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## K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's Contribution to Indonesian Independence

*Abstraksi:* K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, tidak ragu lagi, merupakan salah seorang intelektual Muslim dan tokoh nasional Indonesia terkemuka. Ia adalah pendiri Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), organisasi sosial-keagamaan terbesar, dan dikenal sebagai ulama kharismatis di kalangan masyarakat Muslim tradisional di Indonesia. Tak kurang pentingnya, Hasyim Asy'ari adalah seorang pejuang terdepan dalam mengadakan perlawanan terhadap Belanda, persis ketika peperangan fisik mempertahankan kemerdekaan itu berkecamuk di hampir semua kota inti di Jawa pada akhir 1945. Hal itu terlihat pada sikap politiknya untuk mendukung perjuangan republik, menentang penjajahan Belanda.

Pada 22 Oktober 1945, dua bulan setelah kemerdekaan Indonesia di proklamasikan, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari mengeluarkan fatwa, yang berisi tentang seruan kepada masyarakat Muslim Indonesia, khususnya anggota NU, untuk mempertahankan kedaulatan Republik Indonesia. Pertama, kemerdekaan Indonesia yang diproklamasikan pada 17 Agustus 1945 wajib dipertahankan. Kedua, pemerintah Republik Indonesia, sebagai pemerintahan yang sah, wajib dipertahankan dan ditaati. Ketiga, orang Muslim, khususnya yang tergabung dalam Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), harus angkat senjata melawan Belanda dan sekutunya yang ingin menjajah kembali Indonesia. Keempat, kewajiban ini adalah salah satu bentuk jihad dan merupakan kewajiban setiap Muslim (*fard 'ayn*) yang tinggal

dalam radius 94 km dari dikeluarkannya fatwa ini, sedangkan yang berada di luar wilayah ini harus membantu saudara-saudaranya.

Pengaruh politik dari fatwa tersebut sangat luas, bahkan boleh dikatakan sangat menentukan partisipasi Muslim dalam perang kemerdekaan. Tak lama setelah fatwa diumumkan di Surabaya, seluruh ulama dan tokoh agama di Jawa bagian timur menyebarluaskan fatwa dan berhasil memobilisasi kekuatan tempur masyarakat Muslim. Perlawanan anti-Belanda dan Sekutu meluas, kesadaran ideologis-keagamaan tentang perlunya memerangi orang-orang kafir tertanam kuat, bahkan menunaikan ibadah haji pun diharamkan menggunakan kapal angkut milik Belanda.

Puncaknya, pada 10 November 1945, pertempuran berlangsung dahsyat di Surabaya dan, secara umum, pandangan jihâd fî sabîlillâh menjadi sikap populer di kalangan tentara Indonesia waktu; mati dalam pertempuran diyakini sebagai mati syahid. Dengan begitu, ideologi jihad memainkan peran penting dalam gerakan anti-kolonialisme di Republik Indonesia.

Bagi yang mengikuti sepak terjang NU, fatwa politik K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari untuk menentang Belanda pada 1945 itu boleh jadi mengejutkan. Mengingat, perilaku politik organisasi ini yang dikenal akomodatif terhadap pemerintah Hindia-Belanda. Pada akhir dasawarsa 1920an, NU pernah mengeluarkan fatwa tentang posisi pemerintah Belanda yang secara de facto dipandang sebagai pemerintahan yang sah, karena memberi kebebasan bagi Muslim untuk menjalankan kewajiban agamanya. Bahkan, K.H. Hasyim sendiri, pada masa-masa awal berdirinya NU, dikenal sangat dekat dan memperoleh patronase politik dari penasehat Gubernur Jenderal Belanda masa itu, van der Plas. Akan tetapi, melihat perubahan-perubahan politik menjelang tahun 1945, khususnya dengan masuknya Jepang dan diberinya kesempatan bagi NU untuk tampil sebagai kekuatan politik yang nyata, sikap K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari di atas bisa dimengerti. Setidaknya, pendidikan militer yang diperoleh massa Muslim di desa-desa dan tumbuhnya rasa patriotisme mereka selama masa pendudukan Jepang turut mempengaruhi dikeluarkannya fatwa yang menyokong gerakan perlawanan anti-Belanda.

Suatu catatan yang patut dikedepankan adalah bahwa sejarah revolusi fisik Indonesia jarang sekali mencantumkan keterlibatan para ulama atau tokoh agama. Peran kunci yang dimainkan K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari melalui fatwa politiknya, yang kemudian didukung oleh meluasnya ideologi jihad dalam perang kemerdekaan, telah menyumbangkan lembaran penting dari sejarah yang terabaikan itu.

## دور الشيخ الحاج هاشم اشعري في استقلال اندونيسيا

الخلاصة: ليس إلى الشك سبيل في أن الشيخ الحاج هاشم اشعري من العلماء المسلمين المشهورين وزعمائهم الكبار، فهو مؤسس أكبر الجمعيات الدينية هي حركة نهضة العلماء، وهو عالم فقيه أطبقت شهرته الآفاق، ولا يقل عن ذلك أهمية أنه مجاهد كان يتقدم الصفوف في مواجهة هولندا عندما نشبت الحرب التي كانت تكاد تشمل جميع المدن الكبرى في جاوه للدفاع عن استقلال البلاد في أواخر سنة ١٩٤٥م.

وهذا ظاهر في موقفه السياسي، حيث قام بمساندة النضال الوطني ضد الاستعمار الهولندي، إذ أصدر في ٢٢ أكتوبر ١٩٤٥م، أي بعد مضي شهرين من اعلان الاستقلال، فتوى دعا به جميع المسلمين في اندونيسيا وأعضاء جمعية نهضة العلماء خاصة إلى الدفاع عن استقلال الجمهورية الاندونيسية، وكان مفاده:

أولاً: وجوب الدفاع عن الجمهورية التي أعلن استقلالها في ١٧ أغسطس ١٩٤٥م؛

ثانياً: وجوب الطاعة لحكومة الجمهورية الاندونيسية المشروعة وحمايتها؛

ثالثاً: يجب على كل مسلم، وخاصة أعضاء جمعية نهضة العلماء، أن يحارب هولندا وحلفائها الذين يريدون أن يعودوا لاستعمار البلاد؛

رابعاً: تعتبر هذه الحرب جهاداً مفروضاً فرض عين على كل مسلم يقع على بعد مسافة ٩٥ كيلو متراً تحيط بمكان إصدار الفتوى، بينما يجب على من يقع خارجها تقديم يد العون والمساعدة على اخوانهم.

وكان للفتوى أثره البالغ، بل يمكن أن يقال إن له الدور الحاسم في مشاركة المسلمين في حرب الاستقلال، حيث لم تمض فترة من إصدار الفتوى بسورابايا (Surabaya) حتى مضى الشيوخ والعلماء ينشرونه واستطاعوا أن يقوموا بتعبئة القوات الحربية من المجتمع، وكانت النتيجة أن توسعت المقاومة ضد هولندا وحلفائها، وازداد الوعي الديني بوجوب محاربة الكافرين رسوخاً، بل كان محرماً أن تستخدم السفن الهولندية لنقل الحجاج.

