ISLAM AND NATION FORMATION IN INDONESIA

by

Andi M. Faisal Bakti

A Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University
Montreal

May, 1993

Name Bakti/Andi M. Faisal

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four digit code in the spaces provided.

History/Asia

SUBJECT TERM

0332

SUBJECT CODE

U·M·I

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture	0729
Art History	0377
Cinema	0900
Dance	0378
Fine Arts	0357
Information Science	0723
Journalism	0391
Library Science	0399
Mass Communications	0708
Music	0413
Speech Communication	0459
Theater	0465

EDUCATION

General	0515
Administration	0514
Adult and Continuing	0516
Agricultural	0517
Art	0273
Bilingual and Multicultural	0282
Business	0688
Community College	0275
Curriculum and Instruction	0727
Early Childhood	0518
Elementary	0524
Finance	0277
Guidance and Counseling	0519
Health	0680
Higher	0745
History of	0520
Home Economics	0278
Industrial	0521
Language and Literature	0279
Mathematics	0280
Music	0522
Philosophy of	0998
Physical	0523

Psychology	0525
Reading	0535
Religious	0527
Sciences	0714
Secondary	0533
Social Sciences	0534
Sociology of	0340
Special	0529
Teacher Training	0530
Technology	0710
Tests and Measurements	0288
Vocational	0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language	
General	0679
Ancient	0289
Linguistics	0290
Modern	0291
Literature	
General	0401
Classical	0294
Comparative	0295
Medieval	0297
Modern	0298
African	0316
American	0591
Asian	0305
Canadian (English)	0352
Canadian (French)	0355
English	0593
Germanic	0311
Latin American	0312
Middle Eastern	0315
Romance	0313
Slavic and East European	0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy	0422
Religion	
General	0318
Biblical Studies	0321
Clergy	0319
History of	0320
Philosophy of	0322
Theology	0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies	0323
Anthropology	
Archaeology	0324
Cultural	0326
Physical	0327
Business Administration	
General	0310
Accounting	0272
Banking	0770
Management	0454
Marketing	0338
Canadian Studies	0385
Economics	
General	0501
Agricultural	0503
Commerce-Business	0505
Finance	0508
History	0509
Labor	0510
Theory	0511
Folklore	0358
Geography	0366
Gerontology	0351
History	
General	0578

Ancient	0579
Medieval	0581
Modern	0582
Black	0328
African	0331
Asia, Australia and Oceania	0332
Canadian	0334
European	0335
Latin American	0336
Middle Eastern	0333
United States	0337
History of Science	0585
Law	0398
Political Science	
General	0615
International Law and Relations	0616
Public Administration	0617
Recreation	0814
Social Work	0452
Sociology	
General	0626
Criminology and Penology	0627
Demography	0938
Ethnic and Racial Studies	0631
Individual and Family Studies	0628
Industrial and Labor Relations	0629
Public and Social Welfare	0630
Social Structure and Development	0700
Theory and Methods	0344
Transportation	0709
Urban and Regional Planning	0999
Women's Studies	0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture	
General	0473
Agronomy	0285
Animal Culture and Nutrition	0475
Animal Pathology	0476
Food Science and Technology	0359
Forestry and Wildlife	0478
Plant Culture	0479
Plant Pathology	0480
Plant Physiology	0817
Range Management	0777
Wood Technology	0746
Biology	
General	0306
Anatomy	0287
Biostatistics	0308
Botany	0309
Cell	0379
Ecology	0329
Entomology	0353
Genetics	0369
Limnology	0793
Microbiology	0410
Molecular	0307
Neuroscience	0317
Oceanography	0416
Physiology	0433
Radiation	0821
Veterinary Science	0778
Zoology	0472
Biophysics	
General	0786
Medical	0760

EARTH SCIENCES

Biogeochemistry	0425
Geochemistry	0996

Geodesy	0370
Geology	0372
Geophysics	0373
Hydrology	0388
Mineralogy	0411
Paleobotany	0345
Paleoecology	0426
Paleontology	0418
Paleozoology	0985
Palynology	0427
Physical Geography	0368
Physical Oceanography	0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences	0768
Health Sciences	
General	0566
Audiology	0300
Chemotherapy	0992
Dentistry	0567
Education	0350
Hospital Management	0769
Human Development	0758
Immunology	0982
Medicine and Surgery	0564
Mental Health	0347
Nursing	0569
Nutrition	0570
Obstetrics and Gynecology	0380
Occupational Health and Therapy	0354
Ophthalmology	0381
Pathology	0571
Pharmacology	0419
Pharmacy	0572
Physical Therapy	0382
Public Health	0573
Radiology	0574
Recreation	0575

Speech Pathology	0460
Toxicology	0383
Home Economics	0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences

Chemistry	
General	0485
Agricultural	0749
Analytical	0486
Biochemistry	0487
Inorganic	0488
Nuclear	0738
Organic	0490
Pharmaceutical	0491
Physical	0494
Polymer	0495
Radiation	0754
Mathematics	0405
Physics	
General	0605
Acoustics	0986
Astronomy and Astrophysics	0606
Atmospheric Science	0608
Atomic	0748
Electronics and Electricity	0607
Elementary Particles and High Energy	0798
Fluid and Plasma	0759
Molecular	0609
Nuclear	0610
Optics	0752
Radiation	0756
Solid State	0611
Statistics	0463

Applied Sciences

Applied Mechanics	0346
Computer Science	0984

Engineering	
General	0537
Aerospace	0538
Agricultural	0539
Automotive	0540
Biomedical	0541
Chemical	0542
Civil	0543
Electronics and Electrical	0544
Heat and Thermodynamics	0348
Hydraulic	0545
Industrial	0546
Marine	0547
Materials Science	0794
Mechanical	0548
Metallurgy	0743
Mining	0551
Nuclear	0552
Packaging	0549
Petroleum	0765
Sanitary and Municipal	0554
System Science	0790
Geotechnology	0428
Operations Research	0796
Plastics Technology	0795
Textile Technology	0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General	0621
Behavioral	0384
Clinical	0622
Developmental	0620
Experimental	0623
Industrial	0624
Personality	0625
Physiological	0989
Psychobiology	0349
Psychometrics	0632
Social	0451

ABSTRACT

Author	Andi M Faisal Bakti
Title	Islam and Nation Formation in Indonesia
Department	Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University
Degree	M A

This thesis deals with Islam and nation formation in Indonesia It attempts to describe the particular relationship between Islam and the development of the Indonesian nation It examines the role of Islam in promoting the process of nation formation in Indonesia until the early 1930's Since the coming of Islam to the Archipelago, the *ulamā* and their writings played a central role in the integration of the Malay world The use of the Malay language as a *lingua fran a* accelerated the process of integration as well as the process of mutual understanding among the people, the majority of whom were Muslim When European colonialism appeared on the scene, the Muslims resisted it labelling the foreigners as non-Muslims Opposition came from the royal, the aristocratic and the *ulamā* sectors All in their way demonstrated resistance to every aspect of imperialism and colonialism At the beginning of the 20th century, Muslims began to turn to socio-religious organizations in their efforts to achieve independence This was a period of significant Muslim contributions to Indonesian nationalism Some favored a structural approach while others pursued a cultural means Indeed, people began to think in more democratic terms, and began to realize their inferior position within the colonial system The response of the colonial government helped, in spite of itself, to foster national unity The significance of this thesis lies in the fact that there has not yet been any attempt to trace the background of the formation of the Indonesian state with particular reference to the role of Islam

RÉSUMÉ

Auteur	Andi M Faisal Bakti
Titre	L'Islam et le processus de formation des nations en Indonesie
Departement	L'Institut des études islamiques, Universite McGill
Niveau.	M A.

Le sujet de ce memoire est l'Islam et le processus de formation des nations en Indonesie Ce mémoire essaie de decrire la relation particuliere qu'entretiennent l'Islam et le processus de formation de la nation indonesienne Ce memoire examine le role que l'Islam a joue en tant que promoteur du processus de formation de la nation indonesienne jusqu'au debut des annees 1930 Depuis l'arrivee de l'Islam dans l'archipel indonesien, les *ulama* et leurs ecrits ont joue un role capital dans l'integration du monde malais L'usage de la langue malaise, en tant que *lingua franca* accelera le processus d'integration ainsi que le processus de comprehension mutuelle entre les gens dont la majorite etait musulmane Lorsque le colonialisme europeen fit son apparition dans la region, les musulmans lui opposerent une resistance en taxant ces nouveaux etrangers de "non musulmans" L'opposition s'organisa autour des classes royale, aristocratique et celle des *ulama* Tous, chacun a leur maniere, opposerent une resistance a tous les aspects du colonialisme et de l'imperialisme Au debut du vingtieme siecle, les musulmans commencerent a se tourner vers des organisations socio-religieuses dans leurs efforts pour obtenir l'independence Cette periode fut riche en contributions musulmanes au nationalisme indonesien Certains preconiserent une approche structurelle, tandis que d'autres prirent des moyens culturels au sein meme du systeme colonial Les reactions du gouvernement aiderent, malgre lui, a encourager l'unite nationale L'importance de ce memoire reside dans le fait qu'aucune etude n'a essaye, jusqu'a ce jour, de retracer la toile de fond sur laquelle apparait la formation de l'etat indonesien avec le souci de tenir compte du role de l'Islam

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe a lasting debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr A Uner Turgay, who steered my research interest in the direction of Indonesian Islam and generously provided counsel and guidance I am grateful to him who as the Director of the Institute of Islamic Studies, gave me constant encouragement While studying at the Institute I also had the good fortune of being a student of Dr Howard M Federspiel, Dr Taufik Abdullah Dr Karel A Steenbrink, and Dr Nurcholish Madjid, the visiting professors at the Institute for the subject of Islam in Indonesia Dr Federspiel was my initial advisor His continued assistance was of great importance for the compilation of this thesis I feel fortunate to have benefited from his readiness to read my first draft and give me many valuable suggestions for the improvement of this work, both through correspondence and by telephone I am also very much indebted to Dr Taufik Abdullah, who gave me much advice, from the preliminary organization of this thesis until the finished version I learned much from his lecturers and seminars, and more still from the many conversations and consultations in which he freely shared his knowledge and experience with me I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Karel A Steenbrink who gave me the opportunity to participate as an auditing student in his lectures and seminars I appreciate his readiness to read this thesis, his endless patience and keen eye for detail have served to refine it Thanks are also due to Dr Nurcholish Madjid who inspired me in writing this thesis

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Charles J Adams and Dr Issa J Boullata, the former and present Directors of the McGill Indonesia IAIN Development Project respectively, as well as to the staff of the project, who gave me the chance to study at the Institute Thanks also go to CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) for awarding me a fellowship to study at McGill University

The following people deserve acknowledgment for assisting me in locating the material needed to produce this thesis E K Ahmad and I Lecomte Special thanks are also due to Robert S Miller, who besides helping me to collect materials also worked with me to improve my English and to Roxanne Marotte for her translation of the abstract into French In addition the staff of Islamic Studies Library provided untiring assistance in helping me to find the necessary sources Salwa Ferahian deserves particular mention for helping to make the library user friendly, as well as for enabling me to secure books through the Inter Library Loan system

In Indonesia, my deepest gratitude is due to H Munawir Sjadzali, M A and Dr Tarmizi Taher, the former and present Minister of Religious Affairs respectively, who gave me the opportunity to pursue my studies in Canada, to Dra H Andi Rasdiyanah Rector of IAIN Alauddin Ujungpandang, and to Drs M Djafar Massa, Dean of the Tarbiyah Faculty, IAIN Alauddin Gorontalo, who gave me permission to leave my academic duties at the Institute To those who are not mentioned specifically, I wish to express my sincere thanks for all their contributions, without such aid, this work could hardly have been completed

Last but not least, I am indebted to my dearest father, A M Bakti, and to my mother, A Marani, and to my sisters and brothers, who have always given me moral support

AMFB

Montreal, May 1993

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in this thesis

AMS = Algemeene Middelbare School, General Middle School

ASEAN = Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BKI = Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie

BU = Budi Utomo, Noble Endeavour

CSI = Centraal Sarekat Islam Sarekat Islam Central Headquarters

Dep PK = Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Department of Education and Culture

HBS = Hogere Burger School Dutch High School

HIS = Hollandsch-Inlandsche Schools Dutch Language Primary School for Indonesians

ISDV = Indische-Democratische Vereniging, Indies Social-Democratic Association

JEAH = Journal of Southeast Asian Studies

JIB = Jong Islamieten Bond, Young Islamic Association

JMBRAS = Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society

KPM = Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij

Masyumi = Majelis Syura Muslimin Indonesia, Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims

MULO = Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs, More Extended Lower Education

NU = Nahdlatul Ulama

OSVIA = Opleiding scholen voor Inlandsche ambtenaren Training School for

Native Officials

Permi = Persatuan Muslim Indonesia, Indonesian Muslims' Union

Persis = Persatuan Islam, Muslim Union

Perti = Persatuan Tarbiyya Islamiyya Islamic Educational Union

PKI = Partai Komunis Indonesia Indonesian Communist Party

PNI = Partai Nasional Indonesia Indonesian National Party

PPPKI = Permoefakatan Perhimpoenan-2 Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia, Agreement of Indonesian People's Political Association

PSI = Partai Sarekat Islam, Islamic Union Party

PSII = Indonesian Islamic Union Party

RIMA = *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs*

SDI = Sarekat Dagang Islam, Islamic Trade Association

SI = Sarekat Islam, Islamic Association

STOVIA = School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen, School for Training Native Doctors

TBG = *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genotschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*

VBG = *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Institute voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*

VOC = Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagne, Dutch Trade Company

TRANSLITERATION

In transliterating the Arabic names and terms in this thesis I have used the transliteration scheme employed at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University The Indonesian names and terms are written according to the new Indonesian spelling used since 1972 However, certain names of persons and places written in the old spelling will still appear, especially in quotation Some examples of the differences between the old and the new Indonesian spelling *ch, dj, j, sj, tj* become respectively *kh j, y, sy, c*

The differences in transliteration from Arabic to English and Indonesian are

Arabic	*English*	*Indonesian*	*Arabic*	*English*	*Indonesian*
ث	th	ts	ض	ḍ	dh/dl
ح	ḥ	h	ط	ṭ	th
ذ	dh	dz	ظ	ẓ	zh
ش	sh	sy	ع	'	'
ص	ṣ	sh	ء	'	'

Since this thesis has been typed using a word-processor, there are several technical problems which could not be adequately resolved The *'ayn* has been represented by reverse apostrophe (‵), while the *hamza* is denoted by the apostrophe (') Indonesian names of Arabic origin, when they apply to persons or institutions living prior to the 20th century are written using the form of Arabic transliteration given above

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Although religion and nationalism have been challenged as primary organizers of human activities in the latter half of the twentieth century, both concepts remain important in the politics of many states Moreover, an examination of the history of some states in the twentieth century shows that these concepts have had great relevance This has been especially true in Indonesia where nationalism and religion have jointly played a crucial role in the formation of the state This thesis will attempt to explain the particular relationship between Islam and the development of the Indonesian nation

The issue of nationalism and religion in Indonesia still excites interest for four reasons in particular First, there are still many people who claim that Islam opposes nationalism [1] They say that Islam does not recognize territorial boundaries While this view, actually, has little practical or historical basis in Islamic history, its exponents have been vocal at times in Indonesian Muslim political discourse Second, there are still many people who think that Indonesian nationalism was founded through the efforts of the secular nationalists alone [2] Islam has not become involved in this process, because according to their understanding nationalism is totally different from Islam There is a considerable group of Indonesian Muslim political thinkers who tend to see events in this way, although the new identification of many secularist-oriented writers has changed thinking on this viewpoint Third, in Indonesian

[1] Ahmad Hassan, "Nasionalisme Tiada Bertentangan dengan Islam," cited in Howard M Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca, New York Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1970), 90 The full text with annotation is found in idem, "Islam and Nationalism of *Islam dan Kebangsaan* by Ahmad Hassan," *Indonesia*, 24 (October 1977), 39-86, see also G F Pijper, *Beberapa Study tentang Sejarah Islam Indonesia 1900-1950*, translated Tudjinah and Yessi Augusdin (Jakarta Universitas Indonesia, 1984), 131-133

[2] See the argument between Soekarno and Agus Salim about nationalism in Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942* (Singapore Oxford University Press, 1973), 255, see also Federspiel *Persatuan Islam*, 85

national history there have been several incidents where the nationalist policies of the government have collided with the "Muslim" aspirations of particular regions notably in Tanjung Priok, Aceh, and Lampung [3] Hence there is a viewpoint among some groups that state policy must essentially differ from strong Muslim identification Finally, some people claim that nationalism is not necessarily useful because they think that for certain advanced nations, the structure of nationalism is being replaced by capitalism, in an effort to control and exploit the under-developed nations [4] Leftist groups have long advocated this view, which remains popular among some university student groups and others without political power

This thesis will examine these four viewpoints and indicate how they have gained new currency of late with supra-nationalists The latter see the European community and other common market schemes like ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) leading to an eventual replacement of nationalism as a driving force,[5] for Islam was involved in inspiring solidarity in the Indonesian Archipelago until the emergence of the nationalist movement During this process, the development of major patterns of approach and of communal interests in response to highly factionalized public political opinion was very significant for the development of modern Indonesia This development depended heavily on such factors as mass-consciousness, cohesion and a feeling of solidarity Indeed by discussing these factors, the role of Islam in this process will emerge

Islam is generally not seen as being opposed to nationalism in Indonesia, in some sense the two are even linked to each other The idea of modern nationalism as an extension of tribal-mindedness, which was condemned by Islamic groups from its very inception, should be

---

[3] See Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam Interpretasi untuk Aksi* (Bandung Mizan, 1991), 207

[4] "The romantic and heroic concepts of religion and nationalism are being replaced by a more pragmatic and even materialistic and ethnographical approach" Komaruddin Hidayat, "Religion and Nationalism The Past Story," *Mizan* [vol 4, no 4 (1984)] 4

[5] See the various publications of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies at Singapore which promote regionalism, see in particular the annual series, *Southeast Asian Affairs*

reconsidered,[6] because such an extension "was one of the major causes of warfare between nations "[7] Nationalism, writes Hatta, "was the ladder for achieving the brotherhood of all nations "[8] Most Indonesian Muslims would agree that this approach is more in keeping with Islamic teaching[9] Indonesian Islamic nationalism is regarded as a reflection of radical patriotism in the face of all forms of imperialism, by promoting Indonesian unity in order to achieve independence

Those who would disparage the role of Islam in creating an Indonesian national consciousness could have difficulty in proving their case A clear case can be made for an Islamic role in building a proto-nationalism in Indonesia Since the beginning of the process of Islamization, and more particularly from the 14th century onwards, Islam has come to claim the allegiance of the majority of the population in Indonesia In addition, since the coming of the Dutch in the 17th century, the latter's expanding power was threatened by local outbreaks of Islamic-inspired resistance, led either by Indonesian rulers and aristocrats converted to Islam or by fanatical *'ulamā'* in the villages [10] In this case, the sultans', aristocrats', and "the *'ulamā's* fanaticism should be interpreted as the logical reflection of their love of freedom and their hatred of alien rule and domination "[11] The *'ulamā's* activity was a formative factor in Indonesian nationalism since the *'ulamā'* provided a means of expressing the Indonesian peoples' resentment at foreign occupation, which is, after all, a nationalist sentiment [12] The

6 Ahmad Syafi'i Maarif, "Islam and Nationalism in Indonesia, A Historical Perception," *Mizan*, [vol 4, no 4 (1984)] 16-17

7 See Marvin Perry, *Arnold Toynbee and the Crisis of the West* (Washington D C University Press of America, 1982), xiii

8 See Mohammad Hatta, *Memoir* (Jakarta Tintamas, 1979), 195

9 M Natsir, in Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 260

10 Harry J Benda, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy," in *Continuity and Change in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1972) 83

11 Ahmad Syafii Maarif, "Islam and Nationalism in Indonesia," 11

'ulamā' criticized the action of the secular government institution in many different areas for in their eyes the government was engaged in corrupt social and political practices From the courts in the cities and the *pesantrens* in the villages the attitude of anti colonial resistance flared up, sometimes escalating into open revolt against the colonial government [12]

One could make the case that between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries there were no real efforts on the part of Indonesians to remove colonialism Resistance was limited to attempts to remove unwanted policies or to stop the spread of greater Dutch influence What marked the twentieth century was that Indonesians decided for the first time that Indonesia had its own identity and that colonialism should be ended

Realizing the reasons for the failure of Islamic-inspired revolts to regain full independence, in the early twentieth century the Muslims changed their strategy from the battlefield to socio-religious and political movements This reflected new concepts about national identity and nationalist religious mobilization The Muslims began to use modern organizations in order to achieve their long-term goal These gave a positive substance to their nationalist aspirations Among these earlier movements there were SI (Sarekat Islam, Islamic Association), Muhammadiyah (The way of Muhammad), al Irsyad (Jam iyyah al Islah wal-Irshād, Union for Reformation and Guidance), Persis (Persatuan Islam, Muslim Union), NU (Nahdlatul 'Ulamā', The Awakening of Religious Scholars), JIB (Jong Islamieten Bond, Young Islamic Association) and Permi (Persatuan Muslim Indonesia, Indonesian Muslims' Union). All these organizations, born during the first three decades of this century,[14] were

---

12 However, other factors should not be ignored, even though Islam was certainly a key ingredient in many uprisings Sometimes local values, sometimes dynastic politics, and many times trade policies were at issue and were responsible for the reaction to the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch or English presence It is often that Islam was a further mobiling factor

13 B J Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), 7

14 SDI (Sarekat Dagang Islam, Islamic Trade Association 1905-1911) became SI (Sarekat Islam in 1912), Muhammadiyah (1912), al-Irsyad (1914), Persis (1923), NU (1926), JIB

nationalist in the sense both of being anti-colonialist,[15] and of associating with a concept of common Indonesian identification.[16] Unlike the other groups which were chiefly religious organizations, the Sarekat Islam was a political movement from the moment of its foundation in 1911.[17] This, more than any other movement, made a seminal contribution to the definition and shape of Indonesian nationalist activity at a critical point in history.

Without denying the role of other factors, this thesis will deal with the role of Islam in promoting the process of nation formation in Indonesia until the early 1930's. The role of the *ulamā'* in the early inception of Islam throughout the Archipelago was crucial in developing a sense of solidarity. The use of the Malay language as a *lingua franca* in their works accelerated the process of their mutual understanding. When the colonial powers appeared on the scene, the Muslims resisted them and portrayed them as infidels promoting a non-Islamic system of rules and behavior. Opposition came from the royal, the aristocratic and the *ulamā'* sectors, and all in their way demonstrated resistance against colonialism and imperialism. From the year of the establishment of Sarekat Dagang Islam (Islamic Trade Association) in 1905 until the establishment of Permi (Persatuan Muslim Indonesia, Indonesian Muslim's Union) in 1930, Muslims began to use organizations in their struggle.

(1925) and Permi (1930). Apparently, the day of nationalist resurgence which is annually commemorated is May 20, 1908, the day of the establishment of BU (Budi Utomo, Noble Endeavor). Despite the fact that many people do not agree with this, nevertheless most of the members of BU are Muslims. Many *santris* have become members and give Islamic instruction in this organization. See, Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 75. And see Akira Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism, the Early Years of The Budi Utomo, 1908-1918* (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economics, 1972), 73.

[15] According to Smith, "nationalism is really only anti-colonialism so runs the most popular explanation today." See Anthony D. Smith, *Theories on Nationalism* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1972), 65.

[16] Kedourie asserts that nationalism as a doctrine and ideology was invented in Europe in the 18th century. "That doctrine holds humanity is nationally divided into nations, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self government." Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1960, reprinted 1974), 9.

[17] Ahmad Syafi'i Maarif, *Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante, Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan* (Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1985), 79.

Indeed, this was the most significant period in determining the religious basis of the Indonesian approach to this problem It was the age of significant Muslim contributions to Indonesian nationalism Their movements rose primarily in the cities Here modern organizational principles were applied, and solidarity was more associational and more organic People began to think in more democratic terms, and their activities were no longer localized [18]

In discussing this topic, particular attention must be paid to two important groups which served as sources of inspiration for the nationalist movement The first is that of the traditionalists which had a great impact on national legitimacy and culture The *ulamā'*, for instance, built Islamic traditional schools (*pesantrens*) These schools produced many Islamic students (*santris*), some of whom became militant preachers and advocated international Islamic solidarity These developments contributed to the Dutch fear of Pan Islamism or the importation of radical ideas from elsewhere in the Muslim world [19] The second major group was that of the modernist movements advocating economic and political attainment, which especially demanded power for Indonesians themselves as against the colonial interests and the activity of their Asian middlemen A good example for this is the Sarekat Islam It was the only nationalist political party influential in the 1910's, as it gave more attention to economics and politics than to religion itself [20] Indeed, theirs was a two dimensional approach structural and cultural On one level, they strove to gain political power and to improve the economy, on another level, they placed emphasis on cultural values like morality social welfare, and education

This period was a significant one for the nationalist movement It created a new

---

18 Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma*, 196

19 Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 24

20 Otherwise, presumably, it is more accurate to say that this organization represented both religious and national aspects Ibid , 9

atmosphere, new institutions and altered political conditions It also saw the growth of Islam as a force for political change Alfian says, "Islam was to have its own special impact on Indonesian nationalism as its first real prime mover and as its permanent essential part "[21] The role of Islam in Indonesian nationalism seems to have been one of modernization [22] its most important contribution in this regard, says Alfian, "was the fact that it had succeeded in attracting a significant number of avid proselytizers, the Muslim modernists making it an important force in the society socially and politically "[23]

There were, actually, several factors which were influential in the Indonesian national unification According to Kahin, there were four of them One of the most important ones was the high degree of religious homogeneity that prevailed in Indonesia, most of the population being Muslim Another important integrative factor was the emergence of "bazaar Malay" as a national language In addition, the integration of Indonesian nationalism is generally recognized to be indebted to the existence of the Volksraad (People's Council), the top reperesentative council for all Indonesians Finally, the growth of nationalism was supported by the development of press, and geographical mobility [24] Besides these, Dutch attempts to unify its colonial administration are considered to have been an important factor in the integration Likewise, the participation of the intelligentsia was also very central to the process of Indonesian nationalism [25] Nationalism based on secularism, as opposed to Muslim

[21] Alfian, "Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics The Muhammadiyah Movement during the Dutch Colonial Period 1912-1942" (Ph D diss , University of Wisconsin, 1969), 56

[22] Alfian says, "It was partly due to its apparent effort to reconcile Islam with the needs of the modern world Socially, it was to become, relatively speaking one of the modernizing forces in Indonesian society Politically it was to enhance Islam as a variable political belief and thus a perfect basis for modern society In both capacities it was to become the main factor in inducing the awakening of the Indonesian Muslim community -- making it aware of its political position as a major force in the society Consequently, as a group it was to become an active participant in Indonesian politics " Ibid , 5

[23] Ibid , 562

[24] George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N Y Cornell University Press, 1952), 38-41

nationalism, also played a leading role in this context Communism was another influential trend of Indonesian political thought and action, even though the communists played only a slight role in the nationalist movement from 1927 to 1942 [26] However, the present study deals with the role of Islam as one of the unifying factors in the integration of the Indonesian Archipelago The intellectual networks the Malay cosmopolitan world the traders, and the Malay language also played a leading role in that process Basically, Islam could not be separated from these elements Indeed, all seemingly functioned and created what Benedict Anderson calls "imagined communities" in his theory of the origin of nationalism [27]

The significance of this thesis lies in the fact that there has not yet appeared any particular research dealing with the formation of the Indonesian state in relation to Islam Aspects of Islam in the nation's formation can be clearly discerned in the role it played in the integration of the Indonesian Archipelago [28] Since its introduction to the Archipelago, Islam

---

25 For more information about this see J D Legge, *Intellectuals and Nationalism in Indonesia, A Study of the Following Recruited by Sutan Sjahrir in Occupation Jakarta* (Ithaca, N Y Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1988)

26 Cited in Federspiel *Persatuan Islam*, 85-86 In addition to the general works on nationalism which cover the early communist movement, please see H J Benda and Ruth McVey, *The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N Y Cornell University, 1960)

27 "Imagined communities" is a theory developed by Anderson which holds that before the establishment of a nation, there already exist an idea, imagining the tendency towards unity of that nation through certain unifying factors See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London Verso, 1983, reprinted 1992)

28 According to Singhal, "Religion, in some countries played an important role, for example Buddhism in Burma, Islam in Indonesia Though it may be pointed out that in all countries religion did not always play a unifying role " D P Singhal, "Nationalism and Communism in South-East Asia," *JSAH*, 3 (March 1962) 59, see also Fred Von der Mehden, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines* (Madison The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 45-46 Religion should be a potential unifying factor, Durkheim says that all religions "are 'essentially social' and religion is 'a universal system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things' that are set apart and forbidden, that unite all those who adhere to them into one single moral community' called a church " E S Borgadus, "Durkheim, Emile," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1970 ed , in referring to Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* trans J W Swain (Glencoe, Ill Free Press, 1947) However, the adherents of a certain religion are sometimes in conflict Religion can serve as a divisive element when its members

created an Indonesian community The Muslim resistance to the colonial intervention through the idea of anti colonialism and more important is the role of Islam in formulating a new community in politics and political boundaries Since the urban colonial cities were established, so was Islam Islam has contributed to the early identity of pluralistic societies, created by the colonial rulers Muslim organizations appeared in the cities, and particularly the SI which is considered to be a purely indigenous organization, to show Islam as the basic element of identification

The data for this thesis are derived from primary and secondary sources The primary sources include works written by those directly involved in the history and the traditional historiography or local traditions relating to this topic Western writers have long known the value of these works as historical records Although those local traditions often use legendary, mythical, and non-historic imagery, these legendary materials can nonetheless provide quite valuable information Thus, works such as those which go by the titles of *Hikayat*, *Babad*, or *Sya ir* are quite useful The secondary sources include materials from other authors who have written on subjects connected with the issue Some other references, though not directly related to the topic but useful for this study of Indonesia, are included in the attached bibliography

Although this thesis applies a different approach, previous research still provides and quite important sources for this thesis Good Indonesian studies are the books written by Sartono Kartodirdjo,[29] and that by Taufik Abdullah, et al (eds),[30] who deals in particular with

become involved in ideology or politics, or when, in the sense of human responsibility to their God, they start arguing about what is right or wrong, true or false, allowable or forbidden In this context, the Muslims could be involved in controversies The Muslim would nevertheless consider himself with other Muslims as forming a unity, *ummatan wāhida*

[29] *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru 1500-1900, dari Emporium sampai Imperium* (Jakarta Gramedia, 1988), and Idem, *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru Sejarah Pergerakan Indonesia, dari Kolonialisme sampai Nasionalisme* (Jakarta Gramedia, 1990)

the history of Indonesian Muslims The best studies in English are written by M C Ricklefs,[31] George McTurnan Kahin,[32] and Deliar Noer [33] For quite a while the most cited books on this subject have been the works of Fred Von der Mehden [34] D J Steinberg (ed) [35] and H J Benda [36] Harsja W Bachtiar,[37] also writes on this topic but from a general perspective, using a sociological approach An almost encyclopaedic Dutch study on Indonesian nationalism during the early period was written by J Th Blumberger [38] Among the Dutch sources three other books are important those written by De Klerk,[39] B H M Vlekke[40] and J M Pluvier[41] Various other works were consulted which relate to particular topics such as the individual organizations in the nationalist movement in Indonesia

---

30 *Sejarah Ummat Islam* (Jakarta Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 1991)

31 *A History of Modern Indonesia c 1300 to the Present* (Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1981)

32 *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1952)

33 *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900 1942* (Singapore Oxford University Press, 1973)

34 *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1968)

35 *In Search of Southeast Asia A Modern History* (New York Praeger Publishers, 1971)

36 *The Crescent and the Rising Sun Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945* (The Hague W van Hoeve, 1958)

37 "The Formation of the Indonesian Nation," (Ph D Thesis, Harvard University, 1972)

38 *De Nationalistische beweging in Nederlandsch-Indie* (Dordrecht Foris Publications, 1987)

39 *History of the Netherlands Indies* (Amsterdam B M Israel, 1975), 2 vols

40 *Nusantara, A History of Indonesia* (The Hague W van Hoeve, 1959) This book is the effort of a Dutch scholar, sympathetic to Indonesians and Muslims, recalling their colonial era and the remarkable period of nationalistic activity

41 *Overzicht van de Ontwikeling der nationalistische beweging in Indie in de jaaren 1930-1942* (Review of the Development of the Nationalist movement in the Indies from 1930-1942), (The Hague W van Hoeve, 1953)

CHAPTER I

ISLAM AND THE INTEGRATION OF THE MALAY-INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO

Although it is commonly acknowledged that the introduction of Islam into the Malay Archipelago had paved the way toward Indonesian national unification, the early history of Islam in this region is still not very clear [1] Nevertheless, the still largely "undeciphered" historical sources have "shed a great deal of light" and provide "clues as to the way Islam was in fact introduced" among Indonesian communities [2] Most historians say that Muslim petty traders had been present in some port areas for many centuries before the establishment of Islam within the local communities in Indonesia [3] They also report that there have been Muslim settlements in some parts of Indonesia since the tenth century [4] From the 13th century onward, several Islamic kingdoms were established [5] The establishment of these Islamic

1 H J de Graaf, "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century," in *Cambridge History of Islam* ed P M Holt et al (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1970), 2 123

2 The lack of factual information on the earliest times of Islam in the Archipelago is put into perspective by Drewes "One must be grateful when the devastating tropical climate with its excessive heat and abundant rainfall has at least left something in the way of less perishable objects such as gravestones, to make use of " G W J Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia," *BKI*, 124, 4 (1968) 433 This article reprinted in Ahmad Ibrahim et al , eds , *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia* (Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 7 19

3 G R Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia," *JMBRAS*, 30, 1 (May 1956) 3, see also T W Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (Lahore Sh Muhammad Ashraf, 1979), 367, see also J C van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague W van Hoeve, 1967), 44-116

4 Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders," 369-370

5 From the Islamic kingdom of Pasai, Islam spread to other regions From the 15th century onward, some Islamic kingdoms emerged such as Aceh, Demak, Banten, Mataram, Macassar, Tidore, and Banjarmasin See Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1.

states led to the integration of social, political, cultural, and economic powers Indeed, the coming of Islam created a new atmosphere in Indonesian society

The problem of where, why, when and how Islam was first introduced has been endlessly discussed by scholars However, no final conclusions have yet been fully accepted, for the records available are poor, and the supply of factual data on the earliest history of Islam in the Archipelago is often uninformative It might have been introduced in the early centuries of *hijra* by Asian traders, whether Arabs, Persians Indians or Chinese "who were already Muslims settled permanently in an Indonesian area, intermarried and adopted local lifestyles to such a degree that in effect they became Javanese or Malay or whatever "[6] While no one can determine who actually brought Islam to the Archipelago nevertheless three elements of this process should be differentiated the coming of Islam, the settlement of Muslims, and the establishment of the Islamic states [7]

Islam probably came to the Archipelago as a result of the trade-route which existed between Arabia and China The ports of the Archipelago were places of transit for traders who in some instances chose to settle down Nevertheless, the earliest historical proofs date back to 1082 or 1102, depending on our interpretation of the evidence on the gravestone of Leran [8] As suggested by Snouck Hurgronje, the earliest date of Islamic expansion into the region

---

28-65

6 M C Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 2

7 The foreign Muslim traders lived in the most important commercial towns They eventually succeeded in making their position sufficiently strong They even founded states in some of the larger islands or obtained political influence in existing natives state See C Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism, Lectures on its origin, Its Religion, and Political Growth, and Its Present State* (New York G P Putnam's Sons, 1916), 53

8 G R Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders," 35 The earliest Muslim inscription of Java is to be found on the renowned "stone of Leran " and according to Moquette, it bears the date 495/1102 Ravaisse, however, read it as 475/1082 See Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia," 454 see also S Q Fatimi, *Islām Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd , 1973), 40-41

might be the year 1200.[9] The debate over whether Islam came only from Arabia, Keling or other areas becomes less and less relevant. Muslim traders came not only from Arabia, but also from India: from the Deccan, Cambay, Gujarat, Malabar, the Coromandel Coast, or Bengal. Persian traders also quite possibly took part in the spread of Islam in the Archipelago, as indicated by the Persian origin of some Malay words. Other countries like China, Egypt, and even Turkey may have contributed, through their traders, to the introduction of Islam in Indonesia.

What is illustrated in the three different processes of Islamization mentioned above is that Islam was accepted by the people, meaning that Indonesians easily accepted external values like those of Islam. As Islam spread throughout the Archipelago, Islamic values gradually became integrated into the traditions, norms, and everyday life of the people. Their readiness to allow foreign traders to settle on their lands also indicates that they were ready to share a common life. Moreover, intermarriage with foreigners is further evidence of their "openmindedness." The establishment of several Islamic kingdoms in these islands is proof of the deeply rooted strength of the Islamic influence. Indeed, Islam as an external factor was successful in unifying the ethnic groups which consisted of hundreds of tribes throughout the Archipelago.

Although Islam did not create a political unity, nevertheless since the 15th century, Islam has continued to provide the foundation for the manifestation of cultural integration under its banner. The flow of trade activities, the wandering *'ulamā'*, and the use of the Malay language for communication, were the backbone of this cultural integration. Colonialism would later on even help to sustain this foundation.

