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Moenawar Chalil: The Career and Thought of an Indonesian Muslim Reformist

Abstraksi: Telaah tentang gerakan pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia pada umumnya kurang memberi perhatian yang sungguh-sungguh kepada tokoh yang bergiat di luar pentas politik. Pelbagai karya ilmiah, baik di tingkat nasional maupun internasional, seolah-olah tidak meluangkan tempat kepada tokoh-tokoh itu, meskipun pikiran mereka telah mengilhami timbulnya pelbagai gerakan baru dalam Islam Indonesia. Hal ini terjadi bukan karena tokoh-tokoh itu tidak dikenal publik, tetapi lebih karena kajian mengenai pembaharuan Islam seringkali ditulis dan dianalisis dalam lingkup kerangka sosial-historisnya, sambil mengabaikan sisi doktrinal pembaharuan. Akibatnya, karya-karya ilmiah telah melupakan unsur utama dari pembaharuan, yaitu wawasan intelektual terhadap ajaran agama.

Salah satu tokoh pembaharu Islam yang menjadi korban dari kecenderungan kajian semacam itu adalah K.H. Moenawar Chalil, seorang pembaharu dari Persatuan Islam (Persis) yang secara kultural berlatar belakang NU. Secara umum bisa dikatakan, kajian tentang gerakan pembaharuan di Indonesia tidak mencantumkan namanya sebagai tokoh pembaharu. Bahkan Deliar Noer, yang menulis sisi politik kebangkitan gerakan modernis Muslim, tidak menyinggung nama Moenawar Chalil sebagai pelopor gerakan baru Islam. Beberapa sarjana lain juga melupakan jasanya karena konsentrasi mereka kepada sisi antropologis dan aspek-aspek sosial-politik pembaharuan. Karya Mitsuo Nakamura tentang Muhammadiyah di Kotagede, Yogyakarta, misalnya, merupakan salah satu contoh yang menggambarkan bagaimana Munawar Chalil kurang mendapat perhatian yang semestinya dalam sejarah pemikiran Islam.

Dalam pandangan banyak orang, Moenawar Chalil lebih dikenal sebagai pemikir Muslim yang memiliki minat besar terhadap usaha membangun tradisi keserjanaan Islam. Terlahir sebagai santri dengan latar belakang

Islam tradisional, berkenalan dengan ide-ide modernisme Muhammad 'Abdullah dan berpengalaman hidup di lingkungan komunitas Wahabi di Arabia, Chalil adalah penulis yang produktif tentang masalah-masalah keislaman.

Menilai Chalil sebagai tokoh yang sama sekali tidak terlibat dalam gerakan politik adalah keliru. Pada usia yang sangat muda, sekitar 17 tahun, Chalil sudah terlibat dalam gerakan nasionalis Sarekat Islam (SI) di Solo. Sebagai akibat sikapnya yang militan dalam SI, Chalil seringkali berhadapan dengan pihak keamanan Belanda. Bahkan, pada umur 19 tahun, karena terbukti terlibat dalam gerakan protes yang dilakukan sayap militan SI, ia direncanakan Belanda untuk dibuang ke Boven Digul. Hanya karena desakan ayahnya, seorang kyai berpengaruh di Kendal, kepala Residen Belanda di Semarang, Chalil tidak jadi dibuang dan akhirnya meneruskan studinya di Arabia. Aktifitasnya dalam politik masih berlanjut sepulangannya dari Arabia. Pada tahun 1930, ia menjadi anggota Majelis Tarjih Muhammadiyah Pusat dan Sekretaris Lajnah Ahli-ahli Hadits Indonesia (1941), dan akhirnya, pada 1951, Chalil dipilih sebagai anggota Majelis Syura Masyumi Pusat. Perjalanan politiknya berpuncak ketika ia diangkat sebagai Ketua Majelis Ulama Pusat Persis di Jakarta. Sepanjang masa jabatan terakhirnya inilah ia menghasilkan karya-karya tulis dalam masalah-masalah sosial, politik dan keagamaan.

Ada dua hal yang secara tegas menggambarkan perjalanan intelektual Moenawar Chalil, yakni, komitmennya terhadap pembaharuan pemikiran agama dan apresiasinya yang tinggi terhadap berbagai corak intelektual Islam modern. Sebagai seorang pembaharu, Chalil dikenal sebagai seorang tokoh puritan yang menentang pandangan-pandangan keagamaan tradisional.

Pada tingkat inilah bisa dijelaskan, mengapa Moenawar Chalil menaruh perhatian besar terhadap persoalan hubungan antara Islam dan kebangsaan. Pada waktu terjadi polemik tentang masalah ini antara tokoh-tokoh nasionalis sekuler dengan Masyumi pada awal kemerdekaan, Chalil mencoba membangun jalan tengah, bahwa negara Islam ideal harus dipahami sebagai negara yang memberi tempat bagi berjalannya ajaran-ajaran Islam tanpa hambatan. Pandangan politik-keagamaan ini mengilhami banyak tokoh Masyumi untuk tetap berada dalam sistem kenegaraan, daripada menempuh jalan pemberontakan seperti DI/TII.

Pemikiran pembaharuan Moenawar Chalil menggoreskan titik penting dalam sejarah pemikiran Islam di Indonesia. Kegigihannya dalam memperjuangkan dasar-dasar modernisme Islam dan usahanya membangkitkan etos keserjaan Muslim telah memberi sumbangan yang tidak kecil terhadap daya tahan umat Islam dalam menghadapi benturan modernitas.

منور خليل: سيرة حياة مفكر اسلامي ومجدد اندونيسي وافكاره

ملخص: ان البحوث التي أجريت لدراسة الحركات الاسلامية التجديدية باندونيسيا تصرف النظر غالبا عن الاهتمام بالشخصيات الذين ليس لهم نشاط سياسي، فقد حلت فيما يبدو مختلف أعمال الدارسين في هذا المجال عن الاشارة الى ان اولئك الشخصيات كانوا رواد التجديد رغم أن آراءهم وافكارهم كانت منبع ظهور الحركات الاسلامية التجديدية باندونيسيا، ولم يكن السبب في ذلك عدم شعبيتهم وشهرتهم لدى العامة انما لأن دراسة الحركات التجديدية تتم احيانا في اطار النظرة الاجتماعية-التاريخية مع اهمال الجانب الفكري للتجديد ذاته، وكانت النتيجة ان اصبحت نتائج تلك الدراسات خالية تماما من العنصر الجوهرى للتجديد الا وهو البعد العلمي في التفكير الدينى.

ومن العلماء الذين كانوا ضحية لهذا الاتجاه هو الشيخ الحاج منور خليل المجدد الذى كان ينتمى عمليا الى (جمعية) الاتحاد الاسلامي (Persis) وفكريا الى (جمعية) نهضة العلماء، ويمكن ان يقال ان الدراسات حول الحركات التجديدية فى اندونيسيا قد اسقطت اسمه من سجل المجددين، بل ان الدكتور دليار نور (Deliar Noer) الذى كتب دراسة عن الجانب السياسى فى حياة الرجل لم يشر اليه على انه من رواد الحركة الاسلامية التجديدية، والامر كذلك عند الدارسين الاخر فقد تناسوا دوره (لا لشيء إلا) لأن اهتمامهم كان منصبا على الجوانب الانثروبولوجية والاجتماعية السياسية من التجديد؛ وإن الدراسة التى قام بها "ميتسو ناكامورا" (Mitsou Nakamura) عن المحمدية بمقاطعة "كوتاجيدى"

(Kotagede) بـ"يوغياكرتا" (Yogyakarta) لخير مثال كيف ان منور خليل لم يلق من العناية ما يستحقها في تاريخ الفكر الاسلامى باندونيسيا. والحق ان منور خليل -طبقا لبعض الآراء السائدة- كان من المفكرين المسلمين الذين تسيطر عليهم رغبة حثيثة في تطوير الجانب العلمى للفكر الاسلامى، فقد ولد تلميذا في المعهد (التراثى) Pesantren المنتمى الى الاتجاه المحافظ، ثم شاء له القدر ان يطلع على الافكار التجديدية عند (الشيخ) محمد عبده مع فرصة لمعايشة البيئة التى نشأت فيها الحركة الوهابية بالحجاز، وقد اجتمعت هذه العوامل لتكون شخصيته الغزيرة الانتاج فى مجال التأليف حول القضايا الاسلامية، وكان يشغل رئاسة مجلس العلماء بجمعية الاتحاد الاسلامى ورئيس لجنة المحدثين الاندونيسيين، ولا يقل عن ذلك أهمية ما يعرف فى نفسه من منزع الى بعث الموقف العلمى والاهتمام به كغاية للتجديد اكثر من الجانب السياسى والخوض فى النشاط السياسى.

ومع ذلك فإن من الخطأ الفادح الحكم على الرجل بأنه لم يتورط فى الحركة السياسية مطلقا، فقد اشترك فى الحركة القومية "شركات اسلام" Sarekat Islam بـ"سولو" (Solo) وهو بعد فى السابع عشر من عمره، ونتيجة لموقفه المتشدد تعرض كثيرا لمواجهة مسئولى الامن الهولنديى، بل كان منفيا الى "بوفين ديغول" (Boven Digul) بعدما ثبت انه مشترك فى حركة المعارضة التى قام بها الجناح المتشدد فى شركات اسلام، وكان عمره حينذاك تسعة عشر سنة، ولولا الضغط الذى مارسه والده، وكان شيخا واسع النفوذ فى "كيندال" (Kendal)، على الحاكم الهولندى بـ"سيمارانج" (Semarang) لما تم الافراج عنه ثم السفر طالبا للعلم الى الحجاز، ومازال نشاطه السياسى مستمرا بعد رجوعه من المملكة العربية السعودية، وفى العام ١٩٣٠م اختير عضوا فى مجلس الترجيح (لجنة الفتوى) بـ(جمعية) المحمدية، ثم عين امين لجنة المحدثين الاندونيسيين سنة ١٩٤١م، واختير اخيرا فى العام ١٩٥١م عضوا لمجلس الشورى ممثلا لـ(حزب) ماشومى، وقد بلغ به النشاط السياسى ذروة عندما عين رئيسا لمجلس العلماء فى (جمعية) اتحاد الاسلام بـ"جاكرتا"، وفى هذه الفترة التى تقلد فيها رئاسة

المجلس انتج كثيرا من الاعمال والمؤلفات حول مختلف القضايا الاجتماعية منها والسياسية والدينية.

وبصرف النظر عن ذلك كله فإن هناك سمتين واضحتين فى حياته العلمية وهما: التزامه بضرورة تجديد الفكر الدينى وتقديره البالغ للتراث العلمى الاسلامى الحديث؛ وكان -حسب المأثور عنه- مجددا من النوع المعارض للآراء الدينية القديمة بالدعوة الى التمسك بالقرآن الكريم والسنة النبوية، ولم يكن ذلك واضحا فى مؤلفاته المنشورة ولا فى خطبه فحسب بل ايضا فى الاتجاهين الفكرى والعلمى الذين أصر على ضرورة ان تهتم بهما الحركات التجديدية، علاوة على ان افكاره التجديدية تبدو فيها مسابرة لروح التجديد فى اوائل القرن التاسع عشر الميلادى، ولربما كان ذلك عن تأثره بأفكار الشيخ محمد عبده مع معاشته لأصولية الدعوة الوهابية.

وهنا يستطيع المرء ان يتبين ذلك الاهتمام البالغ الذى أولاه منور خليل (لبیان) العلاقة بين الاسلام والقومية، ومن الأمثلة على ذلك موقفه من النقاش المحتم حول هذه القضية بين زعماء مجلس شورى المسلمين (ماشومى\Masyumi) والعلمانيين حيث توسط فى ذلك إذ كان يرى ان مفهوم الدولة الاسلامية هي الدولة التى تفسح المجال لتطبيق الشريعة الاسلامية وتذلل العقبات التى تحول دونه؛ وكانت هذه النظرة السياسية الدينية هي التى أفضت بكثير من زعماء الـ"الماشومى" الى البقاء على الاعتراف بنظام الدولة القائم ولم يختاروا القيام بالثورة وحرب العصابات للمطالبة بالدولة الاسلامية كما فعلته "حركة" دار الاسلام والجيش الاسلامى الاندونيسى "DI/TII".

واذن، فقد ترك منور خليل بتفكيره التجديدى بصمات لها اهميتها فى تاريخ الفكر الاسلامى باندونيسيا المعاصرة، لقد كانت محاولته الدؤوب لترسيخ الاسس الاسلامية للتجديد وجهوده التى لم تعرف الكلل فى سبيل النهضة العلمية الاسلامية اسهاما كبيرا فى البقاء بالامة الاسلامية صامدة امام التيارات التحديثية.

Introduction

Attempts at reform in Islam have tended to be based on the firm belief that the problems facing Muslims are due to a misunderstanding of Islamic doctrine and society's refusal to conform to the true Qur'anic principles and Prophetic traditions (*Sunnah*). The call for a return to the Qur'ân and Sunnah is therefore paramount to the doctrine of reformists. They have always claimed the right to interpret the Qur'ân and Sunnah in the way that Muhammad and the *salaf* (the Prophet Muhammad's companions) did in order to free themselves from the authority of the jurists. They viewed the period of the Prophet and the *salaf* as the Islamic era *par excellence* and held it up as the ideal pattern. Although modern reformism came into existence as a response to the challenge of the increasing Western impact on the Islamic world, the way in which this reformism expressed itself was, to a large extent, conditioned by tradition. Issues that had been debated since classical times, from the role of the Qur'ân and Sunnah to the status of *ijtihâd*, *ittibâ'*, *bid'ah* and *taqlîd*, were the focus of modern reformism, forming its heritage and providing the raw material for fierce debates.

The efforts of the reformists were certainly not coordinated, but they had a unity of inspiration and direction guided as they were by the common goal of returning Islam to its purity and combating heresies and accretions. This is not to deny that shifts constantly occurred throughout the history of reform in line with contemporary circumstances. Looking at reformism in 19th and early 20th centuries, for example, a change of emphasis is perceivable from the pan-Islamic political activism of al-Afghânî, through 'Abduh's liberal vision of social and educational reform to Ridâ's more exclusivist Sunnism and close study of scripture. However their reformism never strayed far from classical concerns, and this marked the nature of their religious reform.

The duty of reforming Islam drew its inspiration from a hadîth, in which the Prophet is quoted as having said that "God will raise at the head of each century such people for this *ummah*, as will revive (*yujaddidu*) its religion for it."¹ This was to suggest that no century of the Muslim era would remain devoid of one who would rise in the face of ignorance, endeavor to purge Islam of all impurities and restore the faith to its original form and spirit. In the hadîth mentioned above, the verb *yujaddidu* contains the concept of giving a new form of life to an old changeless substance, life which is embodied in the eternal message of the Qur'ân and in the practice of the Prophet and

the *salaf*. As such, the word *tajdid* (the abstract noun of the verb *yujaddidu*), which has been adopted as one of the fundamental doctrines of Islamic reformism, conveys the concept of purification, since the essential mission of reform is to achieve a pure brand of Islam and to reformulate permanently valid and immutable dogma.

The concept of reform in contemporary Islam is closely connected with the idea of modernism, since one of the messages that reformists advanced was the repudiation of authorities which could not stand the test of reason. Reformists regarded a particular ruling of the *shar'ah* as being valid for the time in which it was formulated. It was due to historical, social and political conditions that particular rulings of the *shar'ah* had been introduced. For the reformists, these rulings would be subject to rational inquiry, which had become an integral element in the system of modern thinking. Thus a reformist was at the same time a modernist, since he viewed Islam as being entirely compatible with modern rational inquiry and, what is more, the embodiment of modern ideas and values in their highest form. Moreover, the reformist was simultaneously a puritan, as has been previously explained, since within his precept there lay the doctrine of purging Islam of extraneous elements added over time. It is in the context of this meaning of reform, which combines a call for purification with an insistence on Islam's compatibility with new realities, that Moenawar Chalil's reformist thought will be discussed here. On the basis of the foregoing definitions, the terms reformist, modernist and puritan will be employed interchangeably to characterize Chalil's thought. This is in spite of the fact that one term may be used more extensively than the others, depending on the emphasis given to individual subjects.

In reviewing the careers of Indonesian reformists who advocated the idea of a return to an unspoiled Islam, the name of Moenawar Chalil should come readily to mind. Chalil seems to have been among the first to write on the topic of a return to the Qur'ân and Sunnah as attested by the title of a book that he wrote in 1956.² As a reformist, the general pattern of his thought was the encouragement of religious purification, which was geared towards the rebuilding of a good and moral society. He saw the relaxation of religious observances and divergence from orthodoxy as grave threats to Muslim society and believed that the remedying of these ills was not possible unless a deeper reform of religious life was undertaken. His approach was similar to that of other reformists, appealing to the supreme authority of the Qur'ân, to the example of Muhammad and to the way the

Islamic community was organized in his time. By taking early Islamic history as his pattern of reform, Chalil found inspiration in the Prophet's *jihâd*, which implied active effort to reestablish the purity of religious teachings.

