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Thought and exemplary Islamic nationalism of the early days of independence Indonesia: Learning from Ki Bagus Hadikusumo

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Abstract

Indonesian nationalism is characterised by a blend of religious and national identities that coexist and reinforce each other. This paper presents a profile of the background of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo's thoughts, life, and nationalism during the early days of Indonesian independence. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo is one of Indonesia's national heroes who can be classified as an Islamic nationalist during the formulation of the Indonesian state. This figure, active in the Muhammadiyah Islamic movement organisation, has significantly contributed to the formulation and establishment of Pancasila as the basis of the state. The life background thought, and Muhammadiyah as the organisation of the Islamic movement have formed not only pure monotheistic attitudes and behaviours and precise tolerance but also a high sense of nationality and love for the homeland to provide exemplary social piety and statesmanship for citizens.

Keywords: Islamic, Muhammadiyah, National Identities, Nationalism, Pancasila.

Introduction

The relationship between religion (Islam) and the Indonesian state is always interesting to study. The relationship between the two is like two sides of an inseparable coin. Not only because Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world, which accounts for about 87% of Indonesia's population (Hackett et al., 2015), but many factors influenced the dynamics of Islam and the Indonesian-ness. The position of religion is so important for the people, making Indonesia a very religious country (Menchik, 2016). Indonesia is neither a theocratic state nor a secular state because it still recognises religion as one of the important aspects that animates the basis of the state. Pasuhuk (2016) mentions this condition as strong evidence for the tradition of tolerance and pluralism in Indonesia. Indonesian society has a strong religious

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tradition and believes in God and in life after death, and this is a factor that cannot be separated from Indonesia.

Politically, research on the relationship between Islam and the state shows that the two have reached an impasse (Effendy, 2009, p. 2). Political Islam has been defeated, both constitutionally, physically, bureaucratically, through elections, and symbolically. Even political Islam is often the target of distrust, suspected of opposing the state ideology of Pancasila (Effendy, 2009). Even so, from a socio-cultural perspective, Islam colours the lives of the Indonesian people and nation. The contribution of Islam to Indonesia is very large. Because of that, historically, the opinion emerged that "Indonesia is Islam" Suryanegara (2018a). Even Survanegara (2018a, 2018b) quoted Douwes Dekker's statement to corroborate the statement, namely, "If it were not for the attitude and fighting spirit of the ulama, patriotism among our nation would have long been destroyed." The above acknowledgement confirms the role of the *ulama* (Islamic clergy) in raising the spirit and heroic spirit of citizens as one of the elements of nationalism. Ahead of Indonesia's independence, discussions and debates at the sessions at the BPUPK and PPKI have led to the polarisation of their members into two major groups, namely the secular nationalist group and the Islamic nationalist group (Anshari, 1986; Bahar et al., 1995). The first group calls for an impartial Indonesian religion, while the latter wants to assert Indonesia as an Islamic state with sharia An-Na'im (2008).

Instead of secular nationalism only replacing religious identity and loyalty, in the context of Indonesia, religious and national identities coexist and even reinforce each other (Grzymala-Busse, 2019) Nationalists must demonstrate good behaviour (good deeds) individually and socially. Social piety, as a form of religiosity born of the four significant aspects of Islam, faith, morals, worship, and *muamalah* (Basyir, 2000; Ilyas, 2011), needs to be read as a unified whole in terms of individual piety. In the academic context of civic education, connecting social piety and citizen nationalism is interesting. Social piety will be combined with obedience to the nation and state, giving birth to citizens who are strong in religion and nationalism.

This study examines the example of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (1890-1954), a Muhammadiyah figure, an Islamic nationalist group in the BPUPK and PPKI sessions. Ki Bagus strongly believes in the perfection of Islamic teachings and the relevance of Islamic teachings for the lives of the people, nation, and state (Hakiem, 2015, 2018), as well as being able to display a moderate attitude between two different groups by displaying individual piety, social piety, and a strong attitude of nationalism.

Ki Bagus Hadikusumo's Islamic thought and nationalism in the early days of Indonesian independence offered a unique perspective on developing citizenship education. His ideas about harmony between Islamic values and Pancasila can be recontextualised to build an educational approach emphasising the integration of spirituality, nationality and democracy. Through learning based on role models, students can understand how values such as tolerance, justice and service to the country can be the basis for strengthening the character of inclusive citizenship. This approach is also relevant for bridging the gap between religious values and diversity in multicultural Indonesian society.