According to Nagata, "it is almost impossible to think of Malay without reference to Islam."[10] Accepted as a foreign influence, Islam became the way of life and came to be

[9] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1915), 1.

perceived as a "high culture"[11] by the indigenous people Through the efforts of the wandering preachers, and through their writings or translations, Islam soon took on the status of "old value " The movement of Islamic reformism which took place in the central Islamic lands during the 17th and eighteenth centuries, was transmitted to Indonesia during the same period [12] In the nineteenth century, the second half in particular considerable change and upheaval occurred in the Archipelago Muslim circles were formed as more revivalist teachings took place [13] However two institutions should not be ignored the *ulama'* and the mobility of the *kitāb* These were the most influential factors in the process of the formation of the Muslim community in the Indonesian Archipelago

1. The `ulamā', the centers of Islamic studies, and translations

From the beginning, the Muslim traders were followed by merchant guilds and Sufi *`ulamā'* who wandered and propagated Islam throughout the various cities and islands of the Malay Archipelago The perception of the Islamic tradition as a "high culture" is closely related to the mobility of the *ulamā' Hikayat Sejarah Melayu* and the *Hikayat Raja raja Pasai* explain that in the late 13th century Sufi *`ulama'* from Mecca and India Islamized some areas in Sumatra Ibn Battūta (d 1377 A D)[14] also reports that in the fourteenth century some Sufi

---

10 Judith Nagata, 'The Impact of the Islamic Revival (*Dakwah*) on the Religious Culture of Malaysia," in *Religion, Values and Development in Southeast Asia* ed Bruce Matthews and Judith Nagata (Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986) 37

11 The concept of "high culture" explained by Gellner as "it pervades the whole society, defines it, and need to be sustained by the polity That is the secret of nationalism " Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca N Y Cornell University Press, 1983), 18

12 This is the conclusion reached by Azyumardi Azra in his dissertation entitled, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph D diss , Columbia University, 1992)

13 M C Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java," A Discussion paper presented at seminar on the Conversion to Islam held in London, November 20, 1972), 1

teachers were working in Pasai The *ulamā'* attracted the majority of the people through their persuasive teachings According to Ricklefs [15] some preachers came from abroad, either from Arabia, India Persia, or China while others were from Indonesia itself The settlements of the Muslim traders mentioned above are evidence that the foreign element was present from the very beginning The presence of local preachers can be shown by the number of scholars who studied and taught in Mecca, and after that in the Archipelago [16]

Samudra Pasai appears to have been the center of Islamic activity during the fourteenth century [17] By the thirteenth century, it had already become the meeting place of *ulamā'* in the Archipelago According to Ibn Battūta (1345/6), its ruler Malik al-Zāhir (1326-1371) was very fond of learning He surrounded himself with *ulamā'* of various nationalities, especially Persians, like Qādī Sharīf Amīr Sayyid from Shirāz and Tāj al-Dīn from Isfahān, who were the advisors of the Sultan and his children [18] When Ibn Battūta visited Pasai, its ruler was an extremely fervent disciple of Islam who had surrounded himself with scholars from all over the Muslim world and carried on religious discussions with them, thus turning his court into a center of theological studies [19] Schrieke mentions that Abd Allāh bin Muhammad al-Muntasir,

[14] Ibn Battūta *Travels in Asia and Africa*, trans H A R Gibb (London Routledge, 1963), 274

[15] M C Ricklefs *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 3

[16] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden E J Brill, 1970), 215-292

[17] Pasai, in the North of Sumatra, was the first Malay center for the propagation of Islam In the early 15th century Abd Allāh bin Muhammad bin `Abd al-Qādir bin `Abd al-`Azīz bin Mansūr Abu Ja far al-`Abbāsī al-Muntasir, a missionary from Delhi, was buried in Pasai Winstedt, *A History of Malay Literature* (Singapore MBRAS, 1940) 92

[18] Ibn Battuta *Travels* 233-234

[19] M A P Meilink-Roelfosz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 21 Tome Pires says "Pase was an Islamic centre and its ruler a fervent Moslem and zealous proselytizer He made his compliance with Malacca's request dependent upon its conversion to Islam" Tome Pires *Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, ed and trans by Armando Cortesao (London Hakluyt, 1944), 2 239

a descendent of the last caliph of Baghdād, had also visited Pasai where he passed away in 1407.[20] Pasai became a center of Islamic Studies where many *ulama'* taught. The *Sejarah Melayu* tells us about envoys being sent to Pasai by the Sultan of Malacca, Sultan Mahmud Shāh, to consult the *'ulamā'* about religious problems. The answer brought by the envoys very much pleased the Sultan.[21]

When Mawlāna Abū Bakr came from Mecca to Malacca, he gave a book, *Durr manzūm*, to Sultan Mansūr Shāh, who asked that it be sent to Pasai for an exposition.[22] Another point of Islamic doctrine was raised in Pasai, also in answer to an inquiry from Malacca. The question was about eternity in heaven and hell. It was dealt with by the two *'ulama'*, Tun Makhdum Mua and Tun Hasan.[23] These examples demonstrate that Pasai was the center of Islamic studies at the time, and that Islam had already become an important factor in the life of the court and the conduct of royal affairs.

The Pasai kingdom was actively recognized and visited by people as the center of *'ulamā'* and religious activities. This is supported by the story of the *ulamā'* from Pasai who brought Islam to Patani and the Javanese story about Sunan Gunung Jati, alias Fatahillah, an *'ulamā'* from Pasai who was intensively active in the propagation of Islam in Java.[24] Pasai, according to Pires, was a cosmopolitan city with a great number of Muslim traders from

---

20 B J O Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies: selected writings of B. Schrieke* (The Hague: van Hoeve, 1966), 2: 262.

21 C C Brown (trans.), *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970), 148-149.

22 Ibid., 92. Unfortunately no copy of *Durr manzūm* has as yet been discovered, but according to M N. Al-Attas, it dealt with mysticism. See M N. Al-Attas, *Rānīri and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th Century Acheh* (Singapore: MBRAS, 1966), 6.

23 Brown, *Sejarah Melayu*, 92-93.

24 Karel A. Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan dengan Kacamata Barat: Kajian Kritis mengenai Agama di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 1988), 101; see also Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, 2: 261-2. His full name is Nur al-Din Ibrāhīm Mawlāna Izrāfīl or Nūr Allāh, better known as Sunan Gunung Jati. He is counted as one of the "Nine Saints" in Java.

Arabia, Turkey, Persia, Gujarat, Bengal, the Malay Peninsula, and Java.[25] According to Azra, "The rise of Samudra Pasai can undoubtedly be attributed to the prosperity resulting mainly from its strategic position in international trade "[26] Thus Pasai was also one of the earliest examples of the political role of Islam in the Archipelago [27]

After the decline of Pasai, Malacca (1400-1511 A D) took over the role of center of Islamic studies Under the instruction of Sayyid `Abd al-`Azīz, according to the *Sejarah Melayu*, Sultan Muhammad Shāh studied Islam The sultān had read the book *Durr manzūm* of Mawlāna Abū Bakr [28] Mawlāna Sadar Jahan, another *ulamā'* who taught during the reign of Sultan Mahmūd Shāh instructed the Sultan and his son, Raja Ahmad [29]

According to Winstedt, "Malacca is the right Mecca " He also says that from Malacca, the missionaries of Islam went all over the Archipelago Following the trade route in Sumatra, as well as the smaller ports of the North, they visited Palembang, Borneo, Tanjung Pura, Tuban, and Gresik [30]

Both foreign and traditional accounts report that the sultans of Malacca not only supported court *`ulamā'* but also studied Islam themselves Their commitment to religious study and their exhortation to the people to follow in their footsteps made Malacca the major center of Islamic teaching throughout the Archipelago [31] Indeed, when Malacca served as the center of Islamic studies, many people from different parts of the Malay Archipelago came to

---

[25] Tome Pires, *Suma Oriental*, 1 142-229, 2 230-306

[26] Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism," 58

[27] Ibid , 59

[28] Brown, *Sejarah Melayu*, 92

[29] Ibid , 148

[30] Richard Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* (Singapore MBRAS, 1961), 71

[31] D G.E Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (London Macmillan, 1964), 198.

study there Sunan Bonang (d 1525), one of the "Nine Saints" of Java, is said to have been one of these Another of the "Nine Saints", Sunan Kalijaga (d 1585), together with Shaykh Sutabris(?), is reported to have acquired Islamic knowledge in Pulau Upih, one of the Javanese colonies in Malacca [32] These two saints began to instruct their people in the Islamic religion when they returned home For this reason Kern states that Java was converted to Islam from Malacca [33] Also in his *Suma Oriental*, Tome Pires reports that the sultans of Indragiri, Pahang, and Kampar, along with some of his relations, studied Islam in Malacca [34] Brunei, the first Muslim state to appear in Borneo, also came to accept Islam through its trading connection with Malacca [35] Other areas like Bengkalis, Bantan, Karimun Island, Johor, Jambi are reported to have been Islamized by Malacca [36] In addition, the *ulamā'* from Malacca are also reported to have been the earliest preachers of Islam in the Philippines [37] Indeed, Malacca played an important role in the spread and translation of Islamic writings in the Archipelago

Aceh (1511-1650 A D) also appears to have been a center of Islamic studies comparable to Pasai and Malacca According to Juynboll, the *'ulamā'* who were teaching in Aceh came from Egypt, Syria, and India [38] Aceh produced many writers who specialized in various branches of Islamic learning and contributed to Malay literature For example, such

---

32 Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies, 2 261-2*

33 Cited in Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, 198

34 Tome Pires, *Suma Oriental*, 1 251

35 Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, 198

36 M A Rauf, *A Brief History of Islam with Specific Reference to Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur Oxford University Press, 1964), 78

37 C.A Majul, "Theories on the Introduction of Islam in Malaysia," *Silliman Journal*, 2, 4 (1964) 344-5

38 Th W Juynboll, "Atjeh," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden E J Brill, 1931)

famous writers as Hamzah Fansūrī (d 1604?),[39] Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d 1630),[40] Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d 1658),[41] `Abd al-Raūf al-Sinkīlī (d 1693) [42] and Bukhārī al-Jauhārī (d ?) came from Aceh.[43] They wrote important religious and literary works in the Malay language. Malay literature, both in its historical and literary forms, was developing widely and speedily by the end of the 16th and the early 17th centuries in Aceh.[44] Al-Rānīrī's *Bustan'us Salatin* mentions that some *ulamā'* came to Aceh from other countries.[45] These included Shaykh

[39] Hamzah Fansūrī lived in the second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century and had established himself as a teacher of influence before Shams al-Dīn. His travels are evidence of the peripatetic life of these missionaries of Islam, starting from Barus, in search of truth he visited Pahang, Bantam, and Kudus. Winstedt, *A History of Malay Literature*, 93.

[40] Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī was a great *`ulamā'* who strongly influenced Sultan Iskandar Muda (r 1607-36) and his court, although he was not the official, but the spiritual adviser of the sultan. Taufik Abdullah, "The Pesantren in Historical Perspective," in Taufik Abdullah and Sharon Shiddique, eds., *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986), 87.

[41] Al-Rānīrī was an *ulamā'* from Gujarat who might have had a Malay mother. With his strong orthodox way of teaching, al-Rānīrī began to condemn Hamzah Fansūrī's followers and teachings. In 1643, however, during the reign of Sultana Safiyat al-Dīn Shāh (1642-75), the Queen and the successor of Iskandar Thānī, al-Rānīrī left Aceh in 1054 A.H. See Takeshi Ito, "Why Did Nuruddin Ar-Raniri Leave Aceh in 1054 A.H.?," *BKI*, 134, 4 (1978): 489-91.

[42] He is also known as Tengku Shāh Kuala, and illuminated the Acehnese *keraton* and *dalam*. He consolidated the relations with the *keraton* as well as developed the teachings he had gleaned in the Holy Land. Abdullah, "The Pesantren," 87-88.

[43] In 1603, he wrote a book entitled *Tāj al-Salātīn* (The Crown of the Rulers).

[44] Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 65. Although from then on the volume decreased, some outstanding literary works appeared, albeit in the Acehnese language, see for example Tengku Lam Runkam, *Hikajat Potjut Muhammat* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979).

[45] Nuru'd-din ar Raniri, *Bustan'us Salatin*, Bab II, Fasal 13, ed. T. Iskandar (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966), 25. In this work al-Rānīrī gives a list of teachers who were famous in Aceh in the 16th and seventeenth centuries. In 1582 A.D., two pundits came from Mecca. One of them, Abū al-Khayr bin Shaykh bin al-Hajar, taught jurisprudence and wrote the book *al-Sayf al-qat`i* (The Sharp Sword). The other, Muhammad of Yaman, taught dogma. Between 1577 and 1586 A.D., Shaykh Muhammad Jaylānī bin Muhammad Hamīd al-Rānīrī arrived from Gujarat. He was a popular teacher of logic, rhetoric and jurisprudence, until, to meet the demand for learning mysticism, he went to Mecca to study the subject returning in 1588 A.D. Between 1604 and 1607, an Egyptian, Muhammad Azhārī also known as Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn, came to teach metaphysics. In 1630, the famous mystical author, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī died in

Muhammad al-Yamānī, Muhammad Azhārī, and Muhammad bin Hassān bin Muhammad, al-Rānīrī's uncle, who were active during the reign of Sultan Alā' al Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh (1582)

The *ulamā'*, besides being religious teachers were also appointed to high political positions According to the *Sejarah Aceh*, the one who held the highest religious positions like that of *Shaykh al-Islām*, simultaneously held the highest political positions This was true in the cases of Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranirī and `Abd al Rauf al Sinkili [46]

After Aceh, Johore-Riau (1650-1800) encouraged education in general and established an Islamic institution in Penyengat According to Ismail Hamid, Raja `Ali al Hājj, a member of the royal family, was very dedicated to Islamic scholarship and he was requested to teach in such branches of Islamic knowledge as theology, law, mysticism, and Arabic [47]

The success of the *ulamā'* in propagating Islam was probably the result of their close association with the sultān, in serving as his religious advisors This, particularly, can be seen in the reign of Iskandar Thānī and his successor and wife Sultana Taj al Alam Safiyat al Din (1642-1675) Sultan Agung of Mataram was also quite close to his religious advisor Quoting B Van Eindhoven, De Graaf says that the *ulamā's* closest to Sultan Agung were Suran Tani and Kalifagypan The latter, according to Pigeaud was probably Qādī Fakhruddīn [48] Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa is also reported to have surrounded himself with *ulama'*, many of whom reportedly came from the Middle East to Banten [49] Shaykh Yusuf of Macassar is also reported

---

Aceh A few months later, an expert in jurisprudence, Shaykh Ibrahim bin Abd Allāh al-Shāmī came from Syria

46 Karel A Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 94

47 Ismail Hamid, *The Malay Islamic Hikayat* (Bangi, Selangor University Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1983), 22

48 Cited in H J De Graaf, *De regering van Sultan Agung, Vorst van Mataram, 1613 1645 en die van zijn voorganger Panembahan Seda-ing-Krapyak, 1601 1613* ('s Gravenhage M Nijhoff, 1958) 117

49 Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies* 2 241-342

to have always supported and advised Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa in his struggle against the VOC.[50]

Karel A. Steenbrink mentions three other centers of production of religious works in the Malay language which are not mentioned by Ismail Hamid: Palembang, Banjarmasin, and Minangkabau. Palembang was a center of literary activity between 1750 and 1800. This city took over the position from the previous Islamic centers. In this period, local scholars went and stayed in Mecca where they studied and taught Islam. Among the latter were 'Abd al-Samād al Falimbānī, Shihāb al-Dīn bin 'Abd Allāh Muhammad, Kemas Fakhr al-Dīn, and Muhammad Muhy al-Dīn bin Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn. Banjarmasin was another such center. This flourishing period extended from 1750 to 1830. At the time, the main activist in religious matters was Shaykh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjārī. In the Banjar region, many poems, *hikayats*, and *panji* stories were discovered. According to J. J. Ras, the vocabulary of the Banjarese language is much richer than Malay, however, the study of Banjar's history is so far still limited.[51] The last such center was Minangkabau in the nineteenth century, especially between 1850 and 1920. During this period, scholars such as Shaykh Ahmad Khatīb Minangkabau and Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (or Haji Rasul, 1879-1945) published important religious literary works in the ancient Malay language. Schrieke has explained these works carefully and extensively.[52] Haji Rasul, together with his friends Haji Jamil Jambek (1860-1947) and Haji Abdullah Ahmad (1878-1933), was active in the reform movement in Minangkabau, while Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin (1869-1956) who was also from Minangkabau, was active in Singapore. They were directly involved in the realization of changes in the

[50] Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Sepintas mengenai Peninggalan Kepurbakalaan Islam di Pesisir Utara Jawa* (Jakarta: PPPKPN Dep. P & K, 1976), 3.

[51] See J. J. Ras, *Hikajat Bandjar: A Study of Malay Historiography* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), 629.

[52] See B. J. O. Schrieke, *Pergolakan Agama di Sumatra Barat, sebuah Sumbangan Bibliografi* (Jakarta: Bhrata, 1973).

area [53]

The role of the *'ulamā'* can also be seen in the Islamization of Java The Javanese accounts of conversion mostly revolve around the *Wali Songo*, the "Nine Saints,"[54] who are considered to be historical personalities All of them were of non Javanese origin except Sunan Kalijaga These *walīs* exerted a great deal of influence over the *keratons* Like Hamzah Fansūrī, these saints were the prototype of the wandering *ulama'* whose teachings were marked by Sufism tendencies They originally came from the coastal areas Some of them, in various capacities, were also directly involved in administrative office and trade issues Sunan Giri referred to as the "pope" by the Dutch, was an administrator of a "city state" Giri became the center of the coastal Islamic culture and the vanguard of the expansion of the Javanese economy and politics in the eastern part of Indonesia [55]

The Islamization of Sulawesi (Celebes) seems also to have been carried out by the *'ulamā'*, the so-called *datuk* The title of *datuk* has led scholars to suppose that they most likely came from Minangkabau [56]

In Indonesia *'ulamā'* took Islam to areas where it had never existed before and where lines of communication and support to Muslim areas were quite weak They established pockets of Islam among non-believers These areas gradually developed until they became

---

53 Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement 1900 1942* (Singapore Oxford University Press, 1973), 33

54 Their names were 1) Maulāna Malik Ibrāhim, Sunan Gresik (d 1419), 2) Raden Rahmat, Sunan Ampel (d 1470), 3) Sunan Bonang (d 1525), 4) Raden Paku Sunan Giri (d 1530), 5) Sunan Gunung Jati Falatehan (d 1570), 6) Sunan Kudus (1566), 7) Sunan Muria (d 1561), 8) Sunan Darajat (d 1573), and 9) Sunan Kalijaga, Raden Said (d 1585) See Kafrawi, "The Path of Subud," (M A thesis, McGill University, 1969) 20

55 Abdullah, "The Pesantren " 89

56 The names of these datuks were Khatīb Tunggal (Datuk ri Bandang), Khatib Sulayman (Datuk Pattimang) and Khatīb Bungsu (Datuk ri Tiro) See Mattulada, "Islam di Sulawesi Selatan," in *Agama dan Perubahan Sosial* ed Taufik Abdullah (Jakarta Rajawali, 1983), 231, see also Saifuddin Zuhri *Sejarah Kebangkitan Islam dan Berkembangnya di Indonesia* (Bandung al-Ma'arif 1981) 421 432

major political and cultural centers Samudra Pasai, Aceh Demak, Macassar, and Ternate are clear examples of this Despite their geographic dispersion in Indonesia, Islam seems to have had much in common as regards teaching and outlook, one point was that political boundaries seem to have been suppressed among believers The second factor is a phenomenon which occurred in the nineteenth century, i e the spread of various Islamic movements from the central Islamic lands Some movements can be described as reformist, according to Steenbrink [57] The conversion of the Shattāriyya order into the Naqshabandiyya order, the role of Mecca in promoting the Indonesian students' awareness in matters of learning and politics are adduced as signs of this reformism From the seventeenth century onwards, international scholarly networks centered in Mecca and Medina increasingly played an important role in transmitting the impulses of Islamic reformism to the Archipelago by way of the writing and teaching of Malay-Indonesian scholars [58] The networks seem to have led first from India, particularly the Gujarat and the later from South Arabia, particularly the Hadramawt They remained in force until the 20th century, but English and Dutch replacement of Muslim shipping in the Indian ocean and their near-monopoly on the pilgrimage changed the primary contact to Jedda and then to Cairo

The third factor was the *fiqh* movement, which was supported by some prominent *ulamā'*, such as Shaykh Nawāwī al-Bantānī and Shaykh Ahmad Khātib Minangkabau These *ulamā'* were teaching in Mecca and followed the Shāfi`ī school of law, as did Arab *`ulamā'* such as Sālim bin Sumayr and Sayyid Uthmān In terms of *`aqīda*, their teachings followed closely the tradition of *`ulamā'* in the Muslim world Indeed, their positions seemed in some cases to be opposed to traditional beliefs regarding the *tarīqa*, the *qibla*, or direction of prayer or the recitation of the Qur'an, was adjusted studies on the Arabic *kitāb* were simplified, direct relationships with the Arab countries were more intensive On the whole, these kinds of

[57] Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 6-7

[58] Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism," 583.

activities were the precursors of the reformist movements in the twentieth century

Translation and commentary

Since the Islamic centers emerged one after the other in the Archipelago, many *ulama'* taught Islam in their respective regions and some even travelled from one place to another They also fashioned the centers into meeting places for Muslim writers where they composed works about the various branches of Islamic studies or translated books into Malay and disseminated them to various parts of the Archipelago Thus many treatises on Islamic subjects were produced for the Muslim readers and students in these regions These were not only works on religion, but also literary works in the Malay language thus bringing the message of Islam to people in the Malay Archipelago

The period of the 16th and the 17th centuries can be considered the most important period in the formation of the Islamic intellectual and political tradition in Southeast Asia [59] Though the methods of writing copying, and compiling were still simple, Islamic ideas spread gradually The 17th century was not only the scene of international trade activities identified by Reid as "the age of commerce,"[60] it was the time when several Islamic states, such as Aceh, Macassar, and Banten reached their zenith

The *'ulamā's* literary activity can be divided into four waves First, some early writers expanded a hybrid-Islam intended to fit local mystical values It drew heavily on Ibn al Arabi (d 1240 A D) and al-Jilī (d 1417 A D) This trend was to continue as a minor theme later A second wave of writers drew heavily on Sunni authors in order to bring standard teachings to the Archipelago They countered the first group (pantheists) by introducing standard mysticism and *fiqh* A third wave of writers represent the great mystical orders, with ultimate victory

---

59 Taufik Abdullah, "Kesatuan Mistis dan Negara Ideal Pembentukan Negara Islam di Asia Tenggara," (Unpublished paper 1992) 5

60 Anthony Reid *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450 1680* (New Haven Yale University Press, 1988)

going to the Naqshabandiyya, which sought to make Islam more orthodox The final wave of writers represented the modernist reaction, which tried to undermine the Naqshabandiyya, even though it built an orthodoxy of the Naqshabandiyya The works of each group relied on older Arabic tracts as a basis for their exposition

Hamzah Fansūrī (d 1604?) was one of the best known thinkers in the Archipelago In Aceh, he is regarded as the greatest and the earliest writer in Malay, particularly on mysticism [61] Hamzah Fansūrī was very significant as an exponent of Islamic thought Not only is his work the oldest, it also explains the teachings of *tasawwuf* in a highly valuable and aesthetic way His works and teachings seem most likely to have influenced the *Serat Suluk Sukarsa*, the oldest *suluk* in Java [62]

The *sya'ir* of Hamzah Fansūrī is still widely read [63] Many writers still comment on it today [64] Hamzah's poems are preserved in several different collections, the contents of which vary widely They might have been known in the early 17th century in Banten [65] Around the middle of the 17th century, they were known in Macassar [66] The *Muntahi* by Hamzah Fansūrī

[61] R Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, 116

[62] Poerbatjaraka and Raden Mas Ngabehi, *Kepustakaan Djawa* (Djakarta Djambatan, 1957), 103

[63] There are three poems written by Hamzah Fansūrī The first is *Muntahi* This poem is taken from verses in the Qur'an and the Hadīth and from Sufi proverbs with commentary by Hamzah Fansūrī himself This work has been translated by M N al-Attas The second is *Zinat al-Muwahhidin*, another name for *Sharab al-'Ashiqīn*, published by J Van Doorenbos Finally comes *Asrār al-'Arifīn*, also published by Doorenbos and al-Attas See J Van Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Fansuri* (Leiden Batteljee, 1933) and M N al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansūrī* (Kuala Lumpur University of malaysia Press, 1974) The *Asrār al-'Arifīn* is interesting because Hamzah Fansūrī used the *sya'ir* as a medium of propagation of Islam Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 143

[64] A H Johns, "Malay Sufism as Illustrated in an Anonymous Collection of 17th Century Tracts," *JMBRAS*, 30, (1957) 5-35, see also A Hasjmy, *Rubā'i Hamzah Fansūrī, Karya Sastra Sufi Abad XVII* (Kuala Lumpur Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1974), see also M N al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansūrī* (Kuala Lumpur University of Malaya Press 1974)

[65] See for example Jan Edel, *Hikajat Hasanoeddin* (Meppel B T Brink, 1938)

was also translated into Javanese Thus, the work of Hamzah Fansūrī was also used in Java

The works of Hamzah Fansūrī were commented upon by Shams al Dīn al-Sumatrani in four different manuscripts [66] These are among the major works of the Malay Islamic tradition It has been stated that "these writers' influence extended to other Indonesian cultures, and some of their works were translated into other Indonesian languages In the reign of Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), these authors enjoyed the favour of the Acehnese king"[67] The two scholars dominated the religio-intellectual life of the Malay-Indonesian Muslims at the time [68] Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī seems to have been more of a teacher than a mere contemplator [70] One of his most important works is his Sufi composition about the cosmic structure, "the seven grades" It is most likely a commentary on the *Kitab al-tuhfa al mursala ilā rūh al-nabī*, written by Muhammad bin Fadl Allāh al Burhanpuri (1590) [71] This *kitāb* was

---

66 Hamzah Fansūrī, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansurī* ed G W J Drewes and L F Brakel (Dordrecht Foris Publications, 1986), 27, where Hamzah's influence on the *Sja ir Perang Mengkasar*

67 Drewes and Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansūrī*, 194-219 It is not clear how these two were related Most scholars say that they were friends See C A O van Nieuwenhuijze, *Samsu'l Dīn van Pasai Bijdrage tot de kennis der Sumatransche Mystiek* (Leiden Brill, 1945), 19-20, 234, C Snouck Hurgonje, *The Achehnese*, trans A W S Sullivan (Leiden Brill, 1906) 2 13 This may also imply a sort of teacher disciple relationship, as stated by Hasjmy and Abdullah both suggested that Shams al Dīn was a disciple of Hamzah Hasjmy, *Rubā ī*, 11, Hawash Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara* (Surabaya al-Ikhlas, 1980), 41 42

68 M C Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 48

69 Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism," 350

70 See ar-Ranīrī *Bustan'us Salatin*, 3

71 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 181 In his work, Shams al-Dīn, describes this work in detail, more completely than al-Burhanpūrī does himself This small work was the first of many more interesting commentaries to follow Besides the works of Shams al-Dīn and al-Rānīrī which had the same structure another work has been found, the commentary of `Abd al-Ghānī al-Saghīr (d 1731), and one more commentary with an unknown author in the collection of Arabic manuscripts in Jakarta See Van Ronkel, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts Preserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society* (Batavia Albrecht & Co , 1913) nrs CDI and CDIX One more simple description of this commentary was published by A H Johns who thinks this manuscript was written by one of Shams al Dīn's students A H Johns "Malay Sufism" 5 110 This tract is translated by A H Johns under the title, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet* (Canberra

studied by a small group of the *keraton* members, and was also used by Pangeran Diponegoro.[72] It was quite influential in the Archipelago. Not only Shams al-Dīn, but also al-Rānīrī (d. 1658) and many other anonymous authors wrote commentaries on this *kitāb*, which was influenced by the teaching of Ibn al- Arabī and al-Jīlī.

The teachings of Ibn al-'Arabī and al-Jīlī seem to have attracted the *'ulamā'* in the Archipelago. Hamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn were among his followers. Hamzah, who was a member of the Qādirī order even though he emphatically counted himself a follower of Ibn al-'Arabī, travelled widely throughout Java and Sumatra expounding his mystical conceptions in symbolic and esoteric poetry. Shams al-Dīn "enjoyed the patronage of Aceh's greatest monarch of all time."[73] Shortly after this time, i.e. in 1637, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī came to Aceh, and became the religious advisor of Iskandar Thānī (1636-1641). Al-Rānīrī whose mother was probably a Malay, was a scholar from Gujarat in India. He succeeded in persuading the sultān to consent to the persecution of the teachers of heretical mysticism. He attacked the Sufi teachings developed by Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn. He considered their teachings to be examples of *wujūdiyya dalāla*, as well as *mulhid* and *zindīq*.[74] Al-Rānīrī's

ANU, 1965). The teaching of the seven grades also appeared in the *Wirid Hidayat Jati*, written by a famous *keraton* poet of Surakarta, Ranggawarsito (d. 1873). Ranggawarsito is considered to have been the last great poet of the Javanese *keraton*. Like his grandfather, Yosodipuro I and II, Ranggawarsito tried to combine the Javanese tradition with the Islamic tradition. Simuh, *Mistik Islam Kejawen Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsito, suatu studi terhadap Serat Wirid Hidaya Jati* (*Javanese Islamic Mystic of Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsito*) (Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1988). This manuscript belongs to Kandjeng Bendara Raden Ayu Danakusuma, the daughter of Sultan Hamengkubuwana I (1749-92). M.C. Ricklefs, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain: a catalogue of manuscript in the Indonesian language in British Public collections* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 12, as cited in Abdullah, "Kesatuan Mistis," 47, f.n. 27.

[72] Pangeran Arya Panular, *The British in Java, 1811-1816: a Javanese account, a text edition, English Synopsis and Commentary on British Library Additional Manuscript 12330* (*Babad Bedhah ing Ngayokyakarta*), ed. by Peter Carey (London: British Academy, 1992).

[73] P.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," in *Islam: the Straight Path*, ed. Kenneth W. Morgan (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), 395.

[74] The book in which al-Rānīrī attacked the teachings of this Sufi is entitled *Hujjat al-siddīq li daf' al-zindīq*. This work considered Hamzah's teachings to be *mulhid* and *zindiq*

attack on the works of Sufi was probably part of his effort to gain influence in the court He might also have been surprised at how such an esoteric teaching could have become so widespread among the uneducated public as was the case in India ' Al Ranīrī's attacks were so intolerant,[75] that Mulla Ibrāhīm from Medina wrote a *fatwa* condemning the vigorous attack of al-Rānīrī [76] Indeed, al-Rānīrī's position with regard to mystical teaching seems to demonstrate his orthodoxy and is significant in that it provides a corrective to Islamic teaching that was deviating from Sunni teachings This orthodoxy was later on to be responded to by Arshad al-Banjārī in Banjarmasin and Taftayānī in Java

`Abd al-Raūf al-Sinkīlī (d 1693) who returned to Aceh in 1661, also wrote religious books, some of which discuss the teaching of the seven grades He was a moderate *ulama'* and a member of the Shattāriyya order which he introduced to the Archipelago He did not attack Hamzah's or Shams al-Dīn's teachings Al-Sinkili wrote an orthodox explanation of Ibn al-`Arabī's famous lines from *Manāzil al-insāniyya*, quoted in Hamzah's *Asrar al arifin* Al-Sinkīlī gives in his commentary *Daqāiq al-huruf* an explanation of the doctrine of the seven grades, without even altering its terminology [77] Apparently al-Sinkili tried to bridge the gap between the teachings of Hamzah and Shams al Din on the one hand and al Raniri's

---

M N Al-Attas, *A Commentary on the Hujjat al siddiq of Nur al Din al Raniri* (Kuala Lumpur Ministry of Culture, Malaysia 1986), 86 87 Another work containing al Raniri's attack on Fansūrī is *al-Fath al-Mubīn alā al mulhidin* (1657) But his most direct attack is the one contained work in his entitled *Kitāb tibyān fi ma rifat al adyan*, which, according to al-Attas, was written in 1641-1644 See Idem *Ranīri and the Wujudiyyah* 15

75 Drewes "Nūr al Dīn al Rānirī's Charge of Heresy against Hamzah and Shamsuddin from an International Point of View" in *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation*, ed Grijns and C O Robson (Dordrecht Foris Publications 1986) 54

76 Taufik Abdullah, "The Pesantren in Historical Prospect" in Taufik Abdullah and Sharon Siddiqui, eds *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986) 87

77 See Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism" 372 see also A H Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia Reflection and New Directions" *Indonesia*, 19 (1975) 46

78 G W J Drewes, "Indonesia Mysticism and Activism" in *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization* ed Gustave E von Grunebaum (Chicago Chicago University Press, 1955), 290

orthodox commentaries condemning their teachings on the other He was not only a Sufi leader who like Hamzah Fansūrī wrote on cosmic mysticism, but can also be considered to have been the first *ulamā'* to write a Qur'anic commentary in Malay [79] Like al-Rānīrī, he stressed the orthodox line One of his well known students was Shaykh Burhānuddīn, who also built schools (*surau* or *pesantren*) as the headquarters of Shattāriyya in Ulakan [80] It appears that al-Sinkilī also initiated Jawi disciples into the Shattāriyya order There was a Shattāriyya *silsila* (chain) in Java which led back directly to Qushāshī, not to al-Sinkilī But Azra believes that "al Sinkilī played a crucial role in introducing them to Qushāshī "[81] It is also important to note that al-Sinkilī was associated with Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1627-1699), a Sufi leader of the Khalwatiyya order which flourished in South Sulawesi Apparently they were friends, studying together with among others, al-Qushāshī and al-Qur'ānī [82] Until today, al-Sinkilī's name is mentioned by the inhabitants of the Archipelago His tomb is frequently visited by many At the end of the 19th century however, the Shattāriyya, which, according to Snouck Hurgronje had been mixed with non-Islamic elements, was attacked by the Naqshabandiyya and later on, by the reformist movement

When Palembang was the center of Islamic activity, it became the site of a large collection of religious books Unlike in Java, where the centers of study were in the *pesantren*,

[79] The most important study to date of al-Sinkilī's life and works, and in particular of his Sufi treatise *'umdat al-muhtadīn*, is Rinkes' doctoral dissertation, written under Snouck Hurgronje's supervision at Leiden See Douwe Adolf Rinkes, *Abdoerraoef van Singkel, Bijdrage tot de Kennis van de Mystiek op Sumatra en Java* (Heerenveen Hepkema, 1909) `Abd al-Raūf work on Qur'ānic exegesis is *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* This book was studied by Peter Riddel, an Australian scholar Peter Riddel, "The Source of `Abd al-Raūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd," *JMBRAS*, 57 (1984) 113-118, see also Riddel dissertation, " Abd al-Raūf al-Singkili's Tarjuman al-Mustafid," (Ph D thesis, Australian National University, 1984)

[80] Van Ronkel, Ph S "Het heiligdom te Oelakan," *TBG*, 56 (1914) 281-316 Ulakan played a major role in the development of Islam in Minangkabau This small city was the center of Islamic propagation See Taufik Abdullah, *Islam dan Masyarakat, Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia* (Jakarta LP3ES, 1987), 127

[81] Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism," 395

[82] Ibid 415

in Palembang they were to be found in the court Many of these books still survive, and are now housed in museums and large libraries [84] Some of the Palembang manuscripts are in Arabic and in Malay and most of them deal with religion

Among the Palembang writers, the most famous was `Abd al-Samād al Falimbānī (d 1788), a scholar whose work has not yet been fully studied [85] He was one of the great teachers of the day, and many from the Malay world studied with him His Malay translations of two of al-Ghazālī's most famous writings were completed in the late 18th century [86] Matheson and Hooker say

> We have evidence that `Abd al-Samād engaged in teaching In fact, in *Sayr al-sālikīn*, he lists Sufi texts suitable for students, and the level of competence each requires He also wrote letters of recommendation for his students who were applying to religious posts in Java [86]

In his *Sayr al-sālikīn*, he also describes the teaching of the seven grades which he studied from the *Kitāb al-tuhfa al-mursala* by al-Burhanpūrī [87]

Kemas Fakhr al-Dīn and Shihāb al-Dīn[88] were also important Palembang writers Their works belong to a genre of writing known as *kitāb kuning* (yellow books) [89] In this genre, a

---

83 T Iskandar, "Palembang Kraton Manuscripts," in *A Man of Indonesian Letters, Essays in Honour of Professor A Teeuw*, ed CMS Helling and S O Robson (Leiden KITLV, 1986), 67-72 According to Voorhoeve, many manuscripts mentioned by T Iskandar disappeared from the collection See P Voorhoeve "List of Malay Manuscripts which were formerly kept at the General Secretariat in Batavia," *Archipel*, 20 (1980) 71-77

84 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 186

85 He translated al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-hidāya* in 1778, and the fourth book of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' `ulūm al-dīn*, under the title *Sayr al-sālikīn ilā `ibādat rabb al- ālamin*, between 1779 and 1789 See R O Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, 152

86 Virginia Matheson and M B Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition," *JMBRAS*, 61 (1988) 20

87 *Ensiklopedi Islam di Indonesia*, 1987-1988 ed . s v " Abdus Samād al-Palimbānī "

88 No information is yet available about the place and date of birth of these two *ulamā'*

89 G W J Drewes, *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path* (The Hague Martinus

short and simple work is often given a long commentary, more comprehensive than the original work Sometimes a summary, or *Mukhtasar* is given followed by a description This tradition comes from the "stagnation" period of Islamic thought where one could not produce new teachings or ideas As a result, commentary became a medium of expression The commentary sometimes offers a critique and a point of view which is different from the original The commentator often uses the name of the author he discusses as a cover for his own ideas [90] The *Kitāb Mukhtasar* of Kemas Fakhruddīn is a Malay translation of *Kitāb risāla fī al-tauhīd* by Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī (d 1145) which was commented on by Shaykh Zakariyya al-Anshārī (d 1520) and Shaykh `Abd al-Ghānī al-Nabalūsī (d 1731) This book had previously been augmented by Shihābuddīn under the title, *Kitāb al-risāla* Shihābuddīn's work describes the teachings of the seven grades, but only to remind the readers not to study it without a teacher, or without reaching a certain level on Sufi path Shihābuddīn also wrote a commentary on *Kitāb jauharāt al-tauhīd* by Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d 1631) [91]

Although al-Rānīrī could not succeed in eliminating the influence of Hamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn's teachings, his influence on Islamic thought in the Archipelago became significant once the upholders of orthodoxy held sway Arshad al-Banjārī (d 1812)[92]

Nijhoff, 1977)

[90] Steenbrink gives as an example the critique of Nawāwī al-Bantānī, in his *Kāshifa al-shajā`*, of the work by Sayyid Salīm bin `Abdullāh bin Sumayr, *Safīnat al-najāh* See Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 133-134

[91] *Ensiklopedi Islam di Indonesia*, 1987-1988 ed , s v "Syihābuddīn bin `Abdullāh "

[92] Shaykh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjārī was a Sufi and legal *`ulamā'*. He showed signs of intelligence very young, around seven or eight years old Seeing this, the Sultan of Banjar asked his parents to bring their child to the court where he was to study with the children of government personnel He later on was married by the sultān to Bajut Shortly after his marriage, Muhammad Arshad asked the sultān's permission to go and study in Mecca His request was accepted, and, leaving his pregnant wife at home, he went to Mecca with the sultān's financial support According to Steenbrink, up to this day, the house in Shāmiyya Mecca, where Arshad al-Banjārī lived, is still under the control of the Shaykh, who initially came from Banjarmasin Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 92 In Mecca he studied Islamic teachings together with some other leading people of the eighteenth century, including `Abd al-Samād al-Falimbānī, `Abd al-Wahab Bugis, and `Abd al-Rahmān al-Misrī, a famous Batavian *`ulamā'* These four *`ulamā'*

translated and used the *Kitāb Sirāt al-mustaqīm* of al-Rānīrī to write his book on *fiqh* entitled *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*.[93] This indicates that Shaykh Muhammad Arshad from Banjar was aware of and interested in ideas originating in Aceh. *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* was also translated into Javanese by Shaykh Taftayānī, another *'ulamā'* who was expert in Islamic law.[94] These interactions among *'ulamā* who were of different origins and belonged to different tribes seems to reveal a tendency towards mutual understanding.

