic script) which was common for Muslims at that time, in 1915 Muhammadiyah published *Soetwara Moehammadiyah* in Javanese

and Malay.<sup>45</sup> This organisation also had other publications in Javanese script such as *Pepadanging Moehammadiyah* and *Soengoeting Moehammadiyah*. "Al-Islam Al-Quran", one of Ahmad Dahlan's works that, was originally written using the Javanese language.<sup>46</sup>

Dahlan even permitted Muslims to use the Javanese language in their prayers and to introduce the *Khutba* (Friday sermon) in vernacular language.<sup>47</sup> As reported by Professor Sugarda Purbakawatja, once one of Dahlan's pupils at the *Kweekschool*, Dahlan was once questioned by his pupils at the *Kweekschool* in Jetis about using Javanese in praying. According to Purbakawatja, Dahlan responded with the view that those who had not mastered the Arabic language were permitted to use the vernacular language for praying.<sup>48</sup> In Dahlan's time, preachers in Java were delivering the Friday sermons in the Arabic language, even though most of those in attendance did not understand Arabic. Muhammadiyah however allowed preachers to use the vernacular to deliver the *Khutba*, a kind of *bid'ah*,<sup>49</sup> which was considered more appropriate.<sup>50</sup>

Muhammadiyah's attitude to Javanese language was also clearly manifested in its participation in *Jong-Java*, a youth movement promoting Javanese language, and its congress in Yogyakarta. The movement's concern with Javanese language exerted a significant impact on Indonesian nationalism. Von der Mehden states:

The attempts of the reformist movement in Java to protect and further the island's history and art provided yet another buttress to nationalism. The association's effort to promote *Djawa-dipa*, the low Javanese spoken by the peasants, also had important nationalist overtones. As has been seen in Ireland, Wales, India, Finland, Catalonia, and the Union of South Africa, language can provide a powerful means of separating oneself from the oppressor or former ruler. In Java the activities of the Muhammadiyah lent themselves to the development of a similar separatism.<sup>55</sup>

### *Politics of Dress*

One of the most common ways of expressing one's identity and way of life is through clothing. Clothing may also be used to form and maintain boundaries between certain people and others. The clothes worn by an individual can often define or signal one's social status, political preference, or religious denomination. It can even represent an important battleground for an individual or a

group of people.<sup>52</sup> The clothes that people wear are, at times, not chosen arbitrarily but may serve as a statement of their connection to a certain cultural identity, group or the like.<sup>53</sup> In short, clothes are the most obvious social markers, an important part of the social symbols used to negotiate identities and boundaries,<sup>54</sup> and often a reliable reference by which to assess an individual.

In this context, one Javanese expression of cultural identity is the way in which the Javanese people dressed. It is in this regard that we can consider Muhammadiyah's appreciation of the Javanese identity.

Under Dutch administration, particularly before 1900, there were some differences between the dress of Westerners, persons who had performed the pilgrimage (*hajj*) and pious Muslims, including some *Pengulus* (Muslim officials), and the common people in the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia). The Westerners and their partners were happy to wear Western dress epitomized by trousers and a necktie. Some *Pengulus* and *Hajis* used to wear Arab dress (*jubbah*, the long gown) and turban. The common people used to wear Javanese dress and *sarong* (a large piece of cloth wrapped around the lower part of the body from the loins to the ankles).<sup>55</sup> These kinds of distinctions could not be applied to Muhammadiyah members. It was like looking for a needle in a hay stack to find Muhammadiyah members copying the Arab way of dressing in their day-to-day life. They preferred to wear traditional dress, sometimes combined with Western dress.<sup>56</sup>

A famous Orientalist, R. Kern, wrote a report for the Governor-General of the Indies about Muhammadiyah's congress in Yogyakarta in 1925. In the report he noted that the congress was held in the house of a noble member of the organisation, Raden Wedana Djajengprakoso. He said that "No Arabs were present... Fahroedin is clad in street clothes of Western style, though with a Javanese headdress..."<sup>57</sup> Although Kern concluded that the Javanese identity was absent at that congress,<sup>58</sup> Haji Fahroedin's way of dressing proves otherwise: The Javanese identity could not be completely removed from Muhammadiyah.

Muhammadiyah's support for traditional costume was shown at its congresses. The Eighteenth Muhammadiyah Congress in Solo in 1929 is one example. In the programme and agenda book of that congress, it was mentioned that each delegation was to wear their local dress. This instruction was not mentioned once, but

rather a number of times. In the '*Peringatan bagi Oetoesan,*' or 'Matters for the Attention of Delegations', it was clearly stated:

Menjetoedjoei seroean Comite Penerimaan Congres di Solo, kami harap soepaia Oetoesan-oetoesan laki-laki memakai pakaian kebesaran tjara negerinja masing-masing, jang tidak melanggar Sjara'.