واشددت الحرب ضرامة في ١٠ نوفمبر ١٩٤٥م، ودخل المسلمون في سورابايا معركة ضارية، وكان الجهاد في سبيل الله موقفاً عاماً لدى الجيش في ذلك الوقت، يبتغون فيها الشهادة، وهكذا لعبت عقيدة الجهاد دوراً هاماً في حركة المقاومة ضد الاستعمار.

والمتابع لمسيرة حركة نهضة العلماء قد يستغرب من جراء هذا الفتوى السياسي من الشيخ الحاج هاشم اشعري، نظرا لما كان لهذه الجمعية من موقف سياسي متسامح مع الحكومة الاستعمارية الهولندية، فقد سبق لها أن أصدرت فتوى في العشرينيات اعترفت فيه بمشروعية الحكومة الهولندية، لأنها أعطت المسلمين حرية في أداء مناسكهم، بل كان الشيخ هاشم اشعري نفسه مقربا إلى الحاكم الهولندي العام وهو فان دير فلس (van der Plas)، وكان يتمتع برعاية منه، بيد أنه نظرا للتغيرات السياسية السائدة في مستهل العام ١٩٤٥م، وبالاحتلال الياباني بالذات مع إفساح المجال لنهضة العلماء أن تبرز كقوة سياسية ظاهرة، يستطيع المرء أن يتفهم ذلك الموقف من الشيخ هاشم اشعري، على الأقل كانت التربية العسكرية التي تمتع بها المسلمون في القرى والأرياف، مع رسوخ الشعور الوطني طوال فترة الاحتلال الياباني من دوافع صدور الفتوى الذي يشجع على المقاومة ضد هولندا.

وهنا ملاحظة يجب تقديمها وهي أن تاريخ الثورة الشعبية لاندونيسيا نادرا ما يشير إلى دور العلماء وزعماء الدين وإسهامهم، ولكن الدور الحاسم الذي لعبه الشيخ الحاج هاشم اشعري بفتواه، الذي انتشرت بفضلها عقيدة الجهاد أثناء حرب الاستقلال، قد أسهم بصفحة هامة فيما تجاهل فيه التاريخ.

When the Indonesian war of independence broke out in Surabaya on 10 November 1945, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari delivered a *fatwā* stating that to defend Indonesian independence was an obligation incumbent upon every Muslim. The following biographical sketch will describe his contribution to efforts to bring about Indonesian independence.

### K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's Biographical Sketch.

K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's life may be described by the simple phrase, "from the *pesantren*<sup>1</sup> back to the *pesantren*." He was brought up in the *pesantren* milieu, spent most of his time in the acquisition of religious knowledge at various of these Islamic boarding schools and, after seven years in Mecca, established his own boarding school in Java where he spent the rest of his life devotedly teaching his students. He even managed his "political duties" from the *pesantren* environment.

Given the name Muhammad Hasyim by his parents, he was born to an elite Javanese *kyai* family on 24 Dhul Qi'dah 1287/14 February 1871 in the village of Gedang, about two kilometers east of Jombang, Central Java.<sup>2</sup> His father, Asy'ari, was the founder of the Pesantren Keras in Jombang, while his grandfather, Kyai Usman,<sup>3</sup> was a well-known *kyai* and founder of the Pesantren Gedang, established in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Moreover, his great-grandfather, Kyai Sihah, was the founder of the Pesantren Tambakberas, in Jombang. Naturally, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari imbibed the religious milieu of his family's *pesantren*, and acquired at their hands his formidable knowledge of the religious sciences of Islam. His father, Asy'ari, had previously been the brightest student at Kyai Usman's *pesantren*, and had so impressed the latter with his knowledge and predisposition that Kyai Usman readily married off his daughter Halimah to him. (Marriage was a common means by which *pesantrens* established bonds with *kyai*.) Halimah, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's mother, was the first born of three brothers and two sisters: Muhammad, Leler, Fadil and Mrs. Arif.<sup>4</sup> K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's father was from Tingkir, Eastern Java and was a descendant of Abdul Wahid of Tingkir. It is alleged that the latter was descended from the Javanese Muslim king, Jaka Tingkir, and the Hindu Majapahit king, Brawijaya VI. Thus, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was supposed to have descended from royalty.<sup>5</sup>

K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was the third of many siblings, their names being Nafi'ah, Ahmad Saleh, Radiah, Hassan, Anis, Fatanah, Maimunah, Maksun, Nahrawi and Adnan. He spent his first five years



at Pesantren Gedang under the tutelage of his parents and grandparents.<sup>6</sup> His *santri* kin observed the teachings of Islam and studied the various religious sciences, and this environment undoubtedly had an impact on K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's character, instilling in him both modesty and diligence.<sup>7</sup> In 1876, when he was six, his father founded Pesantren Keras, south of Jombang, an experience which may have influenced him to establish his own *pesantren* later in life. It is clear, therefore, that his *santri* upbringing contributed to his indomitable thirst for knowledge and his concern for the correct execution of religious duties.

It is reported that an omen of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's precocity and future fame was provided by the unusually long pregnancy of his mother endured. The *pesantren* community also believed it significant that his mother had dreamed of seeing the crescent moon fall from the sky into her womb.<sup>8</sup> The dream was regarded as a sign that the child would be gifted and blessed by God. K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari certainly fulfilled these omens. He studied under the guidance of his father until the age of thirteen when he began teaching at his father's *pesantren* as a substitute teacher (*badal*), his pupils being students of an age greater than his own.<sup>9</sup> At the age of fifteen, he began travelling to various *pesantren* in search of religious knowledge. He finally settled at Pesantren Siwalan Panji (Sidoarjo), where he stayed for five years. There, he was asked to marry his *kyai*'s daughter.<sup>10</sup> The request was in response to the favorable impression in terms of knowledge and character that he had made on his *kyai*.

In K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's youth, two systems of education were available to the native Indonesian population. The first was that provided by *santri* Muslims in the *pesantren*, where the focus was on religious knowledge. The second was the Western educational system, introduced by the Dutch colonial government, which aimed at preparing students for lower and middle administrative government positions. However, the number of Dutch-Native Schools (Holland Inlandsche Scholen), established since 1914, was very limited and admission for Indonesians was heavily restricted. From the ranks of the indigenous people, only the children of high *priyayi* families (the nobility) could enrol. The length of study was limited to seven years, and those wishing to continue their higher education had to travel to the Netherlands.<sup>11</sup> Few people were able to take advantage of the educational opportunities. However, Europeans and Eastern foreigners (namely, the Chinese and the Arabs)<sup>12</sup> had access to Western

schools of the highest calibre. Thus, the majority of native people, who were mostly Muslims, could not obtain a Dutch education.<sup>13</sup> And even if they could, many Muslims considered the Dutch schools as forbidden (*harâm*) due to their secular character. Thus, government restrictions and personal bias created a situation in which the only educational institution available to the majority of Indonesians was the *pesantren*.<sup>14</sup> *Pesantren* education was not only affordable for natives, but also was considered a form of worship (*'ibâdah*). The large number of *pesantren* made them easily accessible to the common people, particularly since they were frequently situated in or near villages. There were many types of *pesantren*. In broad terms, some focused on higher education, while others focused on elementary teaching. The popularity of a particular *pesantren* largely depended on the reputation of its leader, his or her ability to attract students, and his or her expertise in the religious sciences. At the elementary level, students were taught the correct recitation of the Qur'ân and the basic rules of the faith.<sup>15</sup> Those able to continue their education went on to *pesantren* offering a secondary level of education, while a few proceeded to Mecca and Cairo to further their knowledge.