Having corrected the *qibla* or direction for prayers of Masjid Jembatan Lima, Jakarta, and the *qibla* of Masjid Luar Batang in Pekojan, Muhammad Arshad went to Banjarmasin, where he also corrected the *qibla* of the Masjid Raya Banjarmasin.[95] Later on, it was found out that Arshad had made a mistake. In 1892/3 the *qibla* of the latter mosque had to be corrected again.[96] Before the change was undertaken, a long debate took place. The Sultan of Banjar

---

studied *tasawwuf* under the instruction of Shaykh Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī.

93 As explained above, Arshad al-Banjārī commented on the work of al-Rānīrī, *Sirāt al-Mustaqīm*, under the title, *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, providing a more extensive explanation, mention should be made that Arshad al-Banjārī wrote the commentary following closely the structure of al-Rānīrī. He went chapter by chapter, discussing the same core issues, for they were both followers of the Shāfi'ī school of law. Despite these similarities, Arshad al-Banjārī's work is three times longer than al-Rānīrī's, suggesting many additions. See Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 99. These, however, are generally theoretical and speculative additions. It can be presumed that the extra information consisted of questions brought up by the *'ulamā'*, and was not related to the practices of the general public.

94 Peter Carey, "Javanese Histories of Depanegara: the Buku Kedhung Kebo, its Authorship and Historical Importance," *BKI*, 130 (1974): 273.

95 Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 92. Furthermore the author says that when Arshad al-Banjārī was in Banjarmasin, he built an Islamic school (*pesantren*) outside the city as a gift from the Sultan of Banjar. Around the school, a new community settled in and a village was created. The village was fenced in, and was surrounded by a huge agricultural area irigated with the help of Arshad al-Banjārī. The school was founded outside the city, far from the crowds, as is the Javanese tradition. In fact, Banjar is ethnically and culturally part of the Malay world which was, however, overwhelmingly colored by the Javanese court culture, language, and local tradition. In this sense, Arshad al-Banjārī followed the Javanese tradition. Yet, he had an open-minded sense of ethnicity, which reflected the process of cultural integration that was occurring at his time.

96 It is true that in this period, knowledge of astronomy was much more extensive than it was during the period of Arshad al-Banjārī. The first criticism of the *qibla* of this mosque came from the captain of a Dutch armada who visited this mosque in the nineteenth

asked the opinion of Sayyid `Uthmān (d 1913) on its particular issue Upon the request of the Sultan of Banjar, Sayyid Uthmān wrote a brochure under the title, *tahrīr aqwāl al-adilla* (The analysis of the evidences), which was an extensive explanation of the book of Arshad al-Banjārī on the change of *qibla* According to Muhammad Arshad himself, if it is proved that the direction of a mosque is false, it should be corrected Following this statement, Sayyid `Uthmān commented about changing the *qibla* of Masjid Raya Banjarmasin [97] Two conclusions can be drawn from this story Firstly, Muhammad Arshad was an expert in astronomy, but a fallible one, and secondly his decisions were not final, and could be improved, should correct information be known later on What is significant here is that Sayyid `Uthmān continued the Islamic tradition of clarifying a certain subject by commenting on someone else's work

Even if the main purpose of the Arabs who came to Indonesia was trade, they also taught Islam Sayyid `Uthmān (his full Arabic name was Sayyid `Uthmān bin `Aqīl bin Yahyā al-`Alawī) was one of the greatest *`ulamā'* [98] He wrote more than fifty books, one third of them were written in Arabic, the rest in Malay to serve the needs of those studying Islam in the Archipelago Most of these writings are only short tracts, not more than 20 pages, mostly written to respond to the concrete problems brought to him by Muslims throughout

century He applied a modern method to decide the direction of the prayer See Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C Snouck Hurgronje*, ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), 1 841-843

97 Ibid

98 He was a great *`ulamā'* and became the honorary advisor on Arab Affairs to the Colonial Dutch Government Snouck Hurgronje was very close to him He was born in Batavia, on 17 Rabī`ul Awwal 1238 A H /1822 A D His father was `Abdullah bin `Aqīl bin `Umar bin Yahyā born in Mecca from a descendant of Hadramawt His mother was the daughter of Shaykh `Abd al-Rahmān al-Misrī Sayyid `Uthmān studied Islam mostly with his father and Sayyid Ahmad Dahlān Subjects like Islamic religion, Arabic, astronomy, and ethics were studied informally He went to Mecca for a pilgrimage and to visit his family and stayed there seven years He visited some areas in the Middle East like Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, Iran, Istanbul, and Syria From Syria, he went back to Mecca, then to Jakarta in 1862, where he stayed until his death in 1913 Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 134-135

Indonesia.[99]

Sayyid `Uthmān did not get involved in the politics of the Islamic movement And yet, although he cooperated with the Dutch, he did not reject the struggle for independence Sayyid `Uthmān simply did not see the possibility for Indonesian Muslims to change the situation For this reason he preferred working with the Dutch rather than against them This position was probably caused by his attitude towards the Sufi orders He was really anti *tariqa* and anti-*jihād* Indeed, for this reason, he was believed to be "a double agent" Nevertheless, this accusation is not fully true In fact, Sayyid `Uthmān was considered by many observers to be one of the reformists at the end of the nineteenth century, together with some *ulama* who were active in Mecca

Sayyid `Uthmān wrote many short and inexpensive brochures in a more easily understandable language, so that the wide public could use his books The theme "adaptation to modern times" which we see in the Muhammadiyah movement and others, was not yet articulated at the time But the theme of "purification" was predominant in this period On the whole, the reformism of Sayyid `Uthmān was more restricted than the reformism of Sarekat Islam and the Muhammadiyah Political and social activities were not yet stressed Given his interpretation of *fiqh* and issues relating to *`aqida*, Sayyid Uthmān could be considered as an Islamic reformist [100]

In the 19th century, a great and prolific *`ulamā'* named Shaykh Ahmad Khatīb al-Minangkabāwī (d 1916) served as an *imām* and *khatīb* in Mecca He was born in Bukittinggi in 1860 [101] He was a descendant of both the "adat aristocracy" and the *ulama'*

---

99 To determine the day of *`īd*, he wrote *taudīhu al adilla alā shurūti shuhud al-ahilla*, following the dispute among Muslims which occurred in 1882 in Jakarta about the *īd* He also wrote a book for the use of the *penghulu*, whose knowledge of Arabic was poor, *Al-Qawānīn al-shar`iyya li ahl al-majālis al-hukmiyya wa al ifta'iyya* in 1881 This book was reprinted many times See Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 135

100 Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 136

However, eventually the *'ulamā'* element played a more important role in his life,[102] as he attacked the "adat aristocracy" of Minangkabau.[103]

As an *imām* of the Shāfi'ī school of law, he strongly attacked the practice of the Naqshabandiyya order. His book on this subject is entitled *Izhāru zaghl al-kādzibīn fī tashabbuhihim li al-sādiqīn*, published in 1326 A.H./1908 A.D. This book was enlarged and republished together with two others on the *tarīqas*, particularly that of the Naqshabandiyya. It was written in Malay and published in Padang in 1908, republished in an edition by A. Arif in 1961 and finally reprinted in 1978, as the debates over the order (*tarīqa*) were still going on. In the introduction, Ahmad Khatīb explains that the first part of his book was taken from Shihābuddīn Muhammad Abdullāh's book *al-Bayt ilā inkār al-bid'a wa al-hawādith*.[104]

Ahmad Khatīb was considered to be the teacher of the first generation of the Kaum

---

101 See Hamka, *Ayahku* (Djakarta: Djajamurni, 1967). However, according to Deliar Noer, Ahmad Khatīb was born in 1855. See Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 31. Neither of these sources cites his references.

102 According to Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 31, he was at the forefront of Islamic reformism in Indonesia. But according to Snouck Hurgronje, Ahmad Khatīb was an opportunist with little knowledge. He could only get a good political position and a good financial position through marriage. This negative opinion towards Ahmad Khatīb was probably due to personal dislike on the part of Snouck Hurgronje. In fact, according to Haji Agus Salim in his lecture in Cornell University in 1953, Shaykh Ahmad Khatīb did not have a good relationship with Snouck Hurgronje, during their stay in Mecca. Noer, Ibid., f.n. 1. At a very young age, Ahmad Khatīb was brought by his father to Mecca where he stayed for about ten years. After his studies, he was appointed *imām* and *khatīb* in the Masjid al-Harām. He also acted as a professor in the mosque, teaching Islamic subjects to students. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 141.

103 Ahmad Khatīb attacked the Minangkabau adat-inheritance. The division of an inheritance according to the matrilinial system was strongly forbidden by Ahmad Khatīb. In 1309 A.H./1891 A.D. he wrote a book in Arabic under the title, *'Al-Dā'ī al-masmū' fī al-radd 'alā yuwārithu al-ikhwa wa awlād al-akhawāt ma'a wujūd al-usūl wa al-furū'*. Two years later, he wrote a long description in Malay under the title, *al-Minhāj al-mashrū'*, and the first book was printed on the margins of the second. Among the Colonial Dutch Government, a discussion arose as to whether to forbid this book or not. After consultation with Snouck Hurgronje, this book was allowed to circulate. This book is still widely used throughout Indonesia. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 145.

104 *Ensiklopedi Islam di Indonesia*, 1987-1988 ed., s.v. "Ahmad Khatīb Minangkabau."

Muda, the reformists Some problems relating to astronomy were hotly discussed by the first generation of this group Ahmad Dahlan, for example, after the dispute concerning the Masjid Agung of Yogyakarta was sent to Mecca to continue his studies It is not surprising that in Mecca, Ahmad Dahlan together with other Kaum Muda members such as Muhammad Jamil Jambek, Haji Abdulkarim Amrullah and Haji Abdullah Ahmad, became the students of Ahmad Khatīb, although eventually they did not all follow their teacher consistently

Ahmad Khatīb did not forbid his students to read the books of Muhammad Abduh, he asked them to study them, but this did not mean that he agreed with Muhammad `Abduh's opinions According to Deliar Noer "He did not prohibit his students from reading `Abduh writings (such as *Al-Urwat al-Wutsqa* and his exegesis of the Qur'an) although he did this with the intention of rejecting the ideas of this Egyptian reformist "[105]

The support of Ahmad Khatīb for Indonesian nationalism can be seen firstly in the foundation of Sarekat Islam in 1912 From Mecca he supported the establishment of this organization [106] He opposed Sayyid `Uthmān, who had written a pamphlet "Menghentikan Rakyat Biasa dari Bergabung dengan Sarekat Islam"[107] (Forbidding people to associate with Sarekat Islam) Secondly, Ahmad Khatīb also attacked the Dutch through his writings, equating the Dutch with infidels who would destroy the faith of Islam He used religious arguments rather than political and economic ones [108]

---

105 Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 32

106 Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 186, based on the information of H A Salim in his seminar at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, on February 25, 1953

107 Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam* 146-147 However, Sayyid Uthmān in his speech to the first Congress of SI in Surakarta, on March 23, 1913, even supported the SI as well See Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 269

108 For example he wrote a book *Dau' al-Sirāj pada Menyatakan Cerita Isra' dan Mi`rāj* (Light on Isra' and Mi`rāj), published in 1894 In this book he explains the truth of *Isra'* and *Mi`rāj* and criticized the people who associate with the White people (the Dutch)

On the whole, the writings of Ahmad Khatīb were simplified because they dealt with practical everyday issues and concerns Moreover, most of his works were written in Malay, thereby making a large contribution to Indonesian religious literature [109]

The writings of the *ulamā'*, whether translations, adaptations, commentaries, summaries, or original writings, can be classified into three categories The first is that of popular religious tracts or religious catechisms intended for a large audience The second is that of technical writings on matters like *fiqh Usūl al-fiqh*, and *tafsīr*, mainly studied and discussed in the *pesantren* and the *madrasa* The last category took the form of intellectual discourse, that is, controversies among the *ulamā'* on issues such as *tasawwuf* (mysticism), *'ilmu kalām* (theology), and philosophy These writings served as integrative channels of reform

Despite the differences in the methods they applied, all the *ulamā'* mentioned in this section were enthusiastic and their goal was to introduce and purify the Islamic knowledge and practice of the people Examining the works they produced prior to the twentieth century, it can be concluded that, on the whole, they set the foundation for a reformist ethos through their interaction and mutual understanding Though their reformism was centered on purification, they also made efforts to forge a sense of common identity for their nation In their attempt to apply Islam as a general ethos that transcended the differences of race, language, and culture without negating them They acted as a unifying force that contributed in this period to enhancing solidarity among the Indonesian people

2. The mobility of books or kitāb

The mobility of writings largely in the form of catechisms seems to have flourished in the Archipelago for nearly four centuries [110] Denys Lombard notes that, with the increasing

---

[109] Steenbrink *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 147

[110] Annabel Teh Gallop, "Early Malay Printing, an Introduction to the British Library

number of spice traders passing through the Strait of Malacca "a fascinating picture of the mechanics of international trade taking place in Aceh at the end of the 16th century, and has been the subject of a detailed linguistic commentaries "[111] Although what is meant here by Malay writings is the books printed in romanized script it appears that the printing of Malay in the *Jawi* script was being carried out in Holland prior to 1677 Such an assumption seems plausible, for, as early as 1514, the first extant book to be printed in Arabic script entitled *Kitāb salāt al-sawā'ī*, was published in Fano, Italy by Gregorio de Gregoriis, in 1516 the Arabic script was used in the printing of a polyglot Psalter in Genoa, and by 1595, Arabic printing had commenced in Leiden [112]

In the Malay Archipelago itself, Batavia was the first and for a long time the only center of printing It came under VOC control in 1619 According to Gallop, "the history of printing in the present-day territory of Indonesia is relatively well documented, the most important reference work being van der Chijs' annotated bibliography of imprints "[113] But the best historical accounts of the development of printing in Indonesia are found in the books of Zubaidah Isa[114] and Eduard Kimman [115]

Before the twentieth century, and particularly in the 19th century, a great number of Malay books were printed From that time, the printing presses began to appear in the most remote corners of the Archipelago, and even outside the Archipelago In the Eastern regions,

---

Collections," *JMBRAS* 63, 1 (1990/1991) 85

111 Denys Lombard, (ed), *Le "Spraek ende Woord-Boek" de Frederick de Houtman Premiere methode de malais parle (fin du XVIe s)* (Paris Ecole francaise d'Extreme Orient, 1970), no page number as cited in Gallop, "Early Malay Printing," 86

112 Gallop, "Early Malay Printing," 86

113 Ibid , 87

114 See Zubaidah Isa "Printing and Publishing in Indonesia 1602-1970," (Ph D thesis, Indiana University, 1970)

115 See Eduard Kimman, *Indonesian Publishing* (Baarn Hollandia, 1981)

they were used in Ambon, Kupang and Banjarmasin, while in the Western regions presses were active in many large cities, such as Batavia Semarang, Bencoolen, Padang, Penang, Johor, Singapore, and Malaka Abroad, printing in Malay book was done in Leiden, London, Oxford, Paris Rotterdam, and Serampore [116] According to Matheson and Hooker, during the 19th century, Malay *kitābs* were printed in the Middle East, in Egypt, Istanbul, and, after 1885, in Mecca [117]

Information on the printing of books in Jawi can be gleaned from the article of Matheson and Hooker, "Jawi literature "[118] Although this article is mainly about Patani literature, it demonstrates the presence of a continuous tradition of Jawi literature dating at least from the early nineteenth century The publishing of the *kitāb Jawi* in local terms from the 19th century up till now has been documented as follows

> There is a lively local Jawi literature which has not been reported by foreign scholars This literature includes a wide range of subjects, though some seem more important than others in terms of reprinting and appear commonly in small cheaply printed books, which however have considerable print runs (up to 4,000) in local terms [119]

Some of these works circulated throughout the whole Malay Peninsula (Indonesia, Malaysia, Patani and Brunei) [120] They are essential element in the history of Islam in the Malay world

---

116 See Gallop, "Early Malay Printing," 115-121

117 Virginia Matheson and M B Hooker, "Jawi Literature," 48

118 Ibid

119 Ibid , 1

120 From the information found in about 42 texts in the sample of Matheson and Hooker, it is clear that Shaykh Dā'ūd was the most prolific of the *kitāb Jawi* writers and that he also produced the longest and the largest works The works of Shaykh Dā'ūd are used outside Patani, and are published in Penang, Singapore, and Indonesia An article in *Tempo*, (Jakarta, June 27 1987) describes the works of Shaykh Dā'ūd and some of his pupils, and notes that his work *Bulūgh al-Marām*, which is not currently available in Malaysian book stores, is still widely used in *madrasas* and *pesantrens* in Indonesia See Matheson and Hooker "Jawi Literature," 59

The publishing of Islamic books flourished in the 19th century after the introduction of printing presses to Arab countries Particularly relevant for Indonesians was the establishment of a government press in Mecca in 1884 which printed not only books in Arabic but also in Malay The Malay section of this press was under the supervision of Ahmad b Muhammad Zayn al-Patanī Al-Patanī was thereby able to publish his verses, most of which are in Malay Another Jawi scholar resident in Mecca Zayn al Din al Sumbawī had a short treatise lithographed as early as 1876 Prior to the 1880's several of Da'ud b Abdullah al-Patanī's works were printed in Bombay The example of the Malay section in the Mecca press was soon followed by publishers in Istanbul and Cairo This besides Dutch and British printing establishments, stimulated Islamic publishing efforts in the Archipelago, too One of the pioneers there was Sayyid `Uthmān of Batavia However, before Sayyid Uthman, Kemas Hāji Muhammad Ashārī of Palembang made his first lithograph prints of the Qur'ān in 1854 By the 1870's and 1880's there must have been lithograph printing of Malay works in Singapore, but little is known of this phenomenon In 1894, the junior ruler of Riau, Muhammad Yūsuf, established a printing press, *the Matba a al Ahmadiyya*, on the island of Penyengat This trend has continued into the 20th century, with West Sumatra being the only region where a significant number of *kitāb kuning* were printed [121]

In Malay literature three types of writing can be identified The first is the *hikayat* type, e.g the so-called *Sejarah Melayu* The term *hikayat* was frequently used to refer to a local or regional history Some of these works were written in order to legitimize or to praise a sultan The writing of history, in fact, usually could not be separated from political exigencies In Javanese literature, such a story is called a *babad* A variation on this type is the hagiographic *hikayat* relating to biographies of the prophets, particularly the Prophet Muhammad Another category of Malay literature is the *sya ir*, from Arabic, *shā ir* This kind of literature was used for religious propagation, and for the most part concentrates on ethics

---

[121] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Kitāb Kuning Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu," *BKI*, 146 (1990) 230-231

Finally, there is a category taking the form of admonitions, the equivalent of the Arabic *kitāb*. These types of literature were widespread and used throughout Indonesia since early times The spread of these books helped create a common understanding of Islam among the people of the Archipelago

The Malay books dealing with history are mostly *hikayats* There are four categories of these First, there are stories which relate to certain areas, for example, *Sejarah Melayu* (*The Malay Annals*), *Hikayat Banjar* (*The Story of Banjar*), *Sejarah Banten Rante-rante* (*The History of Banten Chains*) *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (*The Story of Hitu Land*) Second there are stories which talk about an individual for example, *Hikayat Zulkarnayn* (*The Story of Alexander the Two horned*) *Hikayat Amīr Hamzah* (*The Story of Amīr Hamzah*), *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya* (*The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyya*) They usually deal with legendary figures drawn for the Middle East The third type deals with religious figures, such as the *Hikayat Iblis* (*The Story of the Devil*), *Hikayat Fatimah bersuami dikawinkan Allāh SWT dengan `Alī* (*The Story of Fatimah given by God in marriage to Alī*) and *Hikayat Cerita Nabi Mūsā Bermunajat* (*The Story of the Prophet* Moses who Prays) Finally, there are works related to court etiquette, ethics and political practices, such as the *Tāj Salātīn* (The Crown of Kings) and *Bustān Salātīn* (The Garden of Kings)

The *Sejarah Melayu* or the *Malay Annals* is also called *Sulālat al-Salātīn*[122] So far, 29 manuscripts are known, all in varying styles, and with different contents and lengths Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsji published one of these manuscripts in 1832, which he edited to reflect his own ideas about historical events In 1952, Munsji's work was republished by T D Situmorang and A Teeuw, at the request of their students[123]

122 "This book was probably written in Johor between 1612-1615 A D , during the period of decline of Johor and the Malaka Kingdoms Malaka was dominated by the Portuguese since 1511 A D and Johor at that time was attacked and dominated by Aceh " See Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 90

123 Situmorang and Teeuw explain that this work is not complete, for it does not fulfill the qualification of a scientific book However, because it was needed by students, and

The style of *Hikajat Bandjar* remains a complicated story Some scholars[124] have done research on it, but information still remains obscure This is probably due to the fact that the Banjar literature is not yet widely studied unlike the literature of Aceh, Palembang, Johor, and Riau

The coming of Islam to Majapahit is described in this *hikayat* One may wonder why the Banjar people mention Majapahit According to Steenbrink, for the Banjarese Java and its kingdoms had long been considered to enjoy a privileged culture that set the tone for their own region, which explains why that particular point was important to them [125]

Sejarah Banten Rante-rante (*Hikayat Hasanoeddin*) is also a *hikayat* which synthesizes elements of two cultures Like the *Hikayat Banjar*, which synthesizes the Javanese and the Banjarese cultures, the *Hikayat Hasanoeddin* is set in a region where Javanese culture and language have more influence [126] According to Steenbrink, this *hikayat* is a Malay version of a *babad*, the term used in Java for a historical work in Java It was written in 1800 [127] The contents of the *Hikayat Hasanoeddin* are also quite close to those of the *babads* of Java Information about the "Nine Saints," the *Wali Songo*, dominates the first part of this *hikayat*,

---

because time and energy were not sufficient to correct the situation, this edition was republished See T D Situmorang and A Teeuw, *Sedjarah Melaju Menurut Terbitan Abdullah (ibn Abdulkadir Munsji)* (Amsterdam Djambatan 1952), as cited in Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 90

124 Including J J Ras, *Hikajat Bandjar, A Study of Malay Historiography* (The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1968)

125 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 115 The conversion to Islam of the Banjarese King is also mentioned in this *hikayat* During the decline of Majapahit, some areas of its kingdom were dominated by other kingdoms, one of the latter being Demak Faced with internal difficulties, Pangeran of Samudra asked for help from the king of Demak who promised to help if the Pangeran converts to Islam The Pangeran eventually converted to Islam and was given the title of sultān and an Islamic name

126 Hoessein Djajadiningrat, *Tinjauan Kritis tentang Sejarah Banten* (Jakarta Djambatan, 1983) This work is considered to be the first research on these literary works, a Ph D dissertation, published in 1913 in Dutch

127 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan* 118

which describes the coming of Islam to West Java It also gives the genealogy of Sultan Hasanuddin, the first descendant of one of the "Nine Saints," Sunan Gunung Jati [128] The setting of this *hikayat*, being mostly West Java, might have been influenced by the environment described in it Compared to other saints like Sunan Giri, Sunan Bonang, and Sunan Ampel Sharīf Hidayātullāh receives more attention in this *hikayat* [129]

Although this *hikayat* concentrates on events in West Java, it also describes the situation in East Java and elsewhere For example, it describes Majapahit, the course of the Holy War waged with the goal of Islamizing Lampung (p 48-49), and the war against the Pakuan (p. 52-56) Besides giving central emphasis to Sharīf Hidāyatullāh, it also mentions Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Ampel, and Sunan Kalijaga

Two conclusions can be drawn about the *Hikayat Hasanoeddin* Firstly, an attempt was made to combine two different cultures the Javanese and the Malay. The author of this *hikayat* drew on *tasawwuf* teachings either from Malay texts or a hybrid of Arab and Malay ones According to Steenbrink,[130] the structure of this *hikayat* is similar to that of the writings of Hamzah Fansūrī The result indicates that the original author considered that Malay and Javanese elements could be integrated into one tradition Secondly, this *hikayat* attests to the mobility of the *'ulamā'* who, in this period, wandered from one area to another

---

128 Ibid

129 It is important to note here that when Djajadiningrat compared the *Babad* with the Portuguese sources, he found that Sunan Gunung Jati or Shārif Hidāyatullāh appeared in the Portuguese source as Falatehan, an *'ulamā'* from Pasai, who made his career in Java and built a place of worship close to Cirebon Djajadiningrat, *Tinjauan Kritis*, as cited in Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 118 This *hikayat* was published together with the Dutch translation, and several other notes about smaller problems by Jan edel, *Hikayat Hasanoeddin*, as cited in foot note 65 The *hikayat* deals with many religious topics related to history, meaning that this *hikayat* was written by an *'ulamā'* who knew about history as well Some parts mention the conversion of many to Islam This is due to the fact that Sunan Gunung Jati and Hasanuddīn were described as preachers of Islam It also mentions the Holy War against Majapahit, emphasizing particularly the role of Hasanuddīn, and the benefit of this war

130 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 121

The last local *hikayat* is *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* This *hikayat* deals with the development of the people of Ambon, particularly the Hituese Imam Rijali, the author of this *hikayat*, describes the social organization of the Hituese until the middle of the 17th century The manuscript, according to Manusama, was "written on the request of Patingaloan between 1646 and 1657 in Macassar after Rijali has found refuge there after leaving Hitu "[131] This *hikayat* begins by telling of the arrival of four groups of people Seramese, Javanese, Jailolos, and Goramese, in the northern part of Hitu, Ambon's norhern peninsula

Several conclusions can be drawn from this First, this *hikayat* is written in Malay in the 17th century, an indication that Malay was commonly used in this area Second, this *hikayat* was written by Imam Rijali of Hitu at the request of Patingaloan of Macassar, showing co-operation between individual different origins Finally, this *hikayat* explains the integration of four different ethnic groups in Hitu, that is the Seramese, Javanese, Jailolos, and the Goramese

The second category of *hikayat* is the *hikayat* which is related to a particular individual and which has the purpose of entertainment and/or religious propagation, rather than of fulfilling political agendas There are three famous examples of such *hikayats* The *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnayn* (*The Story of Alexander the Two-horned*), recounts anecdotal stories about the legends of Alexander the Great, it resembles a heroic novel, emphasizing the role of Khidr as the advisor of Iskandar, rather than any religious themes [132] The second is *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* This *hikayat* is also a hero anecdote and a romantic tale based upon Persian legends [133] Although the main actor is Amir Hamzah, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, the story is meant to entertain rather than to impart religious lessons The last example is

---

131 Z J Manusama, *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (Leiden Manusama, 1977), 267

132 Khalid Hussain, *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* (Kuala Lumpur Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1967)

133 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 49

Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya This *hikayat*, recounting entertaining stories, also provides religious dogma According to Steenbrink, it is probably this combination which has allowed the book to spread throughout the world [134] Although these *hikayats* originated in Persia, the Malay people tend to consider them as their own [135]

Hikayat Iblīs, *Hikayat Fatimah bersuami dikawinkan Allāh SWT dengan Bagında 'Alī r a*, and *Hikayat Cerita Nabi Mūsā Bermunajat* are three *hikayats* dealing with religious figures The *Hikayat Iblīs* is a conversation between the Prophet Muhammad and Iblīs Iblis tells the Prophet about his own likes and dislikes Iblīs is happy when people do not worship or when they do forbidden things [136] The *Hikayat Fatimah bersuami dikawinkan Allāh S W T dengan Bagında 'Alī di atas langit* describes the personality of Fatīmah, the daughter of the Prophet This *hikayat* also mentions that good things come in four four holy books, four famous prophets, four companions of the Prophet, four hills, four names of months, four days, four nights, and four women (including Fatimah) [137] *Hikayat Ceritera Nabi Mūsā Bermunajat kepada Tuhan* describes the physical meeting of the Prophet Moses with God It also talks about ethics and charity These *hikayats* are still widely read by the people of the Archipelago

In the remaining category we find two of the most important works in Malay literature: *Tāj al-Salātīn* and *Bustān al-Salātīn* Both works are considered to be high Islamic literature in

---

134 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 123-125 For more information about this *hikayat*, please refer to L F Brakel, *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya A Medieval Muslim-Malay Romance* (The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1975-6)

135 It is recounted that, after the first attack of the Portuguese on Malacca, the soldiers asked that the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya* be read to them However, the sultān served them *Hikayat Amīr Hamzah* (The Story of Amīr Hamzah) instead Upon the soldiers' insistence, the king, finally, agreed to their demand See R O Winstedt, *A History of Malay Literature*, 59-60 One can deduce from this story that *hikayats* were widely understood at the time

136 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 131

137 Ibid , 132

Indonesia and are widely known and studied by scholars *Tāj al-Salātin* was written and translated into Malay in 1603 A D by Bukhārī al-Jauhārī [138] According to Steenbrink, it is still doubtful whether or not this work has a Persian origin, given that parts of it seem to emulate the Persian style [139] However, the *Tāj al-Salātin* text is not found in Persian speaking areas The text of *Tāj al-Salātīn* was translated into French in 1878 [140]

Bustān al-Salātīn is the *magnum opus* of Nūr al-Din al Raniri It is composed of seven chapters (about 1500 pages) It has not yet been published in full [141] An incomplete edition of it was published in Malaysia in 1966 This book covers various themes advice to people and proverbs relating to the traditions and ethics of the kings and elites, *tasawwuf*, and the history of the world

The second form of Malay literature, besides the *hikayat*, is the *sya`ir*, which served as a medium of expression offering a religious message Besides the Malay *sya`ir* of Hamzah Fansūrī, another *sya`ir* worthy of note here is the *Sya`ir Ken Tambuhan* (The Poem of Ken Tambuhan) This *sya`ir* is considered a Hindu *sya`ir*,[142] for its plot resembles a certain *panji* story [143] A Teeuw argues that the *Sya`ir Ken Tambuhan* is not a Hindu work since it was

---

138 Ismail Hamid, *The Malay Islamic Hikayat*, 40

139 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 136 He says, furthermore, that many poems are composed after Persian models, such as *mathnawī*, *rubā`i*, and *ghazal* This indicates that the scholars of this period mastered not only Arabic but also Persian

140 Bokhari De Djohore, *Makota radja-radja ou La Couronne des rois*, translated and annotated by Aristide Marre (Paris Maisonneuve, 1978) For more explanation on this work, please refer to Khalid Hussain, *Taju'l Salātin* (Kuala Lumpur Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966); see also Liaw Yok Fang, *Sejarah Kesusastraan Melayu Klassik* (Singapura Pustaka Nasional, 1984) 200-202

141 See Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 137

142 Russell Jones, "The Origins of Malay Manuscript Tradition," in *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation*, ed Grijns and Robson (Dordrecht Foris Publications, 1986), 121-143

143 It was translated into English by Marsden in 1812, and into French by Dulaurier in 1843 In 1885, Klinkert published its Malay version, as a prelude to translating the Bible into Malay

written before the 17th century and we know that no *sya'ir* can be dated back to that period Moreover, some of the vocabulary of this work was borrowed from Arabic and Persian Teeuw states that the *sya ir* form was introduced through the efforts of Hamzah Fansūrī

> It may be presumed, that Malays in various places began to employ this new form for romantic poems of the Ken Tambuhan type, perhaps in seventeenth century Johore, Palembang, in Riau, in Banjarmasin, in Batavia and Ambon, in short throughout the whole extent of the Malay world [144]

Like other poems emulating Hamzah Fansūrī's style, *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*[145] is also quite popular in Indonesia This work describes the Macassar War from the viewpoint of Sultan Hasanuddīn Its main theme is the role of the sultān in the war [146] The religious element of this work can be seen in the introduction (*muqaddima*) The central episode is about holy war, the Dutch are described as infidels The Islamic notions illustrated in this *sya'ir* are realistic, the ideas are practical, not mixed with abstract contemplation [147] The author of this *sya ir*, Entji' Amin, was of Malayan origin This is also an indication that at that time, a Malay could write the history of a different tribe, like the Macassarese

Sya'ir Perang Menteng Jihad di Palembang (*The Rhymed Chronicle of the Menteng War The Holy War in Palembang*) is another example of *sya'ir* The subject of this *sya'ir* is the colonization of the Palembang kingdom It talks about the war between the Dutch, under the leadership of Mutinghe or Menteng, and the kingdom of Palembang in 1819 The Islamic concepts in this *sya'ir* slightly differ from those of *Sja ir Perang Mengkasar*, particularly with the respect to the role of the order (*tarīqa*) In this period, the Sammāniyya order had become popular in that area, under the influence of `Abd al-Samād al-Falimbānī [148]

---

144 A Teeuw, "The Malay Sha'ir, Problems of Origin and Tradition," *BKI*, 12 (1966), 446.

145 Entji' Amin, *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar* (*The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War*), edited and translated by C Skinner ('s-Gravenhage Nijhoff, 1963)

146 This work is also called *Sya'ir Pahlawan*

147 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 156

The last *sya'ir* to be examined here is *Sya'ir Burung* (*Poem of Bird*), also known as *Sya'ir Bayan Budiman* (*Poem of the Wise Parrot*).[149] The opening section of this *sya'ir* talks about the benefit of acquiring knowledge. It praises God and the Messenger of God, it mentions a meeting begun by a "parrot" who discusses the highest knowledge. The second part deals with the six principles of faith and the five Islamic principles.[150] One of these *sya'irs* was written in 1278 A.H./1861 A.D. according to the closing word of the text.

The final form of Malay literature, besides the *hikayat* and the *sya'ir*, consists of Arabic works and pamphlets translated into Malay. These works are focused particularly on religious issues. Unlike the previous forms, which concentrated mostly on "literature", this one mainly deals with the concept of religion. One example of this form is *Qasidatu'l Burda* (Poem of the Mantle, verses in praise of the Prophet Muhammad). This Arabic text was translated into Malay in literal fashion which shows that "there was a strong tradition of translation from Arabic to Malay." This method of translation indicates that the translator had mastered the Arabic language.[151] However, the translation has not quite replaced the original, for according to Saifuddin Zuhri, the Arabic text is still widely read in Indonesia, particularly in the

---

148 Chatib Quzwain, *Mengenal Allāh, Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh 'Abdus-Samād al-Palimbani* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985), 114-138.

149 In the 19th century, one of the centers of Islamic knowledge was located on the small island of Penyengat. See Virginia Matheson and Barbara Watson Andaya, "Pikiran Islam dan Tradisi Melayu: Tulisan Raja Ali Haji dari Riau (ca. 1809-1870)," in *Dari Ali Haji hingga Hamka*, ed. Anthony Reid (Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, 1983), 97-119, see also Matheson, "Questions Arising from a Nineteenth Century Riau Sha'ir," *RIMA*, 17 (1983): 1-161. On that island, there was a palace established by a Buginese who had acquired a high official post in the Malay kingdom. The descendants of this family continuously possessed the position of "Yang di-Pertuan Muda" (The Viceroy) and led the people of Penyengat. However, the Colonial Dutch Government restricted their role by asking them not to get involved in political activities. The Buginese began to concentrate their attention on the tradition and history of Malay. The production of literary works widely increased. As a result, the Dutch eventually sent their scholars to that island where they could study what was considered to be the purest Malay. Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 159-160.