Pengoeroes Besar dan Comite poen akan menjamboet dengan gembira dan berpakaian kebesaran djoega, tjara Djogja dan Solo. Jang teroetama dipakai di waktoe Malam Penerimaan dan Hari Tamasj-sja.<sup>59</sup>

In agreement with the instructions from the Reception Committee of the Congress in Solo, we do hope that male delegates will wear traditional gala clothes of their region, which does not violate the Islamic law.

The Central Leadership and the Committee will also happily welcome wearing the gala costumes of Djogja and Solo. This style of cloth will be worn particularly at the Evening Reception and on the Excursion.

It was clear that the ideal practice of the members of Muhammadiyah in its initial stages was not to wear Arabic or Western style of dress, but to adopt Javanese costume. As revealed in the logotype of the mentioned congress, the ideal personification of the Muhammadiyah member was a man with a complete set of Javanese clothes and the requisite accessories, such as *Kris* (dagger), *Beskap* (Javanese Jacket), *Blangkon* (Javanese male batik headdress), and batik-ed *Kain* (cloth). The logotype also revealed that Arabs or Westerners were not regarded as the ideal type of people.<sup>60</sup>

Some Muhammadiyah members were well-known batik entrepreneurs. Starting from 1910, a group of batik entrepreneurs in the kauman emerged who popularly referred to batik as *handel*.<sup>61</sup> This group also preferred Javanese and Western-style garments rather than look to Arab fashion as evident from their headdresses and jackets. From the surviving photos that can be accessed nowadays, we note that they usually wore Javanese costume and accessories such as *Blangkon* or a *Kuluk* (a fez-like hat), and *Beskap* or *Atela* (Javanese-style male jacket). In their way of dressing, the founding fathers and other prominent figures of Muhammadiyah also illustrated their preferences for the Javanese styles of clothing. The clothing they wore conveyed their underlying philosophy and their cultural preference, which was in contrast to the protagonists of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) who preferred Arab dress.<sup>62</sup>

### *Names as Symbols*

The way a person's own name is chosen and bestowed is always imbued with significance. When parents choose a personal name for their children, it is certainly not done so arbitrarily. One's name has classifying and distinguishing qualities. Paul Stahl says, "It [name] links you with consanguineous relatives, it places you among those who follow certain profession, in a religion, an ethnic group, it brings you together with deceased members of your family line."<sup>63</sup> Thus a name has a close link to one's identity. In this context, it is no wonder that Javanese people often change their names under certain conditions such as in the *rites de passage* and at tragic moments. Changing social position, converting to a new religion, and having a new status are also some events that offer Javanese people the opportunity to assume a new name.

In some cases, reading people's names can allow us to identify whether a person belongs to a certain group, and then categorize people into groups. This is particularly true in Java. For example, we can very confidently identify that persons with names like Paijo, Slamet, Bejo, and Untung are most likely from a peasant family. People with a Kusuma, Jati or Ningrat in their last name are almost certainly from the aristocracy. Those with names like Ngusman, Ngali, Ngumar, Ngaisah, Ngatijah, Pertimah, Kasan, and Kusen are probably from a *santri* family. For example, the name Mas Atmosudigdo (father of Professor M. Rasjidi, a prominent figure in Muhammadiyah and a former Minister of Religious Affairs), allows us to identify from which group he was.<sup>64</sup>

An important event, such as pilgrimage, also prompts a Javanese person to change his or her name. Djojotaruno, the father-in-law of the second chairman of Muhammadiyah, Haji Ibrahim, adopted a new name (Haji Abdurrahman) after completing his pilgrimage.<sup>65</sup> Haji M. Misbach, a Marxist Muslim and a prominent figure in the Indonesian struggle for Independence, was previously known as Darmodiprono.<sup>66</sup> Prince Diponegoro, a central figure in Java war 1825-1830, had a *santri* name Abdul Kamid. Some who already have a *santri* name even change their old names for new ones. Muhammad Darwisj was the name used by Ahmad Dahlan prior to completing his pilgrimage.

From the abovementioned names of the central figures of Muhammadiyah in its earliest days we are able to state that a signif-



icant number of them were using Javanese names and maintained close ties to Javanese culture. Some of them, such as Sosrosoegondo and Prawirowiworo, had dual membership with organisations, particularly with Muhammadiyah and Boedi Oetomo. The role these Javanese people played in Muhammadiyah inexorably influenced the way in which Dahlan and other members of the movement dealt with Javanese culture and civilization.

### *Membership as Identity*

Besides personal identity, there is also collective identity. The latter identity is that which belongs to a certain community or group. Specific behaviour can be associated with a certain collective identity.