In line with this way of thinking, Chalil saw it as his duty to attack the religious practices of those whom both he and his reformist counterparts called the traditionalists, whom he identified as those who did not share his understanding of the teachings of Islam. By definition, these traditionalists were the followers of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah, better known respectively as the NU and the Perti. Thus he was inspired to criticize their practice of *taqlîd*, their adherence to the *madhhab* (schools of Islamic law), the "inauthenticity" of their *fiqh* texts and their observance of popular religious celebrations. Similarly, he demanded the freedom of *ijtihâd* (independent reasoning) and the implementation of *ittiba'* (critical following) in order to maintain legal independence from the authority of others. He held that Islam could only be a religion for all people at all times, if a creative interpretation of its primary sources, the Qur'ân and sunnah, was conducted by means of *ijtihâd*.

Considering that he preached a call for religious reform, Chalil's reformist thought will be studied from a doctrinal point of view. The term doctrine either refers to the principles as stipulated in the Qur'ân and hadîth or to the long-established legal opinions of the early scholars, some of whom were reformists themselves. In so doing, his reform will be revealed in its historical context and be treated as part of a general trend towards religious reform that rested on a single doctrinal basis. Consideration of Chalil's dependence on early reformist thought will, thus, be an object of investigation, in that it will reveal the pattern of the reformist doctrine that guided him in his "re-statement of Islamic teachings." The intellectual dialogue between Chalil and the traditionalists, which was a feature of every stage of his career, will be studied in terms of the arguments that each side put forward. Such an examination is not intended to decide which of the two parties won the contest, but rather to bring out the doctrinal issues raised in the dialogue.

Chalil's reformist thought deserves scholarly investigation. Such an inquiry is indispensable, since the reform movement in Indonesia, as indeed in other places, received their religious inspiration from their leading thinkers. Studying his thought is even more important, since his dual position as the head of the Majelis Ulama (Council of

the 'Ulamâ') of the Persatuan Islam, better known as the Persis, and as a member of the Majelis Tarjih Pusat (the Central Board of Farwâ) of the Muhammadiyah will offer a broader insight into the interpretations of reformist doctrines in Indonesia. To date, no scholarly attention has been paid to the doctrinal aspects of reform as defined above. Rather, the study of the reform movement in Indonesia has tended to analyze it in light of its socio-historical framework, while ignoring the doctrinal dimension. As a result, scholars have neglected a central element of reform i.e. its firm grounding in religious doctrine, thus any effort to place it in a socio-historical framework while disregarding the doctrinal dimensions is misleading. This can be seen in the fact that they have usually raised the issue of reform in the course of discussing the history of political or social organizations, such as the Muhammad, the Persis and the al-Irsyad.

Moenawar Chalil and Scholarly Study of Islamic Reform in Indonesia

No serious study of Moenawar Chalil has been attempted so far, despite the fact that his works seem very promising for an inquiry into Indonesia Islam from the perspective of reformist thought. An undergraduate thesis was written by Muhammad Syafi'i on Chalil's theological views for the Institut Agama Islam Negeri, the IAIN (the State Institute of Islamic Studies), Walisongo, Semarang, in 1989. This thesis was intended to contribute an introduction to Chalil as a writer on Islamic themes. Syafi'i, however, pays more attention to the historical development of Islamic theology, presenting Chalil's theological views in only a sketchy manner.³

Chalil also receives little attention from scholars who have devoted their work to the field of reform. It is only in Howard M. Federspiel's work on the Persatuan Islam, the organization with which Chalil was associated ideologically, that some attention is given to his participation in the organization.⁴ No serious attempt is made by other scholars to discuss Chalil and his views or to place him among those reformists with whom he shared all his talents and knowledge. Even Deliar Noer, who wrote a Ph.D. dissertation in 1963 entitled "The Rise and Development of the Modernist Muslim Movement during the Dutch Colonial Period, 1900-1942," fails to mention Chalil's name, even though his work aims at tracing the historical development of various reform organizations.⁵ Yet, credit should be given to reformist thinkers such as Chalil, whose contribution to formulating the modernists' religious vision can scarcely be ignored.

Chalil had, after all, written some substantial works on legal issues as early as the 1930s, when he was active in the Muhammadiyah.

Other works also ignore Chalil's role due to their focus on reform's anthropological and socio-political aspects. Nakamura's work on the Muhammadiyah movement in a central Javanese town, for example, views the Muhammadiyah from an anthropological dimension. As such, his book is primarily concerned with identifying the pattern of religious behavior of the followers of the Muhammadiyah at Kotagede, as expressed in the popular social and religious traditions that direct their practical day-to-day life. There is no discussion here of the doctrinal issues that play a central role in defining the ideological framework of the Muhammadiyah.⁶ Boland's work, which surveys the political attitudes of Indonesian Muslims with no particular emphasis on Islam as a system of faith, mentions Chalil's role in passing, and only in his capacity as a pamphleteer.⁷ Other works focusing on particular reform movements, such as Alfian's work on the Muhammadiyah, do not concentrate on individual reformist figures such as Chalil.⁸ Although Bisri Affandi's thesis deals with the reformist figure Shaykh Ahmad al-Shurkati, he nevertheless, concentrates on al-Shurkati's role in the formation of Al-Irsyad. As a result, al-Shurkati's reformist thought remains a side issue, with the main discussion being directed to the historical necessity of the movement's foundation, its interaction with other reformist associations and its religious and social activities.⁹

Biographical Sketch of Moenawar Chalil : His Life and Writings

Moenawar Chalil was born at Kendal, Central Java, on February 28, 1908. He came from a respectable *kyai* (religious scholar) family, whose members had established themselves as successful traders. He received a traditional education at the hands of his father, Muhammad Chalil, and his uncle, Muhammad Salim as well as other *kyais* at Kendal, such as Abdulchamid and Irfan.¹⁰ Although Chalil's family had the financial means to educate their son at a modern educational institution, Chalil was not destined to do so. This was in compliance with his mother's wish who wanted him to become a *kyai* rather than a *priyayi* (bureaucrat), who received his training in the modern educational system.¹¹ His mother's hope was only partially realized, since Chalil's career led him to become both a prominent *kyai* and a respected *priyayi*. However, he could not claim the title of *priyayi*, after abandoning his position as the head of the Department of Religious Affairs in the Semarang district.

At the age of seventeen, Chalil became involved in the nationalist movement and joined a political uprising at Kendal, an uprising linked to the activities of Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union) at Solo.¹² As a militant movement, the activities of Sarekat Islam sometimes led to social and political unrest and, as a result, were closely watched by the colonial government.¹³ It was due to his involvement in militant activities that an order to exile Chalil to Boven Digul in Irian Jaya was issued by the assistant regent of the subdistrict of Kendal. This order was never executed, thanks to Chalil's father who persuaded the assistant regent to annul the order. At the time, Boven Digul was a designated place where political detainees were imprisoned during the colonial era. According to "Riwayat Hidup", Chalil's father petitioned for the reversal of the exile order on the grounds of sending his son to study in Arabia.¹⁴ This early experience left an indelible mark on Chalil and to a great extent, foreshadowed his future struggle against established religious dogma.

Thus, shortly after his release, Chalil was sent by his father to study in Arabia, where he spent four years (1926-1929). It was during this stay that he was influenced by the Wahhâbî reformist spirit, which later manifested itself in his own reformist writings and activities. His time in Arabia was a critical one, because it witnessed the efforts on the part of the Wahhâbîs to establish their political and religious supremacy over the whole of the Arabian Peninsula. In fact, Wahhâbîsm was not an unfamiliar ideology to Chalil who had been exposed to such ideas by his teachers from Solo.¹⁵ Wahhâbîsm had been introduced to the Malay archipelago in the nineteenth century by pilgrims returning from the Hijaz.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Arabia was frequently visited by many young Indonesian students. They went there to study and to learn new ideas, which they disseminated upon their return to their country. The impact of Wahhâbî radicalism was not only reflected in the religious zeal directed against anything considered incompatible with the purity of Islam, but also in political confrontations against the existing political structures. The best example of this impact was the sectarian antagonism between the advocates of Wahhâbîsm, on the one hand, and the defenders of tradition, on the other, which manifested itself in the Padri war (1821-1837) in West Sumatra, a region where Wahhâbîsm found a fertile land for growth.¹⁶

Many prominent leaders of the Indonesian Muslim community went to Arabia to further their religious education with some of them

becoming agents of change upon their return to their society. Hasyim Asy'ari and Ahmad Dahlan, the founders of the two largest Islamic organizations the Nahdlatul Ulama (the Renaissance of the 'Ulamâ') and the Muhammadiyah respectively, as well as Hamka, an eminent scholar who held various religious posts, were prime examples of this trend.

There were a number of prominent Indonesian scholars teaching in Arabia, whose academic fame attracted students from the far-off corners of Indonesia. Scholars such as Ahmad Khatîb al-Minangkabawî, Muhammad Ibn 'Umar al-Bantânî, 'Abd al-Karîm and Mahfûz al-Termasî were among the most prominent ones. Among these, Ahmad Khatîb should be given the utmost credit for contributing to the future destiny of Islamic organizations in Indonesia. It was the graduates of his *halaqah* (study circle) that come to lead the reformist as well as the traditionalist groups in the archipelago.¹⁷

During his stay in Mecca, Chalil's preoccupation with the existing trend of religious thought was exhibited by his active participation in an organization established by his fellow expatriates in Arabia. It is also reported that he practiced law in an Islamic court there, an experience that eventually gave him more insight into Wahhâbism as a legal institution.¹⁸ This experience certainly enriched his religious views and was partly responsible for the formation of his puritanical convictions as defined by the Wahhâbis.¹⁹

Chalil also became aware of the reformist trend in Egypt and its surrounding regions during his stay in the Hijaz. Indeed, he was greatly influenced and impressed by the modernist outlook of Muhammad 'Abduh, as can be discerned from the number of 'Abduh' writings that he read and cited in many of his works. Furthermore, the structure of Chalil's *tafsîr* and his interpretation of particular Qur'ânic verses were obviously inspired by 'Abduh's style. His discussion of the compatibility of religion with modernity, which dominated his debate over the innate human need for religious guidance, showed the dialectical approach employed by 'Abduh in his apologetic defense of Islam against non-Muslim attacks.²⁰

Not surprisingly, his respect for 'Abduh reached the point of adoration, the adoration of a *murîd* (a devoted pupil) for his teacher who was nobly protecting the faith from the incursions of non-Islamic elements into the structure of Muslim religious practices. When quoting 'Abduh's ideas, Chalil often refers to him as "*yang mulia*" (his excellency), thus showing his deep respect and affection for the

person whose faith in the truth of Islam and whose struggle for its adaptation to modernity was, in Chalil's eyes, an example to all subsequent generations of reformists.

It is known that 'Abduh's writings and fame spread as far as Indonesia. Not only did 'Abduh's ideas on Islamic reform influence the thought of individual reformists such as Chalil, but it also inspired the birth of a number of reformist organizations in Indonesia in the early twentieth century, such as the Jam'iyat Khayr (The Association for the Good, founded in 1905), the Persyarikatan Ulama (The Union of Muslim Scholars, founded in 1911), the Muhammadiyah (founded in 1912), the al-Irsyad (The Guidance, founded in 1913) and the Persatuan Islam or Persis (the Unity of Islam founded in 1923).²¹ Of these, the most puritan one was the Persis, with which Chalil was associated as chairman of its Majelis Ulama. 'Abduh's ideas were disseminated through his articles in the periodical, *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqâ*, which was imported or smuggled into Indonesia through direct subscription or via pilgrims returning home from Mecca or traders from Singapore.²²

Chalil tried to model himself after both Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb and 'Abduh. While he subscribed to an uncompromising monotheism clearly based on Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb's teachings, he also adopted the idea of the suitability of Islam to modernity and scientific discoveries, which was the main focus of 'Abduh's thought. This deep admiration for both reformers was expressed in his book, *Dua Sedjoli Pembangunan Alam Islamy Muhammad Abdul Wahhab dan Muhammad 'Abduh* (The Duumvirate, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb and Muhammad 'Abduh: The Architects of the Muslim World).²³ In general, however, Chalil was very receptive to the views of other Middle Eastern reformers and thinkers. The ideas of Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî, Rashîd Ridâ, Shakîb Arsalân, Tantau Jawhârî and others also received Chalil's attention. Chalil, for example, translated a part of al-Afghânî's book *Al-Râdd 'alâ al-Dahrîyîn* and the whole of Arsalân book, *Limâdhâ Ta'akhara al-Muslimûn wa Taqaddama Ghayrûhum*.²⁴ It was owing to this translation that Arsalân's view point on the causes of the stagnation of Muslim religious life as well as the loss of Muslim political power became quite popular in Indonesia.²⁵

Upon his return from Arabia, Chalil became involved in both bureaucratic tasks and reformist activities. Unlike some of the leading figures of the reform movements, who were sometimes in opposition to the regime and rejected any government appointment, Chalil

was willing to work for the regime. For almost ten years, he served as the head of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in the district of Semarang.²⁶ Even though he initially seemed to recognize the legitimacy of the ruling regime, he later made clear his disagreement with the political leadership of the country. This political stance, however, was slow to manifest itself²⁷ and only became known when charges of his involvement in an abortive Islamic rebellion, known as the Pemberontakan Darul Islam, the DI (the Rebellion of the House of Islam), became public.²⁸ His hostile attitude toward the government was translated into action with his resignation from the Ministry of Religious Affairs in 1951. In 1952, he refused Soekarno's offer of a high position in Jakarta and he also declined the position of Minister of Religious Affairs offered to him by the Indonesian Nationalist Party (P.N.I.)—Masjumi coalition cabinet. He believed that becoming a member of the ruling political elite in the capital city would force him to give up his oppositional stance, which was far more important for his moral integrity and political convictions than respected status in Jakarta.²⁹

Chalil's political stance places him among those puritan Muslims who believed that politics made men corrupt and worldly. They felt that it was lust for worldly gains and not divine guidance that controlled the ambitions of political leaders. Puritan Muslims believed that these leaders had lost all religious commitment and had, therefore, adopted a secular ideology in order to remove Islam from politics. In their hands, Islam had come to be an object of manipulation and a tool for political ends. This belief led Chalil to end his career as a bureaucrat and to take up again his activities in several reformist religious movements and to do some writing.³⁰

Soon after his return from Arabia, Chalil rose to prominence and held a number of religious offices. He became a member of the *Majlis Tarjih Pusat* (the Central Board of *Fatwâ*'s) of the Muhammadiyah two years after its establishment. The *Majlis Tarjih* came into existence when the proposal for the foundation of a council of Islamic jurisprudence was approved in the 28th Muhammadiyah convention held in Yogyakarta in 1928.³¹ The *Majlis Tarjih* was founded in response to the growing need of Muhammadiyah members for *fatwâ*'s on matters related to the *furû*' (details) and the *khilâfiyât* (disputed issues). It should be noted that the period from the 1920s to the early 1960s was marked by intense debates between the supporters of the reformist and the traditionalist factions over the issues of *furû*' and *khilâfiyât*.

