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Chapter Three:

The Encouragement of PPME for Giving

In Islam, giving practices refer to the payment of both *zakāt al-fiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl*, both of which are obligatory for Muslims. The practices can also refer to *infāq* or *ṣadaqa* as voluntary donations. This sense can also be found in the Indonesian context in the terms *infāq* and *ṣadaqa* having similar meanings, i.e. voluntary gifts.⁴⁵⁶ In fact, “in the later history of Islam, *ṣadaqa* is traditionally used to mean only voluntary charitable donations....”⁴⁵⁷ In a wider sense, the term *ṣadaqa* can be regarded as giving both material (money, land, and buildings) and non-material (support, dedication, and commitment).⁴⁵⁸ “Giving” as the term used in this section refers to the usage of *ṣadaqa* in the wider meaning and as voluntary gifts, which are both material and non-material. The PPME itself has endeavoured to encourage its members and sympathizers to give their financial and non-financial assistance to realise its plans. This took place through both socio-cultural and infrastructural endeavours.

I. Socio-Cultural Endeavours

A. *Maulid Nabi* (1973)

The commemoration of *Maulid Nabi* (the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad) has always been flexible. That is to say, Muslims are not obliged to commemorate it on the exact date on which the Prophet was born, the 12th of *Rabi’u’l-Awwal* (the third month in the Islamic calendar). The decision about when to hold the commemoration is a pragmatic one. This is unlike the day on which the fast of *Ramadan* (for the feast of *‘īd al-fiṭr*) is broken,

⁴⁵⁶ M. Dawam Rahardjo, “Manajemen Zakat,” in Ditjen Bimas Islam dan Urusan haji, *Pedoman Pembinaan Bazis* (Depag: Jakarta, 1992), 5-6, Pengurus, *Lazis Paramadina* (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992), 8. See also Arskal Salim, *The Shift in Zakat Practice in Indonesia* (Thailand: Asian Muslim Action Network: 2008), 38.

⁴⁵⁷ Yusuf al-Qardawi, *Fiqh az-Zakat: A Comparative Study the Rules, Regulation and Philosophy of Zakat in the Light of the Qur’an and Sunna*, trans. Monzer Kahf (London: Dar al Taqwa Ltd., 1999), xlv-xlvi.

⁴⁵⁸ Hilman Latief, “Islamic Charities and Social Activism: Welfare, Dakwah and Politics in Indonesia,” (PhD Thesis, Utrecht, 2012), 33.

taking into consideration the decisions to be made on when the final day of *Ramaḍān* falls, and the sacrificial feast (*ʿīd al-aḍḥā*) that must be conducted on a fixed date, i.e. 10 *Dhu'l-ḥijja* (the 12th Islamic calendar month).⁴⁵⁹ Muslims follow the decisions of the Saudi Arabian government or those of their own government for the fixed festivals (this will be discussed in chapter 4).

There are Muslims who oppose celebrating the *maulid* which they consider *bid'a madhmūma* (a blameworthy innovation),⁴⁶⁰ for instance, reformists and adherents to the Maliki, rather than the Syafi'i, school of Islamic jurisprudence.⁴⁶¹ However, there are many Muslims, residing in both Muslim and non-Muslim countries, who celebrate the event.⁴⁶² The Prophet's birthday is frequently celebrated in the Javanese-Suriname Muslim community in the Netherlands.⁴⁶³ Likewise, the congregations of PPME The Hague, PPME Rotterdam, PPME al-Ikhlash in Amsterdam, PPME Heemskerk, and PPME Breda-Tilburg, hold festivities to mark the event.

PPME congregations sometimes celebrated the event by reciting a *kitāb* (Islamic book) known as *al-Barzanji Mawlid*, written by Ja'far ibn Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Karim.⁴⁶⁴ The recitation was led by those who were "well acquainted with *al-Barzanji* and have a good chanting voice."⁴⁶⁵ In 1973 the PPME celebrated the birth

⁴⁵⁹ See A. van Bommel, "The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations," in Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Dutch Society*, 128.

⁴⁶⁰ See Ahmad Haris, *Bid'ah dalam Literatur Islam*, 1st ed. (Ciputat: Referensi, 2012), 162.

⁴⁶¹ See N. J. G. Kaptein, *Perayaan Hari Lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW: Asal Usul dan Penyebaran Awalnya, Sejarah di Maghrib dan Spanyol Muslim sampai Abad ke-16/ke-10* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994), 43, 48 and 50; see also Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat (Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia)* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 97-98.

⁴⁶² See Kaptein, *Perayaan Hari Lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW*, 1.

⁴⁶³ See Van Bommel, "The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations," 128.

⁴⁶⁴ See N. J. G. Kaptein, "The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from Circa 1875 to 1930," in *Bijdrage tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149, no. 1 (1993): 125-126 and see "The Barzanji Mawlid," accessed 19 December 2011, <http://www.manaqib.com/v2/barzanji/imambarzanji/imambarzanji.html>.

⁴⁶⁵ See Muhaimin Abdul Ghoffir, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslims* (Jakarta: Litbang, 2004), 183.

of the Prophet Muhammad for the first time in the hall of the Indonesian Embassy (KBRI) in The Hague. As part of the events, the association presented a theatrical show with the theme “Umar ibn Khattab Embracing Islam and Becoming a Khalifa (Caliph)”. T. Rusli, a founder of the PPME, played the role of Umar,⁴⁶⁶ a brave and firm caliph who believed in justice and rights (*al-ḥaqq*). This theme was chosen in order that the PPME would inherit his character, thus stimulating it to implement Islamic principles in running its programs⁴⁶⁷ – as a reflection and an affirmation of PPME’s Islamic principles. To some extent, the choosing of such a theme can be seen as a response to the early Indonesian New Order’s strict control of *da’wa* activities (giving Islamic speeches) by Muslims, especially in Indonesia.⁴⁶⁸ Muslim activists in the beginning of Suharto Era were being marginalized by him, although they had cooperated with the government to fight against the Communist Party (PKI) in the Old Order (Sukarno Era) and in the murder of communists at the beginning of the New Order.⁴⁶⁹ On the other hand, the theme can be seen as a response to the socio-religious problems encountered by Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands, among them, their need for Islamic teaching⁴⁷⁰ as previously discussed in chapter 1.

The celebration in 1973 was attended by 359 people from the Netherlands and some from West Germany.⁴⁷¹ Many of those from the Netherlands were members of the PPI in the Netherlands. Others were teachers of Pajajaran University (West Java) and the University of Gajah Mada (Yogyakarta) who had been participating

⁴⁶⁶ See Van Bommel, “The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations,” 8.

⁴⁶⁷ See A. Wahid Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME pada Musyawarah Umum I*, 25-26 August 1973, PPME the Netherlands, The Hague, p. 7, and A. Hambali M., interview, 18 January 2011, The Hague.

⁴⁶⁸ See George Mct. Kahin, In Memoriam: Mohammad Natsir (1907-1993), in *Indonesia*, no 56 (October 1993): 165.

⁴⁶⁹ See A. M. Fatwa, “Taqwa dan Azas Islam hingga Titik Darah Terakhir,” in Panitia Pelaksana Hari-hari Besar Islam/Panitia Sholat Idul Fitri 1430 H., *Khotbah Idul Fitri 1430 H.*, Jakarta Pusat, 1983, 4-5.

⁴⁷⁰ A. H. Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008, The Hague.

⁴⁷¹ Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, 7.

in educational training hosted by Dutch universities.⁴⁷² In addition, members of PPME in the Netherlands and Muslim officials of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands also attended the celebration. Those from Germany were all PPME members.⁴⁷³ Thus, the participants were not only insiders (the members of the association), but also outsiders (Indonesian students, embassy staff and university teachers).

Given that there was no budget allocated by the PPME board for the commemoration,⁴⁷⁴ it was facilitated from other sources. For example, the event was held in the hall of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands.⁴⁷⁵ This was also seen as an endorsement by the embassy, despite there being no official or structural relationship between the two. Besides, celebrating such a commemoration was not part of the Embassy's tasks, especially, connected to educational and cultural affairs.⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, the students and staff who attended the commemoration demonstrated a willingness to take part in events organized by the association's board. For example, a group of students participated in sport activities, which included such things as table tennis and chess; and the universities' staffs acted as judges in essay competitions with Islamic themes.⁴⁷⁷ Their contributions requiring time and skills are all evidence of their non-material support for the celebration.

Subsequently, on 3 September 1995, the PPME board in the Netherlands celebrated the commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet.⁴⁷⁸ This commemoration, which was broadcast on a Dutch television by the Nederlandse Moslim Omroep (NMO, Broadcasting Organization for Muslims in the Netherlands),⁴⁷⁹ aimed to elicit

⁴⁷² See Sujatmo Martosuhardjo, *Laporan Tahunan 1971 KBRI Den Haag* ('s-Gravenhage: KBRI, 1972), 118-119.