Javanese people have a set of specific ways of behaving which differ from those of the Sundanese or Maduranese, for example. Among the many millions of Javanese people, there are many groups and, consequently, many collective identities.

In the early twentieth century, Java was mushroomed by the emergence of many organisations with various characteristics; nationalistic, religious, cultural and so on. The one to which Ahmad Dahlan attached himself was Boedi Oetomo. The major members of this organisation were from the Western-educated *priyayi*, but it also consisted of a number of the high-ranking traditional *priyayi*. Among its purposes, as mentioned in its early statutes, was to revive Javanese native arts and traditions.<sup>67</sup>

Among Muhammadiyah members there does not seem to be any single opinion about the motives which prompted Ahmad Dahlan and some Muhammadiyah members to participate in this cultural movement. This has been discussed earlier in this paper. My intention now is to analyse the harmonious relationship between Muhammadiyah and Boedi Oetomo in the frame of this religious movement's appreciation for Javanese culture.

A good relationship has never been actualised between two or more individuals or groups without the principle of honour. This was the basic principle in the relationship between Ahmad Dahlan (and also Muhammadiyah) and Boedi Oetomo. Ahmad Dahlan was considered one of Boedi Oetomo's leaders in Yogyakarta. In addition, Muhammadiyah and Boedi Oetomo shared some similarities in their visions and missions. Boedi Oetomo was interest-

ed in educating Javanese people which was consistent with Muhammadiyah's aim of freeing Javanese people from their superstitions. Both of these movements also sought to protect Javanese identity from the seemingly imminent attack of Western culture. In sum, the similarities between the two organisations were the reasons for their alliance. Muhammadiyah's support for the Javanese cultural movement coupled with the fact that some of its members participated in the movement, provided us with sufficient evidence to indicate Muhammadiyah's appreciation for the Javanese identity.

Besides becoming a member of Boedi Oetomo, Dahlan (and Muhammadiyah) also maintained a harmonious relationship with the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. As an *abdi dalem*, Dahlan refused to confront or oppose Javanese culture and identity, and his loyalty to the Sultan never wavered until his death in 1923.

### Response to Javanese Deep Culture

Earlier in this paper, I briefly discussed Muhammadiyah's method of responding to religious matters. That is, with a rational and modern approach. This approach, combined with efforts to promote the demystification and demythologisation of Javanese culture, was essential to the movement's response to Javanese deep culture.<sup>68</sup> This approach, actually, was not exclusive to Muhammadiyah. A similar approach was also espoused by Boedi Oetomo. In a letter to her Dutch friend (Stella Zeehandelaar) on 25 May 1899, Raden Ajeng (R.A.) Kartini, a Javanese heroine, expresses her dissatisfaction with Javanese traditional customs and seeks to bring about change within the Javanese culture. At one point she writes, "If the laws of my land permitted it, there is nothing that I had rather do than give myself wholly to the working and striving of the new woman in Europe; but age-long traditions that cannot be broken hold us fast cloistered in their unyielding arms."<sup>69</sup> In spite of the weakness of her struggle and apparent inability to move outside the confines of Javanese culture, Kartini believed that this culture which locked her up - away from modern activities - would one day be reformed. She says, "Some day those arms will loosen and let us go, but that time lies as yet far from us, infinitely far. It will come, that I know; it may be three, four generations after us."<sup>70</sup>

Boedi Oetomo's "Progress for the Indies" mentioned that one of the organisation's tasks was the abolition of the burdensome *hormat* (respect) customs which prevailed in Javanese feudalism such as in speech styles and attitudes between lower and higher ranking people.<sup>71</sup> Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, one of the most prominent members of Boedi Oetomo, tried to undermine the traditional Javanese hierarchy and preferred more relaxed Western manners. He was convinced that Javanese etiquette, which rigidly dictated intercourse between people of different rank, must be reformed in order to liberate the Javanese from backwardness and to achieve the glory of Indonesia.<sup>72</sup> One of the ways to achieve this target was by adopting Western dress, as part of the process of Westernisation. It became "a way to defy and escape traditional manners, characterized by rigid codes of conduct."<sup>73</sup>

Muhammadiyah tried to rationalise and modernise Javanese culture in a number of ways, examples for which I will provide here. For Javanese people at that time, perfection existed only in the past. Thus, they always tried to restore what they perceived to have been their past. The present day was generally considered to be the *kalabendu* period (the period of calamity, misfortune, hardship, and disaster). History is considered to be a *cakramanggilingan* (an eternal return), and hence tragedy in the present time can be a starting point for a return to a period of blessing in the future. Some Javanese people, both in the past and present, for instance, were continually dreaming of returning to and restoring the great semi-mythological kingdoms of the past, such as Majapahit, in Indonesia.<sup>74</sup>

