Reform in Stencil and Sermon: K.H. Mohammad Miskun Asy-Syatibi and Islamic Thought in Garut, West Java, 1979–1991

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Abstract

This article examines the Islamic thought of K.H. Mohammad Miskun Asy-Syatibi (1931–2006), a Muhammadiyah preacher, jurist-organizer, and founding director of the Darul Arqam *pesantren* in Garut, West Java, through the writings he produced between 1979 and 1991. Regional ulama of the New Order era are usually studied as institution builders or charismatic orators; their texts, circulated as stencilled booklets and sermon scripts, have seldom been treated as intellectual sources. Drawing on twenty-five works located in family, pesantren, and alumni holdings, recordings of his lectures, and interviews with two of his sons and a former student, the article applies the historical method—heuristics, external and internal source criticism, interpretation informed by Arthur O. Lovejoy's history of ideas, and chronological–thematic narration—to reconstruct his formation and to trace the continuity and change of his ideas. It argues that Miskun's writings form a coherent project of practical *tawhid*, in which purification of belief and heart, disciplined ethical conduct, and organizational commitment are presented as mutually dependent, and that from the mid-1980s this project widened into a morally critical yet non-oppositional engagement with state-led development. The study contributes the first documented inventory of Miskun's writings and a reading of regional ulama literature as an archive of modernist-reformist thought in vernacular registers.

Keywords: Miskun Asy-Syatibi; Muhammadiyah; Garut; pesantren; ulama; history of ideas; tawhid; New Order Indonesia

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Introduction

In February 1979, at a workshop on Muhammadiyah madrasas and pesantren in Jakarta, the founding director of a pesantren barely a year old placed a pointed question before his organization: how could a modernist movement that spoke so readily of *ijtihad* produce the scholars capable of exercising it? The working paper he prepared with H. Amiruddin Siregar, issued by the new Darul Arqam institution in Garut, recalled the remark of the former Minister of Religious Affairs, A. Mukti Ali, that Muhammadiyah should not talk about ijtihad if it was not proficient in Arabic.[1] The booklet names no author on its pages. It was written by K.H. Mohammad Miskun Asy-Syatibi (1931–2006), hereafter Miskun, whose son described it as "his own principal ideas, which he put before the association."[2] Over the next twelve years Miskun would produce a stream of sermon scripts, study-circle booklets, and doctrinal books that circulated, for the most part, by stencil within Muhammadiyah and its pesantren in West Java.

Such a writer sits at an unusual intersection in the historiography of Indonesian Islam. Ulama have long served as teachers, moral exemplars, and arbiters of religious education, from the study circle to the pesantren to the university.[3] In Java the *kiai*—in West Java the *ajengan*—stands at the centre of the pesantren and, in Zamakhsyari Dhofier's classic account, belongs to the social and political elite as well as to the world of Arabic textual learning.[4] Anthropologists have asked what more the kiai is. Clifford Geertz described him as a "cultural broker" between village and state; Hiroko Horikoshi, working in West Java, argued that the *ajengan* was more than a mediator, an agent whose charisma could drive social transformation; later Indonesian scholarship has extended the argument to the strengthening of civil society.[5] These accounts are built largely on what kiai did: preaching, mediating, founding schools. What they wrote—especially when it was written not as an Arabic treatise or printed commentary but as a sermon script run off on a stencil machine for a particular congregation—has attracted far less attention.

Miskun is a revealing case precisely because his public standing is not in doubt. He is counted among the "100 Muhammadiyah figures who inspire," credited with building Darul Arqam into one of the movement's leading cadre-training pesantren, and in December 2023, during Muhammadiyah's 111th anniversary, was posthumously honoured by its West Java leadership with a Lifetime Achievement award.[6] Yet the existing scholarship approaches him from the side of institution and

[1] *Pokok-Pokok Pikiran tentang Darul Arqam sebagai Ma'had Pendidikan Calon Ulama dalam Muhammadiyah* (Garut: Ma'had Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Daerah Garut, 1979), 6, 45.

[2] Interview with Ahmad Azhar, son of K.H. Miskun Asy-Syatibi, via WhatsApp, January 23–26, 2025.

[3] Aidatul Munawaroh, "Peran Ulama dalam Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia: Studi Kasus di Kota Depok", 2; M. Moeflich Hasbullah, *Islam & Transformasi Masyarakat Nusantara* (Depok: Kencana, 2017).

[4] Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011).

[5] Clifford Geertz, "The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2, no. 2 (1960): 228–49; M. Hadi Purnomo, *Kiai dan Transformasi Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Absolute Media, 2016), 26, 80–82.

[6] Lasa Hs. et al., *100 Tokoh Muhammadiyah yang Menginspirasi* (Yogyakarta: Majelis Pustaka dan Informasi Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2014), 175; "Jejak Dedikasi dan Pengabdian Luar Biasa KH

mission. Maemunah examines his part in developing Darul Arqam; Fitriani surveys the pesantren's curriculum, organization, facilities, and enrolment under two successive leaderships; Putri studies his *dakwah* in Garut through speech, writing, and example.[7] Each is valuable; none treats the content and development of his writings as the object of inquiry. The result is a conspicuous asymmetry: a figure remembered as a scholar of exegesis—Amien Rais is said to have called him the "angel of *tafsir*"—whose own intellectual production remains undocumented, uncatalogued, and, in much of the family's own judgement, better left uncirculated for fear of a cult of personality.[8]

This article addresses that gap with two questions. First, what can be reconstructed of Miskun's life and intellectual formation, and what corpus of writing did he leave for the years 1979–1991? Second, what ideas does that corpus express, how did they change or persist across the period, and how did they respond to the institutional agenda of Muhammadiyah and to the political and economic setting of New Order Indonesia? The period boundaries are those of the located evidence: 1979 is the date of the earliest bound text available, and 1991 of the latest. Family informants speak of further writings, including stencilled drafts that continued until early 2006, but these could not be consulted.[9]

The article makes three contributions. Empirically, it presents the first annotated, chronological inventory of Miskun's located writings (Table 1). Analytically, it argues that these writings are best understood not as a miscellany of sermons but as a sustained project of *practical tawhid* that links doctrinal purification, ethical self-discipline, and organizational commitment, and that this project was recast between 1983 and 1991 as a conditional endorsement of national development. Historiographically, it shows how a regional ulama's restricted-circulation texts can be read as sources for the history of Indonesian Islamic reformism, complementing the anthropological emphasis on the kiai as a mediator with attention to the kiai as an author. The article proceeds from method, through a biographical and bibliographical reconstruction and a chronological–thematic account of the ideas, to a discussion of their meaning and limits.

Method

The study follows the four stages of historical method: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography.[10] *Heuristics* combined fieldwork in repositories and with informants. Texts were sought in the libraries of UIN Sunan

Moch Miskun Asy-Syatibi," *Suara Muhammadiyah*, 5 January 2024, https://suaramuhammadiyah.id/read/jejak-dedikasi-dan-pengabdian-luar-biasa-kh-moch-miskun-asy-syatibi.

[7]Euis Maemunah, "K.H. Mohammad Miskun Asy dalam Pengembangan Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam Kecamatan Cilawu Kabupaten Garut 1978–2000"; Endah Fitriani, "Perkembangan Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Garut (1978–2010)"; Hilsa Aulya Putri, "Peran Moh. Miskun Asy Syatibi dalam Bidang Dakwah di Kabupaten Garut Tahun 1951–2000".

[8]Ahmad Azhar, *Mengenal Sosok Mohammad Miskun Asy-Syatibi* (Garut, 2015), 3; Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, son of K.H. Miskun Asy-Syatibi and director (*mudir*) of Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Garut, Garut, April 6, 2025.

[9]Interview with Ahmad Azhar, via WhatsApp, January 23–26, 2025.

[10]Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2018), 74–80.

