

RETHINKING HOWARD M. FEDERSPIEL'S THESIS ON THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PERSATUAN ISLAM VS PERMOEFAKATAN ISLAM

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Abstract: This article discusses the thesis written by Howard M. Federspiel on the conflict between Persatuan Islam (PERSIS) and Permoefakatan Islam. This present study employed the historical methods of heuristic, historical critic, interpretation, historiography to examine Federspiel's thesis by pointing out the new facts related to the initial history of PERSIS and its relationship with Permoefakatan Islam. It reveals that Permoefakatan Islam was not part of PERSIS. It was an entirely separate organization established in 1924 to accommodate the aspirations of the old and young generations. It was not a reaction due to presence of A. Hassan in PERSIS. PERSIS's reformist character had always been there since its establishment as an organization, and A. Hassan's presence emphasized this character

Keywords: Federspiel, PERSIS, Permoefakatan Islam, A. Hassan

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Introduction

Persatuan Islam or PERSIS is well-known to many puritan organizations in Indonesia. Even its name is identic to its birth place as well as its head-quarter, Bandung. Even though this organization has many branches all over Indonesia, this reformist Islamic civil organization is identic with Bandung city. Many religious scholars often called both in a go, like “PERSIS-Bandung.” Similarly, its prominent leader, A. Hassan, is often called “Hassan-Bandung.”¹ the vast progress of PERSIS, and PUI (Persatuan Umat Islam/Islamic Ummah’s Unity), in Bandung and Jawa Barat has resulted in the shift of the characteristic of the Islamic ummah in this region from traditionalist to modernist Islam.²

The description of PERSIS as a puritan, reformist, or even radical movement is often mentioned in many studies about PERSIS. Nurul Fatimah, in her study about the development of PERSIS in Sapeken island of Madura, called PERSIS as a puritan organization among the majority of the traditionalist community.³ Its puritanism is evident on its focus to fight against *bid’ah*/innovation in religion. This focus is different from Muhammadiyah organization’s movement, which was more focused on education and health sector than others, while at the same time Muhammadiyah also tries to focus on the aspect of formation of religious rituals.⁴

Such image of PERSIS cannot be separated from the presence of its most prominent member, A. Hassan. Although he is not the founding father of PERSIS, A. Hassan has significantly contributed to the establishment of PERSIS ideology as a puritan-reformist organization. This was shown in the study by Akh. Minhaji and several other scholars.⁵ Puritanism is also evident in the political idea of A. Hassan.⁶ His persistence to oppose religious practices that are not in line with the Qur’an and the Sunnah was openly showed through direct critics in his speeches

and writings. This man who was often called as Hassan Bandung often challenged the people who have different views into debates. Therefore, Mughni called him as a radical thinker.⁷ Nevertheless, Bachtiar stated that it did not necessarily means that A. Hassan and PERSIS as figure and organization influenced by Wahabism.⁸

His significance role in PERSIS has made researcher such as, Howard M. Federspiel considered A. Hassan as a figure that has changed the organizational orientation, from an open organization for various Islamic schools to puritanism. He claimed that, initially PERSIS was established as inclusive, heterogenic “Islamic study forum” with yet clear ideological format; it was not initially established as Islamic reformist organization.⁹ It was in 1926, the orientation toward the *kaum muda* (new generation) idea by H Zamzam was started and consolidated when A. Hassan joined the PERSIS. A. Hassan existence and his puritanic-radical thoughts has made PERSIS changed its orientation toward reformation, and at the same time hade made the *kaum tua* (old generation) eliminated. This eliminated *kaum tua* then established a new organization called Permoefakatan Islam.¹⁰

Federspiel thesis was supported by many PERSIS researchers such as, Syafiq A. Mughni,¹¹ Dadan Wildan,¹² Badri Khaeruman,¹³ and MC. Ricklefs.¹⁴ It was clear that Federspiel’s thesis had been made as a “formal reference” for historical researchers-authors of Persatuan Islam or those who study Indonesian Islamic history in the beginning of the 20th century. However, the questions remain, whether this thesis was based on solid argumentations? Is it true that Permoefakatan Islam was a fraction of Persatuan Islam? Is there really a conflict between two factions in PERSIS due to the presence of A. Hassan? This article will attempt to answer these questions. Using new data, this article will try to prove that Federspiel’s conclusion was inconclusive.

Methodology

This is a qualitative-descriptive study of library research using the contemporary data from primary sources and secondary sources as supporting data. This study employed historical research procedure of heuristic, critic, interpretation, and historiography.¹⁵ Heuristic is an effort to find the historical source. In this context, we studied the historical sources relevant to the PERSIS and Permoefakatan Islam's movement from documents, magazines, and books. Following the collection of these historical sources, the critics were carried out against each of these sources to determine its authenticity. The authentic sources then interpreted using the contextual analysis by its social context, textual analysis, and inter-textual analysis to understand the relation, inter-relation, and influencing relations among the texts. Following the completion of these steps, the historiography (writing) was then carried out.

Results and Discussion

PERSIS and Permoefakatan Islam: Federspiel's Thesis

Has Persatuan Islam been initially established as a reformist organization? Toward this question, Howard M. Federspiel wrote that at the beginning, PERSIS was not a reformist organization. PERSIS, he explained, initially was only a group of Islamic study that was open for anyone regardless of their religious orientation. He further clarified,

The Persatuan Islam was founded formally on September 12, 1923 in Bandung by a group of Muslims interested in religious study and activity. The founding of a religious organization at this time was not unusual since numerous other organizations, movements and clubs had been organized for religious, social, educational, economic and political purposes in Indonesia

during the first quarter of the century... The Founding of the Persatuan Islam was an effort by several Muslims to enlarge discussions on religious topics that had been undertaken on an informal basis for several months.¹⁶

As an “Islamic study forum,” PERSIS’ existence was so inclusive and egalitarian. Anyone interested to study Islamic thoughts, regardless of their social status, ethnical and educational background was welcome to join as a member of PERSIS. In itself, PERSIS membership was very heterogeneous; not only in term of social status differences, but also in mindsets about Islamic teachings and Islamic ummah.

Thus, during the period of 1923-1926, Federspiel argued that PERSIS has yet to have clear ideological format as a movement: “Prior to 1926 PERSIS did not espouse modernist principles as an organization, but in keeping with its mixed membership promoted the study of Islam in general terms.”¹⁷ The members of PERSIS at that period were less than 20 people and were heterogeneous. Both the reformists, *kaum muda/new generation* and the traditionalists, *kaum tua* were together in this organization.¹⁸ Thus, since its early establishment, PERSIS was not a Islamic reformist organization.