Muhammadiyah, particularly its founder, did not agree with this philosophy and continually criticised it. Dahlan believed that history was not a matter of returning to the past, but rather a process of evolution. Thus, he believed, people had to set up and design their own future history, and dreaming of the past must be replaced by the dreaming of the future. He said, "We should not deny the evolution of the nature. This evolution keeps on moving towards progress. And this progress is intended to make this world prosperous."<sup>75</sup> Dahlan's thoughts about progress and the future were also expressed in his grave observation on the fate of Islam in Indonesia. He said, "Islam will never disappear from the surface of the earth, but it might disappear from Indonesia, if the (Indonesian) Muslims do not stand up for it."<sup>76</sup> Hence, to avoid

misfortune overtaking Islam in Indonesia in the future, he did everything to oppose the penetration of Christianity. He even unashamedly adopted the methods of Christian missionaries.

Dahlan's dedication to progress is further evident in the following account just before his death. In response to his wife's requests that he stop working because of his sickness, Dahlan said, "I have to work extremely hard to build the foundation of this great movement. If I stop working or slow down because of my sickness, no one else is capable of building that foundation. I have a feeling that my death is not too distant. Hence, if I take care of this matter as quickly as possible, it will be easier for the people who come after me to complete the rest."<sup>77</sup>

Throughout his life, Dahlan never stopped criticising people who followed tradition blindly. Javanese people with their tradition, of course, were one of his targets of criticism. He understood that people tended to protect their *adat* (customs) and traditional culture, and any efforts to change the *adat* culture would face some strong opposition and rejection. But Dahlan encouraged people to use their intellect to reflect on and judge their belief systems.<sup>78</sup> That is, they should strive to keep the good *adat* and revise or 'throw away' the bad ones.

Muhammadiyah's struggle to rationalise and modernise Javanese culture is also evident in its efforts to replace Javanese beliefs in spirits with *tawhid* (belief in one God) and rich Javanese symbolism with more simplified rituals. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah changed Javanese mysticism to activism. Referring to spirit beliefs, Dahlan once stated that to achieve a fortunate and successful life, people were not encouraged to go to sacred places or ask spirits. A successful life could only be achieved by praying to God and working hard.<sup>79</sup> For most of the Javanese people in Dahlan's time, spirits (*bangsa alus*, *memedi*, *gendruwo*, *lelembut*, *setan*, *jim*, *tuyul*, *demit*, *dayang*) provided a set of ready-made answers to life's mysteries. Those who maintained this kind of belief held *slametans* and offered *sajens* (food for spirits) at sacred places. The concept of *keramat* (the beliefs that certain objects have supernatural powers that can harm or help people) was also prevailing at that time. Big stones, trees, weapons, and tombs have a sort of *kekeramatan* (an adjective form of *keramat*).<sup>80</sup> Thus, people should hold *slametan* and *sajen* to those places. Muhammadiyah changed this kind of belief to a belief in only one God.

Javanese people are extremely attached to rich symbolism. That is, there was a preference for extravagance and lavishness amongst the Javanese with regards to some rituals. In this context, Muhammadiyah tried to simplify the religious symbolism. It proposed to change the concept of *perwira* (luxury) in Javanese marriage ritual to the concept of *samadya* (modesty).<sup>81</sup> Muhammadiyah's efforts in this regard were pioneered by *Kanjeng Pengulu* Muhammad Kamaluddinigrat. When he married off his daughter, Umniyah, he used only 50 per cent of the celebration money prepared. The remaining money was donated to Muhammadiyah.<sup>82</sup> The organisation's efforts to propagate social reform can be seen as a criticism of some models of Javanese mysticism characterized by their bottomless self-indulgence. This mysticism prevailed among the *priyayi* of Dahlan's time. Muhammadiyah promoted social reform as a consequent result of individual asceticism. It thought of social responsibility as an indicator of *imân* (belief in God), the manifestation of *salah* (ritual prayer) and the essence of the *'amal al-sâlih* (noble enterprise).<sup>83</sup> On the basis of these doctrines, Muhammadiyah prohibited its members to devote themselves to individual asceticism and obliged them to undertake social reform.

## Conclusion

There were three main groups in Muhammadiyah in its initial stages. The first group was the *priyayi-santri* of the kauman. The second group comprised the *non-santri priyayi*, both traditional and Western educated *priyayi*. The traditional *priyayi* were mostly officials (*abdi dalem*) of the *kraton*, particularly the *kraton* of Yogyakarta. Many of the Western-educated *priyayi* were employed as *pamong praja* (Government officials) and teachers at the Government schools. The third group was made up of merchants, traders and entrepreneurs.