Gunung Djati Bandung and its Faculty of Adab and Humanities, at Universitas Muhammadiyah Bandung, and at Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah in Garut, including its library. The primary corpus consists of the 1979 working paper, supplied by Ahmad Azhar as a scan of the original, and twenty-four later booklets and books of 1982–1991, obtained mostly as photocopies of stencilled originals: roughly twenty-two items from Ahmad Syauqie, and the printed books *Tauhid Khalis* and *Perlunya Manusia Beragama* from Dikdik Dahlan Lukman.[11] Two sets of audio recordings, undated and supplied by the family, preserve lectures on *Kejujuran dan Keterbukaan* (43:43 and 39:59 minutes) and *Tujuh Butir Mutiara Akhlak* (44:19 and 41:12 minutes); the latter was also consulted in a public video posting. Photographs of Miskun's Sundanese aphorisms, received from Azhar, and press and web profiles complete the documentary base. Oral evidence was gathered in three interviews: with Azhar (born 1971) by WhatsApp on January 23–26, 2025; with Lukman (born 1969) in Bandung on 20 January 2025; and with Syauqie (born 1977) at the pesantren on April 6, 2025. Interviews were recorded or logged and transcribed.

External criticism addressed provenance and authorship. Most items are stencilled booklets or photocopies of them, physically intact though on aged paper; the printed books are in good condition, and the 1979 paper survives as a scan of the original. Several works carry the pen name Abu Haniefah, or only initials ("Masy"), or none at all, and attribution therefore rests on corroboration by the family and by secondary literature rather than on the title page. Judgements therefore differed by case. The 1979 paper names no author but its attribution was confirmed by Azhar and fits its institutional setting. A 1980 sermon script on the leadership of the Prophet Abraham bore neither name nor initials and was judged to have low credibility; it is excluded from the corpus analysed here. Three items are incomplete: *Tingkatan Orang-Orang Mukmin* breaks off mid-sentence, *Prinsip-Prinsip Pokok Faham Agama dalam Muhammadiyah* survives as loose leaves, and only the first volume of *Kejujuran dan Keterbukaan* was located. There is also a caution about transmission. Syauqie warned that some manuscripts in family circulation were re-copied by a relative rather than photocopied from the originals, so that editorial intervention cannot be excluded.[12] Where a colophon's Hijri and Gregorian dates disagree, dates were reconciled against the Hijri–Gregorian correspondence and the occasion of delivery.

Internal criticism weighed what the texts can and cannot tell us. They are sermons, lectures, speeches, and radio-derived study materials prepared for known audiences—Muhammadiyah leadership study circles, students, festival congregations—and are therefore normative and pedagogical rather than systematic treatises. They reflect what a preacher wished a specific audience to hear, and they quote heavily from authorities, which makes the selection of authorities itself evidence. The interviews are treated as oral historical evidence. Informants stand in different relations to Miskun: Azhar, a son, copied and curated his writings; Syauqie,

[11]Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025; Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, alumnus of the fifth cohort of Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam, office of the Institute for the Study and Development of Islam and Muhammadiyah (LPPAIK), Universitas Muhammadiyah Bandung, Bandung, January 20, 2025.

[12]Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025.

a younger son and now pesantren director, studied under him for only a year; Lukman, a student for six years, is also lead author of the principal printed history of the pesantren, a volume he proposed to Miskun himself, which makes his oral and written testimony non-independent.[13] Informants' own markers of certainty were respected: Lukman described his account of when Miskun began writing as "only a conjecture," and Syauqie disclaimed detailed knowledge of Miskun's ideas, directing the interviewer to his elder brothers and to former students.[14] Memories were also set against the record where possible. For three of the doctrinal books, *Tauhid Khalis*, *Pamusyrikan*, and *Perlunya Manusia Beragama*, parts of the analysis depend on an earlier study's detailed summaries rather than on direct reading, and are flagged as such below.

Interpretation uses the history of ideas associated with Arthur O. Lovejoy, which follows "unit-ideas" through time, analyses their internal logic, and attends to persistence and change.[15] Four recurring units structure the reading: *tawhid* as total orientation; the diseases and cure of the heart (*tazkiyat al-nafs*); steadfastness (*istiqamah*) and sincerity (*ikhlas*); and organization as the "vehicle" of religion. Because unit-ideas can float free of their occasions, each text is read against its documented audience and moment, a precaution suggested by Quentin Skinner's critique of the approach.[16] *Historiography* took the form of a chronological sequence of three phases (1979; 1982–1989; 1990–1991) with thematic clusters within them. Dates follow the Gregorian calendar, with Hijri dates supplied where the sources give them.

Results

Formation in Garut: Family, Teachers, and the Muhammadiyah Schooling in Tabligh and Tarjih

Miskun was born on 24 January 1931 in Kampung Pungkur, Garut, the second son of Emen Syatibi and Siti Kuraesin.[17] The commemorative history on which the biography largely rests depicts a neighbourhood saturated with religious routine: from noon to after the evening prayer the village filled with madrasa-based activity for children and adults, from Qur'an recitation and study circles to *silat* for young men.[18] Neighbouring villages, it adds, dubbed Pungkur a *kampung wahabi*, a label that bred open antipathy and sometimes brawls, and which formed part of the social climate of Miskun's adolescence.[19]

[13]Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025; Dikdik Dahlan L. et al., *Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam: Potret Sekolah Kader Ulama Muhammadiyah* (Garut: PB IKADAM, 1996).

[14]Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025; Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025.

[15]Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), 3–23.

[16]Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1969): 3–53.

[17]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 117; "Jejak Dedikasi," *Suara Muhammadiyah*.

[18]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 117.

[19]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 118. The label denoted a reformist, strictly anti-*bid'ah* orientation associated with the teachings of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, and here was a neighbours' epithet rather than a self-description.

The upheavals of the revolutionary years redirected his schooling. In 1948, when—according to the biographical record—clashes between part of the local population and Darul Islam forces led by Kartosuwiryo reached Pungkur, the seventeen-year-old Miskun and his family moved to Paminggir in Garut town.[20] There he did household chores, kept a brother company at his barber's trade, and attended the Madrasah Wustha Muhammadiyah in Lio, where he met Kiai Badjuri.[21] His formal schooling had been modest: primary school (*Sekolah Rakyat*) completed in 1942, the Madrasah Diniyyah at Banyuresmi until 1946, then the Wustha level, supplemented by study at the Madrasah al-Khairiyyah in Ciparay–Karangpawitan to master the Arabic that unlocked the *kitab kuning*.[22] Badjuri, a *mu'alim* from Banten who had pioneered the study group of Madrasah Diniyah al-Hidayah from which Muhammadiyah Garut grew, widened his pupil's horizons.[23] Not content with classroom teaching, Miskun and several friends asked to become *santri kalong*, non-resident students who read classical texts with their teacher after the noon, sunset, and night prayers; they did so for three years, until about 1951.[24]

When Badjuri withdrew, he entrusted the remaining students, from 1951 to 1957, to Moh. Fadjri, a pupil from his first cohort. Under Fadjri, Miskun absorbed the three skills that would define his public life: *tabligh* (preaching), *tarjih* (the weighing of evidence in legal rulings), and administration. He accompanied Fadjri on preaching rounds, learning not only to listen but to criticize delivery and content.[25] Within Muhammadiyah he met colleagues who deepened these skills, among them K.H. Hambali Ahmad, K.H. Iping Z. Abidin, H.I. Sukandiwirja, H. Yuzad Esa, H. Iton Damiri, H. Edjeb Syamsudin, H.U. Karsujo, and H. Mamak Moh. Zein.[26] The portrait that emerges in the sources is of a disciplined, authoritative, seldom angry man, unbending on what he believed right.[27] In 1957 he married Ikah, a former pupil of nineteen (he was twenty-six); they had twelve children, nine of whom are recorded.[28] She is remembered as a steadfast supporter who understood from the outset that her husband belonged not only to his family but to the community of believers.[29]