150 Steenbrink, *Mencari Tuhan*, 161.

151 Ibid., 173-174.

pesantrens [152]

To sum up this chapter the mobility of the *'ulamā'* in the Malay world and the reading materials that they produced and spread since the 14th century were generally responsible for the penetration of Islamic Malay works throughout the Archipelago

Cultural reality seemingly became the motivation for the closer cultural interaction When internal trade began, initially centered in Malacca, the Malay language became the main medium of communication In addition, the religious books used in the *pesantrens* had already strengthened the Islamic religious foundation On the whole, it is not surprising, that following the decline in power of the Islamic states in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, Islam and the Malay language emerged as the early contribution to modern "Indonesian nationalism."[153]

---

[152] K H Saifuddin Zuhri, *Guruku Orang-orang dari Pesantren* (Bandung, al-Ma'arif, 1974), 144-145

[153] Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 99

CHAPTER II

THE INDONESIAN MUSLIMS AND FOREIGN COLONIALISM

1. Muslim resistance

The Portuguese were the first bearers of European colonialism to the Archipelago These vigorous and bold southern Europeans arrived in Indonesia a full hundred years before the Dutch In the course of their conquest of Malacca in 1511, the Muslims became their main victims The soldiers of Malacca demonstrated the spirit of anti colonialism A sense of Islamic solidarity emerged among the Muslim soldiers, encouraging them to resist the Portuguese attack [1]

After the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in August 1511, Sultan Mahmud fled to Pahang and, later on, stayed in the islands of Muar and Bintang From there he went on attacking the Portuguese in Malacca, but was unsuccessful [2] The ruler of Java was also trying to gain control over the central trade of Malacca Some specific campaigns conducted by the Javanese were successful, but most were not In the same way, the ruler of Aceh also tried to attack Malacca, but also failed During the battle with the Portuguese in the Strait of Malacca in 1521, Mughāyat Shāh (1514-1529?) successfully overpowered the Portuguese armada led

---

1 See fn 133 to chapter 1 of this thesis It is in the traditional historical work *Hikayat Iskandar Zūlkarnayn* that the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* and *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* are mentioned R O Winstedt, *A History of Malay Literature*, 59-60 Thus, it can be understood that both *hikayats* were considered to be local in origin, although both are Persian stories They considered Islamic stories as theirs and Islam seems to have been the medium of their solidarity Both these elements encouraged the struggle against the enemy

2 Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 37

by Jorge de Brito [3] Alā'uddīn Ri`āyat Shāh or al-Qahhār, the young brother and the successor of Mughāyat Shah, twice attacked Malacca (in 1547 and 1568) Under al-Qahhār's leadership, the power of Aceh consisted of international forces, including Turks [4] Al-Qahhār sent a delegation and a ship loaded with pepper to Istanbul to buy artillery in order to continue the struggle against the Portuguese (1562) This story, *Lada Secupak*, is still a popular legend among the Acehnese [5]

A conflict involving the Portuguese also occurred in the Moluccas in the 16th century The clash between the sultan of Tidore and the Portuguese took place mainly because the sultan had a close relationship with the Spanish Moreover, the presence of the Spanish on the island was strongly protested by the Portuguese The Portuguese on the other hand intervened in the internal affairs of Tidore This intervention aroused the suspicion and hatred on the part of the people of Tidore towards the Portuguese As a result, the Portuguese were attacked by the local rulers In 1530, the widow of Sultan Bajangullāh and Taruwes, both *walis* of the Pangeran Ayalo conspired to attack the Portuguese, but also failed On May 27, 1531, the rebels attacked the Portuguese and murdered their Commander Sultan Bāb Allāh (1570-1583) of Ternate, although in power for a short time, defeated the Portuguese who had killed his father, Sultan Khairun in 1570 [6] Ternate began to expand as a fiercely Islamic and

[3] Denys Lombard, *Le Sultanat d'Atjeh au temps d'Iskandar Muda, 1607-1636* (Paris Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1967), 36

[4] Denys Lombard, *Le Sultanat d'Atjeh*, 37

[5] This story tells us about the sultan of Aceh's delegation to buy artillery However, they would have stayed longer had the pepper not been almost finished They still had one more measure of pepper, and this which was used to buy the artillery Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 58, see also Anthony Reid, *The Contest for North Sumatra, Atjeh, the Netherlands and Britain 1858-1898* (Kuala Lumpur Oxford University Press, 1969), 3

[6] The bad relationship between the Portuguese and Sultan Khairun of Ternate increased the hostility between them Worried about the relationship between Gowa and Malacca, the Portuguese invited Khairun to meet them to discuss peace The Portuguese, however, betrayed and killed Khairun See Uka Tjandrasasmita, "Peranan dan Sumbangan Islam dalam Sejarah Maluku," (A Paper Presented in Seminar Sedjarah Maluku on October 5-10, 1971 held Lembaga Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional Dep PK, Jakarta), 11-12

anti-Portuguese state under Khairun's rule and that of his son, Sultan Sa`id ' Before 1576, the local people there revolted and threw the Portuguese out of the island, an event which marks the beginning of the decline of the Portuguese rule in the Archipelago In 1612, they were finally overpowered by the Dutch [8]

The Dutch had inherited the aspirations and the strategy of the Portuguese [9] In 1596, the Dutch established in Banten the main pepper port in West Java Soon the Dutch came into conflict with Indonesian Muslims [10] To avoid rival Dutch companies competing with each other, the VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) was chartered in 1602 as a private stock company empowered to trade, make treaties, build ports, maintain troops, and operate courts of law in the East Indies

Since the goal of the VOC was to dominate the trade, the Muslim traders felt their business threatened This apparently contributed to strengthening their Islamic solidarity against the Dutch In addition, the vigorous monopolistic system of the Dutch encouraged the animosity of the Muslims [11]

Indonesian rulers, however, were of mixed motives in their relationship with the Dutch One group attempted to use the Dutch for their own purposes, as at Mataram They discovered eventually that such assistance came at high cost Some other rulers, like Sultan Ageng of Banten fiercely opposed the Dutch as an economic threat, Islam was used as militant rallying cry The Dutch conquered and eliminated them

---

7 M C Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 22-23

8 Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 43-45

9 M C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 23

10 Ibid., 24

11 Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 71

Why were the Dutch so successful? There are several answers. First, superior technology and knowledge They possessed better guns, the skill in using them and a knowledge of tactics (this is not to say Indonesians were weak or ill-armed for they did quite well in battle on a number of occasions) Secondly, the Indonesians were not united in their efforts to get the Europeans out Such action would initially have violated trade ethics, where free trade was a norm so long as taxes were paid The Dutch ports destroyed the system while at the same time making themselves the primary traders They had unity and purpose and good organization Again, the Indonesian Muslims were nearly a match, but lost a very close competition Islam was an important rallying-point

Having become more firmly established, the Dutch colonial government waged war upon the Islamic states in the Archipelago Their political expansion reached all the islands From Batavia (today Jakarta), where they centralized their authority, by applying their politics of *divide et impera*, divide and rule, they eventually succeeded in their conquest of one Islamic state after another Gradually, they brought those states under their control

Having succeeded in subduing these long-established states, the Dutch began to intervene in internal policies They played a role in determining the succession to the throne, they had a hand in formulating the laws and policies and in appointing the staff of the bureaucracy The traditional bureaucracy was respected by the Dutch but it was dependent on the latter Its members played an important role in the *cultuurstelsel* (culture system) in that they served as subordinates who controlled the plantations, thus allowing the Dutch to continue their trade [12]

The struggle of the Indonesian Muslims against the Dutch colonial government can be divided into three historical phases The first was the royal opposition or the resistance offered by the sultans This was undertaken by the Islamic sultanates who strove against

[12] Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies Selected Writings of B Schrieke* (The Hague W Van Hoeve, 1966), 1 190

colonialism in order to defend their economic interests and their political hegemony The second was the aristocratic challenge or resistance of the nobles This was led by aristocrats who assumed the role of the increasingly weakened sultans They struggled against the domination and the economic monopoly of the colonial ruler This period was marked by a fragmentation of the elite class and by competition over the succession among the royal families Whereas some of the royal families supported the colonial ruler some did not Indeed, civil war often broke out The third phase was that of the struggle of the *ulamā'* against the foreign powers They hoped to free the *keraton* of foreign influence and colonial exploitation The *ulamā'* were for the most part based in the villages, where they were able to generate protest movements, and to cloak them in the symbolism of messianic and millenerian struggle All these phases comprised various types of resistance according to the areas in question and the circumstances It is also important to emphasize that even if the resistance movements seem to have been local in nature to some extent there was a feeling of solidarity between people of all regions, who demonstrated this by helping their fellow Muslims *Jihād fī sabīl Allāh* and the spirit of *Allāh Akbar* were always hallmarks of their struggle

While the Dutch are usually considered to have exercised imperial control over the entire Indonesian Archipelago during the 17th and 20th centuries, closer analysis reveals that this was not so Dutch control was limited for most of this period to the island of Java, and even there it was not complete By the time of the famous *Pax Neerlandica*, there were still many regions of the Archipelago that remained independent In fact, this period should be considered the true beginning of Dutch colonialism [13]

---

13 While Aceh, for example, was still an independent state, the Javanese and Minangkabau were already dominated by the Dutch, and the Dutch were starting to penetrate the social and political sectors This explains, for example, why these two areas in particular later on produced the first modernists to be recognized nationally

The royal opposition

Indonesian rulers were actually concerned about dynastic success, the limitation of Dutch influence, and the well-being of their subjects, including the religious sector Thus, they mobilized all important sectors of society to help them, and Islam was often very important in that mobilization

The sultans who initiated the first phase of resistance against the Dutch during the 17th century included some outstanding figures Some were very capable and came to be remembered as upholders and heroes of Islam Such opposition occurred until the early 20th century, but most particularly in the 19th century, the period of the greatest strife Although nearly all these sultans were defeated, and often deposed and exiled, they continued to be remembered and respected [14]

By about 1630 the Dutch had made much progress towards the military foundations for commercial hegemony over the seaborne trade of Indonesia They were established in Ambon, in the heart of the spice islands, and also had their center in Batavia The VOC entered into many peace treaties However its hegemony could not be established merely by treaty Both major and minor Indonesian traders were still able to challenge the VOC's plans The VOC was therefore obliged to adopt an even more aggressive military stance, sometimes undertaking direct intervention into the internal affairs of several Indonesian Islamic states.[15]

The first phase of this aggressive period began in Eastern Indonesia, in the spice islands of Moluccas The Dutch had been established there for some time, but their efforts to impose a monopoly over the production of nutmeg, corn, and clove in particular had only had limited success A local alliance was now emerging against them, consisting primarily of Muslims of

---

[14] Taufik Abdullah, "Kesatuan Mistis," 38

[15] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 59

Hitu and of Ternaten origin in Hoamoal, with the support of the Macassarese [16]

The struggle of the people of the Moluccas led to an alliance between the Moluccans and the Macassarese They both wanted to maintain their trading relationship with the Malays The resistance of the Hituese was led by the Muslim commander Kakiali (d 1643), who had been a student of Sunan Giri in Java In 1633 he succeeded his father as the leader of the Hituese community He immediately supported anti VOC plots and concentrated his actions in Wawani, where the entrenchment the of Butungese and Macassarese had been accomplished by Daeng Mangoppo [17] The members of this anti VOC alliance began to build a fortress in the interior. The resistance of Muslim guerillas grew and began to increasingly attract the attention of the VOC Kakiali took steps to forge an alliance among the Hituese, the people from Hoamoal and Gowa, and he encouraged the 'illegal' spice trade Under De Vlemming, the Dutch moved against the Ternaten opponents in this alliance, which included some Malay allies, in one of the bloodiest series of campaigns in the VOC's history From 1652 to 1658, the battles continued around Hoamoal, where the VOC came out victorious [18]

When the VOC began expanding its domination of the trade monopoly in Macassar in order to subdue this kingdom, Sultan Hasanuddin (1653 1669) realized the importance of preparing for an eventual war In 1660, he united his vassals, including the rulers of Bima, Sumbawa, and Butung, against the Dutch Conflict between the VOC and Macassar was almost continuous As Ricklefs relates "a large VOC fleet of 31 ships attacked Gowa in 1660 and forced Sultan Hasanuddin to accept the peace of August-December 1660 But this agreement brought no end to the disputes "[19] The VOC forces were mainly supported by their ally with Arung Palakka and his Toangke people (Buginese) on the one side, whereas on the

---

16 Ibid

17 Z. J Manusama, *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, 140, 144-145

18 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 59-61

19 Ibid

Gowa-Tallo side, the forces consisted not only of Gowa-Tallo's vassal states in the outer islands, but also (and even greater extent) of Malays Armed conflict took place on October 26, 1667 in Macassar where Sombaopu fell to the hands of the VOC, and ended with the negotiation of the so-called Bungaya Treaty on November 13, 1667 The struggle lasted until Macassar was defeated in 1669 by the alliance of the VOC with Arung Palakka [20]

In *Sja ir Perang Mengkasar*, Entji Amin tends to see the war in black and white, as a contrast between Right (Macassarese) and Wrong (the enemy), which accounts for the note of anathema that often creeps into his description of the VOC and its allies Such terms as *Welanda sjaitan, si la'nat Allah, Amiral kutuk kafir yang bachil, Welanda iblis, Kapitan murtad, Welanda kuffar, Welanda kafir yang bain*,[21] which are the rule rather than the exception, imply a definite religious antagonism For example

> Tuanku Sultan jang amat ghana
> Sempurna arif lagi bidjaksana
> (Your Highness, Sultan most lavish
> Perfect in wisdom and understanding)[22]

> Tamatlah sudah memudji Sultan
> Tersebutlah perkataan Welanda sjaitan
> (After paying homage to the Sultan
> We begin the story by telling how the damned Hollanders) . [23]

By 1670, the position of the VOC in Eastern Indonesia had been consolidated The Dutch still faced intrigues and resistance in that area but there was no longer any major Indonesian power opposing them

---

[20] Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 98-109, see also Leonard Andaya, "*The Makassar War*," *The Heritage of Arung Palakka, A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 73-99

[21] Their meanings 'devilish Hollanders', 'accursed of God', 'cursed, infidel greedy Admiral', 'fiendish Dutch', 'the renegade commander', 'the Dutch infidels', 'the Dutch outright infidels' Entji' Amin, *Sja ir Perang Mengkasar* (*The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War*), edited and translated by C Skinner ('s-Gravenhage Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), 10

[22] Amin, *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*, 72-73

[23] Ibid , 76-77

Sultan Agung (1613-1646) was the greatest of the Mataram rulers, and was the most influential warrior king Not all the battles described in Javanese chronicles can be confirmed by VOC sources, but the general picture of Mataram's conquest seems accurate [24] Confrontations between the sultan of Mataram and the VOC occurred often between 1627 and 1629 During this period, some attacks were launched by Mataram against Batavia, even if none was successful [25] No further significant attacks against the VOC took place until the end of the Mataram hegemony in 1677 [26] The VOC occupied the northern coast of Java, and its army penetrated further inland King Amangkurat I fled the court before his enemy could reach it [27] About one and a half centuries later, the Java War took place under the leadership of the aristocrat, Pangeran Diponegoro

The defeat of the kingdom of Mataram can be explained by the fact that in the middle and later years of the seventeenth century, Mataram experienced serious internal conflicts, which the VOC at Batavia could not ignore Consequently, Amangkurat I alienated powerful people and important regions and, in the end, initiated the largest rebellion of the 17th century, this brought about the collapse of the dynasty and the intervention of the VOC [28]

Onghokham points to the emergence of a kind of dependency-theory in Java, whereby the ruling elite accepted colonialism In fact, colonialism in Java was never established by force but by negotiation It came about as a result of diplomacy, not conquest According to him, the Dutch had never faced a serious attack except by Sultan Agung, but had always sided with the Javanese kings The later rebellion staged by Diponegoro was, by contrast, in

---

24 See Sudibjo Z H , romanizer and ed . *Babad Tanah Jawi* (Jakarta Dep PK, Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia Daerah, 1980), 229-470

25 Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 139

26 Ibid , 152

27 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 72

28 Ibid., 67

reaction to the domination of the Dutch in the *keraton*,[29] as will be explained later

In West Java, the Sultan of Banten also faced a crisis during this period which ended with VOC intervention The reign of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa of Banten (r 1651-1683) was considered as that kingdom's golden age Sultan Ageng was a firm opponent of the VOC His party opposed it, and more militant Muslim members of the elite took his side In 1671, groups of Macassarese arrived in Banten, among whom was a famous teacher called Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassārī [30]

The revolt of the Sultan of Banten lasted from 1676 to 1684 In April 1679, Banten attacked the factory of the VOC in Indramayu In January 1680, attacks such as these spread to Central Java, reaching even the area of Batavia These hostilities caused some loss of trade for the VOC However, in February of 1682, a war broke out between Sultan Ageng and Sultan Hāji which weakened the position of the kingdom of Banten In April 1682, the VOC managed to occupy the factory of Batavia [31] Some royal families, together with Shaykh Yūsuf remained actively in revolt in continuance of the struggle

The VOC, in its effort to control the spice trade, also came to Banjarmasin. It faced resistance from the Sultan of Banjarmasin As a result, the VOC failed many times to establish its factory in Banjarmasin The Javanese (Mataram), the Macassarese, and the Buginese occasionally allied themselves with the Banjarese against the Dutch, however, the former groups would sometimes oppose the Banjarese, rendering the struggle against colonialism in the region ineffective Sultan Muhammad Alīuddīn Amīnullāh, who reigned

[29] According to Onghokham, "the unsuccessful attack of Sultan Agung, the fact that for Mataram, the north coastal cities including Surabaya, Gresik, and Tuban, were a more serious challenge than the Dutch For centuries this alliance under Raden Fatah had overpowered Majapahit, and posed a threat to Mataram This led Mataram to accept the Dutch and even become their ally " Onghokham, "Reaksi Terhadap Kekalahan," *Prisma*, 11 (1984) 45-46.

[30] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 75

[31] Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 204-208

from 1759 to 1761, was militarily anti-VOC and fought against it, he kept the company out of the region.[32] After his death, however, the VOC was able to gain a firmer control over Banjarmasin. By the treaty of March 8, 1789 between the Banjarese and the VOC, the VOC established a trade monopoly over the Banjarmasin areas.[33] However, the aristocratic resistance broke out again in Banjarmasin in 1859.

The Sultan of Palembang also fought against the VOC. With the support of the Malays and the people of Minangkabau, Sultan Badaruddīn (r. 1804-1812, 1813, 1818-1821), who was no friend of the Dutch, attacked in the year 1819 a ship of the VOC. Mutinghe, the Dutch Commander and his ships left Palembang for Muntok.[34] This conflict spread to Bangka, Lingga, and Riau, where resistance was attempted after it became known that Badaruddin had overcome the Dutch. Although Badaruddīn attempted to strengthen his defenses, the Dutch attacked him on June 20, 1821. The Dutch were initially defeated. But on July 1, 1821, they occupied the *keraton* of Palembang and expelled the dynasty.[35]

Jambi had had both good and bad relations with the VOC since the 17th century, but, by 1724 the VOC post there was abandoned. In 1855, Sultan 'Abd al-Rahmān Nasiruddin (1841-1855) was succeeded by Sultan Tāhā Saifuddīn (1855-1858), whose refusal to sign a treaty precipitated a Dutch attack in 1858. Tāhā fled into the interior, carrying with him all of his important possessions. Supported by the Dutch, his successors recognized Dutch sovereignty, but Tāhā and his supporters maintained control over much of the interior and led the resistance for many decades. Tāhā was finally killed in April, 1904 in the interior by a

---

32 Ibid., 257.

33 J.C. Noorlander, *Banjarmasin en de Compagne in the Tweede Helft van de 18e Eeuw* (Leiden, 1935), 182, cited in Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1: 255-258.

34 M.O. Woelders, *Het Sultanaat Palembang 1811-1825* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), 18-19.

35 Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1: 272-276.

government patrol [36]

Under the reign of Raja Muda IV in Riau, Raja Hāji (1777-1784), "Yang di-Pertuan Muda" (the Viceroy) in Riau, was able to stabilize the political situation in the Strait of Malacca, as is described in *Tuhfat al-Nafīs* [37] As a result, the Riau-Johor dynasty flourished, not only in trade, but also in religious activities By this time, Raja Hāji signed a peace agreement with the Dutch who were already in Malacca and had established themselves in Batavia Although the agreement was reached peacefully eight years later, according to *Tuhfat al-Nafīs*, Raja Hāji got into trouble with the Dutch after a British ship drifted ashore in Riau and the Dutch saw the action as being directed against them Consequently, in 1782, Riau was attacked and besieged by the Dutch, but it was not until 1784 that Raja Hāji was able to repel them The Dutch fleet was soundly defeated in this action Hoping to revive the Malay world, Raja Hāji attacked Malacca However, a large armada arrived from Batavia in order to assist Malacca [38] On June 18, 1784, the Dutch once again attacked Raja Hāji and his Buginese forces After a long and brave resistance, Raja Hāji was murdered [39] He is remembered as Raja Hāji al-Marhūm fī Sabīl Allāh [40]

In September of 1811, battles associated with the Napoleonic War in Europe led to first French and then British control of Indonesia Thomas Stamford Raffles was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java (1811-1816) He stands in the annals of British colonial history

---

36 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 132 For an explanation of the Jambi resistance, see Abdullah, "Reaksi terhadap Perluasan Kuasa Kolonial· Jambi dalam Perbandingan," *Prisma*, 11 (1984) 12-27

37 Raja Ali al-Hāji ibn Ahmad Riau, *Tuhfat al-Nafīs Sejarah Melayu dan Bugis* (Singapore. Malaysia Publications, 1965), see also the edition and translation of this work prepared by Virginia Matheson and Barbara Andaya under the title, *The Precious Gift=Tuhfat al-Nafīs*, (Kuala Lumpur Oxford University Press, 1982), 19.

38 Winstedt, *A History of Malay Literature*, 147-150

39 Raja Ali al-Hāji ibn Ahmad Riau, *Tuhfat al-Nafīs*, 207

40 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 66

as a great reformer, beginning the modernization of administration and colonial policy [41] Even if many of his reforms were never implemented, several of his principles were followed by his successors However, the fight against foreign domination continued, even though it was the British rather than the Dutch who held political control

Sultan Hamengkubuwono II (r 1792-1810, 1811-12, 1826-8) took up arms against the British in 1812 in what become known as the Sipahi War The court of Yogyakarta was plundered, its library and archives looted, large sums of money taken, and Sultan Hamengkubuwono II deposed and exiled to Penang Another member of the royal family, Natakusuma, was rewarded for assisting the British and was given an independent inheritable domain of households in the Yogyakarta region, along with the name Pakualam I (r 1813-1829)

The Aceh War (1873-1912) is considered to have been the longest and most widespread war that the Dutch were forced to fight in the Archipelago This war is also regarded as a 'social' war,[42] for all the people of Aceh were involved in the campaigns The penetration of Dutch influence into Aceh was a slow process, delayed by the colonizer's inability to exploit differences in the largely homogenous population Although the port of Aceh was opened to the Dutch, and they controlled Aceh through a protectorate at the very early stage, actual Dutch control over the administration and internal affairs was done very late for several reasons First, the Dutch had their hands full with Java and the Spice Islands They did not need to physically control Aceh if a treaty would guarantee the pepper trade there When the Dutch nearly lost Sumatra to the British because of their indifference to it in the 19th century, it was then that they moved to consolidate the entire island Second, the Acehnese were able to keep their own dynastic problems from involving the Dutch On Java the Dutch could not

---

41 Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java* (London Murray, 1830), vol 2

42 W F Wertheim, *Indonesie van Vorstenrijk tot Neo-kolonie* (Meppel Boom, 1978), 57-58, as cited in Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Islam tentang Islam*, 68

ignore political maneuvers in the Indonesian court, on Aceh, not central to their interests, they felt they could afford to, and the Acehnese rulers did not seek to involve them Finally, a spirit of independence on the part of the Acehnese, with an Islamic society at its base, was an important factor in helping Aceh to remain independent It proved even stronger as a mobilizing factor against Dutch penetration at the time of the war Moreover, during the war, the spirit of the struggle was strengthened by the ideology of *jihād fī sabīl Allāh* The *Hikayat Perang Sabi* helped to instill among the Acehnese the will to propagate Holy War

> Njoe hikajat moeprang sabi
> geusoeroeh moeprang sabiloelah
> peureuman alah nyang that soetji
> (Here is the story of Holy War
> Calling people for conducting Holy War
> As stated in the Holy Qur'an) [43]

At the beginning, under the leadership of the *uleebalang* (aristocrats), the *'ulamā'* were the main actors in the mobilization and strengthening cf strategy and loyalty The key unifying factor as well as the symbol of the struggle was the sultan himself, who was at the heart of it.[44] However, according to Anthony Reid, the "leadership passed out of their hands into those of the *'ulamā'*," i e , the ulamā' were natural leaders of the population [45] Siegel says, "the shift in leadership was not permanent The Dutch restored the oeleebalang to their former positions as Dutch rule was consolidated "[46] According to Wertheim

---

[43] H T Damste, trans , "Hikayat Perang Sabi," *BKI*, 84 (1928) 548

[44] Sultan Mahmūd began the struggle However, after his death due to cholera, the resistance movement was taken over by Muhammad Daūd Ibrāhīm He was appointed sultan of Aceh in 1884 See Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 387, Ricklefs says that Tuanku Muhammad Dāūd was proclaimed by the Acehnese Sultan Ibrāhīm Mansūr Shāh (r 1875-1907) Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 137

[45] For the history of Dutch involvement in and discussion over the division in the Acehnese leadership, see Anthony Reid, *The Contest for North Sumatra Acheh, the Netherlands, and Britain, 1858-1898* (Kuala Lumpur Oxford University, 1969)

[46] James Siegel *Shadow and Sound, The Historical Thought of Sumatran People* (Chicago The University of Chicago Press, 1979), 230

> Only after the Dutch had decided, upon the advice of Snouck Hurgronje to make a deal with the *adat* chiefs in order to disengage them from the religious leaders, who were to be persecuted unto their remotest hiding places could the Dutch military and technical superiority force a decision [47]

However, whatever the case, the three groups were involved in that war [48] As the Dutch attacked Pidie, from the eastern coast emerged Teuku Tapa and his numerous followers, proclaiming the *jihād fī sabīl Allāh* Islam seemed to be an important factor They were using Islamic teachings in explaining the importance of *jihād* The three leaders Panglima Polem, Teuku Tapa and Teuku Umar organized a meeting in June 1989, and gave their leadership to Teuku Umar [49] During an attack by van Heutz, Umar was murdered, and many *uleebalang* of Pase surrendered On November 26, 1902, the Dutch found the hiding place of the sultan and arrested him Panglima Polem escaped, but on September 6, 1903, together with King Kemala and about 50 followers, he surrendered to the Dutch Panglima Polem was nevertheless subsequently appointed commander of Mukim XXII, one of the administrative district of Aceh And so ended the Aceh War, although collective and individual resistance still went on [50]

Resistance under the inspiration of the aristocrats

Fragmentation of the elite seems to have been the main challenge encountered by the aristocrats Besides struggling against a colonial ruler, they also had to deal with the

---

47 W F Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition* (The Hague W Van Hoeve, 1964), 66

48 See Ibrahim Alfian, *Perang di Jalan Allah Perang Aceh 1873-1912* (Jakarta Pusataka Sinar Harapan, 1987), 230-231, Having weakened the position of the sultan, "mass mobility was encouraged by the *adat* chiefs and continued more intensively by the *'ulamā'*"

49 The Dutch Governor Deijkerhaff (1890) was the first to try approaching the aristocrats or the *uleebalang* The Dutch attracted Teuku Umar, one of the members of *uleebalang*, on whom the Dutch relied very much, by giving him artillery in 1896 However, Teuku Umar sided with the Acehnese, who began to fight against the Dutch On the advice of Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch concentrated on attacking the leading figures of the struggle This offensive allowed Teuku Umar, Panglima Polem and their forces to escape to Pidie Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 384-390

50 Ibid

divisiveness of civil war Due to the usurpation of many sultans by their rivals, often instigated by the Dutch, revolts were organized by various members of the royal families Mass polarization occurred Some supported the Dutch, whereas others supported the opposition The revolts contributed to freeing the royal palaces from colonial intervention It is also important to mention in relation to this resistance that very often the areas which rebelled against the Dutch were supported by people and tribes from other areas

The aristocrat Pangeran Diponegoro has been highly respected among Indonesian historians for his struggle against the Dutch [51] The War of Diponegoro or the Java War (1825-1830) is considered to have been the greatest opposition movement faced by the Dutch in Java Diponegoro was the oldest son of Hamengku Buwono III (Sultan Raja) Since his mother was not of royal blood, Diponegoro was not appointed to succeed his father. According to Kartodirdjo, this caused him disappointment and he sought to be influential in court politics [52] But according to the *Babad Tjakranegara*, Diponegoro in fact refused to be crown prince He preferred to leave this position to his young brother, Jarot, and was willing to accompany and help Jarot when he was to be proclaimed sultan [53] Pangeran Diponegoro struggled against the Dutch in order to free the court from Western influence [54]

[51] After he was exiled to Manado in 1830, Diponegoro wrote his autobiographical *babad* See Diponegoro, *Serat Babad Dipanagara* (Soerakarta Albert Rusche, 1917), 2 vols

[52] Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 380 A certain ambiguity seems to hang about this issue De Klerk for example is inconsistent in explaining the motives of Diponegoro's struggle in his book, *History of the Netherlands East Indies* (Amsterdam B M Israel, 1975), 2 47, he says that Diponegoro "was bitterly disappointed, and as a disappointement is often synonymous with shame in the mind of the natives, it sometimes led to dispair and even to crime " However on page 157, he says, "there is not a stitch of evidence to prove his dissatisfaction with the course of events, nor did he make appeal to the government " However, Ann Kumar in looking at this inconsistency says, it is "perhaps an extreme example, but it does illustrate well the lack of any definitive interpretation of this period and its personalities " Ann Kumar, "Dipanagara (1787-1855)," *Indonesia*, 13 (April 1972) 69

[53] Cited in Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 145 After the death of Sultan Hamengkubowono III, the 13 year old Pangeran Jarot became Sultan Hamengkubowono IV (1814-1822) Diponegoro became his advisor, a role which he also played for Sultan Hamengkubuwono V

Diponegoro's case is quite central in this case He combined court culture and the *pesantren*, since he had spent time in both He had a following at court because of his birth and his involvement in court intrigue But he also lived at a *pesantren* for a time and won the *'ulamā's* support He was to call on both elements to aid him in winning control of the *keraton* from his Indonesian and Dutch enemies He apparently had goals beyond that of merely winning political power and the place of Islam in that scheme was very prominent

Diponegoro's guerilla movement spread all over Java Yogyakarta, Semarang, and the coastal areas were attacked by the Dutch Only with the support of the people of South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi did Diponegoro's forces succeed in defending these cities General de Kock wanted to negotiate with Diponegoro The latter, however refused this proposal His forces were increased by the support of Kiyai Maja, a well known *ulama'* from Surakarta, and Sentot Prawiradirja, an aristocrat from Pajang Their Islamic spirit strengthened the people, particularly those from Pajang, against the Dutch In addition, by proclaiming the ideology of *jihād*, Holy War, they struggled against the infidels, and encouraged the loyalty and the spirit of war of the people The concept of Mahdi and *Ratu Adil*, the Just King, influenced Diponegoro The two concepts are from different cultural spheres and the combination of the two in Diponegoro shows something about the use of Islamic symbols in the Javanese society of that age In a section of *The Surakarta Kraton Babad* written in 1825, which deals with the outbreak of the Java War, Kyai Taptayani, the teacher of Diponegoro's young brother, Adisurya, advises Diponegoro about the right moment for the *Ratu Adil*, the Just King, to proclaim himself and to wage the Holy War [55]

Kang tansah tinatun-tantun datan lyan Ki Taptajani

---

54 Fragmentation of the elite occurred after the Javanese political elites lost their real authority The Dutch government managed all government functions Some members of the court were involved in the government, whereas some disagreed and attacked the Dutch For this reason, aristocrats like Diponegoro revolted

55 Peter Carey, "Javanese Histories of Dipanegara The Buku Kedhung Kebo, its Authorship and Historical Importance," *BKI*, 130 (1974) 273

denira Pangeran arsa mangodoni aprang sabil
(Those who were constantly being consulted
were none other than Kjai Taptajani consulted
on the Pangeran's wish to wage the Holy War) [56]

Gĕrgĕting tyas suranireng galih
denya arsa aprang sabilo(l)ah
(His heart was enflamed (and) emboldened
as he wished (to wage) the Holy War)[57]

This movement lasted until Pangeran Diponegoro was arrested on March 28, 1830 and exiled to Manado [58] Consequently, the administrative and political authority went to the Dutch, charismatic authority was lost The intervention of the Dutch in the *keraton* life increased As a direct consequence of this situation, the *ulamā'* pulled out of the *keraton* [59]

The goal of Diponegoro's struggle was not only to restore Javanese independence, but also to establish an Islamic society, free from western influence

> Dipanagara's declared intention of 'raising up the high state of Islamic religion in Java' (*mangun luhuripun agami Islam ing Tanah Jawa sedaya*), which was probably prompted by Kyai Maja, epitomized the hopes of some Javanese at this time for a return to the exercise of Javanese-Islamic law based on the precepts of the Qur'an and other legal commentaries [60]

To achieve this goal, the people were ready to become martyrs in their struggle against the Dutch It has been said that the "Islamic strain was quite clearly part of the rebellion, fostered by *'ulamā* in the prince's entourage and discernible in organizational and other features of Diponegoro's short-lived 'government' "[61] The *'ulamā'* outside of the *keraton* joined

---

[56] Idem , trans , and intro , *Babad Dipanagara An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825-1830)* (Kuala Lumpur Printed for the Council of the MBRAS by Art Printing Works, 1981), 42-43

[57] Ibid , 11-12

[58] Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 380-384

[59] Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 144

[60] Carey, *Babad Dipanagara*, xlvi

[61] John Bastin and Harry J Benda, *A History of Modern Southeast Asia. Colonialism, Nationalism, and Decolonization* (Englewood, N J Prentice Hall, 1968), 95.

Diponegoro.[62] To strengthen his resolve, he was declared one of the most prominent leaders of Java and received the honorific titles of "*Sultan Ngabdulkamit Erutjakra Sajidin Panatagama Khalifat Rasul Sain*," and "*Sultan Ngabdulkamid Erutjakra Kabir al Mukminin Khalifat Rasul Allah Hamengkubuwana Senopati Ingalaga Sabil Allah Ing Tanah Djawa*"[63] With these titles, he not only wanted to show he recognized the legitimacy of the *keraton*, but also to establish his own *keraton*.[64]

The Diponegoro War constituted an effort of the aristocrats of the *keraton* to regain and reestablish the freedom of Java, under the banner of Islam, and, in this sense, Diponegoro "was the first 'nationalist' leader in modern Javanese history,"[65] and "as such he is doubly important to Indonesian nationalism."[66] After the defeat of Diponegoro, however, the social radical movement became more public. Particularly after the introduction *cultuurstelsel*

---

62 Peter Carey, in his seminar entitled, "Kaum Santri dan Perang Jawa," held before a group of IAIN lecturers on April 10, 1979, at Oxford University, England, expressed his surprise at the number of *kyai* and *santri* who helped Diponegoro. In the Javanese and Dutch manuscripts, Carey found that 108 *kyais*, 31 *hājis*, 15 shaykhs, 112 *penghulus*, and 4 religious teachers took up arms with Diponegoro. Cited in Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 30.

63 The precise meaning of such royal titles is often unclear. Those used by Diponegoro may be taken roughly as, respectively, "Sultan Ngabdulkamit, from the Arabic name Abd al-Hamid (The Slave of God), Erutjakra (The Just King), Sajidin (The Lord of the Faith), Panatagama (The Regulator of Religion), Khalifat Rasul Allah (The Caliph of the Prophet of God), Sain (?)" and Sultan Ngabdulkamid (The Just King), Kabir al Mukminin (First among the Believers), Caliph of the Prophet of God, Hamengkubuwana, Senopati Ingalaga Sabilullah (Commander in Holy War) in Java. See A.B. Cohen Stuart, "Eroe Tjakra," *BKI*, 3rd series, 19 (1872) 286. According to Ricklefs, 'the name of Abd al-Hamīd I, who at that time was the only Ottoman ruler actually to have claimed a universal authority similar to that ascribed by Javanese texts "to Sultan Ngrum (from Arabic Rūm, Byzantium hence Constantinople, Turkey, the Ottoman Sultanate) was the major figure in the Javanese mythical literature." M.C. Ricklefs, "Dipanegara's Early Inspirational Experience," *BKI*, 130 (1974) 241.

64 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 148-149.

65 Carey, *Babad Dipanagara*, xlvi. Steenbrink states that Diponegoro tried to develop Islamic teachings, however, his analysis and methods were not those which the modernist applied in the 20th century. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 31.

66 J.M. Van Der Kroef, "Prince Diponegoro: Progenitor of Indonesian Nationalism," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 8 (1949) 425.

(culture system) Java was never free from agricultural revolts and movements, led by religious leaders [67] continuing the third phase of Javanese resistance

In South Kalimantan, some aristocrats were also in conflict with the Dutch The succession in the kingdom of Banjarmasin was once again the main reason for the Dutch intervention in this court Banjarmasin was the scene of a more familiar form of Indonesian Muslim aristocratic resistance After the death of Sultan Adam, the Dutch placed an unpopular prince, the son of a previous sultan by a Chinese wife, upon the throne as Sultan Tamjīd Illāh (r 1857-1859) [68] Pangeran Hidāyat, the son of a noble mother had, in fact, already been appointed by the sultan as his successor Isolated incidents ensued, and finally led to the Banjarmasin War (1859-1863) Pangeran Hidāyat and Pangeran Prabu Anom, his brother, revolted against the Dutch and the *keraton* Pangeran Prabu Anom was arrested and exiled to Bandung Pangeran Hidāyat kept on struggling but surrendered in 1862 The Dutch then took over the *keraton* of Banjarmasin [69] A prince from another branch of the Banjarmasin royal family, Pangeran Antasari, joined with a peasant leader, Sultan Kuning, to launch another major rebellion Dutch administrative offices, a European coal mining establishment and missionary posts were attacked The Dutch brought in reinforcements and regained the military initiative by the end of 1859, but the war took a heavy toll on Dutch finances and manpower Rural Islamic leaders led a courageous and determined resistance [70] Kiyai Demang Leman, Hāji Bu Yāsīn, and Kiyai Langlang sided with Antasari against the Dutch and great success ensued The people then recognized his leadership and gave him the title used for the highest religious leaders, *Panembahan Amīr al-Dīn Khalīfat al-Mukminīn*, on

---

67 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 154

68 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 131

69 Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 384-385.

