



The Army of Prophet Muhammad and Pesantren Leaders' Response to Religious Blasphemy in the Dutch East Indies Circa 1918-1919

Setyo Adi Nugroho^{a)}, Saefur Rochmat^{b)}

a) Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

b) Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

ABSTRAK

Pada awal abad ke-20, umat Islam di Hindia Belanda menghadapi situasi baru yang menantang. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui pergerakan umat Islam pada periode tersebut, menganalisis latar belakang berdirinya Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM), menggambarkan dinamika perkembangannya, menelusuri penyebab kemundurannya, serta mengeksplorasi keterlibatan para pemimpin pesantren dalam TKNM. Dengan menggunakan metode sejarah yang dikemukakan oleh Kuntowijoyo, penelitian ini mengungkap bahwa pergerakan umat Islam pada masa itu dipengaruhi oleh persaingan antara Islam modern dan tradisional. Berdirinya TKNM didorong oleh konflik antara kelompok putihan dan abangan, antusiasme umat Islam, konflik internal dalam Sarekat Islam, ketidakharmonisan antara Islam dan tradisi Jawa, pengkultusan H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto sebagai Ratu Adil, serta berkembangnya Kristenisasi yang dipicu oleh artikel penghinaan terhadap Nabi Muhammad SAW yang diterbitkan oleh Djawi Hisworo pada Januari 1918. TKNM berkembang dengan munculnya sub-komite di berbagai daerah dan meluasnya gerakan anti-Kristenisasi, serta didukung oleh keterlibatan aktif para pemimpin pesantren. Namun, TKNM akhirnya mengalami kemunduran seiring dengan semakin kaburnya arah gerakannya.

ABSTRACT

At the beginning of the 20th century, Muslims in the Dutch East Indies encountered new challenges. This study aims to explore the movements of Muslims during this period, analyze the background of the establishment of the Army of Prophet Muhammad (TKNM), illustrate its developmental dynamics, trace the factors leading to its decline, and investigate the involvement of pesantren leaders in TKNM. Using the historical method proposed by Kuntowijoyo, this research reveals that the movements of Muslims at that time were influenced by the competition between modernist and traditionalist Islam. The establishment of TKNM was driven by conflicts between the putihan and abangan groups, the enthusiasm of Muslims, internal conflicts within the Sarekat Islam, disharmony between Islam and Javanese traditions, the veneration of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto as the Ratu Adil, and the spread of Christianization, particularly following the publication of blasphemous articles against Prophet Muhammad SAW in Djawi Hisworo in January 1918. TKNM expanded with the formation of sub-committees in various regions, the broadening of its anti-Christianization campaign, and the active involvement of pesantren leaders. However, TKNM eventually declined as its direction became increasingly unclear.

KATA KUNCI

Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad; Pesantren; Penistaan Agama ; Hindia Belanda.

KEYWORDS

Army of Prophet Muhammad; Pesantren; Religious Blasphemy; the Dutch East Indies.

A. Introduction

Islam has been deeply intertwined with Bumiputra.¹ Since its arrival in the 7th century, The process of Islamization culminated in the establishment of Islam as the dominant religion following the

¹ Nasihin, *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012).

decline of the Hindu Majapahit Kingdom. This process intensified during the Western colonial period, as Islam served as a counter-discourse to colonialism. Beginning in the 15th century, the influence of Islamic kingdoms grew stronger across various regions of the archipelago, including the Sultanate of Samudra Pasai, Sultanate of Gowa, Sultanate of Demak, Sultanate of Ternate, Sultanate of Aceh, Sultanate of Banten, Sultanate of Banjar, and the Islamic Sultanate of Mataram, among others. These sultanates established the foundational Islamic order in the region.

However, as Dutch colonial influence expanded, the resistance of Islamic kingdoms against the colonial government weakened. Consequently, Islamic movements were no longer primarily centered around the royal courts but shifted towards traditional Islamic education (*pesantren*) and modern educational institutions. With the diminishing influence of the royal courts, Islamic movements fragmented into various organizations, often competing for influence. This competition occasionally subsided when these organizations faced a common adversary, as was evident when Islam was subjected to derogatory portrayals in the Djawi Hisworo newspaper, which symbolized Javanese cultural identity.

The early 20th century marked a significant transition for Islam in the Dutch East Indies as the colonial government introduced modern education. This period also saw the rise of Islamic revivalism, spurred by the Pan-Islamism movement originating from the Middle East.² Pan-Islamism, first championed by the Islamic reformer Jamaluddin Al-Afghani (1837-1897) from Afghanistan,³ sought to unite all Muslims (*ukhuwah islamiyah*) under a single religious and political authority led by a caliph.⁴ The concept of Pan-Islamism is inextricably linked to the leadership of a caliph, a role that Turkish sultans had gradually assumed since the 16th century. By positioning themselves as guardians of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina,⁵ the Turkish sultans utilized the caliphate as a means of asserting their protective authority over the global Muslim community.

Through the Pan-Islamism movement, new ideas for reform began to permeate the Muslim community in the Dutch East Indies. The resurgence of Islamic strength in the Middle East significantly influenced the growing sense of unity among Bumiputra.⁶ This unity provided a renewed sense of purpose and courage in resisting Dutch colonialism and imperialism. Additionally, concerns about the spread of Christianity through Dutch colonial efforts further heightened Islamic consciousness and the desire for religious reform. The Pan-Islamism movement also aimed to purify Islamic teachings by eliminating practices deemed inconsistent with the Qur'an and Sunnah. There was a strong belief

² Nasihin, *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi*.

³ Ibrahim Nasbi, "Jamaluddin Al-Afghani (Pan-Islamisme dan Ide Lainnya)," *Jurnal Diskursus Islam* 7, no. 1 (2019): 70-79.

⁴ Sitti Nurtina, "The Dynamics of Applying Pan-Islamism as a New Politic Concept," *Jurnal Islamic World and Politics* 3, no. 1 (2019): 482-498.

⁵ Abdul Somad, "Pemikiran dan Pergerakan Pan-Islamisme di Indonesia pada Awal Abad Ke-20," *Candrasangkala: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Sejarah* 1, no. 1 (2015): 89-111.

⁶ Nasihin, *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945*.

among the Muslim community that if they united and waged jihad against the Dutch colonizers, they could ultimately free themselves from the shackles of colonialism.

As the 20th century unfolded, Muslims in the Dutch East Indies increasingly recognized that they could not effectively counter the power of Dutch colonial rule and the spread of Christianity without making significant changes in various aspects of their lives. It became apparent that, to rival the influence of the colonial government, it was essential to rediscover and strengthen Islamic values. The Muslim community in the Dutch East Indies realized that reliance on physical resistance alone would be insufficient; they needed to establish organizations as a means of advancing their struggle and as a platform for religious reform.

The development of national organizations in the Dutch East Indies began to gain momentum with the emergence of the "intellectual elite," a group that arose as a result of the Ethical Policy implemented by the Dutch colonial government in September 1901.⁷ This intellectual elite, who received a Western-style education, were considered more knowledgeable and broad-minded than the rest of Bumiputra population. It was from this group that the first national organization in the Dutch East Indies, Budi Utomo, was founded on May 20, 1908, by students of the *School tot Opleiding van Indische Artsen* (STOVIA), or the School for the Education of Native Doctors.⁸

The establishment of Budi Utomo inspired Muslims in the Dutch East Indies to follow suit by creating their own religious organizations. This led to the formation of various Islamic organizations during the era of national awakening, each with its own ideological orientation and movement goals. Prominent among these were Jamiat Khair, Sarekat Islam (SI), Muhammadiyah, Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah, Persatuan Islam (Persis), Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and others, which became polarized into two major streams: modern Islam and traditional Islam. Among these, Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah emerged as the largest Islamic organizations under Dutch colonial rule, advocating for Islamic reform. However, their reformist ideas were not universally accepted, particularly among traditionalist scholars, who responded by establishing a rival religious organization, Nahdlatul Ulama.

The spread of Islamic reform ideas during the early 20th century sparked considerable debate among Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. Discussions centered around issues such as religious practices, educational reform, and organizational strategies. The responses to these issues varied widely. Some Muslims fully embraced the Islamic reform movement that originated in the Middle East, while others chose to maintain traditional Islamic practices but were open to adopting new concepts in education and organization. However, there were also those who vehemently opposed any form of

⁷ Agus Susilo and Isbandiyah, "Politik Etis dan Pengaruhnya bagi Lahirnya Pergerakan Bangsa Indonesia," *Jurnal Historia* 6, no. 2 (2018): 403-416.

⁸ Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan Museum Kebangkitan Nasional, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia: Dari Budi Utomo sampai dengan Pengakuan Kedaulatan* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1997).

change.⁹ The tensions between modernists and traditionalists shaped the dynamics of the Islamic movement in the Dutch East Indies during this period.

The Islamic reform movement also faced challenges from the *abangan* community. The deep-rooted influence of Islam on the island of Java, coupled with the strong adherence of the *abangan* to Javanese culture, necessitated a transformation into a new identity that could reconcile the two. However, the religious practices of Islamic modernists and the *abangan* differed significantly due to their respective social statuses and lifestyles. The long-standing traditions of the *abangan* often clashed with the efforts of Islamic reformers to purify Islamic beliefs from what they considered to be *syirik* (idolatry) and other deviations from the core tenets of Islam.