Teacher, Organizer, Preacher: The Making of a Writer

Miskun began to teach in 1951 at the Madrasah Diniyah Wustha Muhammadiyah and in his native village, and put Fadjri's methods into practice in Muhammadiyah mosques and prayer houses.[30] In 1953 he is recorded as an honorary teacher of religion at a state primary school in Ciparay; from 1956 to 1966 he was a civil-servant religion teacher at several Garut schools, teaching in the afternoon at the

[20]Lasa Hs. et al., *100 Tokoh*, 175.
[21]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 117.
[22]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 118.
[23]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 125.
[24]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 117.
[25]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 126–27.
[26]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 133.
[27]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 126–33.
[28]Sudarnoto Abdul Hakim et al., *Ensiklopedia Muhammadiyah* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2005), 238.
[29]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 128.
[30]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 121.

madrasa as well; from 1966 until 1978, when he was forty-seven, he taught at a teacher-training school for religion (*Sekolah Pendidikan Guru Agama*).[31] In 1976, while still teaching, he joined Moh. Fadjri and others in founding Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah at the direction of the Garut regional leadership, which designated him its first director (*mudir*); instruction began in 1978.[32]

His organizational career ran in parallel. He was secretary of the Garut branch of Pemuda Muhammadiyah from 1954 to 1962 under Fadjri's chairmanship, then secretary of the Garut branch leadership until 1970, by which time it had become the regional leadership (PDM). In 1974 he was recorded as a member of the West Java regional leadership, of the national Tanwir assembly, and of PDM Garut, all concluding with the term ending in 1995. He also sat in the Garut regional legislature (DPRD II) as Muhammadiyah's representative within the Sekber Golkar until 1971.[33] For more than twenty years he preached on private radio stations in Garut, among them Wijaya Kusuma, Rex, and Hanura (now Antares), and he founded and nurtured the Muhammadiyah corps of male and female preachers (*Korps Muballigh-Muballighat*).[34] Lukman, who described a preacher more "dense with content" than humorous or fiery, summarized his competence as threefold: *tarjih* scholar, preacher, and organizer, the same triad he had learned from Fadjri and sought to reproduce in his students.[35]

The *tarjih* dimension is the most revealing about his intellectual character. He sat on Muhammadiyah's Tarjih council and was known as strict in relying on sound (*sahih*) reports. According to Syauqie, he insisted on this in matters of *'ibadah mahdhah* while remaining flexible in *mu'amalah*; he recalled his father's analogy that a hundred blind men gathered to describe an object by touch might agree on a shape, but only by conjecture, and that worship could not rest on conjecture. West Java Muhammadiyah, following Miskun and a colleague from Tasikmalaya, adopted a single takbir in each unit of the festival prayers, "1, 1" as in ordinary prayer, rather than the seven and five additional takbirs observed by the national leadership; Syauqie located the difference in the later shift of central Tarjih terminology from *sunnah sahihah* to *sunnah maqbulah*, which Miskun would not accept.[36] Whether the West Java practice was formally Miskun's ruling is known only through these oral accounts, and the claim is accordingly treated as informants' attribution.

Values and temperament appear in testimony as well as in text. Syauqie remembered a father who insisted that none of his nine children study outside the religious sciences, so that the head of a cadre-producing pesantren could not be accused of mistrusting religious education: "*Oh*, so he doesn't believe in religion, since

[31]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 122–24.

[32]Ilham Mundzir, "Pesantren dan Pendidikan Perdamaian dalam Mewujudkan Masyarakat Islam" (Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta, 2017), 67; Lasa Hs. et al., *100 Tokoh*, 239.

[33]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*; on the dates of these offices the commemorative history is the only source located.

[34]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 123.

[35]Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025.

[36]Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025; Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025.

his children aren't sent to study it."[37] The same strictness explains why the children have never made a customary visit to his grave: Miskun used to ask, "What is the point of going to the graveyard? What matters is that the living pray for the dead." When an alumnus on the national Tarjih council once questioned the family's abstention, they replied that they were guarding their father's considered stance, though they gladly accompany alumni who wish to visit.[38] He also left a body of Sundanese maxims for his students, among them *Kudu tungkul siga pare, ulah ngentrung siga lodong kosong* ("Bow like the ripening rice; do not stand stiff like an empty bamboo vessel") and *Hirup teh cahaya, lamun teu bisa jadi cahaya, tong hayang hirup* ("Life is light; if you cannot become light, do not wish to live"), the latter a standard of usefulness to others.[39]

It was a reader's life. At home he sank into classical books, newspapers, and magazines, and his reading, Syauqie recalled, ranged from *kitab* and Qur'anic commentary to *Tempo*, *Panji Masyarakat*, *Suara Muhammadiyah*, the Sundanese magazine *Mangle*, agricultural periodicals, and, later, sports papers.[40] This testimony needs care: Syauqie also named the daily *Republika*, which did not appear until 1993, so his recollection evidently compresses reading habits of several decades and cannot be used to date influences on the 1980s texts. What survives of the books is more reliable: the endowed collection in the pesantren library includes, among others, Sunan Abi Dawud, al-Shawkani's *Nayl al-Awtar*, Ibn Hazm's *al-Muhalla*, the Qur'anic commentaries of al-Qasimi, al-Tabari, and al-Alusi, Sayyid Qutb's *Fi Zilal al-Qur'an*, and Ahmad Amin's *Duha al-Islam* and *Zuhr al-Islam*.[41] His citation habits were remembered consistently by two informants: Ibn Taymiyya on *tawhid*; al-Maraghi's modern, systematic commentary, which he also taught at the pesantren, on exegesis; the Bukhari–Muslim collections and the wider canonical books for hadith; and, among Indonesians, Hamka and Ahmad Azhar Basyir.[42] In 1991 a nerve condition of the eye, which doctors linked to relentless reading, obliged him to cut back; thereafter his children read newspapers to him in the mornings.[43]

Miskun died on 10 September 2006 and was buried at the Ciawitali cemetery in Garut.[44] His legacy was recorded by his son Azhar in three "core ideas": knowledge must be holistic, many-sided, and multidisciplinary, in a curriculum that does not split the *'aqliyah* from the *naqliyah* sciences; Muslims, especially in Indonesia, are far from the Qur'anic ideal of *khayr ummah*, since Islam reached the archipelago as the ruins of a civilization, a critique of linear narratives of history; and students should read the Qur'an in the order of its revelation to sense the Prophet's struggle.[45] Alumni who later achieved public prominence include Muhammad Muchlas Rowi (class of 1992),

[37]Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025.

[38]Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025.

[39]Ahmad Azhar, photographs of Miskun's aphorisms, received via WhatsApp (n.d.).

[40]Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025.

[41]Endowed collection, library of Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Garut.

[42]Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025; Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025.

[43]Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 127–28; Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025.

[44]Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025.

[45]Azhar, *Mengenal Sosok*, 3–5.

active in sports administration; Irfan Amalee (class of 1996), co-founder of the Peace Generation movement; and Adi Hidayat (class of 2003), a widely followed preacher, according to their published profiles.[46]

The Corpus: Genres, Circulation, and Chronology

Miskun began writing in his forties and, by Azhar's account, produced material for every study session he led; Lukman, speaking more cautiously, thought the habit began alongside the founding of the pesantren.[47] The family recalls an early stencilled hajj manual (no physical copy survives), books on the human need for religion, *Tauhid Khalis* and *Pamusyrikan*, several thin booklets for cadre training and member instruction, and materials for national Tarjih meetings such as "Keluarga Sakinah."[48] The works located for this study number twenty-five (Table 1): one bound working paper of 1979, eighteen texts of the 1980s, and six of 1990–91. A further set of titles is documented but was not found: "Upaya Mendewasakan Santri," "Misi Darul Arqam: Kini dan Mendatang," "Kesiapan dan Ketahanan Mental sebagai Upaya Meraih Sukses dalam Belajar di Pondok," and "Hambatan dan Penanggulangan," listed in the *Ensiklopedia Muhammadiyah*; "Pakaian Mubaligh" (1985), named by Syauqie; and "Islam Ngalengitkeun Kamiskinan" (1413 H, c. 1992–93).[49] The located corpus is therefore a sample, not the whole.