70 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 131, see also W A Van Rees, *De Bandjermasin Krijk* (Arahem Thieme, 1865), 1 40-50, as cited in Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 49-50

March 14, 1862 He led the struggle until he died on October 11, 1862 in Hulu Taweh [71] By 1863, the major battles were over but sporadic resistance continued until 1905, particularly led by religious leaders like `Abdul Rashīd This movement was called "*Beratip Beamal*" or "*Beratip Beilmu*"[72]

`Ulamā' resistance or protest movements

The struggle against the VOC was also encouraged as an anti-infidels endeavour by the religious leaders Shaykh Yūsuf from Macassar, for example, fought in Banten alongside Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, Pangeran Purbaya, Pangeran Surıadi Wangsa in 1667-1682 However, in February 1683, he left Banten and was followed by 1500 2000 troops consisting of Macassarese, Buginese, Javanese, Sundanese, and Malays Many local rulers also sided with him, such as T Yudamenggola, P Kidul, Bupati Panimbong, Kepala Traju, Parung, Nagura, and Karang Tumenggung Sukapura also sabotaged the VOC The VOC attacked the central defenses of Shaykh Yūsuf, Raja Bima, and Aria Kusuma and many leaders were killed After a long fight, Shaykh Yūsuf surrendered on December 14, 1683 [73]

In the flaring up of anti-*kāfir* (anti-infidel) sentiment in the last quarter of the 17th century, one prominent figure emerged Ahmad Shāh Iskandar, also called "Yang di-Pertuan Raja Sakti" (The Sacred King) from Minangkabau Considered to be a charismatic and sacred man, for he traced his genealogy back to Iskandar Zulkarnayn, he strengthened his legitimacy as a leader He conducted a Holy War against the Dutch and was a member of Wangsa

---

71 Hardi, *Meningkatkan Kesadaran Nasional* (Jakarta Multi Harun, 1988), 36 37, see also Idem, *Menarik Pelajaran dari Sejarah* (Jakarta Haji Masagung, 1988), 62 68, see also Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 47

72 See P J Veth, "Het Beratip Beamal in Banjarmasin," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie*, 3e serie, 3e Jaargang (1973) 197-202, as cited in Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 50-51 *Beratip beamal* or *beilmu* was a religious group of people who practiced certain recitations in order to be immuned to pain and to increase their bravery

73 N MacLeod, "De Onderwerping van Bantam 1676-1684" *Indische Gids*, (1901), III 625-628, see also Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 208-209

Minangkabau in Pagarruyung [74] His network of authority was not only based on the people of Sumatra, but on those of Sulawesi, Johor, Java, and even Ambon as well In 1685, he was in Belitung with his navy of 300 ships, with crews made up of natives of Minangkabau, Macassar, Riau Johor and Jambi Pangeran Aria from Palembang and the King of Jambi sympathized with Ahmad Shāh He invited people from many different parts of the country to support him, among others people from Aceh, West Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Mataram His main goal was to unite these various anti-VOC movements which arose in East Java [75] Indeed, he had supporters from many different ethnic groups [76]

On the west coast of Minangkabau, Dutch expansionism clashed violently with the first major Islamic revival movement of Indonesia Minangkabau had been a center of social, religious and political change since the late eighteenth century As such, it had a significant influence on the rest of Indonesia more than on the many other outer islands [77] The Padri War (1819-1832), which was influenced by the Wahabiyya, a puritanical movement in Arabia, may have been a revivalist movement The local rulers with Tuanku Imām Bonjol (1772-1864) as leader, worked together with the Padris[78] to fight the Dutch

[74] J Kathirithamby Wells "Ahmad Shāh Ibn Iskandar and the Late 17th Century 'Holy War' in Indonesia," *JMBRAS* 43 1 (1970) 48-63

[75] Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 278

[76] Ahmad Shāh concentrated his activities on Western Sumatra He went to Bengkulu, where the ruler of Sungai Lenan, like himself was a descendant of Wangsa Minangkabau There he established a strategic base for his struggle His name became very famous in Silebar In January 1688, Ahmad Shāh together with the Bugginese, the Macassarese and the English evicted the Dutch from Silebar See Kartodirdjo *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 278 Anti-*kāfir* sentiment flared up among the people who supported the Acennese and the religious people particularly those belonging to *tariqas* Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn from Ulakan the leader of the Shattariyya order, had a great influence in that respect Another religious leader, Raja Bongsa from Priaman had contacted Ahmad Shāh and made him support his struggle against the Dutch Ahmad Shāh's influence also appeared in Ambon with a *tasbih* movement led by Husain, who came from Gujarat (1687) In Java also the revolt of Captain Jonker was very much influenced by Ahmad Shāh He fought against the VOC in 1689, a company to which he had actually dedicated many years of service See Katirithamby-Wells "Ahmad Shāh," 60-62

[77] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* 132

There are different interpretations of the intervention of the Dutch against this movement Dutch influence was not very strong until the Padris appeared on the scene In the first analysis, the Padri efforts to change Minang society led to Dutch involvement on the side of the supporters of *adat* who asked for Dutch aid Hence the Padris were partly responsible for the Dutch presence In the second analysis, the Dutch were looking for excuses to intervene and used Padri efforts at conversion as an excuse In this scenario the Padris are real patriots However, before the Dutch intervened, there was a nflict between the *'ulama'* and the supporters of *adat*, for the *'ulamā'* rejected some practices of the latter As a result, the *adat* supporters asked for help from the Dutch The *ulama'* soon realized that this movement was not only a religious movement but also a form of Islamic resistance against the colonial penetration The Padri intended to evict the Dutch from the villages allowing the free spread of Islam in these areas and the establishment of religious activities Eventually however, the Dutch attacked the village where Imām Bonjol lived He escaped before the village was occupied, on September 21 1832 The Padri movement died soon after the surrender of Tuanku nan Alakan on October 30, 1832 Kaum Padri was puritanical and fundamentalist in nature and faced the resistance of the *adat* aristocracy who tended to conciliate religion and *adat* Encouraged by this internal conflict, the Dutch made an alliance with the *adat* aristocracy, thus strengthening their position in West Sumatra [78]

As far as the anti-*kāfir* sentiment[79] of the *'ulama'* is concerned, it is also important to point

---

78 Kaum Padri is a group of *hājis* (pilgrims) who "returned to Minangkabau in 1803 or 1804 were inspired by the conquest of Mecca (early in 1903) by the puritanical Wahhabi reformers, were similarly willing to use violence to reform Minangkabau society" Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 33

79 Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 377 380 The purpose of the Padri war was not only to propagate Islam in South Tapanuli, but above all to change the religious life of the people of Minangkabau The philosophical statement, "*adat bersendi syara' syara' bersendi adat*," was substituted with "*adat bersendi syara' syara' bersendi kitab Allah*," meaning that the social and cultural basis became Islam In other words "*agama menyatakan, adat memakai*" (religion declares and *adat* applies) Practically adat is the manifestation of religion and the *ulamā'* had become part of the *adat* system Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam* 168-169

out here the attitudes of those who had gone from the Archipelago to live in Mecca for several years These students called "Jawah" by the people of Mecca took up different branches of Islamic learning Those who returned home become their countrymen's instructors, and greatly influenced the development of Islamic thought among them Malay served as the *lingua franca* for the traders and the religious people, and was also the means of Islamic instruction It allowed the members of the "Jawah" colony, such as the Javanese, Malays, Banjarese, Bugis-Macassarese, and Moluccans to communicate[81] The Jawah also seem to have strengthened the belief of their compatriots, who came as pilgrims and witnessed with amazement the greatness of Islam These pilgrims from the most remote parts of the Archipelago could thereby exchange ideas, in which their fellow countrymen, settled in Mecca, took a clear lead[82]

In the Holy City, Indonesian Muslims gathered, "a few thousand men together among whom combined intercourse and years of common endeavor have created a much more vivid consciousness of the unity of their Islamized race than the short stay can produce among the hajjis" They give a measure of the power and intensity Islam has achieved in the

[80] Anti-*kāfir* sentiment was expressed by the practice of *takfīr*, that is a statement of rejecting something, a rallying cry against the Dutch and perhaps English political and commercial presence As such, the term is a code word for opposition to Western influence and intensive presence

[81] C Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 229-233

[82] Snouck Hurgronje relates how "in a very mixed Jawah society, one Javanese settled in Mekka will enquire of the Acehnese present, as to the progress of events in their home The answer runs that they have nearly driven out the accursed Dutch, and one day will surely have grey in Government service and pensioned considers the attitude of the Acheh is unreasonable 'European must govern us, that is God's will, why drive out the Dutch, throw away blood and money finally to get instead of Dutch, English masters' The Acehnese answers scornfully, such cowardice on the part of the Javanese increases the arrogance of kafirs the Acehnese fight on the side of God and despite the devilish war machines of the Christians they have sent thousands of them to Hell" In Mecca also, a man from Palembang reports that a Dutchman worried that the Islamic law taught in the mosques was taken from the *Kitāb sabīl al-muhtadīn* (The path for those who wished to be guided), in which the sacred law is explained in relation to *perang sabīl*, "Holy War" This naive man, who "so believed that war against the Dutch was being preached publicly had the innocent book confiscated" Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 245 246

Archipelago

> Every spiritual movement becomes a Moslem one, every anti-European sentiment or insurrection hoists aloft the banner of religion, every popular program for the future is combined with Muslim eschatology, and rallies behind mystic Sheikhs and *'ulamā'*[83]

The anti-*kāfir* sentiment was also nourished by 'Abd al-Samād al Falimbani, an *ulamā'* from Palembang, who, as expressed in chapter one of this thesis, spent most of his life in Mecca where he wrote all his books Two of his letters to Java have been discovered, addressed respectively to the sultan of Mataram (Sultān Hamengkubowono I, previously Pangeran Mangkubumi), and Susuhunan Parabu Jaka in 'Solocarta' (Surakarta) According to Ricklefs, the last might have been addressed to Prabu Jaka (Singasari), a son of Amangkurat IV (1719-1726) and a half brother of Pangeran Mangkubumi[84] A third letter, addressed to Pangeran Paku Nagara (Mangkunegara), was not written by al-Falimbāni, but by Sech Mohamat, referred to as Abdul Ragman in the heading of the translation of the letter[85]

Turned over to the Dutch in 1772 these letters exhorted the Javanese princes to conduct a Holy War against the Dutch They exhorted the Susuhunan and the sultan to defend the Islamic faith against the infidels, with Paradise as their reward The Dutch felt this encouragement to be of no unusual significance, unlike the letter to Mangkunagara[86]

---

83 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 257 The pan-Islamic movement also reached the Shaykhs of the Archipelago "The political element of Muslim enthusiasm had not spread energetically There had always been people opposed to the European rule" They wanted to expel the Dutch, and millions of them would form a great Muslim empire, a core which others would join They believed that a stronger faith would have generated an irresistible Muslim Jawah empire instead of the infidel government On the whole, they hoped their relatives would do away with the ways of the infidels and adopt further the pure Muslim sentiment Snouck Hurgronje *Mekka*, 260 261

84 M C Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749 1792* (London Oxford University Press, 1974) 134 150 151 This rebellious prince had his headquarters in Malang, East Java In the *Babad Mangkubumi* he is also referred to as Sunan Malang If Pangeran Jaka was not the addressee this would indicate the author's knowledge of Java was not very extensive

85 G W J Drewes, "Further Data Concerning Abd al Samād al Falimbāni" *BKI* 132 (1976) 267

Ricklefs sees the letters as together forming a significant historical landmark They are the first known evidence of an attempt by the Islamic world to ferment Holy War in Java in the second half of the eighteenth century The letters' authority was purely Islamic, their author a *hāji*, not a *pangeran* (prince) [87] Furthermore, according to Ricklefs, they do not constitute an isolated example of anti-Europeanism In succeeding decades, anti-Dutch religious movements were to appear in Java as well as elsewhere in the Archipelago Other *hājis* might have brought back in the eighteenth century inflammatory views similar to those of the three indigenous antagonists [88] Drewes, however, for his part tries to argue that Ricklefs gives too much credit to these letters written by someone concerned 'Jawah affairs',[89] and that the letters had nowhere near the importance that Ricklefs ascribes to them

A particular *ulamā'* was also quite influential in Mecca Nawāwī al-Bantānī inspired more and more Sundanese, Javanese, and Malays to turn to the thorough study of Islam. With him, the politico-religious ideals of Islam, in their highest form, were circulated He could not, however, have been displeased with the difficulties caused by Aceh to the colonial government, and, in his conversations, disagreed with those pensioned officials who held that the Jawah lands must necessarily be governed by Europeans If the Banten Sultanate were to emerge, he stated, then he would support it whatever the form of the state, be it through holy law or with help from undisciplined fanatical bands He stated that he would not, however, seek any political role whatsoever, even as a *penghulu*, in an infidel government [90]

Van Der Meulen, during his stay as Dutch consul in Jedda, got himself involved in a

[86] Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta*, 151

[87] Ibid , 154

[88] Ibid , 154-155

[89] Drewes, "Further Data," 268

[90] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 270-271, see also Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam*, 117 122

discussion with students of the Jawah in Mecca Witnessing their enthusiasm for the war effort, he describes in these terms the best students he had ever met

> During the discussion the students were astonished to find that criticism was allowed, including criticism of our colonial rule The conversation with the groups developed in the student fashion This was a chance for the students to learn about important world events and for me it was an opportunity to create a relationship of mutual respect and confidence [91]

An increasing number of Indonesian Muslim pilgrims or students, especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, brought back with them Islamic orthodox teachings, which progressively replaced the old system and the syncretism adhered to by the majority of Indonesians This led the Dutch rulers to believe that some of the Islamic resistances were motivated by the *hājis* and the *'ulamā'* [92]

Protest movements

Once the traditional political institutions were restricted, the Dutch were in a position to improve their system of administration Through modernization and bureaucratization, the traditional values of the society were rocked, thus leading to the emergence of riots and protest movements fighting for the return of the imagined ideal communities These movements appear to have been millenarian, and in many areas of Java have often had a messianic outlook Kartodirdjo who studied this matter in depth asserts

> The mere idea of messiah in itself, of course, implies the coming of a millennium According to ageold popular tradition, the expected messiah is a king who will establish justice and peace in a land of a great abundance The specially Javanese messianic myth refers to the appearance of the *Ratu Adil* or Just King, who will deliver people from illness, famine and all kinds of evils The last two centuries have witnessed a large number of Ratu Adil movements in Central and East Java [93]

---

91 D van Der Meulen, *Don't You Hear the Thunder, a Dutchman's Life Story* (Leiden E J Brill, 1981), 114

92 H Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta LP3ES, 1985, reprinted, 1986) 3

93 Kartodirdjo, *Protest movements in Rural Java A Study of Agrarian Unrest in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century* (Singapore Oxford University Press, 1973), 9,

During the Dutch colonial period, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, peasant revolts were continuous The movements were inspired by the concept of the Ratu Adil, by millenarian and messianic mythologies [94] Several protest movements flared up in an effort to keep the old states (nativism) alive or in order to maintain the old tradition of worship of God to be used against the infidels [95] When the process of disintegration became widespread, and the authority of the traditional bureaucracy began to weaken, the villagers turned to the religious leaders, the *'ulamā'*, as their immediate leaders Through these leaders, the people tried to communicate better with each other [96] Therefore, the *'ulamā'* and the *pesantrens* were the supporting element of change In addition, the *'ulamā'* worried that the foreign cultural influences would destroy their norms, their religion, and the traditional lifestyles of the society [97] Consequently, the *'ulamā'* were able to emerge as the leaders of a movement which became the prime mover of the struggle against the Dutch colonial government and the traditional bureaucracy [98] The spirit of Islam flared up through the idea of *jihād fī sabīl Allah*, the Holy War and became deeply rooted in the hearts of the people [99]

For more information on this subject, one can also consult Idem, "Agrarian Radicalism in Java," in *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, ed Claire Holt (Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1972), 71-135, for general information see Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion millenarian protest movements against the European colonial order* (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 1979), regarding the ideology of *jihād* see R Peters, *Islam and Colonialism, The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History* (The Hague Mouton, 1979)

94 Kartodirdjo, *Modern Indonesia, Tradition and Transformation, A Socio-Historical Perspective* (Yogyakarta Gajah Mada University Press, 1984), 266, Kartodirdjo, "Respons-respons pada Penjajahan Belanda di Jawa Mitos dan Kenyataan," *Prisma*, 11 (1984) 3

95 Kartodirdjo, "Gerakan Protest dan Ketidakpuasan dalam Masyarakat Tradisional," *Prisma*, 1 (1977) 39

96 Kartodirdjo, *Kepemimpinan dalam Sejarah Indonesia* (Yogyakarta BPA-UGM, 1975), 6

97 Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten 1888* (Jakarta Pusataka Jaya, 1984), 212, see also idem, "Pergerakan Sosial dalam Sejarah Indonesia," *Lembaran Sejarah*, 7 (1971) 40

98 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 196

99 Ahmad Adaby Darban *Fragmenta Sejarah Islam di Indonesia I* (Yogyakarta Pustaka

> The Holy War idea gave considerable momentum to many social movements, and without a doubt this idea gave a dedicated believer a strong stimulus towards militancy Simultaneous attacks could be launched on the spur of the moment against the rule of the infidels which had come in the wake of foreign rule [100]

In this protest movement, *jihād* was interpreted as a holy obligation for Muslims in their struggle against the infidels to maintain and even extend Islamic society and to keep the Islamic religion alive [101] The spirit of *jihād* is motivated by the belief in reward for martyrdom, and for the defense of one's native country For these martyrs love of their country is part of their faith (*Hubb al-watan min al-imān*) This teaching is the seed of their Indonesian patriotism Presumably, this is why Douwes Dekker says that without the spirit of Islam the Indonesian nationality would have long disappeared [102] This belief made it possible for the Muslims to continue the Padri War for as long as they did, and enabled the Acehnese to resist the Dutch in their struggle as well It also provided the motivation for the protest movements present in many areas [103]

These protest movements which took on different forms, have been divided by Kartodirdjo into five

> The first form was rioting, i e more or less spontaneous protest Examples are the riots of Cikandi Udik (1845), Ciomas (1886), and Cikampea (1892) The second was that of plantation-burning, as was the case in East Java at the beginning of the 20th century The third form was racial violence, where specific communities were targeted, as was the case with the anti-Chinese movement, which took place during the rise of Sarekat Islam The fourth was sectarian movements which rejected the western culture seen as infidel, by using the idea of purification The last was that of peaceful movements, such as the *pepe*, meaning 'drying in the sun' [104]

Irma, 1985), 67, see also Kartodirdjo, *Pemikiran dan Perkembangan Historiografi Indonesia, suatu alternative* (Jakarta Gramedia 1982), 234

100 Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements*, 10

101 Kartodirdjo *Ratu Adil* (Jakarta Sinar Harapan 1984), 54

102 Cited in Aboebakar Atjeh, *Sedjarah Hidup K H A Wahid Hasjim dan Karangan Tersiar* (Jakarta Panitya Buku Peringatan 1957) 729

103 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam* 197

104 Kartodirdjo "Gerakan Protest," 39 see also Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 197, and

In the 19th century, one can identify no less than a hundred protest movements of various amplitudes rising in many areas of the country [105] Most of these movements were very local in nature, and easy for the Dutch to suppress They were based on the spirit of anti-*kāfir* sentiment Since the Dutch were seen as infidels, the mass movements flared up The label of Holy War was thus the catalyst of their resistance

It is important here to re-emphasize and analyze the situation of Indonesia during the 19th century with respect to the colonial government In order to maintain their rule, the Dutch were trying to control both the economy and politics Thus, between 1830 and 1870, they established the system of *cultuurstelsel* and a liberal economic policy In the history of expansion and consolidation of the Dutch colonial government, the Java War (1825-1830), the Padri War (1821-1837) and the Aceh War (1873-1912) are considered to have been the most costly and violent [106]

Each of these three wars arose for different reasons and evoked different responses. According to *Babad Diponegoro*, the Java War broke out because the Dutch had dominated the *keraton*, and had disrupted the Javanese culture and justice system [107] The Padri War began as an internal conflict among the people of Minangkabau, where a revivalist movement seemed a threat to the Dutch expansion The Aceh War began when the Dutch and English colonizers started to collaborate, thus threatening the authority of Aceh In 1873 they started

Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements* 14 where he classifies only 4 types anti-extortion, messianic sectarian and local Sarekat Islam movements

[105] In Java, some protest movements can be identified They included Gerakan Bagus Jedik or Pandito Panembahan Sheh in Solo (1839), Gerakan Sarif Prawira Sentana or Amat Sleman in Yogyakarta (1840) Gerakan Kiyai Hasan Maulāni in Cirebon (1842), Gerakan Ahmad Dāris in Kedu (1843), Gerakan Amat Hasan in Rembang (1846), Gerakan Jenal Ngarip in Kudus (1847), and Gerakan Rifa'iyya in Kalisalak Batang (1850) These movements were initiated by *'ulamā'* See Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 198

[106] Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam* 141

[107] Peter Carey *Babad Dipanagara*, xlvi

an armed conflict which almost saw no end [108]

Although different, these wars were all fought under the banner of Islam, as would indicate the following works *Babad Diponegoro*, *Tadzkirat al-rākidin*[109] of Teuku Kutakarang, and the *Memoirs*[110] of Tuanku Imām Bonjol Diponegoro seems to have introduced elements of mysticism into his movement, which used the Javanese and Islamic consciousness The *'ulamā'* of Aceh seem to have shown the spirit of the "veranda of Mecca" in applying Islamic law in their region And the Padri leaders not only tried to harmonize the relationships between social and individual life with Islamic teaching, but also to overcome the cultural conflict of a matriarchal system and the more patriarchal *shari'a* [111]

At the end of the war these three regions were politically dominated by the Dutch, who tried to break the links between the *umarā'* (government) and the *ulama'* The involvement of the *santri* and the *ulamā'* in the Diponegoro or Java War allowed the Dutch to control their relations They even attempted to bureaucratize the *ulamā'* and domesticate Islam The same happened in Aceh and Minangkabau However, the *ulama'* and the *uleebalang*, in spite of Dutch interference, helped the people to formulate their Acehnese aspirations In Minangkabau, the Padri movement was the starting point of the Islamic educational development, and a new ideology was espoused by the people of Minangkabau, "*Adat bersendi syara', syara' bersendi kitab Allah*,"[112] meaning customary law based on Islamic law, Islamic law based on the book of God (the Qur'an)

---

108 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 141

109 See in C Snouck Hurgronje *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C Snouck Hurgronje*, ed E Gobee and C Adriaanse, ('s-Gravenhage Martinus Nijhoff 1965), 1 98 103

110 See Christine Dobbin "Tuanku Imam Bondjol," *Indonesia*, 13 (April, 1972), particularly the memorandum of Tuanku Imām concerning the coming of the Dutch to Sumatra's interior and the war they carried on there

111 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam* 141-142

112 Ibid 142

Although the Dutch wanted to keep these three societies apart from each other, nevertheless through their own policy of administrative unification, and the wish of these societies to become a "national society" a national identity developed Both the local symbols and issues reflected themselves at a national level Indeed, it can be understood that Islamic local dynamics directly influenced the Indonesian struggle as a nation [113]

> It was inevitable that the colonial relationship would acerbate the political consequences of the opposition between secular rulers and Islamic fanaticists, for whom being ruled by 'infidels' and colonial status as such were anathema Islam, in other words, in addition to its inroads on the social pattern of Indonesia, came to play an increasingly important political role Not only had centuries of Islamization" , the more recent wave of orthodoxy turned each pesantren, at least potentially, into a centre of anti-Dutch sentiment [114]

Muslim agitation increased with economic and political difficulties Village unrest ever present in rural Indonesia, evolved into small rebellions under Islamic leadership, and were fought as "Holy Wars"[115] This trend increased during the 19th century when Dutch rule was consolidated in Java and Sumatra Towards the end of the last century, the administrators were preparing themselves to deal with the increasing militancy of Indonesian Islam [116] However, the restrictive actions taken failed After the Java War, large scale rebellions under the banner of Islam were replaced by more and more peasant outbreaks under local Muslim leadership The Dutch had to take new steps in Islamic matters if they were to maintain their rule in Indonesia [117]

What is similar in these three wars (as well as in the rebellions occurring in other areas) is the spirit of anti-colonialism and "the call of Islam," later on to be the foundation of Indonesian nationalism These movements of conflict also gave rise to several heroes, those

113 Ibid , 142-143

114 Cited in H J Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun, Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945* (The Hague, W Van Hoeve, 1958), 18

115 Ibid

116 Ibid

117 Ibid , 20

who devoted themselves to the nation and became the symbol of the holy struggle in the national consciousness

Indeed, these patriotic and religious movements evolved under the leadership of the village *'ulamā'* This resistance did not last long often one or two days only, and often meant great sacrifices Moreover since social change and modernization had begun there were corresponding changes in the religious life and in the nature of the Islamic struggle against foreign influence as well The Muslims began to abandon traditional forms of resistance in order to pursue other means Mass organizations and political factions, boasting specific ideologies and strategies, replaced the scattered, sporadic and spontaneous protest movements

2. The policy of the Dutch Colonial Government

Dutch expansion in the Archipelago was achieved through various means and over a long period of time By the end of the 19th century, Dutch expansion in Java was considered as having been completed By this time the Sultanate of Aceh was still an independent state, while Java was totally dominated During the following period, while expansion was still going on elsewhere in the Archipelago, particularly in Aceh Banjarmasin some Buginese areas, Toraja, Bali, the Lesser Islands, and Irian, the Dutch began to extend their authority over Java In fact, the Dutch colonial government tried intensively and thoroughly to penetrate the social and political system of the indigenous people The 19th century was regarded as the century of territorial penetration and exploitation At the beginning of the 20th century, the territorial expansion decreased and in all regions the expansion of authority was the most common phenomenon called hitherto *Pax Neerlandica* In early 20th century Java and in some parts of Sumatra and Sulawesi agricultural expansion had been initiated by the colonial authorities The indigenous people were often included in the decision-making process in these projects

After the end of the Java War, the colonial Dutch began to extend their system of

authority to all sectors Therefore, the Java War seems to mark the turning point between the "Ancien regime" and the Dutch colonial government [118] Regarding this period, four points should be examined the Dutch Islamic policy the unification of administration, modern schools for the indigenous people, and colonial urban centers

The Dutch Islamic Policy

With the implementation of an "Islamic Policy," the Dutch hoped to use Islam to their own benefit What in fact emerged was a significant dichotomy between the rulers and the ruled What is more, it accelerated the spread of religion into political life These were results that the Dutch had not been expecting [119]

Snouck Hurgronje, the advisor to the colonial Dutch government, proposed a categorization of various aspects of Islamic religious life of the Muslims by differentiating between " *ibāda, godsdienstige*, or ritual," " *mu'āmala, maatschappelijk*, or social activities," and " *siyasa, staatkundig*, or politics" as a tool for implementing the "Islamic Policy " He was of the opinion that "ritual/worship" should, if necessary, be supported, that "social activities" should be monitored but not disturbed, and that "politics" should be counteracted He also suggested that the government should always remain in contact with the second of these, whereas the first and the third should always be held in deep suspicion and carefully controlled [120]

118 Peter Carey, *Asal Usul Perang Jawa* (Jakarta Pustaka Azet, 1986), particularly Seri Perang Jawa, as cited in Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam* 190

119 Taufik Abdullah, *Islam dan Masyarakat Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia* (Jakarta LP3ES, 1987), 20-21 Most of the Dutch did not understand Islam and did not much deal with it This was true of key administrators until Snouck Hurgronje One needs to understand the function of the office for Internal Affairs and how Snouck Hurgronje opened a whole new concept of how to govern Without the two the Dutch might never have come to grip with an "Islamic Policy " The British in Malaysia the Spanish and the Americans in the Philippines never did It appears that it was only special circumstances that led to the emergence of Islamic policy on the part of the Dutch

120 H J Benda, *The Crescent* 23-24 see also J T Siegel, *The Rope of God* (Los Angeles University of California Press, 1969) see also Aqib Suminto *Politik Islam*, 12, see also

> For, within the context of Western governmental framework political programs could be meaningful only to the extent that they were expressed on Western political terms and that they utilized the avenues for political actions opened up however hesitatingly and grudgingly - by the colonial power [120]

Although Snouck Hurgronje insisted on the peaceful nature of the Islamic religion in Indonesia, he was by no means blind to the political potential of Muslim fanaticism For Islam as a political doctrine was the enemy of the Dutch both in the form of agitation by fanaticism and in the form of pan-Islamism "whether or not it was in fact inspired by Islamic rulers abroad, such as the Caliph"[121] The *ulama* had no reason to fear the colonial rulers as long as they did not get involved in political propaganda [122]

For Benda, "no wonder that to some of his contemporaries Snouck Hurgronje appeared as the most legendary architect of a successful Dutch Islamic policy, a man who had inaugurated a new era in Dutch-Indonesian relations"[124] The formulation of an Islamic policy involved, above all, the substitution of sober facts for the motley of fears and hopes which had surrounded Indonesian Muslims for so long In this respect, Snouck Hurgronje's masterly and scholarly analyses have remained an indispensable guide to the conditions of Indonesian Islam at the turn of the century [125]

> Benda, "Christian Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia," in *Continuity and Change in Southeast Asia Collected Journal Articles of Harry J Benda* (New Haven Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1972) See particularly C Snouck Hurgronje, "Het Mohammedanisme," *Verspreide Geschriften* (Bonn Kurt Schroeder Verlag, 1924) IV 2 219-220

121 Benda, *The Crescent*, 58

122 Ibid , 23

123 Ibid., 24

124 Ibid , 21

125 The summary of C Snouck Hurgronje's work in the text is based on his voluminous writings on Indonesian Islam in *Verspreide Geschriften* (Bonn/Leiden 1924 26 6 vols , particularly the following essays "Our Pan Islamisme (1910 vol 1 364 80) "Politique musulmane de la Hollande" (1911 vol IV 2 225 306) and "De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indie" (1913 Ibid 361-91) For a selection of C Snouck Hurgronje's writings, see G H Bousquet and J Schacht eds *Selected Works of C Snouck*

When the reformist movements, however, were seen to be proposing a close association between politics and worship, the Dutch revised their "Islamic Policy" and "Ethical Policy".[126] They began to effect the "domestication" of the Muslims. The *ulama'* had to be controlled, had to be forced to obey the indigenous rulers and their *penghulu*. The villages became the scene of a dichotomy between the representatives of the colonial ruler and the *ulama'*. The religious teachers or the village *ulamā'* who were potentially the motivators of the society, were approached, and many co operated.[127] To set this system in place, some of the *'ulamā'* were appointed as *penghulu*. In order to control their activities, they were made subordinate to the *bupatis*, who were instructed by the Dutch to punish those who deviated from the rules.[128] Indeed, the Dutch attempted to bureaucratize the entire local leadership structure, including the *ulamā'*.

The Unification of the Administration

Although the main reason for the initial presence of the Dutch in the Archipelago was to trade,[129] the Dutch, realizing the importance of administrative stability tried to introduce this from an early stage. The VOC, established in 1602, played an increasingly important role in this task. First, a monopoly was granted. Then, using the military forces at their disposal, the VOC furthered the territorial expansion of the Dutch in the Indonesian Archipelago. The 17th and 18th centuries can be regarded as the period of expansion and monopoly in the colonial history of the Archipelago.[130]

Hurgronje, Edited in English and French (Leiden: Brill, 1957).

126 "Ethical Policy" was the Dutch policy towards the indigenous people in areas such as welfare, emigration, agriculture, and education.

127 Abdullah, *Islam dan Masyarakat*, 22-23.

128 Suminto, *Politik Islam*, 3.

129 N. Spykman, *Hindia Zelbestuur* (Batavia: G. Kolff, 1919), 11-13; W.H. van Helsdingen and H. Hoogenberk, *Mission Interrupted: The Dutch in the East Indies and Their Work in the XXth Century*, trans. Duyvendok (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1945), 217.

After the Java War, the Dutch colonial rulers were truly free to impose their system of authority in politics and on the economy Due to the Java War, however, the Dutch economy declined and the budget deficit reached a high To improve the financial situation, Johannes van Bosch was appointed Governor General His task was to increase the production on the plantations of export commodities To pursue this policy, he applied a system of *cultuurstelsel* (cultivation system, sometimes less accurately called "culture system"), which mainly obliged the people to plant a certain product The farmers also had to give part of their crop, rather than money, as tax Such a payment by in kind was more advantageous for the Dutch [131] However, this system of taxation apparently and practically cut the peasants' crop production by about one third to a half of what it had been previously The Dutch then replaced this mode of payment by days of work, asking that every peasant work 66 days per annum on a Dutch plantation [132] This kind of exploitation deeply affected Javanese society [133] The economy declined and social life was thrown into chaos

With the institution of the *cultuurstelsel*, the colonial policy entered a new period This system was synchronized with local tradition, and involved the traditional authority The feudal aristocracy was again used in order to mobilize the community, to increase the production, and to carry out directives ordered by the government But it was now under the control of the Dutch The *bupatis* for example functioned as *leveranties* and *contingenten* (agents and crop collectors) [134] Indeed, indirect authority was applied through the local chiefs This policy could

130 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam* 189

131 J S Furnivall, *Netherlands India A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1967), 115, see also in particular, Robert Van Niel, *Java under the Cultivation System* (Leiden KITLV, 1992)

132 For more information in this regard, see G Gonggrijp, *Schets Ener Economische Geschiedenis van Nederlands-Indie* (Harleem Erven F Bohn, 1949), 4 107, see also Clive Day, *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (New York, Macmillan, 1904), 249-250

133 W F Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition A Study of Social Change* (The Hague W Van Hoeve, 1964), 92-93

be equated with the principle of non-acculturation followed by the Dutch until the end of their regime [135] The ultimate defeat of Indonesian Islam the freeing of its adherents from what Snouck Hurgronje referred to as "undermining the foundations of the Islamic system" (*Saper les fondements du systeme islamique*) [136] was to be achieved by the association of the Indonesians with Dutch culture The Dutch Snouck declared, had "assumed the moral duty of teaching (them) and making them partners in our own (i e , Dutch) culture and social life" To achieve this, Western education had to be made accessible to an even larger number of Indonesians It was the surest tool of decreasing and ultimately defeating the influence of Islam in Indonesia [137]

The colonial penetration became more intensive once economic liberalism was applied According to Wertheim, "this development accelerated during the following phase of economic policy, the so-called liberal period from 1870 to 1900" [138] This period in fact witnessed efforts to improve the guided economy based on the needs of the Dutch To make this economic system more effective, some physical infrastructures, such as irrigation system, transportation, and ports, were built In 1862, a train was put into service in Java Centers of exploitation in West and East Sumatra were established In 1888, Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) was established to organize sea transportation over which it had a monopoly [139] Some

---

134 Kartodirdjo, Kartodirdjo, A Suwedo, and Sukarjo Hatmosuprobo, *Perkembangan Peradaban Priyayi* (Yogyakarta Gajah Mada Press, 1987), 58

135 R. Kennedy, "Acculturation and Administration in Indonesia," *American Anthropologist*, 45 (1943) 189-190, see also Kartodirdjo *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 14

136 Snouck Hurgronje, *Politique musulmane de la Hollande* (Paris Ernest Leroux, 1911), 116, this work can be found in *Verspreide Geschriften*, IV, 2 294

137 Cited in Benda, *The Crescent*, 26-27

138 Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 93

139 G C Allen and A G Donnothorne, *Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya A Study in Economic Development* (London George Allen and Unwin, 1962), 26 The policy of the colonials in forming the KPM also contributed to building the Indonesian nation, in that it facilitated transportation between the islands

harbours were built, like Tanjung Priok, in 1893 [140]

> Despite the establishment of representative bodies, the administration of the native population remained preponderantly in the hands of the indigenous feudal class, the traditional pillars of the colonial authority, under the supervision of their Dutch chiefs [141]

By including the traditional bureaucracy in the system of the Dutch government, the authority of the Dutch became more established Moreover, they also developed a western system in government and lifestyle among the members of the traditional bureaucracy This westernization seems to have occurred in Indonesian social life as well Through this system, the Dutch created a gap between the bureaucracy and the common people The authority of the religious leaders was restricted As a result, the gap between the traditional bureaucracy, the religious leaders and the public seemed to widen Eventually, the *umarā'* and the *'ulamā'* found their interests to be in opposition

On the whole, unification "came to refer to the attempts to unite the legal systems and legislation for all parts of the East Indian society into one code Specifically this would embody a unity based upon the principles of European (Dutch) law" Unification advanced "this unity concept in relation to the civil service, education, and taxation "[142]

Thus, by the first decade of the 20th century, Dutch sovereignty had extended over the whole Archipelago except for the British colonial territories in Northern Borneo, and for the first time the territory that was to become present day Indonesia was united under a single administration General van Heutsz may be regarded with some justice as the architect of the future state, through his drastic methods he had overthrown the autonomous structure of the traditional principalities, but by so doing he had shown the way to Indonesian unity [143]

---

140 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 191-192.