Tensions between Islam and Javanese culture reached a peak when an article was published in the Djawi Hisworo newspaper, owned by Martodharsono in Surakarta, on January 9 and 11, 1918. The article, written by Djojodikoro in Javanese script and titled “Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja” (A Conversation Between Marta and Djaja),¹⁰ depicted Prophet Muhammad, whom Muslims’ revere as the most esteemed human being, as a drunkard and an addict. This offensive portrayal of the Prophet Muhammad incited outrage among Muslims, beginning with the Sarekat Islam in Surabaya, led by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto. The incident quickly escalated into a national issue.

In response to the insult published by Djawi Hisworo, a movement called the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) was formed on February 6, 1918, in Surabaya.¹¹ The primary objective of TKNM was to pressure Sri Susuhunan Surakarta, the Resident of Surakarta, and the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies to bring Martodharsono and Djojodikoro to justice.

The TKNM movement serves as a unifying force for Muslims in the Dutch East Indies, demonstrating their collective commitment to protecting their religion. Moreover, the movement highlights the significant relationship between religion and politics, a connection that emerged during this period and marked a pivotal moment in the modern history of Indonesia.¹² The focus on the year 1918 corresponds to the official establishment of TKNM on February 6, 1918, while the year 1919 is chosen because TKNM was officially disbanded in October of that year.

This paper seeks to understand the characteristics and development of the Islamic movement in the Dutch East Indies during the early 20th century. Next, it examines the socio-political and religious factors that led to the establishment of the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) movement. Third, the study investigates the internal and external dynamics that influenced the growth and actions of TKNM. Finally, it analyzes the factors and circumstances that contributed to the decline and eventual disbandment of the TKNM movement. These research questions aim to provide a

⁹ Greg Fealy, *Ijtihad Politik Ulama: Sejarah NU 1952-1967*, Terj. Farid Wajidi dan Mulni Adelina Bachtar (Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta, 2003).

¹⁰ Syamsul Bakri, *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2015).

¹¹ Oetoesan Hindia, “Vergadering Comité, Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.,” *Extra*, May 10, 1918.

¹² Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982).

comprehensive understanding of the historical and social context of Islamic movements during this period. Specifically, this paper aims to examine the Islamic movement in the early 20th century in the Dutch East Indies, investigate the background and motivations behind the establishment of the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) movement, explore the dynamics that shaped the development of TKNM, and analyze the factors that led to the movement's decline. These objectives guide the study in providing a comprehensive understanding of the historical context and significance of Islamic movements during this era.

This study draws on several key sources to address the research questions, including Deliar Noer's *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (1982), which provides an in-depth analysis of early 20th-century Islamic movements in Indonesia, focusing on the emergence of various religious organizations like Jamiat Khair, Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah, Persatuan Islam, and Nahdlatul Ulama.¹³ Merle Calvin Ricklefs' *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004* (2005) explores the competing Islamic ideologies on Java—orthodox (putihan) and syncretic (abangan)—and their influence on the formation of Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) as a response to insults against Prophet Muhammad, making it essential for understanding the background and motivations for TKNM's establishment.¹⁴ Takashi Shiraishi's *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926* (1997) examines radical movements in early 20th-century Java, focusing on the political organizations behind them, and his analysis of TKNM, particularly the leadership of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, is crucial in exploring the movement's development and expansion.¹⁵ Nasihin's *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945* (2012) traces the evolution of Sarekat Islam from a religious organization to a political entity advocating for Indonesia's independence, providing insight into the decline of TKNM and its conflicts with the kejawen organization, Komitee voor het Javaansche Nationalisme (CJN).¹⁶ Additionally, this study references works such as Apriyata Dzikry Romadhon's 2015 undergraduate thesis on TKNM's role within Sarekat Islam¹⁷, Ahsanul Alfian's 2016 journal article on the leadership and impact of the TKNM movement¹⁸, and Juma's article on the continuity and transformation of religious blasphemy-related social movements during the pre-independence era.¹⁹

This study distinguishes itself by focusing on the role of Islamic organizations during the national

¹³ Noer, *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*.

¹⁴ Merle Calvin Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004*, Terj. Satrio Wahono, Bakar Bilfagih, dkk (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2005).

¹⁵ Takashi Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*, Terj. Hilmar Farid (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1997).

¹⁶ Nasihin, *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945*.

¹⁷ Apriyata Dzikry Romadhon, *Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (Studi Kasus tentang Reaksi terhadap Pemikiran "Aliran Islam Jawa" Tahun 1916-1919 M*, Skripsi Jurusan Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam (Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel, 2015).

¹⁸ Ahsanul Alfian, "Gerakan Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) Tahun 1918," *Avatara: e-Journal Pendidikan Sejarah* 4, no. 3 (2016): 1147-1155.

¹⁹ Juma', "Kontinuitas dan Transformasi Penistaan Agama: Gerakan Sosial Pra-Kemerdekaan," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 16, no. 2 (2018): 372-394.

movement era, providing a deeper exploration of the contributions of Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah to the TKNM movement, with comparisons to Nahdlatul Ulama's role, highlighting the dynamics between modern and traditional Islam.

This study adopts a historical research methodology, following Kuntowijoyo's five-stage framework. The first stage, topic selection, was guided by both emotional and intellectual connections.²⁰ The Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) movement was chosen due to the author's admiration for its leader, Hadji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, and the relevance of the topic to the author's academic expertise. The second stage, heuristics, involves the collection of primary and secondary sources.²¹ Primary sources, including newspapers such as Darmo Kondo, Djawi Hisworo, Islam Bergerak, Medan Moeslimin, and Oetoesan Hindia, were obtained from the National Library of Indonesia in microfilm format. Secondary sources, including books and research journals, were sourced from various libraries and online platforms. The third stage, verification, involves source criticism to assess the authenticity and reliability of the collected materials.²² External criticism was applied to verify the originality of primary sources, while internal criticism evaluated the accuracy of the content. The fourth stage, interpretation, focuses on analyzing and synthesizing historical facts to provide a coherent understanding of the TKNM movement.²³ Finally, the fifth stage, historiography, involves writing the history based on the synthesized facts,²⁴ resulting in a scholarly work titled *Gerakan Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad Menghadapi Penistaan Agama (1918-1919)*. This methodological approach ensures a systematic and credible examination of the TKNM movement within its historical context.

B. Islamic Movements in the Early 20th Century Dutch East Indies

The spread of Islam in the Dutch East Indies accelerated as the influence of Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms waned. The expansion of Islam further intensified with the arrival of Western colonial powers, as Islam became a symbol of resistance against colonialism. During the colonial period, religious movements emerged to address the decline that was perceived within the Muslim community in the region.

The Pan-Islamism movement, which developed in the Middle East, eventually inspired Muslim scholars in the Dutch East Indies to initiate similar reforms. The first signs of the modern Islamic movement in the Dutch East Indies are traced back to the Minangkabau region, led by Syaikh Ahmad Khatib, a madhhab imam Shafi'i from the Masjid al-Haram.²⁵ The spread of Islamic reform in the Dutch

²⁰ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2013).

²¹ Louis Gottschalk, *Mengerti Sejarah*, Terj. Nugroho Notosusanto (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1985).

²² Rahman Hamid and Muhammad Saleh Madjid, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011).

²³ Daliman, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2012).

²⁴ Hamid and Madjid, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*.

²⁵ Noer, *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*.

East Indies was not limited to indigenous scholars; it also involved Arabs residing in the region. Two major organizations founded by Arabs in the early 20th century played significant roles in this movement. The first was Al Jam'iyat al-Khairiyah, commonly known as Jamiat Khair, established on July 17, 1905, in Jakarta.²⁶ This organization's efforts were later continued by Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah, founded by Syaikh Ahmad Surkati in 1913, also in Jakarta.²⁷

Islamic reform became more prominent in the Dutch East Indies with the establishment of organizations such as Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, and Persatuan Islam. These organizations emphasized the importance of purifying Islamic beliefs from practices deemed deviant. Key characteristics of the Islamic reform movement in the Dutch East Indies included prioritizing *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) over *taqlid* (imitation of tradition), emphasizing the use of *qiyas* (analogical reasoning) to strengthen Islamic law, reducing dependence on specific Islamic schools of thought, distancing from Sufism, and prioritizing the Qur'an and Sunnah over hadith.²⁸

The growth of the modern Islamic movement led to tensions with conservative Islamic factions, primarily composed of traditional *kiai* (Islamic scholars) from pesantren (Islamic boarding schools). Traditionalists believed that *ijtihad* was unnecessary for addressing fundamental issues in Islamic law. Furthermore, they held that the interpretations of classical scholars who founded the four major Islamic schools of thought were more reliable than other legal opinions.²⁹ Traditionalists also insisted that Sufism should not be abandoned.³⁰ These disagreements prompted traditional scholars to establish a rival religious organization, Nahdlatul Ulama, in 1926.³¹

C. Background of the Formation of the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad Movement

A significant event highlighting the tension between Islam and Javanese culture erupted when a controversial article was published in the Djawi Hisworo newspaper, owned by Martodharsono in Surakarta, on January 9 and 11, 1918. The article, written by Djojodikoro and titled "Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja" (A Conversation Between Marta and Djaja), was composed in Javanese script.³² In the dialogue, the characters Marta and Jaya discuss theological issues, including the nature of God. During a break in their conversation, Marta lights a cigarette, while Jaya takes out a drink

²⁶ Soegijanto Padmo, "Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia dari Masa ke Masa: Sebuah Pengantar," *Jurnal Humaniora* 19, no. 2 (2007): 151-160.