The domination of the *abdi dalem* and *priyayi*, especially in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, meant that this movement adopted an interesting attitude towards Javanese cultural identity. Muhammadiyah could not expunge Javanese elements, mainly the surface elements, from its body. Muhammadiyah's attitude towards the preservation of some religious practices in the *kraton* such as the *grebeg* festival was an example of its appreciation for Javanese culture. The preference of this movement for using Javanese lan-

guage and Javanese style of dress can be considered evidence of the Javanese flavour that dominated Muhammadiyah. Furthermore, the Javanese names used by a significant number of Muhammadiyah's members and their organisational attachment to such movements as Boedi Oetomo bear witness to the fact that Muhammadiyah was indeed an exemplar of a Javanese Muslim movement.

However, Muhammadiyah did not take the elements and content of Javanese culture for granted. This movement tried to undermine some obsolete elements of Javanese culture and to rationalise and modernise some other elements. Dreaming of the past which prevailed in Javanese society was replaced by the idea of progress, while mysticism was substituted by activism. This movement also tried to simplify the excessive symbolism in the Javanese community, to change Javanese dependence on some spirits to *tawhîd*. The elements of Javanese culture which were rationalised and modernised by Muhammadiyah were mostly related to the deep elements of culture.

Finally, we can conclude that Javanese surface culture was highly appreciated by Muhammadiyah in Dahlan's time, while Javanese deep culture was modernised and rationalised. In other words, we can say that within this movement Islam was culturally Javanised and Javanese culture was substantially Islamised, or rationalised and modernised. Although Java, as an ideology, was rejected, as a culture it was accepted.

## Endnotes

1. Ninian Smart, *Dimensions of the Sacred: An Anatomy of the World's Beliefs*, (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1996), p. 1.
2. Extract uit het Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië, Buitenzorg, den 22 sten Augustus 1914, No. 81. See Alfian, *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization Under Dutch Colonialism*, (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1989), p. 152.
3. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 165.
4. To smooth the process of establishing Muhammadiyah, Boedi Oetomo asked Ahmad Dahlan to apply for a license on behalf of Boedi Oetomo. To do so, firstly, seven persons had to join Boedi Oetomo. They were Raden Haji Sjarkawi, Haji Abdulgani, Haji Sjoedja', Haji Hisjam, Haji Fachruddin, Haji Tamim, and Haji Ahmad Dahlan. H. Suja', *Muhammadiyah dan Pendorinya*, (Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Majelis Pustaka, 1989), p. 18.
5. Ahmad Adaby Darban, *Sejarah Kauman: Mengungkap Identitas Kampung Muhammadiyah*, (Yogyakarta: Terawang, 2000), p. 2.
6. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 166.
7. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 176; Akira Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism: The Early Years of the Budi Utomo, 1908-1918*, (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1972), p. 73.
8. Based on Sartono Kartodirdjo's research, the number of *Hajis* and religious teachers in the court city of Yogyakarta at the end of 1887 presents an interesting case. Religious teachers in this city formed only 0.03 percent (187 people) in its population (651123), while *Hajis* represented 0.07 percent (485 people). This statistical set of figures shows that the number of *Hajis* and religious teachers in Yogyakarta was at the bottom of the scale compared with other cities in Java and Madura. From this figure, it is no wonder that the Muhammadiyah was not dominated by religious teachers and *Hajis*. Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, Its Condition, Course and Sequel: A Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia*, ('S-Gravenhage: N.V. De Nederlandsche Boek-en Steendrukkerij v/h H. L. Smits, 1966), p. 332. See also M.C. Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java," in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion, (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), pp. 114-5.
9. *Verslag "Moehammadijah" di Hindia Timoer Tahoen ke X (Januari-December 1923)*, Djogjakarta (Djawa): Pengoeroes Besar Moehammadijah, p. 14. The final elaborations are my own.
10. A. Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism*, pp. 77, 128, 165; Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 158
11. In the semi-monthly *Boedi Oetomo* (Vol. 6, No. 11, 1 March 1913, p. 2-3), Sosrosogondo wrote an article entitled "Pengadjaran agama dalam sekolah." In this article, he urged schools to offer religious education at least one hour per week. Religion (Islam), according to him, was "the need of the whole nation." A. Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism*, pp. 73 and 193.
12. A. Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism*, p. 73; Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 170; Solichin Salam, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan: *Reformer Islam Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Djajamurti, 1963), p. 107-9.
13. S. Salam, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, pp. 27-30.
14. In 1922, *Siswa Praja* was divided into two organisations, namely, *Siswa Praja Pria* (SPP), for boys, and *Siswa Praja Wanita* (SPW), for girls. A.A. Darban, *Sejarah Kauman*, p. 49.
15. *Verslag "Moehammadijah" 1923*, p. 25; S. Salam, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, pp. 50-1; M. Yusranta Asrofie, *Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, Pemikiran dan Kepemimpinannya*, (Yogyakarta: Yogyakarta Offset, 1983), pp. 62-5; Restu Gunawan (ed.), *Tokoh-tokoh Pemikir Paham Kebangsaan: Ir. Soekarno dan K.H. Ahmad Dahlan*, (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, 1999), p. 170.