⁴⁷³ Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, 7.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ See Martosuhardjo, *Laporan Tahunan*, 111 and 127.

⁴⁷⁷ Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, 7.

⁴⁷⁸ See PPME, *Proposal Pelaksanaan Peringatan Maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW*, 1416 H/1995, The Hague, n.p.

⁴⁷⁹ See M. Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-jawaban Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland*

financial donations for an Indonesian mosque in the Netherlands⁴⁸⁰ – Basri, a student of Leiden University acting as a member of PPME board in the Netherlands and committee of the commemoration, stated that it was a fund-raiser affair of PPME and therefore, it had to be an impressive event. No less than 500 people were invited to the celebration at the Grote Kerk in The Hague.⁴⁸¹ Speeches were made by Sa‘ad Syamlan, a member of HMI and of Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP, Party of Unity and Development). Quranic verses were performed by a well-known female reciter from Indonesia, Maria Ulfah and food was provided for all. Consequently, PPME hoped that much money could be collected from those who attended.⁴⁸² Having announced the aim of the event, together, especially with the officials of KBRI and the members of ICMI in the Netherlands, the PPME board led the collecting of donations from the attendants.⁴⁸³ The result was that € 909 were collected. Even though this amount fell short of what was needed to fund a place for worship – the cost of mosque was later known to be more or less € 534,090 (discussed in the following section of this chapter), the donations indicate a willingness of the guests to contribute and are another endorsement of the endeavors of the association.

Finally, a commemoration was held on 8 September 1996 to celebrate 25 years of the PPME’s existence. This event was held in conjunction with the celebration of the new Indonesian *al-Hikmah* Mosque and the 51st anniversary of Indonesian independence.⁴⁸⁴ A well-known Indonesian preacher, Zainuddin M. Z. was invited and *qasidah* music (religious chants sung to the rhythm of a *gambus*)⁴⁸⁵ was presented by Lembaga Seni dan Qasidah Jakarta Raya (Lasqi

Periode 1994-1996 (The Hague: PPME of the Netherlands, 1997), 9.

⁴⁸⁰ See PPME, *Proposal Pelaksanaan Peringatan Maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW*, 1416 H/1995, n.p.

⁴⁸¹ Hasan Basri, *Panitia Peringatan Maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW Tahun 1416 H/1995*, PPME The Hague, August 1995. n.p.

⁴⁸² Rudy Erfan, interview, 8 June 2009, The Hague.

⁴⁸³ Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, (The Hague: KBRI, 31 July 1997), 1.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Religious chant [usually] in Arabic, sung to the rhythm of a *gambus*, a six-stringed, plucked instrument of Arabic origin.

Jaya, Association for Arts and *Qasidah* of the Greater Jakarta). Furthermore, the best participant of the *Musābaqa Tilāwatil-Qur’ān* (MTQ, National Contest in Reciting the Qur’an) held by the Indonesian government, Nasrullah Djamaluddin, was also invited. As a result, about 1,500 people attended the celebrations which were held at the new Indonesian mosque⁴⁸⁶ that was under the supervision of the KBRI. This fact shows that the ambassador assisted PPME in providing a place for the celebration.

B. Summer *Sportdagen* (1973)

Recreational sports have long been a part of the socio-cultural activities of Muslim organizations in the Netherlands⁴⁸⁷ and have formed part of the PPME’s programmes since 1973. Sport as part of its commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet (1973) in cooperation with the Indonesian Embassy was an example.⁴⁸⁸ Up to present, sport remains a part of PPME’s activities.

PPME Amsterdam is much concerned with this sport programme and in fact, the board of PPME Amsterdam even developed a sport programme which has been running since 1997. Originally, the programme was called *barbeque dan budaya* (barbeque and culture),⁴⁸⁹ but in 2009 the board converted the name into *sportdagen* (sport days) and this is the name used today. The following is the comparison between the former and the latter sport programme.

The programme of *sportdagen* 1997 was held for two objectives. It had been mainly aimed at facilitating the children of PPME members to do sports together in a bid to improve their well-being, which, in turn, would improve their relations at home.⁴⁹⁰ For this aim, activities in the programme should be in accord with needs of the children from year to year. According to the

⁴⁸⁶ A. Supardi Adiwidjaya, “Wajah Indonesia dalam Milad PPME ke-25,” in *al-Ittihaad*, November 1996, 14.

⁴⁸⁷ Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 62-63.

⁴⁸⁸ See Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, n.p.

⁴⁸⁹ Sie Acara, *Laporan Kegiatan Musim Panas Barbeque dan Budaya Periode 1996-1997 PPME Cabang Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: PPME Amsterdam, 1997), 1.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

organizer of the *sportdagen*, this programme was a materialization of the Quranic verse of Chapter al-Nāzi‘āt (Those who tear out): “A provision for you and your cattle,” which encouraged the enjoyment of an environment in which sports were done while remaining focused on useful activities. This indicates the hope of PPME Amsterdam was that the *sportdagen* could make children more open to accepting their parents’ religious guidance,⁴⁹¹ but it is actually hard to achieve. This is because it is an annual program rather than, for instance, a routine monthly programme that may be more influential for the relation between the children and their parents. Alongside this first objective, the sports programme was a continuation of a previously organized family program called *berkumpul pada musim panas* (gathering on the summer weekends) aimed at enhancing the *silaturahmi* (human links) between PPME members and sympathizers. This meant that not only children, but also adults did sports. The facilitation of sports, along with an arts programme, have been important aspects of PPME’s endeavours. In addition to PPME members, sympathizers such as M. Luthfie and Zaenal, the Chief and Assistant Defence Attaché of the Indonesian Embassy for the Kingdom of the Netherlands, attended the gathering.⁴⁹² The chairman of PPME Amsterdam, Balbaid, highlighted that the attendance of officials from the Embassy in the *sportdagen* could go on in the following years to create familiarity between them and members of PPME Amsterdam.⁴⁹³

Unlike the one held in 1997, PPME Amsterdam’s *sportsdagen* programme held in 2009 was concerned much more with fund raising. It was advertised online and in the *at-Taqwa* Mosque. It called on men and women, young and old, to come and play their favourite sports such as football and volleyball. Outsiders were also welcome to participate. Consequently, officials from the Indonesian embassy, PCIM members and PIP PKS supporters joined the PPME members and took part in the day. It is worth

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 2.

mentioning that in addition to the sports on offer at this 2009 event, the board of PPME Amsterdam also organized selling foods, beverages, Islamic books and CDs, and herbal medicine. Traditional foods and beverages such as *rujak cingur* (raw fruit with peanut sauce), *bakso*, *soto ayam/kambing* (soup with chicken or goat), *siomay* (steamed ravioli filled with meat), *sate ayam and kambing* (sate made of chicken and goat), *cendol* (beverage made from coconut milk) and *bubur campur* (porridge).⁴⁹⁴ This was a marked difference with the 1997 event which focused much more on playing sports,⁴⁹⁵ rather than on making an effort to raise funds. For the *sportsdagen* programme of 2009, the board distributed tasks among its board and volunteers in order to put on a well-organized programme. It was seen as a fundraising opportunity. The profits gained from selling the foods and other products went to the organization and were used to contribute to the monthly mortgage payments (€ 2,700-3,000)⁴⁹⁶ on the recently purchased *at-Taqwa* (Piety) Mosque and its operational costs and maintenance (€ 500-700).⁴⁹⁷ Their commitment to providing assistance to the organization can also be seen from the statements of Rib Kasan (the former PPME treasurer) who told how his family went to the event early in order to deliver their food (*bubur campur*) to the organizers before the visitors arrived.⁴⁹⁸

C. *Halal Bihalal* (the Late 1980s)

According to Mas'udi of NU and Ahmad Zahro of the State Islamic University of Surabaya, the term *halal bihalal* was posed by Wahab Hasbullah of NU. This took place when Sukarno invited him during *Ramaḍān* of 1948 to solve a heated political situation in Indonesia, i.e. politicians blaming each other, thus, becoming disunited. Hasbullah's first advice was to hold *silaturahmi*, an Indonesian Muslim tradition in *ʿīd al-fīṭr*, but this term, according

⁴⁹⁴ A. Aziz Balbaid, interview, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.

⁴⁹⁵ Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, n.p.

⁴⁹⁶ Nina Maasdam, interview, Yogyakarta, 23 August 2011.

⁴⁹⁷ A. Aziz Balbaid, interview, 21 June 2009.