By 1926, Federspiel has observed differences of understanding in PERSIS, that was when M. Zamzam has started to bring PERSIS to lean toward the understanding of the *kaum muda/new generation*. The change in this organizational orientation had become more prominent when A. Hassan joined PERSIS. This triggered the split in PERSIS. The *Kaum tua/old generation* who had different view from A. Hassan left the organization and established a competing organization called ‘Permoefakatan Islam’, while the *kaum muda* took control of the Persatuan Islam. Federspiel explicated,

Ahmad Hassan's religious system emphasized that man's relationship with God depended vitally on the correct interpretation and implementation of religious law...This orientation came to be generally accepted by a large segment of the Persatuan Islam, but alienated those members who held the madhhabs to be the chief guide for religious life. By 1926 the differences between the two trends within the Persatuan Islam were sufficiently great for a split to occur. The secessionist group, composed of the *kaum tua*, founded a rival organization known as the Permoefakatan Islam (Islamic Association), while the rump group retained the name Persatuan Islam and declared itself to be a modernist Islamic movement.¹⁹

Federspiel did not further elaborate on the development of this new fraction organization of Persatuan Islam. It is possible that the *kaum tua* on later days affiliated with Nahdatul Ulama (NU) organization.²⁰ This assumption was clearly based on the existence of NU as the prominent "defender of Islamic traditionalism" in Nusantara. Therefore, it is only logic when Permoefakatan Islam who composed of "*kaum tua from Persatuan Islam*" affiliated with the NU.

Federspiel's conclusion was based on the report from the report from Dutch East Indies Colonial government in *Indische Verslag* in 1930 titled *Mohamedansche Eeredienst*. This conclusion was supported and followed by many scholars who study PERSIS, thus, it appeared to be a formal reference that Permoefakatan Islam was a fraction from Persatuan Islam, and that A. Hassan was the main actor behind this schism. This was evident in the work of Syafiq A. Mughni on A. Hassan.²¹ It was also mentioned in Dadan Wildan's work. In his work, Wildan described that "A. Hassan memasuki organisasi PERSIS sebenarnya bukan karena tertarik terhadap faham-fahamnya, karena ternyata A. Hassan-lah yang membawa PERSIS untuk menjadi sebuah gerakan islah (pembaharuan)/A. Hassan actually joined PERSIS not

due to his interest to its various sects, as it turns out that A. Hassan himself has made PERSIS to become an *islah* (reformist) *movement*.”²² Badri Khaeruman further insisted:

*Sampai awal tahun 1926, Persatuan Islam masih belum menampakkan diri sebagai organisasi pembaharu, karena di dalamnya masih bergabung kaum muda dan kaum tua. Pada saat itu, yang terpenting adalah setiap anggota saling mendorong untuk lebih mendalami Islam secara umum sebagai agama yang dibawa Nabi Muhammad Saw. [Up until the beginning of 1926, Persatuan Islam was yet to show itself as a reformist organization, as its members were still composed of the old and the new generations. At that time, the most important thing was for each members to encourage each other to understand more about Islam in general as a religion introduced by the Prophet Muhammad PBUH].*²³

Similarly, MC. Ricklefs, a historian from Australia wrote:

In 1923 a group of merchants set up Persatuan Islam in Bandung. In 1924... A. Hassan joined the organization. His biting defense of Modernist doctrines, his denunciation of anything that smacked of superstition... his vehement opposition to nationalism...all justified the organization's nickname "PERSIS". This resulted in the exodus of more moderate members of the group; in 1926 they formed Permoefakatan Islam.²⁴

Critics Toward Federspiel

PERSIS was initiated by routine meetings of Palembang families who reside in Bandung, overtime, those meetings became “study forum.” Such study forums, in the beginning of the 20th century was known as “*studieclub*”. The name of the forum was “Persatuan Islam” founded by H. Zamzam, H. Muhamad Yunus, H. Aqil, Sobirin, Munaf, and Syarif.²⁵ *Persatuan Islam Studieclub* was formally declared on 12th September 1923 in Bandung.²⁶

Indeed, during the 1920s many study clubs founded by educated-elites emerged in many cities in Indonesia. In Surabaya, Soetomo founded the *Indonesische Studieclub* on 11th July 1924; while in 1920s Soekarno and Anwari also established *Algemene Studieclub* in Bandung.²⁷ Thus, it was not uncommon for a study club called '*Persatuan Islam Studieclub*' to be established in Bandung.

PERSIS was established due to the degradation of Islamic community. At that time, the Islamic community in Indonesia generally took for granted (*taqlid*) everything that were taught to them, practiced the syncretic rituals, and believed in mysticism. Therefore, they tried to implement the renewal in terms of rationalization and purification of Islamic teaching among the Indonesian community, which was known as, "kembali kepada al-Quran dan al-Sunnah, membersihkan Islam dari takhayul, churafat dan bid'ah yang mengotorinya/back to the Quran and the Sunnah, purify Islam from superstition and heresy".²⁸

The existence of this religious purification movement showed a religious influence from the Middle East. This was the second factor. This indication was shown from the critical attitude of the members of Islamic study toward the socio-religious problems among the ummah by referring to the *al-Munir* magazine edited by Abdullah Ahmad in Padang, and *al-Manar* magazine from Egypt. The topics that often discussed among this study club were actual problems that happened among the Islamic community, either locally or in Islamic world (the Middle East) in general.²⁹ Therefore, PERSIS was formally a religious-oriented organization and not political-oriented. Nevertheless, it does not necessarily mean PERSIS totally disregard political problems. Informally, PERSIS was still aware of political problems and in their 'own unique point of view' involved in movement themes.³⁰ PERSIS movement itself focused on reformistic Islamic thoughts.

About Permoefakatan Islam was also mentioned in several archives of Central Leadership of PERSIS. The information about this organization was found in the manuscript called *Tafsir Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam* published by PP Persatuan Islam in 1984. However, there was nothing in that archive mentioned about Permoefakatan Islam as the fraction or the split organization from Persatuan Islam, rather, it was mentioned as “another name” of Persatuan Islam (?). Below is the excerpt of the manuscript:

... maka dengan resmi didirikanlah sebuah organisasi yang mempunyai hubungan vertikal dengan satu nizham jam'iyah yang pasti dan disusun bersama-sama. Kelompok studi pengkajian Islam itu kemudian menamakan kelompoknya dengan nama “Persatuan Islam” walaupun pada saat itu ada juga yang memberi nama “Permoefakatan Islam [thus, with the official establishment of an organization who has vertical relationship with one certain nizham jam'iyah and compiled together. That Islamic study club is called “Persatuan Islam even though at that time there were also those who called it “Permoefakatan Islam”...]”³¹

There was no further explanation on this. But this information is thought-provoking to be further investigated, considering the manuscript was published by the Central Leadership of Persatuan Islam. Regardless that the script was published years later (in 1984), it was written under the supervision of KH. E. Abdurahman,³² a senior figure in Persatuan Islam who have participated in the organization activities since 1934. Thus, the credibility of the information is unquestionable, as it can be considered as primary source.

The historiographer of PERSIS, Dadan Wildan and Badri Khaeruman,³³ also cited this statement from the same source. Unfortunately, both of them did not explain at all why “Persatuan

Islam” was also called “Permoefakatan Islam.” It was possible that both did not found further explanation on this. However, from linguistic-semantic perspective, the name Persatuan Islam and Permoefakatan Islam were similar in meaning. Is not the “kemufakatan/consensus” will be resulted in “Persatuan/unity”? Thus, this bit of information from the manuscript of *Tafsir Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam* can be made as tentative conclusion that it is possible for both names to be addressed to one organization, unless there is another more valid data that pointed otherwise.