²⁷ Muhammad Dahlan Thalib, "Peranan Lembaga Keagamaan Al-Irsyad dalam Pendidikan di Indonesia," *Jurnal Al-Ishlah: Jurnal Studi Pendidikan* 16, no. 1 (2018): 1-10.

²⁸ M. Lutfi Mustofa, "Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Indonesia: Negosiasi Intelektual Muslim dengan Modernitas," *Jurnal Ulul Albab* 12, no. 2 (2011): 181-196.

²⁹ M. Lutfi Mustofa, "Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Indonesia," 181-196.

³⁰ Wahyuddin, "Awal Munculnya Gerakan Intelektualisme Islam di Indonesia Abad 20," *Jurnal Adabiyah* 10, no. 2 (2010): 182-192.

³¹ Mustofa, "Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Indonesia: Negosiasi Intelektual Muslim dengan Modernitas."

³² Bakri, *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942*.

called *ciu* (a type of alcoholic beverage).³³ As they resume their discussion, Marta makes a shocking statement:

“Biyah kathik kados paguron, kulå dédé guru namung nãmå cariyos punåpå pitutur. Punikå mumpung wontên tempo. Milå sapunikå kémawon. Déné bab asung dhahar botên pêlu mawi sêkul wuduk, lêmbaran ayam cênguk bréndél. Altiyå Gusti Kanjêng Nabi Råsul punikå dhahar ciu A.V.H. sartå candu. Têrkadang klébét inggih kêrså kathik pados ingkang botên wontên. Puluh wontênå sêkulipun wuduk sadhanyrêg. Manawi ciu sartå candunipun botên wontên inggih sêmaput.”³⁴ (I am regarded as a vessel of knowledge, but I am not a teacher. I am merely a name, a story, or a lesson. While there is still time, let us proceed. No need for elaborate meals with *nasi uduk* and chicken. It is said that the Prophet consumed A.V.H. liquor and opium. If there is no *ciu* and opium, it could lead to unconsciousness.)”

Marta’s statement implies that food need not be in the form of *nasi uduk* with chicken, but could instead involve *ciu* and opium, as allegedly practiced by Prophet Muhammad (SAW).³⁵ Through this dialogue, Djodjodikoro portrays Prophet Muhammad (SAW) as a drunkard and addict. The conversation in the article “Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja” was perceived as a serious insult to Prophet Muhammad (SAW), deeply revered by Muslims. Additionally, it constituted religious blasphemy, as consuming *ciu* and opium is considered sinful in Islam.

The article “Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja” was evidently inspired by a well-known and controversial Javanese literary work, *Serat Gatholoco*. *Serat Gatholoco* circulated in manuscript form in 1830 and was first published in book form in 1889 in Surabaya. The author of *Serat Gatholoco* remains unknown. This literary work is characterized by its high level of vulgarity, the use of crude language, and its perceived insult to Islam. *Serat Gatholoco* represents a form of rebellion by Javanese poets and adherents of *kejawen* (Javanese mysticism) against Islam in Java. The story aims to convey messages or meanings rooted in Javanese philosophy of life.³⁶

The narrative in *Serat Gatholoco* closely mirrors the themes of the article “Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja,” focusing on *sangkan paraning dumadi* (the origin and purpose of existence),³⁷ opposition to Islamic teachings, and the use of opium. The *serat* (manuscript) tells the story of Gatholoco, the son of a king, who, despite his unattractive appearance, is portrayed as possessing great knowledge. Gatholoco is depicted as someone who enjoys smoking opium, engaging in debates

³³ Djawi Hisworo, “Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja,” 4, January 9, 1918.

³⁴ Djawi Hisworo, “Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja,” 5, January 11, 1918.

³⁵ Darmo Kondo, “Si Djahat menghina Nabi Kita (s. a. w.),” 15, February 4, 1918.

³⁶ Syaihabul Furqon and Busro, “Serat Gatholoco: Tubuh Menggugat Agama,” *Religious: Jurnal Agama-Agama dan Lintas Budaya* 1, no. 2 (2017): 15-28.

³⁷ Nur Kolis and Kayyis Fithri Ajhuri, “Sangkan Paraning Dumadi: Eksplorasi Sufistik Mengenal Diri dalam Pustaka Islam Jawa Prespektik Kunci Swarga Miftahul Djanati,” *Dialogia: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Sosial* 17, no. 1 (2019): 1-20.

with ulama (Islamic scholars) through riddles, and defying all Islamic regulations. The character of Gatholoco represents *kejawen* (Javanese mysticism) adherents who prioritize *rasa* (inner feeling or intuition) over outward appearance and reason, emphasizing the superiority of inner experience over external forms and rationality.³⁸

The article "Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja, published in the Djawi Hisworo newspaper on January 9 and 11, 1918, was perceived as an insult to Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and Islam, sparking strong reactions from the Muslim community in the Dutch East Indies. In response, various Muslim groups urged Centraal Sarekat Islam (CSI), the largest Islamic organization in the region at the time, to take action against the blasphemy committed by Martodharsono and Djojodikoro. On January 31, 1918, Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso, the brother of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto and the secretary of SI Surabaya, wrote an article titled "Si Djahat menghina Nabi kita (s.a.w.)," which was published in the Oetoesan Hindia newspaper, owned by CSI and led by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto. In his article, Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso urged the CSI leadership to mobilize the entire Muslim community in the Dutch East Indies to respond to the insult perpetrated by Djojodikoro, the article's author, and Martodharsono, the editor of Djawi Hisworo who allowed its publication. Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso also called upon the Kasunan Surakarta and the Dutch colonial government to punish those responsible for the blasphemy.³⁹

The demand to take action against the Djawi Hisworo newspaper for its blasphemous article was heeded by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, the leader of Centraal Sarekat Islam (CSI) in Surabaya. In late January 1918, Tjokroaminoto, along with CSI commissioners and Hasan bin Semit, the leader of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Surabaya, held a large meeting in Surabaya to address the insult to Prophet Muhammad by Djawi Hisworo.⁴⁰ This meeting culminated in the formation of the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) movement on the night of February 6, 1918, during a *vergadering* (assembly) attended by approximately 1,000 Muslims, both Bumiputra and Arab group.⁴¹

The TKNM movement was characterized by its militancy and unity, as reflected in its name: "Tentara" signified a militant force, and "Mohammad" symbolized the unity of the *putihan* (orthodox) community.⁴² The movement was grounded in the principles of the two *syahadat* (declarations of faith) as its foundation. The objectives of TKNM were threefold: (1) to advance the cause of Islam in the Dutch East Indies; (2) to strengthen and promote unity and solidarity among all Muslims, especially those residing in the Dutch East Indies, in line with the divine command, *Innamal mukminuna ihwatun*

³⁸ Furqon and Busro, "Serat Gatholoco: Tubuh Menggugat Agama."

³⁹ Darmo Kondo, "Si Djahat menghina Nabi Kita (s. a. w.)," 15.

⁴⁰ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*.

⁴¹ Oetoesan Hindia, "Vergadering Comité, Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.," *Extra*.

⁴² Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*.

("Indeed, the believers are brothers"); and (3) to safeguard and protect the honor of Islam, the dignity of Prophet Muhammad, and the well-being of the Muslim community.⁴³

D. Dynamics of the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad Movement

The Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) movement was officially formed on the night of February 6, 1918, in Surabaya during a *vergadering* (assembly) attended by approximately 1,000 Muslims, both Bumiputra and Arab. At this initial meeting, the movement raised a significant sum of three thousand gulden and unanimously agreed to demand justice for the religious blasphemy committed by Martodharsono and Djojodikoro. The following day, TKNM sent telegrams to Sri Susuhunan Surakarta, the Resident of Surakarta, and the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, urging them to prosecute the two offenders.⁴⁴ The organizational structure of TKNM was promptly established, with H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto appointed as chairman, Sosrokardono as secretary, and Sech Roebaja bin Ambarak bin Thalib of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Surabaya as treasurer.⁴⁵ The same demands were reiterated during a *vergadering* on February 17, 1918, at Kebon Raya Surabaya, attended by 35,000 people.⁴⁶

The formation of the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) expanded rapidly across various regions following its establishment in Surabaya, with sub-committees emerging in many areas, except for Yogyakarta and Semarang.⁴⁷ The absence of a TKNM branch in Yogyakarta was due to the presence of Muhammadiyah, founded by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, which had been affiliated with Centraal Sarekat Islam (CSI) from the outset. Although a TKNM sub-committee was not established in Yogyakarta, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan reaffirmed his commitment to opposing the blasphemy committed by Djawi Hisworo in his article *Soerat Sebaran*, demanding that the perpetrators be brought to justice.⁴⁸

In contrast, TKNM did not take root in Semarang due to the strong influence of SI Semarang, which had embraced Marxist ideology through the influence of the Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging (ISDV).⁴⁹ Semaoen, the leader of SI Semarang, had a strained relationship with H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, who led the TKNM movement, further complicating the establishment of TKNM in the region.