⁴⁹⁸ Rib Kasan, interview, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.

to Sukarno, was commonly known. Therefore, Sukarno preferred another term. Hasbullah then posed the term *halal bihalal* as realization of the *silaturahmi*, which aimed to be an effort to end the blaming of each other among the politicians; they should get together and forgive each other.⁴⁹⁹ It is clear that this *silaturahmi*, with the aim of forgiveness, is not an Arabic, but Indonesian, tradition.⁵⁰⁰

Today in Indonesia, the *halal bihalal*, which includes shaking hands and asking for forgiveness, is annually performed by Muslims (both men and women) in places of worship, offices, at home or other buildings.⁵⁰¹ It is a practice not without controversy; indeed, there is some debate among those knowledgeable of Islam about whether the activity is recommended or unlawful. Those who argue it is recommended believe that *silaturahmi* and the activity of forgiving one another, which are parts of the *halal bihalal*'s activities, are in accordance with Islamic teaching,⁵⁰² whereas others see it as prohibited, arguing that apologies should be made when necessary and not be limited to an annual event. Opponents also argue against the physical contact and shaking hands between men and women citing writings in the Salafi magazine, *as-Sunnah* (The Way of the Prophet Muhammad) and the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyya and al-Albani,⁵⁰³ both central figures in the Salafi *da'wa* movement.⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁹ Masdar Farid Mas'udi, "K. H. Wahab Hasbullah, Penggagas Istilah Halal Bihalal," accessed 9 December 2015, <http://pondoktrema.com/2015/07/17/kh-wahab-hasbullah-penggagas-istilah-halal-bi-halal/> and Edy M. Ya'kub, "Guru Besar UIN Surabaya: Patenkan Halal Bihalal," accessed 9 December 2015, <http://www.antarane.com/berita/508946/guru-besar-uin-surabaya-patenkan-halalbihalal>.

⁵⁰⁰ Nikolaos van Dam, "Makna Halal Bihalal," accessed 9 December 2015, <http://www.nikolaosvandam.com/pdf/interview/20071109nvdaminterview01id.pdf>.

⁵⁰¹ See Basit Wahid, "Bagaimana Merayakan Hari Raya Idul Fithri," in Abdullah Sabda et al. (eds.), *Suara 'Aisyiah*, no. 1, year 76, Yogyakarta, January 1999/Syawal 1419 H, p. 6.

⁵⁰² See M. Quraish Shihab, *Membumikan al-Qur'an: Fungsi dan Peran Wahyu dalam Masyarakat*, 23rd ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), 318-320.

⁵⁰³ See Anas Burhanuddin, "Pengertian Halal Bihalal dan Sejarahnya," accessed 31 December 2011, <http://kampungsala.wordpress.com/2011/09/04/menyingkap-keabsahan-halal-bi-halal/>.

⁵⁰⁴ Hasan, "From Apolitical Quitism to Jihadist Activism," 140 and 143.

In Indonesia, *halal bihalal* takes place during the ‘*id al-fiṭr*’ celebration (in the month of *syawwāl*, the Islamic month after *Ramaḍān*), after the fasting, in order to establish *silaturahmi* and to ask for forgiveness.⁵⁰⁵ There is no evidence (*dalil*) of this practice in the period of the Prophet Muhammad and is regarded as being beyond Arabic tradition. Also it is absent among other Muslim communities in the Netherlands, with the exception of those of Indonesian and Surinamese-Javanese origin. It has not been part of ‘*ibāda maḥḍa*’ (pure worship), i.e. Islamic worship in the narrow sense of the meaning.⁵⁰⁶ This means that there are no sacred religious ceremonies or rituals related to the *halal bihalal*, which is an adjustment to the socio-cultural and ethnic background of those who participate in it.

There have been, in principal, two sorts of *halal bihalal* activities. The main one includes reciting Quranic verses, Islamic lectures on subjects usually associated with the significance of fasting during *Ramaḍān*, forgiving each other, and about good deeds in the future, whereupon people approach each other, shake hands and state: “...*Mohon maaf lahir dan batin* (Forgive me for intentional and unintentional mistakes).”⁵⁰⁷ In addition, there are complementary activities. In the case of PPME in the Netherlands, entertainment and art performances are usually part of the *halal bihalal*; for example, the playing of Indonesian music with Islamic lyrics, the recitation of poems, and the performance of traditional dances are common additional activities.⁵⁰⁸

Halal bihalal has been held separately by each of the PPME branches since the late 1980s.⁵⁰⁹ Consequently, more than one

⁵⁰⁵ See Shihab, *Membumikan al-Qur’an*, 320.

⁵⁰⁶ A. H. Maksum, *Ukhuwwah Islamiyyah*, in *Al-Ittihaad*, 13 July 13, 1985, 2-4.

⁵⁰⁷ See Wahid, “Bagaimana Merayakan Hari Raya Idul Fithri,” 6.

⁵⁰⁸ *Al-Ittihaad*, no. 10, May-June 1986, 27; see also Seksi Publikasi dan Dokumentasi, *Ceramah Akbar dan Pagelaran Seni dalam Rangka Syukuran 40 Tahun PPME dan Halal Bihalal 1432 H.* (The Hague: PPME the Netherlands, September 2011), 2.

⁵⁰⁹ Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus*, 8; see also: A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1986-1988 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5*, 26-27 November 1988, 27 November 1988 (The Hague: PPME the Netherlands, 27 November 1988), 17-18.

celebration takes place in the Netherlands every year.⁵¹⁰ However, this has not always been the case. In 1986, for instance, a joint celebration was organized by PPME Rotterdam who invited PPME members from other branches to take part in the *halal bihalal*.⁵¹¹ On 21 February 1998 in a hall of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, the celebration was hosted by PPME Amsterdam,⁵¹² and on 20 November 2005 PPME Breda organized an event in Oosterhout. More recently, the board of PPME the Netherlands organized a celebration in Osdorp, Amsterdam on 18 September 2011 where all PPME members, with the exception of PPME Amsterdam, which is now called Euromuslim, were invited.

The 2005 *halal bihalal* meeting in Breda was an unusual one – it took place at a time when the conflict in the PPME Amsterdam came to the fore. In addition to its neutral position in the conflict, PPME Breda always liked to have a big *halal bihalal*, thus, becoming more interesting.⁵¹³ As was mentioned in chapter 1, its membership is small in number. It was held at Wilhelminalaan 57-59 in Oosterhout. It was attended by more than 300 people, including the congregation of PPME *ar-Rahman* Breda, PPME's central board, and the boards of PPME branches throughout the Netherlands as well as PPME sympathizers.⁵¹⁴ The working languages of the event, whose theme was “Through Halal Bihalal We Enhance Silaturahmi and Togetherness among Us,” were Indonesian and Dutch.⁵¹⁵ The PPME preacher, A. Naf'an Sulchan, strengthened the theme with an Islamic speech encouraging the audience: “Not to judge others, especially *mu'minun* (believers) as unbelievers or polytheists [the theme underlining the significance of unity among the congregation of PPME Amsterdam].”⁵¹⁶ He went on to stress: “Not to say that good deeds we have conducted are the best according to

⁵¹⁰ See *Zikra*, April 1998, 18.

⁵¹¹ *Al-Ittihaad*, no. 10, May-June 1986, 27.

⁵¹² See *Zikra*, April 1998: 18; see also *Iqra'*, January-February 1990, n.p.

⁵¹³ Hansyah (chairman of PPME Breda-Tilburg), telephone interview, 30 June 2008.

⁵¹⁴ PPME Breda, *Gastenboek Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman* (Breda-Tilburg: PPME, 2005), n.p.

⁵¹⁵ *Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman 20 November 2005 PPME Breda*, CD-ROM.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Allah. Therefore, even though you [the congregation of the PPME] have chosen me as *imam*, this by no means guarantees that my deeds are better than those of you [those who have been learning Islam from him]. The judgement is the right of Allah, The Real Judge.”⁵¹⁷ While delivering his statements, the *imam* cited a Quranic verse (Al-Mulk: 2): “...Wa-’l-ḥayāta li-yabluwakum ayyukum aḥsanu ‘amalan... (...And life that He may try you which of you is best in deed....”⁵¹⁸ His speech clearly aimed at emphasizing the significance of respect for others, which would lead to togetherness, something that was threatened at that time regarding PPME Amsterdam.