Table 1. Located writings of K.H. Mohammad Miskun Asy-Syatibi, 1979–1991

No.	Year	Title	Pp.	Occasion / genre	Theme
1	1979	*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran tentang Darul Arqam*	48	Working paper, Workshop on Muhammadiyah Madrasas and Pesantren, Jakarta, 1–3 Feb. 1979	I
2	1982	*Mengobati Penyakit Mental yang Payah*	12	Text dated 14 Feb. 1982	E
3	1983	*Khutbah Sunnah 'Idul Fithri 1403 H*	6	Eid al-Fitr sermon (Sundanese)	E

[46]"Tentang Muchlas Rowi," n.d., https://muchlasrowi.com/tentang/, accessed June 19, 2025; Suara Muhammadiyah, "Irfan Amalee: Angkatan Muda Muhammadiyah Perlu Membuat Branding," 4 July 2020, https://web.suaramuhammadiyah.id/2020/07/04/irfan-amalee-angkatan-muda-muhammadiyah-perlu-membuat-branding/, accessed June 19, 2025; Budi Saefudin, "Ini Biografi Ustadz Adi Hidayat, Pernah Belajar di Ponpes Arqam Muhammadiyah, Garut," *Desk Jabar*, n.d., https://deskjabar.pikiran-rakyat.com/ragam/pr-1136119088/ini-biografi-ustadz-adi-hidayat-pernah-belajar-di-ponpes-arqam-muhammadiyah-garut, accessed June 19, 2025.

[47]Interview with Ahmad Azhar, via WhatsApp, January 23–26, 2025; Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025.

[48]Interview with Ahmad Azhar, via WhatsApp, January 23–26, 2025.

[49]Hakim et al., *Ensiklopedia Muhammadiyah*, 239; Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025. Azhar confirmed that a booklet on mental resilience dated 1997 survives in family hands (WhatsApp, January 23–26, 2025);

4	1984	*Miftahus Sa'adah*†	26	Study session for Muhammadiyah leaders, 26 Muharram 1405 H	E
5	1984	*Allah Tempat Kembali Orang Mukmin*	13	Text dated Jumada I 1404 H, signed "Masy"	E
6	1985	*Tingkatan Orang-Orang Mukmin Merebut Kwalitas Muslim Kelas 'Ala*†	18	Lecture for primary-school heads' refresher course (incomplete)	E
7	1985	*Menggalakkan Ibadah Qurban*†	13+5	Eid al-Adha sermon, Shawwal 1405 H	E
8	1985	*Faiza Faraghta Fanshab*†	14+5	Text for the Tabligh Council, Garut	S
9	1986	*Muhammadiyah Menyongsong Hari Esok yang Lebih Baik*	6	Opening address, regional conference, May 1986	O
10	1987	*Keikhlasan dan Kebersamaan*	20	Text dated 8 March 1987	O
11	1987	*Masalah Shilaturahmi*†	13	Text dated 1 Shawwal 1407 H	S
12	1987	*Prinsip-Prinsip Pokok Faham Agama dalam Muhammadiyah*	20	Text dated 6 Oct. 1987 (partial)	O
13	1988	*Kejujuran dan Keterbukaan* (vol. 1)	29	Lecture text, Aug. 1988; audio recordings	S
14	1988	*Tauhid Khalis*†	144	Book, 3rd printing, March 1988	C
15	1989	*Pamusyrikan Anu Nganafi'keun Tauhid*†	266	Book (Sundanese)	C
16	1989	*Perlunya Manusia Beragama*†	257	Book derived from radio broadcasts	C
17	1989	*Istiqamah*	21	Text	E
18	1989	*Menyiapkan Manusia Pembangunan dengan Putra Shaleh*	7	Text dated 28 Dhu al-Hijjah 1409 H	S
19	1989	*Tujuh Butir Mutiara Akhlak*	22	Lecture; audio and video recordings	E
20	1990	*Miara Kasucian (Fithrah) Diri*	11	Eid al-Fitr sermon (Sundanese)	E

21	1990	*Islam Sareng Kasejahteraan Umat*	6	Eid al-Adha sermon (Sundanese)	S
22	1990	*Tabligh di Abad XXI*	11	Text, Sept. 1990	S
23	1991	*Peningkatan Kualitas Pimpinan*	22	Address, regional conference, 28 June 1991	S
24	1991	*Ilmu, Iman, sareng Taqwa ka Gusti Allah*	7	Eid al-Fitr sermon 1411 H (Sundanese)	S
25	1991	*Mari Bertahadduts Binni'mah*	23	Text, July 1991	E

Three features of the corpus matter for what follows. First, genre: nearly all items are occasional texts—Eid sermons (1983, 1985, 1990, 1990, 1991), speeches at regional conferences (1986, 1991), study-session materials for Muhammadiyah leaders (1984, 1987, 1989, 1990), a lecture for primary-school heads attending a refresher course (1985), and radio-derived books—and only three, *Tauhid Khalis*, *Pamusyrikan*, and *Perlunya Manusia Beragama*, were produced as books of the conventional kind.[50] Second, language: five texts are explicitly identified as Sundanese: the Eid sermons of 1983, 1990, and 1991, the Eid al-Adha text of 1990, and *Pamusyrikan*; the others are in Indonesian. Third, circulation: most items were intended for internal publics (students, mentors, Muhammadiyah members, and preachers), and only a small part reached a wider readership. Lukman believes this was never controversial but rather welcomed by members "thirsty" for guidance; the family itself has hesitated to disseminate the texts for fear of a cult of the leader.[51]

1979: An Institutional Blueprint for Producing Ulama

The earliest text is the working paper of 1979 that Miskun and H. Amiruddin Siregar took to the Workshop on Muhammadiyah Madrasas and Pesantren in Jakarta, 3–5 Rabi' al-Awwal 1399 H (1–3 February 1979). It answered a resolution of Muhammadiyah's Thirty-ninth Congress (Muktamar) in Padang in 1975 to multiply institutions for training ulama, itself traceable to the cadre anxieties voiced at the Thirty-seventh Congress in Yogyakarta in 1968 and a call for a renewal of renewal (*tajdid al-tajdid*) in religious education.[52] The paper builds its case in layers. Mukti Ali's remark supplied the provocation; Rashid Rida's *al-Manar* the juristic argument that preserving Arabic is a condition of preserving religious learning; Q. 35:28 and Q. 9:122 the scriptural warrant that the learned are most fearful of God and that some believers

[50]On the radio origin of the books: Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025; Abu Haniefah [Miskun Asy-Syatibi], *Perlunya Manusia Beragama* (Garut: Pesantren Darul Arqam, 1989), i–iii. The same book is called *Kebutuhan Manusia Beragama* ("Kebutuhan Manusia akan Agama") in other accounts; the radio programme was "Dakwah Islamiyah" on Radio Rex, theme *Hajat al-Insan ila al-Din*.

[51]Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025; Interview with Ahmad Syauqie, Garut, April 6, 2025; Dikdik et al., *Pondok Pesantren*, 128–29.