K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's education was typical of most *santri* Muslims of his age. We have already heard that his early education, up to the age of fifteen, was undertaken under his father's supervision. He was taught the basics of theology (*tawhîd*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsîr*), and Prophetic tradition (*hadîth*), among other subjects.<sup>16</sup> He then continued his education at various *pesantren* in Java and Madura, namely, Pesantren Wonokoyo (Probolinggo), Pesantren Pelangitan (Tuban), Pesantren Terenggilis (Bangkalan) Pesantren Kademangan (Madura) and Pesantren Siwalan Panji (Sidoarjo). It was traditional for students to attend a range of *pesantren* as each was famed in a particular field of knowledge. Thus, students received instruction in different aspects of religion by travelling from *pesantren* to *pesantren*. Such a practice allowed K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari to study Arabic grammar and literature, substantive law (*fiqh*) and sufism under Kyai Khalil of Bangkalan for three years, before concentrating on *fiqh* for another two years under Kyai Ya'qub at Pesantren Siwalan Panji (Sidoarjo).<sup>18</sup> Upon the conclusion of his travels, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari had become well-versed in *tawhîd*, *fiqh*, *adâb* (Arabic *belles-letters*), *tafsîr*, and *hadîth*. It is also reported that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari studied with Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of the Muhammadiyah, in Semarang.<sup>19</sup>

Following his marriage, which took place in 1891 at the age of twenty-one, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari and his wife were able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca through the generosity of his father-in-law.<sup>20</sup> They remained in Mecca for seven months. Unfortunately, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari had to return home alone as his wife died shortly after giving birth to a son named Abdullah. The trip was undoubtedly calamitous as the child only survived to the age of two months. In 1893, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari returned to Mecca accompanied by his brother, Anis, who then passed away there. On this occasion, he stayed in Mecca for seven years taking part in the pilgrimage, studying religious sciences, and even making a retreat to the cave of *Hirâ*.<sup>21</sup> It is reported that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari taught while in Mecca, beginning a teaching career which he continued upon his return to the East Indies in 1900. At home, he first taught at his father's and grandfather's *pesantren* and then between 1903 and 1906 at his second father-in-law's establishment, Kemuring, Kediri.<sup>22</sup>

K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari travelled to the Hijaz to pursue his higher education.<sup>23</sup> For three years he was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Kyai Alwi, who was to become his closest assistant and staunchest ally in establishing Pesantren Tebuireng. K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's education in the Hijaz began with sessions taught by Shaykh Mahfuz of Termas (d. 1920), the first Indonesian *'âlim* (scholar) to teach the *Sabîh* (Sound Traditions) of Bukhârî in Mecca. Shaykh Mahfûz was a former student of Shaykh Nawâwî of Banten and was an expert in hadîth sciences. K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari became so interested in this field that, upon returning to Indonesia, he established his own *pesantren* specializing in the teaching of hadîth. He also obtained a license (*ijâzah*) to teach the *Sabîh* of Bukhârî—the last link in the chain of transmission (*isnâd*) of hadîth from twenty-three generations of transmitters—of this work from Shaykh Mahfûz.<sup>24</sup> It was also under his guidance that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari studied the teaching of the mystical order *tarîqah al-Qâdiriyyah wa al-Naqshabandiyyah*, knowledge of which had been given to Shaykh Mahfûz by Shaykh Nawawî. Shaykh Nawawî had been the student of Shaykh Ahmad Khatîb of Sambas (known as Shaykh Sambas, from western Borneo), a *sûfi* mystic who had originally combined the teachings of the Qâdiriyyah and Naqshabandiyyah mystical paths. Shaykh Mahfûz thus formed a part of the *sûfi* tradition linking Shaykh Nawawî of Banten<sup>25</sup> and Shaykh Sambas with K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari. The influence of this tradition is also reflected in the fact that Shaykh Sambas'

defence of the *madhhab* (classical schools of jurisprudence) tradition and approach to sufism are evident in K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's thought.

Although K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari followed a *tarîqah* (mystical order), he prohibited his students from observing *sûfi* practices in his seminary. He also rejected any *tarîqah* which he believed deviated from the Islamic path. For example, he condemned Kyai Romli's veneration of Kyai Khalil of Bangkalan as a saint.<sup>27</sup> In defence of this stand, he explained that his teacher who had been an enormous influence on him, Shaykh Ahmad Khatîb of Minangkabau, had condemned numerous *tarîqah* practices. However, in contrast to his teacher's approach, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari did not condemn all forms of *sûfi* observance. He singled out only those he judged to be unorthodox.

K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari also studied the *fiqh* of the Shâfi'î madhhab under Ahmad Khatîb who was not only erudite in astronomy (*ʿilm al-falak*), but also in mathematics (*ʿilm al-hisâb*) and algebra (*al-gebr*).<sup>28</sup> Ahmad Khatîb was, relative to other traditionalist scholars, a progressive thinker who advocated reform. He did not, however, agree with the far reaching extent of reforms espoused by his contemporary in Egypt, Muhammad 'Abduh. He agreed with 'Abduh's views on the *tariqah* but remained a defender of orthodoxy rejecting the latter's call to establish new legal schools. Intellectual differences aside, Khatîb did allow many of his students to study under 'Abduh in Egypt.<sup>29</sup> Thus, it was probably under Ahmad Khatîb's influence that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was introduced to 'Abduh's *Tafsîr al-Manâr* (Qur'ânic exegesis). It is apparent that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari admired the *al-Manâr*'s rationalism, but did not recommend it to his own students because 'Abduh ridiculed traditionalist 'ulamâ' for their support of practices he deemed unacceptable.<sup>30</sup> K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari also found himself in agreement with 'Abduh's encouragement of the Muslim spirit, but in disagreement with 'Abduh's teachings on departing from the *madhhab* tradition. Unlike 'Abduh, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari believed it impossible to understand the Qur'ân and hadîth without appreciating the different strains of jurisprudential thought. The elimination of the *madhâhib* would, in his opinion, distort the teachings of Islam.<sup>31</sup>

K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's other teachers included such renowned scholars as Shaykh Nawâwî of Banten as well as other such "non-Jâwi" (non-Malay) teachers as Shaykh Shata and Shaykh Dâghistânî,

who were famous scholars in the Hijaz at the time.<sup>32</sup> Given his wide educational influences from the most recognized scholars of his age, it is not surprising that many of his own students later became respected *'ulamâ'*.