The disunity among the followers of PPME Amsterdam did not prevent PPME’s congregations or disputing members of PPME Amsterdam boards from endorsing Breda as hosts of the *halal bihalal* in Breda. They were still willing to assist the Breda board. Firstly, the organizing committee (made up of PPME Breda members) took the initiative to continue with the *halal bihalal* tradition and PPME’s boards and members donated their financial assistance and provided food beyond PPME Breda’s disposal (€ 2,500), for instance, *semur* (dish of meal stewed with chicken), *gado-gado* (vegetables), *rendang* (stewed beef), *sambal terasi* (sauce made with shrimp paste), fried rice, and *lemper* (sticky rice) were served. They were under no obligation to be involved, but they wanted to ensure the success of the event and to maintain this PPME tradition. In addition to the financial donations made by PPME Breda’s congregation, the boards and the members of PPME Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Heemskerk also provided donations in order to ensure the success of the tradition. As a result, € 980 were collected in a box especially put there for this purpose. This amount certainly reduced the expenses of the committee; for instance, they were able to cover the cost of leasing the hall, which were more than € 800.⁵¹⁹

Finally, in addition to traditional dances performed by the

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

PPME's younger generation, a *qasidah* group, *as-Salaam* (Peace), which was recommended by the members of PPME Rotterdam, and al-Jama'atul Hasana – an Islamic organization of a Surinamese-Javanese congregation, formed in 2003 by Johnny Kasijo, a PPME Rotterdam member keen to develop cultural activities⁵²⁰ – played music and songs with Islamic lyrics. Playing tambourines and a guitar, the group started with playing the music of *ṣalawāt* (praise for the Prophet Muhammad), followed by a Sundanese song entitled *Es Lilin* (Popsicle). The original lyrics of this traditional song about a lady who is ashamed to tell a man that she had fallen in love with him were partly replaced by the *ṣalawa*: “*Allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā sayyidinā wa mawlānā Muḥammadin* (God, bless the Prophet Muhammad).” Another song was the Javanese *Gambang Suling* (Xylophone-and flute-like instrument) whose original lyrics tell about the nice sound of the instruments when it was played. The lyrics were, then, replaced with those inviting listeners to recite the Quran and learn about Islam.⁵²¹

It is worth noting that the music group did not receive money for their performance. The idea of commercializing *qasidah* was not in line with the ideals of the group's founder, Kasijo, who wanted to propagate Islam through music and found the idea of obligatory payments for the group's performance distasteful.⁵²² He believed in culturally developing PPME's activities, especially in Rotterdam, rather than financially.

D. *Istighotsah* (2001)

Istighotsah in the form of intercessory prayers asks not only for God's protection, but is also an appeal for His assistance in solving problems experienced in the here and now by the reciters themselves, their families, or those experiencing difficulties.⁵²³

⁵²⁰ Johnny Kasijo, interview, Rotterdam, 15 January 2011.

⁵²¹ *Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman PPME Breda 2005*, CD-ROM.

⁵²² Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁵²³ See Munawwir Yamin, *Istighotsah dalam Perspektifas-Sunnah* (Jakarta: MUI, 2007), 21 and 63, Muḥammad ibn Salih al-‘Uthaymin, *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok*, 95, and see See Ronald Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java* (New York and England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 4-5.

Istighotsah is the recitation of a given package of prayers; it is longer and more varied than *tahlilan* (reciting a certain package of intercessory prayers including the words of *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, usually performed to pray for the deceased). It also includes reciting God's names (*asmā' al-ḥusnā*). PPME's *yasinan* and *tahlilan* activities are frequently performed as an introduction to the *istighotsah*. In the *istighotsah*, the names of those who serve as the *wasīla* (the spiritual mediator) such as the Prophet Muhammad, his companions, certain saints, well-known *ulama*, and teachers, a ritual known as *tawassul*, are recited. According to Abdurrahman Wahid, this *wasīla* is exerted in the hope that the intercessory prayers recited directly to God will be accepted by Him.⁵²⁴ In addition, attendants of this ritual recite the *sholawats* (praise for the Prophet Muhammad) of the so-called *munjiyya* (*sholawat* to be safe from disaster and achieve goals both in the worldly life and the hereafter) and *nāriya* (*sholawat* to solve a problem, relieve sadness, and achieve a goal). These kinds of *sholawats* are frequently practiced by those who are fond of performing *yasinan*, *tahlilan*, and *istighotsah*. The *munjiyya* has a more general content and is recited as an introductory *sholawat* for any prayer, whereas the *nāriya* is mainly recited when confronted with problems.⁵²⁵ The *istighotsah* takes more time and, according to the tradition of *Qadiriyya* Sufism, it is performed loudly.⁵²⁶ Such a ritual does not signify that the performing of the traditionalist practice should adhere to the way of a certain Islamic sufism or mysticism strictly. In PPME, it is guided only by a knowledgeable person and is not necessarily guided by a *murshid* (guide) such as the Turkish *Sūlainmanli* sufis who lead in the Netherlands adhering to *Naqshabandi* brotherhood and using

⁵²⁴ See Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat (Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia)* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 20-21 and 262-263.

⁵²⁵ See Mahrus Ali, *Mantan Kiai NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik (Nariyah, al-Fatih, Munjiyat, Thibbul Qulub)* (Surabaya: Laa Tasuk!, 2007), 33-38, 69-72, and 153-156; see also Tim Bahtsul Masail PC NU Jember, *Membongkar Kebohongan Buku Mantan KIAI NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik (H. Mahrus Ali)* (Jember: LBMNU, 2008), 4-21, and 126-136.

⁵²⁶ See Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 20-21 and 262-263.

spiritual genealogy,⁵²⁷ i.e. mentioning their spiritual ancestors.

Muslim reformists in Indonesia considered the recitation of *tawassul* and *sholawats* as a religious activity that leads to *shirk* (polytheism).⁵²⁸ The debates surrounding this subject remain heated, as can be seen from two recent publications on the issues of *tawassul*, *istighotsah*, and reciting the *sholawats*. The first book, entitled *Mantan Kiai NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik: Nariyah, al-Fatih, Munjiyat, Thibbul Qulub* (A Former Kyai of NU Criticizes the Reciters of *Sholawat* and Polytheist Chants: Solving, Opening, Salving, and Peace-making *Sholawat*), was published in 2007 and written by Mahrus Ali.⁵²⁹ The second book is entitled *Membongkar Kebohongan Buku Mantan KIAI NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik* (Revealing the Lies of the Book “Mahrus Ali Criticizes the Reciters of *Sholawat* and Polytheist Chants”) and was published in 2008. It was written by a team from the Jember branch of the NU – a team devoted to the *Baḥṡh al-Masāil* (Discussion on Cases) – and is a response to the first book that is said to discredit the traditions of the NU.⁵³⁰ In fact, these issues have been a source of tension between Indonesian traditionalists and reformist Muslims since before Indonesian independence in 1945.

Consequently, the reformist-oriented followers of the PPME have never accepted the tradition of *istighotsah*. For this reason, following the schism in PPME Amsterdam in 2005, the ritual was no longer performed by the branch of PPME. This branch’s opponents of the ritual believe it leads to *shirk* and they refused to allow the activity to take place in their new building purchased in 2005. Their repudiation of the traditionalist ritual was in accord with their Salafi-oriented Islamic preacher, Khoirul Muttaqin living in Depok, West Java, who was invited for their *Ramaḍān* programme of the year (discussed in chapter 6). Afterwards, the practice

⁵²⁷ Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 91.

⁵²⁸ See Ali, *Mantan Kiai NU*, 33-38, 69-72, and 153-156; see also Tim Bahtsul Masail PC NU Jember, *Membongkar Kebohongan*, 4-21, and 126-136.

⁵²⁹ See Ali, *Mantan Kiai NU*, 33-38, 69-72, and 153-156.

⁵³⁰ See Tim Bahtsul Masail PC NU Jember, *Membongkar Kebohongan*, 4-21, and 126-136.

was no longer found in the branch activity. They suggested its proponents to perform it elsewhere – a suggestion refuted by the latter resulting in a rift. Consequently, those PPME followers who joined PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam and who still wanted to perform *istighotsah* had to do so in another place.

In the beginning of 2001, various PPME congregations performed the intercessory prayers.⁵³¹ This was done during a period when Abdurrahman Wahid, the President of the Republic of Indonesia and a proponent of traditionalist devotions,⁵³² was facing calls for impeachment in the Indonesian Legislative Assembly (DPR) during its session in July 2001.⁵³³ The congregations in the Netherlands, in accordance with the aims of *istighotsah*, used the opportunity to appeal for God's help in providing a solution to the political difficulties Wahid was encountering. The congregation of PPME The Hague performed it at the end of each month, whereas others, including members of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam, conducted their prayers at the beginning of each month.⁵³⁴ The timing was generally dependent on the arrangements of the boards of the branches. In performing the *istighotsah*, the congregations were sincere because they were seriously concerned about the destiny of the president. The rationale for this enthusiastic non-material support of Wahid is the fact that he is a founder of the PPME.

PPME al-Ikhlash also used to exert the *istighotsah* for material giving. For instance, the one that was performed on 4 December 2010. In this *istighotsah*, various refreshments were sold to elicit financial donations for the victims of the earthquake that took place in Padang, West Sumatra on 25 October 2010. Approximately 200 members of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam's congregation were invited to attend the solidarity event held at al-Ameen School in Amsterdam. After the *istighotsah* prayers had been recited, €

⁵³¹ T. Thoha Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 2000-2002* (The Hague: PPME, 1 September 2002), 7.

⁵³² A. Aziz Balbaid, interview, The Hague, 7 April 2011.

⁵³³ Andrée Feillard, "Indonesian Traditionalist Islam's Troubled Experience with Democracy," in *Archipel* 64 (2002): 126-127.

⁵³⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban*, Appendix 9, p. 2.

2,000 were collected.