Further, there was a contradictory data. This historical data was obtained from *Al-Islam*, an official publication from Siaran Resmi Central Committee (CC) of Syarekat Islam published in Garut in 1343H/1925. As this source is of the same age and from official source, its validity is unquestionable. This magazine reported that:

Vergadering Persatoean Islam di Bandoeng, 25 Djanuari 1925. Apa jang dirembug?... Oesolli... Siapa jang berselisihan (?) Persatoean Islam dan Permoefakatan Islam. Ja Islam sama Islam! Siapa salah (...)?... Apa boeahnja...? Nul...!! Rupanja communisten soedah poenja pengaruh dalam Persatoean Islam... memang communisten maoe memetjah Islam malah senang sekali menempel Persatoean Islam dan melabrak Permoefakatan Islam [Gathering of Persatuan Islam in Bandung on the 25th of January 1925. What was being discussed?... Oesolli... What was the argument about(?) Persatoean Islam and Permoefakatan Islam. That is Islam and Islam! Who was wrong(...)?... What was the result...? Nothing...!! It was clear that communism has had its influence on Persatoean Islam... Communism indeed likes to divide Islam, it likes to get closer to Persatoean Islam and agitate the Permoefakatan Islam].³⁴

Apart from the accusation of communism infiltration, what has been reported from this *Al-Islam* magazine pointed

out that: first, Persatuan Islam and Permoefakatan Islam are two names of two different religious organizations. Second, that Persatuan Islam and Permoefakatan Islam were indeed two separate legal entities who have its own objectives as organization, thus, the movement paradigms were different from one another. Thus, it was clear that at least by 1925, the paradigm movement of Persatuan Islam was a reformist organization. On the other hand, since 1925, Permoefakatan Islam has been established in Bandung as an anti-reformist group against. Persatuan Islam.

However, the official data from PP. PERSIS mentioned that before, “Permoefakatan Islam” was another name for “Persatuan Islam” cannot be easily neglected. More valid data are needed to support and interprets this finding. Therefore, further investigation on the characteristics of both organizations from primary sources is needed. The historical sources should come from the period between 1923 (the year when PERSIS was established) to 1925 (the year when the debate between PERSIS and Permoefakatan Islam happened). Hence, the data serve as primary and verified historical facts to support the information above.

Upon investigation, there was an additional information from a newspaper published in Bandung during the 1924s called *Kaoem Moeda* newspaper. From its name, this newspaper clearly has reformist oriented. The term “kaoem moeda/the youngster” and “kaoem kolot/the old” in the beginning of the 20th century refers to ideological categories rather than age groups. “Kaoem Moeda” was an identity of the reformist group as the rival group of the traditionalist group called kaoem koloy”.³⁵

The newspaper published on 10th November 1924, reported:

Pada malam minggoe tanggal 15 ini boelan di Bandoeng telah diadakan vergadering boeat mendirikan sebuah perhimpoean baroe. Perhimpoean itoe diberi nama “Permoefakatan Islam”...Sebagai

voorlopig bestuur telah diangkat toean S.W.A.R. Hassan (Voorzitter), K.H. Soelaeman dan H. Dachlan Rawi (secretarissen) dengan 27 orang commissarissen boeat golongan kaoem moeda dan 27 orang boeat bagian kaoem kolot/On Saturday night of the 15th of this month in Bandung a gathering was held to established a new organization. This organization was called "Permoefakatan Islam" ...for provisional administration, Mr. S.W.A.R. Hassan (was appointed as Chairman), K. H. Soelaeman and H. Dachlan Rawi (were appointed as secretary) with 27 members from Kaoem Moeda and 27 members from Kaeom Kolot.³⁶

On 19th November 1924, the Kaoem Moeda newspaper again published the establishment process of this Permoefakatan Islam organization that was attended by many people and closely guarded:

Dari fihak bestuurnja perhimpoean terseboet jang didirikan pada tanggal 15 ini boelan, kita terima verslagnja vergadering dari perhimpoean baroe itoe...Vergadering dikoendjoengi oleh koerang lebih 500 orang kaoem moeslimin dan sebagian besar terdiri dari saudagar saudagar serta orang orang Beomipoetera jang ternama, sedang dari politie dan B. B. jang dateng adalah commissaris Latour, wadana kota Bandoeng, adj. Hoofd Djaksa toean Rd. Sastranegara, doea orang mantri politie, dan beberapa Rechercheurs politie agent joega tidak ketinggalan toeroet mendjaga, sehingga sifatnja pengjagaan itoe djadi begitoe ketat [from the management of this organization who was established on the 15th of this month, we received a meeting resume of this new organization...The meeting was attended by more or less 500 Muslim people and most of them were prominent merchants and prominent figure of the indigenous people of Nusantara, whereas from the politicians and government side, the Latour commissary; Bandung regent, the assistant chief of attorney, Mr. Rd. Sastranegara, two police officers, and several detective police officers were also in attendance to guard this meeting. Thus the guard was tight].³⁷

From this data, indeed Permoefakatan Islam organization has been established in Bandung since the 15th of November 1924. This organization was chaired by S. W. A. R. Hassan, and some of the boards were KH. Soelaiman and H. Dachlan Rawi. In addition, based on the report from the Regent of Bandung, R. Wiranata Kusumah on 27th July 1937, this Permoefakatan Islam organization was established in Bandung on the initiative of Daeng. Kanduruan Ardiwinata, a pensioner of editor of “*de Volklectuur*” (Balai Pustaka) who was also known as the supporter of Pahuyuban Pasundan organization – an ethno nationalist movement based on Sundanese community.³⁸

The full name of S. W. A. R. Hassan, the chairman of Permoefakatan Islam, was Said Wiratmana Abdul Rachman Hassan. He was the son of Syech Abdurrachman bin Abdullah Hassan, his father was said to be a rich merchant from the Middle East. Often, in other historical sources, the name S. W. A. R. Hassan was shortened to ‘Swarha’, referring to his hotel, *Swarha Islamic Hotel*. This hotel is located in the corner of Grote Postweg (Eastern Avenue) and Regentsweg (District Road), near the Alun-alun Bandung.³⁹

From the news reported by *Kaoem Moeda* newspaper, another historical fact emerged that in 1924, there were “kaoem moeda” and “kaoem kolot.” Therefore, the clash of thoughts between the reformist kaoem moeda and the traditionalist, kaoem kolot has happened in Bandung at least since 1924, or even far before that. This was not odd as the dialectic between kaoem moeda versus kaoem tua had been happening since the previous century, particularly at the end of the 19th century.