[52]*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 10–11, 45. On the congress sequence: the 37th Muktamar (Yogyakarta, 1968), 38th (Ujung Pandang, 1971), 39th (Padang, 1975), 40th (Surabaya, 1978), 41st (Surakarta, 1985), and 42nd (Yogyakarta, 1990).

must devote themselves to deep understanding (*tafaqquh fi al-din*); and two prophetic traditions, on knowledge vanishing with the death of scholars and on the reformers who set right what others have corrupted, the urgency.[53] Its proverb—a person who wants to be saved but dares not take the road is like a ship that will not sail on land—turns the argument into a demand for institutions. The name Darul Arqam recalled the house of Arqam ibn Abi al-Arqam, where the Prophet is said to have strengthened *tawhid* and trained the first cadre.[54]

The design that follows is detailed and, for its time, ambitious. Applicants, drawn from primary-school graduates on the premise that children of that age are still in a state of *fitrah* and unmarked by rival ideologies, would be examined in Qur'anic recitation and Arabic writing (*kitabah*); parents would undergo a psychological test; and the applicant's home branch of Muhammadiyah would be weighed to ensure an even spread of cadres.[55] Study would last at least nine years in three stages of three: lower-secondary (Tsanawiyah), upper-secondary (Aliyah), and a final stage of specialization (*takhassus*), with a curriculum divided 51.5 percent religious and 48.5 percent general subjects, a comparative (*muqaranah*) approach to widen students' outlook, and extracurricular martial arts and scouting.[56] The daily timetable ran from after the dawn prayer into the evening, with compulsory extracurricular activities even on Friday, the weekly rest day; the management undertook to provide nourishing food, a sports field, and medicines.[57] Dormitory-wide and institution-wide codes of conduct combined educational and disciplinary rules (study hours, courtesy to teachers, cleanliness) with devotional ones (prayer before study, congregational worship), enforced by warnings and sanctions.[58] The institution was to be answerable to the regional Muhammadiyah leadership through a patron (*pembina*), the director (*mudir*) and two deputies, with a general section (enterprise, dormitory) and an education section (religion, training).[59] The workshop received the paper well and proposed a standing commission to help draft a common concept for Muhammadiyah's ulama-training institutions.[60] The paper presents one year of operation; no independent evidence of how far the design was realised has been located, and Lukman, a student of the 1970s–80s, remembers Miskun as less insistent than the blueprint: he did not fix particular outcomes, provided students mastered religion, leaving preaching, organizing, or other vocations to aptitude.[61]

1982–1989: Purifying the Heart, the Creed, and the Community

The eighteen texts of the 1980s fall into four clusters: ethics and self-purification (eight texts), social life (four), organizational ideology (three), and creed (three). The

[53]*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 2–8.
[54]*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 13.
[55]*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 15.
[56]*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 15–18.
[57]*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 18.
[58]*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 30–36.
[59]*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 22–25.
[60]*Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 45.
[61]Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025.

writer's own logic ran, as the sequence of texts suggests, from the interior of the believer outward.

Ethics and self-purification, 1982–1989. The cluster opens with *Mengobati Penyakit Mental yang Payah* (Curing the Severe Mental Diseases), dated 14 February 1982. "Mental" here is not clinical: the heart, a lump of flesh that steers the whole person, can sicken like the body, and Miskun identified two most destructive diseases in the Qur'an, love of the world (*hubb al-dunya*) and fear of death (*karahiyat al-mawt*, or *wahn*).[62] Citing Hasan Syarqawi's *Nahwa 'Ilm al-Nafs al-Islami*, Shaykh 'Ali Mahfuz, and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, he argued that the sick turn a blind eye to their illness because they crave the quick and easy, whereas faith demands patience; the remedy is strengthened faith and repentance, and prevention lies in guarding purity of soul and body.[63] The Eid al-Fitr sermon of 1403 H (1983), in Sundanese, carries this interior purification into public life. Ramadan is a training in cleansing the soul, but it is not the only one; and national development under the Fourth Development Cabinet, he warned, would remain a slogan unless the people running the state possessed moral cleanliness, above all *wara'* (scrupulousness) and *haya'* (shame). To clinch the point he cited a statement attributed to General Umar Wirahadikusuma, then Vice President, that development oriented solely to the physical and material would invite ideologies contrary to Pancasila, "such as secularism, atheism and the like," so that Muslim participation was decisive.[64]

Allah Tempat Kembali Orang Mukmin (1984) turns to the believer's destination: trials multiply with faith, but relief accompanies every test; it criticizes secular persons whose hearts are dry and spirits empty, and the fatalist Jabariyah for neglecting effort (*ikhtiar*), insisting that the ideal believer strives first and entrusts the result to God.[65] Citing Mahmud Shaltut, he warned that technological sophistication cannot guarantee inner calm. *Miftahus Sa'adah* (The Key to Happiness, 1984) rests on the tafsir of al-Maraghi: happiness lies in obedience to the law that God laid down for human welfare, not hardship. Rejecting the truth, in the reading of Q. 8:24, can block guidance; persistence in small sins invites great ones until the heart is sealed; Q. 8:26 offers the counterweight of divine help to the steadfast, even in weakness, so the Muslim must return to the *khittah* of Islam's struggle and seek a criterion (*furqan*) in difficulty.[66] In *Menggalakkan Ibadah Qurban* (1985), Miskun reads Surah al-Kawthar as a catalogue of gifts—bodily and sensory, faith, Islam, guidance, material goods—that precede every duty, so that sacrifice, performed once a year at a cost out of proportion to the blessings, uproots the egoism (*ananiyah*) that is the devil's circle.[67]

[62]Moh. Miskun, *Mengobati Penyakit Mental yang Payah* (Garut: n.p., 1982), 1–3, 5.

[63]Miskun, *Mengobati Penyakit Mental*, 7–12.

[64]Muhammad Miskun Asy-Syatibi, "Khutbah Sunnah 'Idul Fithri 1403 H" (Garut: Darul Arqam, 1983), 1–6.

[65]Miskun Asy-Syatibi, "Allah Tempat Kembali Orang Mukmin" (Garut: n.p., 1984), 1–9. It is signed only with the initials "Masy."

[66]Abu Haniefah [Miskun Asy-Syatibi], *Miftahus Sa'adah* (Garut: Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, [1984]), 4, 7–26. The colophon dates it 26 Muharram 1405 H.

[67]Abu Haniefah [Miskun Asy-Syatibi], *Menggalakkan Ibadah Qurban* (Garut: Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1985), 1–13.

Tingkatan Orang-Orang Mukmin Merebut Kwalitas Muslim Kelas A'la (1985), a morning lecture for primary-school heads, offers a typology on Q. 35:32, drawing on 'Izzah Darwazah. The lowest class are those who wrong themselves (hypocrites, open refusers of Islam, and those steeped in sin); the middle class, *muqtashid* (in Sundanese, *puraga tamba kadengda*), perform worship merely to discharge a duty, attend a study session only to honour an invitation, and when they give alms choose the smallest sum or the worst garment; the highest, *sabiq bi'l-khayrat*, carry out duties wholeheartedly and prepare for worship with care.[68] *Istiqamah* (1989) then supplies the means. Steadfastness is a special favour granted to the chosen; it is walking the straight path without deviation, defined as following the Prophet's *sunnah*, cultivating praiseworthy character, and fencing off desire and innovation; its marks, after 'Ali Mahfuz's *Hidayat al-Mursyidin*, are patience in trial, avoidance of the useless, and forgiveness; and it is acquired by stages (*taqwin*, *iqamah*, *istiqamah*) that still require effort to keep.[69] The cluster closes with *Tujuh Butir Mutiara Akhlak* (Seven Pearls of Character, 1989), an exposition of the hadith on the seven groups whom God will shelter on the Last Day, a lecture also preserved in audio form and later posted online. Miskun reads the "just leader" as including the person who rules himself, with justice as proportion; treats youth as a vulnerable phase to be directed by parents toward becoming "pillars of civilization" (*rijal al-ghad*) rather than a generation that merely boasts of its history; describes the mosque as the pillar and leadership centre that bred leaders and jurists; and finds in love for God's sake, chastity (*'iffah*), and concealed charity the marks of integrity when no one is watching.[70]