II. Infrastructural Endeavours

In their early arrival, Muslim communities in Europe encountered financial difficulty to have a place of worship.⁵³⁵ PPME was not an exception in this regard. In order to alleviate the problem of its financial shortage, the PPME made efforts. To discuss these efforts, this section will deal with how the PPME endeavoured to encourage people to contribute to acquire the *Muṣalla* of *al-Ittihaad* (Unity), the Mosque *Tafakkoer* (Reflection), the Mosque *at-Taḳwa* (Piety), and to provide assistance to have the Mosque *al-Hikmah* (Wisdom). It is worth noting that other sides who were involved in the effort to have the places of worship originated from the Netherlands, as well as Indonesia.

On 11 November 1972, a plan to establish a mosque for the Islamic Umma in The Hague was proposed by a PPME team under the coordination of Idris Bakri.⁵³⁶ This team was also tasked with investigating ideas for developing links with other Muslim communities in the city and searching for international donors.⁵³⁷ While they were not particularly successful in this regard, contacts were made with Islamic institutions in Saudi Arabia and with DDII between 1973 and early 1974. This resulted in a promise from A. Harjono of the DDII to submit the plan to establish the mosque to *Rābiṭatu al-‘Ālam al-Islāmī* (The World Muslim League).⁵³⁸ When in early 1974 there still had been no positive response from the DDII, plans for an *muṣallā* or *gebedsruimte* (prayer room) came to the fore on 14 July 1974. To realise this, in mid-October 1974, PPME’s board organized the performing of *‘id al-fiṭr* prayers at Daguerrestraat 60 in The Hague. This event resulted

⁵³⁵ W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, “Blaming the System or Blaming the Victims? Structural Barriers Facing Muslims in Western Europe,” in Shadid and Van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 16-17 and J. D. J. Waardenburg, “Muslim Associations and Official Bodies in Some European Countries,” in *Ibid.* 31.

⁵³⁶ Sekretaris, *Laporan Kegiatan PPME Akhir ini*, April 30, 1973 (The Hague: PPME, 1973), n.p. and see Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 20 April ’74, 2, PPME, The Hague.

⁵³⁷ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 11 November 1972, PPME, The Hague.

⁵³⁸ Sekretaris, *Program Kerja dan Pelaksanaan DPP PPME September 73-Maret 74*, April 1974 (The Hague: PPME, 1974), 2.

in donations of € 364 from the congregation and sympathizers who attended (more than 150 people), both Indonesian and non-Indonesian. The latter were people of Surinamese-Javanese origin.⁵³⁹

The October meeting stimulated PPME's board to do more to provide a mosque.⁵⁴⁰ For a start, on 10 November 1974, the central board of the PPME took over the task of establishing the mosque from the original team that had not made a major contribution to the plan for establishing a place of worship. This change also meant that the mosque would also eventually function as the secretariat of the PPME.⁵⁴¹ The idea of providing a mosque had made progress by 1975. A decision to fund the project by taking out a mortgage was made at a meeting on 29 March 1975.⁵⁴² In spite of the fact that only € 2,273 had been raised from members and donors by July 1976, the PPME board reasserted that The Hague was to be the central city for the organization's activities and its worship.⁵⁴³ Then, the board materialized its mortgage from a bank in the Netherlands in the beginning of the 1980s. This realization stimulated the board to provide places of worship, or centres of activities, for its branches in other big cities in the Netherlands such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the following years.

A. *Al-Ittihaad* (1982)

Al-Ittihaad, which no longer exists, was a *muṣallā* in The Hague. Originally, it had been utilized as a café. The building at the Daguerrestraat in The Hague was bought on 1 October 1982 for € 27,430. € 5,455 had been donated by members and sympathizers and the rest was borrowed from the ABN AMRO Bank. The *muṣallā* was inaugurated on 13 July 1985.⁵⁴⁴ The property is one floor of 75

⁵³⁹ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 Oktober '74, 1, PPME, The Hague.

⁵⁴⁰ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 10 November 1974, 9, PPME, The Hague.

⁵⁴¹ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 Oktober '74, 2, PPME, The Hague and see also Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 10 November 1974, 9, PPME, The Hague.

⁵⁴² Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 29 Maret 1975, PPME, The Hague.

⁵⁴³ Sekretaris, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 13.

⁵⁴⁴ This late inauguration of the *muṣalla* was because PPME members heatedly debated the law of the inauguration, *bid'a* (innovation) or *mubāḥ* (allowed). A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986), 13.

square metres and consists of three rooms: a kitchen, a secretariat room, and a meeting room. This space was considered insufficient, in particular for Friday prayers and the prayers of ‘*id al-ḥiṭr*’ and ‘*id al-adḥā*.⁵⁴⁵ It is worth mentioning that the organization for this *muṣalla* was not the responsibility of the PPME board in The Hague, but its own board made up of members of the The Hague branch. As a consequence, the congregation of this branch and its sympathizers frequently made use of the space for their religious and socio-cultural activities.



Picture 1. The prayer hall of the *Muṣallā of al-Ittiḥād*. Source: Collection of Muhammad Hisyam.

As mentioned, the *muṣallā* was purchased at the end of 1982; the culmination of the efforts by PPME boards since the 1970s including the collecting of *infāq* (donations), which is, in sense of time, easier than the obligatory *zakāt* (almsgiving) to spend⁵⁴⁶ from among the congregations in The Hague in this period. In 1975, €

⁵⁴⁵ A. Naf'an Sulchan, "Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittiḥād," in *al-Ittiḥād*, 1985, 13 and see A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986), 13.

⁵⁴⁶ See Edien Bartels, "Ritueel en religieuze beleving," in Douwes, De Koning, and Boender (eds.), *Nederlandse moslims*, 60.

2,272 could be collected. This amount resulted from the donated funds during their participation in the prayers at *tarāwīḥ*, *‘īd al-fitr*, *‘īd al-aḍḥā* and during the Friday prayers organized by the board of PPME.⁵⁴⁷ As a result, around € 5,455 could be collected by the early 1980s.⁵⁴⁸ Subsequently, the project to provide a place of worship was placed in the PPME’s short programme for the period 1981-1983 and was confirmed in a meeting on 2 May 1982 that was also attended by representatives of other Islamic organizations in The Hague, including POI and Djam‘iyyatul Islam al-Fatah Nederland (DIAN, Pioneer Islamic Organization in the Netherlands). This gathering took place at Jan Hendrikstraat 3, The Hague. During the meeting, a committee was formed to realise the plan. It had nine members and was chaired by Husny Abdur Razak, a leading figure of PPME Rotterdam.⁵⁴⁹

In addition to collecting donations during the regular weekly and annual religious activities mentioned above, PPME preachers, such as A. H. Maksum, Naf’an Sulchan, Surya Alinegara, and M. Syukur, donated a portion of the fees they received for participating in the *mimbar Jum‘at* (Friday forum) of a radio programme that was produced and broadcast by the *Indonesische afdeling* of Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (Indonesian Section of Radio Netherlands Worldwide) from 1977 to the early 1990s. Each preacher earned € 23 for five minutes of broadcasting; for a period of 13 years, they all donated half of these fees, i.e. about € 136 per month, to the PPME board.⁵⁵⁰ Their financial contribution was aimed at reducing the board’s financial burden of paying the monthly payment of € 364.⁵⁵¹ An agreement was made between the programme coordinator, Sudji, and the PPME for the preachers’ fees to be paid directly into PPME’s bank account. The organization then paid the preachers the remainder of their money⁵⁵² (their

⁵⁴⁷ Sekretaris, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 13.

⁵⁴⁸ Sulchan, “*Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad*,” 13.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid. 10-11.

⁵⁵⁰ A. Naf’an Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 13 February 2011.

⁵⁵¹ Sulchan, “*Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad*,” 13.

⁵⁵² A. H. Maksum, interview, The Hague, 18 January 2011.

cooperation will be discussed in chapter 5).

However, the financial support from the Islamic preachers was not enough. Therefore, PPME did an activity, which went beyond the usual socio-religious activities of *muṣallā*-based associations in the 1980s in the Netherlands,⁵⁵³ to cover the monthly obligations. The boards of the PPME decided to publish a bulletin called *al-Ittihaad* in order to raise additional funds. One thousand copies of the bulletin were published, bimonthly from 1984, and were sold for more than € 1 per copy. The bulletin was offered not only to PPME congregations, but also to sympathizers residing both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia. Many of those who bought it were Muslim officials of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands or for Islamic organizations in Indonesia; *al-Ittihaad* did not go beyond the character of ‘Muslim media’ whose main target were Muslim communities.⁵⁵⁴ This endeavour resulted in sales amounting to, on average, € 1,136 per publication; however, it cost € 1,250 to produce each issue.⁵⁵⁵ Thus, the exercise failed in terms of its aim to reduce the burden of the monthly payment to the bank.