The Muhammadiyah, which claimed to be the guardian of reformist principles, used the Majlis Tarjih as a platform for its 'ulamâ' to express their reformist views on questions pertaining to fiqh.³² The word *tarjih*, which was thought to reflect the idea of *ijtihad*, betokened the Muhammadiyah's conscious effort to establish rulings independent of any earlier juristic opinions. Some members of the Majlis were even of the opinion that the efforts exerted by the Majlis Tarjih had reached such an ideal level as to warrant changing the name from Majlis Ijtihad. This proposal, however, was turned down, because other members held that the sense of the word *tarjih* was more in keeping with the historical and institutional development of the Majlis.³³

From its establishment, the Majlis Tarjih dealt mainly with questions related to pure ritual practices (*ibâdah mahdah*), a subject in which Chalil was a most competent scholar.³⁴ Chalil had written some books and articles as early as 1933 which were more or less prepared as practical manuals for ritual duties. It was in consideration of his educational training as well as his reformist conviction that the founder of the Majlis Tarjih, Mas Mansur, appointed Chalil as a member of the Majlis Tarjih two years after its foundation.³⁵

The Majlis Tarjih stipulated two criteria for any potential member: first, a candidate must be a member of the parent organization (the Muhammadiyah) and second, he must be capable of performing the task of *tarjih*. The first and foremost requirement of any member undertaking the latter was the ability to deduce rulings from the mass (texts).³⁶ Chalil was the best choice for this post, since he specialized in the science of *tafsir* and *hadith*, two sciences which later led him to prominence in the field of religious scholarship in Indonesia.³⁷

Before Chalil took up his duties in the Majlis Tarjih, he was already an active member of the Muhammadiyah, teaching in the organization's al-Madrasah al-Wustâ (secondary school) and leading the Majlis Tabligh (The Propagation Board) of the Muhammadiyah branch at Kendal.³⁸ In some branches, the Majlis Tabligh ran *tabligh* schools, where the graduates of the al-Madrasah al-Wustâ were taught the Islamic sciences and were instructed in the skill of propagation (*ilm al-da'wah*) and the science of comparative religion.³⁹ The graduates of the schools were expected to become leading propagandists to spread the message of reformist ideas to their fellow Muslims.⁴⁰ As such, the Majlis Tabligh anticipated a number of challenges facing its mission, particularly from the opponents of reform. While there is no record indicating the establishment of such a *tabligh* school at

Kendal, nevertheless after Chalil moved to Semarang in 1933, he was assigned to teach a propagation course at the Muhammadiyah branch there. This assured him of a role in the Muhammadiyah's da'wah activities, given his position in charge of teaching the subject of theology in light of reformist views, for which course he prepared a book on the purification of Islamic theology.⁴¹

Chalil was also the secretary of the Lajnah Ahli-Ahli Hadits Indonesia (the Committee of the Indonesia Experts on Hadîth) from its inception in June 1941, a position that he held until his death on May 23, 1961. The Lajnah was chaired by Imâm Ghazâlî, a prominent 'alîm (singular of 'ulamâ') from Solo. Ghazâlî was assisted by a deputy, Muhammad Ma'shum, a scholar with a considerable reputation in the field of hadîth. Both belonged to reformist organizations and the latter was even a regular columnist writing in the section *Sual-Djawab* (Question and Answers) devoted to religious issues for various Persis journals, which became an important forum for propagating the puritanical views of the organization's 'ulamâ'.⁴²

The establishment of the Lajnah was an interesting phenomenon, since not only did it reflect a desire to promote and rejuvenate the study of the science of hadîth, but it also gave impetus to the preparation of a standard book of fiqh more in tune with the reformist perspective.⁴³ The reformists believed that the science of hadîth tended to receive much less attention than that of fiqh. The blame for this was placed on the traditionalists by the reformists, who accused them of not giving the study of hadîth its full share of attention. This lack of attention, the reformists argued, inhibited the traditionalists and prevented them from maintaining and transmitting the authentic teaching of the Prophet. They held that the curriculum of the *pesantrens* (traditional religious seminaries), which were mostly run by the traditionalists, relied too heavily on the study of fiqh.⁴⁴

It was no coincidence that the project of creating a "new" fiqh was also one of the major concerns of some reformers in the Middle East, such as 'Abduh. 'Abduh's proposal of a new Islamic law was aimed at replacing an archaic fiqh, which he considered incapable of responding to new demands and needs. Similarly, the new version of fiqh proposed by the Lajnah was designed to replace the existing fiqh books, the contents of which, the reformists believed, were not directly derived from the primary sources of Islamic law.

Although the Lajnah was a body in which each of its members could claim to be an active participant, the main credit for its pio-

neering work must be attributed to the constant dedication of three persons: Moenawar Chalil, Imâm Ghazâlî and Muhammad Ma'shum. It was in recognition of their cooperation for the sake of maintaining the centrality of the Qur'ân and of promoting the role of hadîth in Muslim life that the three were called the *trio-ulama*.⁴⁵ The role of Chalil was central in the affairs of the Lajnah. The latter's objective writing of a "compendium" of Indonesian fiqh, for example, was not put into effect until Chalil became involved in the undertaking soon after his retirement from government service and his release from prison.⁴⁶ The fruit of the work of the Lajnah was the publication *Al-Fiqh al-Nabawî*, which was written in eighteen volumes. Each volume consisted of about forty pages and was issued separately, so that the public could afford to buy them. This was an important goal for their mission, which sought to provide a guide for the public on the religious duties prescribed by the Prophet.⁴⁷

Apart from its central mission to spread the Prophet's traditions to the *ummah*, the Lajnah tried to open a new dimension in the socio-religious life of Muslims by attempting to eradicate sectarianism through the creation of its Mustahar Khas (The Special Advisory Board). Hasyim Asy'ari, a prominent scholar and the founder of the traditionalist organization Nahdlatul Ulama was included on this board.⁴⁸ This nonsectarian policy was stated literally in its statutes and underlay its main objective of establishing a coordinating forum, in which both the *kaum muda* (the modernists) and the *kaum tua* (the traditionalists) experts on hadîth would work together in the interest of promoting the Prophetic traditions.⁴⁹ In reality, however, the members of the Mustashar Khas were predominantly modernists, such as Mas Mansur, chairman of the Majelis Tarjih of the Muhammadiyah, Hadjid, a member of the Central Board of the Muhammadiyah, A. Hassan, chairman of the Persis in Bangil and Ahmad al-Shurkati of the al-Irshad, to name but a few.⁵⁰

It seems, therefore, that the appointment of Asy'ari to the office of Mustashar Khas was prompted more by recognition of his broad-minded personality rather than in acknowledgment of his capacity as the *Ra'îs 'Amm* of the *Shûriyah* (chairman of the Advisory Board) of the Nahdlatul Ulama. His academic reputation and wisdom had won the sympathy of the reformists, who clearly did not consider Asy'ari to be an advocate of the "traditionalist" faction, but, instead as a senior scholar, whose influence among the Muslim masses could hardly be matched by any Muslim leader.⁵¹

Hamka describes Asy'ari as a religious scholar who preferred a gradual approach towards transforming Islamic thought. Hamka also approves of Asy'ari's commitment to the establishment of *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood) among Muslims. In comparing Dahlan with Asy'ari, Hamka states that while the former expressed his ideas in a "revolutionary" way the latter promulgated his in an "evolutionary" way. That Hamka decided to spread Asy'ari's *mawâ'iz* (guiding messages) in his reformist journal *Pandji Masjarakat* (messages in which the latter appealed to both the reformists and traditionalists to close their ranks and to work side by side) indicates Asy'ari's acceptability within the modernist circle.⁵²

While acknowledging the importance of the Lajnah's efforts in promoting sectarian reconciliation, Chalil, nevertheless, chose to put his energy into a plan to establish a coordinating officer for the 'ulamâ'. As a member of the corps of 'ulamâ' Chalil realized that they had a moral authority over the Muslim population and that because they were heard on social and political matters as well, the 'ulamâ' had a greater responsibility to act with prudence and wisdom. The 'ulamâ' should work for the unity of the ummah, since they were the transmitters of the message of God to subsequent generations following the Prophet.⁵³

Through their role as transmitters of the divine message and as guardians of its pristine truth, Chalil states that the 'ulama' had built up considerable respect among lay Muslims. He further maintained that lay Muslims would often respond to the words of the 'ulamâ', while at the same time remaining deaf to similar orders from state officials. In his works, Chalil strongly condemns those 'ulama' who abused the trust bestowed on them by the population and who manipulated it for material gain and high positions, while leaving the ummah in a state of sectarian fragmentation. He declares that type of 'ulamâ' to be *'ulamâ' sū'* (deceiving) or *ashqiyâ'* (immoral). Those who belonged to the 'ulamâ' sū', Chalil maintained, usually feared to speak the truth and were blindly loyal to rulers, who were in turn often oppressive.⁵⁴

For this reason, Chalil appealed to the Department of Religious Affairs to form a council of the Indonesian 'ulamâ' modeled after the Hay'at Kibâr al-'Ulamâ', of Egypt. The proposal aimed to close the gap between the 'ulamâ' and create a channel through which better understanding among members, irrespective of their sectarian affiliation, would be maintained. Owing to the dictates of their own reli-

religious outlook and political orientation, the 'ulamâ' often issued different *fatwâs* on a similar question.⁵⁵ This of course, Chalil believed, only caused confusion in the *ummah*, who, thus, became the victims of the religious disputes among the 'ulama' who were supposed to provide guidance, rather than friction, Chalil, therefore, welcomed the initiative of the Department of Religious Affairs in organizing, for the first time, a convention of all 'ulamâ' in Jakarta in 1951. He also recommended that such conventions be continued and expanded and that, if necessary, a permanent office called Dâr al-Iftâ' (Office of Fatwâ') be established, which would serve as the religious body in Indonesia with a full mandate to issue *fatwâ's* to the *ummah*.⁵⁶

Chalil's concept of unity, however, could not be easily applied. His understanding of unity did not respect the right of individuals to have different opinions, but rather called for the amalgamation of differences into a single opinion which, he claimed, should be in accordance with the Qur'ânic norms and the Prophetic traditions.⁵⁷ The traditionalists were certainly wary of such demands, regarding the call for a single opinion as favoring the conclusion of the Qur'ân and hadîth-based reformists over their own-*madhhab* based interpretations of the sources. Chalil's efforts, however, should be perceived as a genuine attempt to repair the fragmentation of the *ummah* by abolishing partisanship of the Islamic rite and by a unanimous return to the original sources of Islam.

After his resignation from his government post in 1951, Chalil found a new outlet for his political aspirations in the reformist political party, the Majlis Syura Muslimin Indonesia, or Masjumi (the Indonesia Muslim Consultative Council) and was quickly appointed to its Majlis Syura Pusat (Central Religious Consultative Board). This Majlis was primarily in charge of the proclamation of *fatwâs*. The task of the Majlis Syura was far from being purely religious, since the Majlis regularly issued *fatwâ's* in answer to any question that concerned the party and the *ummah*.

The political role of the Majlis was made possible by the fact that the Masjumi itself was organized in such a way as to enable the 'ulamâ' to be involved at all levels of the party structure. There was always at least one 'alîm on the control board of each level of the organization.⁵⁸ The role of the 'ulamâ' in the organizational structure of the Masjumi was to accommodate the fact that in Indonesia the 'ulama' could not be ignored as a political force and that whoever gained their political approval would consequently gain a large following,

particularly in the rural areas.⁵⁹ M. Isa Anshary, one of the chairmen of the Masjumi Central Board, believed that the unpredicted electoral success of the Nahdlatul Ulama in the 1955 general election lay in trust bestowed by the population on its 'ulamâ', who exerted a strong influence on the masses.⁶⁰ The Masjumi underestimated the immense influence enjoyed by the 'ulama' of the Nahdlatul Ulama, and even went so far as to consider it a marginal Islamic party before the election. The Nahdlatul Ulama had previously received a "quota" of eight seats only in the legislative body, when it was still affiliated with the Masjumi. However, the result of the electoral vote was a big step forward for the Nahdlatul Ulama, representing a gain of forty five seats and third position after the Masjumi in terms of the number of seats held in the legislative body.⁶¹

The 'ulamâ's political role was more or less confined to the sphere of issuing *fatwâs* relevant to the questions that arose at particular times. During the first general election of 1955, for instance, Chalil issued a *fatwâ* declaring that winning the political contest in the election was a religious obligation. Using analogical reasoning, he equated the general election with a *jihâd* (holy war), in which every able Muslim was obliged to participate for the glory of the faith. According to him, a Muslim who committed himself to fight for the victory of Islam by all possible means in the election deserved noble rewards equivalent to those promised by God to the *mujâhidîn* (religious fighters). Furthermore, he appealed to Muslims to donate part of their alms to the political cause, so that sufficient funding would be available for the Islamic parties, enabling them to carry out activities leading to their electoral victory.⁶²

His other political *fatwâs* were typical of the Persis *fatwâs* and were concerned with the general content of nationalism, the philosophical bases of a nation state and the condemnation of political trends opposed to Muslim political goals.⁶³ In one of his writings, for instance, he criticizes the secular nationalists for denying the strong Islamic element which historically had been present in Indonesia nationalism. For him, it was only through Islam that the edifice of Indonesian nationalism had been erected. He further argues that Indonesian secular nationalists who were trying to adopt the model of the Turkish secular nationalists 'thought were misled. In Turkish nationalism, Chalil explains, Islam had played an important role in unifying all ranks within Turkish society, a unity which determined the Turkish victory in their War of Independence and in their efforts at driving the Greeks from their soil.⁶⁴

As a reformist who strove for the implementation of the sharī'ah as a positive law in the country, Chalil believed that Islam, as an ideal political system, had been relegated to the background by the secular nationalists.⁶⁵ He further accused them of ignoring Islam in the Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 (Constitution of 1945), on which the foundations of the Republic of Indonesia were built. He also shared with the Masjumi politicians a common opposition to the nationalists, a stand which reached its climax in the early 1950s with the rise of several Muslim rebellions against Soekarno's regime in various parts of the country. Nevertheless, Chalil's opposition certainly never extended beyond promoting the concept of an Islamic state through democratic means.⁶⁶

His political aspirations were in line with the Masjumi's political stance, even before he became a member of its Majlis Syura. In the Kongres Muslimin Indonesia (The Indonesia Muslim Congress) held in Yogyakarta from 20-25 December, 1949, he proposed a resolution demanding that the Kongres not condemn the Dar al-Islam movement and that it differentiates between renegade groups creating terror in the country side and the true members of the Darul Islam. According to him, it was due to the terror spread by those renegade groups that the reputation of the leader of Darul Islam, Kartosuwirjo, had been tarnished. He made this statement in reply to Musaddad, a participant in the Kongres, who had earlier argued that once the Darul Islam was able to establish a provisional government in the district under its control, it began to impose heavy taxes and to create terror among the population. This, in turn, led many of its supporters to defect and caused the Darul Islam to lose its good reputation.⁶⁷ In his argument, Musaddad mentioned that he was a member of the Darul Salam (the House of Peace), an organization that was initially involved in conducting *pengajians* (religious gatherings) only, but which had later developed into a paramilitary force. The Darul Salam had lent its military support to the country. However, as soon as the Darul Islam began to exploit and abuse the population, the former severed its association with the latter.⁶⁸

In this debate, Chalil's opinion won strong support from many of the participants in the Kongres, especially from his close associates in the Persis, the Muhammadiyah and the Lajnah Ahli-ahli Hadīth Indonesia, such as Imām Ghazālī, Muhammad Ma'shum and Hadjid. The session of the Kongres finally issued a resolution fully supporting the Masjumi's attempts to resolve the question of the Darul Islam

in a spirit of peace and compromise.⁶⁹ Throughout the 1950s, Moehammad Natsir, speaking as the Masjumi leader, deplored many government attempts to resolve the Darul Islam problem by force of arms.⁷⁰ It seems that the difference of opinion over the question of the Darul Islam, as reflected in the debate between Chalil and Musaddad, had proceeded along reformist and traditionalist political lines. It should be noted at this point that [Anwar] Musaddad was later one of the chairmen of the Central Shuriyah (consultative) Board of the Nahdlatul Ulama.⁷¹

As a person who faithfully approached issues from a puritanist perspective, Chalil, a member of the Majlis Syurâ, criticized any religious ruling which, according to him, was not properly and accurately devised. He, for example, accused the chairman of the Syura, Shalih Su'ady, of negligence in issuing a *fatwâ* permitting a female member of the Central Board of the Masjumi to travel to Russia without a *mukhrîm* (a close male relative). The permission was based on a Qur'ânic verse which, according to Su'aidy's interpretation, allowed a female to travel alone, provided that the journey was done in fulfillment of a religious duty. Her journey to Russia, which was intended to uncover the plan of the enemies of Islam (the communists), certainly met the criteria suggested by the Qur'ân. Su'aidy even went so far as to declare that such a journey could rightly be called a *jihâd*. The term *jihâd*, Su'aidy added, should be understood in broader terms as not only fighting non-Muslims in the battlefield, but also traveling to a non-Muslim country in order to obtain information about the strength and weaknesses of potential enemies. Chalil, on the other hand, declared that not only did the Qur'ânic verse quoted by Su'aidy not apply to the case in point, but that Su'aidy's argument was entirely invalid, having been put forward merely to avert the prohibition prescribed by Islamic law.⁷²

Chalil also denounced the validity of the hadîth used by Su'aidy and questioned the reliability of one of its transmitters. Despite the fact that the hadîth was transmitted by Adi Ibn Hatim and was contained in al-Bukhârî's collection, Chalil found that one of its transmitters, Israil Ibn Yûnus Ibn Ishaq, was an unreliable authority on the basis of the opinion of such great scholars as Ibn Sa'd, 'Alî al-Madânî, Ibn Hazm and Ja'far Ibn Shaybah. Therefore, Chalil concluded that the hadîth suffered from a serious defect which rendered the use of the hadîth unacceptable.⁷³ Citing a hadîth only after strictly scrutinizing the reliability of its transmitter, as practiced by Chalil,

was typical of a puritan who did not want to employ any tradition, unless its authenticity was established. According to Chalil, any religious scholar who loosely quoted a hadîth without subjecting its transmitter to strong scrutiny should be called a *dajjal* (imposter).⁷⁴

Chalil also doubted Su'aidy's claim that some medieval jurists, whom al-Nawawî mentions in his *Al-Majmû' Sharh al-Muhadhdhab*, had declared that, such travel is lawful. Chalil said the Su'aidy's manner of quoting al-Nawawî's opinions was not correct and that he only took note of those 'ulamâ' who permitted such travel and discounted those who were against it. Chalil further claimed that he had verified Su'aidy's argument and discovered that in *al-Majmû'*, al-Nawawî advanced opinions both for and against travel by an unaccompanied female. Authenticity was the guiding factor in Chalil's approach to making any religious ruling, particularly if the arguments cited were derived from the Qur'ân and sunnah.⁷⁵