Besides that, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo's thoughts can be linked to developing global citizen awareness. The nationalist values it instils, such as a commitment to social justice and respect for plurality, can be adapted to teach students the importance of contributing to global issues such as world peace and human rights. This integration of local and global perspectives strengthens national identity and builds a young generation that can play an active role as global citizens while remaining rooted in local values.

Method

This research is a research study of character (biography), which conducts research on the life of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo as a national hero, a figure who plays a significant role in the process of formulating the essential state and constitution at the BPUPK and PPKI sessions. As

biographical research, this research looks at the character in his relationship with the community, the characteristics, character, influence of his thoughts and ideas, and the formation of the character's character during his life (Baker & Zubair, 1994; Nazir, 2005). From a scientific perspective, the validity of character studies as a research method can be analysed from the point of view of ontology, epistemology, and axiology Harahap (2011). Ontologically, character studies are natural (explained as they are), inductive (explained data obtained from a character), consider ethics and emic, and *verstehen* (researchers can explore the thoughts, feelings, and motives behind the character's actions). From an epistemological point of view, the study of characters is carried out with a socio-cultural-religious historical approach (not detaching it from the sociocultural and religious context of the character) and is analytically critical. From the axiological point of view, character studies can be seen from their usefulness, especially from the point of view of exemplary material for introspection for later figures and contributing to the development of society and science. This research was conducted in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the birthplace of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo and Muhammadiyah, a socio-cultural and Islamic movement. Works directly with Ki Bagus's role as the primary source of research, in addition to writings on Ki Bagus written by academics in the book or journal as the research data.

Result and Discussion

The life and thoughts of Ki Bagus cannot be separated from the family figures of Raden Haji Lurah Hasyim and Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta as Ki Bagus' social and cultural background. *First,* Raden Haji Lurah Hasyim is the father of Ki Bagus, the son of Haji Ismail, an official with the rank of *Lurah* in the *Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat* Palace. Raden Haji Lurah Hasyim inherited the position of *abdi dalem putihan,* or official in the field of Islam with the rank of *lurah,* replacing Haji Ismail, who died. This office transfer has become a common tradition and part of the palace system. Haji Hasyim's marriage to the daughter of H. Noor from Menoreh was blessed with 11 children (some say eight children). Daniyalin, Jazuli, Hidayat or Raden Dayat, Zaini HS, and Siti Munjiyah. The five of them are well-known as prominent people in the Muhammadiyah movement Hamka (2019). Three other children died at the age of toddlers.

Daniyalin who later, after returning from the pilgrimage, changed his name to Syuja' (Soekarno et al., 2013), is the pioneer of the improvement journey Hajj Indonesia, the founder and chairman of the first Courant Helper Misery Oemoem (PKO) *Hoofdbestuur* (Executive Board) Muhammadiyah (Hamka, 2018; Jurdi et al., 2010; Thohari, 2020), and at the same time the founder of the PKO Muhammadiyah Hospital in Yogyakarta. He has a strong character in defending his stance and principles (Budiyanto, 2018; Hadikusuma, 1979), and he is firm, brave, and talented (Masruri, 2005).

Jazuli is the nickname of K H. Fakhruddin (some have also written KH. Fachroddin) (1889-1929), hero of Indonesian independence (Presidential Decree No. 162 of 1964) (Budiyanto, 2018, 2019), an accomplished politician and orator, a friend of HOS Cokroaminoto, Agus Salim, and a warm friend in discussions with socialist figures Semaun and Ngalimin. He is known as the pioneer of the Indonesian Hajj Assistance Agency (Amrullah, 2015). Even though he never received a formal education, apart from *pesantren* (boarding school) and studied with many figures and scholars, he is active in writing. He is involved in the publishing world (Budiyanto, 2019). He is a sharp journalist (Masruri, 2005, 2018b). Several of his written books include *Marganing Ka Wulo* (Because of Me), Pan Islamism, *Surah Al-Ikhlas* and its Tafsir, Friends of Friends, History of the Prophet Muhammad, The Importance of Teaching Islam, *Ash-Shirathal Mustaqiem*. He had been a member of Boedi Oetomo and an administrator of the Yogyakarta Branch of the Syarikat Islam (Thohari, 2020a, 2020b), as a place to channel his political aspirations. At the Muhammadiyah association, KH. Fachroddin was the vice chairman or *Voorzitter Hoofdbestoor (HB)* Moehammadijah (1923-1929) under Chairman KH Ibrahim (Thohari, 2020a, 2020b), administrator of the Library Section, and pioneered the publication

of the magazine "Soeara Moehammadijah". Suara Muhammadiyah magazine continues to be published regularly at the age of more than a century.