In the Hijaz, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari also came under the influence of local, contemporary developments, such as anti-colonial sentiment, the rise of Arab nationalism and Pan-Islamism. Mansfield describes this phenomenon in the following words: "The strength of the Pan-Islamic feeling was increasing as a reaction to the nineteenth century invasion of the world of Islam by Christian Europe and the burden of their calls was that they should unite in a great Pan-Islamic movement to face the common danger of European expansionism."<sup>33</sup> Similarly, Snouck Hurgronje took stock of this emerging trend as a source of influence on Indonesian students in the Hijaz. In his words, "The Pan-Islamic movement was not without influence on the Jâwî community in Mecca; they were all touched by the same hope."<sup>34</sup> Not surprising, the call for Islamic unity struck a chord in K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's heart and possibly inspired in him the desire to see Indonesian Muslims unite in liberating the Indies from the shackles of colonialism. He translated this hope into action by joining the anti-colonial movement.

It was believed that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari possessed supernatural powers from the time of his own *pesantren* training. Some believed that his walking stick could strike his enemies of its own volition. Such beliefs indicate that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was well respected. Indeed, his fortune teacher, Kyai Khalil of Bangkalan,<sup>35</sup> believed also to have had supernatural powers, showed a measure of respect for and appreciation of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari by occasionally attending the latter's lectures, especially during the holy month of Ramadân. This led other Javanese *kyais* to regard K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari as their spiritual mentor. Thus, upon the death of Kyai Khalil, the spiritual leadership of the *kyai* was bestowed upon Asy'ari. The latter's position was also consolidated by two events which occurred before 1926, the year in which the Nahdlatul Ulama, an organization of traditional Muslims, was established. The first event was that Kyai Khalil sent his student, As'ad Syamsul Arifin,<sup>36</sup> to K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari in Tebuireng with the gift of a staff, and the request to recite sûrah Tâhâ (17-23) which tells of the miracle of the Prophet Moses and his staff. A year later when Kyai Khalil sent As'ad to Kyai Hasyim with the



request to recite “*Yâ Jabbar, Yâ Qahhâr*” (Hail Almighty, Hail Subduer, both names of God). These two events were interpreted as Kyai Khalil’s blessing on the establishment of the Nahdlatul Ulama and his nomination of K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari as spiritual leader of the community.<sup>37</sup>

K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari was believed to possess the spiritual attribute of *karâmah* (a miracle achieved by a saint) and to be a source of Allah’s blessing (*barâkah*). Dhofier calls him “the greatest and the most well-known *kyai* throughout Indonesia during the first half of the twentieth century.”<sup>38</sup> James Fox, an anthropologist at the Australian National University (ANU), regards him as having been nothing less than a *wali* (saint). He describes K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari in the following terms:

“..... If a learned *kyai* might still be considered as *wali*, there is one figure in recent Javanese history who would have been a prime candidate for the role of *wali*. This was the great scholar, Hadratus Shaikh—Kyai Hashim Ash’ari [Hasyim Asy’ari] .... Possessed of knowledge (*ilm*) and regarded as a source of blessing (*barakah*) by those who knew him, Hashim Ash’ari [Hasyim Asy’ari] became in his lifetime the personal centre of a network linking the leading *kyai* of pesantrens throughout Java. Kyai Hashim Ash’ari was also considered to possess other exceptional attributes. According to his genealogy, not only was he a descendant of a line of learned scholars, he was also a descendant of Prabu Brawijaya.”<sup>39</sup>

The rapid development of Pesantren Tebuireng cannot be separated from the personality of K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari, who was both an erudite scholar and a good administrator. His senior students, who were also his close relatives, were given the opportunity to take part in the running of the *pesantren* and contribute to its advancement. The institution was finally registered by the Dutch government on 6 February 1906. From a small *pesantren*, it had developed into one of the most influential ones in Java during this century. Furthermore, many students who had acquired their basic religious knowledge at other *pesantren* enrolled at Tebuireng to further their education under the direction of K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari. Students were intrigued by his pedagogical approach, a technique he had acquired from various ‘*ulamâ*’ in Indonesia (the East Indies) and the Hijaz. K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari was a master of the Qur’ân<sup>40</sup> and hadîth, knowledge that was regarded as a new field in the *pesantren*.<sup>41</sup> So, by providing instruction in these two subjects, K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari can be regarded as an innovator and reformer among traditionalist Indonesian scholars.

## K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's Contribution to Indonesian Independence

On 22 October 1945, eight weeks after the proclamation of Indonesian independence, war broke out in Surabaya. To mobilize Muslim support, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari issued a *fatwâ* (an authoritative but non binding religious ruling) calling for the defence of the Indonesian Republic. It read as follows:

(1) It is the duty (*wâjib*) of Muslims to defend Indonesian independence proclaimed on August 17, 1945. (2) The Indonesian Republic, as the only legitimate government, must be (*wâjib*) protected and rescued. (3) The enemy of the Indonesian Republic, namely, the Dutch who come back with the help of the Allies (the British) will certainly use political and military means to recolonize Indonesia once more. (4) The Muslims, especially those in Nahdlatul Ulama must raise their arms against the Dutch and their allies who want to re-colonize Indonesia. (5) This obligation is a form of *jihâd* (holy war) and it is the obligation of every Muslim within a radius of 94 kilometers, while those outside this area must help their brothers.<sup>42</sup>

This *fatwâ* was accepted by the '*ulamâ*' of Surabaya at the start of November 1945, who restated their view that Indonesian independence should be defended and that the Indonesian Republic was the only legitimate state, protected even at the expense of one's property and soul. It also forbade Muslims from travelling on the pilgrimage to Mecca on Dutch ships.<sup>43</sup> The *fatwâ* was given strength by the charisma of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari and the necessity to wage war against infidels. Thus, the war of independence was portrayed as a holy war in the way of Allah (*jihâd fi sabil Allâh*)<sup>44</sup> with martyrdom promised to those who fell in its cause. Today, the war for independence is still portrayed as the greatest battle in the history of modern Indonesia and the 10th of November is celebrated every year as Heroes Day in Indonesia. Lastly, one can argue that his *fatwâ* is a clear example of the endeavors of the '*ulamâ*' to provide leadership in the effort to consolidate independence.

Another conclusion which may be drawn from his issuance of the *fatwâ* is that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari had decided to cooperate with secular nationalist leaders in order to win the war. For example, Bung Tomo, a leading socialist figure of a division of the Rebels' Army of the Republic of Indonesia (Barisan Pemberontak Republik Indonesia, BPRI), who succeeded in building national solidarity through radio broadcasts, asked K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari for his support in the War.<sup>45</sup> This demonstrates how willingly secular nationalists cooperated with the '*ulamâ*' for the common interest of Indonesians. Through

the 'ulamâ', nationalists were endowed with legitimacy and their war efforts imbued with the sanctity of *jihâd* and the nation's support.<sup>46</sup>

The ideology of *jihâd* played an important role in the anti-colonial movement. It encouraged devout Muslims of the *pesantren* system to enlist and serve in the Hizbullah and Sabillillah, two Islamic militias formed in the Japanese period. Reid describes this phenomenon as follows:

The Islamic schools (*pesantren*) provided one such source of leadership. Its pupils lived at the school, often far from their own homes, and formed a close bond of loyalty to their teacher. In traditional pesantrens they learned Indonesian forms of self-defence, *silat* or *pencak*, involving spiritual as well as physical discipline. Their teacher himself might understand the mysteries of invulnerability. Modern as well as traditional *ulama* were conscious of the sacrifice demanded by a holy war (*jihâd*) and the rewards for those who fell in it (*mati syahid*). As the centre of the *santri* belt of Java's north coast, Surabaya was more than usually affected by this strain of thought. In November, the 'ulamâ' of the region declared that resistance was an obligation, to be fought under the scriptural conditions for a holy war.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, many people asked for spiritual support from the *kyai* who possessed a special power in blessing people and in making them invulnerable (*kebal*) to bullets and blows. This power was believed to arise following the recitation (*dzikir*, *ratib*) of a certain mystical formula, either Islamic or pre-Islamic. People also obtained an amulet (*jimat*), usually a piece of white cloth with some Qur'anic passage in it, from a *kramat* (holy man) or *guru* (teacher) with a reputation for this science.<sup>48</sup> K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, who was no doubt seen as having such knowledge due to his piety and personality, blessed and bestowed such charms on many people, especially the *santri* Muslims who became the main defenders of the islands. Interestingly, the heavy fighting around Surabaya stimulated Indonesian morale and intensified the struggle against the Dutch and the Allied forces throughout Indonesia,<sup>49</sup> as illustrated by Reid:

For the *perjuangan* [struggle] ideal Surabaya was the monument and the model. Posterity has continued to hallow 10 November as a public holiday—*hari pahlawan* (Heroes Day)—not least because it was one of the few mass actions behind which all important sections of the Indonesian community were united: politicians, *pemudas* [youth], Muslims, and peasants... the defence of Surabaya enormously increased the pressure on the British, and through them the Dutch, to abandon thought of military solutions in favor of negotiation with the Republic.<sup>50</sup>



The battle of Surabaya was a clear victory for the Indonesians because of the heroic and religious character of the battle as well as the diplomacy of Indonesian politicians. It became an inspiration for other regions to undertake the same resistance against the intervention of the Dutch in Indonesia. Wherever they were located, NU members participated actively in the Indonesian revolutionary war. Its youth were found in the Hizbullah militia, the middle-aged in the Sabilillah militia and its *kyais* formed the Markaz Ulama (*Kyais* Centre). Many members of these groups were later incorporated into the newly established Indonesian army, Tentara Keamanan Rakyat (TKR or the Army of the People's Security).<sup>51</sup>

K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's proclamation of holy war was regarded as a legitimation of the new government of Indonesia and seems to have rallied even passive groups against the Dutch. NU members became very radical as they supported the holy war. This changed attitude from the quietism that prevailed during the era of Dutch colonialism, could have been caused by the military training provided by the Japanese military government and the increased participation of NU members in political affairs during that period. NU analysts saw the matter as caused by a combination of Muslim pride and Indonesian patriotism caused by the loyalty NU members felt toward a government that they recognized as their own.<sup>52</sup>

Before the Japanese occupation, the NU recognized the authority of the Netherlands Indies government as a *de facto* government, which had the right to be obeyed, even though it was not Muslim, provided that Muslims were allowed to practice their religion. But the Japanese had usurped that authority and had encouraged an indigenous government to be formed in its place. The NU then recognized the leaders of the Indonesian Republic, many Muslim, as legitimate. Thenceforth, the Dutch and their allies upon seeking to re-establish colonial control of Indonesia were seen as foreign enemies and as infidels who were attempting to bring down a legitimate government. *Jihād* was seen as the proper response involving all Muslims. The first NU congress after the proclamation of Indonesian independence, held in March 1946, restated the *jihād* resolution, this time directing it especially at those who were obligated by their religion to participate in the struggle to defend the republic.<sup>53</sup>

K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was also concerned about the political condition of Indonesian Muslims. During the early years of Indonesian independence, he was saddened by the attempt of some people to use

Islam as a means to achieving their goals. He said:

We find that the role of the Islamic community in this [political] arena is very insignificant. The religious influence upon the political arena in Indonesia is very weak, even dead. But even so, there are other greater disasters, namely, that Islam has been used by some people as a vehicle towards achieving their goals and hopes, whether political or personal. It is very dangerous if people regard the users, who do not carry out every deed commanded by Allah nor avoid the forbidden deeds, as Muslims.<sup>54</sup>

He further compared the contemporary political conditions with those that existed during the early development of Islam. He believed that the political foundations of Islamic government as laid down by the Prophet Muhammad, Abû Bakr and Umâr b. Khatrâb, had three goals, namely, "1. Providing equality for all Muslims; 2. Serving the interest of the people through deliberation; 3. Maintaining justice."<sup>55</sup> He further stated:

The form of Islamic government was not defined. When our respected Prophet Muhammad, God, bless him, passed away, he did not leave any message about how to choose a head of state... Thus, the appointment of a head of state and many other things concerning statehood have been left undefined, [and Muslims were] not bound to one system to construct [them]. All [systems can] apply to the Islamic community in any place [or time].<sup>56</sup>

However, the teachings of Islam, he insisted, "cannot work well if the interests of the Islamic community are fragmented."<sup>57</sup> Hence, he regarded the ultimate goal of political Islam in Indonesia to be the true implementation of Islamic teachings in all aspects of life, instead of the lip-service often paid to them. He argued that "We, the Indonesian Islamic community,...do not want to compete for positions of leadership, we only want that those who occupy and hold the country's leadership to implement the teachings of Islam as commanded by Allah, the Most Holy and Glorious."<sup>58</sup>

Meanwhile, the political climate grew increasingly dynamic, as many new political parties were formed at the request of the Indonesian government, as expressed in the regulation of 3 November 1945, or Maklumat No. X. This ordinance stipulated that political parties had to be established before the general elections "in order for people to choose their representative council, which will be established in January 1946."<sup>59</sup>

Accordingly, the Muslims hastily reactivated the pre-war Masyumi organization as a political party. At the time, the Masyumi Party was

not a federative organization. It consisted of representatives from numerous Muslim organizations as well as individuals.<sup>62</sup> Needless to say, its loose and varied membership contributed to disunity and a major rift in the Party five years later. Chief among the factors contributing to the schism was bickering over the selection process by which members were to be appointed to government positions.<sup>61</sup>

The leadership of the Masyumi Party, like that of Syarekat Islam (United Islam, the namesake of the first major grass roots Islamic organization founded in 1912) and the NU, consisted of two bodies, namely, the Majelis Syuro (advisory council) and the Tanfidliyah (executive board). The former body comprised religious scholars, while the latter included Muslim leaders with a Western educational background. Consequently, the advisory council was headed by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari and his son, K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim, who also occupied the vice-leadership of the Party.<sup>62</sup> This two-tier system of leadership eventually became the major source of trouble, the reason being that the members of the Advisory Council felt excluded from the decision-making process. Moreover, NU members began to question their role in, and the benefit they derived from, membership of the Masyumi. Hence, at the NU's 17th congress in Madiun, 25 May 1947, K.H. Abdul Wahid Hasyim established an NU Political Bureau to negotiate with the modernist Muslims who dominated the Masyumi Party leadership, and to ascertain the bargaining power of the NU within the Masyumi Party.<sup>63</sup> Two months after this political development, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari passed away. The NU had lost the figure who advocated Muslim unity. This eventually accelerated NU withdrawal from the Masyumi Party in 1952 when the NU failed to obtain the post of Ministry of Religious Affairs, a post usually reserved for an NU leader. The NU regret over this decision can be detected in the words of its leader, Idham Khalid.