The highest position Chalil held was that of chairman of the Majlis Ulama (Council of the 'Ulamâ') of the Central Board of the Persis. He had been a member of the Persis since the early 1930s, at which time he was serving as a regular columnist for its periodical, *Pembela Islam*, for the Kendal region. From that time onward he had held a dual membership; as a leading member of the Muhammadiyah and a columnist for the Persis.⁷⁶ It must be noted that many persons belonging to the Persis were influential members of other religious, political and social organizations as well. Moehammad Natsir, for example, belonged to Jong Islamieten Bond, while Sabirin was a prominent member of the Sarekat Islam.⁷⁷ This phenomenon may be an indication that its members regarded the Persis as a group formed for religious study and education and that other groups could be used to attain other goals.⁷⁸ As the head of the Persis Majlis Ulama, Chalil also spoke for Persis views. In his polemics with Su'aidy, for example, Chalil can be said to have been representing the Persis. Indeed, he declared that the arguments he had put forth were in support of the opinions of A. Kadir Hassan, the son of the founder of the Persis in Bangil and Chalil's colleague in the Majlis Ulama of the Persis.⁷⁹ His political stance also fell within the realm of the political aspirations of the Persis. His critical attitude towards the secular nature of the constitution of the country, for example, was in harmony with Moehammad Natsir and Isa Anshary's position, which never lost sight of the goal of establishing an Indonesian state based on Islamic principles.⁸⁰ While both Natsir and Anshary were chairmen of the Persis,

the former was also the general chairman of the Masjumi and the latter a member of its central leadership.⁸¹

Among the other religious posts that Chalil held, one can count that of adviser to the Pusat Pendidikan Islam (Center for Islamic Education) at Solo and member of the Panitia Pertimbangan Kesehatan dan Syar' (Committee for Health and Shar' Consultation) of the Department of Health.⁸² There is no detailed record of Chalil's contributions in the Pusat Pendidikan Islam, while his activities in the Panitia Pertimbangan Kesehatan dan Shar' can be gleaned from a number of pamphlets. The Panitia was established on August 12, 1945, with the primary mission of discussing medically-related issues from the viewpoint of *shar'* (divine law).⁸³ The Panitia published its religious rulings through the journal that it had founded. Apart from the internal members of the committee, who were mainly modernist Muslims working in the Department of Health and Religion, there were also several non-civil servant members who were for the most part modernists, such as Moenawar Chalil, A Hassan, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy and Fuad Mohamad Fachruddin. Unlike others, however, who were either representatives of institutions or appointed individuals, Chalil was admitted into the Panitia in his capacity as the chairman of the Majlis Ulama of the Persis and as the secretary of the Lajnah Ahli-ahli Hadith as well.⁸⁴ This certainly enabled him to exercise greater influence, when he was able to, upon the other members of the *shar'* section, who alone had the authority to issue *fatwâs*. As a consequence of the modernist domination of the Panitia, the manner of approaching the cases under discussion was reformist in the sense that the deduction of the rulings was made with reference to the Qur'ân, hadîth and other literature which the reformists considered acceptable, such as *Zâd al-Ma'âd* by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzîyah and *Bidâyat al-Mujtahid* by Ibn Rushd. They did not use the fiqh books referred to by the traditionalists.⁸⁵

The reformists held that the traditionalist fiqh books, such as the *Tuhfah*, *al-Mahalli*, *al-Qalyûbî* and many others, which were widely studied in the pesantrens, were not acceptable on account of their incompatibility with the spirit of modernity which demanded analysis.⁸⁶ On the other hand, they discovered that the works of reformist 'ulamâ', such as Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim, 'Abduh and Ridâ' were analytical and, thus, were more in keeping with modern approaches.⁸⁷

Chalil's reputation was due, in part, to his knowledge of the Islamic sciences, which he shared with the Muslim community through

his writings. Judged by the standards of Indonesian scholarship at the time, he was among the most productive writers. In 1958, a poll was conducted by the *Himpunan Pengarang Islam Indonesia* (the Association of Indonesian Muslim Writers) in order to rank the writers of the day and Chalil was ranked in fifth place. He came out ahead of such celebrated writers as Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, whose authority in Islamic legal matters remains unrivaled until the present time, and A. Hassan, whose polemical style of writing in support of purifying the faith is the basis of his wide popularity throughout the country even today.⁸⁸

Reformists realized the importance of periodicals as vehicles for disseminating their views and for challenging the traditionalist religious beliefs perpetuated in the curriculum and propagation emanating from the traditionalist centers of learning, notably in the countless *pesantrens* and *pengajian* (religious sermon) circles. In the field of publication, the reformists were, therefore, far ahead of the traditionalists in terms of producing a larger number of books, magazines and pamphlets. This is particularly true for Persis which was even more active in this area than its fellow reformist groups, particularly in the publication of journals. Persis, which was a small and loosely knit organization, was able to publish ten journals and many practical guides to Islamic rituals, which served as manuals for reformist adherents throughout the country. Indeed, had it not been for its journals and books, the puritan teaching of Persis would have remained unfamiliar to non-Persis members.⁸⁹

Chalil had already established a magazine *Swara Islam* (the Voice of Islam) in 1935. This magazine was founded for the sake of reviving the sunnah of the Prophet and eradicating unwarranted innovation, *bid'ah* (*anggegesang sunnah, mbongkar bid'ah*).⁹⁰ Chalil, who might have wanted to reach a larger audience, chose Javanese, the lingua franca of the largest Indonesian ethnic group, as the language of his magazine. The magazine was the first of its kind to target Javanese readers and was the only organ in Javanese that the reformists ever produced in the region of Semarang and its adjacent areas or presumably in the whole Javanese speaking areas.

The themes that appeared in the magazine dealt mostly with theology, rituals and ethics. As a typical reformist magazine, it provided a column for polemical issues, which were presented in the form of *munâzarah* (exchange of ideas) or *su'âl-jawâb* (questions and answers). The magazine had two goals: the first was to sound the trumpet of

puritan ideas and the second to educate those Muslims who had a rudimentary knowledge of Islam. In pursuing the first goal, discussion focussed on such disputed issues as debates over touching the Qur'ân during minor ritual impurity or pronouncing the *qunut* etc., while discussions revolving around the second goal consisted of lessons on the moral standards of Islam, ritual formula and basic beliefs regarding God, the Prophets and the like. Needless to say, all discussions followed the puritan point of view.⁹¹ Following the aggressive tradition of Persis in conducting *tabligh* (religious sermon), Chalil chose debate as the means of propagating his puritanist views and challenging his opponents. His debates, which were published in *Swara Islam*, showed no tolerance for his rivals. This attitude was an outcome of the religious antagonism that plagued Muslims during Chalil's lifetime. His intolerance was similar to that of other Persis scholars who often used harsh language and resorted to a polemical style of expression.⁹²

Writing in modernist journals came easily to Chalil, whose membership in the Masjumi party provided him with an opportunity to write for the party's magazines and its newspaper, *Abadi*. His articles in *Hikmah*, a popular magazine whose chief editor was Natsir, generally exalted Islam, warning against relaxation in the observance of its teachings and appealing for broad-mindedness. Chalil too called for the acceptance of Islam in its entirety, since this, according to him, was the only way to achieve progress. In one of his articles, for instance, he points out that the unequal distribution of wealth was due to the Muslim's reluctance to observe wholeheartedly the duty of *zakât* (obligatory alms). He believed that if the doctrine of *zakât* were observed and implemented in a proper way, the problems of famine, starvation and the gap between the rich and the poor would disappear.⁹³

In another article written for *Hikmah*, Chalil also dealt with themes which called for strict adherence to Islamic messages and for rejection of any compromises in implementing its principles, as the only way to manifest a genuine *imân* (belief) and to reflect the spirit of *jihâd* (struggle) exemplified in the Prophet's uncompromising attitude during his struggle for the victory of Islam.⁹⁴ Through his articles, Chalil introduced his audience to different opinions formulated by medieval jurists about rituals, without favoring any single opinion over the others. In doing this, he wanted to educate and to provide Muslims with a variety of views, so that strict adherence to one particular juristic rite would no longer be practiced.⁹⁵ Chalil

claimed that difference of opinions was acceptable, provided that each was supported with strong arguments. Nonetheless, when he took part in any debate, he often supported his arguments with the opinions of modernist thinkers, whom he considered capable of providing a sound analysis due to their acquaintance with both traditional learning and modern science.⁹⁶

Chalil also wrote a religious column for *Abadi*, the Masjumi party's daily newspaper, which was published throughout the 1950s.⁹⁷ Chalil's writings mostly appeared in 1953, 1954 and 1955 and were published separately in the form of pamphlets numbering approximately one hundred in all. His role in the Majelis Shura may have been a factor in gaining the party's trust, enabling him to act as the "preacher" to its supporters of the religious themes he explored in the newspaper. In short, Chalil's writings in *Abadi* called for moral activism, gave lessons on basic rituals, acted as a guide to a better understanding of the Qur'ân and Sunnah and launched attacks on popular religious practices.

As a reformist, Chalil advocated the concept of social responsibility and criticized both the passivity of Muslims and their quest for material progress, faults which, he believed, were partly due to a misinterpretation of the concept of *do'a* (prayer). According to Chalil, *do'a* alone is incapable of changing the conditions of a society unless accompanied by active effort in this direction.⁹⁸ This view seems to support the belief of earlier reformists that creation was ordained by God to follow the principles of nature and revolved around the system of cause and effect. No wonder, he adds, that Muslims are still enslaved by ignorance and immersed in complete stagnation, since what is preached to them every Friday from the pulpit means nothing. Muslims, he points out, have failed to grasp the true spirit of Islam which, indeed, teaches the principles of dynamism and a strong work-ethos, which alone can translate worldly progress into reality.⁹⁹

In his capacity as a religious scholar, Chalil often wrote about issues of ritual practice in his articles for *Abadi*. He also discussed doctrinal matters, in keeping with the newspaper's dedication to the cause of religion (*untuk agama*). His writings on doctrinal themes elaborated in particular the meaning of the pillars of Islam, i.e. prayer, alms, fasting, pilgrimage and *tawhîd* (God's unity).¹⁰⁰ In addition, Chalil wrote on legal topics, in which he presented a variety of views to provide a broader perspective and meet the complex nature of

contemporary problems. The topics he dealt with in this connection involved social issues, such as alcohol addiction, gambling, forced marriage, polygamy and the like.¹⁰¹ Chalil was also concerned with moral issues and wrote a number of pamphlets aimed at disseminating the moral standards of Islam.¹⁰²

Chalil's concern with the primary source of the *shari'ah* constitutes an important part of his writings in *Abadi* and indicates his strong adherence to the principle of a return to the Qur'ân. Chalil thus, attacked those who, in his eyes, had abused the Qur'ân in putting it to irrelevant issues, such as remedying the sick, making amulets and other folk practice.¹⁰³ An uncompromising attitude towards popular religious beliefs was taken up by Chalil who embarked upon the grand mission of challenging those traditions which, in his view, had corrupted the purity of Islamic teachings and had contaminated its noble message. He raised his voice against belief in the *kahîn* (soothsayer), *takhayyul* (magic tricks) and *khurâfât* (superstitions), as well as the excessive religious celebrations on *mawlid al-nabi* (the Prophet's birthday), *'Ashûrâ* (the tenth day of the month of al-Muharram) and *halal bi-al-halal* (post *'Id al-Fitr* celebration).¹⁰⁴

Aliran Islam, which claimed to be a progressive magazine and which was devoted to Islamic thought in religious doctrines, politics, society and culture, was another of the publications for which Chalil wrote. The editor-in-chief of *Aliran Islam* was a prominent Masjumi figure, namely M. Isa Anshary. The magazine invited modernist thinkers like Moehammad Natsir, M. Isa Anshary, M. Rasjidi and Abu Hanifah, who were well informed on the relation between religion and modernity, to contribute to its forum. The magazine also published articles written by such nationalist figures as Soekarno, M. Hatta and M. Yamin, provided they dealt with the interests of all groups including Muslims.¹⁰⁵ Chalil for his part wrote on religious subjects and adopted a rational approach in his writing in order to demonstrate that Islam was compatible with modernity.¹⁰⁶

Chalil's participation in the Masjumi publishing efforts was not only confined to writing, but extended to membership on the editorial board of *Dawlah Islamiyah*, a highly regarded Masjumi-affiliated magazine which identified itself as "the voice of the Islamic revolutionary group".¹⁰⁷ In *Dawlah Islamiyah* Chalil wrote several articles, one of the more daring of which denounced the validity of the fatwa issued by the chairman of the *Majlis Shura*.¹⁰⁸ Several articles were also written by him in Masjumi's official magazine, *Suara Partai*

Masjumi. One of these articles deals with the role of the Imâm (leader) in Islam and traces the significance of the office of *imâmah* (leadership) in the system of government of early Islam.¹⁰⁹ Chalil's treatment of the concept of *imâmah* may have represented an attempt on his part to recreate the image of the golden period of the *al-Khulafâ' al-Râshidûn* (the first four orthodox Caliphs).¹¹⁰ Many reformists had earlier laid an emphasis on this aspect of Muslim history in order to attract the attention of Muslims to the past "glory" of Islam.

Chalil's other writings were scattered in other modernist publications, such as *Pandji Masjarakat*, a magazine established in Jakarta as a continuation of a previous one published in Medan under the title of *Pedoman Masjarakat*. Although *Pandji Masjarakat* did not claim affiliation to any particular sectarian group, the names of those serving on its board of editors show a clear allegiance to the Muhammadiyah.¹¹¹ In *Pandji Masjarakat*, Chalil wrote at least two articles in which he condemned the 'ulamâ' for having become political brokers and called for enjoining good and forbidding evil.¹¹² Chalil wrote for *Pandji Masjarakat* on a regular basis, being appointed as the permanent correspondent for the Semarang region.¹¹³ Finally, it should be mentioned that Chalil contributed several articles on moral uprightness as prescribed by Islam to the newspaper *Pemandangan*.¹¹⁴

Chalil disseminated his reformist views through his books as well.¹¹⁵ However, unlike the case with his articles, the issues he raised in his books were rather similar and can, therefore, be divided into three categories. The Qur'anic-related studies make up the first category, wherein the discussion reflects his faith in the superiority of the teachings of the Qur'ân over man-made ideological concepts. He argues in these works that a return to the Qur'ân was the only assurance for progress and victory. The second category includes material related to the Prophet as an exemplary figure. He discusses in particular those traditions which support and promote the idea of purification. The third category comprises miscellaneous writings discussing the true meaning of Islam and seeking to rectify misconceptions of its noble mission. Other subjects in this category include the duties and rights of the 'ulamâ' in society and the state, the role of women and the function of rulers according to the prescriptions of the *sharî'ah*.

Chalil's biography reflects a series of activities inspired by the spirit of religious reform and manifested in his involvement in a number of reformist institutions. His association with the Majlis Tarjih, the Majlis

Shura and the Majelis Ulama indicates his strong commitment to the cause of reform through those councils, which were charged with preserving, developing and spreading reformist principles. His opinions on various subjects were spread through pamphlets, articles and books and served as a means of hastening the propagation of reformist ideas, which would, otherwise, have been overshadowed by traditionalist thought, rooted as it was for centuries in the traditional learning institutions. Although the subjects Chalil covered extended from the basic doctrines of Islam to disputed matters, the final analysis bears the hallmark of the reformist thesis of a return to the pristine purity of Islam and the eradication of non-Islamic practices. As a reformist, Chalil was one of the many who were committed to challenging the traditionalist views, not only through publications, but also through screening the ideological orientation of members working in religious institutions.

Chalil's reforms were linked to the concept of a nation-state, i.e., an ideal Islamic state where Islam could be observed without hindrance. This political stance was in harmony with Masjumi's political doctrine, which relentlessly fought to achieve this goal. It seems, therefore, that the ambition of realizing such "an Islamic state" inspired Chalil to raise the issue of the unity of the 'ulamâ'. In his view, the role of the 'ulamâ' in Indonesian society would be to serve as co-ruler with the *zu'ama'* (the authorities), once Islam became a ruling system. His ideas pertaining to religious reform and his political awareness were intertwined with and sprang from, a spirit of activism which he gained through his intellectual interaction with the Middle Eastern reformists, who sought to establish belief in the superiority of unspoiled Islamic teachings over man-made ideological concepts.