When the article "Pertjakapan Marta dan Djaja" was first published in the Djawi Hisworo newspaper, it did not initially stir significant public outrage in Surakarta. However, the situation changed when H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto elevated the issue to national prominence, prompting young Muslims in Surakarta to organize demonstrations.⁵⁰ As the leader of Centraal Sarekat Islam (CSI),

⁴³ Oetoesan Hindia, "Vergadering Comité, Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.," *Extra*.

⁴⁴ Oetoesan Hindia, "Vergadering Comité, Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.," *Extra*.

⁴⁵ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*.

⁴⁶ Medan Moeslimin, "Vergadering Moeslimin jang Besar di Solo," 1918.

⁴⁷ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*.

⁴⁸ Darmo Kondo, "Soerat sebaran," 25, February 27, 1918.

⁴⁹ Alfian, "Gerakan Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) Tahun 1918."

⁵⁰ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*.

Tjokroaminoto expanded the protest into a broader national movement, calling for the defense of Islam. His appeals, published in CSI's *Oetoesan Hindia* newspaper, sparked a wave of Islamic militancy across various regions.⁵¹ Although the blasphemous article originated in Surakarta, the controversy quickly spread, causing widespread uproar among Muslims throughout the Dutch East Indies.

The protest against Martodharsono and Djojodikoro in Surakarta by young Muslims was notably spearheaded by H. Misbach, the founder of the newspaper *Medan Moeslimin*. Misbach actively distributed pamphlets urging the *Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad* (TKNM) to hold a *vergadering* (assembly) and establish a TKNM sub-committee in Surakarta.⁵² Responding to this call, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto organized a *vergadering* on February 24, 1918, at Taman Sri Wedari in Surakarta, which attracted around 25,000 participants.⁵³ The event aimed to form a TKNM sub-committee in Surakarta, a move that was welcomed by both Sarekat Islam (SI) Surakarta and members of the royal court. Initially, enthusiasm for the *vergadering* was lukewarm, but excitement surged when rumors spread that H. Misbach might face off against Martodharsono on stage.⁵⁴

The event was officially opened at 9:30 AM by H. Samanhoedi, the chairman of SI Surakarta. To ensure the success of the *vergadering*, Tjokroaminoto dispatched Sajid Hasan bin Abdurrachman bin Semit and Sosrosoedewo—both members of TKNM Surabaya—to attend the assembly and formally establish the TKNM sub-committee in Surakarta. The newly formed leadership of the TKNM sub-committee in Surakarta was as follows:

President	: M.H.A. Hisamzainie
Vice President	: Sajid Mohammad Aldjoefri
Treasurers	: H. Ngabdoessalam dan Sech Oemar Sajid Soengkar
Commissioners	: R.H. Ngadenan, R.H. Issom, R.H. Ngabdoelsoekoer, Sajid Achmad Assegaf, H. Achmad Siradj, Mohd. Alim, M. Madnawi, Kijahi Moehsan, Sech Rojis bin Abduladjis, R.M.Ng. Wirokoesoemo, M. Ketib Pakoeradji, Kijahi H. Aboenawar, Kijahi Nawawi, dan Sech Awab Sahbal
Advisors	: R.P. Tapsiranom, Bagoes H. Mohammad Edris, dan K.P.H. Koesoemodilogo ⁵⁵ .

The impact of the *vergadering* in Surakarta was not limited to the city alone. On February 24, 1918, simultaneous *vergadering* were held across Java and parts of Sumatra, with gatherings in 42 locations attracting around 150,000 participants and raising over a thousand gulden.⁵⁶ From February to March 1918, a series of *vergaderings* were held in various places, including Bojonegoro, which

⁵¹ Bakri, *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942*.

⁵² Bakri, *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942*.

⁵³ Medan Moeslimin, "Vergadering Moeslimin jang Besar di Solo."

⁵⁴ Bakri, *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942*.

⁵⁵ Medan Moeslimin, "Vergadering Moeslimin jang Besar di Solo."

⁵⁶ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*.

gathered 300 people; Singaparna (Tasikmalaya) with 600 attendees; Kependjen (Malang) with 1,640 participants; Brebes with 1,600 people; Darmaboemi (Sumatra) with 350 participants; Pajakomboh (Sumatra) together with the Sam association, attracting 1,000 people; and the TKNM sub-committee *vergadering* in Padang, attended by approximately 10,000 people.⁵⁷

The Sarekat Islam (SI) in Madura actively participated in addressing the national and religious issues of the time. Following the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) meeting in Surabaya in February 1918, which was attended by the prominent religious leader and TKNM member from Bangkalan, Kiai Toha (Kiai Muntaha), similar meetings were held across Madura. These gatherings were organized to ratify a motion demanding that the government prosecute those responsible for the blasphemy. SI branches mobilized thousands of members to attend these ratification meetings: 5,000 people in Sumenep, 1,000 in Bangkalan, 800 in Sampang, 500 in Pamekasan, and large numbers in Duko. Never before had such large crowds been gathered in Madura for a single cause.⁵⁸ Nearly all local branches of Sarekat Islam across the Dutch East Indies, along with other Islamic associations, held *vergadering* in support of the TKNM movement. The movement received widespread and positive responses from various segments of the Muslim community.

The previously fragmented and conflict-ridden landscape of CSI began to stabilize with the formation of TKNM across different regions. CSI, which had been divided into four main centers—Surabaya (H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto), Surakarta (H. Samanhoedi), Yogyakarta (K.H. Ahmad Dahlan), and Semarang (Semaoen)—witnessed a significant shift.⁵⁹ The internal conflicts among local SI branches eased as the issue of religious blasphemy gained prominence. The insults directed at Prophet Muhammad by Martodharsono and Djojodikoro succeeded in uniting the fragmented SI branches under the unified command of the TKNM movement to defend the integrity of Islam.

The demands from the Muslim community for the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies to bring Martodharsono and Djojodikoro to justice intensified. On March 21, 1918, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto sent another telegram to the Governor-General, reporting on the growth of TKNM sub-committees in various regions as a response to the blasphemous articles published in *Djawi Hisworo*.⁶⁰ A similar appeal was sent by TKNM to the Governor-General on April 28, 1918.⁶¹ K.H. Ahmad Dahlan and Raden Kartopringgo from Muhammadiyah also condemned the blasphemy case and urged the Governor-General to impose appropriate punishment on Martodharsono and Djojodikoro for their actions.⁶²

⁵⁷ Oetoesan Hindia, "Gerakannya Komite T. K. N. M.," 60, March 26, 1918; Oetoesan Hindia, "Oentoek Komite, T. K. N. M.," 62, March 28, 1918.

⁵⁸ Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2017).

⁵⁹ Nasihin, *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945*.

⁶⁰ Oetoesan Hindia, "Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.," 57, March 21, 1918.

⁶¹ Oetoesan Hindia, "Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.," 87, May 6, 1918.

⁶² Oetoesan Hindia, "Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.," 57.

The appeals made by the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) to Sri Susuhunan Surakarta, the Resident of Surakarta, and the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies to prosecute Martodharsono and Djojodikoro did not receive the desired response. The Dutch colonial government determined that the actions of Martodharsono and Djojodikoro did not constitute a legal violation.⁶³ Instead, the government introduced a new Penal Code that addressed religious offenses and blasphemy in the Dutch East Indies, but no immediate legal action was taken.⁶⁴ Similarly, the Kasunanan Surakarta chose not to take any measures against Martodharsono and Djojodikoro.⁶⁵ Consequently, the case eventually faded without any legal proceedings.

The indifference shown by both the Dutch colonial government and the Kasunanan Surakarta toward this case of religious blasphemy led to a more assertive stance from TKNM. In response, TKNM organized another *vergadering* from May 8-10, 1918, in Surabaya. This meeting was attended by the central leadership of TKNM, led by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, along with delegates from various TKNM sub-committees, including those from Surakarta, Kudus, Pekalongan, Kediri, Blitar, Bangkalan, Malang, and Ampenan, as well as representatives from the Arab community both in Surabaya and from other cities. However, representatives from sub-committees in Jombang, Mojokerto, Padang, and other regions were unable to attend.