Frankly speaking, at present the Masyumi occupies 5 ministry seats, 4 of which are held [by the Modernist Muslims]. The Ministry of Religious Affairs was also taken. If people say that the NU departed from Masyumi because of this seat, as stated by Masyumi [leaders], then alright, let it be stated that it was because of the seat. Is it not appropriate, you who have already taken four seats, that only one be demanded by the NU? You do not want to give it, you want the NU to leave because of the seat, and you already took four of them, when we only demanded one. But, we were not even given that one, so we decided to leave. The question is who is wrong—if it is because of the seat—I want to know.<sup>64</sup>

Commenting on the withdrawal of the NU, Ahmad Hassan of Persatuan Islam (Persis, or Islamic Unity) said that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari and the other NU leaders, who were responsible for the affiliation of the NU to Masyumi Party, "were guilty of sin." This was because they were in charge of the advisory council and the issuance of religious decisions, and did not have the right to insist that every decision they made had to be obeyed by all Masyumi Party leaders and members. Hassan also asked why the NU had not withdrawn from the Masyumi Party at the very outset.<sup>65</sup> Hassan's criticism, one can argue, was a clear example of the modernist point of view which dominated the Masyumi Party. It should be noted, however, that during the early days of the Masyumi Party, Muslims were quite busy with the war of independence and the search for a state ideology. As such, they (including NU leaders) were happy to set aside their differences and present a united front. The NU leaders were later offended, however, at what they regarded as unfair treatment by modernists and charged that such unfairness was an obstacle to continue association with the Masyumi Party.<sup>66</sup> Before withdrawing from the Masyumi Party, the NU leaders suggested that the party be changed into a federative organization so that the bigger the organizations that supported the party, the more representatives they got. However, this proposal was rejected by the modernist factions of the party. The NU leaders felt that they were marginalised in the party's leadership and decision-making process even though they formed a much larger constituency.

When K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was still alive, the opinion of the advisory council was respected and upheld by all Masyumi leaders, including non-NU members, out of respect for his prominent position and personality. Thus, it can be said that he brought about the unity of all Muslims within the organization during his lifetime. Moreover, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was concerned for Muslim unity in general, not only that of the Masyumi Party. This is clear from three things; the first was the fact that he withheld his approval of the establishment of the NU for two years, lest this tear the fabric of Muslim unity apart; second was the fact that he delivered a speech calling upon all Indonesian Muslims to unite under one banner; and third was that his stewardship of Masyumi policies during the Japanese occupation and after Indonesian independence illustrated his ardent desire to unify Indonesian Muslims. K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's death on 25 July 1947 was mourned by the nation and various orga-

nizations, including secular nationalists and modernist Muslims, as well as prominent military and government officials, all of whom expressed their grief over his loss.<sup>67</sup> Later, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was recognized as a national hero in a presidential decree, No. 294/1964.

### Conclusion.

The moment for which the Indonesians had waited so long presented itself when the Japanese became conscious of their impending defeat at the hands of the Allied forces and so allowed Indonesians to prepare more seriously for their independence. In fear of jeopardizing this opportunity, *santri* Muslims worked hand in hand with the secular nationalists in preparing for future Indonesian independence. At this juncture, it is important to recall that it was partly due to the position, charisma, and capacity of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari that his son, K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim, became a member of the Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence (Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, PPKI). The latter was to play a crucial role in solving the crisis which threatened to destroy the unity of Indonesia, namely, a crisis over seven crucial words in the Jakarta Charter. Later, when independence had been proclaimed and the Dutch attempted to re-occupy the country, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari immediately issued a *fatwâ* declaring the defence of the nascent Indonesian state to be an obligation incumbent upon every Muslim. This *fatwâ* was very effective because of the great respect shown to K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari as a spiritual leader, and because he commanded a mass following. Moreover, Indonesians had already prepared militarily for this critical moment. *Santri* Muslims, who had also prepared themselves in the military corps of Hizbullah and Sabilillah, became the main supporters of the resistance, particularly since they had been the most maligned group during the Dutch regime. *Santri* Muslims were conscious of the ideology of *jihâd* and the rewards for those who died in its path. Lastly, one must remember that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari also contributed to the unity of the *ummah* by organizing the Masyumi party, which was re-established after Indonesian independence. He also became an informal advisor to the military establishment, especially to the Muslim corps. Considering his role in the socio-religious and political life of the country, it is no surprise that he has received the honorific title of national hero.

## Endnotes

1. The *pesantren* is a traditional Islamic boarding school in Indonesia. This institution of learning devotes itself to the teaching of religious knowledge by using traditional methods of instruction and has its own unique regulations, administration and curriculum of study. It is usually headed by a religious teacher, *'alim*, from whom the students acquire their knowledge. For a comprehensive look at the issue, see Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, dan Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986).
2. Solihin Salam, *K.H. Hasjim Asj'ari, Ulama Besar Indonesia* (Jakarta: Djaja Murni, 1963), 19; Heru Sukadri, *Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy'ari, Riwayat Hidup dan Perjuangannya* (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1985), 28; Abu Bakar Atjeh et al., *Sedjarah Hidup K.H.A. Wahid Hasyim dan Karangan Tersiar* (Jakarta: Panitia Buku Peringatan Almarhum K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim, 1957), 61.
3. Kyai Usman was a famous *'alim* and is accredited with introducing the Naqshabandiyyah order to Java in the middle of the 19th century. See, Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia, Survey Historis, Geografis, dan Sosiologis* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1992), 168.
4. Salam, *K.H. Hasjim Asj'ari*, 19; Choirul Anam, *Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Nahdlatul Ulama* (Solo: Jatayu, 1984), 57; Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1983), 63.
5. Abdurrahman Wahid, "K.H. Bisri Syamsuri: Pecinta Fiqh Sepanjang Hayat," in *Biografi 5 Rais*, 70; In contrast to Abdurrahman Wahid's (K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's grandson) account of the genealogy of the Javanese king that attributes this descent to K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's father, [?] Akarhanaf, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's son, traced this descent through his mother's line. In the latter case the complete genealogy is as follows: Muhammad Hasyim bin Halimah binti Layyinah binti Sihah bin Abdul Jabar bin Ahmad bin Pangeran Sambo bin Pangeran Banawa bin Jaka Tingkir (Mas Krebet) bin Prabu Brawijaya VI (Lembupeteng), the last Majapahit king. See, Akarhanaf, *Kiai Hayim Asy'ari, Bapak Ummat Islam Indonesia* (Jombang: Pondok Tebuireng, 1950), 55; Later accounts mention his genealogy to Sunan Giri, one of nine saints who spread Islam in Java in the 16th century. See, Muhammad 'Isâm Hâdhiq, "Al-Ta'rif bi al-Muallif" in Hasyim Asy'ari, *Adâb al-'alim wa al-Mula'allim* (Jombang: Maktabat al-Turâth al-Islâmi, n.d.), 3; idem "Al-Ta'rif bi al-Muallif," in Hasyim Asy'ari, *Ziyidât ta'liqât 'alâ manzûmati 'Abd Allâh ibn Yâsin al-Fâsuruwâni* (Jombang: Maktabat al-Turâth al-Islâmi, 1995), 3; Another account traces K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's ancestry to Imam Ja'far Sâdiq b. Imam Muhammad Baqir through the family of Syaiban. See, Muhammad Asad Syihab, *Hadhratussyaikh Muharnmad Asya'ri, Pelopor Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, tran. Mustofa Bisri (Yogyakarta: Kalam Semesta and Titian Ilahi), 27. This phenomenon indicates that the division between the Muslims and the pre-Islamic religionists in Java is not as radical as is often believed. The fact that the first Islamic kingdom of Java, Demak, attempted to portray itself as the continuation of the Majapahit kingdom, supports the above claim.
6. Salam, *Hasjim Asj'ari*, 22.
7. For the characteristics of *pesantren* life, see Dawam Rahardjo, *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974), 42.
8. Salam, *K.H. Hasjim Asj'ari*, 22.
9. Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p. 93. For an illustration of a typical *santri* child-