Apart from this, the *Kaoem Moeda* newspaper had also written on the name and the organizational structure of Permoefakatan Islam. The 27 committees from the kaoem moeda were H. Zamzam, K. M. Joenoes, H. Aqil, Abdoerachman, Abdoel Hamid,

Tausin Effendi, Abd. Goni, Djarkasih, Sobirin, R. Tjetjong (Hasan), Asep Abdoellah, H. Djoehdi, Mahli, Doli, Karama, Askar, H. Ismail, Moh. Sjafiie, H. Amin, Achmad, H. Achsan, Abdoellah Bassalamah, Hasan Saleh, Moh. Drais, H. Rasidi, and M. Ijas.⁴⁰ Whereas 27 committee members from kaoem kolot were H. Oesman, H. Oesin, H. Hamsah, H. Akib, Mahmoed, R. H. Dimjati, R. H. Djarkasih, H. Abdoel Goni, H. Hasan Alkap, R. H. Oeko, H. Tajib, H. Pagih, H. Idris, B. Ajoeb, H. Azis, Djamal, H. Maksoedi, Adjengan (kiyai) Tjibabat, Adjengan Cibadoejoet, H. Oesman Pasar, H. Idjadji, H. Paroeradji, H. Achmad, H. saleh, S. Alketiri toewa, H. Ali bin Hamzah and Syech Ali Tajib.⁴¹

The critical questions to be asked from this fact is that why is there a commissaries from both Kaoem Moeda and Kaoem Kolot in Permoefakatan Islam? Aren't these two groups were contradicting each other? This was the "uniqueness" of Permoefakatan Islam organization that differentiate it from other Islamic organization in Nusantara. It appears that the ultimate objective of the establishment of this Permoefakatan Islam organization was to unify thoughts-understandings between kaoem kolot and kaoem muda. As the logical consequence of this objective was situating these two different ideological groups into a balanced entity, both as commissaries of the organization: kaoem moeda and kaoem kolot.

Kaoem Moeda newspaper informed,

Akan menjampaiakan maksoednja perhimpoean ini maka kita mengambil jalan jang baik, ijalah membitjarakan hal agama, memperstaoekan fikiran dari orang orang toea dan moeda, mentjari kebenaran supaja bertambah kekal di dalam hal persaoedaraan, tjinta mentjinta, tolong menolong, berramai ramai memadjoekan agama dengan roekoen akan mentjari keselamatan dan kemadjoean di doenia dan acherat[this organization

intends to take a good path, to discuss things related to religion, to unify the thoughts of the old and the young people, to seek the truth in order to strengthen the brotherhood, caring for each other, helping each other, together work for this religion harmoniously and seek for the safety and prosperity in this world and in the hereafter.⁴²

Placing these two groups with different thoughts in an organization does not mean to put a stop to the religious debate itself. Permoefakatan Islam maintained its view that the clash of thoughts is important for the progress of the Islamic *ummah* itself. As reported by this newspaper, this organization considered discussions and debate between these two groups as a positive thing, as “berbantah ilmoe dengan maksoed jang baik akan mentjahari kebenaran itu adalah suatu hikmah besar...akan mendjauhkan orang dari sifat ‘soeka bitjara di belakang’ (mengoeapat)/scientific debates with good intention to find truth is a good thing...it will make people get rid of the ‘backtalking’ attitude”.⁴³

In this case the figures that sat as commissaries from the side of *kaoem moeda* of Permoefakatan Islam, their names are “similar” to the name of the founders of Persatuan Islam, such as H. Zamzam, H. M. Yunus, Sabirin, H. Aqil.⁴⁴ Is this merely a coincidence? It is impossible, as logically, when the founders of Persatuan Islam sat within the structure as the “commissaries from *kaoem moeda*” in a mass Islamic organization that formally accommodate both *kaoem moeda* and *kaoem kolot*.

Also, the relationship between these two organizations was an ordinary thing, as at that time there was yet ban or organizational discipline to prohibit its members to have multiple memberships or multiple positions in various organizations. Similarly, initially Persatuan Islam appeared to be a religious discussion group, thus there were many of its members who held concurrent positions in other organizations for other purposes. It is not a

strange then when there are many concurrent memberships/positions between Persatuan Islam and Permoefakatan Islam].

This practice did not only happened in Permoefakatan Islam, there were also many members of PERSIS who have concurrent memberships in other organizations such as in Sarekat Islam (SI), or Partai Islam Indonesia/Indonesia Islamic Party (PII), e.g. Mohammad Natsir, he was the deputy chairman in PB. Persatuan Islam, along with HM. Zamzam.⁴⁵ Natsir also became the chairman of Partai Islam Indonesia/Indonesia Islamic Party (PII) branch Bandung and *lichkern* (core staff) of *Jong Islamieten Bond* (JIB). There were also many members of other organizations that became members of PERSIS to learn more about Islam; for instance, KH. Moenawar Chalil, a leading figure of Muhammadiyah who became member of PERSIS up until his death.⁴⁶ Apart from Chalil, there were also names such as Sabirin, an important member of Sarekat Islam, Muhammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddiqy and Hamka, important figures in Muhammadiyah who joined PERSIS. Bachtiar described:

PERSIS as an organization was established to enrich discussions on religion so those issues will be known to broader audience. This broadening of religious discussions were carried out through publications of discussion results, holding debates with various parties, and attending discussion invitations or carry out similar discussion in various places... As their role in religious thoughts are eminent, many Islamic scholars (ulama) from other organizations who had been first established, joined PERSIS.⁴⁷

Within this context, the statement within the archive of *Tafsir QA-QD Persatuan Islam*; that the *nama "Persatuan Islam" pada saat itu ada juga yang memberi nama "Permoefakatan Islam/name "persatuan Islam" at that time was also named "Permoefakatan Islam"*. It means that between Persatuan Islam

and Permoefakatan Islam was identic. This similar identity was due to the support from Persatuan Islam leading figures itself in the establishment of Permoefakatan Islam; some of them even actively involved as its management.

The Progress and the Comparison of Both Organizations

The harmony and synergy between these two organizations did not last long. Around 1925, the critical differences between PERSIS and Permoefakatan Islam had started to surface. Debates were inevitable. The disputes between PERSIS and Permoefakatan Islam had triggered reactions from other organizations such as, SI (PSI) who had long disagreed with the model of the da'wah activity of the PERSIS, as they considered it to have created schism in the unity of the Islamic ummah. Therefore, in their official publication, *Al-Islam No.1/1925*, the CC SI publicized the debate between the Persatuan Islam versus Permoefakatan Islam.⁴⁸

Iskandar described,

The disputes on the religious practices, especially in the practice of *furu*, was worrying for the leaders of PSI. they considered that those disputes to have become increasingly difficult to solve and that those disputes were about to create conflict, thus, endanger the unity of the Islamic ummah. Based on these considerations, they asked for the members of the PSI on the branches level and below to put a stop to the debate on the *furu* issue. However, some members of PSI who were also members of PERSIS had not heeded this circular. They rather considered that by ignoring the *furu* problem, the Islamic ummah would be degraded.⁴⁹

Indeed, as described by Rafid Abbas,⁵⁰ in further development, the PERSIS had struggled in two ways, first, internal struggle to

actively cleanse Islam from the ideas that were not based on the Qur'an and the Hadith, especially, in regard to faith and worship and inviting the Islamic ummah to fight based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Second, their external struggle to actively fight against every anti-Islamic movement who tried to destroy Islam in Indonesia, thus, all their activities were emphasized on spread and publicized the understanding of the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

On the other hand, the Permoefakatan Islam was initially progressively developed. According to its chairman, S. W. A. R. Hassan, the background for the establishment of Permoefakatan Islam was the socio-economic, health, and education conditions of the Islamic ummah in Bandung that were heavily neglected compared to the Christians in that city. Therefore, the objective for the establishment of this organization was to develop the Islamic ummah's education by teaching them the religious books based on the *hadits*, *ijma* and *qiyas*.⁵¹

From 1926 to mid-1930s, the management of Permoefakatan Islam had established schools and published magazine called, "*Hidajatul Moestakim*". Due to the backwardness of Islamic ummah in Bandung, Permoefakatan Islam carried out social mission. This organization also established orphanages and carry out health care services.⁵² It was evident that Permoefakatan Islam did not only work in religious aspects, but also in education and socio-cultural aspects.