16. *Verslag "Moehammadijah"* 1923, pp. 27 and 46; H. Suja', *Muhammadiyah dan Pendirinya*, pp. 63-5.
17. *Verslag "Moehammadijah"* 1923, pp. 14-5; H. Suja', *Muhammadiyah dan Pendirinya*, pp. 41-3; S. Salam, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, p. 29; A. Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism*, pp. 118, 206.
18. H. Suja', *Muhammadiyah dan Pendirinya*, pp. 41-8.
19. James L. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, (Arizona: Arizona State University, 1992), p. 39. Please, compare with James L. Peacock, *Gerakan Muhammadiyah: Memurnikan Ajaran Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Cipta Kreatif, 1986), pp. 53-4. I found some mistakes in using Javanese terms in the English edition. Those mistakes had been revised in the Indonesian edition. Hence, I use both editions, English and Indonesia.
20. S. Salam, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, p. 55.
21. As in Java where the Muhammadiyah tended to attract the *priyayi* rather than *kyai* (monk), in Aceh the Muhammadiyah also attracted some of *Teukus* (the traditional elite), the rival of *Teungkus* (religious leaders). Hamka, *Moehammadijah Melaloei Tiga Zaman*, (Soematera Barat: Markaz Idarah Moehammadijah, 1946), pp. 47, 78-9; Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, pp. 290-2. A. Mukti Ali also has a similar conclusion that the Muhammadiyah was much greater impressing "the educated Muslim, especially the Dutch-educated Muslims, than among the ranks of the professional men of religion or the pesantren-educated santri." A. Mukti Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction," M.A. thesis at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1957, p. 54. See also Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 76.
22. H. Suja', *Muhammadiyah dan Pendirinya*, pp. 61-2.
23. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 168.
24. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, pp. 177, 225.
25. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, pp. 188, 195-6; *Verslag "Moehammadijah"* 1923. See also Lance Castles, *Religion, Politics, and Economic Behavior in Java: The Kudus Cigarette Industry*, Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, Cultural Report Series No. 15, 1967.
26. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, pp. 173-4, 189.
27. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 177.
28. His essay entitled "The Stranger, the Guest and the Hostile Host: Introduction to the Study of the Laws of Hospitality" in J.G. Peristiany, *Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology: Mediterranean Rural Communities and Social Change*, (Paris-The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1968), p. 16. See also Mary Bouquet, "'You cannot be a Brahmin in the English Countryside: The Partitioning of Status, and Its Representation Within the Farm Family in Devon,'" in Anthony P. Cohen, *Symbolising Boundaries: Identity and Diversity in British Cultures*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 22.
29. Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree*, (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1993), p. 141.
30. For a good discussion on this notion, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and *The Logic of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice, (Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers, 1995) of the same author.
31. J.L. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, p. 29.
32. M.C. Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java, 1926-1949: History, Literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II*, (Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawaii Press, 1998), p. 37.
33. See, for example, *Almanak Moehammadijah ke VI*, Djokjakarta: Pengeroes Besar Moehammadijah Bhagian Taman Postaka, Tahoen Hijrah 1348 / 1929-1930 M. / 1860 Tahoen Djawa.
34. *Tanfidz Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah: Boehn Congres Moehammadijah XXIII (Mengandung Poatoesan Congres Moehammadjah ke 15 Sampai ke 23)*, second edition, Djogjakarta: Hoofdcomite Congres Moehammadijah, 1938, p. 11.