- hood, see Donald K. Emmerson, *Indonesia's Elite, Political Culture and Cultural Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1976), 82-85.
10. Salam, K.H. *Hasjim As'ari*, p. 23.
  11. Selo Soemardjan, *Social Changes in Jogjakarta* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), 350-1.
  12. Indonesians use the term "Arabs" to denote people from the Near and Middle East as well as Indian Muslims. See, Niel, *The Emergence*, 15.
  13. Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Modern Indonesia, Tradition and Transformation* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1984), 119-20.
  14. There were also some Western-type schools organized by the modernist Muslim organization, the *Muhammadiyah*, but their number was limited and were only to be found in the cities at the time.
  15. Niel, *The Emergence*, 20-21.
  16. These fields of study were common in the *pesantren* at the time, except for *tafsir* which began in the 1950's. See, Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu," *BKI* 146 (1990), 229 and 232-233, republished in idem, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 131-7 1.
  17. Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, 24.
  18. Soebagio I.N., *K.H. Masjkur, Sebuah Biografi* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1982), 8.
  19. Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam, Interpretasi untuk Aksi* (Bandung, Mizan, 1991), 93. K.H. Ahmad Dahlan studied under K.H. Dahlan Semarang, son-in-law of the famous Kyai Saleh Darat Semarang. See, Solichin Salam, *K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, Tjita-tjita dan Perdjoangannya* (Jakarta: Depot Pengajaran Muhamrnadiyah, 1962), 7.
  20. Basit Adnan, *Kemelut di NU, Antara Kiyai dan Politisi* (Solo: CV Mayasari, 1982), 31.
  21. *Ibid.*, p. 2 6.
  22. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
  23. For the intellectual ties between Nusantara and the Arab world during the 17th and 18th centuries, see Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Uama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusautara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994).
  24. Imron Arifin, *Kepemimpinan Kiyai: Kasus Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng* (Malang: Kalimashada Press, 1993), 72; Anam, *Pertumbuhan*, 60. This chain was very important as it was regarded as a legitimate requirement in the eyes of many scholars for someone to teach. This also can be regarded as a means of transmitting tradition and knowledge from one generation to another. Besides, Shaikh Mahfuz was a very respected 'ulamâ' and was regarded as qualified to impart this knowledge.
  25. For the spiritual genealogy of Hasyim Asy'ari's *sufi* teachers, see, Arifin, *Kepemimpinan Kiyai*, 71-72; for further information on Ahmad Khatib of Sambas (West Borneo), see Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*, 89-92.
  26. Shaikh Nawâwi of Banten was hailed as *Sayyid 'ulamâ' al-Hijâz* (the leader of the Hijaz 'ulamâ') and the *imâm* of al-Masjid al-Harâm in Mecca. For detailed information on his life, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, tran. J. H. Monahan (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), 268-271; see also Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam & Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 117-27.
  27. Wahid, "K.H. Bisri Syansuri," 68.

28. Nursal Saeran, *Riwayat Hidup dan Perjuangan 20 Ulama Besar Sumatera Barat* (Padang: Islamic Centre Sumatera Barat, 1981), 17. It was perhaps due to Shaikh Ahmad Khatib's influence that Kyai Hasyim appreciated such 'secular' knowledge as mathematics and accepted reform at *Pesantren Tebuireng* by adding the latter subject as well as Dutch, Malay, and other non-religious knowledge to the curriculum. For further information on this figure, see, Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek*, 139-48.
29. Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, 93-4; many students of Ahmad Khatib later became promoters of reformism in Indonesia, see Noer, "The Rise and Development of the Modernist Movement in Indonesia, Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1963, 490.
30. Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 18.
31. Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, 95. For a more detailed account of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's thought on the *madhâhib*.
32. Wahid, "KH. Bisri Syamsuri," 67-8; Syihab lists many of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's teachers and friends at the Hijaz. Among his teachers were Shaikh Ahmad Amin al-Attâr, Sayyid Sultan b. Hâshim, Sayyid Ahmad Zawâwî, Shaykh Ibrâhim 'Arab, Sayyid Ahmad b. Hasan al-Attâr, Shaikh Sa'id Yamâni, Sayyid Hasain al-Habshî, Sayyid Bakr Shâtâ, Shaikh Rahmatullah, Sayyid 'Alâwî b. Ahmad al-Saqqâf, Sayyid 'Abbâs Mâlikî, Sayyid 'Abdullâh al-Zawâwî, Shaikh Sâlih Bafadal, and Shaikh Sultan Hâshim Daghistâni. See, Syihab, *Hadhratussyaikh*, 41-42.
33. Peter Mansfield, *The Arabs* (London; New York: Penguin 1976), 163; quoted in Dhofier, "KH. Hasyim Asy'ari: Penggalang Islam Traditional," in *Biografi 5 Rais Am Nahdlatul Ulama*, eds. Humaidy Abdussami and Ridwan Fakla AS., (Yogyakarta: Ltn-NU and Pustaka Pelajar, 1995), 3.
34. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 260-1; quoted in Dhofier, "KH. Hasyim Asy'ari," 3.
35. Kyai Khalil was a famous 'âlim of Java and Madura at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. He was believed to have *karâmah* (supernatural qualities) and extraordinary religious knowledge. His students later became famous *kyais* such as K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari himself, Kyai Wahab Hasbullah, Kyai Bisri Syamsuri and Kyai As'ad Syamsul Arifin. See, Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*, 178.
36. K.H. As'ad later established Pesantren Sukorejo and became a member of the *mustasyar* (advisory board) of the NU. He was very influential in directing the policies of the latter organization and in making the Pancasila (the five basic principles of the Indonesian state) accepted as the sole basis of the organization from 1984 onwards. For his biography, see Choirul Anam (ed.), *KHR. As'ad Syamsul Arifin, Riwayat Hidup dan Perjuangannya* (Surabaya: Sahabat Ilmu, 1994); Suhadi, *Profil K.H.R. As'ad Syamsul Arifin, Asembagus, Situbondo* (Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Keagamaan Departemen Agama R.I., 1981).
37. Arifin, *Kepemimpinan Kiyai*, 75.
38. Dhofier, "Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kiyai" *Indonesia* 29 (1980), 53.
39. See, James J. Fox, "Ziarah visits to the tombs of the Wali, the Founders of Islam on Java," in M.C. Ricklefs ed., *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context* (Clayton, Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1991), 30.
40. Van den Berg was under the impression that Qur'anic exegesis was not yet regarded as an important part of the curriculum for the *pesantren* at the end of the nineteenth century. It became more important as the modernist Muslims raised