Social life, 1985–1989. The next cluster applies the same theology to relations among people. *Faiza Faraghta Fanshab* (1985), whose title quotes Q. 94:7, urges Muslims to continue after Ramadan the work begun in it, reading Q. 13:21–22 as seven attributes of the people of understanding: keeping covenants, joining ties, fear of the reckoning, patience, steady prayer, spending openly and secretly, and repelling evil with good.[71] *Masalah Shilaturahmi* (1987) praises the Indonesian custom of Eid visiting as an Islamic cultural practice but criticizes the reduction of ties to an annual ritual; breaking them speeds punishment and breeds hatred, and severed ties must be mended by initiating help and reconciliation.[72] *Kejujuran dan Keterbukaan* (1988), of which only the first of two volumes was found, borrows from Tantawi Jawhari the diagnosis that the world's moral rot comes from three sources: Satan's arrogance, Adam's greed, and Cain's envy. Their social fruit, Miskun wrote, was armed conflict, struggles for power, rebellion, terrorism, and destructive competition; honesty and

[68]Abu Haniefah [Miskun Asy-Syatibi], *Tingkatan Orang-Orang Mukmin Merebut Kwalitas Muslim Kelas 'Ala* (Garut: Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1985), 1–18. The copy is incomplete.

[69]Moh. Miskun Asy, *Istiqamah* (Garut: PP Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1989), 1–14, 19–21.

[70]Muhammadiyah Jawa Barat, "Tujuh Butir Mutiara Akhlak Ceramah Kyai Miskun Asy-Syatibi Part 1," YouTube video, 21 January 2020, https://youtu.be/oxbEnAkHq1M; Muhammadiyah Jawa Barat, "Part 2," YouTube video, 2020, https://youtu.be/bxNH_1M8Cu0; Moh. Miskun Asy, *Tujuh Butir Mutiara Akhlak* (Garut: PP Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1989), 4–19. The colophon's Hijri date is inconsistent in the copy consulted, so the work is dated by its catalogue year.

[71]Abu Haniefah [Miskun Asy-Syatibi], "Faiza Faraghta Fanshab Usai yang Satu Tegakkan yang Lain" (Garut, 1985), 1, 3–14.

[72]Abu Haniefah [Miskun Asy-Syatibi], *Masalah Shilaturahmi* (Garut: Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1987), 1–12. The colophon gives 1 Shawwal 1407 H.

openness, the habits of the age of ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab, are the remedy, openness being the opposite of spying and backbiting and the condition of responsible correction.[73] The corresponding family text, *Menyiapkan Manusia Pembangunan dengan Putra Shaleh* (1989), connects the household to the nation: children become useful to Indonesia’s development only if four conditions hold together—pious parents who model conduct, a wholesome environment, good company (“the neighbour before the house, the companion before the road”), and the strength of religion, without which a young person’s moral order collapses.[74]

Organizational ideology, 1986–1987. In the mid-1980s Miskun also addressed Muhammadiyah’s identity at a time when Law No. 8 of 1985 on mass organizations required groups to adapt to state ideology. His opening address to the regional conference of May 1986 stated that Muhammadiyah would abide by valid law and the state philosophy and take part in national development toward the “whole Indonesian person and the whole society,” but also warned that the conference was not a formality, and urged members to live Q. 13:20–22 at the threshold of new work.[75] *Keikhlasan dan Kebersamaan* (1987), the full title of which declares sincerity and togetherness in action “the pillars of Muhammadiyah’s structure,” noted that the movement founded by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan had traversed three eras and was still far from its founding goals, and that gratitude therefore demanded deeper sincerity. Using al-Maraghi, he defined *ikhlas* as sameness of inner and outer action; following Ibn Qayyim, he named three inner obstacles—the wish for praise, expectation of reward, and self-satisfaction—and warned of the martyr, the reciter, and the donor condemned for insincerity.[76] *Prinsip-Prinsip Pokok Faham Agama dalam Muhammadiyah* (1987), issued by Muhammadiyah leaders in Garut on 6 October 1987 and surviving only partially, presents Muhammadiyah as a movement founded on Q. 3:104 and as a “vehicle” and instrument for living Islam, not a school or sect; its *tarjih* method rests on the Qur’an and *sunnah* with Islamic freedom of thought; ijtihad is permitted when four conditions are met (outside strictly devotional matters, a ruling is needed, there is no explicit and sound text, and the solution rests on shared causes), the gate of ijtihad stays open, and consensus (*ijma‘*) has not been discussed in the Tarjih council.[77]

Creed, 1988–1989. The three books that made Miskun’s name beyond the immediate circle deal with tawhid. *Tauhid Khalis* (Pure Monotheism), here in its third printing of March 1988 (144 pages, twelve sections), grew from leaflets and lectures of the 1970s given at Muhammadiyah training centres, drawing chiefly on works of Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab, and was intended to make learning easier for

[73]Moh. Miskun, *Kejujuran dan Keterbukaan* (Garut: PP Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1988), 1, 5–29.

[74]Mh. Miskun Asy, “Menyiapkan Manusia Pembangunan dengan Putera Shaleh dalam Kerangka Mengisi Kemerdekaan Republik Indonesia” (Garut, 1989), 1–6. The colophon dates it 28 Dhu al-Hijjah 1409 H (late July 1989).

[75]Moh. Miskun, “Muhammadiyah Menyongsong Hari Esok yang Lebih Baik” (Garut, 1986), 1–6. The source gives two dates (1–3 and 13 May 1986); the first fits the Sha‘ban 1406 H colophon.

[76]Moh. Miskun, *Keikhlasan dan Kebersamaan* (Garut, 1987), 1–18. Only the part on sincerity was found.

[77]Moh. Miskun, *Prinsip-Prinsip Pokok Faham Agama dalam Muhammadiyah* (Garut: Pimpinan Muhammadiyah Garut, 1987), 1–6.

students.[78] Defining tawhid as belief in God's complete oneness grounded in Surah al-Ikhlas and the principle (*usul*) by which worship is judged, it prescribes negation and affirmation (*nafy*, *ithbat*) as its conditions and identifies four nullifiers—*alihah* (reliance on powers other than God), *taghut* (objects of worship and obedience), *andad* (equals set beside God), and *arbab* (those who issue religious rulings contradicting Qur'an and *sunnah*)—and four sustainers: sincere intent (*qasd*), love with reverence (*mahabbah wa ta'zim*), fear (*khawf*), and hope (*raja'*). It requires faith in the heart, the tongue, and deeds, and distinguishes outward from inward worship and purity.[79]

Pamusyrikan Anu Nganafi'keun Tauhid (Shirk That Nullifies Tawhid, 1989), the Sundanese sequel of 266 pages and eighteen sections, itemizes the forms of shirk that Miskun believed ordinary Muslims commit unawares: amulets and seeking refuge in anything but God; consulting diviners, soothsayers, and astrologers; reading omens (*tathayyur*); seeking blessing (*tabarruk*) from kiai or gravestones; vows and oaths in the names of others; wealth-seeking rituals (*pesugihan*) and offerings; and also showy piety (*riya'*) and submitting to *taghut* judgments. It adds obedience to a ruler who makes the lawful unlawful, excessive veneration of the pious, and feeling secure from God's punishment.[80] *Perlunya Manusia Beragama* (The Necessity of Religion, 1989, 257 pages), built from the Radio Rex broadcasts, treats religion as a basic need like food and clothing; defines worship as total submission, general (all work for the common good) or specific (*mahdhah*, fixed by the Prophet's model); and, summarized in detail by Putri, explains the *tarjih* procedure, the rule that worship needs sound evidence while creed needs *mutawatir* evidence, the objectives of the law (*maqasid*), and the proportion of hardship to capacity, with Satan's deceit as the origin of difficulty.[81]