141 Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 71

142 Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 37

143 Bernard Dahm, *History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century* (London: Praeger

According to Kahin

> Dutch administration welded together peoples of various tongues and cultures into one political unit and in so doing tended to develop in them a 'consciousness of kind' Thereby the Dutch helped join the archipelago's many local patriotism together into one all-embracing patriotism [144]

Modern schools

Schools for the Indonesian population had long been established in Batavia and Eastern Indonesia In Java, however, there were no Dutch schools before the 1840's In the light of this situation, the Dutch government planned for educational facilities to be available to every resident, allocating f 25 000 in 1848 for that purpose [145]

To provide teaching staff for those schools, teachers' training schools were set up in different areas, such as Sala (1852), Bukittinggi (1856), Tanahbatu (1862), Bandung (1866), Tondano (1873), Amboina (1874), Probolinggo (1875), Banjarmasin (1875), Macassar (1876), and Padangsidempuan (1879) [146]

Publishers, 1977), 6-7

144 George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N Y Cornell University Press, 1952), 37

145 Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, 1 349

146 I J Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch Indie* (Batavia, Groningen J B Wolters, 1938), 183 In these schools instruction was given in local tribal languages This practice raised concern among the population, particularly in the 1860's For political reasons, the Dutch ruler had feared the consequences that the knowledge of Dutch would have on the indigenous population The development of schools and teaching until the end of the 19th century showed a tendency to follow this educational policy in particular and cultural policy in general There were four qualifications for this First, the teaching should be neutral, meaning not based on a religion in particular, therefore, no religious subject was taught Second, there was some sort of language policy emphasizing the cultural principle which can be seen in the ruler's unwillingness to use Dutch for instruction Third since the very beginning, the schools were established just for the fulfillment of the practical needs of the ruler Fourth, schools were encouraged to use local languages in order to improve the local cultural environment Kartodirdjo, In 1878 *hoofdenscholen* (chief schools) were opened for the sons of the higher elite They were established in Bandung, Magelang and Probolinggo, and one which had been closed in 1872 was also reopened by that year in Tondano In these schools, Dutch was taught and even used as the language of instruction The school of Magelang which had been closed was also reorganized in

In arranging the educational and teaching system, the Dutch not only had to cope with the dilemma over general vs special education but also over elite vs public education From the very beginning, there was a tendency to favour educating the elite although public teaching did not die out Some of the latter was carried out in traditional schools set up in *pesantrens* Since the education there was religious and theological these schools could not be integrated into the liberal educational system of the Dutch The elite schools were the consequence of political dualism the basis of colonial policy This led to a big gap between the two systems, the European schools and the indigenous schools [147] The graduates of the schools formed two extreme groups which would always get involved in the debate about the foundation of the state

Just as under the Ethical Policy the Dutch had initiated large scale public works projects such as canals and irrigation systems, they now began to build educational facilities in many areas [148] The slogan of the liberals spoke of the need to "improve the people's welfare and development" This reflected a new political orientation known as the "Ethical Colonial Policy" Van Deventer, whose article, 'A Debt of Honour' (1899) "had contributed to the change of policy He saw the need to protect the rights of the Indonesians and to promote their moral

1899 It was now called OSVIA (*Opleiding Scholen voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*, Training School for Native Officials) From about 1893 these took on more vocational character, with courses in law, bookkeeping, surveying, etc Schools system of the Dutch divided into two general and vocational schools Both were for the high schools junior and senior Junior High School called MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*, More extended lower education), for Senior High School called AMS (*Algemeene Middelbare School* General Middle School) Medical school was also founded called STOVIA (*School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen*) Indonesian educational institutions developed along several parallel paths, reflecting the different language and social groups in the country There were four categories of schools European schools which followed the Dutch system indigenous schools using Dutch as the language of instruction indigenous schools using local languages, and schools following the indigenous system See Paul W Van Der Veur *Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia I* (Athens Ohio Ohio University, Center for International Studies Southeast Asia Program, 1969), 1-49 see also Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 79, 353-355 Cf Ricklefs *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 122

147 Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 356

148 J S Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 118

and material welfare " "This welfare policy was seen in the context of continuing colonialism " It was during this time and largely "as a result of many new forces set in motion by the welfare policies of ethici that Indonesian nationalist aspirations first began to take shape "[149] Since the statement of Queen Wilhelmina in 1901 outlining this ethical policy [150] the Dutch colonial government formulated an educational policy for Dutch society Teaching facilities were widely established offering instruction in everything to the highest levels [151] The students came particularly from the elites thus creating a polarization of the people [152] Slowly, the position of the traditional authorities weakened even though the latter involved in the Dutch administration [153] Regarding this policy, Wertheim says that by involving the traditional local authorities in the Dutch bureaucracy the Dutch could effectively exploit the people [154] "The ethical policy then aimed at improved welfare for the people of Indonesia approaching this task with a strong sense of mission "[155]

The education of these elites was intended to support the colonial bureaucracy However, in reality a new Indonesian elite emerged A modern intelligentsia arose which posed a threat to the foundations of colonialism Its members assessed writes Frederick, that "colonial rule could not be overcome by force of arms, but only by discipline, realism, and self assurance " For them

---

149 Ailsa Zainu'ddin *A Short History of Indonesia* (New York Praeger Publishers, 1970), 140-141

150 P Creutzberg *Kebijaksanaan Pemerintah Hindia Belanda di Bidang Economi 1901-1942* (Jakarta KITLV dalam rangka kerjasama dengan LIPI, 1978), 17

151 I J Brugmans, *Geschiedenis* 177-180

152 Van Der Veur, *Education and Social Change*, 1-3

153 Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 23, see also Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, 1 193-195

154 Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies* 1 190

155 Zainu'ddin, *A Short History of Indonesia*, 141

> thoughts about political attitude and personal behavior were thus closely related sharing an unmistakably moral tone A powerful guide in life the outlook frequently produced in Indonesian urban intellectuals of the day a seriousness and confidence that bordered on the smug [156]

They were nationalist and anti colonial and they were determined to create the base of the new Indonesian nation on the ruins of old ethnic groups [157] One dual result of the Ethical Policy, however, according to Van Niel "was its ability to inspire Hollanders toward a more glorious colonial future in Java while also opening the way for Indonesians to share in the glory of their own future" [158]

Colonial Urban Centers

The cities were dominated by the Dutch, who had originally settled at already existing port cities In the early 17th century the first settlement was in the Moluccas, at Ambon In 1619, having secretly fortified themselves at an indigenous town at the mouth of Ciliwung river, the Dutch attacked the town and were thereby forced to establish a settlement at Batavia, now Jakarta Shortly after this the larger cities were developed and modelled after those of the Netherlands multi-storied buildings bridges, and canals Over a period of time, the rich and the ruling elite moved out of the cities to stay at palatial houses surrounded by extensive lands, where they developed a comfortable lifestyle outside the urban centers [159]

Three ethnic groups coexisted in the larger cities which contained 'Western enclaves' In a more dynamic atmosphere than elsewhere the Europeans dominated the other groups in

---

156 William H Frederick *Visions and Heat The Making of the Indonesian Revolution* (Athens Ohio University Press 1989) 39 This book explains more in detail the impact of education and the question of change as well as the colonial transition and the urban response, particularly in Surabaya

157 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 180

158 Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 9

159 Harsja W Bachtiar "The Formation of the Indonesian Nation," (Ph D thesis, Harvard University, 1972), 111

city councils Whereas foreign orientals particularly Chinese easily adapted to town life, the Indonesian urban population lived in *kampongs* surrounded with banana and palm trees, retaining mostly and for a long time the rural organization and lifestyle [160] Mosques and *madrasas* were part of this community

These cities, besides being centers of administration, economic activities, and education, also reflected social plurality or heterogeneity and racial categorization The colonial government promulgated a law distinguishing between "Europeans," "foreign orientals " and "natives "[161] The Europeans were at the top of the social ladder, and held the best positions The native Indonesians many of them workers, were at the bottom of the ladder They were either employed in public works or on plantations In 19th century Java, there existed a discriminatory and widespread system of values based on one's race or color, which affected all aspects of justice and social life The Indonesian population integrated that value system, and themselves started to consider that a darker skin a more indian like speech was a sign of a lower status [162] The intermediate position of foreign orientals was occupied by Chinese and Arabs, mostly independent merchants and artisans who made up the middle class [163]

This status system in Batavia was at the base of the colonial society of 19th century Java, when the colonial dominion spread over the entire island, even into the rural areas The unavoidable change to the pre-existing social structure raised awareness and concern among the natives Social movements in opposition to such a cultural modification began to develop in the cities, where they mobilized new cultural forces As Van Niel states "The most dynamic element was found in the [urban] Indonesian society and this had a very great influence on the

---

160 Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 176-179

161 Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 4-30

162 Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 136-139

163 Ibid , 141

social and political events throughout the Archipelago "[164]

Realizing they were at the bottom of the social ladder, the natives, and particularly the educated people, began to react to this racial categorizing Various links of solidarity emerged among them, including the claim to an Islamic identity The idea of `progress' (*kemajuan*) was formulated Accordingly it was realized that if Islam was to retain its hold on the people, it would have to rehabilitate itself Its adaptation to the modern world found its expression through organization [165] Indeed "it is primarily this racial consciousness and discrimination which resulted in the sealing off' of the native world in its growth upward, and the `increasing tension' of this period "[166] Furnivall states, "nationalism within a plural society is itself a disruptive force tending to shatter and not to consolidate its social order "[167] The successful Indonesian nationalist movement "lay in the establishment of effective liaison between the intellectual elements and the masses "[168] As a result, "the gulf between Indonesians and non-Indonesians continued to increase through the last years of Dutch rule "[169]

This colonial aspect is one of the internal factors of the emergence of religious reform movements in Indonesia Other internal factors such as the growth of the print culture and the mobility of books throughout the Archipelago are explained in the previous chapter Certain external factors such as the Arab middle class pilgrim traders and returning foreign students are explained in the coming chapter All this will add perspective on the role of Islam as a national mobilizer

164 Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 185

165 Wertheim *Indonesian Society*, 209

166 J M Van Der Kroef, *Indonesia in the Modern World* (Bandung, Masa Baru, 1954), 2: 13.

167 J S Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 468

168 Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, 60

169 J W Meyer Ranneft, "The Economic Structure of Java," in *The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilisations of the Malay Archipelago*, ed Schrieke (Batavia G Kolff, 1929), 83

CHAPTER III

THE MODERN MUSLIM MOVEMENTS AND ISLAMIC NATIONALISM

1. Urban movements

The era of Muslim resistance to foreign penetration, a resistance which was led by the sultans, the nobles, and the *'ulamā'* ended with what the Dutch called "pacification" The number of peasant revolts eventually became insignificant with the spread of the colonial government's networks But even as these revolts decreased, anti colonialism rose in the cities This sentiment was closely linked with the desire for popular emancipation With the emergence of the colonial cities in many different areas, a number of movements in those cities such as education, work differentiation, geographical mobility publications and modern organizations also appeared Through organization people could express their aspirations could formulate their ideas, and mobilize the masses Eventually the Islamic ideology would reach its zenith [1] Thus Islam would always serve as the banner of resistance to any form of exploitation and colonialism [2]

Another aspect of the associational form of the struggle in the early 20th century was the greater opportunity that existed for the indigenous people to obtain a western education This also had implications for the politics, the economy, the social life, and the culture of those involved As a result, they had more opportunity for vertical social mobility [3] It is not

---

1 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 224

2 Ibid , 225

3 Ibid , 236-237

"inappropriate to contend that the changes in leadership patterns in Indonesian society during the first quarter of the century formed the social foundation for political independence some years later "[4]

It is very clear that the expansion of modern education and the growth of national movements were interdependent In short, according to Kennedy, education could be regarded as having posed a danger to the colonial system ' The influence of education on the colonized society was fully recognized by the colonial government as well and, according to Colijn "it was a colonial political tragedy, for education formulated and established a power which later on [went] against the colonial government "'

Due to this fact, one can understand why the introduction of modern education at the higher levels started so late ' It might be inferred from this fact that the politics of the Dutch colonial government were anti acculturative[8] The result was that the idea of modernization also came late This may have been therefore a deliberate policy designed to perpetuate the colonial status of Indonesians

One impact of the development of teaching in Indonesia was that a new social group with a new function and status emerged in the areas of social life, economy, and government[9] This led to the rise of professionals among the indigenous people With their educational

[4] Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 1

[5] Cited in Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 60

[6] B J Brouwer *De Houding van Idenburg en Colijn Tegenover de Indonesische Beweging* (Kampen, 1958), 146, as cited in Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 60

Folk Schools were established in 1907, Elementary Schools with instruction in Dutch in 1914 Junior High Schools in 1914 and Senior High Schools in 1919 See I J Brugmans, *Geschiedenis*, 355 ff

[8] R Kennedy "Acculturation and Administration in Indonesia," *American Anthropologist*, 45 (1943) 189

[9] Van Niel *The Emergence*, 72

background and social status these professionals were in a position to help the people cast off their traditional ties and feudality so that they could have access to a wider range of social activities and options In addition while working in their field they associated with co workers from different areas and cultures, who brought to them not only a broader vision of life but also their wider contact These new relationships replaced primordial ties such as family relationships, ethnic background, and local loyalty a process which would be institutionalized In fact, this later on developed as a new social network through which national integration was gradually established [10] Such is the context in which the growth of national movements and organization will be placed

The social position of the professionals made them the protagonists of modernization in general and the pioneers of nationalism in particular Van Niel states "Within this educational expansion and development can be found the roots of the social change which affected the Indonesian elite "[11] As the first generation to receive a Western education the native Indonesians not only absorbed knowledge from textbooks, but also experienced a formal education, which introduced new attitudes with respect to social life rational thought, and lifestyle Moreover, the resulting change in perception enlarged the cultural horizons of Indonesians, leading to a decrease in ethnocentrism [12]

The process of urbanization under the impact of bureaucratization, commercialization, and modernization, generally encouraged the rural population to move into the cities from the surrounding areas, as well as from remote areas and other islands of Indonesia Therefore urbanization created new social networks different from those based on communal ties, such as those of locality family, tribe and so on The communities in the cities were formed on the narrower scale on the basis of occupation, and on a broader scale on the basis of social class

---

10 Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 81-82

11 Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 50

12 Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 82

The city elites of the administrative or bureaucratic sectors were seen as the highest and most prestigious groups, they had a good financial situation and possessed authority [13] They are called, for example, *priyayi* in East and Central Java, *menak* in Pasundan, *uleebalang* in Aceh,[14] and *karaeng* in Macassar

The middle class intellectuals emerged only after the universities began to produce graduates The latter were not given opportunities in the bureaucracy, but served as professionals in the non-governmental sectors From this group emerged the leaders of the national movements [15] Members of this group had only marginal opportunities to introduce innovation, as is seen the career of those educated Indonesians who, in the early years of the country, came to form the intellectual component of the Indonesian elite [16] In this case only the intelligentsia could understand the situation as it existed at the time Their ability to identify and interpret the colonial situation gave them a plausible leading role for the future They could realize the bitterness and the contention of the colonial system This led to the emergence of the idea of a nation free from colonialism In brief, national consciousness began to rise among the intelligentsia The latter now saw a clear path towards attaining their political goals [17]

Relations between cities and villages became easier with the development of communication The media of communications like transportation, telecommunication, mass media, and many other institutions played a leading role in increasing the people's mobility With their new expertise, some indigenous people could work anywhere, thus overstepping the limits of their subcultures Moreover professionals such as physicians, agriculturists,

13 Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 23

14 Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 82-83

15 Ibid , 83

16 Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 55

17 Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2. 92

veterinarians, and architects had great mobility and could cover the whole country However they encountered the vertical segmentation inherent in the colonial system the bureaucracy was in the hands of the Dutch and the traditional authorities [18]

Although the number of Indonesian professionals was still small, they became increasingly unified through the mass media They had to overcome many pressures, both psychological and spiritual, after graduating from institutions that essentially prepared them for a non-Indonesian way of life This helped to foster a unity within which the ideas of development and modernization were able to spread, and, eventually, a national consciousness as well In this milieu the seeds of new organization along western lines were nurtured [19] Self identification as a "modern group" indicated that their aspirations had reached a certain level, where they had acquired the same knowledge as Westerners From year to year, this consciousness developed and showed a structural tendency to mobilize the social movements in embodying their aspiration [20]

One of the ways in which this mobilization was furthered was through the development of the press in Indonesia At first there were only Dutch language newspapers, among others *De Bataviase Nouvelles* in Batavia, founded in 1744, *De Locomotief* in Semarang, which began to appear in 1852, and *Bataviasch Niewsblad*, published in Batavia from 1885 [21]

The indigenous press for its part emerged only in the second decade of the 20th century The introduction of railways, telephones, and post offices made it then possible to

---

18 Ibid , 92-93

19 Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 56

20 Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 89

21 C.W. van Helsdingen and H Hoegenberg, (eds), *Daar werd wat groots verricht Nederlandsch-Indie in de XXste Eeuuw* (Amterdam, 1941), 438, 440, cited in Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 12, this work has been translated into English as *Mission Interrupted the Dutch in the East Indies and Their Work in the XXth Century* (Amsterdam, Elsevier, 1945), however, the section therein dealing with the development of the press has not yet been translated

communicate quickly and widely In addition, the increasing number of students and the attention given to the foreign world accompanied the growth of the press It had also become easier for information about relatives, families, tribes, sub-cultures, local and national events to circulate [22]

The introduction of the local press in Indonesia seems to have produced a revolution in communications Oral tradition was transformed into written information This created an open system, whereby information could more easily be acquired by any group As a result, it was able to decrease and even eliminate differentiation between castes or social classes

Although the press appears to have been a one-way medium of information, it apparently had the potential for raising a collective Indonesian consciousness The information passed on not only gave new knowledge but also increased the political consciousness of the readers Moreover, they would compare the situation of foreign countries with what they saw and felt in their own country They would witness criticism not only about colonialism, but also about their own old traditions On the whole, the mass media were a forum for free communication, a place where one could express one's ideas, thoughts and social critiques [23]

Indeed, publishing played a leading role in communications It was after all not restricted to face-to-face relations, but could exceed the boundaries of class, subculture, regionalism, as well as overcome the trap of segmentation It increased the measure of information and the intensity of communication, accelerated the circulation of ideas, and broadened the perception of the people Most of the newspapers, among them *Pemberita Betawi*, *Sinar Jawa*, *and Oetoesan Hindia*, used Malay as the medium of expression Malay had long been the *lingua franca* in the Archipelago and was therefore essentially neutral in ethnic terms [24] This was

---

[22] Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 113

[23] Ibid

[24] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 176.

very important in the effort of democratization and Indonesianization Vertical, inter-group and interethnic communication were all facilitated The traditional framework deteriorated and new concepts arose, along with a changes in the development of the vocabularies [25]

The press expanded rapidly and widely In 1918, about 40 newspapers were published, mostly in Malay, by 1925, there were about 200, by 1938, there were over 400 dailies, weeklies and monthlies [26] From 1928 on, the Malay spoken in the Indonesian Archipelago was called *Bahasa Indonesia*

The publishing field was no doubt a threat for the Dutch colonial government There were new opportunities to express ideas openly or to criticize the colonial system Dutch political interference was seen as endangering the society, thus making the colonial government the focus of criticism As a result, some newspapers were closed by the Dutch [27] On the whole, the national movement and the native press could be seen as twins, two fields of Indonesian activities which symbolically went together, organically, both were interdependent, nor could one exist without the other

The most important impact of the urban-based reform movements was the setting up of organizations The first three decades of the 20th century witnessed not only a new territorial definition of Indonesia and the proclamation of a new colonial policy, but also a transformation of indigenous Indonesian affairs, which was so profound that in the political, social, cultural and religious affairs of Indonesia new courses were set Rapid change occurred in all areas with respect to the anti-colonial and reform movements which first emerged in this period In this respect, Java and Minangkabau became leaders, setting up the bases for a new society,

---

25 Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 114

26 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 176, see also A Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature* (The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), 6 For detailed information on newspaper circulation during this period, see Takashi Shiraishi *An Age in Motion Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* (Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1990), 32-34

27 Kartodirdjo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*, 2 115

through different processes [28] While the Acehnese *`ulamā* were still trying to maintain the old order against the colonial ruler, Java had worked through various changes and social disruption, as seen in the previous chapter Minangkabau, under the Padris, had gone through the first major Islamic reform of the Archipelago, and had undergone great changes since the beginning of the colonial rule Its people had acquired new ideas through their traditional mobility [29] Java and Minangkabau, as well as the Eastern part of Indonesia, were very soon completely occupied [30]

This period saw the emergence of new ideas about organization This involved new forms of leadership and an exhaustive analysis of the political, economic, social, cultural, and religious environment [31] During the first three decades of this century, a new kind of Indonesian leadership and a new self-consciousness were established, and greater self awareness split this leadership along religious and ideological lines The Dutch introduced a new level of oppression in response to these developments This period witnessed no solution

---

28 According to Anderson, "the critical element of Indonesian nationalism was the experience of moving, say from a *kampung* in a small town in Central Java to Bandung - or to Djakarta "In addition, a given political unit, the Netherlands Indies - this also contributed to that pattern of "personal experience" in a new educational milieu which, Anderson writes, more than ideology "created the idea of nationalism " The significance of Minangkabau people in contributing to the leadership of the Indonesian nationalist movement has long been recognized Yet, what do we know of the "experience of moving " and of "personal experience" generally, of Minangkabau people as catalytic factors in their development as nationalist through the sharing of experience See Benedict Anderson, "The Cultural Factors in the Indonesian Revolution," *Asia*, 20 (Winter 1970-71) The role of Java and Minangkabau in this regard can be seen in D J Steinberg, ed , *In Search of Southeast Asia* (New York Praeger Publishers, 1971), 288-300

29 M C Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 155

30 "It should be kept in mind in this connection that the Dutch only gradually gained control over the whole area " Java, Minangkabau, and some areas of the Eastern part of Indonesia were occupied much earlier However, in other areas, much of the control occurred only in the present century Aceh for example "was able to retain its independence until late towards the end of the last century " It was even one of the greatest kingdoms of that period Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 20-21

31 See Sartono Kartodirdjo, "Some Problems on the Genesis of Nationalism in Indonesia," *JSAH*, 3, 1 (march 1962) 67-94, see also Khoo Kay Hock, *The Development of Indonesian Nationalism* (Kuala Lumpur, Longman, 1977), 12-14

of its problems, but it did irrevocably change the Indonesian leadership's view of its own future

Education functioned as the key to advancement, for it produced professional graduates, who grew into the new *priyayis* of Java The members of this new group "were the first to create a recognizably modern organization " It represented a major social and cultural stream in 20th century Indonesia Its members were mostly those Muslims whose adherence to Islam is seldom more than a formal, nominal commitment These people were usually called *abangan* They are mostly found among Javanese, they tend to involve themselves in religious mystical practices In the early 20th century, Western education seemed to offer to the administrative upper class (*priyayi*) among the *abangan*[32] a key to a new synthesis which they saw as the basis for a rejuvenation of their culture, class, and people Among this group, most were prepared to regard Islam with a friendly neutrality, but as Islamic pressures grew, some became hostile to it[33] Some "younger Indonesians of Western education, adopted a more or less indifferent attitude towards religion "[34]

Wahidin Soedirohoesodo (1857-1917) was a graduate of STOVIA, a medical school in Java He attempted to set up scholarships to provide western education for Javanese *priyayi* In 1907, during a visit to STOVIA, one of the most important institutions producing the lesser *priyayi* of Java, he encountered an enthusiastic response from the students On May 20 1908, Budi Utomo (The Noble Endeavor, BU), was born out of Soetomo's work[35] This organization was always primarily a Javanese *priyayi* organization It officially defined its area of interest as the peoples of Java and Madura, thus reflecting the administrative union of both these islands

---

32 The terms *priyayi*, *abangan*, and *santri* are described by Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill The Free Press, 1960)

33 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 156

34 W F Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 209

35 Akira Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism*, 38

and including the Sundanese and Madurese whose cultures were related to the Javanese [36] The BU "was nationalist only in the most limited sense of the word - it envisioned the advancement of a particular cultural group - but originally at least it had no pretensions of establishing a nation "[37]

Nevertheless, this organization was of great significance Although it "emanated from a limited group of Westernized young members of the *priyayi* class , and though its main goal being to foster the creation of schools for Indonesians, this event had great importance as a symptom of a growing national consciousness "[38]

In Javanese society, the minority which tried to adhere strictly to the obligations of Islam in their lives were called *wong Muslimin* (the Muslims) or *santri* (student of religion) In 1909, a graduate of OSVIA, institution for native officials, named Tirtoadisuryo, founded *Sarekat Dagang Islam* (Islamic Trade Association, SDI) in Batavia In 1911, in Bogor, he set up another one of these organizations Both were designed to support Indonesian traders against Chinese competition In 1911, he encouraged a successful batik trader Haji Samanhudi (b 1868), who had founded in 1905 Sarekat Dagang Islam -- an anti-Chinese batik traders cooperation in Surakarta -- to support his ideas [39] Other branches were soon established In Surabaya, H O S Cokroaminoto (1882-1934), another graduate of OSVIA, became a leader of the organization He was a charismatic figure who became known for his aggressive attitude towards authority, whether Dutch or Indonesian and was soon to become the most

[36] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* 156, see also Bachtiar, "Indonesian Nation," 171, see also Roeslan Abdulgani, *Nationalism, Revolution, and Guided Democracy in Indonesia* (Clayton, Vic Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1973), 1

[37] Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 56

[38] Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 69

[39] The SDI was established in Solo on October 16, 1905 See Timur Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement Its Contribution to Indonesian Nationalism," (M A thesis, McGill University 1959), 34 H Samanhudi invited Tirtoadisuryo to organize the Solonese merchants See Bachtiar, "Indonesian Nation," 198

prominent leader of the early popular movement In 1912, "in consultation with a European lawyer, the new chairman formulated the legal status of the association hence to be named Sarekat Islam" (Islamic Union, SI) [40] In 1923, it became Partai Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union Party, PSI), and in 1929 was renamed Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Union Party, PSII) [41] From 1912 on, the SI grew up rapidly, and for the first time a mass base appeared

> Though originally established by a number of Indonesian merchants, *Sarekat Islam* soon acquired the character of a mass movement As it concentrated, during the first years, on activities in the social and economic field it succeeded, despite the serious misgivings it evoked among colonial Dutchmen, in gaining a measure of recognition from the government [42]

In 1919, the SI claimed two million members Unlike the BU, the SI spread from Java to the outer islands, Java remaining the centre of its activities Indeed, the SI was an Indonesian voluntary association [43]

Throughout Indonesia, the period after 1909 saw an extraordinary proliferation of new organizations among the educated elites, most of them based on ethnic identities Sarekat Ambon (Ambonese Union, 1920), Jong Java (Young Java, 1918) the first student body, Pasundan (1914) a sort of BU for Sundanese, Sarekat Sumatra (Sumatran Union, 1918), a

---

40 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* 158

41 Ibid , 175

42 Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 69

43 Although the founders were all Javanese, the association was never meant to be a Javanese association It was to be an Islamic one and therefore was open to any Muslim of any nation The Bandung branch, for example, was established by three persons from different nations, namely the Javanese Suwardi Suryaningrat, the Minangkabau A Moeis, and the Sundanese A Wiriadisastra The central board was also ethnically heterogenous, with members from different nations The 4th Sarekat Islam Congress which met at Baliwerti in October 1919 elected a central board under the chairmanship of H O S Cokrcaminoto with, among others, the Minangkabau A Moeis as vice-chairman, and the North Sumatran Muh Samin, the South Sumatran Bratanata, the Sundanese Hasan Djajadiningrat and Alimin, the Minangkabau H A Salim, the Javanese R M Soerjopranoto, R Sosrokardono, H Fachroeddin, and Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso, and the Buginese Amir Hasan as members Bachtiar, "Indonesian Nation," 199 200

Sumatran student group, Jong Minahasa (Young Minahasa, 1918), based in Minahasa Timorsch Verband (Timorese Alliance, 1921), and Kaum Betawi (People of Batavia, 1923) These and many other groups reflected the new enthusiasm for organization but also the continuing strength of ethnic and communal identities The concept of an all-Indonesian identity had as yet hardly any planning at all [44]

The movement in religious reform also appeared in Java The ideas were initially taken by the Arab community and a number of Minangkabau merchants in Batavia, who, in 1905, established Jami ah al Khair (Union for the Good) on the basis of religious solidarity [45] A modern school was opened using Malay as the language of instruction, to which, in 1911, a Modernist teacher from Sudan, Shaykh Ahmad al-Surkatī (1872-1943), was recruited Al-Surkati soon fell out with his employers and in 1913 he set up al-Irsyad (Jam`iyat al-Islāh wal-Irshād, Union for Reformation and Guidance) in Jakarta [46] It established coeducational schools offering instruction in Malay Arabic, and Dutch, most of them located in Java Even though its students generally were Arabs, some were Indonesians [47]

In 1911, the first movement for religious reform were begun by Muslims in West Java The Persyarikatan Ulamā' (Union of Religious Schools) was established by the teachers of Shāfi ī schools of law, but they followed some of the modernist reform ideas and had little connection with "old fashioned *pesantren* circles" In 1916 Persyarikatan `Ulamā' founded a school, "set up an orphanage run largely by its own women's branch and engaged in commercial activities such as printing weaving and agriculture "[48]

[44] Bachtiar, "Indonesian Nation " 168-188, see also Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 159

[45] Bachtiar, "Indonesian Nation," 197-198

[46] Bisri Affandi, "Shaykh Ahmad al-Surkatī His Role in the al-Irshād Movement in Java in the Early Twentieth Century," (M A thesis, McGill University, 1976), 59, according to him, al-Irshād was officially recognized by the Dutch ruler on September 6, 1914

[47] Affandi, "al-Surkatī " 69-73

The most prominent modernist in Indonesia during this period was K H Ahmad Dahlàn (1868-1923) He belonged to the religious leader of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta He went to Mecca and studied with Ahmad Khatîb and other techers in 1890 [49] Upon returned to Yogyakarta, he came with a determination to teach Islamic reform ideas and to resist the efforts Christians and Western missionaries In 1909, he became a member of the BU in the hope of acknowledging his reform among its followers, but some supported him to set up another organization of his own [50] He eventually founded the Muhammadiyah (The Way of Muhammad) in Yogyakarta in 1912 [51] The Muhammadiyah was a religious reform movement, initially restricted to the Muslims of Yogyakarta but soon, like the SI, expanding its membership throughout the Archipelago [52] The Muhammadiyah emphasized on educational and economic sectors, and on a program of missionary of its own to counteract 'superstitions'and the Christian efforts It involved itself in schools, orphanages, clinics, and poorhouses [53]

Modernism was meanwhile reaching new extremes On September 12, 1923, a group of Muslim merchants set up Persatuan Islam (Islamic Union, Persis) in Bandung [54] In 1924, Ahmad Hassan born in 1887 in Singapore to a Tamil father and a Javanese mother, joined the organization [55] He defended the doctrine of modernism, attacked the superstition and heresy,

---

48 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 162

49 `Abdul Mu'ti `Ali, "The Muhammadijah Movement a Bibliographical Introduction," (M A thesis, McGill University, 1957), 30-32

50 Muhammad Idris, "Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlàn, His Life and Thought," (M A thesis, McGill University, 1975), 35-38

51 `Ali, "Muhammadijah," 49

52 Bachtiar, "Indonesian Nation," 200

53 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 162

54 Howard M Federspiel, "The Persatuan Islam (Islamic Union)" (Ph D diss , McGill University, 1966), 17

55 Federspiel, "The Persatuan Islam," 19

and opposed to nationalism on the fact that it divided Muslims by their nation of origin [56] All these according to Ricklefs, "justified the organisation's nickname of the Persis (precise)," and for him "this resulted in the exodus of more moderate members of the group, in 1926, they formed Permufakatan Islam (Islamic Agreement) "[57]

The expanding influence of the young intelligentsia created by Western educational methods led, in the second decade of this century, to the founding of the SI, which henceforth became the most influential mass party At this time, however, it began to face a substantial rivalry from the secularist nationalists The SI, along with other Islamic groups, tried to counter the secular influence through an Islamic youth movement Jong Islamieten Bond (Young Islamic Association JIB) It was founded on January 1, 1925 by hundreds of youths and students of MULO and AMS, together with many graduates of these two institutions who supported and became members of this new organization [58] The JIB had the strategic goal of educating Muslim youths in order to counter the "secularization" conducted by the young westernized intelligentsia along with other secularist nationalist leaders [59] The JIB was to become the first youth organization for the Westernized *santri* students Most of its membership originated from the *priyayi* The JIB "was probably the most well known among the religious groups organized during that period "[60] Their eagerness for the rise of Islam became more and more apparent From this group emerged, later on, the Islamic nationalist

[56] Federspiel, "The Persatuan Islam," 32-34.

[57] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 168

[58] It was officially proclaimed on March 1, 1925 and Samsurijal was its first chairman See Mohamad Roem, "Sejarah Berdirinya 'Jong Islamieten Bond'," in *Diplomasi Ujung Tombak Perjuangan RI*, ed Kustiniyati Mochtar (Jakarta Gramedia, 1989), 128, see also Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 243-245, see also Ridwan Saidi, *Pemuda Islam dalam Dinamika Politik Bangsa 1925-1984* (Jakarta Rajawali, 1984), 10

[59] See John Ingleson, *Road to Exile, The Indonesian Nationalist Movement, 1927-1934* (Singapore Heinemann Educational Books, 1979), 49

[60] Federspiel "The Persatuan Islam," 17, see also J T P Blumberger, "Jeugdbeweging," in *Geillustreerde Encyclopaedie van Nederlandch-Indie* (Leiden Leidsche Uitgavermaatschappij, 1934), 600-601

leaders, both political, through Masyumi (Majlis Syura Muslimin Indonesia, Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslim) and other parties and non-political.[61]

As for the orthodox Shāfi`ī leaders in Java they had become disappointed with the modernists They disliked modernism, which they equated with Wahhabism,[62] they had looked down Cokroaminoto, and they worried that the interests of the Shāfi`ī school of law which was under attack in Indonesia, would be ignored in Mecca and Cairo Therefore, in 1926 K H Hasyim Asy`ari (1871-1947), the principal of an orthodox *pesantren* at Jombang in East Java founded Nahdlatul `Ulamā' (The Rise of the Religious Scholars NU) to defend the ideas of traditionalist Muslims Some other orthodox teachers joined him in East Java.[63] The NU expanded to other islands and areas, but East Java always remained its headquarters It established institutions which provided orthodox Islamic education, care for the needy, and help in economic enterprises

The absence of a political model for their aspirations, once the Sumatra Thawalib (Students of Sumatra) had gone over the communists, led the Muslim youths of Minangkabau to set up Persatuan Muslim Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim's Union, Permi) in 1930 Its membership was made up of former students or teachers of the Sumatra Thawalib who had rejected the communist infiltration of their organization In 1932, when the Muhammadiyah did not commit itself to political activities, the Permi declared itself an Islamic Party This new party was strongly influenced by Ilyas Ya`kub and Mukhtar Luthfi, two youngsters who had studied in Cairo,[64] where they had become politically active The political indoctrination given

---

61 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 247

62 A puritanical movement that had emerged in the Arabian Peninsula and which accepted only the authority of the Hanbali school of law See the article on "Wahhabiyya" in H A R Gibb and J H Kramers, eds , *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden E J Brill, 1953), 618-621

63 A Farichin Chumaidy, "The Jam`iyyah Nahdlatul Ulama', Its Rise and Early Development, 1926-1945," (M A thesis, McGill University 1976), 39

64 See Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics, The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra*

to them in Cairo was influential on the Permi members so that the ideas of religious reformation and Islamic political spirit were unified in this new organization This attitude had an impact on the members who came from different areas not only from West Sumatra but also from Aceh, Malaya, Kalimantan and Sulawesi From January 1931 until July 1932 the Permi rapidly developed a political, educational, and economic orientation, and became a radicalist nationalist political party By 1933, the Permi had become the most radical political party in Sumatra [65]

There were, however, some promising signs The next generation of Indonesian politicians would include more realistic members Islam was undergoing a true reform, and the nature of the enemy was understood Eventually Indonesian leaders would find that some issues of common concern were, at least temporarily, more important than those which divided them Out of this discovery nationalism would soon be born This would be a new step, for the major organizations described in this section were influenced by religious reforms and by Pan-Islam But soon some leaders would begin to see all the indigenous peoples of Indonesia as their constituency and an Indonesian national state as their goal [66]

2. Reformation and ideologization of Islam

One of the most significant features of the Indonesian Islamic reformation movements, from the 17th century onwards, was the role of the *'ulamā'* The period of al-Rānīrī, al-Sinkīlī, and Shaykh Yūsuf al Maqassārī in the 17th and 18th centuries, until the Padri movement in the 19th century, witnessed a number of great and influential *'ulamā'* [67] In addition, the *'ulamā'* involved in the process of reformation were those who had just returned from the centre of the

1927-1933 (Ithaca Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971).

65 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 233-234

66 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 171

67 Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism, 346-458

Islamic world in the Middle East They realized the important role that the orthodox observance of religion played in Islamic social life [68]

The *'ulamā'* set about reawakening the faith of Indonesian Muslims in many different ways Al-Rānīrī, by attacking Sufi practices stressed the necessity to follow orthodoxy, al-Sinkīlī tried to bridge the gap between al Rānīrī and al Sumatrani and Shaykh Yusuf initiated a *tariqa* movement in Banten Other *ulama'* set up organizations for instance K H Ahmad Dahlan, K H Hasyim Asy ari, Ahmad al Surkati, Ahmad Hassan in Java They were in some ways directly responsible for raising the awareness of the society Haji Abdulk irim Amrullah and Jamil Jambek in Minangkabau also played a role in this process The socio-historical context certainly influenced these reformations Yogyakarta and East Java in general are quite different from West Sumatra, where the Padri movement had risen The doctrinal orientation was also apparently different, as was the intensity of the reformation The NU emphasized the adherence to one school of law, while the Muhammadiyah and the *'ulamā'* of Minangkabau emphasized the need for a return to the Qur'an and the tradition of the Prophet On the whole, both saw the importance of Islam as the foundation of the ideology of change [69] Indeed, later on they supported endeavors to make Islam the ideology of the political struggle [70]

The emergence of the religious reform movement particularly at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was initially encouraged by two main factors

---

68 Abdullah *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 221

69 Regarding the fundamental ideology of the Muhammadiyah movement, see Achmad Jainuri, "The Muhammadiyah Movement in Twentieth Century Indonesia A Socio-Religious Study," (M A thesis, McGill University, 1992), 35 66, regarding the *'ulamā'* of Minangkabau, see Abdullah, "Schools and Politics", Noer also talks about this in his *Modernist Muslim*, 31-56, see also Taufik Abdullah "Modernization in the Minangkabau World West Sumatra in the Early Decades of Twentieth Century" in *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* ed Claire Holt (Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1972) 179-245

70 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 222

external and internal The external factor was the consequence of the close relationship which was developing with the centres of Islamic studies due to the increasing ease of communication between the Middle East and the Indonesian Archipelago, particularly with the use of steamships and the opening of the Suez canal As a result, a great number of Jawi students came to study in Mecca, Medina, and Cairo The teachings of Jamāl al-Dīn al Afghānī and Muhammad Abduh[71] influenced some of those students These factors had great consequences in Indonesia

Among the internal factors affecting the emergence of religious reform there was the enlargement and the extension of religious school networks by the graduates of the three Islamic centers of study mentioned above Four students returned to Minangkabau from Mecca and were regarded as reformists Directly involved in one way or another in the realization of changes in the area, they were Haji Rasul, Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin, Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek, and Haji Abdullah Ahmad[72] Another internal factor was the growing importance of print culture and the mobility of books throughout the Archipelago[73]

[71] "Muhammad `Abduh (1849-1905) was a reformer of Islamic practices and ideas in Egypt His name cannot be separated from Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-1897) who championed political reforms They both issued and edited the periodical, *al-`Urwat al-Wutsqā* (The Indissoluble Bond) in Paris in 1884 This publication shook both the Muslim and the Western World " Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 32 and n 4

[72] Haji Rasul, after studying seven years in Mecca, returned to Minangkabau He became active in the local reform movement His *surau* in Padangpanjang grew into the *Sumatra Thawalib* which gave birth to the Persatuan Muslim Indonesia (Permi, Indonesian Muslim's Union), a political party in the early 30's He published important work in Malay Jamil Jambek graduated after nine years studying in Mecca "He promoted the development of reforms in the Minangkabau area by lending his support " Haji Abdullah Ahhmad studied in Mecca from 1895 to 1899 He was active in writing, became chairman of the journalist association in Padang in 1914 and was the founder of the monthly *al-Munīr* (The Illuminative) published in Padang from 1910 to 1915 *al-Akhbār* (the News) (1913), a newsmagazine He was also a religious editor of the SI periodical *al-Islām* (1916) Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin returned from Mecca in 1910 He visited Minangkabau in 1923 and again in 1927 when he was detained by the Dutch for 6 months, after which he left this area for good He founded a school, *al-Iqbāl al-Islamiyya* in Singapore However, his influence on his colleagues in Minangkabau was exercised through his periodical *al-Imām* (The Leader) This periodical was distributed throughout Indonesia in the areas where Malay was spoken and/or written, in Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan and Sulawesi Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 33-39

This led to the emergence of an intellectual sphere and Islamic scriptualism [74] Islamic cosmopolitanism was revived A final factor was the impact of the colonial policy on the natives [75] The ethical policy gave an increasing number of natives the chance to pursue higher education Having realized the threat of Islam the Dutch applied their Islamic policy and tried to bureaucratize Islam Consequently, the Dutch authority increased on the one hand, while on the other, it led to the emergence of scriptualization and orthodoxy Although the role of the *'ulamā'* had been domesticated, the people began to be concerned about modernity and wanted to introduce change Although Islamic law was restricted, the orthodoxy began to appear, more and more people concentrated on the study of Islam This development marks the beginning of the reformation movement Another impact of colonialism came with the emergence of colonial towns, which where the centers of social activities Self-awareness resulted from witnessing the existing heterogenity and plurality, and particularly the discrimination between the races The people began to realize they were subordinates and began to see themselves as backward, and that they were in a "valley of stupidity"

According to Abdullah, there were three basic elements or prominent teachings in the Islamic reformation movement in Indonesia [76] First, the Muslims led by the *ulamā'* proclaimed

---

73 See above Chapter 1, particularly on the mobility of books or *kitāb*

74 For the idea of Islamic "scripturalism" please refer to Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed* (New Haven Yale University Press, 1968), 56-74 According to Anderson, "The reasons for the great receptivity to 'scripturalist' ideas must ultimately be traced to the deepening impact of Dutch capitalism and technology or traditional social and economic life and of secularizing rationalism on traditional beliefs Reform Islam, as it grew and spread in twentieth century Java represented a rationalist religious response to the challenges created by these developments Almost every component of traditional Islam, except the fundamental articles of faith was subjected to this rationalizing tendency" Benedict Anderson, *Language and Power Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N Y Cornell University Press, 1990), 69-70

75 See above Chapter 2, particularly on the colonial Dutch policy

76 Taufik Abdullah, in his lecture at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, on February 16 1993

the continuing validity of *ijtihād* (legal reasoning), which had previously been declared invalid Second, the Muslims began to engage in apologetics, and tried to rediscover the golden age of Islam Lastly, the Muslims proposed a new ethic as the basis of social solidarity