Diversity was the main feature of this organization. S. W. A. R. Hassan, the chairman of Permoefakatan Islam, belonged to the *kaoem kolot*. He was noted to become the board of Nahdatul Ulama (NU) branch Bandung.⁵³ He was also one of the founders of Al-Moechtar, which was published in Tasikmalaya in 1933 together with the other 16 prominent kiayi/ajengan in Priangan Timur. He was also recorded as one of the leader/board of Madrasah Al-Ianah, Bandung. He was the person who

asked E. Abdurrahman from Al-Ianah Cianjur to migrate to Bandung in the beginning of 1930s, to assist him to teach in Madrasah Al-Ianah Bandung. However, in later days, E. Abdurrahman then became the follower/student of A. Hassan and became the chairman of PERSIS in the period of 1964 -1983.⁵⁴

On the other hand, the other board of Permoefakatan Islam such as Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata had progressive characteristic. This founding father of Permoefakatan Islam was against the understanding of the NU Tasikmalaya Group. According to Iskandar, there was a debate in August 1935, between Sutisna Senjaya, the chairman of NU Tasikmalaya versus Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata who represented Permoefakatan Islam. The essence of their debate was on the meaning of *ulil amri*" (bupati/regent) and "*kodly syar'i*" (marriage registrar/*hoofdpenhoeloe*).⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the image of this organization continued to dim, and was later disbanded in 1942 during the invasion of the Japanese army.

A. Hassan Involvement in PERSIS

The dispute between PERSIS versus Permoefakatan Islam was not triggered by the involvement of A. Hassan in PERSIS. Hassan was born in Singapore in 1887. His father, Ahmad, was an Indian descendant, whereas, his mother, Muznah was an Indian descendant who was born in Surabaya. In 1921, Hassan moved to Surabaya to manage his uncle, Abdul Latif's textile shop. He did not stay long in Surabaya. In 1924 he went to Bandung to learn weaving from the weaving institute of the government. In Bandung, A. Hassan was interested with the existence of PERSIS and joined this organization in 1926.⁵⁶

As told by Tamar Djaja, a Singapore born figure who came to Bandung in 1924 to learn textile. During his one and a half

year stay in Bandung, A. Hassan's activities were full of learning all about textile as it was his initial purpose to come to Bandung. He even got a diploma in textile. That later his interest was drawn to Islamic knowledge brought by PERSIS, it was not a sudden movement. It was only logical that it took some time.⁵⁷ It was not clear when A. Hassan had started to get to know PERSIS as an organization. Tamar Djaja only mentioned that A. Hassan got to know that organization from the merchants of Persatuan Islam, such as Mr. Asjari and Mr. Tamim, when he was studying textile. When he had actively involved, A. Hassan then became the official member of PERSIS in 1926.⁵⁸

Even though he had become the official member of PERSIS, A. Hassan did not directly involved in the board of PERSIS, and indeed there was no record of him ever to hold a position within the structure of PB PERSIS. His position in PERSIS was as "the ulama of Persatuan Islam." A. Hassan was famous among the PERSIS due to his "strength" and his "clarity" of thoughts, and not due to his official position. On this, Tamar Djaja described:

He often taught in study forums arranged by PERSIS. Therefore, the PERSIS people were interested due to his knowledge...One time Mr. Zamzam, the chairman of PERSIS, led a tabligh. [He] was asked about tauhid. Zamzam found it hard to answer this question. A. Hassan provided his answer with sufficient explanation. Many people asked the questions and he had provided sufficient answers for all of them...In the end, A. Hassan went on to replace Zamzam. He had been appointed to become a mentor/teacher in PERSIS.⁵⁹

Therefore, the topic about Permoefakatan Islam-PERSIS-A. Hassan became clear. The establishment of Permoefakatan Islam itself happened long before A. Hassan was involved in PERSIS. Also, on the case of the debate between Permoefakatan

Islam Versus PERSIS on the topic of “usholli” that happened in 1925, clearly showed a reformist characteristic of Persatuan Islam that was shaped even before A. Hassan got involved in it.

A. Hassan himself played a significant role for PERSIS. Other organization figures’ interest on PERSIS, especially since the arrival of A. Hassan had given a particular characteristic for the movement and thought of Persatuan Islam. A. Hassan’s discussions in PERSIS’ study forums and his publications that were referred by the reformist group all over Nusantara is always of interest. The figures within PERSIS also wrote and contributed to this new religious discourse in their articles, such as Munawar Chalil and Muhammad Natsir. A. Hassan’ and his colleagues’ thoughts within *Majelis Ulama* (ulama council) of PERSIS were always referred. Even up to the next decades, A. Hassan writings had been treated as important reference for other reformist organizations on religious law.

In addition to an expert debater,⁶⁰ A. Hassan was also very concerned about the Islamic young generations who were studying in Dutch schools who paid less to no attention at all to Islamic teaching. A. Hassan was aware that these young generations were the future leaders that needed sufficient religious knowledge and understanding. A. Hassan had a strong interest to draw these young generations to learn about Islam, no matter how busy he was, he had always made time to talk with these young people. He often postponed his jobs such as, editing a book or composing a tafsir, talking with the future leaders of the ummah was more important.⁶¹

A. Hassan had successfully taught several students, such as Mohamad Natsir. According to Akh. Minhaji, “*among the most significant impact of Hassan’s reform mission can be seen in the career of Mohammad Natsir.*”⁶² Indeed, Mohamad Natsir

was among the students of Holland middle school who often visited A. Hassan's home to ask and discuss about religious matters. Mohammad Natsir was born in Alahan Panjang of Sumatera Barat on 17th July 1908. He was the son of a Dutch government employee. Natsir had been living in Bandung since 1927 to pursue his study in AMS (*Algemene Middelbare School*, or high school), following the completion of his elementary study in HIS (*Hollandsch Inlandsch school*) and his secondary school MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*) in Minangkabau.⁶³

In Bandung, Natsir's had grown fonder of studying about religion. In 1929, he had started to teach Islam in HIK (*Hollands Inlandsche Kweekschool*, teacher's college) and MULO. In addition, he had also tried to learn more about religion by regularly participating in the Jumu'ah prayer and the Islamic study forums arranged by PERSIS and participated in religious classes taught by A. Hassan for the young generation from various Dutch schools. This, according to Minhaji was the personal appeal of A. Hassan:

Hassan was always ready to discuss any problem with his students and respected any new idea expressed by them. If the students had certain religious questions, he did not give the answers directly: instead he asked the students to solve the problems by searching for the answers in the available reference sources, written mostly in Arabic and English. All of this was quite different from the common approach of his peers, who always determined the answers to certain problems and set the books that the students should read.⁶⁴