Moenawar Chalil's Basic Beliefs: His Concept of Dîn Islam and Îmân

Muhammad 'Abduh's *Risâlat al-Tawhîd* was written with the aim of establishing the position of religious belief and doctrine in modern society. The way in which he approaches the theme of the unity of God in this work represents an attempt to redefine Islam and *îmân*. Indeed, the whole final section of *Risâlat al-Tawhîd* constantly speaks of Islam, its beliefs, principles, spirit and extension.¹¹⁶ The establishment of the "true" definition of Islam was urgent for 'Abduh. Since Islam was constantly under attack by his contemporaries, 'Abduh had addressed himself to a society permeated with "rationality", a society doubting the validity of Islam as a guide to life.¹¹⁷ His work,

thus, responds to the test of rationality by restating the fundamental position of Islam and by reformulating its doctrines in order to render them more compatible with modern thinking and the needs of the Muslim community of his time.

The restatement of the concepts of Islam and *îmân* by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb gave rise to a movement to purify the faith. He called for the rediscovery of the purity of Islam and the reformulation of the concept of *îmân*, which had been infiltrated by polytheistic practices prevalent in his time. Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb's concern with the reintroduction of the "true" meaning of Islam and *îmân* led him to choose theology as the main theme of his work.¹¹⁸ Unlike 'Abduh, who was motivated to defend Islam against liberal trends in thought and culture, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb's aim was to lead his tribal society back to an essentially unspoiled Islam. Therefore, in his approach of defining Islam and *îmân* Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb provided insufficient rational arguments quoting solely from the texts of the Qur'ân and hadîth in support of the themes that he proposed. This textual based redefinition of Islam and *îmân* has led some scholars to consider Wahhâbism as lacking in intellectual depth.

The redefining of Islam and *îmân* was also attempted by the Indonesian reformists, this in response to the incursion of local traditions into Islamic religious practices and the questions raised by secularist thinkers as to the relevance of religion in the modern era. A. Hassan is one of those who were involved in the re-examination of religious doctrines and beliefs. In his book *At-Tauhid*, he explains his belief in God and man's relationship with the Divine. He also refutes therein the Christian concept of the Trinity, the worship of saints and certain animistic practices prevalent in Java. In *An-Nubuwwah*, Hassan outlines his concept of prophethood to demonstrate to the secular nationalists and the Christians that Islam was progressive and in conformity with scientific thought. *Islam dan Kebangsaan* (Islam and Nationhood) is another of his works in which he explains his view of man's obligation towards God and his fellow men and demonstrates to Muslims the proper role of Islam in public life.¹¹⁹

Chalil's discussion of Islam and *îmân* was also motivated by consideration similar to those preoccupying his fellow reformists. He believed that Islam and *îmân* had been greatly misunderstood, since people did not define them in light of the prescriptions of the Qur'ân and Sunnah. Consequently, he argued, many of those who professed Islam were misled by a wrong understanding of the fundamental po-

sitions and the theological tenets of their own religion.¹²⁰ Chalil found, for example, that people did not know the distinction between *dîn* and *agama* (the Indonesian word for religion).¹²¹ It is his views that the word *agama* implies the divine concept as it is formulated within the Hindu and Buddhist traditions. In its technical sense, he explains, *agama* indicates the concept of belief in a supernatural power, the spirits of one's ancestors, idols and gods.¹²² This concept of belief is, thus, in direct opposition to the very foundation of divine unity in Islam. By juxtaposing the two terms *dîn* and *agama*, Chalil wants to attribute the concept of *agama* to pre-Islamic religions and *dîn* to the religion of Islam alone. At the same time he corrects those who traced the derivation of the word *agama* to an Arabic root.¹²³

In defining the word *dîn*, Chalil resorts to its various meanings as found in the Qur'ân which he estimates to be about ten in number. In his analysis, Chalil maintains that the word *dîn* mostly refers to the idea of judgment, obedience and regulation, which were promulgated through divine revelation (*shari'ah*).¹²⁴ He then goes on to quote in particular the Qur'anic verse: *'inna al-dîn 'inda Allâh al-Islâm* (the religion before God is Islam) and analyzes the technical meaning of the word *dîn* in the verse quoted above as interpreted by several commentators.¹²⁵ In his analysis, Chalil points out that the commentators elucidated the expression *dîn* to mean *al-millah* and *al-shari'ah*. He explained that 'Abduh, for example, said that *dîn* was called *al-millah* because the word *dîn* demanded the enforcement (*taklif*) of its regulations, and *al-shari'ah* because it had a system of regulations (*awdâ'*).¹²⁶ In this regard, Chalil affirms, the word *dîn* in the verse quoted should be equated with Islam, since the latter is often defined as a system of regulations (*awdâ'*) which are deemed necessary to be enforced (*taklif*).¹²⁷

Chalil's interpretation of the word *dîn*, which for him meant Islam, merits discussion. He held that the Qur'ân used the word *dîn* to identify all religions, yet the religion that was revealed to all Prophets was Islam.¹²⁸ To support his opinion, Chalil quotes three verses declaring that the *al-dîn al-haq* (Religion of Truth) is Islam. As such according to Chalil's view, Islam was not one religion among others, but the only one revealed from Nuh to Muhammad and that other religions could be referred to as *dîn* only in so far as they conformed to Islam.¹²⁹ Thus, according to Chalil, Islam alone was the *al-dîn-al-haq*, because each time the expression *al-dîn al-haq* appears in the Qur'ân, it is to confirm that Islam has primacy over all domains of religion.¹³⁰

The idea of *al-dîn al-haq* was often identified with the process of its transmission. Muslim writers usually claimed that Islam was the only religion which had been passed down from messengers to succeeding generations through chains of reliable transmitters. It was due to the merit of its full transmission that Islam deserved the name of *al-dîn-al-haq*.¹³¹ The historical clarity of Islam was, however, not a factor mentioned by Chalil, who chooses to speak of Islam's authenticity instead. He emphasizes the latter because he regards it as the main factor behind Islam's survival and resistance against human interpretation. He, therefore, explains that the opposite of *al-dîn-al-haq* is *al-dîn al-mubaddal* (a corrupt of the religion) like that of the *Majûsî* (Zoroastrian), the *Sabi'ûn* (Sabians), the *Ahl al-Kitâb* (People of the Book) and the *Wathâniyûn* (Idolaters).¹³² Chalil associates the notion of *al-dîn-al-haq* with certain characteristics, among them the quality of being moderate, a characteristic not shared by the *Ahl al-Kitâb*, who, according to Chalil, were exaggerated in their religious practices. It is due to its simplicity and avoidance of excess that Islam may be distinguished from the other religions.¹³³

Chalil goes on to say that this character can only be maintained by ensuring that its principles not be corrupted by its religious leaders (*rijâl al-dîn*). It was due to the modifications, changes and additions imposed by their religious leader, Chalil argues, that Judaism and Christianity lost their originality.¹³⁴ This point leads him into a discussion of how the *al-dîn al-qayyîm* (The Immutable Religion) or *dîn hanîf* (The faith of Ibrâhîm),¹³⁵ According to Chalil, the concept of *dînan hanîfan* goes back to the original concept of monotheistic religion as voiced by Ibrâhîm. The latter had called for a religion that was unspoiled by deception and falsehood. It is, therefore, with this *dînan hanîfan*, a pure monotheistic religion, that the concept of *al-dîn al-haq* may also be identified.¹³⁶

Chalil then moves on to a discussion of the word *Islâm*. He considers how the word Islam is used in the Qur'ân and discovers eight different senses which he divides into three categories of meaning, namely the connection between *dîn* and *Islâm*, the interior quality of Islam and conversion to Islam.¹³⁷ Chalil further explains the word Islam by quoting the opinions of some Qur'ânic commentators. He was keenly attentive to the interpretation of 'Abduh who identified the word Islam with the concept of *al-tawhîd* (divine unity), 'Abduh believed, according to Chalil, that Islam was revealed to purify the human heart and mind from belief in superstitions, so that man may

be totally free and dependent only on God.¹³⁸ According to ‘Abduh, a true Muslim was a person who purified himself from the “filth of polytheism” (*min shawâ’ib al-shirk*) and whose acts were a reflection of genuine faith (*al-îmân*) in any place and time.¹³⁹ Chalil further explains that emphasizing the purity of one’s heart and conduct from *shirk* is central in defining Islam, since all rulings prescribed in the *shari’ah* are intended to secure *tawhîd* from anything that could tarnish it.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, Chalil concludes that Islam cannot be isolated from the concept of *tawhîd* (*îmân*), since the two words, *Islâm* and *îmân*, are terms frequently used inseparably in the Qur’ân.¹⁴¹

Chalil takes up the discussion of the concept of *îmân* by tracing its meaning in the vocabulary of the Qur’ân and by relying on the two Qur’ânic verses that employ the word *îmân* in the sense of belief.¹⁴² He also employs definitions provided by the hadîth, *âthâr* and the jurists, all of which suggest, according to Chalil, that *îmân* consists of assertion by tongue (*qawl*), internal judgement by heart (*tasdîq*) and affirmation by deeds (*a’mâl*). Thus, Chalil insists that true *îmân* is not only witnessed by words (*shahâdah bi al-lisân*), but must be made alive by adherence of the heart (*ahd bi al-qalb*) and proved by works (*a’mâl bi al-arkân*). These three elements of the act of Iman were extracted from various sources, one from ‘Alî ibn Abî Tâlib who is quoted as having said: “Belief in God is assertion by tongue, confirmation by heart and good works,” another, which sounds very similar, cited by Chalil from ‘Â’ishah and the final one attributed to the Prophet who said that “*îmân* is not merely an adoration of God, but acceptance in one’s mind and implementation of one’s duties.”¹⁴³

Chalil then expands this definition of *îmân* by adding what was mentioned in the Sunnah about it, regarding this as an important element. In doing so, he cites the opinion of al-Awza’î who insisted that true *îmân* could be judged by the conformity of one’s acts with the sunnah of the Prophet.¹⁴⁴ This was in line with the Hanbalî opinion which suggested that *îmân* consists of words, works, the right intention (*niyyah*) and attachment to the Sunnah. This assertion was also supported by some hadîth scholars who, according to Chalil, did not accept *îmân*, unless it denoted one’s adherence to all religious orders and avoidance of all the prohibitions (*ma’siyahs*) that He had laid down in the message expounded in Muhammad’s Sunnah.¹⁴⁵

Lastly, Chalil mentions the opinion of Sahl al-Tustârî, who had held that attachment to the Sunnah was an important component of

imân. Making pious statements without good deeds, al-Tustârî argued, was infidelity (*kufr*), while assertion by the tongue with no internal affirmation was hypocrisy (*nifâq*) and acceptance by the heart without following the Sunnah of the Prophet was heresy (*bid'ah*).¹⁴⁶ Chalil does not mention any opinion which considers the implementation of *imân* in overt acts as a secondary element. Such an opinion was not rare among the theologians, particularly those who belonged to the Mâturîdî school of theology. Even if Chalil was not familiar with theological principles advocated by the Mâturîdîs, he might have become so through some Ash'ârîs whose opinions received an acceptance in Indonesia. The latter stressed the importance of conviction or internal judgment, saying that a *tasdîq* in God is an internal judgment of truthfulness, which denotes obedience to God. As such, it does not forcefully require the performance of duties.¹⁴⁷

Does *imân* increase and decrease? In the Qur'ân the increase of *imân* is frequently mentioned. The Qur'ân in surah *Ali 'Imrân*, 173, for example, states. "Those to whom people said, People have gathered against you, so fear them, this increase their faith and they said. Sufficient is God for us. For He is the best Guardian."¹⁴⁸ And again in surah *al-Fath*, the Qur'ân mentions the possibility of the increase of *imân* by saying, it is He who sent tranquility into the hearts of the believers that they may add faith to their faith.¹⁴⁹ On this matter, Chalil was in accordance with the opinion of Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Isfahânî, who did not comment on the question of whether the act of *imân* can increase and decrease. Nevertheless, on the question of whether *imân* remains valid when one does not practice what he believes in, al-Isfahânî affirmed that in such an instance *imân* would be lost accordingly. In Supporting his argument, al-Isfahânî quoted a hadîth which affirmed that "An adulterer while committing an act of adultery was not a believer (*mu'min*)".¹⁵⁰

Chalil supported al-Isfahânî's analysis that an act of disobedience could cause the loss of *imân*, saying that *imân* lay strictly in the external expressions without which it would be lost.¹⁵¹ By saying so, Chalil did not see that while acts of disobedience certainly diminish *imân*, *imân* itself, nonetheless, essentially remains. The implication of this is that he did not perceive *imân* as susceptible to growth and decrease. Such a view was in contradiction with the doctrine of al-Ash'ârî, who believed that *imân* could both develop and diminish, a view that generally guides the theological approach of Muslims in Indonesia.¹⁵² Rather, his opinion was closer to that of Abû Hanîfah,

who held that *îmân* would neither increase nor decrease. This was despite the fact that Abû Hanîfah did not include actions in his conception of *îmân*, as Chalil had done.¹⁵³ The fact that Chalil held that *îmân* was concomitant with the performance of all rites and duties was intended to challenge those who accepted Islam only as an official religion. This is particularly relevant in the Indonesian context, where a substantial number of Indonesians were Muslims by confession, but in fact rejected most religious rituals and obligations.¹⁵⁴ Chalil's opinion was also in conformity with the "doctrine" of the reformists, who desired to translate belief into works and acts. They condemned the traditionalists, who sometimes laid more weight on verbal confessions and less on acts. A case in point is the traditionalist literal translation of a hadîth which states that whoever pronounces the *kalimah tayyîbah* ([two] sentence [s] of witness) on his deathbed will enter heaven without judgment (*bi ghayr hisâb*). The reformists, on the other hand, did not accept such a verbal metaphysical confession and required real actions instead. This was so, because the reformists always persisted in their belief in human responsibility and, therefore, only accepted human acts as proof of what men confessed.

The essential theological question on which the schools of *kalâm* were divided was that of the distinction or non distinction between Islam and *îmân*. In the Qur'ân, the terms Islam and *îmân* are sometimes used interchangeably, since "Muslim and *mu'min* constitute the body of those who escape from hell by embracing Islam."¹⁵⁵ This statement, however, is not absolute, since in some instances the Qur'anic usage seems to suggest that the two held different connotations.¹⁵⁶ Also, one hadîth states that there was a difference between Islam and *îmân*.¹⁵⁷ *îmân*, which also expresses itself in the performance of rites and duties, lies deeper than Islam, just as the roots of the tree lie beneath the earth. This difference is briefly explained by a tradition in which the Prophet is quoted as having said: "Islam is external, *îmân* belongs to the heart". Thereupon he (Muhammad) pointed to his own heart three times saying: "The fear of God is here". The Hanâfites affirmed this distinction between Islam and *îmân*. They assume that *îmân* and Islam signify two different meanings: the former belief in God and His Apostle and the latter denoting submission thereto.¹⁵⁸

Chalil's stand differed from that of the Hanâfites in that he sees *îmân* and Islam as an inseparable entity. His view was based on al-Ghazâlî's interpretations of the terms Islam and *îmân*. Al-Ghazâlî

said that the two sometimes make up different sets of acts, which he called *ikhtilâf* (difference). While Islam is a submission by action, *îmân* is an affirmation by the heart, each has its own norms and does not interact with the other. At that time, however, Islam and *îmân* were seen as intertwining in meaning, which al-Ghazâlî referred to as *taraduf* (synonymity), Islam and *îmân*, thus, compose two inseparable entities, since the outer expression (Islam) must be generated from the inner affirmation (*îmân*). Islam exists because of *îmân* and *îmân* because of Islam: Nevertheless, on still other occasions the link between the two is not synonymous, but rather accidental, which al-Ghazâlî calls *tadâkhul* (intervention). In such instances, Islam indicates both inward and outward submission, while *îmân* subsists as one component of Islam only.¹⁵⁹ In his analysis of al-Ghazâlî's approach to the issue, Chalil support the second meaning, as proved by his quotation of a number of opinions that were similar to this meaning as given by al-Ghazâlî.¹⁶⁰

Îmân through *taqlid* (unreasoning imitation) was condemned by Chalil. *Îmân*, according to him, must be based on an intelligent acceptance, the absence of which rendered the acquisition of *îmân* invalid. In order to be fully convinced of their *îmân*, Muslims should investigate the signs of the universe and the indication of events that reflect divine existence.¹⁶¹ Chalil supports this statement with a number of traditions that reported the prophet as having said that: "Reason is man's custodian (*qiwâm al-mar'*) and religion is only for man with the [sound] reason."¹⁶² In another instance, he select a hadîth which enjoins people to seek logical proofs on matters of *îmân*: "Oh men, search for evidence (*a'qilû*) of your God and urge one another with your reason (*bi al-'aql*), so that you know what is enjoined and forbidden, because that is the only way to save you on the Day of Judgment". Chalil also advances a hadîth which associates reason with the level of *îmân*, as seen in a hadîth which reads: "Don't be impressed by a man's *îman*, until you know how his intellect perceives (things) (*mâ dhâ 'aqada 'aqluh*)."¹⁶³