KH Zaini is known as a tenacious batik merchant, and a steadfast preacher who has a strong opinion, is sharp in writing and has deep knowledge of the teachings of the Christian religion. Zaini's speciality is debating. Several times, he argued with several publishers of the Christian religion and the Bible (Budiyanto, 2019; Masruri, 2005). One of his writings is " Horeging Jagad Kristen "(the upheaval of the Christian world), which is shocking and becomes the main grip of the missionaries (Budiyanto, 2019; Hadikusuma, 1979).

Siti Munjiyah is a character that moves in recitals *Sopo Tresno* (Al-Ghozi, 2005), which later became the Association 'Aisyiyah, Muhammadiyah women's organisations, and the movement leaders Wanita Bangsa Indonesia (Hadikusuma, 1979). She represented the Islamic group in the first Indonesian Women's Congress in Yogyakarta in 1928 (Thohari, 2020a, 2020b). Siti Munjiyah has the ability to oration like her brother K H Fachroddin Budiyanto (2018). Siti Munjiyah became Chair of Aisyiyah in 1932 after the leadership of Siti Walidah (Nyi Ahmad Dahlan) and was re-elected at the next Muhammadiyah Congress for the period 1933-1936. Siti Munjiyah studied at *Madrasah Diniyah*, and from the beginning, she was prepared to become a cadre in Muhammadiyah and was expected to bring 'Aisyiyah' to her work in society.

The sons and daughters of Haji Hasyim were named by A.R. Fachruddin (1916-1995, Chairman of Muhammadiyah 1968-1995) as "Hashim" in Muhammadiyah (Thohari, 2020a). Mu'arif, Sound Editor of Muhammadiyah and Muhammadiyah History Enthusiast said that Haji Hasyim Ismail's family is a very modern family, with a very high literacy rate. This is because every family event is always well recorded in family records, including the birth of Ki Bagus (Al-Ghozi, 2005; Majelis Dikdasmen PDM Sleman, 2020). In the old almanac written in the Arabic script of Java, Haji Hashim wrote "Tatkolo dlahiripoen Hidajat ambarengi in dinten isnain pahing kaping sawelas woelan rabioel akhir tahoen He 1308". In free translation, it means that Hidayat's birth coincided with Monday, the 11th of Rabiul Akhir of the year He. In Mu'arif's view, the collective memory record was deliberately prepared by Haji Lurah Hasyim so that it could be used in the future Majelis Dikdasmen PDM Sleman (2020).

Hidayat or Raden Hidayat is Ki Bagus' nickname. Born Monday Pahing, 11 Rabiul Akhir He [1308 Hijri] coinciding with November 24, 1890, Miladiah died on Friday, September 3, 1954, at the age of 64 years (Hadikusuma, 1979). Raden shows the characteristics that Ki Bagus is an aristocrat or Javanese nobility (nobleman). Ki Bagus was born into a noble family who lived in Kauman Yogyakarta. The name Hidayat comes from the Arabic word hidayah, which means guidance Thohari (2020b). Judging from the culture behind it, the name "Hidayat" is the name of the santri which shows that the person concerned is from a santri family. In Javanese, the word Hidayat is also used as the name of one of the revelations believed by the Javanese and even became a standard story in wayang kulit: Tumuruning Wahyu Hidayat Jati (Thohari, 2020b).

Why did Hidayat change to Ki Bagus Hadikusumo? Although name changes among Javanese people are commonplace, there is "jeneng cilik" (small name), and there is "jeneng *tuwo*" (big or adult name) (Budiyanto, 2019). However, in one family of Haji Hasyim, the names of all sons and daughters use Arabic-Islamic names. Indeed, many of them have changed their names, but the new ones are still Islamic Arabic. This differs from Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, from Arabic to Javanese (Thohari, 2020b). The new name strongly reflects Javanese priyayi (Budiyanto, 2018; Hakim, 2015). There is something that anthropologically has an essential dimension in Ki Bagus Thohari (2020b). Tohari said that this dimension could be ideological. Moreover, if one considers the use of the name "Ki", which is similar to the names or titles of influential figures, rulers of certain special areas are very legendary (2020b). In addition to meaning a grandfather, it is also a kind of social title that indicates a specific social function obtained based on community recognition Budiyanto (2018).