In response to the problem, the PPME boards decided to offer some advertising space in the bulletin to Garuda Indonesian Airways. The manager of Garuda in the Netherlands agreed to the deal and in return for advertisements in the bulletin, they offered to transport 500 copies of the PPME’s Islamic calendars, which had been printed in Indonesia, to the Netherlands – a mutually beneficial arrangement. The calendars, which cost € 909 to print, were sold for € 4.5 each.⁵⁵⁶ The profit from selling the calendars amounted to € 1,363. This meant that the shortfall of € 113 for each publication of *al-Ittihaad* (or more or less € 682 per year) was covered.

⁵⁵³ Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 62-63.

⁵⁵⁴ Rigoni, “Access to Media for European Muslims,” 118.

⁵⁵⁵ See A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1986-1988 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5 26-27 November 1988 di Amsterdam* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 35-36; see also: A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 16-17.

⁵⁵⁶ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1986-1988*, 36-38.

The facts show that it was heavy work for PPME to have a *muṣallā* requiring financial support of outsiders. This enabled PPME to meet its mortgage obligation of paying the monthly payment until it was finally paid off at the end of 1986.⁵⁵⁷

B. *Al-Hikmah* (1996)

Most of mosques in the Netherlands were established as a result of financial support from a variety of sources such as the government of a country from which Muslims originate or live, an Arab country, or individual donations.⁵⁵⁸ For example, the Moluccan Mosques of Baiturrahman in Ridderkerk (1984) and An-Nur in Waalwijk (1990), were built as a result of funding by the Dutch government.⁵⁵⁹ Unlike the Moluccan mosques, *al-Hikmah* Mosque was the effort of a single individual. This mosque, which was originally a church (*Immanuëlkerk*) situated at Heeswijkplein 170-171 in The Hague, was purchased on 1 July 1996 by Probo Sutedjo, the owner of the Mertju Buana Company in Indonesia and the younger brother of former President Suharto. It was Probo Sutedjo's *waqf* (religious endowment), not that of his elder brother Haris Sutjipto, intended to become an Islamic centre in Europe. It was purchased for Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. It is roughly 3,250 square metres and cost € 534,090.⁵⁶⁰ On instruction of Sutedjo as the owner of the mosque, the Indonesian Embassy, rather than, for instance, Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (ICMI, Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectual) or PPME, was given authority to organize and run its activities.

The mosque is managed by the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands which has set up a board specifically for this task comprised of embassy officials and a number of leading figures

⁵⁵⁷ See Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 13.

⁵⁵⁸ See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 50, and see also Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 42.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 36-37; see also Antje van der Hoek, *Religie in ballingschap: Institutionaliseren en leiderschap onder christelijke en islamitische Molukkers in Nederland* (Amsterdam: VU Publisher, 1994), 187-188.

⁵⁶⁰ Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 1-9.

of the Indonesian Muslim community in the country.⁵⁶¹ Thus, while the mosque does not belong to the Indonesian government, it is under the supervision of the Indonesian embassy and the chairperson of the board of the mosque is always an official of the embassy.



Picture 2. The prayer hall of *al-Hikmah* Mosque. Source: Author's collection.

Despite the fact that the mosque is under the management of the Indonesian Embassy, a number of leading PPME figures are members of the mosque's board. This is because the existence of the mosque cannot be separated from the efforts of the PPME leaders who, since the early 1970s, were determined to provide its congregations with a mosque. The chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands, Saiful Hadi, asserted that the top priority of ICMI, i.e. having a mosque, was in favour of the PPME endeavour.⁵⁶² A lack of funds, however, meant that an initial step was to purchase a *muṣallā*, the *al-Ittihaad*, in the 1980s. Subsequently, in 1992, Bintoro Tjokroamidjoyo, the Indonesian Ambassador to the Netherlands at that time, visited the *muṣallā*. During this visit, he was informed by the PPME's board of their intention to have a mosque in The Hague as the *muṣallā* was no longer adequate for their needs, especially for performing Friday prayers and the

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 19.

⁵⁶² Saiful Hadi, interview, Jakarta, 23 June 2010.

prayers of *tarāwih*, *‘id al-ḥiṭr* and *‘id al-aḍḥa*. The intention of PPME to have a bigger place of worship either by acquiring a building, or even by building a new one indicates that the association would try to provide a place of worship not ‘on a temporary basis,’ in the sense of renting a building.⁵⁶³ However, this does not mean that there is a permanent solution for such a problem. When the building or place of worship is too small and no longer enough for a congregation’s socio-religious activities because of the increasing number of members, they will certainly look for, or build, a bigger one. Furthermore, the ambassador was also told that a similar project would be started in Amsterdam. Following the visit, the Vice-Ambassador, Malikus Sualim, indicated that the Indonesian Embassy was in favour of the plans.⁵⁶⁴ Following the positive response, at a regional meeting (*musyawarah wilayah*) the board formed the Kelompok Kerja Perencana/Pengembangan Mesjid (KKP2M, Committee for the Planning and Development of a Mosque), comprising of A. H. Maksu, A. Aziz Balbaid, Slamet Widjoatmodjo, G.E. Rijono Soedarso, and Rudy Erfan. The tasks of this team were: to investigate the possibility of developing the *al-Ittiḥād* or purchasing a mosque or *muṣalla* for PPME’s branches; to form a committee for the building of a mosque; and if possible, to raise funds in order to realise these plans. Given the huge sum of money required to acquire a mosque (€ 590,909),⁵⁶⁵ on 1 October 1995 the team decided that PPME Amsterdam would first acquire a mosque. In addition, following consultations with the Ambassador and his deputy, the team was broadened to include Sofjan Ollong, the advisor for religious affairs at the Indonesian Embassy and Saiful Hadi, the head of the Islamic Association for Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) in The Netherlands, as advisors to the

⁵⁶³ Shadid and Van Koningsveld, “Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands,” in Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 89.

⁵⁶⁴ A. Naʿan Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 27 November 1994), 12.

⁵⁶⁵ PPME dan Masyarakat Islam Indonesia Nederland, *Project Proposal: Rencana Pembangunan Mesjid Masyarakat Islam Indonesia di Nederland* (The Hague: PPME, n.y.), n.p.

team. In a proposal written for the provision of places of worship, the task of the team was described as: “to purchase a *muşallā* for PPME Amsterdam as a short term object; and to purchase a mosque for PPME in The Hague as a long term one.”⁵⁶⁶

Having included the Indonesian Embassy and ICMI in its effort to have a mosque, the PPME was encouraged to realise its goal of establishing a mosque in The Hague by approaching Probo Sutedjo. This was determined in order to achieve the goal of founding a mosque in The Hague quickly. In fact, less than six months after meeting Sutedjo and a year after their campaign to raise money at the commemoration of the Prophet’s birth,⁵⁶⁷ PPME’s congregation, along with embassy staff and members of other Indonesian Muslim associations and communities, witnessed the establishment of their much craved for Indonesian mosque. Certainly, the support for the project from top embassy officials and ICMI’s board, as well as the meeting of Rosyidi (a fundraiser for the mosque committee and an official of the diplomatic protocol section at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands)⁵⁶⁸ with Sutedjo, were all factors in the quick realization of the project. A few months after the campaign to establish a mosque in The Hague was launched at the Grote Kerk, Rosyidi said that he could arrange a meeting with the family of Sutedjo who was accompanying Haris Sutjipto to the Netherlands where Sutjipto was seeking treatment at the Leiden Hospital. In fact, as an official of the embassy, Rosyidi had facilitated the transportation of the elder brother to the hospital and was, therefore, able to communicate with the family of Sutedjo and Sutjipto. This relation intensified as Rosyidi provided religious

⁵⁶⁶ Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 21 June 1997), 11; see also: KKP2M PPME Wilayah Nederland, *Laporan/Permohonan kepada Bapak Duta Besar RI untuk Kerajaan Belanda di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 3 November 1995), 1-2.

⁵⁶⁷ Rudy Erfan, interview, The Hague, 8 June 2009.

⁵⁶⁸ Pertaining to the effort of PPME through the Indonesian embassy to have a mosque in The Hague, Rosyidi was a key source because his position enabled him to meet important and rich persons from Indonesia. His significant contribution is acknowledged by De Weerd (the chairman of PPME), Sulchan, Maksum and Erfan (a former college of Rosyidi in the Indonesian Embassy). During my field work in the Netherlands, there were no key sources other than Rosyidi in that effort.

guidance and counselling to the terminally ill Sutjipto.⁵⁶⁹

Rosyidi's communication did not stop after Sutjipto died in Leiden in December 1995. Before the family's return to Indonesia, he said that he spoke to Sutedjo's daughter about the PPME's desire to found a mosque in the Netherlands. He begged her to deliver his message to her father: "It is a good opportunity for Pak Probo [Sutedjo] to build a mosque in the Netherlands for the Indonesian Muslim community as the *waqf* of his elder brother."⁵⁷⁰ Rosyidi's statement strengthens the fact that the mosque would belong to Sutedjo.⁵⁷¹ He then provided her with a written proposal in October 1995 which included support for the plans from, among others, the Ambassador and Vice-Ambassador, as well as the chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands.⁵⁷²

In early 1996 after Rosyidi returned from a holiday in Sumbawa, he said that he, together with Indra Gamulya (a former local official at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands working as an attaché), would visit Rahardjo, the husband of the daughter of Sutedjo, in his house in Jakarta in order to meet Sutedjo.⁵⁷³ When Rosyidi met Sutedjo, he said to Rosyidi: "After reading the proposal, please try to search for a church [rather than a location for a new mosque] that will be sold."⁵⁷⁴ This instruction was a great opportunity for the PPME and Indonesian Muslim communities to gain a religious infrastructure regarding "diversity in policies towards the foundation and maintenance of mosques on a municipal level; contradictory attitudes of Dutch municipalities towards the subsidizing of social and cultural activities of mosques...;"⁵⁷⁵ "the

⁵⁶⁹ Rosyidi, interview, The Hague, 18 February 2011.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ This means that the mosque is the *waqf* of Sutedjo, not that of Sutjipto. The only relation of Sutjipto with the Netherlands was that he had gained medical treatment in a hospital now known as Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum (LUMC, Leiden University Medical Centre) and died there in December 1995. Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 1-9. Sutjipto was not a leader of ICMI in the Netherlands and did not live there.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Indra Gamulya, telephone interview, 28 February 2012.