Chalil's argument was in line with that of other reformists who condemned uncritical acceptance of *îmân*. They were opposed to blind submission to *îmân* on the grounds that reason is capable of having a comprehensive knowledge of God. For them, reason has to seek the Creator of this world through His signs, irrespective of the level of reason. According to them, Muslims must shun submission to conjecture and not be content with mere imitation, since a belief

that is not supported by proofs and reason will inevitably hamper the progress of their intellectual faculties.¹⁶⁴

The view that *îmân* requires demonstrative reasoning was a classical argument. It became an essential principle in scholastic theology (*kalâm*). Which was built on rational demonstration and relied only occasionally on dogmatic traditions. It is well known that the method of *kalâm* rested on advancing rational arguments (*dalîl 'aqlî*) first, before establishing doctrinal arguments (*dalîl naqlî*). *Îmân* as defined by Chalil above cannot, therefore, be seen as a reformist definition, but rather as a restatement of the old theological formula dressed up to fit his reformist campaign against *taqlîd* and traditions. It should also be noted that the traditionalists, who were regarded as ardent practitioners of *taqlîd*, also required logical proofs with respect to matters of *îmân*. Machfudz Shiddiq, the chairman of the Central Executive (Tanfidhiyah) Board of the Nahdlatul Ulama,¹⁶⁵ explains that since *Îmân* is the foundation of religion (*usûl al-dîn*), rational arguments are, therefore, of unquestioned necessity. He believes that such requirements are not hard to fulfill even on the part of the least talented man, since logical proofs based on sensible phenomena are in abundance.¹⁶⁶ Unlike Chalil who refers to the Qur'ân and hadîth only, Shiddiq, in giving his definition, refers to *al-Luma'*, a text written by a Shaff'ite scholar. Despite their different methods in deducing the definition of *îmân*, both reformists and traditionalists came to the same conclusion, i.e. that reason is of prime importance in developing a sense of *îmân*, even for those who are not trained at all in reasoning, logical proofs or the art of dialectics. This is so because the common people are still capable of reaching logical conclusions through *dalîl ijmâlî* (inconclusive argument).¹⁶⁷

What differentiated the reformists and traditionalists on the issue of *îmân* was the fact that while the former confined themselves to its cognitive message, the latter went beyond that message by giving to the principle of *îmân* an emotional dimension. This dimension may be seen in the didactical poems (*manzûmahs*) which were introduced by the traditionalists to disseminate love and appreciation of their religion in the heart of the reciter. There are a number of *manzûmahs* that sing of God's omnipotence, names and attributes and of the Prophet's exemplary conduct expressed in theological terms.¹⁶⁸ The *manzûmah* which is composed in a metrical rhyme-scheme, aims at arousing the emotion of its reciter and at heightening his religious feeling. The intensity of the reciter's emotion was expected to in-

crease the psychological element in his faith, so that the emotional aspect was maintained. Needless to say, the Indonesian reformists rejected the recitation of *manzûmahs*, an example of this being the Persis attack on the tradition of chanting a particular *manzûmah* prior to the Subh prayer.¹⁶⁹

Chalil's perspective on *taqlid* in *îmân* led him to believe that its practice had prevailed long before the coming of Islam among the followers of previous religions. He declares that this practice did not die away and that a theological revision should be constantly undertaken in order to correct the situation. He affirms that the practice of *taqlid* is based on the belief that the acceptance of *îmân* in the eyes of God is dependent on following a religious leader (*ketua agama*) or a holy man (*orang suci*). He states that holy men have created the notion that ordinary men lack the power to present their own prayers to God and that in order to obtain forgiveness they must depend on the mediation of holy men. Chalil accuses those who wield religious authority of treating others like babies (*bayi*), since the basic right of ordinary men to exercise their own rational power is taken over by their so-called superiors.¹⁷⁰

Chalil's approach in linking the practice of *taqlid* to the followers of pre Islamic religions coincides with that of al-Afghânî, who asserted that in Christianity men are treated differently according to religious hierarchy and race. Al-Afghânî also said that only the priests are given control over the acceptance of belief and the forgiveness of sins. Other men, even if they were to achieve a high degree of perfection, would not be allowed to present their own sins before the divine threshold and to seek forgiveness.¹⁷¹ Al-Afghânî's criticism of Christian dogma ultimately sought to affirm that Islam, unlike Christianity or other faiths, was the only religion that removed class distinctions and that, indeed, if there were any distinctions in Islam they were based only on intellectual and spiritual perfection.¹⁷² However, unlike al-Afghânî, Chalil's attack on *taqlid* was an act of revision not affirmation, since it was aimed at redressing the *îmân* of his criticism of the practice of *taqlid*, 'Abduh wanted to free his fellow Muslims from the shackles of *taqlid* that they had imposed upon themselves due to their belief in the authority of religious leadership (*sultah al-dînîyah*).¹⁷³

Although Chalil gives reason very high rank with regards to *îmân*, he is still traditional in his views that it is revelation and not reason that made the knowledge of God obligatory, as can be seen in the

extensive textual citations that he advances. He certainly does not dare to deny or even question the role of revelation or to consider reason as self sufficient in guiding the human mind towards knowledge of God. It is true that reason can attain knowledge of God's existence, but it is revelation that commands reason to explore the signs of God's creation.¹⁷⁴ In this regard, he does not break away from the theological paradigm laid down by the early theologians. The fact that his support and that of his reformist counterparts for the possibility that God's existence might be known through investigation "struck" a chord in Indonesian society, does not necessarily mean that they were offering a concept in any way different from that of the early theologians.

Chalil believed that releasing human reason from the bondage of *taqlid* had far-reaching implications for the status of rational thought, science and human obligations in Islam. Islam, he affirms, is a pure religion (*agama fitrah*) which does not hamper progress but rather condemns the intellectual stagnation that has arisen as result of *taqlid*. It greatly encourages its followers to broaden their intellectual vision, in as much as the Qur'ân repeatedly orders them to use their reason and intelligence in understanding the mystery of creation. Not only is the exercise of reason in Islam intended to consolidate belief in God's existence, but it is also of use in analyzing factors that are conducive to material strength and progress. He further explains that it is on man's power (reason) and not that of any religious authority that achieving progress in his life depends, as implicitly stated by the Prophet.¹⁷⁵

In Chalil's eyes, every human being is created with a desire for perfection which is expressed in his relentless efforts to pursue that perfection (*mencari kesempurnaan*) in his life. Thus, it is only through the maximum exercise of human reason that progress and perfection can be obtained. Referring to a Qur'ânic injunction Chalil argues that God created the whole universe to provide man with the resources necessary for his daily requirements and welfare.¹⁷⁶ Logically, he states, God has also obliged human beings to explore and maintain what has been created for them on earth.¹⁷⁷ In order to accomplish the duty of exploiting the wealth of the earth and of maintaining it, science has to be developed and studied. The Qur'ân itself even declares, Chalil explains, that since God endowed human beings with a little knowledge, so man is recommended to pray for the increase of the knowledge. Therefore, in Islam the possessors of knowl-

edge are favored with a prominent place and are distinguished as a special class. This means, Chalil further states, that worldly progress which can only develop in a climate of freedom of thought and scientific advances has a sound basis in Islam.¹⁷⁸

In Chalil's view, Islam is an all-embracing religion that encompasses both spiritual and material matters. It regulates all kinds of mundane activities, such as transactions, commercial enterprises (*urus-an syarikat*), agriculture, trade and others.¹⁷⁹ He challenges the traditional image of austere Islam, stating that Islam is not a religion for those who flee from worldly pursuits. Islam, he explains, is more than merely an institution that seeks spiritual enjoyment through *dua dhikir* (repetition of God's names through certain formulas), *salah*, etc.¹⁸⁰ Again, Chalil cautions his co-religionists that earthly progress should be pursued through their own endeavors and not through imitation (*taqlid*) of the previous generations, whose glory and achievements were appropriate only to their own time and place. He supports this assessment with the Qur'anic injunction stating "That was a people that has passed away. They shall reap the fruit of what they did and you of what you do of their merits is no question in your case".¹⁸¹

In connection with the role of reason, Chalil condemns misconceptions regarding *ikhtiyâr* (effort). He affirms that all the miseries and misfortunes inflicted upon Muslims are the outcome of their own deeds. His opinion on *ikhtiyâr* should be connected with his concept of *doa* (prayer), since both point to his views on the dynamism and work ethos prescribed by Islam. In elaborating on the meaning of *ikhtiyâr*, Chalil cites a Qur'anic injunction that was popular with the reformists: "Verily God will not change the state of people until they change their own state".¹⁸² According to Chalil's opinions, Muslim often fail to interpret correctly the concept of *ikhtiyâr*. *Ikhtiyâr*, he states, should be understood as essential in life, for without it everything would come to a standstill and progress would never be realized. What one usually fails to understand, in his view, is the fact that in the operation of *ikhtiyâr*, reason (*'aql*) is a determining factor, since it is reason alone that controls the person who exercises the *ikhtiyâr*. Furthermore, Chalil states that *ikhtiyâr* consists of two components, one being the outer and the other the inner element. The latter, to which reason belongs, should be elevated to a position superior to that of the former, due to its capacity to distinguish between right and wrong, a capacity which directs the outer compo-

ment on the road to success, Chalil further states that change in man must come about through his own reason and it is up to every individual to view himself critically, for he cannot blame anyone other than himself for his failure.¹⁸³ As such, Chalil's concept of *ikhtiyâr* aims at promoting the idea of "change through reason and action" which constitutes a prerequisite to human progress.

Pursuing worldly progress was an important issue in the reformist tradition. It was out of confidence in the ability of man to realize his ends through struggle and effort that Chalil attacked the practice of *zuhd* (abstinence).¹⁸⁴ Chalil states that *zuhd* was commonly misunderstood as abstinence from worldly things and detachment from all that God has created. In adopting this practice, he argues, Muslims become apathetic in the pursuit of worldly progress and inevitably leave many fields unattended.¹⁸⁵ *Zuhd* in its true meaning, Chalil further remarks, seeks to place all material accomplishments within the framework of divine grace. He consolidates his opinion by quoting a hadîth which states: "*Zuhd* is not to declare lawful what is forbidden and not to neglect material pursuit, but *zuhd* is that you do not regard wealth in your hands superior to God's power". In fact, *zuhd*, Chalil states, is not an abandonment, but a search for and pursuit of material achievements, as 'Alî ibn Tâlib has said: Whoever strives in the world with the intentions of seeking it for God's sake is exercising the practice of *zuhd*".¹⁸⁶ Material gain itself therefore, is not condemned, but is prescribed by textual injunctions. What is condemned by Islam, Chalil confirms, is the accumulation of wealth which denies a share to others, or excessive attachment to worldly comforts and pleasures that divert one's attention from God.¹⁸⁷

As was the case with other reformists, Chalil's attitude towards Sufism was hostile. He denounced the *tarîqah* (sufi order) as having no religious basis whatsoever in Islam. All the major *tarîqahs*, such as the Qâdiriyyah, the Naqshbandiyyah, the Dasûkiyyah, the Shâdhîliyyah, the Tijâniyyah and others, he states, came into being in the fifth and sixth centuries of the *Hijrah* long after the Islamic era par excellence. He points out that the advent of the *tarîqah* coincided with the "golden age of Islam", when the faithful had lost their grip on the pristine teachings of Islam, the Qur'ân and Sunnah. What the *tarîqah* introduced, such as *dhikr* and other sufi formulas, were ritual innovations (*bid'ah*), according to Chalil, which were performed neither by the Prophet nor by his *sahâbah* (companions) nor even by his *tabi'ûn* (the following generation).¹⁸⁸ In his reflections on the emer-

gence of the *tarîqah*: Chalil isolates the *tarîqah* from the context of its gradual development. He does not view it as a crystallization of spiritual tendencies rooted in ascetic practices apparent in early Islam. Ascetism emerged in response to the change in the economic circumstances during the Umayyah period, when there was an influx of wealth from the conquered lands. Chalil's view that the prime mover of *tarîqah* was man's inability to cope with the pressure of worldly life, the Qur'ân itself speaks of the relationship of individuals to God in an intense and passionate way, which is conducive to the birth of mystical experience.¹⁸⁹ As for his attack on the practice of *dhikr* Chalil does not discuss the Qur'anic text which, indeed enjoins on every Muslim the practice of recollecting God, a practice which was translated into tradition of *dhikr* by the sufis.¹⁹⁰

It is due to the reformists attack on Sufism as a deviation from the practice of the Prophet and the *salaf* that controversy over the *tarîqahs* arose. Citing Ibnu Khaldun's opinion on Sufism, Sirradjuddin Abbas, a leading traditionalist scholar, challenged this notion saying that sufism was historically rooted in the religious practices on the *ṣahâbah* and the *salaf*. The practice was later shaped into an established form in the second and the third centuries of *hijrah* in response to the society's increased appetite for worldly life.¹⁹¹ Yet, Abbas did not discuss the central issue raised by Chalil concerning the absolute obedience of a *murîd* (disciple) to his *shaykh's* (master), which was part and parcel of the basic rules of sufi life.¹⁹² The *shaykh* absolute authority over his disciples could prove very dangerous due to possible misuse.¹⁹³ It was on the issue of the *murîd-shaykh* relationship that a bitter conflict between the reformists and the traditionalists broke out in West Sumatera in the early twentieth century, signaling the beginning of a more intensive reform movement in Indonesia.¹⁹⁴

Conclusion

Chalil's discussion of *dîn* affirmed that Islam was not one religion among others, but the one and only *dîn* revealed throughout the chain of prophethood extending from Nuh to Muḥammad. The concept of *dîn* in Muḥammad should not be confused with other belief systems, which may be described by other terms, such as agama or the like. The disconnection of *dîn* from non-Islamic elements was an initial step for Chalil in his attempt at purifying the faith, before building a fresh understanding of Islam and *îmân* and making further endeavors to purify Islam of other non-Islamic elements. Islam should

be defined in reference to the concept of *tawhîd*, he advocated, which constitutes the core of the system of belief in Islam. Apart from that Islam is not only a complete submission to God, but also a comprehensive system of living. The division of life into sacred and profane is dedicated to God and nothing that is so dedicated can be profane. This is particularly true, since Islam, according to Chalil, obliges its followers to be active players in secular life. Since Islam is an all embracing religion, it is impossible to deny that Islam is a true guide for human life, if correctly defined and understood.

Chalil was an advocate of the purity of *îmân*: which alone validates the whole fabric of religious life. For him, true *îmân* means its confession by the tongue and its expression by acts. It is only by saying and acting that man can find a true basis for his relationship with God. As *îmân* is the essence of the spiritual message of Islam, the meaning of *îmân* must be correctly understood. Anything that can distort the right conception of *îmân* should be eliminated, so that *îmân* will always be prosperous and pure. *Îmân* was considered by Chalil as the first thing inscribed in human minds. If one's mind were to become idle and adulterated, it would no longer be possible to distinguish between good and evil, and adversity and misfortune would then overtake one from all sides.