35. The *mawlid* celebration was originally not a Sunnite festival. The festival of *mawlid* emerged for the first time in a Shi'ite dynasty, the Fatimid, in Egypt in the 11th century (5th Century A.H). For a detailed explanation of the history of the *mawlid*, see N.J.G. Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and Development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th Century*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993).
36. For more information on Muhammadiyah's attitude to the *grebeg*, see Herman Beck, "Islamic Purity at Odds with Javanese Identity: The Muhammadiyah and the Celebration of the Garebeg Maulud Ritual in Yogyakarta" in Jan Platvoet and Karel van der Toorn (eds.), *Pluralism and Identity: Studies in Ritual Behaviour*, (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 261-83.
37. A.A. Darban, *Sejarah Kauman*, p. 107.
38. H.L. Beck, "Islamic Purity at Odds with Javanese Identity," p. 281.
39. J.L. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, p. 40.
40. Gerard Wiegers, "Language and Identity: Pluralism and the Use of Non-Arabic languages in the Muslim West," in Jan Platvoet and Karel van der Toorn (eds.), *Piuralism and Identity*, pp. 303-4, 323.
41. G. Wiegers, "Language and Identity," pp. 317, 320.
42. His argument was based on the lawfulness of explaining the Qur'an to the common people as a way to propagate Islam. He cited the opinion of al-Shtib+, the 14th century Andalusian scholar, in his book *al-Muwafiq*. G. Wiegers, "Language and Identity," p. 318.
43. G. Wiegers, "Language and Identity," pp. 303, 318.
44. *Verslag "Moehammadijah" 1923*, p. 11; G.H. Bousquet, *A French View of the Netherlands Indies*, trans. by Philip E. Lilenthal, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 4.
45. Mardanas Safwan and Sutrisno Kutoyo, *K.H. Akhmad Dahlan*, (Jakarta: Mutiara Sumber Widya, 1999), p. 6; Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Matahari-matahari Muhammadiyah: Dari K.H.A. Dahlan Sampai dengan K.H. Mas Mansur*, first volume, second edition, (Yogyakarta: Persatuan, 1978), p. 23.
46. According to Alwi Shihab, this article was found in the Muhammadiyah library in Surakarta in 1926. Imam Prakoso Ciptohadiwardoyo translated this article and published in *Fajar*, 11, No. 8 (1960). See Alwi Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement and its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Temple University, 1995, p. 186.
47. *Tanfidsz Hoofdbestuur Moehammadijah: Boeh Congres Moehammadijah XXIII*, p. 20.
48. Solichin Salam, *K.H. Ahmad Dahlan: Reformier Islam Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Djajamurti, 1963), p. 86.
49. An innovation to the religion (Islam) which was no precedence in the Prophet's traditions.
50. Howard M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadijah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia," in *Indonesia* 10 (October), Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1970, p. 66; Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam Under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*, (Holland: Foris Publications, 1983), p. 48.
51. Fred R. Von Der Mehden, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia: Burma, Indonesia, The Philippines*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), pp. 198-9.
52. Sometimes, a new convert (*Mu'allaf*) will throw away or even burn his clothes that he associates with his previous religion. School uniforms are often flung into the sea after graduation. It is common for dress to have been used as a vehicle to break the law.
53. Sjoerd van Koningsveld, "Between Communalism and Secularism: Modern Sunnite Discussions on Male Head-Gear and Coiffure," in Jan Platvoet and Karel van der Toorn (eds.), *Pluralism and Identity*, pp. 327-34.

54. Fiona Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion: An Introduction*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), pp. 70-81.
55. For a detail explanation of the Javanese way of dressing, see Kees van Dijk, "Sarongs, Jubahs, and Trousers: Appearance as a Means of Distinction and Discrimination," in *Outward Appearances: Dressing State and Society in Indonesia*, ed. Henk Schulte Nordholt, (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1997), pp. 39-58. For a detailed description of the Muslim debate on the ways of dressing in Indonesia before the Independence, see Nico J.G. Kaptein, "European Dress and Muslim Identity in the Netherlands East Indies," a paper for International Congress on *Religious Change in Pluralistic Contexts* held by Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) in Leiden, The Netherlands, 28-30 August 2003, pp. 1-5.
56. For the remaining photos of the Muhammadiyah in its initial stages, see, for instance, A.A. Darban, *Sejarah Kauman*, pp. 146-65.
57. The chairman of the Muhammadiyah was K.H. Ibrahim, and Fahroedin was a vice-chairman. However, Kern considered Fahroedin to be the real leader of the Muhammadiyah. J.L. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, p. 39; J.L. Peacock, *Gerakan Muhammadiyah*, pp. 53-4.
58. "Syncretic Javanese culture is here replaced by a Malayo-Indonesian *santri* culture." His description that many of the younger men did not wear the Javanese headdress, but wore the Malay cap, was a proof of that conclusion. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, p. 39; Peacock, *Gerakan Muhammadiyah*, pp. 53-4.
59. *Programma dan Agenda Congres Moehammadiyah ke-XVIII jang Terbesar di Solo*, (Solo: Comite van Ontvangst Congres Moehammadiyah, 1929), p. 35. This instruction also can be found in p. 15.
- 60 *Programma dan Agenda Congres Moehammadiyah ke-XVIII jang Terbesar di Solo*, pp. 1, 17, and 34.
- 61 A.A. Darban, *Sejarah Kauman*, p. 89.
- 62 This attitude was probably taken as part of the cultural opposition to the Dutch and for the unity of the Muslim world. NU even gave three kinds of legal judgement on using Western cloth: *Kfir* (for those who use Western clothing to propagate disbelief [in Islam]), *sinful* (for those who use it unaware that it leads to infidelity), and *makruh* (for those who use it unintentionally). Achmad Jainuri, *The Formation of the Muhammadiyah's Ideology*, (Surabaya: IAIN Sunan Ampel Press, 1999), p. 110 note 134. He cites from Pengurus Besar "Nahdlatul Ulama," *Kumpulan Masalah-masalah Diniyah dalam Muktamar N.U. ke-1 s/d ke-7* (Jakarta: El-Hamidiah, 1960), pp. 25-6. See also Kaptein, "European Dress and Muslim Identity in the Netherlands East Indies," p. 17. He cites from K.H.A Aziz Masyhuri (ed.), *Masalah Keagamaan: Hasil Muktamar dan Munas Ulama Nahdlatul Ulama, Kesatu-1926 s/d kedua puluh sembilan 1994*, (Surabaya: PP RMI, 1997), p. 25.
- 63 Paul H. Stahl, "Classification of Names and Identities" in Paul H. Stahl, *Name and Social Structure: Examples From Southeast Europe*, trans. by Carvel de Bussy, (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1998), p. 193.
- 64 According to Rasjidi, his father was an *abangan* person. See M. Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree*, p. 82.
- 65 Alfian, *Muhammadiyah*, p. 199.
- 66 Nor Hiqmah, *H.M. Misbach: Sosok dan Kontroversi Pemikirannya*, (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Litera Indonesia, 2000), p. 1.
- 67 A. Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism*, pp. 50-92, 165.
- 68 Kuntowijoyo classifies the Muhammadiyah's actions in its initial stages into five categories, namely: *Ijtihad*, *tajdid*, rationalization, demystification, and working ethos. See Kuntowijoyo, "Introduction" for Indonesian Edition of Alwi Shihab's Ph.D. dissertation, *Membendung Arus: Respons Gerakan Muhammadiyah terhadap Penetrasi Misi Kristen di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), pp. xiii-xxi. In Geertz's term, the Islamic message, or in this context Muhammadiyah's message, is "rationalization and simplification." Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 121.