The primary objectives of the Surabaya *vergadering* were to: (1) establish the principles, work agenda, and regulations of TKNM; (2) review the activities carried out by TKNM since its inception; (3) outline future tasks and initiatives for the movement; and (4) discuss other relevant matters.⁶⁶

During the *vergadering* in Surabaya, a significant disagreement arose. Some members advocated for TKNM to continue operating as a regular committee, while others pushed for it to be transformed into an association with membership fees and financial contributions to support the movement. There was also a demand for the TKNM leadership to petition the Dutch colonial government to officially recognize TKNM as a *rechtspersoon* (legal entity). After lengthy deliberations, a decision was made to maintain TKNM's status as a committee for a trial period of one year, without pursuing legal recognition from the colonial government.⁶⁷ This decision indicated that TKNM was not yet prepared to formalize its movement as a government-sanctioned legal entity but remained focused on their primary objective of seeking justice for the blasphemy committed by Martodharsono and Djojodikoro.

Another key decision made during the *vergadering* was to expand TKNM's activities into Islamic religious education in rural areas. TKNM agreed to submit a request to school commissions or

⁶³ Darmo Kondo, "Pergerakan T. K. N.," 32, March 16, 1918.

⁶⁴ Alfian, "Gerakan Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) Tahun 1918."

⁶⁵ George D. Larson, *Masa Menjelang Revolusi: Keraton dan Kehidupan Politik Surakarta 1912-1942*, Terj. Lopian (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1990).

⁶⁶ Oetoesan Hindia, "Vergadering Comité, Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.," *Extra*.

⁶⁷ Oetoesan Hindia, "Vergadering Comité, Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.," *Extra*.

the colonial government to approve one hour of Islamic instruction per week outside of regular school hours. TKNM and its sub-committees across various regions were tasked with ensuring that teachers were paid for their work. This initiative aimed to increase religious knowledge within the community and serve as a means of propagating Islam to non-Muslims.⁶⁸ The planned religious education activities were, in essence, an Islamic propaganda effort by TKNM.

An additional proposal came from Sech Mohammad Baradja, suggesting that TKNM establish its own newspaper, to be published either monthly or bi-monthly. However, the *vergadering* decided that TKNM did not yet require its own publication. Instead, it was agreed that any TKNM members wishing to publish their writings should do so through existing Islamic newspapers or pamphlets. The TKNM leadership expressed willingness to cover reasonable expenses to accommodate the publication needs of its members.⁶⁹

One of the most important outcomes of the Surabaya *vergadering* was the formation of a commission to support TKNM's activities. The commission was entrusted to three members: H. Hisam Zini, H. Adnan, and H. Asnawi, who would be compensated from TKNM's funds. The commission's responsibilities included: (1) producing books as guidelines for Islamic religious education; (2) designing a curriculum for Islamic education to be taught in colonial government schools for the Bumiputra; and (3) developing a plan for Islamic education in private Islamic schools, with the goal of standardizing religious and moral education across institutions.⁷⁰

The plan to establish TKNM as a legal entity gained momentum during a *vergadering* held at H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto's residence in late December 1918. Unlike previous meetings, this *vergadering* was attended by only 15 members. The discussion focused on the proposal to transform TKNM into a legally recognized association. The newly formed association would then petition the Dutch colonial government for legal status, which would enable TKNM to officially carry out its activities. Legal recognition by the colonial government would also make TKNM eligible for subsidies to support its initiatives.⁷¹

The *vergadering* ultimately agreed to form an association named Taalimoel-Mohammadjah. The objectives of Taalimoel-Mohammadjah were outlined as follows: (1) to establish and maintain schools that provide education based on Islamic teachings or incorporate Islamic teachings into their curriculum; (2) to promote the establishment, maintenance, and advancement of such schools; (3) to support similar associations throughout the Dutch East Indies; and (4) to collaborate with other

⁶⁸ Oetoesan Hindia, "Vergadering Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.' (Samboengan O. H. 10 Mei No. Extra.)," 90, May 11, 1918.

⁶⁹ Darmo Kondo, "Vergadering Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Moham'mad.' (Samboengan D. K. No. 64.)," 65, June 8, 1918.

⁷⁰ Oetoesan Hindia, "Vergadering Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.," 91, May 13, 1918.

⁷¹ Oetoesan Hindia, "Pekerdjaännja Comité „T. K. N. Mohammad," 244, December 26, 1918.

Muslims in the Dutch East Indies for the purpose of education and instruction according to Islamic principles. The leadership of Taalimoel-Mohammadijah was appointed as follows:

Chairman	:	H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto
Secretary	:	Sosrosoedewo
Treasurer	:	Sech Roebaja bin Ambarak bin Talib
Members	:	M. Hadji Mansoer, Sech Mohamad Ali Assebeli, Sajid Achmad bin Zen Aldjroeffri, and one or two other members to be selected by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto ⁷²

During this *vergadering*, the commission established in the May 1918 Surabaya meeting also reported on its activities. The commission had authored two religious' texts: Tajidoel Islam (written in Javanese using Arabic script) and Mirkatoel Islam (written in Javanese using Javanese script). After extensive discussion, it was decided that Mirkatoel Islam would be translated into Malay, a task assigned to H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto. The decision to translate the text was due to the fact that many TKNM members were not fluent in Javanese.⁷³

At the conclusion of the *vergadering*, it was decided that Taalimoel-Mohammadijah would submit a formal request to the Dutch colonial government within the next few days, seeking legal status for TKNM. Additionally, the *vergadering* approved a contribution of f 2100 from TKNM's funds to support the establishment of a *Hollandsch Inlandsche School* (HIS) in Surabaya within the next few months. This school would include appropriate Islamic instruction and serve as a preparatory institution, potentially feeding students directly into the Islamic Teacher Training School (*Kweekschool Goeroe Islam*). Once the government subsidy was secured, further discussions would determine how much of TKNM's financial contribution should be reimbursed.⁷⁴

The Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) broadened its focus from solely demanding justice for Martodharsono and Djodjodikoro to a larger struggle against Christianization. TKNM perceived that the Dutch colonial government was biased in favor of Christianity over Islam. Christian activities were often facilitated by the colonial authorities, who were willing to allocate significant funds, up to f 1,000,000, to support Christian ministers and other Christian initiatives. TKNM pointed out that at least f 600,000 of this amount came from taxes paid by Muslims, and they demanded that the government stop using Muslim tax money to fund Christian activities.⁷⁵

In contrast, the Dutch colonial government consistently neglected and even hindered Islamic activities. Islamic events were rarely, if ever, funded by the government, and the authorities often created obstacles for Muslim communities. Islamic religious teachers were frequently summoned to

⁷² Oetoesan Hindia, "Pekerdjaännja Comité „T. K. N. Mohammad," 244.

⁷³ Oetoesan Hindia, "Pekerdjaännja Comité „T. K. N. Mohammad," 244.

⁷⁴ Oetoesan Hindia, "Pekerdjaännja Comité „T. K. N. Mohammad," 244.

⁷⁵ Oetoesan Hindia, "Vergadering Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.' (Samboengan O. H. 11 Mei No. 90.)," 91.

the local courts, sometimes as often as once a month or even weekly. These teachers were questioned about the number of students they had and the books they used, despite the courts having little knowledge of Islamic religious matters.⁷⁶

TKNM linked the rise of Christianization to the interests of capitalist investors, who were protected and supported by the colonial government. The Dutch authorities opened up the lands of the Dutch East Indies to capitalist ventures, and TKNM believed that the government's support for Christianity was primarily aimed at increasing capitalist profits.⁷⁷

Christianity, according to TKNM, was being used by capitalists as a guise to extend their influence in the Dutch East Indies. The establishment of churches by Christian missionaries in rural areas was seen as a strategy by capitalists to exploit the labor of farmers and workers, most of whom lived in the countryside. The newspaper Medan Moeslimin also issued warnings to Muslims in the Dutch East Indies to be cautious of the widespread distribution of the New Testament. This warning was intended to alert Muslims to the potential collusion between Christian missionaries and capitalists.⁷⁸

H. Misbach believed that the rise of Christianization was partly due to the shortcomings within the Muslim community itself. His critique was directed at Muslims who were unwilling to donate their wealth for the benefit of the community and at those who used their religious knowledge to deceive fellow Muslims. Misbach called for unity among Muslims, emphasizing the importance of mutual assistance in religious matters to prevent exploitation by external forces.⁷⁹ These internal failings, he argued, had led to a loss of trust among Muslims, causing some to convert to other religions.

The call for Muslims to donate for religious causes was echoed during the TKNM sub-committee meeting in Pekalongan in March 1918. During this meeting, Kadhooi urged Muslims to emulate the efforts of Christians in propagating their faith. He noted that Christians were highly effective in persuading people to embrace Christianity, often by entering villages and subtly introducing their teachings through acts of charity, such as providing clothing and money to those in need. Christian missionary efforts expanded further with the establishment of hospitals and schools. Kadhooi stressed that Muslims could counter the growth of Christianity if they were willing to donate for the development of Islamic activities.⁸⁰ He observed that Christians were skilled in using politics to support their missionary efforts, which enabled them to attract converts easily. The establishment of schools and hospitals, he argued, was part of a broader Christian strategy to gather followers.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Oetoesan Hindia, "Vergadering Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad." 91.

⁷⁷ Medan Moeslimin, "Sroeana kita," December 15, 1918.

⁷⁸ Bakri, *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942*.

⁷⁹ Medan Moeslimin, "Sroeana kita."