Endnotes

1. Abu Daud, *Sunan Abi Daud*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dar al-Jinân li al-Tibâ'ah wa al-Nashî wa al-Tawzî', 1988), p. 512.
2. Moenawar Chalil, *Kembali kepada al-Qur'ân dan As-Sunnah* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1956); for the comment of Dawam Rahardjo on this issue, see in M. Dawam Rahardjo, "Melihat ke Belakang Merancang Masa Depan: Pengantar," in *Islam Indonesia Menatap Masa Depan* (ed.) M. Dawam Rahardjo (Jakarta: P3M, 1989), pp. 1-2.
3. Mohamad Syafi'i, "Konsepsi Theology K.H. Munawwar Kholil: Suatu Studi Komparatif" (Drs. thesis I.A.I.N. Wali Songo, Semarang, 1989).
4. Howard M. Federspiel, *The Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1970).
5. Deliar Noer, "The Rise and Development of the Modernist Muslim Movement during the Dutch Colonial Period, 1900-1942," (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1963).
6. Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town* (Yogyakarta: Gajahmada University Press, 1983).
7. B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982).
8. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism* (Yogyakarta: Gajahmada University Press, 1989).
9. Bistri Affandi, "Shaikh Ahmad Al-Shurkati: His Role in the Al-Irshad Movement", (M.A. thesis, MC Gill University, Montreal, 1976).
10. Fadhloellah Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup Almarhum K.H. Moenawar Chalil" (unpublished paper, Bogor, 1993), p. 2; M. Fadhil Munawwar. "Riwayat Hidup Almarhum K. H. Munawwar Chalil", (unpublished paper, Semarang, 1987), p. 1.
11. "H. Moenawwar Chalil", *Minggu Abadi* (February 28; 1960).
12. Moenawar, "Riwayat Hidup", 1; Munawwar, "Riwayat Hidup", p. 3.
13. For the activities of the S.I. local branches which often led to uprisings and clashes with other social forces, see *Sarekat Islam Lokal* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional, 1975).
14. Moenawar, "Riwayat Hidup", 1; Riwayat Hidup", 3.
15. *Ibid.*
16. In an effort to spread their new ideas, reformists from West Sumatra used force against the possessors of religious and political authority, whom they considered to have hampered their reform mission. Their radicalism eventually brought about a large-scale counter-attack from the established 'ulamâ' and the political elite, a counter attack which ultimately broke out in a civil war, known as the Perang Padri, in which the established authorities, in collaboration with the Dutch, were able to win the battle. M. Sanusi Latief, "Gerakan Kaum Tua di Minangkabau." (Ph.D. dissertation, I.A.I.N. Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, n.d.), 54-64.
17. For a detailed account, see Tamar Djaya, *Ulama Sumatera Barat* (n.p. Pusaka Indonesia, n.d.).
18. Munawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," 2; Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," "H. Moenawwar Chalil."
19. Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," 4.
20. See Moenawwar Chalil, *Tafsir Qur'ân Hidaajatul-Rahman*, vol. 1 (Solo: Siti Sjamsijah), 1958).
21. Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973), 73. While studying under Indonesian teachers at

- Mecca, many Indonesian students there also became acquainted with Muhammad 'Abduh's reformist ideas. 'Abduh's ideas were later studied more in depth when these students continued their intellectual journey at al-Azhar. The same students were later among the transmitters of 'Abduh's ideas in Indonesia. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari Penggalang Islam Tradisional", *Prisma*, 1 (January: 984), p. 77.
22. See Deliar Noer, "Masjumi: Its Organization, Ideology and Political Role in Indonesia," (M.A. thesis, Cornell University, Ithica New York, 1960), 13.
 23. See "H. Moenawwar Chalil."
 24. Chalil translated one chapter of al-Afghānī's book *al-Radd 'alā al-Dahriyyin* entitling it "Kepentingan dan Kemanfaatan Agama" and including it in the last chapter of his *Definisi dan Sendi Agama* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1970); Chalil's translation of Arsalan's work was the only translated version available in the Indonesian Language. A sporadic translation of the book appearing in several issues of *Pembela Islam* may be another version of his translation. See Moenawwar Chalil (trans.), *Mengapa Kaum Muslimin Mundur* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1954); *Pembela Islam*, pp. 53, 54-23, 26.
 25. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, p. 46.
 26. Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," p. 4.
 27. He became the head of the Ministry of Religious Affairs for the Semarang district after the Japanese occupied the country in 1942. It was a Japanese army commander who appointed him as the head of the ministry's district office in Semarang, central Java, Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," pp. 4-5.
 28. A document sent by the head of the Darul Islam or DI (the House of Islam) and the Tentara Islam Indonesia TII (Indonesian Muslim Military Forces) to Moenawwar Chalil promised him the governorship of the province of Central Java, provided that the revolt of the Darul Islam met with success. When the document was discovered in Cirebon in late 1951, he was jailed for seven months and released by the authorities after the charges proved lacking in supporting documents, *Ibid.*; see also Moenawwar Chalil, *Al-Qur'an Dari Masa Ke Masa* (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985), p. viii.
 29. Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup, 5; "Munawar Kholil," in *Ensiklopedi Islam di Indonesia*, vol. 2, (ed.) Harun Nasution et. al. (Jakarta: Departemen Agama R.I., 1988).
 30. Chalil's objection to working for the government was presumably also inspired by the behavior of many of the earliest jurists and theologians who refused any government appointment for fear of losing the courage to speak the truth. He claimed that many respected hadith scholars and founders of *madhhabs* refused to become *qādis* for the reason stated above. Moenawwar Chalil, *Biography Empat Serangkai Imam Madzhab* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1955), pp. 87-88, 193.
 31. Asmuni Abdul Rahman, et. al., *Majlis Tarjih Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Lembaga Research dan Survey IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1985, 1985), 27.
 32. Faturrahman Djamil, "Ijtihad Muhammadiyah Dalam Masalah-Masalah Fikih Kontemporer: Study Tentang Penetapan Teori *Maqāsid al-Shari'ah*." (Ph.D. dissertation, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, 1993-1994), p. 101.
 33. Amir Maksum, "Pemahaman Tajdid dalam Muhammadiyah," (unpublished paper presented in the 22 Muhammadiyah Convention of 1989), p. 15.
 34. Djamil, "Ijtihad Muhammadiyah Dalam Masalah Fikih Kontemporer," 102).
 35. *Soeara Muhammadiyah* (September, 1940), 178.; Sutrisno Kutoyo, *Kyai Mas Mansur* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1982), p. 75.

36. Cited in Djamil, "Ijtihad Muhammadiyah Dalam Masalah Fikih Kontemporer," p. 107.
37. "H. Moenawwar Chalil."
38. Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," p. 4.
39. *Sejarah Pendidikan Swasta di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1976), p. 82.
40. Musthafa Kamal, et. al., *Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gerakan Islam* (Yogyakarta: Persatuan Islam, 1988), pp. 118-122.
41. See his book, *Cursus Pengajaran Oentoek Membersihkan Kalimah Tauhid* (Soerabaia: n.p., 1933); Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," p. 2.
42. Muhammad Ma'shum wrote his fatwas in *Sual-Djawab* under the initials Mhd. Ms. See, *Sual-Djawab*, vols. 1-8, (Bangil: Persatuan Islam, n. d.), 11-15; for the importance of *Sual-Djawab*, see Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 21.
43. Imam Ghozali and Moenawwar Chalil, *Al-Fiqh al-Nabawiy, Fiqih Berdasar Atas Pimpinan Nabi s.a.w.* vols 1-18 (Solo: Al-Ma'murijah: n. d.).
44. A. Farichin Chumaidy, "The Jam'iyah Nadhlatul 'Ulama': Its Rise and Early Development, 1926-1945," (M. A. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1976), p. 117.
45. M. Dawam Rahardjo, "Melihat ke Belakang Merancang Masa Depan" in, *Islam Indonesia Menatap Masa Depan*, (ed.) M. Dawam Rahardjo (Jakarta: P3M, 1989), pp. 1-2; M. Dawam Rahardjo, *Intelektual, Inteligensia dan Perilaku Politik Bangsa: Risalah Cendekiawan Muslim* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994), p. 33.
46. The project to write a new fiqh book was hampered by many difficulties. The first edition of its kind was issued in 1952, more than ten years late, due to, among other things, the Japanese military invasion and occupation of the country from 1942 until 1945 as well as the detainment of Moenawwar Chalil and Muhammad Ma'shum in the early 1950s. See *Al-Fiqh al-Nabawiy*, vol. 1, p. 3-4.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. See item two of its stipulation, *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. During the War of Independence, Hayim Asy'ari issued fatwas (legal opinions) in which he declared that war against the Dutch was a *jihād* (holy war) and that using a Dutch ship to go on pilgrimage was prohibited by Islamic law. His campaign to spread the spirit of *jihād* and to boycott the Dutch transportation met with a remarkable success due to his strong influence among the Muslim masses and the role of his Tebuireng Pesantren within the circle of pesantren community, particularly in the densely populated regions of East and Central Java. It seems, therefore, that is was due to his respected position and strong influence among the Muslim masses that the reformists often sought his involvement in their project. Noer, "Masjumi: Its Organization, Ideology and Political Role in Indonesia," p. 77.
52. See Hamka, "Al-Mawaa'izh Sjaich Hasjim Asj'ari," *Pandji Masyarakat* (August, 15; 1959), pp. 3-6; Solichin Salam, *Kiai Hadji Hasjim Asj'ari, Ulama Besar Indonesia* (Djakarta: Djaja Murni, 1963), pp. 52-6.
53. Moenawwar Chalil, *Fungsi Ulama Dalam Masyarakat Dan Negara* (Djakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1957), pp. 27-8.
54. *Ibid.*; see also Moenawwar Chalil, "Ulama dan 'Ulama: Imam al-Ghazali Mengutuk 'Ulama Penggila Kedudukan Disamping Baginda Raja," *Pandji Masyarakat* (Janu-

- ary 1; 1960), pp. 11-2; *idem*, "Fungsi Ulama dalam Masyarakat dan Negara," *Hikmah* (May 29; 1954), pp. 23-5.
55. Muslims were divided into several political and religious factions and each established its own council of 'ulamâ'; While the Muhammadiyah had the Majelis al-Shuriyah wa al-Fatwa, The Masjumi named its council of 'ulamâ' Majelis al-Shuriyah and the Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia, the PSII, founded its Majelis al-Shar'iyah.
 56. Moenawwar Chalil, "Pertemuan Alim Ulama," *Pemandangan* (August, 17; 1951).
 57. See his "Persatuan dan Kesatuan," *Abadi* (August 26; 1960), p. 1; *idem*, "Persatuan dan Kesatuan. 2," *Abadi* (September 7; 1960); *idem*, "Hikmah Dan Filsafat Salaam," *Abadi* (February 13; 1953).
 58. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 182.
 59. Noer, "Masjumi," 50.
 60. M. Isa Anshary, "Mu'tamar Masjumi Bandung adalah Permulaan Bajangan Gelap," *Dawlah Islamiyah*, (1957), p. 20; for an account of the role of the 'ulamâ' in the Nahdlatul Ulama and their strong influence among its supporters, see Chumaidy, "The Jam'iyyah Nahdlatul Ulama," pp. 53-9.
 61. Alfian, *Pemikiran dan Perubahan Politik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1978), p. 33.
 62. See Moenawwar Chalil, "Menggunakan Zakat Untuk Pemilihan Umum," *Abadi* (April 4; 1954); *idem*, "Beranilah Berqurban Untuk Pemilihan Umum," *Abadi* (August 6; 1954).
 63. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, p. 134.
 64. See Moenawwar Chalil, "Kebangsaan Jang Tinggalkan Agama," *Abadi* (February 12; 1954).
 65. Moenawwar Chalil criticized those who claimed to be the followers of Islam, but who were politically involved in hampering the establishment of Islam as the only ruling system in Indonesia. He, therefore, articulated that Islam should be the only true ideology for the state and hoped that the cause of Islam would gain ground. See Moenawwar Chalil "Umat Islam Harus Ta'ashub Kepada Agamanja," *Abadi* (September, 24; 1954); *idem* "Beranilah Berqurban Untuk Pemilihan Umum."
 66. B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982).
 67. *Bocah Kongres Muslimin Indonesia* (Djogdjakarta: Badan Usaha dan Penerbitan Muslimin Indonesia, n.d.), pp. 41-7.
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. *Ibid.*: The fourth Masjumi Convention declared, through a committee established for this purpose, that the Republik Indonesia Serikat or R.I.S. (the United Indonesian Republic) should approach the question of the Dar al-Islam rebellion in a peaceful way. M. Isa Anshary, "Masjumi dan D.I.," *Suara Partai Masjumi*, 6 (June; 1951), p. 9; *D.I./T.I.I. Tidak Ditolerir* (Jakarta: Majalah Islam *Kiblat*, 1983), p. 7.
 70. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, p. 108.
 71. For the role that Musaddad played in the Nahdlatul Ulama, see "Prof. K. H. Anwar Musaddad Pelindung dan Payung N.U. Sunda," *Aula* (March; 1995), pp. 81-6.
 72. See his article, "Fatwa Model Pimpinan Harian Madjelis Sjura Pusat Masjumi Tentang Safarul Mar'ah," *Dawlah Islamiyah* (August; 1957), p. 22; *idem*, "Hukum Wanita Islam Belajar Sendirian," *Abadi* (August 13; 1954).
 73. See his two articles, "Fatwa Model Pimpinan Harian Madjelis Sjura Pusat Masjumi Tentang Safarul Mar'ah," 22; *idem*, "Islam Tinggal Nama," *Abadi* (March 5; 1954).
 74. Moenawwar Chalil, "Djangan Mempermudah Urusan Hadits," *Abadi* (July 16; 1954); *idem*, "Awas Partai Dadjdjal," *Abadi* (February 27; 1953); *idem*, "Ratjoen

- Jang Berbahaja Bagi Oemat Islam," *Pembela Islam*, No. 52, pp. 10-3.
75. Chalil, "Fatwa Model Pimpinan Harian Madjelis Sjura," p. 23.
 76. Abdul Mu'ti 'Ali, "The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction," (M. A. Thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1957), p. 80; Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," p. 2; Munawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," p. 5.
 77. Aboebakar, *Sedjarah Hidup K.H.A. Wachid Hasjim dan Karangannya Tersiar* (Djakarta: Panitija Buku Peringatan Alm. K.H.A. Wachid Hasjim, 1957), p. 80; *Pembela Islam*, 34 (September; 1931), frontispiece.
 78. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 17-18.
 79. Chalil, "Fatwa Model Pimpinan Harian Madjelis Sjura Pusat," p. 24; H.M.A. "Perempuan Berjalan Keluar Negeri," *Sual-Djawab*, No. 4, pp. 30-1.
 80. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, p. 120.
 81. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-5.
 82. Moenawwar, "Riwayat Hidup," pp. 2-8; Munawwar "Rilil," p. 530; Kementerian Kesehatan R.I. "Putusan Panitia M.P.K.S, No. 2/1954." in *Kesehatan dan Syura*, 5 (December: 1954), 54; "K.H. Moenawwar Chalil Diangkat Sebagai Angauta Panitia Madjelis Pertimbangan Sjura' dan Kesehatan di Indonesia," *Hikmah* (August 21; 1954)?.
 83. Kementerian Kesehatan R.I. "Kata Pengantar," in *Ksatrian dan Sjura'*, 1 (September' 1954), p. 3.
 84. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
 85. *Ibid.*
 86. They referred to *Tuhfat al-Tullâb* by Zakariyâ al-Ansârî, *Tuhfat al-Muhrâj li-Sharh al-Minhâj* by Ibn Hajar al-Haytamî, *al-Mahallî* by Jalâl al-Dîn al-Mahallî and *Hâshiyatân al-Qalyûbî wa 'Amîrah* by Shihâb al-Dîn al-Qalyûbî and al-Shaykh 'Amîrah A. Halim Hasan, "Tafsir al-Manar dan Pengaruhnja, 2," *Pandji Masjara-rakat* (February, 15; 1960), ?; see, Zakariyâ al-Ansârî, *Tuhfat al-Tullâb bi Sharh Tahrîr Tanqûh al-Lubâb* (Indonesia: Dâr al-lhyâ' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyah, nd.) and al-Qalyûbî wa 'Amîrah, *Hâshiyatân: al-Qalyûbî wa 'Amîrah 'alâ Sharh Jalâl al-Dîn al-Mahallî*, 4 vols. (Misr: Muhammad 'Alî Sâbih, 1949).
 87. Hasan, "Tafsir al-Manar dan Pengaruhnja, 2."
 88. "Hasil Angket Sepuluh Pengarang Islam Terkemuka Sekarang," *Dawlah Islamiyah*, (Desember; 1957), 23-27; Tamar Djaya, *Riwayat Hidup A. Hasan* (Jakarta: Mutiara, 1980).
 89. This figure is mentioned in the bibliography of Federspiel's *Persatuan Islam*. Some of the journals appeared for a few months only, while many others were able to survive for a number of years. *Anti Komunis* (a weekly magazine), for example, was issued seventh times only from January 1958 two march 1958. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 233.
 90. See its motto on the cover of *Suara Islam*, 4 (April; 1935), p. 5.
 91. See, for example, *Suara Islam*, 4 (April; 1935); 5 (May; 1935).
 92. Compare, for example, the way Chalil treated his rival, a Shaff'ite *'âlim*, in a debate over the validity of *salâh qabliyah* (a recommended prayer done before a mandatory one) in the Friday prayer, with the treatment by a certain scholar of the Persis with respect to his rival, Mahfudz Shiddiq, in which he equated Shiddiq's action with the behavior of a bat, which feared light, because Shiddiq was reluctant to conduct an open debate with him. See *Suara Islam*, 4 (April; 1935); 1935), 19-24; *Al-Lisan*, 4 (March 27; 1936), 30.
 93. Moenawwar Chalil, "Fungsi Zakat Dalam Masyarakat, 2" *Hikmah* (April 4; 1954),