1990–1991: Development, Technology, and Leadership

The six texts of 1990–91 are explicitly aimed at the new circumstances of the late New Order. In his Eid al-Fitr sermon of 1410 H (April 1990), *Miara Kasucian (Fithrah) Diri*, Miskun told his Sundanese-speaking congregation that, like soldiers home from the battle with desire in Ramadan, Muslims returned to their natural purity, but that Indonesia was entering the fifth Five-Year Plan, the "Plan of Industrialization," which required mental toughness reinforced by religious values. Economic and industrial focus, he reasoned, breeds materialism and may drive people from the moral content of religion; technology brings both convenience and a flood of information, not all of it beneficial; and where material gain is the only standard, Marx's verdict that religion is the opium of the people would be vindicated by a society terrified of poverty. Fear of poverty (*khashyat al-faqr*) breeds miserliness, crime, and despondency; knowledge joined to firm mental and moral resolve would be a

[78]Abu Haniefah [Miskun Asy-Syatibi], *Tauhid Khalis* (Garut: PP Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1988), 5; Interview with Dikdik Dahlan Lukman, Bandung, January 20, 2025.

[79]Putri, "Peran Moh. Miskun," 50–54; Abu Haniefah, *Tauhid Khalis*, 39, 45, 52, 57, 72, 77, 80, 83, 92–94. Parts of this summary rest on Putri's detailed account.

[80]Abu Haniefah [Miskun Asy-Syatibi], *Pamusyrikan Anu Nganafi'keun Tauhid* (Garut: PP Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1989), i, 2–3, 32, 47, 56, 87, 97, 107, 131, 157, 173, 214–15, 231, 248. The seven principal forms are the grouping in the discussion consulted; the book distinguishes eighteen.

[81]Abu Haniefah [Miskun Asy-Syatibi], *Perlunya Manusia Beragama*, i–iii; Putri, "Peran Moh. Miskun," 56–61. The detailed contents rest on Putri's summary.

filter. Yet, he insisted, progress should not be stopped but met with preparation, because religion encourages gratitude for socio-economic capacity as an aid to faith.[82] *Islam Sareng Kasejahteraan Umat* (Islam and Social Welfare, Eid al-Adha 1410 H, 1990), also in Sundanese, argues that Islamic worship carries both vertical benefit toward God and horizontal benefit toward people, the latter receiving greater weight, as in sacrifice that feeds others; wealth contains others' rights, and Islam forbids wealth circulating only among the rich.[83]

Tabligh di Abad XXI (Preaching in the Twenty-First Century, September 1990) accepts change as *sunnatullah* and credits human reason with remarkable achievements, yet diagnoses secular tendencies in modern societies that cut life from the divine, forget the hereafter, and so lose ethical direction and slide into a new primitiveness; he used the story of Qarun in Q. 28:76–82 to depict exploitation, arrogance, and luxury. Invoking the Muhammadiyah Personality formula on involvement in social development with the aim of reform (*ishlah*), he urged that preaching be oral, command its material, hit its target, and fit the age (Q. 14:4); the obstacles—too few preachers, unreadiness, amateur management—called for more and better preachers, relevant reference literature, fundraising, and collective organization.[84] *Ilmu, Iman, sareng Taqwa ka Gusti Allah Mangrupa Dasar Pangwangunan* (Knowledge, Faith and Piety Are the Foundation of Development), the Sundanese Eid al-Fitr sermon of 1411 H (April 1991), responded to the destruction of the Gulf War as the work of science and technology unrestrained by moral and religious values, and asked parents to raise clever children grounded in faith and piety, who could contribute to Indonesia's industrializing development.[85] *Mari Bertahadduts Binni'mah* (1991) invites readers to see wisdom in every event, the pleasant and the unpleasant, as proof of a wide horizon and a step toward the "tranquil soul" (*nafs mutma'inna*), takes from the story of the Israelites the lesson not to choose only the leaders and laws one likes, and reads Q. 93:11 as a call to thank God with tongue, heart, and action.[86]

The most developed of the group is *Peningkatan Kualitas Pimpinan* (Raising the Quality of Leadership), the text of an address at the Garut regional conference of 28 June 1991. Miskun recalled the Qur'anic classification of persons into the Muslim (a minority of high piety), the unbeliever (the majority, blind of heart), and the hypocrite (a moderate number with a chronic disease of the heart), and, within the Muslims of Q. 35:32, the three classes familiar from 1985. He judged that leadership throughout the Muslim world and in Indonesia had degenerated because of *wahn*, the fear of death that strips authority, and cited Tantawi Jawhari for the three manias—wealth, power, and women—at the root of world disorder. The remedy was to cultivate persons of

[82]Mh. Miskun Asy, *Miara Kasucian (Fithrah) Diri* (Garut: PP Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1990), 1–10.

[83]Moh. Miskun, *Islam Sareng Kasejahteraan Umat* (Garut: PP Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1990), 1–7. The colophon dates it Dhu al-Qa'dah 1410 H, i.e., June 1990.

[84]Moh. Miskun Asy, *Tabligh di Abad XXI* (Garut: Pimpinan Daerah Muhammadiyah Garut, 1990), 1–11.

[85]Moh. Miskun Asy, "Ilmu, Iman sareng Taqwa ka Gusti Allah Mangrupa Dasar Pangwangunan" (Garut: PP Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1991), 1–7.

[86]Moh. Miskun Asy, *Mari Bertahadduts Binni'mah* (Garut: PP Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, 1991), 1–10, 14–23.

patience and conviction (Q. 32:24; 21:73), measured against the Prophet's leadership and the term used at Muhammadiyah's Forty-second Congress in Yogyakarta, "qualified," in religion, intellectual outlook, and commitment to the movement; the instruments are cadre programmes (Darul Arqam, Baitul Arqam, upgrading, refreshing, job training, special study sessions, and political education), described in two manuals of the Muhammadiyah cadre-formation board.[87]

Discussion

Practical Tawhid as an Organizing Idea

Read as a series, the occasional texts show more unity than their genres suggest. The doctrinal books define *tawhid* through negation and affirmation and name four inner sustainers of it—sincere intent, love with reverence, fear, and hope. The shorter ethical texts then take up the very same states of the heart and ask how they are damaged and repaired: love of the world and fear of death as the diseases (1982), obedience to divine law as the road to happiness (1984), the three grades of believer (1985), steadfastness as the discipline of keeping to the path (1989), and sincerity as the identity of inner and outer action (1987). This is the reasoning that the article terms *practical tawhid*. Creed is not merely held; it has to be exercised, and its exercise runs through the purification of the heart, through ethics, and finally through organization, which the 1987 text calls the "vehicle" of religion. Leadership, as the 1991 address shows, is the point at which the chain closes: the diagnosis of *wahn* from 1982 and the typology of believers from 1985 return as an explanation of why the Muslim community's leaders had lost authority.

In Lovejoy's terms, the unit-ideas persist while their application changes.[88] The persistence is real: the same three grades of believer, the same fear of death, and the same borrowing from Tantawi Jawhari for the moral roots of disorder recur across nine years. But Skinner's caution applies with particular force to occasional texts.[89] Because each text was prepared for a given audience, apparent coherence may owe something to the preacher's habit of reusing a repertoire, and the synthesis offered here is an interpretation of the corpus, not a claim that Miskun set out to compose a system. What the evidence supports is a stable core of ideas that he redeployed to meet different audiences and circumstances.