⁸⁰ Oetoesan Hindia, "Algemeene Vergadering Sub-Comité T. K. N. M. di Pekalongan," 51, March 13, 1918.

⁸¹ Medan Moeslimin, "Pro betoel-betoel Pro (Samboengan M. M. No. 1.)," 1919.

The tension between Muslims and Christian missionary activities reached a peak with the publication of the *Mardi Rahardjo* newspaper, a Christian publication in Javanese. *Mardi Rahardjo* was suspected of being an agent of Christianization, distributing its newspaper for free to the public. Its content often offended Muslims, frequently stating that Islam was no longer compatible with modern times. The Muslim community felt threatened by the newspaper, fearing that it would reach Javanese readers unfamiliar with Latin script, potentially leading them to convert to Christianity. In response, the Islamic newspaper *Islam Bergerak* demanded that the Dutch colonial government regulate the distribution of *Mardi Rahardjo*, which had caused significant concern among Muslims.⁸²

TKNM was entrusted with the substantial responsibility of defending Islam against those who sought to undermine it. The entire Muslim community in the Dutch East Indies placed its hopes in TKNM to curb the influence of Islam's adversaries, who continuously launched attacks. Additionally, TKNM was relied upon to encourage Muslims to stand up against external threats, especially when some remained passive in the face of provocations against their faith.⁸³

Islam had become deeply integrated into the indigenous identity and served as a unifying force, distinguishing the native population from the Dutch colonialists, who were perceived as infidels. The label "infidel" in this context was based on the notion that the introduction and spread of Christianity in the Nusantara were directly linked to the policies of the Dutch colonial government. At that time, the Dutch were synonymous with Christianity, and the rejection of Christianity was not so much about the religion itself but rather a broader resistance to Dutch colonialism and imperialism. Consequently, within this context, Christianity was not viewed on equal terms with Islam.⁸⁴

It is important to note that Martodharsono, despite his actions, was not a Christian; in fact, he was a registered member of Sarekat Islam (SI) Surakarta. However, TKNM had adopted the stance that anyone who openly insulted Prophet Muhammad or Islam was automatically labeled as a Christian missionary. This perspective reflected the deep-seated tensions between the native Muslim population and the colonial regime, where religious identity was closely intertwined with resistance to foreign domination.⁸⁵

E. The End of Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad Movement

The article titled "Si Djahat menghina Nabi kita (s.a.w.)," written by Abikoeso Tjokrosoejoso as a response to Djodjodikoro's controversial piece, provoked Martodharsono, the editor of *Djawi Hisworo*, to defend himself against Abikoeso's accusations. Martodharsono argued that he had added a note below Djodjodikoro's article clarifying that the writer did not intend to offend Muslims. He further explained that the article could indeed be interpreted offensively if taken literally, but he

⁸² *Islam Bergerak*, "Mardi-Rahardjo contra Islam-Bergerak," 22, October 1, 1918.

⁸³ *Medan Moeslimin*, "Pro betoel-betoel Pro," January 15, 1919.

⁸⁴ Nasihin, *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945*.

⁸⁵ Alfani, "Gerakan Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) Tahun 1918".

claimed that the "Prophet" mentioned in the article did not refer to Prophet Muhammad, revered by Muslims, but rather to a metaphorical prophet representing each individual's feelings. Martodharsono believed that Abikoesno's article was a personal attack against him, stemming from Abikoesno's animosity toward Martodharsono due to his previous association with communists while editing the *Saroetomo* newspaper.⁸⁶

Martodharsono also criticized Sarekat Islam (CSI) for failing to respond to previous instances of blasphemy against Islam. He pointed out that CSI, then known as Sarekat Islam, did not condemn a seller who distributed images that allegedly depicted Prophet Muhammad. Additionally, Sarekat Islam did not take action against a newspaper in Magelang that referred to Prophet Muhammad as a false prophet.⁸⁷

Martodharsono was frustrated by CSI's different reactions to Djojodikoro's article compared to these earlier cases. However, his defense fell on deaf ears among the Muslim community, leading to the formation of the TKNM movement.

Martodharsono's counterattacks also targeted H. Misbach, the editor of *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak*. He demanded that the Dutch colonial government prosecute H. Misbach, accusing him of intending to insult him by spreading Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso's accusations in the *Oetoesan Hindia* newspaper, published on January 31, 1918.⁸⁸ Martodharsono felt he was being treated unfairly by CSI and decided not to remain passive in the face of criticism. His self-defense was a way of asserting that he was not guilty of the charges leveled against him.

As the *Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad* (TKNM) movement expanded across various regions, it faced accusations of being a divisive force that threatened national unity. One of the groups that frequently intervened against TKNM was the *kejawen* community, which attacked TKNM through an organization known as *Comitte voor het Javaansche Nationalisme* (CJN).⁸⁹ CJN, a small organization founded in 1914,⁹⁰ received support from Dutch *priyayi* (Javanese aristocrats) and Theosophists. Both groups aimed to realize a cultural ideal called *Groot Java* (Greater Java),⁹¹ and CJN served as a platform for them to pursue this cultural vision.

CJN's opposition to TKNM was articulated in an article titled "Comite Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohamad dengan Comite Javaansch Nationalisme," published in the *Neratja* newspaper on February 23, 1918 (issue number 37). The article, written by R. M. S. Soeriokoesoemo, Satiman, and Abdul Kachman, while condemning Djojodikoro's writings, expressed concern over TKNM's strong reaction, which they felt was excessive. CJN argued that Djojodikoro was not a prominent figure, and Djawi

⁸⁶ Djawi Hisworo, "Serangan Heibat," 15, February 4, 1918.

⁸⁷ Djawi Hisworo, "Serangan Heibat," 15.

⁸⁸ *Islam Bergerak*, "Tanpa Judul," 15, July 20, 1918.

⁸⁹ Alfian, "Gerakan Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) Tahun 1918."

⁹⁰ Larson, *Masa Menjelang Revolusi: Keraton dan Kehidupan Politik Surakarta 1912-1942*.

⁹¹ Alfian, "Gerakan Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) Tahun 1918."

Hisworo was not a widely influential newspaper. Therefore, they believed that the emergence of the TKNM movement could potentially endanger the unity of the Bumiputra (indigenous) people. CJN accused TKNM of obstructing Javanese people from practicing their own beliefs. They viewed TKNM as an organization that did not represent the Bumiputra community because it defended a religion originating from a foreign land—Arabia. CJN warned the public against joining TKNM, claiming that the movement could sow discord among different groups and plant the seeds of religious hatred. They called for the separation of politics and religion to ensure progress in the Dutch East Indies.⁹²

In response to CJN's accusations, TKNM published a counter-article titled "Javaansche Nationalisme (satoe koemidi)" in the Darmo Kondo newspaper, authored by TKNM leader Poerwodihardjo. He retaliated by accusing CJN of being the real disruptor of Javanese harmony. Poerwodihardjo's response grew harsher as he labeled R.M.S. Soeriokoesoemo a mere propagator of Christianity and a "money-grubber." He urged the Bumiputra people not to trust CJN, warning that the organization would only work to undermine Islam.⁹³

In response to TKNM's attacks, CJN issued and distributed a pamphlet warning against religious fanaticism. This pamphlet angered TKNM, prompting a retaliatory boycott of the First Congress on Javanese Cultural Development, held in July 1918 in Surakarta. The congress, organized by Prangwedono and CJN, was boycotted under the leadership of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, who spearheaded the action through the Oetoesan Hindia newspaper.⁹⁴ The escalating back-and-forth between TKNM and CJN only deepened the conflict between the two groups.

Abd. Rachman observed that the clash between TKNM and CJN was an inevitable part of the world's order. Every movement, he noted, faces opposition, and victory ultimately belongs to those who champion righteousness. He likened the TKNM-CJN conflict to the struggles of prophets in ancient times, who faced opposition while spreading the teachings of God. The stories of these prophets serve as a model for people worldwide,⁹⁵ illustrating that it is natural for identity movements to encounter resistance from other identity groups.

In the aftermath of the escalating tensions and mutual accusations between TKNM and CJN, members of Sarekat Islam began writing articles that focused on the concepts of nationhood and patriotism. The idea of a nation was interpreted as an entity that transcends geographical and cultural boundaries, expressed through the language of love for one's homeland. Patriotism became a secondary cornerstone—after Islamic unity—in the development of national values. The emphasis on love for the homeland and national values played a crucial role in fostering unity among the

⁹² Islam Bergerak, "Comite Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohamad dengan Comite Javaansch Nationalisme," 4, April 1, 1918.

⁹³ Oetoesan Hindia, "Javaansch Nationalisme (satoe koemidi)," 53, March 16, 1918.

⁹⁴ Larson, *Masa Menjelang Revolusi: Keraton dan Kehidupan Politik Surakarta 1912-1942*.

⁹⁵ Medan Moeslimin, "Comite Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohamad dan Comite Javaansch Nationalisme," 1918.

Bumiputra.⁹⁶ For Muslims, the importance of patriotism was underscored by the belief that love for one's homeland is a part of faith.