By proclaiming the validity of *ijtihād*, meaning that people could use reason (*`aql*) to understand religion, Muslims questioned the traditional system of authority and began to preach the need for purification of Islamic teachings and practices[77] As a result, the traditionalist *ulamā'* began to oppose the reformists Social fragmentation took place, the controversies gave rise to an extensive intellectual discourse Religious issues began to be divisive in certain areas, particularly in Java and Minangkabau However, these divisions also led to an increase in contacts with groups in other regions, both reformist and traditionalist Accordingly, they started to recognize other group solidarities which surpassed the family, cultural, and racial boundaries Consequently, this situation strengthened the formation of the Indonesian nation and the development of Indonesian nationalism

On the level of apologetics, the Muslims were trying to rediscover the greatness of Islamic teaching, in the face of colonialist hostility or indifference Accordingly, a new sense of self confidence began to be felt by a majority of the Muslims who were in the lowest level of social categorization The teachings of the Prophet were defended As a result, some conflicts broke out Indeed, religious reform based on the self confidence of the Muslims upheld the nationalist movements in terms of their struggle for independence

The last element of reformation was the establishment of new ethic for Muslims. They

---

[77] This idea is "a sweeping away of the scholastic accretions and the local superstitions which had come to obscure the faith" It was influenced by "the modernist movement in Islam, developing especially under the teaching of Muhammad `Abduh of Cairo at the end of the nineteenth century" It was believed, "Islam must acommodate itself to the modern world The modernists regarded their faith as essentially based on reason and believed that the renewal of a purer orthodoxy, freed from obscurantism, could be reconciled with Western science and progress The new ferment in Islam was one part of the story of Indonesia's re-awakening." J D Legge, *Sukarno: A Political Biography* (London The Penguin Press, 1972), 43

realized the importance of social solidarity Social associations and family substitutes were developed Several organizations were established for the purpose of looking after social needs, as explained above A sense of individual responsibility emerged in response to community concerns Several schools orphanages, hospitals were founded by organizations such as the Muhammadiyah NU, and al Irsyad The western-educated Muslims were influenced by the modern schools built by these Islamic associations These schools produced Islamic nationalists as opposed to secularist nationalists Indeed, one of the results of participation in these associations was a growing articulation of the nature of colonial relationship among Muslims Social and cultural activities were emphasized

The reformation movement generally motivated the consciousness of the society Its proponents, active in both the social and the cultural spheres, and particularly in education, not only called upon the people to take part in their efforts but also encouraged them to contemplate and study their religious teachings Accordingly, the reformists successfully drew a great number of followers and supporters Traders were also involved in improving education, not only in support of the ideals of the reformers, but also in their own interest, for the colonial government made no effort to provide them with instruction sufficient to enable them to seek positions of greater responsibility and authority in society This "constituted one of the motivations for the setting up of the various organizations" above [78] The students realized that Islam had a significant intellectual tradition, whereas the colonial government constantly relegated them to a very low position [79] The reformation movement apparently had awakened a new perception of the life of the society Against such a background political issues were avoidable, although the *'ulamā'* kept trying to avoid any contact with the colonial government Thus with the *'ulamā'* abandoning the field, the most prominent leaders of the reformation movement were drawn from the intelligentsia [80]

---

78 Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 92

79 Bachtiar, "Indonesian Nation," 125

The Islamic reformation movement and national awareness were two phenomena which were mutually dependent Both emerged from the realization by the people of their dignity and of the subordination and exploitation of colonialism The intelligentsia was supported by the indigenous people in its Islamic political movements The intelligentsia and Islam stood together against the *Pax Neerlandica*, which brought with it not only the disadvantages of the "ethical policy" but which was also predicated on the inferior legal position of the native people [81]

In view of this, the banner of Islam which had been raised by the sultans, the aristocrats, and the *'ulamā'*, has once again emerged but this time under the aegis of the Sarekat Islam (SI) Since the very beginning, this movement showed its political character, although not officially, it was also considered to be the only mass party in the colonial period This political character was expressed in sociopolitical life, but it also motivated a religious solidarity Thus it is not an exaggeration to say that Islam was the founder of a powerful Indonesian nationalism [82] "Islam as a pre-nationalist unifying ideology, an incipient labour movement and urge towards a cultural renascence - contributed to changing the passive reaction to Western influences into the active one of Indonesian nationalism "[83] In the cities and the villages, people saw in Islam, and later on in nationalism, a symbol for their fight for a better life [84]

With the unifying factor of the religious sentiment, Islam in Indonesia began to mature and turned into the ideology of Islam Islam is seen as distinguishing the indigenous people from foreign rulers Consequently, Islam came to be identified with nationality[85] throughout

[80] Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 223

[81] Ibid

[82] Ibid , 225-226

[83] Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 319

[84] Ibid , 323

[85] Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 7.

the Archipelago It can be said that nationalism in Indonesia also started with Muslim nationalism[86] When one looks at the Malays in Sumatra, the Javanese and Sundanese in Java, the Banjarese in Kalimantan, the Bugis Macassarese in Sulawesi and the Ternatan in the Moluccas, one observes that they see themselves first and foremost as Muslims[87] These tribes were involved in the struggle against the Dutch ever since the latter came to the Archipelago Although they were different in origin and culture they were united in their Islamic self-consciousness, which motivated them to work against foreign colonialism Indeed it is no surprise that the SI established itself at this moment in history and was welcomed and spread widely among these tribes Under the leadership of H O S Cokroaminoto in particular, the SI developed as the mass organization in Indonesia claimed the largest membership during this period[88]

Despite the fact that in the very beginning the SI was officially a non political organization,[89] it played an important political role When economic cooperation could not alter the emergence of national awareness, associations were broadened to include social and political sectors The spread of the SI, according to Abdullah, was caused by two main factors First, Islam became a national symbol overlapping the ethnic barriers and cultural differences present throughout the Archipelago Second, the SI grew up in the context of *Pax Neerlandica*, a policy which had unified the country through colonial authority and administrative networks, the culturally divided Indonesian archipelago was thereby united

---

86 See Jaylani, "Sarekat Islam," 10

87 The Bataks were mostly pagans but those who were converted from animism to Islam were said to be Malays The same was true with regard to the Chinese in Sumatra who became Muslims See Gottfried Simon, *The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra* (London Marshal Brothers, 1912), 191

88 Ricklefs *A History of Modern Indonesia* 158

89 From its early inception, the goals of the SI (SDI) were four in number 1 Emphasizing the socio-economic development of the people, 2 Uniting the batik traders, 3 Improving the status of the indigenous people, and 4 Developing Islamic schools See Tamar Jaya, in *Assiyasah*, no 5, 2 (April 1974) 8

Communication between islands brought them closer The centers of economy and education attracted and absorbed the people and multicultural relationships led to the spread of the Islamic organization throughout the Archipelago [90]

The spread of the SI showed a new phase in the development of the Indonesian struggle, a phase wherein the fact that Islamic nationalism overstepped geographical boundaries and primordialism Islamic solidarity, which was empowered by the context of *Pax Neerlandica*, became a foundation of the sense of togetherness of various areas in the Archipelago [91]

> Sarekat Islam did become the brightest star in the Indonesian organizational firmament during the second decade of the 20th century, and the leaders of the organization strove for leadership positions in the whole of Indonesian society [92]

On January 26 1913 the first SI congress was held in Surabaya, during which Cokroaminoto addressed a huge meeting He used the term "Indonesian people," and asked the Muslims of Indonesia to unite in their religion, under the standard of Islam [93]

The SI proclaimed itself as a political movement in 1917 However, Cokroaminoto had drawn the organization into political activities earlier than that As early as its congress of 1914 in Yogyakarta, the political nature of the movement was recognized In that congress the Central Sarekat Islam (Sarekat Islam Central Headquarters, CSI) was established to integrate the local SIs which had spread to many different areas in the Archipelago [94] At the Bandung Congress of 1916, the CSI used the term "National Congress "[95] At this time its political influence was more cosmopolitan and had a broader influence among a diversity of people

[90] Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 229

[91] Ibid

[92] Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 86

[93] Abdul Malek el-Zamzami (Amelz), ed , *H O.S Tjokroaminoto, Hidup dan Perdjuangannya* (Djakarta Bulan Bintang, 1952), 98

[94] Ibid , 103

[95] Ibid , 106

than that of the Boedi Utomo It was also the first time the idea of Indonesian independence was stated publicly and officially Since the SI Congress appeared more collective and national in nature than other "nationalist" movements the SI could be considered the first mass organization which proclaimed and implemented a national policy toward the people[96] Cokroaminoto explained at this congress "by the word national we mean that the SI points in the direction of strong unity of all the groups of Indonesian people to be a level of *natie*"[97] Cokroaminoto may have been calling for independence here as much as saying "we already belong to a common people," or "nation" A nation is not a state in political terms but of course it is implicit in the concept of a nation that self interest and some sort of autonomy ought to exist

The SI in its early stage of development may be seen as having been divided into three groups The first included the reformists, that is, those who proposed changing the social and religious life of the people This group mainly included urban dwellers who worked as traders both natives and Arabs The second was those who tended to be ideologists The members of this group, mainly workers, wanted the SI to be an agent of class aspirations The last group was characterized by the locality of its members This group was varied Some members belonged to peasant associations such as were found in Jakarta, some were anti Chinese associations, and some were followers of the Sufi orders Unlike the last one the first and the second were quite influential in the SI's internal political orientation The first group became the SI *putih* (white), and the second became SI *merah* (red) The difference between both groups was fundamental, for the White SI based its ideas on religious beliefs while the Red SI based theirs on communism[98]

---

96 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 230, see also Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 158

97 el-Zamzami, *Tjokroaminoto*, 106

98 The White SI was recognized as the reformist group, while the Red SI was influenced by Indische-Democratische Vereniging (Indies Social-Democratic Association, ISDV), a socialist organization founded by Sneevliet (1883-1942) in Surabaya in 1913 This small

The Muslims reached a new and different phase with the division between the Red and the White SI Islam had previously been regarded as the symbol of national political solidarity Now, however, Islam was reformulated as a narrower entity, according to the Islamic perception of moral struggle The concept of Islamic community (*ummat*) was also changed Previously, Islam used to be considered a bond between people against foreigners It was now seen as a socio political unifying factor Islam indeed experienced a process of "ideologization" Cokroaminoto was also busy with his effort to formulate Islamic socialism as an ideology useful in countering the ideologies of socialism and communism [99] On the one hand, ideologization could be seen as beneficial, for through it, one could clarify the goal of the struggle and allow a strategy to be established On the other hand, this process induced cultural cleavage In practical terms, this process was different from the process out of which emerged the *santri* and the *abangan* In the ideologization process, the latter actually only differed in their respective levels of understanding, and not in regard to their acceptance of religious teachings [100]

The process of ideologization in Java depended on a change of attitude from one of subservience to that of a belief that "independence on the basis of Islam alone is capable of

leftist party was shortly to become the first Communist Party in Asia outside the Russian sphere ISDV was almost entirely Dutch in membership, but desired a base among the Indonesian masses In 1915-1916, it allied with Insulinde (Indies Archipelago), a party which had been founded in 1907 and which had absorbed most of the radical Indo-European membership of the Indische Partij after 1913 See Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 163 The Red SI led by Semaun got a great number of followers in Semarang and developed to become Sarekat Rakyat (People's Union), the seed of Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party, PKI) In 1921, Sarekat Rakyat was rejected when the party adopted a discipline, stating that a member of the SI could not be a member of other associations except an Islamic association like the Muhammadiyah Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam* 231

[99] Hamka, who was his student in Yogyakarta, deduces from the attitude and the subject of Cokroaminoto's teaching, that Cokroaminoto attractively explained Islam and socialism He did not condemn Marx and Engels, but rather thanked them for their theory on materialism and explained how it clarifies the unity of socialism in the teaching of Islam See Hamka, "H O S Tjokroaminoto membukakan mataku," in *Tjokroaminoto*, 37

[100] Abdullah *Sejarah Ummat Islam* 232

releasing all the people from any form of slavery "[101] As a result, it was proclaimed that all activities of the SI were to be based on Islam During its seventh congress in 1923 in Madiun the SI became Partai Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union Party, PSI) [102]

With the emergence of an Islamic Party in Indonesia the Islamic organizations now fell into two categories The first included organizations which oriented their struggle towards political independence This group included for example, the Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Union Party PSII) founded in 1929 and Permi (Persatuan Muslim Indonesia, Indonesian Muslim Union) founded in 1930 The second category included organizations which focused on social development, such as the Muhammadiyah (1912), NU (1926), al-Washiyah and Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah (Islamic Educational Union or Perti founded in 1930) [103] Their respective struggles against the colonial government took one of two forms The political activist groups used a structural approach They favored political change and social and economic improvement only later on concentrating on issues of morality The social activist associations, on the other hand, believed morality and education to be essential to the pursuit of political and economic improvement [104] The social activists emphasized social, cultural, and economic sectors rather than politics, for they believed that political struggle raises problems, it allows a deviation from ethical foundations, which could take them away from the true faith However, this does not mean that they avoided politics altogether

The effort to build national consciousness generated long disputes and debates [105] The

---

101 *Neratja*, March 30, 1921, *Neratja* (The Scale), a daily published in Jakarta in 1916 24 by a private company under the editorship of A Moeis and H A Salim It was the voice of the Sarekat Islam Its name was changed into *Hindia Baru*, as cited in Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 129

102 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 233

103 Ibid

104 Ibid , 235

fact that the Muhammadiyah accepted the subsidies of the colonial government was seen by the SI as "an act of anationalism if not anti-nationalism" The Muhammadiyah was regarded as a disguised anti-political organization [106] As a result, in 1929, the SI disciplined the Muhammadiyah Members of both organizations were told to leave the Muhammadiyah or they would be expelled from the SI As a counteraction the Muhammadiyah accused the SI leaders of disobeying Islamic law The SI also had difficulties with Persis which resulted in a similar disciplining of members belonging both to SI and Persis The PSI, which emphasized the unity of society, blamed the Persis for raising the issue of *furū'iyya*, concerning practical application, which the SI believed was seen as leading to disintegration of Muslim solidarity In response, Persis claimed that the *furu iyya* represented an urgent matter, necessary to purify religious beliefs For Persis, prohibiting any talk on this issue meant prohibiting talk on *ibāda*, worship Indeed, the *furu iyya* issue motivated much debate on Islamic doctrine [107]

The Muhammadiyah, in its efforts to purify religious belief and practices, never accepted any political propaganda Its members stressed education, for they believed that through education, they could get rid of such social ills as *bid`a* (heresy), stupidity, and backwardness [108] They preached the ideal of a harmonious life for one who obeyed the religion, the tradition, and the government [109]

105 Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 235

106 "The name of an anti-political organization, though polite, was the worst label one could give to an organization in the colonial period, for this implied an accusation of siding with the Dutch " The dispute between the SI and the Muhammadiyah already existed before and after the Mecca congress The dispute was partly of a personal nature between local officers of both organizations which grew into mutual denunciation of each other Indeed steps were taken to eliminate such disputes Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 236 237

107 Ibid , 256-259

108 Abdullah, *Masyarakat dan Sejarah*, 165

109 Ibid

On the whole, Islamic parties were involved in political activity not only in confronting the colonial government, but also nationalists who advocated secularism Furthermore the SI opposed the government on the subject of cooperation and the nationalists on the foundation of the struggle Organizations such as the Muhammadiyah, built schools and *madrasas* *Pesantrens* were modernized, social institutions and welfare networks were established and Islamic propagations went on [110]

The controversies apparently did not last long The animosity between the modernists and the traditionalists gradually decreased, as both groups began cooperating In fact they had realized that despite their differences they were still brothers in Islam They became tolerant of each other In addition they realized that the Dutch colonial ruler was a great threat and a danger to the power of Islam and the emergence of a nationalist movement [111] What is the most important thing for them is *Indonesia Merdeka*, Indonesian Independence, for "it has been in one way or another a factor in it for many decades" among the Muslims in Indonesia [112]

3. Nationalism and Islam

In the modern period, nationalism seems to have been the most significant consequence of Western influence in those Muslim countries which had long been in the hands of the colonialists As Zafar Ishaq Ansari has written, "Nationalism in Muslim countries was born as direct result of this foreigner non-Muslim domination over Islamic lands" [113] As a historical symptom, nationalism emerged as the response to a political, economic, social and cultural

---

110 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 236

111 Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 240

112 Justus M von der Kroef, "Indonesian Nationalism Reconsidered," *Pacific Affairs*, 45, 1 (Spring 1972) 55

113 Zafar Ishaq Ansari, "An Inquiry into the Interrelationship between Islam and Nationalism in the Writing of Egyptians, 1945-56," (M A thesis McGill University, 1959), 5

context, particularly the one brought on by colonialism Nationalism of course emerged from several causes However the most essential one was that close relation between colonialism and nationalism The colonial governments tried to combat nationalism while the nationalists attacked the colonial governments Thus, the colonial governments were seriously challenged and had to respond to the agitation This nationalism devoted to the liberation of Muslim countries was "compatible with Islam in its traditional, in its religion, and its social and every other aspect "[114]

In Indonesia in particular, national self-consciousness began to emerge in the beginning of this century, and was developing continuously and growing with time The nationalists asserted that they were people left behind as a consequence of colonialism and traditionalism They claimed that colonial discrimination made their people without rights, denied proper development, modernization, and education The notion of emancipation eventually appeared in the letters of R A Kartini (1879-1904), a Javanese princess[115] Later on, the Youth Congress produced the Youth Pledge (*Sumpah Pemuda*) in 1928, i e one nation, Indonesia, one fatherland, Indonesia, and one language *Bahasa Indonesia*[116]

The awareness of the Indonesian people of their traditional, colonized, and backward status was actually stimulated by the colonial policy on education At the beginning of the 20th century opportunity was given to the people to pursue an education Not many could be accepted at these government schools the upper class had priority Some therefore went to non-government schools developed by Islamic organizations, while some went to traditional

[114] W C Smith, *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton Princeton University Press, 1957), 74

[115] Raden Adjeng Kartini *Letters of a Javanese Princess*, trans Agnes Louise Symmer ed and intro Hildred Geertz (New York W W Norton, 1964), see also idem, *Letters from Kartini an Indonesia Feminist, 1900-1904*, trans Joost Cote ed Jaquet, F G P Clayton, Vic Monash Asia Institute Monash University in association with Hyland House 1992) see laso J M Pluvier *Het Indonesische Nationalisme* (Harleem J H Gottmer, 1972), 5-7

[116] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 177

Islamic schools (*pesantrens*)

The opportunity to study in Western schools, which emphasized science, math and importance of technology, had new implications in social, economic, political, and cultural aspects for those involved. As a result, there were great opportunities for the indigenous people to acquire vertical social mobility. As explained above, the educational policy of the colonial government was designed to support its bureaucracy in order to strengthen its colonialism. Some Indonesian graduates supported this goal directly by serving as staff in the administration; they were called the new *priyayi*. However, some also did not support the goal of the colonial government and joined anti-colonialist groups. These groups later on split into two: the secularist nationalists or those who based their opposition on secular arguments, and the nationalist Muslims or those who based their struggle on religion. Indeed, modern education had many other results than those it was originally intended to have.

In the fight against colonialism, non-government schools also played a role. The rise of new organizations, particularly those which emphasized education, were also quite significant in helping the Islamic students (*santri*) to rally to nationalism. These groups were made up of those who were called the modernist *santris*, to distinguish them from the traditionalist *santris*. This latter group actually emerged from the traditional Islamic schools which still maintained their close relation to the villagers and their conventional understanding of Islamic teachings.

Some graduates of modern and western style schools such as OSVIA and STOVIA had become "alienated" from their religion, in spite of the fact that their parents were Muslim and that they sometimes belonged to Islamic associations. They were alienated from their own society. In addition, the number of Muslims "emancipated" from their own religion through Dutch training and education had multiplied."[117] The members of this group apparently did not become members of the SI, like their predecessors who had also studied in Dutch schools.[118]

---

117 Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 247

Islam's status as the natural symbol of national feeling had deteriorated The SI was apparently no longer the symbol of the native people, particularly as far as colonialism was concerned As a result, the Muslims lost their monopoly in formulating the foundation of the struggle [119] This was not merely the result of western education, but also the consequence of the ideologization pursued by the reformists

> Ideologization seemed to have created two phenomena Firstly, it established Islam as the foundation of national and interethnic political solidarity Secondly, by this process, cultural polarization occurred *santri* and *abangan* was clearly identified This polarization can also be seen as the result of the process of Islamization, which led to the polarization of socio-political orientation and commitment [120]

In defining and formulating the national ideology in this period, the *santri* and *abangan* groups seem to have been opposed to one another Debates occurred between the two groups on what the foundation of this ideology was going to be The *santri* unsurprisingly proposed Islam as the ideology, while the *abangan* saw Islam as a foreign teaching imported into the Javanese culture Thus, for the first time, a nationalism emerged which was different from Islam, i e a Javanese nationalism [121] Its tenants propagated nationalism as if Islam ran counter to it This group was later on recognized as a nationalist group not committed to

---

118 For example, Suwardi Suryaningrat and A Moeis were affiliated with the SI in Bandung in 1913, as is pointed out by Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 247

119 Several factors created this entrangement the emergence of the concept of Indies nationalism in 1922 which ran counter to the early dominant idea of identifying nationalism with Islam, the contest for leadership led to differences between the members of various parties, ideology, which, partly as a response to the challenge of communism and partly due to a maturing of its leadership, had crystallized by the 1920's The exercise of disciplinary measures in 1921 against their parties added to this entrangement See Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 247

120 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 237

121 We might recall that in the 1910's the struggle between Islam and nationalism (of Javanese character) had been reflected in the question of the *Djawi Hisworo* affair which produced the committee for Javanese nationalism This idea of nationalism had been ingrained into the Indonesian people by such leaders as Iskak, Sukarno, and Sutomo - the latter still confined to Javanese nationalism Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 247-258 For an outline of nationalist efforts with a Javanese bent, see Bernard H M Vlekke, *Nusantara A History of Indonesia* (The Hague W van Hoeve, 1959), 380-383

Islam, it even became an anti-Islamic group [122] The movement held that Islam was tied to the past and was incapable of handling modern issues [123]

From the 1920's onwards, both these groups became involved in a series of conflicts involving the secular nationalism and the Islamic nationalism The secularists claimed that the Islamic nationalists were part of a "pan-Islamic movement", which, because it focused on an international Islamic world, would not strengthen national unity, but only jeopardize it The Islamic group in response to this accusation, argued that Islam does not obstruct or hamper the emergence of pure nationalism, but supports and motivates it Nationalism developed through Islam is not a parochial and dangerous nationalism, but leads to Islamic socialism, that is socialism which proposes "mono-humanism" or human integration ruled by God as stated in the Qur'an [124]

The nationalism proposed by the secularists was based on the love and respect of the "fatherland" and love of the country This love became the foundation of the struggle to formulate an Indonesian nationalism However, in the beginning, "nationality" was based on the idea of Javanese nationalism rather than that of the whole Archipelago's In their conflicts, Soetomo, the leader of the study club in Surabaya and former leader of the BU said that the PSI was no more than a means for the intelligentsia to spread dispute Consequently, Haji Agus Salim, a Minangkabau and activist of the PSI, came to be considered as a "foreigner and a wanderer" who posed a threat to national unity The PSI was also regarded as a "party of priests" which manipulated the socio-economic affairs of the people on the issue of religion [125]

---

122 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 237-238

123 Howard M Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam, Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca Modern Indonesia Project Southeast Asian Program, 1970), 85

124 *Bendera Islam*, February 26, 1925, as cited in Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 248

125 Soetomo, in *Bendera Islam*, January 17, 1927, as cited in Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 249 250 and fn 130

According to the secular nationalists, national unity should be free from all other principles, and should even ignore them They proposed what Gajah Mada and prominent Hindus leaders who had unified the Archipelago had said that this kind of unity should be manifested and reformulated However, apparently this was what was the Muslims understood Javanese nationalism to represent, saying that the Javanese wanted to revive Hinduism [126] Sukarno, one of the nationalist leaders stressing the love of the country, said that the fatherland is "*sangat indah dan memiliki kekayaan alam yang melimpah dari Ibu Indonesia*" (very beautiful and has great and rich natural resources which fall abundantly from mother Indonesia) Mother Indonesia gave birth to heroic people like Gajah Mada and other leaders from the Hindu period To create and maintain unity, he stressed the importance of love for the fatherland, the sincere preparedness to serve and devote oneself to Mother Indonesia, and the willingness to set aside narrow party interests [127]

The love of one's country, according to the Islamic nationalists of the day, is not right The unity proposed by the secular nationalists was interpreted as a revival of a pre-Islamic type of unity, "Majapahitism" or "Hindu-Buddhism" If the concept of national unity was merely meant in terms of culture, as says Majapahit, which was basically going to be revived, then according to the Islamic nationalists this concept would lead to elimination of the Islamic values, and to the ignorance of their role in surpassing the ethnic differences For them, such a nationalism is absolutely "*jahiliyya*" (pre-Islamic) nationalism [128]

126 In fact, it is not so much that they wanted reawaken Hinduism, only to show that there had been earlier models of Indonesia laying deep in time, see Bung Karno (Sukarno), "Mencapai Indonesia Merdeka" (A Pamphlet, Bandung, March, 1933), 1-45 Gajah Mada helped them do that After all the Umayyads were great because they built on the Eastern Roman Empire and the `Abbāsids because they emulated the Sassānids To recognize what has gone on before is important Indonesian Muslims often are guarded on this point It merely happens to be another element of nationalism that helped win independence After all, Islam was not the only instrument of nationalism The Javanese approach was an important mobilizer for Indonesian nationalism

127 *Fadjar Asia*, August 18, 20, 1928, as cited in Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 253

128 A Hassan, *Islam dan Kebangsaan*, 44, as cited in Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 95, and Abdullah, *Islam dan Masyarakat*, 160

Agus Salim argued against Sukarno's idea of nationalism He said that such a love of country is only a kind of nonsense slogan, and encourages worshipping and idolizing one's nationality Salim "came to believe he directed a leaning toward idolatry in Sukarno's ecstatic depictions of the beauties of Ibu (Mother) Indonesia" He also pointed to the dangers dormant in nationalism, describing as well a number of misdeeds that nationalists were prone to commiting [129] The PSI, however, did not abandon or ignore the love of country, but continued to regard it as an important principle The PSI saw it rather as "emphasizing the fate and the situation of our people, putting them in priority rather than nationality This kind of love of country, indeed, needs national independence as a whole for the safety and welfare of the people" They regarded it as an obligation for the human beings who live together in one fatherland This nationalism, says Salim, is not meant to enslave people to the "goddess Indonesia" which is beautiful and gives life If such were the case, it would mean an undignified love based on materialism Love of country should be in favour of justice as it is fixed by God, meaning that it does not exceed the faith of God [130]

Sukarno in his response to Salim's opinion said that the nationalism he was striving for was not similar to Western nationalism or chauvinist nationalism, but rather a wide and broad nationalism, which leaves room for other nations [131] The charge that nationalism might contain latent dangers was emphatically rejected by Sukarno H A Salim, he said, "forgot to mention," that "Indonesia did not subscribe to aggressive European nationalism" He knew that Sukarno preached a nationalism which was "not concerned with material but with spiritual gains," and that Eastern nationalism differed greatly from Western nationalism, for "our nationalism makes us God's instrument and leads us to a life of the spirit" [132] Actually the

---

129 Bernard Dahm, *Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence*, trans by M F S Heidhues (Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1969), 175

130 Dahm, *Sukarno and the Struggle*, 175

131 Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 255

132 Dahm, *Sukarno and the Struggle*, 176

PSI and the Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Party, PNI) were not different, in terms of activities and goals However, both parties were different in foundation and intention Salim states, "our principle is Islam, our intention is God" Regarding this difference, eventually, Salim said, Sukarno's viewpoint should be respected, but should not be agreed with [133]

When the differences over the national ideology arose, both the Islamic nationalist groups who were committed to the structural orientation, and those who adhered to a cultural approach, worked together, in opposition to the secularist nationalists A Hassan and M Natsir of Persis based in Bandung, as prominent leaders of the Islamic group, were committed to the cultural orientation rather than to the structural one A Hassan criticized the views of the secularist nationalists, labelling them *'asabiyya*, a feeling prohibited in Islamic law [134] If that kind of nationalism was to become the foundation of unity, Indonesian Muslims would be separated from other Muslim countries Islam stresses that Muslims are brothers According to Hassan, such a nationalism rests outside of the Islamic faith, for its foundation contrasts with Islamic principles For him, those who apply principles and laws other than those of Islam are not considered Muslims [135]

M Natsir's definition of nationalism depended on the inclusion of almost all the ethnic groups in the Archipelago This interpretation of "unity" was initially adopted by the Islamic nationalists Natsir said that without Islam, there would be no Indonesian nationalism since

133 Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 256

134 A Hassan, a Persis leader, identified *kebangsaan* with *'asabiyya*, i e zealous tribal partisanship which was prevalent before the unification of Arabs under Islam, especially during the *jahiliyya* period, and which caused disorder in the Arab world Referring to two traditions of the Prophet on *asabiyya*, those of Abu Dawud (d 888) and of Muslim (d 875), respectively, A Hassan expressed the view that to set up a *kebangsaan* organization, or to invite and persuade people to join the *kebangsaan party* is forbidden in Islam *Pembela Islam*, no 6 (March 1930), 39, 40, as cited in Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 259, see also Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam, Islamic Reform*, 90

135 *Pembela Islam*, no 6 (March 1930) 39-41, as cited in Noer, *Modernist Muslim*, 259

Islam had "first planted the seeds of Indonesian unity, removed the attitudes of isolation of various islands and planted the seeds of brotherhood with (Muslims) outside Indonesia "[136] Although organizations like the BU, Pasundan Jong Sumatranen Bond and the like emerged as a result of an emerging sense of nationality, they restricted their membership to their own ethnic group Islamic movements such as the SI and the Muhammadiyah had long been using the concept of an "Indonesian State" These two movements had spread throughout the Archipelago, attracting hundreds of thousands of members Thus, they could open the way to the politics of independence, and may be considered to have been the seeds of an Indonesian unity which ignored the elements of locality and tribe According to Natsir, Islam creates a brotherhood among the people who are on the same level and who are experiencing the same fate in a unified country On the whole, if "nationality" was proposed to be the foundation of national reformation, the needed condition could not be fulfilled Islam, indeed, is more suitable and compatible to be the foundation of unity rather than nationality proposed by the nationalist secularists [137]

The leaders of Permi, such as Muchtar Luthfi and Ilyas Ya'kub in West Sumatra tried to combine the two different viewpoints This new formula proposed "Islam and nationalism", that is, it combined nationalism and Islam as a religion Both leaders 'began to doubt the value of Pan-Islamic ideas, and were confirmed in this doubt by the failure of the caliphate conferences

---

136 M Natsir, *Pembela Islam*, 42 (January 1932) 2 3, as cited in Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam, Islamic Reform*, 89

137 Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 260-261 The idea of making Islam an ideology was often discussed until the 1950's M Natsir stated "Islamic ideology is the guideline of the Muslims, for Islam they have to alive and die " For us, he said, "Raising Islam could not be separated from raising society, state, and independence " M Natsir, *Capita Selecta* (Djakarta Pustaka Pendis, 1957), 2 157 The emphasis on the importance of Islam to the state was always repeated See for example M Natsir, "Some Observations Concerning the Role of Islam in National and International Affairs," an address originally made before the Pakistan Institute of World Affairs with subsequent elucidatory additions, in Karachi, 1952 (Paper, read at Cornell University, Ithaca, N Y , September, 1954), see also idem, *Islam sebagai Dasar Negara* (Bandung Pimpinan Fraksi Masjumi dalam Konstituante, 1957)

in Cairo and Mecca in May and June 1926."[138] At its congress of November 1931, Permi formulated nationalism as a system of conduct and strategy in struggling to gain independence, not as the foundation of thought. This nationalism was seen as the way to achieve Indonesian independence, while Islam as the slogan of Permi was the foundation of intention (*i'tiqad*) in struggling to achieve Islamic dignity. Human responsibility towards society is also part of the message of Islamic instruction.[139]

Permi's viewpoint was probably influenced by the relations between the leaders of Permi and the leaders of the PNI in Java. To bridge the conflict between the secularist nationalists and the Islamic nationalists, the leaders of Permi such as Ilyas Ya'kub, Muchtar Luthfi and Jalaluddin Thaib got in touch with Sukarno, one of the prominent leaders of secularist nationalists in Java. The conception of Permi regarding Islam and nationalism was accepted by the leaders of the nationalists in Java. Permi also proposed this idea to the reformists in Java. However, it was unsuccessful. Persis even rejected the idea of "nationalism and Islam," for, according to them, Islam suffices. Natsir argued that love of country is not necessary, for it is a component of Islamic teaching, and part of the Islamic nature. This idea of "Islam and nationalism" was also rejected by the reformists in West Sumatra, particularly the Muhammadiyah. Commenting on the concept of Permi, prominent leaders of the Muhammadiyah such as AR. Sutan Mansur, Hamka, and Haji Rasul, stated that Islam is enough. It does not need any additional concept, like nationalism. Islam is a complete way of life. Permi, on the other hand, accused the Muhammadiyah of being too close to the Dutch because they accepted the subsidy which the Dutch colonial government gave for their schools. However, the conflict soon ended, for the nationalists continued to urge the separation of religion from politics.[140] These leaders, Sutomo, Hatta, and particularly Sukarno

138 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 179

139 Abdullah, *Schools and Politics*, 160

140 Abdullah, *Schools and Politics*, 162; Idem, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 242; Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 266

"attempted to synthesize a national culture that would appeal to all Indonesian groups regardless of religious belief or ethnic association"[141] Sukarno believed that "political cooperation between the Muslims and the secularists was urgent to gain independence" The PPPKI (Permoefakatan Perhimpoenan-2 Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia Agreement of Indonesian People's Political Associations) was established in 1927 as an umbrella organization comprising both groups However, this effort eventually failed a few years later, for the Muslim group split with the secularists Salim said that the "unity in PPPKI was superficial, and the concern of the PPPKI towards Islam was minimal for all initiatives were diverted towards an effort to manifest physical unity"[142] Accordingly, these different views on the part of the reformists were a reflection of the differences in orientation between the structuralists and the culturalists[143]

To sum up this chapter, it is clear that the rise of national consciousness began after modern western education strongly influenced the indigenous people Once urban organizations were created and publications began to appear, the mobility of the masses became easier In addition, increasing geographical mobility was helped by facilities such as transportations, telephones, postal services Along with the *Pax Neerlandica* which united the Archipelago, these elements led to the flourishing of communications

The impact of modern and traditional schools created two extreme groups, the *abangan* and the *santri*, which, by this period, could not unite The *abangan* wanted nationalism, while the *santri* wanted Islam as the foundation of a state Nevertheless, the first three decades of this century showed a significance that the Indonesian people realized the importance of unity The birth of *Sumpah Pemuda* indicated their eagerness to build the new state of Indonesia,

---

141 Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam, Islamic Reform*, 88

142 Haji Agus Salim, *Djedjak Langkah Hadji A Salim, Pilihan Karja Utjapan dan Pendapat Beliau dari Dulu sampai Sekarang* (Djakarta Tinta Mas, 1954), 143

143 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 242

with one nation, one fatherland and one language All groups, Muslims and even non Muslims, banded together in creating the birth of this *Sumpah Pemuda*, which according to Roem, gave the Indonesian people their "personality" and "self confidence "[144]

[144] Mohamad Roem, *Sumpah Pemuda, Puncak Perkembangan, Awal Pertumbuhan* (Jakarta Yayasan Fajar Shadiq, 1975), 18

CONCLUSION

The process of Islamization and the development of an Islamic culture and civilization have played a significant role in the history of Indonesia Owing to the emergence of Islamic states in the region, Islam spread widely and in several different ways [1] For instance, the establishment of these Islamic states enabled certain kings or sultans to achieve ideological victories In some instances, Islam played a major role in the transformation of segmentary states into centralized hereditary states [2] Another type of Islamization occurred in Java, where a small state allied itself with others in order to subdue a larger one [3] By setting up these states, Indonesian Muslims could not only determine the color of the state orthodoxy but also spread the spirit of Islamic solidarity This indeed was a very important factor in formulating the structure of politics and authority For these reasons nation formation in

---

1 Pasai for example Islamized Patani by providing a cure for its king, Islamized Malacca by marrying the daughter of the king of Pasai to the king of Malacca (according to the Malay Annals version), Islamized Banten by educating its *ulamā'*, and Islamized the king of Hitu by delegating Makhdūm, the grandson of the king of Pasai, as ambassador to Hitu Another network was Malacca Using a tax system, Malacca Islamized Trengganu Johor, Rokan, and Islamized Giri by sending *'ulamā'* there The kingdom of Demak developed a new network It Islamized Majapahit by conquest, Banjarmasin by helping his new sultan to anticipate his internal issues, and Cirebon, Banten, Pajang, and Lampung by a vassal state system In the Eastern part of the Archipelago another network also emerged The kingdom of Gowa-Tallo Islamized other Buginese kingdoms, such as Wajo, Sopperng, Sidenreng, and Bone

2 There were for example Malik al-Sālih in Pasai, the King of Tallo in South Sulawesi As soon as the king of Tallo embraced Islam, not only did he adopt the Islamic name of Sultan Awwal al-Islām, just as the king of Gowa took the name Sultan Ala' al Din, but he also propagated Islam as the religion of the state, and even spread Islam to the neighboring Buginese states Thus the Muslims spread Islam to the Bugis-Macassarese states

3 Demak as a local state allied with Pajang, Tuban, and Jepara to attack the Majapahit empire This small, local state established another capital or power base on the northern coast of Java

Indonesia must also be examined through the process of Islamization, that is the growth of an Islamic civilization the creation of a large cultural system of imagined communities which preceded it, the position which Islam gave in terms of historical experience and myths, and the new identity which lent to a pluralist society created by the colonial government According to Benedict Anderson, "nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which - as well as against which - it came into being"[4] Indeed, Islam and national identity were closely linked in formulating Indonesian nationality

The growth of an Islamic civilization in Southeast Asia in general and in the Indonesian Archipelago in particular can be seen within the context of strong worldwide cosmopolitanism In addition to the process of Islamization in the Archipelago, the wider Islamic world was influenced The establishment of this Islamic cosmopolitanism in Indonesia depended on several processes[5] The *ulamā'* wandered throughout the Archipelago spreading Islamic teachings, with great dedication, and advising the local kings on the spiritual and wordly matters, thus strengthening each other's authority Their written works spread throughout the Archipelago, in their original form, in translation, as commentaries, or as summaries Accordingly, Islamic networks and cosmopolitanism emerged[6] Many people were fond of