69. Raden Adjeng Kartini, *Letters of a Javanese Princess*, translated and edited from Dutch by Agnes Louise Symmers, with an Introduction by Hildred Geertz, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1964), p. 31.
70. R.A. Kartini, *Letters of a Javanese Princess*, p. 31.
71. "Progress for the Indies" was published in *de Locomotief*, Vol. 57, No. 172, July 24, 1908. See "Appendix I" in Akira Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism*, p. 158.
72. A. Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism*, p. 46; Kees van Dijk, "The Indonesian Archipelago from 1913 to 2013: Celebrations and Dress Codes Between International, Local, and Islamic Culture," in *Islam in the Era of Globalization: Muslim Attitudes towards Modernity and Identity*, ed. Johan Meuleman, (Jakarta: INIS, 2001), p. 62.
73. K. van Dijk, "The Indonesian Archipelago from 1913 to 2013, p. 59.
74. For a more information regarding the different kinds of Javanese philosophy, see Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, pp. 88-89; Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, (Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), pp. 31-6; Kuntowijoyo, "Introduction," p. xviii.
75. Hamka, *Moehammadijah Melaloei Tiga Zaman*, p. 107.
76. A.M. Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement," p. 33; Hamka, *Moehammadijah Melaloei Tiga Zaman*, p. 22.
77. Hamka, *Moehammadijah Melaloei Tiga Zaman*, p. 21; Junus Salam, *K.H.A. Dahlan: Amal dan Perdoangannya*, (Djakarta: Depot Pengadjaran Muhammadiyah, 1968), pp. 13-4.
78. K.R.H. Hajid, *Falsafah Pelajaran K.H. Ahmad Dahlan*, (Yogyakarta: Siaran, n.y), pp. 12-7.
79. See Kuntowijoyo, "Introduction", p. xvii. He cites from *Suwaro Muhammadiyah*, I (1915), No. 2; Hamka, *Moehammadijah Melaloei Tiga Zaman*, p. 105.
80. An explanation of the Muhammadiyah's effort to expunge this kind of belief can be read in H.M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah," p. 70. See also K.M.H. Mansorer, *Risalah Tauhid dan Sjurit*, (Surabaya: Peneleh, 1970), p. 29.
81. Kuntowijoyo, *Muslim Tanpa Masjid: Esai-esai Agama, Budaya, dan Politik dalam Bingkai Strukturalisme Transendental*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2001), p. 221.
82. A.A. Darban, *Sejarah Kauman*, pp. 42, 94.
83. For a detail explanation of this doctrine, see Jainuri, *The Formation of the Muhammadiyah's Ideology*, particularly chapter III. See also K.R.H. Hadjid, *Ajaran K.H.A. Dahlan dengan 17 Kelompok Ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an*, (Yogyakarta: Al-Hikmah, 1977).

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# ستوديا إسلاميكا

مجلة إندونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة الثانية عشر، العدد ١، ٢٠٠٥

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