Disappointment began to grow among the Muslim community when H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto unexpectedly softened his stance on the religious blasphemy committed by Martodharsono and Djodjodikoro in the Djawi Hisworo newspaper.⁹⁷ TKNM appeared inactive, doing little beyond collecting donations and sending telegrams to Sri Susuhunan Surakarta, the Resident of Surakarta, and the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, requesting punishment for Martodharsono and Djodjodikoro.⁹⁸ The lack of seriousness from Tjokroaminoto in leading the TKNM movement stemmed from a conflict with Hasan bin Semit over financial matters. This dispute eventually led Hasan bin Semit to resign from TKNM.⁹⁹

As a result, TKNM began losing the support and trust of its sympathizers. On June 10, 1918, Islam Bergerak published an article containing a piece by Mr. Zahid that criticized TKNM's performance. Mr. Zahid expressed concerns that the organization's funds were being mismanaged, as the planned establishment of schools had yet to materialize. He warned that if TKNM did not take concrete action, the advancement of Christianization would continue to outpace Islam.¹⁰⁰

Criticism of TKNM's poor performance began to escalate. On November 10, 1918, an anonymous article by a writer using the pseudonym "Adroob" was published. Adroob warned TKNM to advance Islam by acting fairly and not favoring other nations. He threatened to oppose TKNM if it did not promptly address issues regarding student housing.¹⁰¹

Suspicious about TKNM grew as more of its planned activities stalled. Despite having ample funds from the dues collected by sub-committees across various regions, TKNM failed to follow through on its initiatives. H. Fachrodin condemned TKNM for delaying the use of its funds to establish schools. He suggested that TKNM should gather donations and *zakat* (almsgiving) from Muslims and distribute the funds to Islamic associations that aligned with TKNM's objectives. Fachrodin compared TKNM to other Islamic associations, pointing out that while TKNM had significant financial resources, it failed to perform effectively. In contrast, other Islamic associations, despite having limited funds, were more successful in their endeavors. He concluded by warning that if TKNM did not heed his advice, its goals would remain unfulfilled.¹⁰²

The initially strong relationship between H. Misbach and H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto in leading the TKNM gradually deteriorated. The tension between them was not rooted in the accusations of

⁹⁶ Nasihin, *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945*.

⁹⁷ Bakri, *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942*.

⁹⁸ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*.

⁹⁹ Bakri, *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942*.

¹⁰⁰ Islam Bergerak, "Perasa'an tentang Adanja Komite Tentara K. N. Mohamad," 1, June 10, 1918.

¹⁰¹ Islam Bergerak, "Membales Toelisannya Toean Adroob. dalam I. B. No. 20 dan O. I. No. 28.," 26, November 10, 1918.

¹⁰² Islam Bergerak, "Mengadep Komite Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Moehamad," 27, November 20, 1918.

financial mismanagement that implicated Tjokroaminoto. Instead, the primary source of their conflict was a power struggle. Tjokroaminoto's dominant leadership style within the organization left little room for H. Misbach to play a significant role.¹⁰³ It is important to note that H. Misbach, along with other devout Muslim batik merchants, had contributed substantially to TKNM and entrusted the leadership of the movement to progressive religious figures, including *kiai* and religious teachers.¹⁰⁴ Feeling that his contributions were going to waste, H. Misbach eventually turned against Tjokroaminoto.

Seizing the opportunity amidst the internal turmoil within TKNM, H. Misbach replaced M.H.A. Hisamzainie as the editor-in-chief of the Medan Moeslimin newspaper in Surakarta. He then founded a new movement called Sidik Amanat Tableg Vatonah (SATV) with the support of other devout Muslim batik merchants such as Koesen, Harsoloemekso, and Darsosasmito. SATV attracted young students (*santri*), including Haroenrasjid, K. Moechtar Boechari, Sjarief, and Ahmad Dasoeki, who joined the movement. The leadership structure of SATV was quickly established, with H. Misbach serving as the chairman, Darsosasmito as vice-chairman, and Harsoloemekso as secretary. The primary objective of SATV was to strengthen and advance Islam.¹⁰⁵ One of the main reasons behind the establishment of SATV was the dissatisfaction with the attitudes of the prominent ulama within the TKNM Surakarta sub-committee, who often criticized other scholars.¹⁰⁶

Inspired by the full support of Muhammadiyah, SATV sought to emulate the *tabligh* (Islamic preaching) introduced by Muhammadiyah. SATV's activities closely mirrored those of Muhammadiyah, including holding *tabligh* meetings, establishing modern schools for Bumiputra (indigenous people) with a religious foundation, and translating the Qur'an and classical religious texts from Arabic into Javanese. The newspapers Medan Moeslimin and Islam Bergerak played a key role in publicizing SATV's *dakwah* (Islamic propagation) efforts,¹⁰⁷ making SATV a platform for Muslims in Surakarta to express their aspirations.¹⁰⁸

Despite the similarities in activities, SATV and Muhammadiyah were fundamentally different in several ways. First, Muhammadiyah held a strategic position within the religious community in Yogyakarta, while SATV was led by devout Muslim batik merchants who felt betrayed by religious officials and disillusioned by the deceitful practices of the Dutch colonial government, capitalists, and Christian missionaries. Second, Muhammadiyah's propagandist militancy was driven by the belief that working for Muhammadiyah meant living as a true Muslim, while SATV's militancy stemmed from a

¹⁰³ Aji Dedi Mulawarman, *Jang Oetama: Jejak dan Perjuangan H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto* (Yogyakarta: Galang Pustaka, 2015).

¹⁰⁴ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*.

¹⁰⁵ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak*.

¹⁰⁶ Islam Bergerak, "Tanpa Judul," 14, June 10, 1918.

¹⁰⁷ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak*.

¹⁰⁸ Bakri, *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942*.

fear of manipulation and a desire to prove their "Islamic authenticity" through actions.¹⁰⁹ SATV positioned itself as a counter-movement to the ulama within the TKNM Surakarta sub-committee, accusing them of being "fake Muslims" who were more concerned with seeking recognition than genuinely upholding Islam.¹¹⁰

The involvement of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto in the *Volksraad* significantly contributed to the weakening of the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) movement.¹¹¹ Before Tjokroaminoto's election to the *Volksraad*, Sarekat Islam (CSI) conducted a poll among its local branches across Java and Madura to determine whether he should join the council. The vote, which involved 58 local SI branches, resulted in 28 votes in favor, 26 against, 1 blank vote, and 3 invalid votes. Based on this outcome, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto officially earned the right to represent Sarekat Islam in the *Volksraad*.¹¹²

As Tjokroaminoto's involvement in the *Volksraad* increased, TKNM gradually lost momentum and began to fade. His participation in the council led to the neglect of the TKNM movement. Meanwhile, the growing influence of the Sidik Amanat Tableg Vatonah (SATV) movement effectively took over TKNM's role in mobilizing the Muslim masses. The situation worsened with the involvement of SI members in the Toli-Toli Incident in Central Sulawesi in July 1919 and the Cimareme Incident in West Java later that year.¹¹³ These escalating crises prompted CSI to dissolve TKNM during its fourth national congress in Surakarta in October 1919.¹¹⁴

In the end, Martodharsono and Djojodikoro were not brought to justice. The articles published in *Djawi Hisworo* were deemed not to constitute blasphemy against another religion, as both men were Muslim and fell under the jurisdiction of the Kasunanan Surakarta, rather than the Dutch colonial government.¹¹⁵ Consequently, the colonial authorities had no legal grounds to punish Martodharsono and Djojodikoro.

F. Conclusion

The Islamic movement in the early 20th century in the Dutch East Indies was influenced by both modern and traditional Islamic currents. The Pan-Islamism movement that emerged in the Middle East inspired Muslim preachers in the Dutch East Indies to initiate Islamic reforms aimed at combating deviations in Islamic teachings and resisting Dutch colonial rule. These reform efforts led to the establishment of organizations such as Sarekat Islam (SI), Muhammadiyah, and Persatuan Islam

¹⁰⁹ Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak*.

¹¹⁰ Islam Bergerak, "Tanpa Judul," 14.

¹¹¹ Nasihin, *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945*.

¹¹² Oetoesan Hindia, "Tjokroaminoto, lid Volksraad," 56, March 20, 1918.

¹¹³ Nasihin, *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945*.

¹¹⁴ Alfian, "Gerakan Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) Tahun 1918."

¹¹⁵ Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Marhaenis Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Galangpress, 2010).

(Persis). The growth of the modern Islamic movement sparked tension with traditional ulama, who resisted change and later formed the rival organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

The conflict between Islam and Javanese culture reached its peak when an article by Djojodikoro, published in the Djawi Hisworo newspaper owned by Martodharsono in Surakarta on January 9 and 11, 1918, claimed that Prophet Muhammad (SAW) was a drunkard and an opium addict. This blasphemous statement provoked a strong reaction from the Muslim community in the Dutch East Indies, leading to the establishment of the Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) movement on February 6, 1918, in Surabaya. The primary goal of TKNM was to pressure Sri Susuhunan Surakarta, the Resident of Surakarta, and the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies to prosecute Martodharsono and Djojodikoro.