Ki Bagus's appearance is indeed very Javanese. Even the formal attire is traditional Javanese clothing with a headband or *blangkon*. When Ki Bagus was invited by the ruler of the Japanese army along with Bung Karno and Bung Hatta to visit Tokyo to meet the Japanese Emperor, Ki Bagus still wore the Javanese oversized clothes (*Indonesia Zaman Doeloe: Kunjungan Soekarno, Hatta, Dan Ki Bagus Hadikusumo Ke Jepang, 1943 (3), n.d.; Thohari* (2020b). The term "Ki" can also indicate a socio-religious function identical to the term *"kiai"*. According to his grandson, Gunawan Budiyanto (Rector of the Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta), and Muhammad Afnan Hadikusumo (DPD RI member representing DI Yogyakarta), the term "Ki" was used since his close relationship with Taman Siswa (Hakim, 2015; Majelis Dikdasmen PDM Sleman, 2020). Meanwhile, "good" is a nickname that usually applies to the elite Javanese *priyayi* society or in a *pesantren* or *santri* environment with the nickname "Gus". Calls for *priyayi* descendants or people who have a high social stratum, fees are called *"den bagus"* or often abbreviated as *"gus"* for boys Budiyanto (2018).

Hidayat changed his name to Hadikusumo in his 30s. Djarnawi's statement submitted to Ainur Rofiq Rofiq (1988) on January 25, 1987, stated that the change occurred after performing the pilgrimage, around the 1920s. In those years, no additional data was found for the name "Ki Bagus" in front of Hadikusumo, except for H. Hadikusumo. The name H. Hadikusumo itself is found in Muhammadiyah association documents, such as Suara Muhammadiyah and *Verslag* (report) Muhammadiyah Setiawan (2021). In the second edition of Suara Muhammadiyah, No. 2, dated February 1, 1921, the name of H. Hadikusumo was listed as a donor who helped in the amount of 3 f *(florijn/gulden)* for the publication of this edition. Likewise, at the *Verslag* Muhammadiyah in 1923, the name H. Hadikusumo was mentioned several times on different pages.

The name H. Hadikusumo seems more familiar among the people of Kampung Kauman around the 1920s. H. Syuja notes that people in Kauman are familiar with calling him Hadi Syuja (2009) and in his family circle. According to Gunawan Budiyanto (Budiyanto, 2018, 2019) and Muhammad Afnan Hadikusumo (Majelis Dikdasmen PDM Sleman, 2020), his grandchildren call him "Mbah Hadi". Unlike his other siblings, KH Syuja has a strong and firm character, KH Fakhruddin and Zaini are extreme figures, and *Munjiyah* is a woman who is tolerant and broadminded (Hadikusuma, 1979; Masruri, 2005), Ki Bagus is more deeply involved in wisdom and Sufism, focusing more on his deeds. On improving society and focusing more on improving the fate of the common people(Hadikusuma, 1979; Masruri, 2005, 2018a). Ki Bagus's life is very simple and frugal; moreover, Ki Bagus is "underprivileged" compared to his brothers (Hadikusuma, 1979).

Second, Kauman Village Yogyakarta is in the administrative centre of Yogyakarta City. The location is on the west side of the palace square. Kauman Village Yogyakarta is relatively narrow, but the population that inhabits Kauman Village is quite dense. Broadly speaking, Kauman Village Yogyakarta is characterised by very strong Islamic religious ties to its citizens, relations between residents based on blood ties (endogamy), and the population has a high social status because on average they become servants of the mutihan (religious/Islamic) palace of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. as members of a dozen studies, lurah, wedana, panewu, and so on Hadikusuma (1979). Kauman village is known to be a closed area, if it is not forced to bear or there are specific interests, it is rare for outsiders to enter it. His wives became batik entrepreneurs. Therefore, even though it is a closed area, Kauman Village is a materially and spiritually prosperous area Masruri (2005). "Kauman is a santri village with very thick santri characteristics" (Darban, 2011; Geertz, 1960; Hakim, 2018).

Kauman Village describes a settlement model resulting from a blend of Javanese culture and Islam. Traditional Javanese identity can be seen from the physical side of the houses in Kauman Village. In general, houses in Kauman village are ancient houses that are tens to hundreds of years old. While the influence of Islam can be seen from the existence of the mosque as the centre of the activities of the Kauman community (Darban, 2011).

Kauman culture has greatly influenced the growth of Raden Hidayat. From Kauman Village, four national heroes have been born, namely KH. Ahmad Dahlan, Nyai Ahmad Dahlan, KH Fakhruddin, and Ki Bagus Hadikusumo Nugraha (2009).

Ki Bagus is a figure of a strong Islamic nationalist, a leader of Muslim patriots and nationalists who are simple and tenacious or tough. "His personality is like the companion of the Prophet, Abu Dharr, love simplicity, and tired of living in luxury" (Hamka, 2018). His statement at the BPUPK session was exciting in that he was a genuine Indonesian and a Muslim with the ideals of a great and independent Indonesia Nashir (2018).