⁵⁷⁴ Rosyidi, interview, 18 Februari 2011.

⁵⁷⁵ See W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Religious Freedom and the Position*

need to consult the authorities in order to gain their permission and information on permitted sites for mosques; and the need to inquire about the neighbours close to the sites.”⁵⁷⁶

After returning to the Netherlands, Rosyidi said that he contacted a female official of the Grote Kerk and obtained information about churches for sale in The Hague, including one located in the Zuiderpark and the Immanuelkerk located on the Heeswijkplein. The committee decided on the Immanuelkerk and approved of the price of the church and also its location. The price was close to the budget written in the proposal, around € 590,909, whereas the other church would have cost around € 272,727. It also had a comfortable, modern design and was easily reached by public transport. It was also near a shopping centre and a park. It would be ideal for the PPME congregation and its families.⁵⁷⁷ Following negotiations with the vendor, the church was purchased for € 534,090.

The efforts of PPME would have been meaningless if there had not been the involvement of the Catholic Indonesian Ambassador, Kadarisman and the embassy’s head of administrative affairs, Azhari Kasim, who were decisive in the successful purchase of the church. It would appear that even before Rosyidi met Sutedjo, the latter had gained news of the desire of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands to have their own mosque from the Ambassador;⁵⁷⁸ while the PPME team were closely involved in the project, Sutedjo involved the embassy in the financial transaction.⁵⁷⁹ Subsequently, Sutedjo sent payment for the church via the bank account of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands. The reason was that the embassy represents all Indonesian Muslim organizations and communities residing in the Netherlands. This choice to deal with

of Islam in Western Europe: Opportunities and Obstacles in the Acquisition of Equal Rights (the Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1995), 31 and 33.

⁵⁷⁶ See *Ibid.*, 30-32.

⁵⁷⁷ Rosyidi, interview, 18 Februari 2011.

⁵⁷⁸ Hasyim (the Secretary of the Board of the *al-Hikmah*), interview, 11 December 2011, The Hague.

⁵⁷⁹ This was facilitated by the embassy’s head of administrative affairs, Azhari Kasim. “Masjid al-Hikmah,” in Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 1-5.

the embassy, rather than directly with the PPME, seems to reflect what he expected the mosque to become. As he said during a speech at the inauguration ceremony for the mosque on 1 July 1996: “I hope that the Islamic *umma* [of Indonesia], that has dissolved into its own organizations, can be united in this mosque.”⁵⁸⁰ Sutedjo also preferred the embassy to manage the mosque. Again, this was reflected in the message he delivered at the inauguration: “I hope that this mosque can be used by Muslims from Indonesia and other countries of ASEAN... It is hoped that it can be used as an Islamic centre....”⁵⁸¹ During a dinner afterwards, attended by the Ambassador and other leading figures of the Indonesian Muslim community in the Netherlands, he declared: “...I, the owner of the building [the mosque]...submit its organization to the Indonesian Embassy.... [Therefore], the Mosque *al-Hikmah* is under the supervision of the KBRI....”⁵⁸² The facts show that what Silvestri, the writer of “The Muslim Political Mobilisation and the EU Response,” argues that “the involvement of elite groups were crucial to the establishment of association and institutions” like a mosque is still valid⁵⁸³ in the case of PPME. Based on the above-mentioned information, PPME has made efforts to have a mosque in The Hague. It started by approaching the Indonesian Embassy and ICMI’s board, followed by the establishment of a committee comprised of representatives from all three organizations and backed by the Indonesian Ambassador. This was crucial to gain credibility and support for the project from Probo Sutedjo.

C. *Tafakkoer* (2003)

The plan to build the *Tafakkoer* (Reflection) Mosque was officially announced by the board of PPME Rotterdam on 10 December 2003. The mosque should be built over a period of five years in the south of Rotterdam. It should be the primary centre for

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., Appendix 8, p. 17.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² Kasim, “Serah Terima Masjid al-Hikmah,” in Ibid., Appendix 8, n.p.

⁵⁸³ Sara Silvestri, “Muslim Institution and Political Mobilisation,” in Samir Amghar, et al (eds.), *European Islam: Challenges for Public Policy and Society* (Brussels: CEPS, 2007), 177-178.

PPME Rotterdam's congregation and should be approximately 520 square metres and have two storeys. The first floor of the mosque should house two classrooms in addition to a storeroom and a kitchen. On the second floor should be a prayer hall, a meeting room, and lodgings for an imam. The planned Indonesian mosque, which should later be expanded into an Islamic centre, required € 787,482.50⁵⁸⁴ as the mosque, whose size should be smaller than that of *al-Hikmah*, should be built from scratch rather than renovating an existing building. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there was no need to consult the local government about the possibilities and for the necessary permits to construct a specially-designed public prayer space.⁵⁸⁵

Till 2011, the plan had yet to be realised; however, significant efforts have been made by leading figures of PPME Rotterdam such as Husny Abdul Razak, R. S. Pourchez, and D. Rengur who were members of the committee for the mosque. Since 1990, PPME Rotterdam and its partner al-Jami'atul Hasana (AJH, Good Congregation), a Surinamese-Javanese Muslim association, have hired a hall belonging to Stichting Setasan/Centrum Santosa (Setasan Foundation/Santosa Centre)⁵⁸⁶ situated at Van Eversdijckstraat 31, Rotterdam, for their activities, including Friday prayers. At a meeting on 10 August 2003, PPME Rotterdam's board was informed by the Setasan Foundation that the hall was to be used by a dance school, Nirtya Widyarini,⁵⁸⁷ as part of the intention to engage in socio-cultural activities⁵⁸⁸ that would enable the foundation to receive subsidies from the Dutch local government.⁵⁸⁹ According to one of the founders of the foundation, allowing the dance school to use the hall posed no problems

⁵⁸⁴ See Husny Abdul Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque for the Indonesian Community in the Netherlands (Rotterdam)* (Rotterdam: PPME, 10 December 2003), 10-14, 16-17 and 24.

⁵⁸⁵ See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Religious Freedom*, 30.

⁵⁸⁶ See Yvonne Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers* (The Hague: Amrit, 1997), 65-66.

⁵⁸⁷ See Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 11-13.

⁵⁸⁸ Rudi Sumoharjo (a Surinamese), interview, The Hague, 16 January 2011.

⁵⁸⁹ Shadid and Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 53.

because the centre was built for the togetherness of its users from Suriname and Indonesia living in their new society regardless of their religions. It was provided for both religious purposes and cultural expressions,⁵⁹⁰ thus, anybody could use the hall when there were no other activities in the building going on. However, a leading figure of PPME Rotterdam protested that because PPME Rotterdam, along with AJH, had hired the hall, PPME's board considered this to be a breaking of the agreement made (albeit not explicitly), between PPME Rotterdam and the AJH (the users of the hall) and Stichting Setasan (the owner of the hall).⁵⁹¹ Since then, there has been no official communication between the board of PPME Rotterdam and that of the foundation increasing the urgency for PPME Rotterdam to have its own mosque, a possibility that was already considered by the centre PPME after the purchase of *al-Ittihaad Muşalla* (between 1984 and 1986).⁵⁹²

PPME Rotterdam has made three efforts to own a place for its socio-religious activities. When developing their plans for a mosque, PPME Rotterdam's board initially approached those PPME figures who had been involved in the successful purchase of the *Muşalla* of *al-Ittihaad*, as well as the Indonesian Ambassador who had helped secure the donation from Sutedjo for the purchase of *al-Hikmah* Mosque. Consequently, people such as A. H. Maksum, William de Weerd, Moch. Chaeron, Rosyidi, and Rudi Erfan became involved in the fund raising⁵⁹³ and became members of the committee charged with establishing an Indonesian mosque in Rotterdam. The ambassador became the adviser of the committee. In order to raise the necessary money, at the end of 2003 the board asked people to buy at least one of 3,000 *waqf* shares offered by PPME Rotterdam at a price of € 50.⁵⁹⁴ Subsequently, they invited members of their congregation and their partner

⁵⁹⁰ Sumoharjo (a Surinamese), interview, The Hague, 16 January 2011.