The second person was K.H.M. Isa Anshary. Apart from Mohammad Natsir, the ulama and politician who had once become his student was K.H.M Isa Anshary. Anshary was born in Maninjau, Sumatera in 1916 and had once become the chairman of PERSIS (1948-1960). In politics, Isa Anshary began his political

carrier by becoming the chairman of Masyumi Party in Jawa Barat. His carrier progressed and he became the Central Board of Management for the Masyumi Party in 1956. He was also a member of Masyumi Fraction in Majelis Konstituante Republik Indonesia/Parliament House elected in 1955 Election. At that time, the elites of PERSIS were actively involved in politics. Their active roles in Masyumi were shown by their efforts to fight against communism and to promote Islamic ideology. PERSIS was on the frontline of fight against communism. In relation to this, Isa Anshary established, "Front Anti Komunis/Anti-Communism Front" in Mid-November 1954. PERSIS headquarter served as the base for this Anti-Communism Front.⁶⁵

As Federspiel wrote, "Isa Anshary provided leadership and a point of view, just as Ahmad Hassan had done in the pre-war years."⁶⁶ Since 1940, Isa Anshary had become the member of Central Board of Management of PERSIS, thus, it was not a strange thing that he later played an important role in the reorganization process of PERSIS following its disbandment by the Japanese in 1942. He later served as general chairman of this reactivated organization. In addition, he also participated as authors of the draft of *Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili* (the Organization Bylaws) of the new PERSIS, the Manifest of PERSIS Works.⁶⁷ According to Akh. Minhaji, A. Hassan had a fundamental influence on Isa Anshary:

A study of his thought in this area will certainly give the impression that Anshary adopted Hassan's principal religious ideas. He believed that Muslims have been too much influenced by Western ways of thinking to the extent that they live in an era of "modern jihiliyyah." i.e. a way of life which features material progress but lacks spiritual values. What man needs, Anshary says in one of his works. "is an absolute guide" and such a guide is provided by Islam, with its unchanging beliefs in God, its shari'ah and its ummah.⁶⁸

Among his other students - who later became a great ulama and leader of large Islamic schools - was Abdul Qadir Hassan, the oldest son of A. Hassan, who led the PERSIS Islamic School in Bangil and became the advisor of the *Al-Muslimun* magazine and had once become the chairman of the Council of Ulama of PERSIS (now Dewan Hisbah PP. PERSIS/Hisbah Council of PP. PERSIS).⁶⁹ Also, K.H.E Abdurrahman, the chairman of PERSIS Islamic School in Bandung and Chief of Central Board of Management of PERSIS (1962-1983) who was also an advisor for *At-Taqwa* and *Risalah* magazine. Abdurrahman replaced A. Hassan to manage the PERSIS Pesantren/Islamic Boarding School in Bandung following A. Hassan's migration to Bangil in 1941.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Based on the information presented from primary sources above, it is clear that "Federspiel thesis" was questionable. The Permoefakatan Islam was clearly not a fraction organization of Persatuan Islam. As, if it was a schism form Persatuan Islam, is it possible for the leading figures in PERSIS to become parts of its management? The information we found in this study pointed otherwise. We have founded that Permoefakatan Islam itself had experienced "failure" to "unite the kaoem moeda and kaoem kolot." The synergy and harmony between these two groups did not last long (1924 -1925). Then, they split.

Federspiel's thesis, which stated that PERSIS initial ideology was not clear and was just constructed following the involvement of A. Hassan was also proven by our study to be strongly refutable. Our findings pointed that if in 1924, the Islamic figures in Bandung established Permoefakatan Islam to "unite the kaoem moeda and kaoem kolot," then the clash between the two groups must have happened before it, including the year before (1923)

when PERSIS was founded. Therefore, it is only logical if we concluded that the ideological format of PERSIS had been clear since its establishment, as part of “Reformist Islamic” movement.

Similarly, the involvement of figures known as the founders of PERSIS in Permoefakatan Islam organization itself were as the commissaries or representative of the “kaoem moeda/the young” group. This information, only insisted the position of Persatuan Islam as an organization that since the beginning had been considered as representative of reformist young group in Bandung long before the arrival of Hassan.

The involvement of A. Hassan in PERSIS undeniably has brought about significant “changes” in this organization. However, it was not on the ideological format of the organization as a reformist organization. PERSIS ideology had been clear from the beginning. The changes brought by A. Hassan can be classified into three categories. First, in regards to organizational character, PERSIS had become more “insistent” (read: more radical). Second, regeneration; the reformist ideological initiation program was more intensive and massive as A. Hassan had successfully regenerated/taught his students. Third in regards to influencing power, A. Hassan and his disciples’ performance through their writings had placed PERSIS in the spotlight of National movement.

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Endnotes:

¹ The early figures such as Soekarno, Mohamad Roem, or contemporary figures like Kuntowijoyo, Amien Rais, or Syafiq Mughni, in many of their writings have often mentioned the identity of PERSIS and A. Hassan Figure with his birthplace/base in one go, Bandung or Bangil, Syafiq A. Mughni, *Hassan Bandung: Pemikir Islam Radikal* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1980), 1.

² Wildan Imaduddin Muhammad, "Ormas Islam Di Jawa Barat dan Pergerakannya; Studi Kasus PERSIS dan PUI," *Analisis* 16, no. 2 (2016): 75-98.

³ Nurul Fatimah, "Gerakan Puritanisme Persatuan Islam di Kepulauan Sapeken-Sumenep Madura, 1972-2016," *JUSPI* 2, no. 1 (2018): 71-85.

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⁷ See Mughni, *Hassan Bandung: Pemikir Islam Radikal*.

⁸ Tiar Anwar Bachtiar, *Jas Mewah: Jangan Sekali-kali Melupakan Sejarah & Dakwah* (Yogyakarta: Pro-U Media, 2018): 127.

⁹ Howard M Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Singapore: Equinox Publishing LTD, 2009): 18-19; Howard M Federspiel, *Islam and Ideology in the Emerging Indonesian State: The Persatuan Islam (Persis) 1923 to 1957* (Leiden-Boston-Koln: Brill, 2001): 15-20.

¹⁰ Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, 21. Therefore, Federspiel concluded that A. Hassan was the person who set the ideology of Persatuan Islam in the context of Islamic Reformist movement in Indonesia: "Ahmad Hassan was the member whose viewpoint gave real format and individuality to the Persatuan Islam and clearly placed it in the modernist Muslim camp."

¹¹ Mughni, *Hassan Bandung: Pemikir Islam Radikal*, 66.

¹² Dadan Wildan, *Pasang Surut Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia: Potret Perjalanan Sejarah Organisasi Persatuan Islam* (Bandung: PERSIS Press, 2000), 46.

¹³ Badri Khaeruman, *Pandangan Keagamaan Persatuan Islam; Sejarah, Pemikiran, dan Fatwa Ulamaanya* (Bandung: Granada, 2005), 20.

¹⁴ Merle C Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (London: Mc Millan LTD, 1988), 168.

¹⁵ Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).

¹⁶ Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, 18-19; See too Federspiel, *Islam and Ideology*

in the Emerging Indonesian State: The Persatuan Islam (Persis) 1923 to 1957, 15-16.