- pp. 20-1; *idem*, "Fungsi Zakat Dalam Masyarakat, 3," *Hikmah* (July 3; 1954), pp. 20-2.
94. Moenawwar Chalil, "Tjara dan Djedjak Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. Dikala Hendak Menegakkan Hukum Allah Dimuka Bumi," *Hikmah* (October 12; 1956), pp. 4-6.
95. Moenawwar Chalil, "Kaifijat Tjara Tjara Berchutbah Djum'at Sepandjang Pimpinan Nabi s.a.w." *Hikmah* (September 1; 1956), pp. 21-2.
96. Moenawwar Chalil, "Alam Fikiran Manusia Terhadap Peristiwa Israa dan Mi'radj Nabi Muhammad s.a.w." *Hikmah* (March 20; 1954), pp. 19-21.
97. See bibliography in Federspiel's, *Persatuan Islam*, p. 247.
98. Moenawwar Chalil, "Doa Jang Maqbul," *Abadi* (January 2; 1953).
99. *Ibid.*; Moenawwar Chalil, "Sebaik-baik Manusia Sepandjang Pimpinan Islam," *Abadi* (April 8; 1960).
100. See the following articles by Moenawwar Chalil, "Kaum Muslimat Dan Sembahjang Hari Raja," *Abadi* (May 28; 1954); "Apakah Hasil Puasa Kita?" *Abadi* (April 1; 1960); "Zakat Fitrah," *Abadi* (March 25; 1954); "Kewadajiban Zakat-Fitrah," *Abadi* (June 5; 1953).
101. Moenawwar Chalil, "Hukum Lotere," *Abadi* (October 9; 1953); *idem* "Kawin Paksa Betulkah Dari Pimpinan Islam?," *Abadi* (October 23; 1953); *idem*, "Soal Wali Hakim," *Abadi* (April 9; 1954); *idem*, "Hukum Bersumpah," *Abadi* (November 20; 1953) *idem*, "Kufu Dalam Perkawinan," *Abadi* (December 11; 1953); *idem* "Mana Jang Lebih Benar: Kedjelekan Atau Kebaikan Poligami? Poligami Adalah Tabiat Kaum Lelaki," *Abadi* (October 10; 1954); *idem*, "Tudjuan Pokok Dari Poligami Adalah Menolong Anak-anak Jatim Dan Kaum Wanita," *Abadi* (October 15; 1954).
102. Moenawwar Chalil, "Amal Perbuatan Jang Ikhlas," *Pemandangan* (June 3; 1951); *idem*, "Apakah Dan Siapakah Munafik itu?" *Abadi* (December 4; 1953); *idem*, "Arti Mensjukur Nikmat," *Abadi* (March 13; 1953) *idem*, "Djangan Meremehkan Dan Menghina Jang Ketjil," *Abadi* (May 20; 1953) *idem*, "Hikmah Dan Filsafat Salaam," *Abadi* (February 13; 1953) *idem*, "Kesempitan dan Kelapangan," *Abadi* (?); *idem*, "Kewadajiban Menegur Orang Jang Zhalim," *Abadi* (May 6; 1960); *idem*, "Kupasan Arti Sjukur," *Pemandangan* (July 2; 1951); *idem*, "Sekitar Soal Bachil," *Abadi* (January 5; 1954).
103. See his "Al-Qur'an," *Abadi* (February 4; 1953); *idem*, "Al-Qur'anul Hakiem," *Abadi* (November 27; 1953); *idem* "Al-Qur'anul Hakiem," *Abadi* (April 17; 1953); *idem*, AlQur'anul Hakiem," *Abadi* (September 4; 1953); *idem*, "Al-Qur'anul Hakiem," *Abadi* (October 3; 1953).
104. See his the following articles by Chalil, "Djangan Pertjaja Kepada Kahin," *Abadi* (August 23; 1954); "Djangan Pertjaja Kepada Tachajul dan Churafat," *Abadi* (October 30; 1954); "Djangan Pertjaja Akan Tangkal Dan Guna-Guna," *Abadi* (July 10; 1953); "Djangan Pertjaja Akan Sihir," *Abadi* (March 6; 1953); "Bid'ah pada Asjuraa," *Abadi* (September 25; 1953); Hadits-hadits Mauludan," *Abadi* (February 20; 1953); Menjingkap Tabir Kepalsuan Dari Hadits-Hadits Mengenai Kekeamatan Dan Kesaktian Hari Asjura," *Abadi* (July 15; 1960); "Peringatan Asjura," *Abadi* (August 3; 1954); "Tachayul Dalam Buku Shafar jang harus Dibongkar," *Abadi* (November 6; 1953).
105. See Soekarno, "Revolusi Indonesia adalah Sebagian dari Revolusi Dunia," *Aliran Islam*, (July-August; 1949); M. Hatta "Politik Synthese," *Aliran Islam*, (December; 1948); M. Yamin, "Penglaksanaan Kemerdekaan," *Aliran Islam*, (February; 1949).

106. See, for example, his two articles, "Pendjelasan Para Filosof Islam Tentang Israa dan Mi'radj," *Aliran Islam* (?); *idem*, "Peristiwa Nabi Muhammad saw Disihir Orang Jahudi dan Munafiq," *Aliran Islam*, (July-August; 1949), pp. 529-35.
107. See the inside of the *Dawlah Islamiyah* front cover.
108. For another article that he wrote, see his "Peraturan Allah Atas Segenap Bangsa dan Hubungannya Atas Kaum Muslimin, 2," *Dawlah Islamiyah*, (October; 1957), pp. 25-33.
109. Moenawwar Chalil, "Kedudukan Imam Didalam Islam," *Suara Partai Masjumi*, 7-8 (?), 26-27, p. 31.
110. Although Chalil did not explicitly speak of the era of the four orthodox Caliphs, he believed that those four were the ones chosen by the Prophet to be the Caliphs for his *ummah* as stated in his hadith. As for other hadiths which included the Umayyads among the Caliphs promised by the Prophet, Chalil doubted the reliability of its *matn* (content), which contradicted their tyrannical and oppressive rule. Moenawwar Chalil, *Chalifah Atau Kepala Negara Sepanjang Pimpinan Qur'an dan Sunnah* (Solo: Siti Sjamsijah. 1957), pp. 42-4.
111. Mohd. Faqih Usman who was elected as the chairman of the Central Board of the Muhammadiyah in 1968 became its general editor, while Hamka, who was one of the advisers for its central board from 1978-1984, was its editor-in-chief. see the board of editors of *Pandji Masyarakat* published at the end of 1959 and the early 1960s and the list of names in the leadership board of the Muhammadiyah in *Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Central Leadership of Muhammadiyah, n.d.), pp. 15-6.
112. Moenawwar Chalil, "'Ulama dan 'Ulama: Imam Al-Ghazali Mengutuk 'Ulama Penggila Kedudukan Disamping Baginda Radja", *Pandji Masyarakat* (January 1; 1960), pp. 9-12.
113. See *Pandji Masyarakat* (March 28; 1960), p. 31.
114. See, for instance, his writings under the titles of "Amal Perbuatan Jang Ichlas," *Pemandangan* (June 3; 1951), "Kupasan Arti Sjukur," *Pemandangan* (July 2; 1951) and "Idul Fitri lambang Keluhuran Budi Pekerti," *Pemandangan* (July 5; 1951).
115. See the titles of Moenawwar Chalil's books in the attached bibliography.
116. See the outline of 'Abduh's *Risalat al-Ta'wbid* in *Muhammad Haq's Muhammad 'Abduh: A Study of a Modern Thinker of Egypt* (Aligarh: Insitute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh University, 1970), pp. 81-2 and *Muhammad 'Abduh's Theology of Unity*, (trans) Ishaq Musa'ad and Kenneth Cragg (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966), 123-160.
117. Mahmud Ayyub, "Islam and Christianity: A Study of Muhammad Abduh's View of the Two Religions," *Humaniora Islamica*, 2 (1874), p. 122.
118. Ali 'Abd Al-Halim Mahmud, *Al-Salafiyah wa Da'wat al-Shaykh Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab* (n.p.: 'Ukaz, 1981.), pp. 61-2.
119. A. Hassan, *At-Ta'wbid* (Bangil: Persatuan Islam. 1958) *idem*, *An-nabuwwah* (Malang: Tokok Buku Bupemi, n.d.); *idem*, *Islam dan Kebangsaan* (Bangil: LP3B, 1984).
120. Moenawwar Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama* (Djakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1970), p. 12.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 19; in this discussion Chalil referred to the definition of agama given by Fachroedin Al-Kahiri in his book, *Islam Menoeroet Faham Filosofi: Choetbab di Radio V.O.R.I* (Bandoeng : n.p., 1938), p. 3.
122. Chalil then referred to the definition of *agama* provided by Sultan Mohammad

- Zain in the latter's *Kamus Modern Bahasa Indonesia* (Djakarta: Grafika, n.d.), p. 17.
123. Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, p. 20.
124. The Qur'ân 1: 2; 51; 6; 82; 17: 7; 29: 39; 2; 12: 76; 42: 13; 109: 6; 16: 52; Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*; p. 15.
125. *Ibid.*, 20-23; the Qur'ân 3: 19;
126. Muhammad 'Abduh, *Tafsir al-Manâr*, vol 3 (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Misriyah al-'Ammah Ir-al-Kitâb, n.d.), p. 257.
127. Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, pp. 20-3.
128. He quoted a hadîth which said "We, the Prophets, only have one religion [Islam]", *Ibid.*, pp. 23-5.
129. It should be mentioned that the setting of Adam at the head of the line of Prophets was probably a later development than thought, as there are other passages in which Nuh appears to be the first in the line of messengers. Arthur Jefferey, "The Quran as Scripture, 2", *Muslim World*, 40 (1950), p. 117; Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, pp. 23-4.
130. The Qur'ân, 9:33; 61; 48; 28.
131. See, for example, 'Abduh Commentary on Surat al-Tawbah, 33, *Tafsir al-Munîr*, vol. 9, p. 338.
132. Vhalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, p. 28.
133. *Ibid.*, the Qur'ân, 2:171; 5:77, 7; 31.
134. Chalil, *Tafsir Qur'an Hidayatur-Rahman*, vol. 1 (Solo: Siti Sjamsijah, 1958), 228, 229, 360-361; Yvonne Haddad traces various meanings of "Din" in the Qur'ân and some of them show similarities with those put forth by Chalil. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, "The Conception of the Term "Din" in the Qur'ân," *Muslim World*, 64 (1974), pp. 114-25
135. *Ibid.*, the Qur'ân, 6: 161
136. See Chalil's interpretation of the verse "They say: Become Jews or Christian, if you would be guided (to salvation). Say, No. (I would rather have) the religions of Ibrahim the True and be joined not gods with God (in Islam)." Chalil, *Tafsir Qur'an Hidayatur-Rahmaan*, 350-353; the word *hanif*, which means one who professes the true religion, was mostly followed by the name of Ibrâhîm and the phrase *min al-Mushrikîn*, which indicated that the true religion must be committed to the principle of monotheism. See 'Abduh's Commentary on *Surat al-An'ân*, p. 61. *Tafsir al-Manâr*, vol. 7, p. 211.
137. The Qur'ân, 5:3; 3:19; 3:85; 6:125; 61:7; 29:22; 9:74; 49:17; Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, p. 23.
138. *Ibid.*, 47-48
139. *Ibid.*; See also 'Abduh, *Tafsir al-Manâr*, vol. p. 3, 257.
140. Chalil, *Tafsir Qur'an Hidayatur-Rahmaan*, p. 362.
141. *Ibid.*
142. The Qur'ân, 12: 17; 9: 62; Chalil. *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, p. 32.
143. *Ibid.*
144. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
147. L. Gardet. "Îmân." in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 3 (eds.) b. Lewis et. al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), p. 1170.
148. The Qur'ân, 3: 173.

149. *Ibid.*, 48: p. 4.
150. *Ibid.* Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, 52.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
152. Unlike the Ash'arîs, the Hanâfîs denied that *imân* could increase and decrease. W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1962). p. 78.
153. Ziauddin Ahmed. "A Survey of the Development of Theology in Islam," *Islamic Studies*, 11 (1972), p. 107.
154. Moenawar Chalil, "Islam Tinggal Nama," *Abadi* (March 5: 1954); this definition of *imân* was not peculiar to Chalil as some theologians shared his view. W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh University Press. 1973), pp. 134 -35.
155. The Qur'an, 49: 17.
156. Jane I. Smith, "Imân and Islâm," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 7. (ed.) Mircea Eliade (London: Macmillan, 1087), p. 119.
157. The best known hadîth defining Islam as being distinct from *imân* is the one which describes the five duties of Islam (*arkân al-Islâm*) and the six pillars of *imân* (*arkân al-imân*). For the definition of *arkân al-Islâm* and *imân*, See Muslim's *Ṣaḥîḥ Muslim*, vol. 1 (Beirut : Mu'assasat 'Izz al-Dîn li al Tibâ'ah, 1987), pp. 66, 73.
158. Ziauddin Ahmed "Ahmad bin Hanbal and the problem of Iman," *Islamic Studies*, 12 (1973), p. 267.
159. Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, p. 44.
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Ibid.*, 85-86, Moenawar Chalil, "Bagaimana berdzikir kepada Allah", *Abadi*, (April 23: 1954).
162. Chalil, "Definisi dan sendi Agama", p. 88.
163. *Ibid.*
164. Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî, "Refutation of the materialists," in Nikki R. Kedie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din 'al-Afghani'* (Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1968), p. 171; Amînah Muhammad Nasîr, *al-Sayyikh Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhâb wa Manhajuh fi Mabâhith al-'Aqidah* (Cairo : Dâr al-Shurûq, 1983), p. 84; Muhammad 'Abduh, *Durûs min al-Qur'an al-Karîm* (Beirut: Dâr Ihyâ al-Ulûm, 1990), pp. 72-3.
165. For Machfudz Shiddiq's role in the NU, see a brief account on that issue in A Muchith Muzadi, "Al-Maghfur-lah K.H. Machfudz Shiddiq, Tokoh Penegak Khitroh," *Aula* (September, 1991), pp. 47-52
166. Machfudz Shiddiq's, *Di Sekitar Soal Ijtihad dan Taqlid* (Soerabaya: Pengurus Besar Nahdatul Ulama, 1959), p. 60.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 60; A Hassan, *At-Taubied*, pp. 3-5.
168. There are number of *manzûmahs* famous among which are the *manzûmahs* describing God's twenty attributes (*wajûd, qidâm, baqâ'*, etc) and exalting the prophet and his *ṣaḥâbah* (*salawât al-hadîs*)
169. The *Manzûmahs* were recited while the prayer attendants were sitting in preparation for the obligatory (congregational) prayers and waiting for the coming of other attendants or the *imâm* (leader prayers). The *manzûmah* were also commonly chanted in *pengajians* (religious gatherings), See "Pantoen Made in Ba'al-wij," *Pembela Islam*, no. 51.
170. Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, pp. 96-8: *Idem*, *Tafsîr Qurân Hidajatul-Rahman*, pp. 359-61.

171. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism*, p. 171.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
173. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-87, and Muhammad 'Abduh's "al-Radd 'alâ Farah Atûn", in *Al-Imân Muḥammad 'Abduh* (eds.) Adûnîs and Khalidah Sa'îd (Beirut ; Dâr al-'Ilm li al-Malâyin, 1983), pp. 81-2.
174. Compare this, for instance, with al-Zamakhshari opinion on the role of reason in *imân*, Lutfi Ibrahim, "The Relation of Reason and Revelation in the Theology of Az-Zamakhshari and al-Baydawi", 54 (1980), 63-74
175. The Prophet has been reportedly said: "In religious matters you have to follow me, but in worldly matter you know them better than I do". In this respect, Chalil also quotes several Qur'anic verses underling the necessity of understanding, intelligence and reflection. Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, 107: the Qur'an 10 : 101: 10 : 19
176. *Ibid.*, 1: 29, Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*, pp. 100-5.
177. Moenawar Chalil, *Islam dan Economic* (Djogjakarta: Penjiaran Islam, n.d), pp. 96-97.
178. See his interpretation of *Surat al-Baqarah* 31-33 in his *Tafsir Qur'an Hidayatun-Rahman*, pp. 126-29.
179. Chalil, *Islam dan Economic*, pp. 14-5.
180. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 107: The Qur'an, 2: 141.
182. The Qur'an 13: 11; 'Abduh invokes this verse repeatedly in *Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqâ*. See Vatikiotis comment on this issue in P.J. Vatikiotis, "Muhammad 'Abduh and the Quest for a Muslim Humanism", *Islamic Culture*, 31 (1957), p. 115.
183. Moenawar Cholim, "Arti Ikhtiar Sepanjang Pimpinan Agama Islam," *Abadi* (April 30: 1953); idem, "Penjelasan arti Tawakal", *Abadi* (June 26: 1953); idem, "Peraturan Allah Atas Segenap Bangsa dan Hubungannya Atas Kaum Muslimin", *Dawlah Islamiyah* (October: 1957), p. 26.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
185. Moenawar Cholim, "Zuhud Sepanjang Pemimpin Islam", *Abadi*, (July, 17: 1053); idem, "Ratjoen Jang Berbahaja bagi Oemmat Islam", *Pembela Islam*, No. 56, 25-27; Idem, *Islam dan Ekonomi*, p. 44.
186. *Ibid.*
187. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.
188. Moenawar Chalil, "Apa arti tariqat itu?" *Abadi* (Februari 19: 1954).
189. The Qur'an. 2 : 115 : 50: 6.
190. *Ibid.*, pp. 33 : 41.
191. Siradjuddin Abbas, *40 Masalah Agama*, Vol 3 (Jakarta : Pustaka Tarbiyah, 1992), pp. 34-35.
192. Chalil, *Definisi dan Sendi Agama*.
193. *Ibid.*
194. Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta : LP3ES, 1986), p. 147.

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