⁵⁹¹ See Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 11-13.

⁵⁹² Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 15.

⁵⁹³ See Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 18-19.

⁵⁹⁴ Husny Abdul Razak, *Commissie voor de bouw van tafakkur moskee*, nummer 2004/PPME/TAF/0068 t/m 83, 10 December 2003,

Muslim association of Surinamese people in the Netherlands, al-Jami'atul Hasana (AJH), to donate. The response was positive and resulted in donations from around 60 PPME families (at least € 3000) and almost € 800 Euros from AJH.⁵⁹⁵ After the success of this exercise, Husny Abdul Razak and his colleagues on the committee, in cooperation with leading PPME figures, involved influential Indonesian people who visited the Netherlands. As a result, in addition to the Indonesian Ambassador, the wife of the former Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, Tuty Try Sutrisno, wanted to assist the committee for the mosque from early 2004.⁵⁹⁶ This enabled the committee to present its proposal to the Office of the Ministry for People's Prosperity in Indonesia and on 31 March 2006 the Ministry awarded the committee the amount of € 27,459.95 to assist in the mosque project.⁵⁹⁷ Unfortunately, the amount of money collected was insufficient to build the mosque.⁵⁹⁸

D. *At-Taqwa* (2004)

The PPME Amsterdam's centre, called *at-Taqwa*,⁵⁹⁹ is approximately 350 square metres and was purchased at the end of 2004 for 585,000 Euro.⁶⁰⁰ This centre is situated at Ekingenstraat 3-7, in Osdorp, Amsterdam West. The building consists of a number of rooms: for providing Islamic teaching (for children, Indonesian-speaking male adults, and Dutch-speaking male adults); a kitchen; a room for ablutions; the association's secretariat; and a storeroom. In addition, there is a main hall, used not only for prayers, but also for other religious and social activities, including for *dauroh* by

⁵⁹⁵ Eskak Abdullah (the chairman of AJH), interview, Rotterdam, 3 February 2011.

⁵⁹⁶ See Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 5 and 7.

⁵⁹⁷ ABN AMRO Bank N.V. K.v.K. nr. 33002587, *Rekeningafschrift voor Vereniging PPME p/a de Heer D. Rengur*, 31 March 2006.

⁵⁹⁸ The present research is up to 2009. The following brief information is beyond the scope of the research. At the end of 2012, PPME Rotterdam could afford a building at Wolphaertsbocht 453B, 3081 KM Rotterdam, functioned as the mosque of the PPME called Tafakkoer. De Weerd, e-mail to author, 22 November 2015.

⁵⁹⁹ Rib Kasan (a former treasurer of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Yogyakarta, 18 August 2010.

⁶⁰⁰ Ade Faisal Bahar, *Donaties voor ons gebouw*, no. PPME/04/04/Ind, 7 December 2004.

both male and female members of the congregation. This building is much smaller than that of the *al-Hikmah* Mosque (3,250 square metres). By mid-2010, *at-Taqwa* was the only PPME accommodation that was being used not only for pure worship (*'ibāda mahḍa*), but also as a centre of Islamic learning – exercising the ‘pure religious’ and ‘societal education functions’⁶⁰¹ of PPME in the Netherlands. The accommodation was officially inaugurated on 21 May 2011.⁶⁰²

PPME Amsterdam’s board has made great efforts to provide accommodation for the activities of its members. Balbaid’s involvement in the KKP2M led to a crucial decision for the organization. On 1 October 1995, it was decided that PPME Amsterdam would get a *muṣallā*. As we know, in addition to the short programme, the PPME had long-term plans to realise the establishment of a mosque in The Hague, not in Amsterdam. Because Probo Sutedjo donated € 590,909 to support the effort of Indonesian communities to have a mosque, not a *muṣallā*. The team supported the materialization of its long-term goal rather than its short-term one. However, this history did not discourage PPME Amsterdam, which had no money for a place of worship at that moment,⁶⁰³ from pursuing its own plan for a *muṣallā*. On 5 December 2004, a meeting of PPME members resulted in an agreement to purchase a new building for € 585,000. Accordingly, the board of PPME Amsterdam invited its congregation and sympathizers to provide financial support for the project. This involvement resulted in donations of more than € 300,000.⁶⁰⁴ In addition, the leaders consulted with the PPME’s central board about available money. In response, the board gave them € 55,000.⁶⁰⁵ PPME

⁶⁰¹ See Shadid and Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 51-52.

⁶⁰² Widoyoko (Secretary of Euromoslim), Organisasi Dakwah Muslim Indonesia, Euromoslim, Diresmikan di Amsterdam, accessed 30 May 2010, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/jurnalisme-warga/kabar/11/05/23/1ln6cp-organisasi-dakwah-muslim-indonesia-euromoslim-diresmikan-di-amsterdam>.

⁶⁰³ Cf. Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 43.

⁶⁰⁴ William de Weerd, et al., *Rapport inzake PPME Amsterdam* (Rotterdam: PPME, the Netherlands, 31 March 2006), n.p.

⁶⁰⁵ Anonymous, *Wilayah Vergadering 12 Juni 2005 in the Mosque al-Hikmah* (The Hague: PPME, 2005), n.p.

Amsterdam borrowed the remainder from a Dutch bank,⁶⁰⁶ an approach similar to the one employed by PPME in The Hague when they purchased *al-Ittihaad* as their place of worship. As a result, its board was able to buy a new building for the place of worship in 2005.⁶⁰⁷

However, the apparent success of the board in purchasing the *at-Taqwa* was not mirrored in unifying the congregation who had provided funds to buy the building. Some wanted to conduct *tahlilan*, *yasinan* and *istighotsah* in the building. In response, the board of PPME Amsterdam decided that permission should only be given for 'neutral' activities in the building and only with the approval of all members of the board⁶⁰⁸ - this was obviously a decision by the puritanical-religious-oriented members that now run *at-Taqwa* (discussed in chapter 6 and 7). This decision resulted in a few activities being held elsewhere and culminated in a formal split of the organization on 18 December 2005⁶⁰⁹ - PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash. Despite this split, PPME Amsterdam remains responsible to the board of PPME Amsterdam to make the monthly payments for its mortgage.



⁶⁰⁶ Bahar, *Donaties voor ons gebouw*, no. PPME/04/04/Ind, 7 December 2004, n.p.

⁶⁰⁷ Budi Santoso (a former vice of the chairman of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Jombang, 13 April 2010.

⁶⁰⁸ Kasan, interview, 21 June 2009.

⁶⁰⁹ William Satriaputra de Weerd and Regnerus Marinus Hendriks, *Keputusan PPME Wilayah Nederland No. 2/PPMENL/XII/2005 tentang PPME Cabang Amsterdam* (The Hague: PPME, 18 December 2005). n.p.

Picture 3. The prayer hall of *at-Taqwa*. Source: Author's collection.

PPME Amsterdam engaged in three different types of activities to raise money. As commonly found among Muslim communities in the Netherlands when they would like to give financial contribution to their organizations, PPME Amsterdam's organizers began selling meals at their weekly activities and at religious feasts or special events.⁶¹⁰ Generally, these meals were provided by the female members of the congregation. They provided dinners such as *nasi soto* (soup mixed with rice), *nasi kuning* (yellow rice), and *nasi kebuli* (*kebuli* rice) and they used the kitchen of *at-Taqwa* to prepare the food. In addition, Islamic books written by Salafi *imams* such as al-Albani and 'Utsaimin, CDs of Islamic lectures, and recordings of the *dauroh* activities held in the new building twice a year, were sold. The profits from these sales, as well as money collected during the annual sports day,⁶¹¹ contributed directly to the mortgage payments. In addition, donations were also collected in the form of *infāq* (voluntary donation) and collected during the *tarāwīḥ* prayers held every night during Ramadan from 2005 onwards. This last effort also involved approaching other Muslims from outside the PPME, especially from the Moroccan community, who also participated in performing the prayers of *tarāwīḥ* (recommended nightly prayers held after the obligatory night prayer, 'isyā) in Wellant College in Osdorp, another large building near PPME Amsterdam's centre.⁶¹² The money from this last effort has been used not only to alleviate the financial burden of the PPME Amsterdam, i.e. paying the monthly mortgage, but also to pay the maintenance needs of the new building.⁶¹³

⁶¹⁰ Cf.: Edien Bartels, "Ritueel en religieuze beleving," 58-59.

⁶¹¹ Nina Maasdam, interview, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.

⁶¹² Ishak Mansjur, interview, Amsterdam, 'īd al-ḥiṭr of 2009.

⁶¹³ Ibid.