¹⁷ Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, 19.

¹⁸ Federspiel, 19.

¹⁹ Federspiel, 21 Therefore, Federspiel concluded that A. Hassan was the person who set the ideology of Persatuan Islam in the context of Islamic Reformist movement in Indonesia: "Ahmad Hassan was the member whose viewpoint gave real format and individuality to the Persatuan Islam and clearly placed it in the modernist Muslim camp."

²⁰ Federspiel, 21.

²¹ Mughni, *Hassan Bandung: Pemikir Islam Radikal*, 66.

²² Wildan, *Pasang Surut Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia: Potret Perjalanan Sejarah Organisasi Persatuan Islam*, 46.

²³ Khaeruman, *Pandangan Keagamaan Persatuan Islam; Sejarah, Pemikiran, dan Fatwa Ulamaanya*, 20.

²⁴ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 168.

²⁵ Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 96; Lies-Marcus Natsir, "Profil Organisasi Wanita Islam di Indonesia: Studi Kasus PERSISTRI," in *Organisasi Wanita Islam di Indonesia Dalam Kajian Tekstual dan Kontekstual*, eds. oleh Johan Hendrik Meuleman and Lies-Marcoes Natsir (Jakarta: INIS, 1996), 103.

²⁶ M. Isa Anshary, *Manifest Perdjuaan Persatoean Islam* (Bandung: PP Persatoean Islam, 1956), 16; Tamar Djaja, "Tokoh Kita: A. Hassan," *Daulah Islamijah*, No. 6, 1958; the closest in time line historical source with the establishment of this organization that we found was Al-Lisan magazine No. 7/1938. When reporting

the opening remark of HM Zamzam during the Conference of Persatuan Islam in Bogor in April 1938, *Al-Lisan* magazine reported that he had led Persatuan Islam for 15 years. Thus, it was clear that HM Zamzam had started to lead Persatuan Islam in 1923. Members of Persatuan Islam themselves claimed that dating by mentioning it in the Qanun Asasi (organizational bylaws) of this organization. See PP PERSIS, *Tafsir Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam* (Bandung, 1984), 3.

²⁷ AK Pringgodigdo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Rakyat* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1994), 64.

²⁸ PERSIS, *Tafsir Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam*, 4-5.

²⁹ The knowledge on the socio-political phenomenon in the Middle East was possible due to the founders of PERSIS were mostly those who had performed hajj. At that time, hajj was not only performed as a ritual but also an education trip. Usually, they perform hajj then study. From here, the relationship between the intellectuals in the Middle East and the Nusantara was developed. In Mecca and its surrounding area, the religious reformation movement was led by the Wahabis since the 18th century, and later reached its peak during the 19th century under the leadership of Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridha. Hence, the idea also came to Indonesia, including in Bandung. Azyumardi Azra, "The Transmission of al-Manar's Reformism to the Malay-Indonesian World: The Cases of al-Imam and al-Munir," *Studia Islamika* 6, no. 3 (2014): 143-58, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v6i3.723>; Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism In Southeast Asia Networks of Malay-Indonesian And Middle Eastern Ulama In The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: Univ of Hawai, 2004), 146-147; Mustaffa Abdullah, "Pengaruh Tafsir Al-Manar dan Kesannya Kepada Perjuangan Reformis Tempatan

Memartabatkan Pendidikan Orang-Orang Melayu,” *Pengajian Melayu*, (2008): 108–122.

³⁰ See Tiar Anwar Bachtiar and Pepen Irpan Fauzan, *Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan Politik PERSIS* (Bandung: PERSIS Press, 2019); On the political views differences among the PERSIS figures, see Fauzan and Fata, “Portraying Political Polarization In Persatuan Islam in The Case of Mohamad Natsir Vs Isa Anshari.”

³¹ PERSIS, *Tafsir Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam*, 5.

³² PERSIS, 1; that KHE Abdurrahman was the chief for the development of organizational bylaws of PERSIS, this information was obtained in the official remarks of the organization delivered by the Chief of PERSIS who succeeded KHE Abdurrahman, KHA. Latief Muchtar. He told that during the Mukhtamar Persatuan Islam VIII (25-27 November 1967) who had recommended the Committee for the Organizational Bylaws of Persatuan Islam, to compose and interpret the new organizational bylaws and the interpretation of the new Organizational Bylaws. This committee was led by M. Rusyad Nurdin (chairman) and Junus Anis (secretary). On February 18th, 1968, the committee had completed their task to develop the QA-QD of Persatuan Islam. However, for the interpretation of the QA-QD (Organizational Bylaws), the Committee assigned KHE Abdurrahman, by issuing a decree that “memberikan mandat-penuh kepada KHE. Abdurrahman...untuk menjusun Tafsir Asasi Persatuan Islam berdasarkan Qanun Asasi dan Qanun Dachili Persatuan Islam tersebut/bestow the full mandate to KHE Abdurrahman...to compose the interpretation to the organizational bylaws of Persatuan Islam based on the Bylaws of the Persatuan Islam”. See “Surat Keputusan Panitia Perubahan Qanun Asasi Persatuan Islam,” Pub. L. No. 18 (February 1968): 1.

³³ Wildan, *Pasang Surut Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia: Potret Perjalanan Sejarah Organisasi Persatuan Islam*, p. 34; Khaeruman, *Pandangan Keagamaan Persatuan Islam; Sejarah, Pemikiran, dan Fatwa Ulamanya*, 22.

³⁴ “No Title,” *Al-Islam*, No 2, 1343.

³⁵ See Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*.

³⁶ “Perhimpoean Baroe,” *Kaoem Moeda*, 18 November 1924, 2.

³⁷ “Oprichtings Vergadering of Perhimpoean ‘Permoefakatan Islam,’” *Kaoem Moeda*, 19 November 1924, 1.

³⁸ Mohamad Iskandar, *Para Pengemban Amanah: Pergulatan Pemikiran Ulama di Jawa Barat 1900-1945* (Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa, 2000), 187; In this case, Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata, was also known as a progressive figure. He was told to become a supporting figure for the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan organization. See Soeharto, *Pagoejoeban Pasoendan 1927-1942* (Bandung: Satya Historika, 2002), 44-47; Indeed, according to Kartini, DK Ardiwinata was active in the management of Permoefakatan Islam, see Tini Kartini, *Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata: Sastrawan Sunda* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1979); Therefore, in one of the novel of DK Ardiwinata, titled *Baruang kanu Ngarora*, there was a category of Sundanese community, between the kaoem ngora vis-à-vis kaoem kolot. See C. Cantini, “Habitue dan Modal Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata di Arena Kesusastran Sunda Modern/ the Habit and Capital of Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata in Modern Sundanese Literary,” *Sawerigading* 24, no. 2 (2018): 185-96.

³⁹ The position of the Swarha building now is next to the Grand Mosque of Jawa Barat (Masjid Agung Bandung) and is

opposite the Central Post Office in Jalan Asia Afrika. In the East Indies era, the west area and the south west area of Alun Alund Bandung was the residence area of the Arabs people, this was evident in the name of the street such as Alketeri (Al Katiri) street and Al Jabri street.

⁴⁰ According to the authors, all these 27 commissaries of the kaoem moeda were the founding fathers of PERSIS, see *Kaoem Moeda*, No. 264, 19 November 1924, 1.