- their slogan of a return to the Qur'ân and hadîth. See, Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 159.
41. More than the Qur'ân, the hadîth was a new field taught in the *pesantren*. *Ibid*, 161.
  42. Slamet Efendi Yusuf et.al., *Dinamika Kaum Santri* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1983), 38; Halim, *Sejarah Perjuangan*, 21; the complete text of the *jihâd* resolution is included in *Tambah Usia, Tabah Amal, Sejarah Ringkas Nahdlatul Ulama* (Jakarta: Panitia Harlah 40 tahun NU, 1966), 93.
  43. Dhofier, "K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari," 16. While commenting on this *fatwâ* Abdurrahman Wahid, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari's grandson and currently the leader of the NU, stated that it is based on the religious views of the NU 'ulamâ', and that the NU will accept radical changes to the state if the religious tradition allows them. In other words, the NU will refuse any changes if they are not of sound reasoning. Consequently, any attempt at improving the condition of the state should be a gradual one. See, Abdurrahman Wahid, "Nahdlatul Ulama dan Islam di Indonesia Dewasa ini," in *Tradisi dan Kebangkitan Islam di Asia Tenggara* eds. by Taufik Abdullah and Sharon Siddique (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1988), 200.
  44. In its generic meaning, *jihâd* means a great endeavor of any nature, but it is usually used in conjunction with armed conflict with the enemies of Islam. In peaceful times, Muslim scholars usually remind Muslims that according to the Prophet, the greatest *jihâd* is that against one's carnal desires. For more information on *jihâd*, see H.A.R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism, an Historical Survey* (New York: Mentor Book, 1955), 57-58.
  45. See, Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Modern Indonesia, Tradition and Transformation* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1984), 92. This indicates that the strict division between the *santri* and *abangan* as described by Geertz in his famous *Religion of Java* (1960) is not always true. His theory may have been valid in his own day when the political tension was at its peak and the divisions were clear not only between the *santri* and *abangan* but also between the traditionalist and modernist Muslims in the 1950's.
  46. Kartodirdjo, *Modern Indonesia*, 238 and 270.
  47. Anthony Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution 1945-1950* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974), 56.
  48. *Ibid*, 55.
  49. *Ibid*.
  50. *Ibid*, 53.
  51. H.M. Hasjim Latief, *Nahdlatul Ulama, Penegak Panji Ablussunnah waljamaah* (Surabaya: Pengurus Wilayah NU Jawa Timur, 1979), 27. K.H. Achmad Siddiq defines *jihâd fi Sabil Allâh* as including physical war, preaching (*da'wah*), sacrificing wealth, energy and thought, inner struggle, developing morality, struggling to avoid evil desire, and struggle to improve the quality of life by providing food, cloth and shelter. Achmad Siddiq, *Pedoman Berpikir "Nahdlatul Ulama"* (Jember: PMII, 1969), 11.
  52. Choirul Anam, *Gerak Langkah Pemuda Ansor* (Surabaya: AULA, 1990), 45-46; Bruinessen, *NU, Tradisi, Relasi-relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1994), 59.
  53. Bruinessen, *NU*, 60-61. The NU's resolution on holy war can be found in Anam, *Pertumbuhan*, 63, supplement.
  54. Hasyim Asy'ari, "Pidato Pembukaan Muktamar NU ke-17 di Madiun" in *Ihyâ'*

- 'amā'il al-fidālā' fi tarjamah al-qānūn asāsī al-jam'iyāt al-Nahdat al-'ulamā'* (Kudus: Menara, 1969), 123-4.
55. Hasyim Asy'ari, *Ideologi Politik Islam, Amanat Kjai Hadji Hasjim Asjari dalam Mukhtar Partai Islam MASJOEMI*, Februari 1946 (Yogyakarta: Harian Islam "Al-Djihad", n.d.), 6-7.
  56. *Ibid.*, 8-9.
  57. *Ibid.*, 9.
  58. *Ibid.*, 10.
  59. See, A.M.W. Pranarka, *Sejarah Pemikiran tentang Pancasila* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1985), 66; quoted in Einar M. Sitompul, *NU dan Pancasila* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1989), 98-99. Soon after the announcement of this regulation, many political parties were established.
  60. This form of membership aimed at increasing the number of members so that the Masyumi Party could represent all Muslims including those who did not belong to Islamic organizations. However, this strategy had a negative impact because the representatives of the larger organizations felt neglected by the party. See, Deliar Noer, *Partai Islam di Pentas Nasional* (Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, 1987), 48; Gafar Rahman, *Metamorfosis NU dan Politisasi Islam Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar dan LKiS, 1995), 56.
  61. In 1947, the PSII broke up from this party, as did the NU in 1952.
  62. The leadership hierarchy was as follows: the Majelis Syuro (advisory board) led by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo of Muhammadiyah, K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim, Mr. Kasman Singodimejo, K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah and K.H. Abdul Halim; the pengurus besar (executive board) led by Dr. Soekiman and Abikoeso Tjokrosoejoso of Syarekat Islam, as well as Wali Al Fatah of Tarbiyah Islamiyah, who were assisted by two secretaries, a treasurer and some other assistants. See, Machfoedz Maksoem, *Kebangkitan Ulama dan Bangkitnya Ulama* (Jakarta: Yayasan Kesejahteraan Ummat, 1982), 81; Anam, *Pertumbuhan*, 127-128.
  63. Saifuddin Zuhri, *Kalidoskop Politik di Indonesia*, vol. 3 (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1982), 213; Anam, *Pertumbuhan*, 131.
  64. Quoted in Noer, *Partai Islam*, 87; Sitompul, *NU dan Pancasila*, 109.
  65. A. Hassan, *Risalah al-Madzhah* (Bangil: Persatuan Islam, 1956), 117; Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1970), 162; M. Asyari, "The Rise of the Masjumi Party and the Role of the 'Ulama' in its Early Development" (M.A. Thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1976), 132.
  66. Anderson noted that the Masyumi Party leadership was urban and modernist in character. It was dominated by Western-educated and experienced politicians who had been strongly affected by Western ideas. It offered little to the traditionalist leaders who had been trained politically by the Japanese. See, Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Jawa in A time of Revolution, Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972), 221.
  67. Akarhanaf, *Kiyai Hasjim Asj'ari*, 81-84.
  68. Arifin, *Kepemimpinan Kiyai*, 80.

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