Ki Bagus was a figure who lived in nobility and a sincere fighter for the sake of the greater nation until the end of his life (Nashir, 2018, 2021; Santosa & Nasir, 2020). Among Ki Bagus' sincerity can be seen in his willingness to accept the abolition of the seven words in the Jakarta Charter at the PPKI session on August 18, 1945, to get rid of the Islamic 'selfishness' that had become a part of him (Nashir, 2018). Ma'mun Murod, Chancellor of the University of Muhammadiyah Jakarta, said that Ki Bagus is a mainstream political style in Muhammadiyah, a fighter has principles, but his wasatiyah remains visible. Wasatiyah is not in the context of giving in but prioritising the nation's interests rather than just the interests of the Jakarta Charter (Majelis Dikdasmen PDM Sleman, 2020).

The abolition of the seven words in the Jakarta Charter is not a defeat but a commitment and contribution of Islam to the unity and development of the nation, as well as a comprehensive understanding of the Indonesian nation, which is not only inhabited by one religion and group. Including the word "The Almighty", is a symbolic step to show the existence of the principle of monotheism in Islam (Maarif, 1996).

Ki Bagus's view of nationalism cannot be separated from Ki Bagus' educational and environmental background (Suhartono, 2018). After completing his basic education at the Ongkoloro School, Ki Bagus studied at the traditional Wonokromo Islamic Boarding School in Bantul and studied many Figh and Sufism books. Because of his sincerity, diligence, and perseverance in studying and studying Islamic religious books, Ki Bagus appeared as a pious figure, preacher, and leader of the people (Ismail, 2018). The whole process of his education, both formal and non-formal, has shaped the treasures of Sufism. Hakim (2018) has given birth to the figure of Ki Bagus as a person who, according to Afnan Hadikusumo, has a zuhud personality and holds principles (istigomah) (Majelis Dikdasmen PDM Sleman, 2020). Ki Bagus also has pure monotheism and authentic faith.

Ki Bagus's nationalism was evident in the sessions of the BPUPK and PPKI. As an Islamic nationalist group that strongly believes in the perfection of Islamic teachings and the relevance of Islamic teachings for the lives of the people, nation, and state (Hakiem, 2015, 2018; Ismail, 2018), Ki Bagus can display a moderate attitude between two different groups, by displaying individual piety, social piety, and a strong attitude of nationalism. Social piety is the core of civic virtue, which can be interpreted as the attitude and behaviour of a person with an element of goodness (pious) or benefits in the context of living in a society. This piety refers to the behaviour of individuals concerned with social values (Budiyanto, 2018). Therefore, it is an indicator of one's religious devotion. Aside from being a form of devotion to God, ritual worship also forms a personality that impacts social life. As a nationalist, Ki Bagus was able to demonstrate the behaviour of social piety as a form of Ki Bagus's religion which was born from four main aspects of Islam, namely aqidah, morals, worship, and muamalah (Basyir, 2000; Ilyas, 2011). This social piety, combined with his attitude of obedience to the nation and state gave birth to Ki Bagus as a citizen whose religion was strong and his nationalism strong.

Conclusion

Ki Bagus Hadikusumo is a statesman who firmly adheres to the teachings of the Islamic religion, whose personality was shaped by formal and non-formal education, the guidance of his parents and KH Ahmad Dahlan, as well as the environment of Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta,

which is thick with *santri* traditions. As a simple, persistent, and tough Islamic nationalist, Ki Bagus showed an example of a true patriot who fought sincerely for the nation's progress until the end of his life. This example inspires every generation of Indonesian people to strengthen an attitude of nationalism based on the primary good values, making it a symbol of a harmonious combination of religious and national values. As a suggestion, it is important to expand the study of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo's thoughts and examples so that their relevance can be used as a reference in citizenship education and building national character in the modern era. Further research can integrate the values of Islamic nationalism promoted by Ki Bagus into the formal education curriculum, focusing on strengthening harmony between Islamic values, Pancasila and cultural diversity. Besides that, Ki Bagus's example can be used as teaching material based on history and case studies to motivate the younger generation to better understand and appreciate the spirit of patriotism based on strong moral values. This can also help build a sense of global citizenship rooted in local identity.

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Authors' contributions

DBA conducts initial studies on Islamic nationalism, social piety, and citizen nationalism from the perspective of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, performs research, and compiles manuscripts. SAP enhanced the viewpoint of civic education in the study of figures and prepared a manuscript. DB focused on the study of social piety within the context of civic education and drafted the manuscript. SY designed the layout and coordinated the alignment of the manuscript. All authors reviewed and approved the final manuscript.

Competing interests

The authors have declared no competing interests.

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