A Regional Voice within a National Movement

The 1979 blueprint shows how a regional leader translated a national mandate into a concrete institution. The Muktamar of 1975 had called for more ulama-training institutions; Miskun's paper supplied admission rules, a nine-year curriculum, a code of conduct, and a chain of responsibility to the regional leadership, and its reception in Jakarta suggests that Garut's experience was offered as input to a national concept rather than simply received from it. The organizational texts of 1986–87 are equally

[87]H. Moh. Miskun Asy, *Peningkatan Kualitas Pimpinan* (Garut: Pimpinan Daerah Muhammadiyah Garut, 1991), 1–22. The colophon gives Dhu al-Qa'dah 1410 H for a work of May 1991, evidently a slip for 1411 H.

[88]Lovejoy, *Great Chain of Being*, 3–23.

[89]Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding," 3–53.

self-aware. They speak as a regional leader to regional members, and they define Muhammadiyah as a vehicle for living Islam rather than a sect, with a *tarjih* method that remained open to ijtihad. The reported West Java practice of a single takbir in festival prayers, if it is correctly attributed to Miskun, illustrates the same stance in ritual: a regional adherence to what he judged sound evidence, even when it diverged from the central leadership. Because that claim rests on oral testimony alone, it is best held as an informants' account of how the region understood its own distinctiveness. This reading qualifies a view of regional Muhammadiyah leaders solely as implementers of central policy; in the corpus, at least, they appear as interpreters.

Moral Critique and Conditional Engagement under the New Order

The texts of 1983–1991 allow the political setting to be followed in some detail. The 1983 sermon uses the vice president's warning to claim that development without moral cleanliness would invite secularism and atheism; the 1986 address accepts the state philosophy and valid law in the year after Law No. 8 of 1985 while insisting that the conference not be a formality; the 1989 family text recruits children to "national development"; and in 1990–91 the sermons grapple with the industrialization planned for the fifth Five-Year Plan and with the Gulf War's demonstration of science unrestrained by values. The accent shifts. In 1983 development is a project to be judged by the moral condition of those who run it. By 1990 it is an inevitable course that must be met with preparation: progress "should not be stopped," though its materialism, its flood of information, and its fear of poverty require a counterweight in faith. Miskun does not name the government, and none of the texts located is a political critique. They are instead moral, and their moral language is addressed to the believer and the community rather than to the regime.

It would be easy to read this as accommodation, and on one level it was. Yet the pattern is more interesting than either co-option or opposition. By treating development as something Muslims must join in order to shape, the sermons give the state's own vocabulary a religious content and set a standard of moral cleanliness against which its agents could be measured. The audience matters: the two sermons of 1990–91 that address industrialization were scripted in Sundanese for festival congregations, which suggests that the engagement with state development reached ordinary worshippers in their own language. The texts cannot show how listeners received them, and, as Skinner would remind us, a preacher's invocation of an official statement may serve prudence as much as conviction. The documents establish what was said and to whom; they do not settle motive.

Vernacular Reform and Its Authorities

Language and authority are two sides of one question. The five Sundanese texts are concentrated where reform meets popular practice and public ritual: the Eid sermons, which reach the whole congregation, and *Pamusyrikan*, whose catalogue of shirk—amulets, divination, offerings, wealth-seeking rituals, blessing sought from graves—names the habits of ordinary Muslims. The Indonesian texts, by contrast, address students, mentors, leaders, and members of the organization. The choice of register therefore tracks audience and subject, and it complicates the assumption that modernist reform was transmitted mainly in Indonesian and Arabic. Within West Java

the label *kampung wahabi* that neighbours attached to Miskun's home village shows that reformist positions on belief and practice were already socially marked in his youth, and the vernacular catalogue of shirk may be read as a later, deliberate way of carrying that critique to an audience beyond the Muhammadiyah cadre.

The authorities he cited are equally revealing. On tawhid he drew on Ibn Taymiyya and, in *Tauhid Khalis*, on works of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab; on the heart and ethics on figures such as 'Ali Mahfuz, Mahmud Shaltut, and Tantawi Jawhari; on exegesis above all on al-Maraghi, and for the case for Arabic on Rashid Rida's *al-Manar*; among Indonesians, on Hamka and Ahmad Azhar Basyir. This is the repertoire of twentieth-century Islamic modernism, joined to a Hanbali-leaning doctrine of tawhid. What distinguishes Miskun is the way he assembles it: the doctrinal vocabulary of shirk and its nullifiers is placed in the same frame as modernist ethics and an organizational ideology, so that purification of belief is inseparable from the formation of cadres and the conduct of leaders. The family's recollection of his strictness about sound hadith and his wariness of customary grave visits is consistent with that profile, although these, too, are retrospective testimonies.

Historiographical Implications and Limits

The principal historiographical result concerns the kind of figure the kiai is taken to be. The "cultural broker" model and the later emphasis on charismatic agency direct attention to what the kiai does between village and state.[90] The local studies of Darul Arqam have, quite properly, emphasized institution building and *dakwah*.[91] Reading Miskun's texts adds a further role: he was an author who interpreted both doctrine and the state's development agenda for particular audiences, and who did so in the registers of the pulpit and the stencil machine. The corpus does not overturn the broker model; it shows that mediation was also performed through argument, and that the intellectual content of regional ulama work is recoverable when their ephemeral writings are collected.

Several limits qualify the argument. The located corpus is a sample, and the unlocated writings, including those of the 1990s, might alter the picture. Circulation and reception are almost wholly undocumented, so the texts speak of intention rather than effect. Three analyses of the doctrinal books depend on an earlier study's summary and are less secure than readings of texts consulted directly. The oral evidence comes from relatives and a former student whose positions in relation to the subject were not independent, and one informant's memory contained a demonstrable anachronism. Finally, the family's caution about circulating the texts means that the archive itself is partly a product of choices about how Miskun should be remembered. Further research in Muhammadiyah's regional and central records, radio archives, and alumni collections could test whether the continuities and shifts described here were distinctive to Miskun or shared more widely among his contemporaries.

[90]Geertz, "Javanese Kijaji," 228–49; Purnomo, *Kiai dan Transformasi Sosial*, 26, 80–82.

[91]Maemunah, "K.H. Mohammad Miskun Asy"; Fitriani, "Perkembangan Pesantren"; Putri, "Peran Moh. Miskun."

Conclusion

This article set out to reconstruct the formation and writings of K.H. Mohammad Miskun Asy-Syatibi and to ask what ideas those writings express, how those ideas persisted and changed between 1979 and 1991, and how they related to Muhammadiyah's agenda and the New Order setting. On the first question, the evidence shows a man shaped by the reformist neighbourhood of Pungkur, by teachers who gave him training in preaching, *tarjih*, and administration, and by a career that combined teaching, organizational office, radio preaching, and the direction of Darul Arqam. From that life came twenty-five located texts: one institutional blueprint, eighteen texts of the 1980s, and six of 1990–91, largely occasional in genre and written for internal publics.

On the second question, the writings articulate a project of practical tawhid in which pure belief, a healed heart, disciplined conduct, and committed organization depend upon one another. Its core ideas—the heart's diseases and cure, the grades of believer, steadfastness, sincerity, and organization as a vehicle—persisted across the period. What changed was their application: from the interior ethics of the early 1980s, through organizational statements that accepted state philosophy and law, to sermons in 1990–91 that made the moral conditions of industrial development their central concern. The texts engage the New Order through moral language, conditionally and without opposition, and they show regional initiative within Muhammadiyah in institution building, ritual practice, and the interpretation of doctrine.

The contribution of the study is, first, the documented and annotated inventory of Miskun's located writings. Its analytical contribution is the reading of those writings as a unified yet adaptive project, and its historiographical contribution is to show that regional ulama, usually studied as brokers and builders, can also be studied as authors whose stencilled sermons and booklets belong in the intellectual history of Indonesian Islamic reformism. The novelty lies in treating this vernacular and semi-private literature as primary evidence of ideas rather than as a by-product of institutional history.

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