⁴¹ See *Kaoem Moeda*, No 264, 19 November 1924, 2.

⁴² “Oprichtings Vergadering Dari Perhimpoean ‘Permoefakatan Islam,’” 1.

⁴³ “Oprichtings Vergadering Dari Perhimpoean ‘Permoefakatan Islam,’” 1.

⁴⁴ See *Kaoem Moeda*, No 264, 19 November 1924, 1.

⁴⁵ See *Al-Lisan magazine*, No 3, 1936.

⁴⁶ See *Daulah Islamijjah* magazine, No 1 (1956): 1; on the thought of KH. Moenawar Chalil see Toha Hamim, *Paham Keagamaan Kaum Reformis* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2000); dan Toha Hamim, “Moenawar Khalil: The Career and Thought of Indonesian Muslim Reformist,” *Studia Islamika* 4, no. 2 (1997): 1-54. In this present study, it is also revealed how the involvement of Khalil in Persis, while he was an activist of Muhammadiyah

⁴⁷ Bachtiar and Fauzan, *Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan Politik PERSIS*, 3.

⁴⁸ See *Al-Islam* magazine No. 2 Th.I/1 Rajab 1343, 2.

⁴⁹ Iskandar, *Para Pengemban Amanah: Pergulatan Pemikiran Ulama di Jawa Barat 1900-1945/ The Trustees: The Ulama Thoughts’ Struggles in Jawa Barat 1900-1945*, 259; This case, PERSIS disagreed with PSII, eventhough in politics, this organization supported

PSII. The basis of their argumentation was around the view that the *furu'* problem would encourage people to study Islam comprehensively. Therefore, indirectly, this will draw people's interest to political problems. Hence, this *furu'* issue, like or dislike, should be considered to be discussed and debated. Only through building these Islamic principles, Islamic power can be achieved. Natsir, for instance, insisted that even though political issues (such as the relationship between the religion and the state) is important, the Muslims should not lessen their activity on *furu'* (differences on worship rituals). Natsir considered both as important, as the ultimate problem was the relationship between man and his Creator. Therefore, both are worth to be discussed. About Natsir, see Fauzan and Fata, "Portraying Political Polarization In Persatuan Islam in The Case of Mohamad Natsir Vs Isa Anshari."

⁵⁰ Rafid Abbas, "Ijtihad Dewan Hisbah Persatuan Islam Dalam Hukum Islam," *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam* 6, no. 1 (2016): 214–36.

⁵¹ "Oprichtings Vergadering Dari Perhimpunan 'Permoefakatan Islam,'" 1.

⁵² See *Kaoem Moeda*, No. 297, 30 December 1924.

⁵³ According to *Al-Mawa'idz* magazine—published by NU branch Tasikmalaya—when they reported the tabligh event in Islamic school of Chaeriyah Gang Afandi Bandung in 1935, it was written that the board of management for NU Bandung were S. W. A. R. Hassan, RH Dahlan and Kiai H. Abdullah.

⁵⁴ See Dadan Wildan, *Yang Dai Yang Politikus* (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 1995).

⁵⁵ Iskandar, *Para Pengemban Amanah: Pergulatan Pemikiran Ulama di Jawa Barat 1900-1945*, 283.

⁵⁶ Minhaji, "Islamic Reform in Contest: Ahmad Hassan and His Traditionalist Opponents."

⁵⁷ Tamar Djaja, "Tokoh Kita: A. Hassan," *Daulah Islamijjah* No. 6/Th.I/1958.

⁵⁸ Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, 105.

⁵⁹ Tamar Djaja, "Tokoh Kita: A. Hassan/Our Figure: A. Hassan". It should be noted here that since becoming "the teacher of Persatuan Islam"(since 1926), Mr. Hassan then reside in the house of H.M. Yunus, and not since 1924 when he was still studying textile as often written by the historiographer of Persatuan Islam before. There was no primary source to prove it. If the historical source used to justify his staying in HM. Yunus house since 1924 was the writing of Tamar Djaja, He had never described that when A. Hassan came to Bandung to learn textile Hassan had directly stayed in the house of HM. Yunus or implied that since it was the case, A. Hassan had stayed among the Persatuan Islam study club and hence, actively involved. Tamar Djaja only described that during his study of the textile, A. Hassan got to know Persatuan Islam from merchants who were member of Persatuan Islam such as Mr. Asjari. Thus, he did not directly in contact with PERSIS when he first came to Bandung. Rather, Tamar Djaja wrote, "Dia telah ditetapkan mendjadi guru PERSIS.Tinggal di rumah Tuan Junus/He was appointed as the teacher of PERSIS. [He] lived in the house of Mr. Junus".

⁶⁰ It was started from the debate on the *furû'* problem, A. Hassan then got involved in more substantial debates, which related to the basic problems in the formulation of an Islamic law (*ushûl*): how is our attitude toward the sources of Islamic law (al-Qur'an, Sunnah, ijma and qiyas). See Minhaji, "Islamic Reform in Contest: Ahmad Hassan and His Traditionalist Opponents," 88.

⁶¹ A. W. Pratiknya, ed., *M. Natsir: Pesan Perjuangan Seorang Bapak (Percakapan Antar Generasi)* (Jakarta: DDII, 1989), 26-

29; Pepen Irpan Fauzan, Ahmad Khoirul Fata, and Gun Gun Abdul Basit, "Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan: Studi Kritis Atas Persatuan Islam," *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama* 19, no. 2 (2020): 247-78.

⁶² Akh Minhaji, "Ahmad Hassan And Islamic Legal Reform In Indonesia (1887-1958)" (McGill University, 1997), 339.

⁶³ Moehamad Natsir had known the teachings of reformist group since he was little. See Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, 100.

⁶⁴ Minhaji, "Ahmad Hassan And Islamic Legal Reform In Indonesia (1887-1958)," 340.

⁶⁵ See Sulaiman Kurdi, "Gerakan Politik Masyumi Dalam Membendung Komunisme Pada Masa Konstituante 1956-1959," *Khazanah* 7, no. 1 (2009): 31-70; Samsuri, "Komunisme dalam Pergumulan Wacana Ideologi Masyumi," *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama* 1, no. 1 (2001): 99-121.

⁶⁶ Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, 124.

⁶⁷ On Isa Anshary, see, Pepen Irpan Fauzan and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Portraying Political Polarization in Persatuan Islam: 205-232.

⁶⁸ Minhaji, "Ahmad Hassan And Islamic Legal Reform In Indonesia (1887-1958)," 364.

⁶⁹ See Abdur Rohman, "Peranan Ustadz Abdul Qadir Hassan Dalam Pengembangan Pesantren Persis Bangil 1958-1984 M" (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2016); R.P. Saifan Hizbul Islam, "Perkembangan Pondok Pesantren Persatuan Islam (Persis) Bangil 1940-1986" (Universitas Airlangga Surabaya, 2014).

⁷⁰ Discussion in relation to the influence of A. Hassan regeneration toward his students, either those who became national

or local elites, see Fauzan, Fata, and Gun Gun Abdul Basit, “Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan: Studi Kritis Atas Persatuan Islam.”