The formation of TKNM was well-received among Muslims in the Dutch East Indies, and following its establishment in Surabaya, sub-committees of TKNM were formed in various regions, with the exception of Yogyakarta and Semarang. Nearly all local branches of Sarekat Islam and other Islamic associations held meetings (*vergadering*) to support the TKNM movement. The blasphemy committed by Martodharsono and Djojodikoro united local SI branches under the leadership of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, who effectively leveraged this situation to promote nationalism by uniting the Muslim community. Islam became an integral part of the emerging nationalist identity of the Bumiputra (indigenous people). Additionally, TKNM expanded its mission to counter the spread of Christianization in Java during the early 20th century.

However, the influence of TKNM gradually waned as the movement faced accusations and criticism due to its increasingly unclear direction. The movement seemed to do little beyond collecting donations and sending telegrams to government officials. Tjokroaminoto's involvement in the Volksraad further diminished oversight of TKNM. The situation deteriorated with the involvement of SI members in the Toli-Toli and Cimareme incidents in 1919. Ultimately, Centraal Sarekat Islam (CSI) decided to dissolve TKNM in October 1919, and the two perpetrators of the religious blasphemy escaped legal repercussions.

The formation of TKNM represented an effort by Muslims in the Dutch East Indies to defend and uphold the honor of Islam. TKNM served as a unifying force for a Muslim community that was experiencing internal divisions. Additionally, the movement highlighted the complex relationship between religion and politics, marking the first significant indication of this dynamic in modern Indonesian history.

G. References

- Alfan, Ahsanul. "Gerakan Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) Tahun 1918". *Avatara: e-Journal Pendidikan Sejarah*, Vol. 4 No. 3, Oktober 2016.
- Bakri, Syamsul. *Gerakan Komunisme Islam Surakarta 1914-1942*. Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2015.

- Daliman. *Metode Penelitian Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2012.
- Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan Museum Kebangkitan Nasional. *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia: Dari Budi Utomo sampai dengan Pengakuan Kedaulatan*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1997.
- Fealy, Greg. *Ijtihad Politik Ulama: Sejarah NU 1952-1967*. Terj. Farid Wajidi dan Mulni Adelina Bachtar. Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta, 2003.
- Furqon, Syaibahul dan Busro. "Serat Gatholoco: Tubuh Menggugat Agama". *Religious: Jurnal Agama-Agama dan Lintas Budaya*, Vol. 1 No. 2, September 2017.
- Gottschalk, Louis. *Mengerti Sejarah*. Terj. Nugroho Notosusanto. Jakarta: UI-Press, 1985.
- Hamid, Rahman dan Muhammad Saleh Madjid. *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011.
- Juma', "Kontinuitas dan Transformasi Penistaan Agama: Gerakan Sosial Pra-Kemerdekaan". *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, Vol. 16 No. 2, 2018.
- Kolis, Nur dan Kayyis Fithri Ajhuri. "Sangkan Paraning Dumadi: Eksplorasi Sufistik Mengenal Diri dalam Pustaka Islam Jawa Prespektik Kunci Swarga Miftahul Djanati". *Dialogia: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Sosial*, Vol. 17 No. 1, Juni 2019.
- Kuntowijoyo. *Metodologi Sejarah: Edisi Kedua*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003.
- _____. *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2013.
- _____. *Perubahan Sosial dalam Masyarakat Agraris*. Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2017.
- Larson, George D. *Masa Menjelang Revolusi: Keraton dan Kehidupan Politik Surakarta 1912-1942*. Terj. Lopian. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1990.
- Lohanda, Mona. *Membaca Sumber Menulis Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011.
- Mulawarman, Aji Dedi. *Jang Oetama: Jejak dan Perjuangan H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*. Yogyakarta: Galang Pustaka, 2015.
- Mulkhan, Abdul Munir. *Marhaenis Muhammadiyah*. Yogyakarta: Galangpress, 2010.
- Mustofa, M. Lutfi. "Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Indonesia: Negosiasi Intelektual Muslim dengan Modernitas". *Jurnal Ulul Albab*, Vol. 12 No. 2, 2011.
- Nasbi, Ibrahim. "Jamaluddin Al-Afghani (Pan-Islamisme dan Ide Lainnya)". *Jurnal Diskursus Islam*, Vol. 7 No. 1, April 2019.
- Nasihin. *Sarekat Islam Mencari Ideologi 1924-1945*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012.
- Noer, Deliar. *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982.
- Nurtina, Sitti. "The Dynamics of Applying Pan-Islamism as a New Politic Concept". *Jurnal Islamic World and Politics*, Vol. 3 No. 1, Januari-Juni 2019.
- Padmo, Soegijanto. "Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia dari Masa ke Masa: Sebuah Pengantar". *Jurnal Humaniora*, Vol. 19 No. 2, Juni 2007.
- Priyadi, Sugeng. *Historiografi Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2015.
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin. *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004*. Terj. Satrio Wahono, Bakar Bilfagih, dkk. Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2005.
- Romadhon, Apriyata Dzikry. *Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad (Studi Kasus tentang Reaksi terhadap Pemikiran "Aliran Islam Jawa" Tahun 1916-1919 M)*. Skripsi Jurusan Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam. Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel, 2015.
- Shiraishi, Takashi. *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*. Terj. Hilmar Farid. Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1997.
- Somad, Abdul. "Pemikiran dan Pergerakan Pan-Islamisme di Indonesia pada Awal Abad ke-20". *Candrasangkala: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Sejarah*, Vol. 1 No. 1, November 2015.
- Susilo, Agus dan Isbandiyah. "Politik Etis dan Pengaruhnya bagi Lahirnya Pergerakan Bangsa Indonesia". *Jurnal Historia*, Vol. 6 No. 2, 2018.
- Thalib, Muhammad Dahlan. "Peranan Lembaga Keagamaan Al-Irsyad dalam Pendidikan di Indonesia". *Al-Ishlah: Jurnal Studi Pendidikan*, Vol. 16 No. 1, Januari-Juni 2018.
- Wahyuddin. "Awal Munculnya Gerakan Intelektualisme Islam di Indonesia Abad 20". *Jurnal Adabiyah*, Vol. 10 No. 2, 2010.

Newspapers (Microfilm Form)

- Darmo Kondo*. "Si Djahat menghina Nabi Kita (s. a. w.)". No. 15, 4 Februari 1918.
- _____. "Soerat sebaran". No. 25, 27 Februari 1918.
- _____. "Pergerakan T. K. N.". No. 32, 16 Maret 1918.

- _____. "Vergadering Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Moham'mad.' (Samboengan D. K. No. 64.)". No. 65, 8 Juni 1918.
- Djawi Hisworo*. "Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja". No. 4, 9 Januari 1918.
- _____. "Pertjakapan antara Marta dan Djaja". No. 5, 11 Januari 1918.
- _____. "Serangan Heibat". No. 15, 4 Februari 1918.
- Islam Bergerak*. "Comite Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohamad dan Comite Javaansch Nationalisme". No. 4, 1 April 1918.
- _____. "Perasa'an tentang Adanja Comite Tentara K. N. Mohamad". No. 1, 10 Juni 1918.
- _____. Tanpa Judul. No. 14, 10 Juni 1918.
- _____. Tanpa Judul. No. 15, 20 Juli 1918.
- _____. "Mardi-Rahardjo contra Islam-Bergerak". No. 22, 1 Oktober 1918.
- _____. "Membales Toelisannja Toean Adroob. dalam I. B. No. 20 dan O. I. No. 28.". No. 26, 10 November 1918.
- _____. "Mengadep Comite Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Moehamad". No. 27, 20 November 1918.
- Medan Moeslimin*. "Sroean kita". 15 Desember 1918.
- _____. "Vergadering Moeslimin jang Besar di Solo". 1918.
- _____. "Comite Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohamad dan Comite Javaansch Nationalisme". 1918.
- _____. "Pro betoel-betoel Pro". 15 Januari 1919.
- _____. "Pro betoel-betoel Pro (Samboengan M. M. No. 1.)". 1919.
- Oetoesan Hindia*. "Algemeene vergadering Sub-Comité T. K. N. M. di Pekalongan". No. 51, 13 Maret 1918.
- _____. "Javaansch Nationalisme (satoe koemidi)". No. 53, 16 Maret 1918.
- _____. "Tjokroaminoto, lid Volksraad". No. 56, 20 Maret 1918.
- _____. "Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.". No. 57, 21 Maret 1918.
- _____. "Gerakannya Comite T. K. N. M.". No. 60, 26 Maret 1918.
- _____. "Oentoek Comite „T. K. N. M.". No. 62, 28 Maret 1918.
- _____. "Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.". No. 87, 6 Mei 1918.
- _____. "Vergadering Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.". No. Extra, 10 Mei 1918.
- _____. "Vergadering Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.' (Samboengan O. H. 10 Mei No. Extra.)". No. 90, 11 Mei 1918.
- _____. "Vergadering Comité „Tentara Kangdjeng Nabi Mohammad.' (Samboengan O. H. 11 Mei No. 90.)". No. 91, 13 Mei 1918.
- _____. "Pekerdjäännja Comité „T. K. N. Mohammad". No. 244, 26 Desember 1918.