[4] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 12

[5] The weakening of the previous structural authority was due to the fact that trade in the coastal cities of the Archipelago was dominated by Muslim traders from other Muslim countries The emergence of the process of internationalization in those areas had brought about the rise of new communities, bureaucracies, authorities, and other symbols which generally accompany foreign influence Mixed marriage were no less important in generating a tremendous influence Besides that, we see the appearance of a new cultural phenomenon in the form of geographical expansion to the villages, both of an internal nature such as Gowa-Tallo and Demak, and of an interregional nature such as Pasai The spirit of *jihad* or Holy War was proclaimed everywhere by both the king and the *'ulamā'* Intellectual networks were also important in this process

[6] A main factor in the rise of this Islamic cosmopolitanism was the emergence of royal patronage of learning The kings surrounded themselves with religious teachers, studying and discussing the Islamic teachings The success of the Islamic kings in trade led to an abundance of traders from different foreign countries The *'ulamā'* also accompanied the traders The role of Mecca and Medina as centers of Islamic knowledge, and of the *tarīqa*

learning different aspects of the various Islamic disciplines Not only was Sufism popular, but so was *fiqh* Indeed, the role of the *ulamā'* as the "cultural brokers" caused the disappearance of the feeling of strangeness about interethnic groupings, and relaxed the regional and ethnic boundaries between these groups The *ulama'* had written a great deal, both on the *hikayats*, and on religious matters, following the Islamic scholastic tradition This motivated the people to try to understand previously unattainable issues and to sustain the emergence of reformism

The process of Islamization experienced ups and downs Little progress was made in the early period, even though an Islamic state, Pasai, had already been established in the 13th century However, in the 15th century the process gained renewed vigor This is explained by the fact that Malacca served as a central trading area, where Muslim traders dealt both in international and interinsular trade The process increasingly developed particularly at the end of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century By this period Islamic states such as Aceh, Banten Mataram, Gowa-Tallo, Ternate, and Tidore appeared to be involved in the process of Islamization The use of the title "sultan" by certain rulers indicated that they were responding to Islamic symbols A series of sultans emerged, such as Sultan Iskandar Muda and Sultan Iskandar Thānī of Aceh, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa of Banten, Sultan Hasanuddīn of Gowa-Tallo, Sultan Agung of Mataram, and Sultan Bāb Allah of Ternate This period also saw the emergence of important Islamic scholars Hamzah Fansurī, Shams al Dīn al-Sumatrānī, and 'Abd al-Raūf al-Sinkīlī had a hand in the spread of Islamic thought from Aceh Shaykh Yūsuf of Macassar came to Banten to motivate intellectual curiosity, and the *Wali Songo*, in Java, accelerated the process of Islamization

Despite the fact that the political and financial situation of sultans decreased, as a result of their own disunity, and the effect of colonialism, the intellectual spirit of the *ulamā'* continued unchanged Religious discussion had never decreased, and the waves of

---

orders such as Shattāriyya Qadariyya and *Khalwatiyya*, was also significant in this regard

reformation of Islamic religious life and thought went on increasingly

The activities of the *ulamā'* and the print languages laid the basis for national consciousness in three distinct ways, according to Anderson First and foremost, they created unified fields of exchange and communications between Malay Islamic literature and the spoken vernaculars Anderson says "these fellow readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed in the secular, particular visible invisibility, the embryo of nationally imagined community " Second those works gave new fixity to the Malay language, "which in the long run helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation " Third, the Malay works written by the *'ulamā'* "created languages-of-power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars," and "dialect speaking groups inevitably acquired a common work language, which eventually dominated all other dialects "[7] In sum, the convergence of the work of the print languages which are mainly by the *'ulamā'* on the "fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the new nation "[8] By the writings and the efforts of the *ulamā'*, the people of the Archipelago came to be able to communicate and understand each other in spite of differences in ethnic origin The language of religions or "sacred languages had a character distinct from the imagined communities of modern nations "[9] The role of Malay as a *lingua franca* accelerated the process of the formation of the Indonesian nation

Presumably, what Anderson means as intelligentsia also includes the *'ulamā'*[10] "It is no

[7] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44-45

[8] Ibid , 46

[9] Ibid , 13

[10] According to Anderson, *intelligentsia* is a translation of *kaum intelek*, which roughly refers to those who have a higher education "In general sense, *intelligentsia* can be thought of as referring to the whole of the whole of the literate official class In a narrower sense, it can be confined to the group of *pujangga* (court poets and chroniclers), astrologers, and unofficial policy advisers to the throne " Anderson, *Language and Power*, 63, 66,

less generally recognized that the intelligentsia's vanguard role derived from its bilingual literacy,"[11] the *'ulamā'*, besides understanding the language of the majority of the people in the Archipelago Malay or Jawi could speak the international Islamic language Arabic It could be concluded that the role of the *ulamā'* who constituted the intelligentsia was central to the rise of mutual understanding and the removal of racial barriers Indeed Islam had created the circumstances of the imagined communities

Islamic resistance to colonialism, according to Kartodirdjo was profoundly affected by the attitude of anti-*kāfir* militants and their reaction to the presence of the colonial Dutch in particular The ideology of *jihād* in the 17th century was the motivating factor of resistance to the penetration of the Dutch The spirit of Holy War and anti infidelism had functioned to legitimate the Muslims' position and even to influence the people to mobilize against the enemy

The significance of anti-*kāfir* and *jihād* movements was their role in bringing together great forces and many different ethnic elements which could sustain the process of integration and could formulate a kind of "proto-nationalism" By this ideology, the ethnic cultural boundaries could be overstepped and the established solidarity could surpass the primordial solidarity and loyalties of local community ethnicity, and family ties According to Kartodirdjo

> Banten played an important role in the struggle against the Dutch, not only in Java but also in the outer islands, such as Kalimantan The momentum of this movement was reached when Shaykh Yūsuf of Macassar supported the resistance of the Sultan `Abdullāh Abdulfattah of Banten (1681 1682) Banten actively supported the struggle in Malacca (1677) in the revolt of Trunajaya in Ambon Kacili Siberi revolted in 1680 The wave against the colonials actually reached the zenith after Macassar was occupied by the VOC The people from South Sulawesi both the Macassarese and the Buginese proceeded with their struggle somewhere in the Strait of Malacca on the coast of Kalimantan, the Moluccas, and Java Their activities were sporadic "wanderings," particularly in the eyes of the VOC, but were quite effective in disturbing the Dutch effort to establish supremacy [12]

---

particularly fn 93 and 97

[11] Ibid , 116

The economic and military intervention of the Western countries enabled them to achieve considerable political power in the Archipelago This not only threatened the economy, the social system, and local politics but also the religious life of the region, thus encouraging the sultans, the aristocrats, and the *'ulamā'* to rise against this intervention The banner of Islam appears to have been the symbol of resistance, and in the spirit of Holy War and anti-*kāfir* sentiment, the *ulamā'* always appeared to carry the flame of resistance Accordingly, Islam created historical experiences and myths through numerous struggles

To the dismay of the colonial government, Islam not only came to represent the official resistance to the Dutch, but also began to provide a foundation of political and social solidarity among the indigenous people The Archipelago, which was unified administratively in the *Pax Neerlandica*, also took up the banner of Islam in its struggle As the urban colonial cities gradually emerged, Islamic communities began to form Islam served as the earliest and the foremost foundation of identity of this pluralistic society Together with the *'ulamā'*, who had networks based in the pesantrens, the Islamic students came to support the resistance both in the cities and in the villages Indeed, Islam became a unifying factor of the Indonesian people In this context, many foreign and domestic experts have stated that the role of Islam may have been to form a "proto-nationalism" in Indonesia The relationship between Islam and the political structure during the struggle against the colonial government was not a historical deviation, but was a logical necessity that could not be avoided [13]

The impact of Dutch imperialism began to be perceived by the people as severe exploitation and an attempt at westernization As a result, the Muslims began to work towards the overthrow of the Dutch control Several reactions occurred Everywhere Muslim peasants revolted In the face of this situation, social associations were set up, particularly after the SDI

---

12 Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah* 277 Information on the activity of the Bugis-Macassarese in Java and Madura can be found in idem, 173-175.

13 Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 481

(Sarekat Dagang Islam, Islamic Trade Association) was founded This organization endeavored to improve the economic status of the people To broaden its focus, the SDI which changed its name into SI (Sarekat Islam Islamic Association became the first mass organization to play a leading role in the history of the national struggle In this organization, according to Yoder, "Islam was at the heart of the earliest expressions of the modern Indonesian nationalist movement "[14]

The SI, in its anti-colonial efforts, was active at many levels The SI conducted a campaign primarily designed to reveal the subordinative position of Indonesians in the colonial relationship It also spread political consciousness within the community, thus eliminating ethnic and local barriers The SI's goal was not only to narrow the gap of Islamic and social status, but also to serve as an association to formulate ideology Islam the religion became Islamism, with the purpose of creating an ideology of Islam Islam became the foundation of strategy and the final goal of political struggle As a result, the relationship between religion and politics was no longer just a question of ideology, but of the implementation of a particular political agenda

The reformists, however, not only concentrated on a political approach, but also paid attention to cultural issues, in trying to eliminate poverty and backwardness Organizations such as the Muhammadiyah, the Persis, the NU and the like, worked in educational and social activities The difference between both strategies brought them frequently into conflict However, the unification of the Dutch administration unintentionally provided new opportunities for manifesting the solidarity of the ethnic groups, which adhered to different religions Consequently, a plural society was established The pluralism became more complex due to the various economic and educational backgrounds of the native people In this pluralistic society, the Islamic political ideology could not yet provide an answer to this new

---

[14] Lawrence McCulloh Yoder, "The Introduction and Expression of Islam and Christianity in the Cultural Context of North Central Java," (Ph D diss , Faculty of the School of World Mission Fuller Theological Seminary, 1987), 152

phenomenon, presumably because its leaders were still lacking the political experience and a well-conceived strategy [15] As a result, the secular nationalists appeared to be more experienced than the other groups in their struggle against colonialism Eventually, this group came to claim the most powerful heroes and created the most powerful myths The role of Islam was pushed into the background However, looking back at the long experience of the Muslims in the struggle, and their position as historical actors, they may once again appear as the prime movers in the defense of this nation

Owing to the fact that Islam contributed heavily to the nation formation in Indonesia, it is understandable that in formulating the national constitution, Islam will remain a very important factor in Indonesia socially and culturally Particularly in the period of the "second national emergence" proclaimed in the late 1980's, Islam will continue to remain a very important factor in Indonesia, particulaly to promote the importance of development in quality, affecting social, economics, and politics, and shaping the country's culture

---

15 Kuntowijoyo states that the weakness of the Islamic party in this period was the lack of experience and unreadiness to face a secular class ideology. See Kuntowijoyo, "Agama, Negara dan Formasi Social," *Prisma*, 8 (1984): 34

GLOSSARY

abangan (Javanese) = nominal Muslim

adat (Indonesian, from Arabic) = tradition, customary law

'alim, pl *'ulamā* (Indonesian, from Arabic) = learned man in the Islamic teaching

Allāh Akbar (Arabic) = God is the geatest

'aqīdah, pl. *'aqāid* (Arabic) = Islamic belief, faith, creed

Babad (Javanese) = Historical work in Java

batik (Indonesian) = beautiful printed (sometimes written by hand) cloth manufactured in Indonesia

bid'ah (Arabic) = innovation

Budi Utomo (Javanese) = an association of Javanese founded in Djakarta in 1908

bupati (Indonesian) = regent, administrative head of regency

dakwah (Indonesian, from Arabic) = religious propagation

fatwa pl *fatāwā* (Indonesian, from Arabic) = decision of religious matter given by a recognized religious scholar (*'ālim*)

fiqh (Arabic) = Islamic jurisprudence

furū'īyya (Arabic) = concerning practical application

Hājī (Indonesian, from Arabic) = a title for a person who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca

hubb al-watan min al-īmān (Arabic) = Love of country is part faith

Hikayat (Indonesian, from Arabic) = Historical work in Malay

hājj (Arabic) = the pilgrimage to Mecca

'ibādah, *ibadat* (Indonesian, from Arabic) = religious service

'Id (Arabic) = the feast beginning on the tenth day of the month of dhulhijja, sacrificial animal (*korban*) is slaughted on this day (*'id al-Adha*, and the feast of breaking of the Ramadān on the first day of the month Shawwal, it is the biggest annual festival celebrated by Indonesian Muslims, often called *Lebaran* (*'id al-Fitr*)

ijtihād (Arabic) = the right of individual interpretation

ilmu falak (Indonesian, from Arabic) = astronomy

imām (Indonesian, from Arabic) = leader of the congregational prayer, head of a religious community

al-Irshād (Arabic) = guidance, the name of an Islamic reform movement founded by Ahmad al-Surkatī in Djakarta in 1913

al-Jam iyat al-Khairīyah or *Jami ah Khair* (Arabic) = Association for the good. An Indonesian Arab association founded in Djakarta in 1905, the organization was open to every Muslim, but, in fact, the majority of its members were Arabs

jihād fī sabīl Allāh (Arabic) = struggle in the way of God, or "Holy War"

kampo(u)ng (Indonesian) = self-defined Indonesian urban neighborhood

karaeng (Bugis-Macassarese) = aristocrats in South Sulawesi

Kaum Muda (Indonesian) = Young group reformists, modernists

Kaum Tua (Indonesian)= Old group, traditionalists

khatib or *khatīb* (Indonesian, from Arabic) = Friday sermon giver

khurāfat (Arabic) = superstition

khutbah (Indonesian, from Arabic) = Friday sermon

kiblat, qiblah (Indonesian, from Arabic) = direction of prayer (to Mecca)

kiyai, kyai, kiai (Indonesian) = `ulamā', used especially in Java See *`ālim*

keraton (Indonesian, from Javanese) = royal palace

madrasa (Arabic) = school, usually refers to a religious (reformist) school

maju, kemajuan (Indonesian) = modern, progress or progressive

menak (Sundanese) = aristocrats in West Java

mu`āmala (Arabic) = conduct of people among themselves

Pangeran (Indonesian) = prince

penghulu (Indonesian) = head of religious official at regency level

Persatuan Islam, PERSIS (Indonesian) = Islamic Unity, a reformist organization established in Bandung in 1923

pepe (Javanese) = drying in sun

Pesantren, Pondok Pesantren (Indonesian) = Islamic traditional seminary in Java

priyayi, priayi (Indonesian) = Javanese aristocrat, usually connected with government official

qā`ida (Indonesian, from Arabic) = norm

Raden (Javanese) = noble title used in Javanese community

salāt (Indonesian, from Arabic) = praying

santri (Indonesian) = pupil of *pesantren* in Java

Sarekat Islam (Indonesian, from Arabic) = Islamic Association, A transformation of Islamic Trade Association

shirk (Arabic) = ascribing of pattern to God

siyāsa (Arabic) = politics

Sūfī = mystic, a member of a religious order which follows mystical interpretations of Islamic doctrines and practices, *sufism* = mysticism

sya`ir (Indonesia, from Arabic) = poem

syara' (Indonesian, from Arabic) = Islamic Law Thus, *syara' bersendi kitab Allah*, meaning Islamic Law based on the book of God (the Qur'an)

tafsīr (Arabic) = commentary of the Qur'ān

tajdīd (Arabic) = reformation

taqwa (Indonesian, from Arabic) = obedience, fear of God in the sense of reverence

tasawwuf (Arabic) = Islamic mysticism, see *sūfī*

tawhīd (Arabic) = a theological term used to express the unity of the Godhead

`ulamā'* (Indonesian, from Arabic) = plural of *`ālim, see *`ālim*

uleebalang (Acehnese) = aristocrats in Aceh

umarā' (Indonesian, from Arabic) = government

wali (Indonesian, from Arabic) = saint, used of certain Islamic religious notables,

walisanga (Javanese) = the nine *walis* or saints

zakāt (Indonesian, from Arabic) = almsgiving

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdulgani, Roeslan *Nationalism, Revolution, and Guided Democracy in Indonesia* Clayton, Vic Centre of Southeast Asia Studies, Monash University, 1973

Abdullah, Hawash *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara.* Surabaya al-ikhlas, 1980

Abdullah, Taufik *Islam dan Masyarakat, Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia* Jakarta LP3ES, 1987

-------- "Kesatuan Mistis dan Negara Ideal Pembentukan Negara Islam di Asia Tenggara " Unpublished paper, 1992

-- ----- "Modernization in the Minangkabau World West Sumatra in the Early Decades of the Twentieth Century " In *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, ed Claire Holt, 179-245 Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1972

-------- "The Pesantren in Historical Perspective " In *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia*, ed Taufik Abdullah and Sharon Siddique, 80-107 Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 1986

-------- "Reaksi terhadap Perluasan Kuasa Kolonial Jambi dalam Perbandingan " *Prisma, 11 (1984) 12-27*

-------- *Schools and Politics the Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra 1927-1933* Ithaca Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971

-------- et al , eds *Sejarah Ummat Islam* Jakarta Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 1991

Adas, Michael *Prophets of Rebellion Millenarian Protest Movements Against the European Colonial Order* Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 1979

Affandi, Bisri "Shaykh Ahmad al-Surkati His Role in the al-Irshād Movement in Java in the Early Twentieth Century " M A thesis, McGill University, 1976

Alfian "Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics The Muhammadiyah Movement during the Dutch Colonial Period 1912-1942 " Ph D diss , University of Wisconsin, 1969

Alfian, Ibrahim *Perang di Jalan Allah Perang Aceh 1873-1912* Jakarta' Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1987

Amin, Entji' *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar* (*The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War*), edited and translated by C Skinner 's-Gravenhage Martinus Nijhoff, 1963

`Alī, `Abdul Mu`thi "The Muhammadijah Movement a Bibliographical Introduction " M A thesis, McGill University, 1957

Allen, G C and A G Donnithorne *Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya A Study in Economic Development* London George Allen and Unwin, 1962

Andaya, Leonard *"The Makassar War," The Heritage of Arung Palakka, A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1981

Anderson, Benedict R O'G "The Cultural Factors in the Indonesian Revolution" *Asia* 20 (Winter 1970-71) 48-65

-------- *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* London Verso, 1983, reprinted 1992

-------- *Language and Power Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* Ithaca, N Y Cornell University Press, 1990, reprinted 1992

Ansharı, Zafar Ishaq "An Inquiry into the Interrelationship between Islam and Nationalism in the Writing of Egyptians, 1945-1956" M A thesis, McGill University, 1959

Arnold, T W *The Preaching of Islam, A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* Lahore Sh Muhammad Ashraf, 1979

Atjeh, Aboebakar *Sedjarah Hidup K H A Wahid Hasjim dan Karangan Tersiar* Jakarta Panitia Penerbitan, 1957

al-Attas, Muhammad Naguib *A Commentary on the Hujjat al siddiq of Nūr al Dīn al Rānīrī* Kuala Lumpur Ministry of Culture, Malaysia, 1986

-------- *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* Kuala Lumpur University of Malaya Press, 1974

-------- *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th Century Acheh* Singapore MBRAS, 1966

Azra, Azyumardi "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" Ph D diss , Columbia University, 1992

Bachtiar, Harsja W "The Formation of the Indonesian Nation" Ph D thesis, Harvard University, 1972

Bastin, John and Harry J Benda *A History of Modern Southeast Asia Colonialism, Nationalism, and Decolonization* Englewood, N J Prentice Hall, 1968

Benda, Harry J "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia" In *Continuity and Change in Southeast Asia collected journal articles of Harry J Benda*, 83-92 New Haven Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1972

-------- *The Crescent and the Rising Sun Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945* The Hague W van Hoeve, 1958

-------- and Ruth McVey *The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia* Ithaca, N Y Cornell University, 1960

Bendera Islam, February 26, 1925

Blumberger, J T P "Jeugdbeweging" In *Geillustreerde Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* Leiden Leische Uitgevermaatschappij, 1934

-------- *De Nationalistische beweging in Nederlandsch-Indie* Dordrecht Foris Publications,

1987

Boland, B J *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1971

Borgadus, E S "Durkheim, Emile " In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1970 ed

Brakel, L F *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1975-6

Brouwer, B J *De Houding van Idenburg en Colijn Tegenover de Indonesische Beweging* Kampen, 1958

Brown, C C , trans *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals* Kuala Lumpur Oxford University Press, 1970

Brugmans, I J *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indie* Groningen: J B. Wolters, 1938

Carey, Peter *Asal Usul Perang Jawa* Seri Perang Jawa Jakarta Pustaka Azet, 1986

-- ----- *Babad Dipanagara An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825-1830)* Kuala Lumpur Printed for the Council of the MBRAS by Art Printing Works, 1981

- ------ "Javanese Histories of Depanegara the Buku Kedhung Kebo, its authorship and Historical Importance " *BKI* 130 (1974) 259-284

Chumaidy, A Farichin "The Jam`iyyah Nahdlatul `Ulamā', Its Rise and Early Development, 1926-1945 " M A thesis, McGill University, 1976

Creutzberg, P *Kebijaksanaan Pemerintah Hindia Belanda di Bidang Economy 1901-1942* Jakarta KITLV, dalam rangka kerjasama dengan LIPI 1978

Dahm, Bernard *History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century* London Praeger Publishers, 1977

-------- *Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence*, translated by M.F S Heidhues Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1969

Damste, H T , trans "Hikayat Perang Sabi " *BKI* 84 (1928) 545-609

Darban, Ahmad Adaby *Fragmenta Sejarah Islam di Indonesia I* Yogyakarta Pustaka Irma, 1985

Day, Clive *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* New York Macmillan, 1904

De Graaf, H J *De Regering van Sultan Agung, Vorst van Mataram, 1613-1645 en die van zijn voorganger Panembahan Seda-ing-Krapyak, 1601-1613* 's-Gravenhage Martinus Nijhoff, 1958

-------- "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century " In *Cambridge History of Islam* ed. P M Holt et al , 2 123-154 Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1970

Diponegoro *Serat Babad Dipanagara* Soerakarta Albert Tusche, 1917. 2 vols

Djajadiningrat, Hoesein "Islam in Indonesia" In *Islam the Straight Path*, ed Kenneth W Morgan, 375-402 New York The Ronald Press Company 1958

-------- *Tinjauan Kritis tentang Sejarah Banten* Jakarta Djambatan, 1983

al-Djauhārī, Bukhārī or Bokhari De Djohor *Makota radja radja ou La couronne des rois* Translated and annotated by Aristide Marre Paris Maisonneuve, 1978

Dobbin, Christine *Tuanku Imam Bondjol (1772-1864)* *Indonesia* 13 (April 1972) 5 35

Drewes, G W J *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1977

--------, "Further Data Concerning `Abd al-Samād al Palimbani" *BKI* 132 (1976) 267 292

-------- "Indonesia Mysticism and Activism" In *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed Gustave E Grunebaum, 284-310 Chicago Chicago University Press, 1955

-------- "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia" *BKI* 124 (1968) 433 459 Reprinted in Ahmad Ibrahim et al , *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia* Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985

--------, "Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's Charge of Heresy against Hamzah and Shamsuddin from an International Point of View" In *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation*, ed C D Grijns and C O Robson, 54-59 Dordrecht Foris Publications, 1986

--------, and Brakel, L F *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri* Dordrecht Foris Publications, 1986

Edel, Jan *Hikajat Hasanoeddin* Meppel B T Brink, 1938

Ensiklopedi Islam di Indonesia 1987-1988 ed s v ' Abdus Samad al-Palimbani"

-------- s v "Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau"

-------- s v "Syihabuddin bin `Abdullah"

Fadjar Asia, August 18, 20, 1928

Fang, Liaw Yok *Sejarah Kesusastraan Melayu Klassik* Singapore Pustaka Nasional, 1984

Fatimi, S Q *Islam Comes to Malaysia* Singapore Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, Ltd , 1973

Federspiel, Howard M "Islam and Nationalism An Annotated Translation of and Commentary on *Islam dan Kebangsaan*, A Religious-Political Pamphlet Published by Al Lisān in the Netherlands East Indies" *Indonesia* 24 (October 1977) 39-86

-------- *Persatuan Islam Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* Ithaca Modern Indonesia Project Southeast Asian Program, 1970

-------- "The Persatuan Islam (Islamic Union)" Ph D diss , McGill University, 1966

Frederick, William H *Visions and Heat The Making of the Indonesian Revolution* Athens Ohio University Press, 1989

Furnivall, J S *Netherlands India A Study of Plural Economy* Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1967

Gallop, Annabel Teh "Early Malay Printing, an Introduction to the British Library Collections" *JMBRAS* 63 (1990/1991) 85-124

Geertz, Clifford *The Religion of Java* Glencoe, Ill The Free Press, 1960

-------- *Islam Observed* New Haven Yale University Press, 1968

Gellner, Ernest *Nations and Nationalism* Ithaca, N Y Cornell Univeristy Press, 1983.

Gibb, H A R and J H Kramers, eds *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* Leiden E J Brill, 1953 s v "Wahhabiyya"

Gonggrijp, G *Schets Ener Economische Geschiedenis van Nederlands-Indie* Harlem Erven F Bohn, 1949

Hall, D G E *A History of South-East Asia* London Macmillan, 1964

Hamid, Ismail *The Malay Islamic Hikayat* Bangi, Selangor University Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1983

Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah) *Ayahku* Djakarta Djajamurni, 1967

-------- "H O S Tjokroaminoto Membukakan Mataku." In *H O S Tjokroaminoto, Hidup dan Perdjuangannya*, ed Amelz (Abdul Malek el-Zamzami), 30-40 Djakarta Bulan Bintang, 1952

Hardi *Menarik Pelajaran dari Sejarah* Jakarta Haji Masagung, 1988

- ------ *Meningkatkan Kesadaran Nasional* Jakarta Mufti Harun, 1988

Hasjmy, A *Rubā`ī Hamzah Fansuri, Karya Sastra Sufi Abad XVII* Kuala Lumpur Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1974

Hatta, Mohammad *Memoir* Jakarta Tintamas, 1979

Hidayat, Komaruddin "Religion and Nationalism The Past Story." *Mizan* [vol 4 no 4 (1984)] 5-6

Hock, Khoo Kay *The Development of Indonesian Nationalism* Kuala Lumpur Longman, 1977

Hussain, Khalid *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* Kuala Lumpur Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1967

--------, ed *Taju'l Salātin* Kuala Lumpur Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966

Ibn Battūta *Travels in Asia and Africa*, translated by H A R Gibb London Routledge, 1963.

Ibrahim, Ahmad, et al *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia* Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985

Idris, Muhammad "Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, His Life and Thought" M A thesis, McGill University, 1975

Ingleson, John *Road to Exile, the Indonesian Nationalist Movement, 1927-1934* Singapore Heinemann Educational Books, 1979

Isa, Zubaidah "Printing and Publishing in Indonesia 1602-1970" Ph D thesis, Indiana University, 1970

Iskandar, T "Palembang Kraton Manuscripts" In *A Man of Indonesian Letters, Essays in Honour of Professor A Teeuw*, ed C M S Helling and S O Robson, 67 72 Leiden KITLV, 1986

Ito, Takeshi, "Why Did Nuruddin Ar-Raniri Leave Aceh in 1054 A H ?" *BKI* 134 (1978) 489-491

Jainuri, Achmad "The Muhammadiyah Movement in Twentieth Century Indonesia A Socio-Religious Study" M A thesis, McGill University, 1992

Jaya, Tamar Editorial in *Assiyasah*, no 5, 2 (April 1974) 8

Jaylani, Anton Timur "The Sarekat Islam Movement Its Contribution to Indonesian Nationalism" M A thesis, McGill University, 1959

Johns, A H *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet* Canberra Australian National University, 1965

-------- "Islam in Southeast Asia Reflection and New Directions" *Indonesia* 19 (1975) 33 55

-------- "Malay Sufism as Illustrated in an Anonymous Collection of 17th Century Tracts" *JMBRAS* 30 (1957) 5-35

Jones, Russell "The Origins of Malay Manuscript Tradition" In *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation*, ed Grijns and Robson, 121-143 Dordrecht Foris Publications, 1986

Juynboll, Th W , "Atjeh" In *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Leiden E J Brill, 1931

Kafrawi, "The Path of Subud" M A thesis, McGill University, 1969

Kahin, George McTurnan *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* Ithaca, N Y Cornell University Press, 1952

Kartini, Raden Adjeng *Letters of a Javanese Princess (Door duisternis tot licht)* Translated by Agnes Louise Symmer Edited by Hildred Geertz New York W W Norton, 1964

--------- *Letters from Kartini an Indonesian Feminist, 1900-1904 (Brieven aan Mevrouw R M Abendanon-Mandri en haar echtgenoot met andere documenten)* Translated by Joost Cote Edited by Jaquet, F G P Clayton, Vic Monash Asia Institute, Monash University in association with Hyland House, 1992

Kartodirdjo, Sartono "Agrarian Radicalism in Java" In *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, ed Claire Holt, 71-125 Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1972

-------- "Gerakan Protest dan Ketidakpuasan dalam Masyarakat Tradisional" *Prisma* 1

(1977) 39

-------- *Kepemimpinan dalam Sejarah Indonesia* Yogyakarta BPA-UGM, 1975

------- *Modern Indonesia, Tradition and Transformation, A Socio-historical Perspective* Yogyakarta Gajah Mada University Press, 1984

-------- *Pemberontakan Petani Banten 1888* Jakarta Pusataka Jaya, 1984

-------- *Pemikiran dan Perkembangan Historiografi Indonesia, suatu alternative.* Jakarta. Gramedia, 1982

-------- *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru 1500-1900, dari Emporium sampai Imperium* Jakarta Gramedia, 1988

-------- *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional, dari Kolonialisme sampai Nasionalisme* Jakarta Gramedia, 1990

-------- "Pergerakan Sosial dalam Sejarah Indonesia" *Lembaran Sejarah* 7 (1971): 40

-------- *Protest Movements in Rural Java A Study of Agrarian Unrest in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* Singapore Oxford University Press, 1973

-------- *Ratu Adil* Jakarta Sinar Harapan, 1984

-- ----- "Respons-respons pada Penjajahan Belanda di Jawa: Mitos dan Kenyataan" *Prisma* 1 (1984) 3-11

-------- "Some Problems on the Genesis of Nationalism in Indonesia" *JSAH* 3 (March 1962) 67-94

--------, Suwedo, A and Hatmosuprobo Sukarjo *Perkembangan Peradaban Priyayi* Yogyakarta Gajah Mada Press, 1987

Kathirithamby-Wells, J "Ahmad Shah Ibn Iskandar and the Late 17th Century 'Holy War' in Indonesia" *JMBRAS* 43 (1970) 48-63

Kedourie, Elie *Nationalism* London Hutchinson University Library, 1960, reprinted 1974

Kennedy, Raymond 'Acculturation and Administration in Indonesia" *American Anthropologist* 45 (1943) 185-190

Kimman, Eduard *Indonesian Publishing* Baarn Hollandia, 1981

Klerk, De *History of the Netherlands East Indie* Amsterdam B.M. Israel, 1975

Kumar, Ann "Dipanagara (1787?-1855)" *Indonesia* 13 (April 1972) 69-118

Kuntowijoyo *Paradigma Islam Interpretasi untuk Aksi* Bandung Mizan, 1991.

Legge, J D *Intellectuals and Nationalism in Indonesia, A Study of the Following Recruited by Sutan Sjahrir in Occupation Jakarta* Ithaca, N Y. Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1988

-------- *Sukarno A Political Biography* London The Penguin Press, 1972

Lombard, Denys *Le Sultanat d'Atjeh au temps d'Iskandar Muda, 1607-1636* Paris Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1967

Maarif, Ahmad Syafi'i "Islam and Nationalism in Indonesia A Historical Perception" *Mizan* [vol 4, no 4 (1984)] 10-17

-------- *Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante, Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan* Jakarta Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1985

MacLeod, N "De Onderwerping van Bantam 1676 1684" *De Indische Gids*, (1901), III 619-636

Majul, C A "Theories on the Introduction of Islam in Malaysia," *Silliman Journal*, 2, 4 (1964) 344-5

Manusama, Z J *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* Leiden Manusama, 1977

Matheson, Virginia "Questions Arising from a Nineteenth Century Riau Sha'ir" *RIMA* 17 (1983) 1-161

-------- and Hooker, M B "Jawi Literature in Patani The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition" *JMBRAS* 61 (1988) 1-86

--------, and Barbara Watson Andaya, "Pikiran Islam dan Tradisi Melayu Tulisan Raja Ali Haji dari Riau (ca 1809-1970)" In *Dari Ali Haji hingga Hamka*, ed Anthony Reid, 97 119 Jakarta Grafiti Pers, 1983

Mattulada, "Islam di Sulawesi Selatan" in *Agama dan Perubahan Sosial* ed Taufik Abdullah, 209-321 Jakarta Rajawali, 1983

Meilink-Roelfosz, M A P *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1962

Nagata, Judith "The Impact of the Islamic Revival (*Dakwah*) on the Religious Culture of Malaysia" In *Religion, Values and Development in Southeast Asia*, ed Bruce Matthews and Judith Nagata, 37-50 Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986

Nagazumi, Akira *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism the Early Years of the Budi Utomo, 1908-1918* Tokyo Institute of Developing Economics, 1972

Natsir, M *Capita Selecta* Djakarta Pustaka Pendis, 1957

-------- *Islam Sebagai Dasar Negara* Bandung Pimpinan Fraksi Masjumi dalam Konstituante, 1957

-------- "Some Observations Concerning the Role of Islam in National and International Affairs" An address originally made before the Pakistan Institute of World Affairs with subsequent elucidatory additions, in Karachi, 1952 Paper, Cornell University, Ithaca, N Y September, 1954

Neratja, March 30, 1921

Noer, Deliar *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942* Singapore Oxford University Press, 1973

Onghokham "Reaksi Terhadap Kekalahan" *Prisma* 11 (1984) 45-46

Pembela Islam, no 6 (March 1930) 39-40

Panular, Pangeran Arya *The British in Java, 1811-1816 a Javanese account a text edition, English Synopsis and Commentary in British Library Additional Manuscript 12330 (Babad Bedhah ing Ngayogyakarta)*, ed Peter Carey London British Academy, 1992

Perry, Marvin *Arnold Toynbee and the Crisis of the West* Washington, D C University Press of America, 1982

Peters, R *Islam and Colonialism, the Doctrin of Jihad in Modern History* The Hague Mouton, 1979

Pijper, G F *Beberapa Study tentang Sejarah Islam Indonesia, 1900-1950* Translated by Tudjinah and Yessi Augusdin Jakarta Universitas Indonesia, 1984

Pires, Tome *Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, edited and translated by Armando Cortesao London Hakluyt, 1944

Pluvier, J M *Het Indonesische Nationalisme* Harleem J H Gottmer, 1972

-------- *Overzicht van de Ontwikeling der nationalische beweging in Indie in de jaaren 1930-1942* The Hague W Van Hoeve, 1953

Poerbatjaraka, Raden Mas Ngabei and Tardjan Hadidjaja *Kepustakaan Djawa* Djakarta Djambatan, 1957

Quzwain, Chatib *Mengenal Allah, Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdus Samad al-Palimbani* Jakarta Bulan Bintang 1985

Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford *The History of Java* London Murray, 1830 2 vols

ar-Rānīrī, Nuru'd-din *Bustan'us Salatin*, Bab II, Fasal 13, ed T. Iskandar Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966

Ranneft, J W Meyer, "The Economic Structure of Java" In *The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilisations of the Malay Archipelago*, ed B J O Schrieke, 71-84 Batavia: G Kolff, 1929

Ras, J J *Hikajat Bandjar, a Study of Malay Historiography* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1968

Rauf, M A *A Brief History of Islam with Specific Reference to Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1964

Reid, Anthony *The Contest for North Sumatra: Acheh, the Netherlands, and Britain, 1858-1898* Kuala Lumpur Oxford University Press, 1969

-------- *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680* New Haven Yale University

Press, 1988

Riau, Raja Ali Haji Ibn Ahmad *Tuhfat al-Nafis Sejarah Melayu dan Bugis* Singapore Malaysia Publications, 1965

-------- *The Precious Gift=Tuhfat al-Nafis/Raja Ali Haji Ibn Ahmad* ed and trans Virginia matheson and Barbara Andaya Kuala Lumpur Oxford University Press, 1982

Ricklefs, M C "Dipanegara's Early Inspirational Experience" *BKI* 130 (1974) 227-257

-------- *A History of Modern Indonesia c 1300 to the Present* Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1981

--------- *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792* London Oxford University Press, 1974

-------- "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java" A Discussion paper presented at a seminar on the conversion to Islam, held in London, November 20, 1972

Riddell, Peter "The Source of `Abd al-Raūf's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd" *JMBRAS* 57 (1984) 113-118

--------. "Abd al-Raūf al-Singkilī's Tarjumān al-Mustafīd" Ph D thesis, Canberra Australian National University, 1984

Rinkes, Douwe Adolf *Abdoerraoef van Singkel, Bijdrage tot de Kennis van de Mystiek op Sumatra en Java* Heerenveen Hepkema, 1909

Roem, Mohamad 'Sejarah Berdirinya 'Jong Islamieten Bond'" In *Diplomasi Ujung Tombak Perjuangan RI* ed Kustiniyati M[illegible]htar, 123-136 Jakarta Gramedia, 1989

-------- *Sumpah Pemuda, Puncak Perkembangan, Awal Pertumbuhan* Jakarta Yayasan Fajar Shadiq, 1975

Runkam, Tengku Lam *Hikajat Potjut Muhammat* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1979

Saidi, Ridwan *Pemuda Islam dalam Dinamika Politik Bangsa 1925-1984* Jakarta Rajawali, 1984

Salim, Haji Agus *Djedjak Langkah Hadji A Salim, Pilihan Karja, Utjapan dan Pendapat Beliau dari Dulu sampai Sekarang* Djakarta Tinta Mas, 1954

Schmutzer, Eduard, J M *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia 1920-1931* Leiden E J Brill, 1977

Schrieke, B J O *Indonesian Sociological Studies selected writings of B Schrieke* The Hague van Hoeve, 1966 2 vols

-------- *Pergolakan Agama di Sumatra Barat, sebuah Sumbangan Bibliografi* Jakarta Bhrata, 1973

Shiraishi, Takashi *An Age in Motion Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1990

Siegel, James T *The Rope of God* Los Angeles University of California Press, 1969

-------- *Shadow and Sound, The Historical Thought of a Sumatran People* Chicago The University of Carolina, 1979

Simon, Gottfried *The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra* London Marshal Brothers, 1912

Simuh *Mistik Islam Kejawen Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsito, suatu studi terhadap Serat Wirid Hidaya Jati* Jakarta Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1988

Singhal, D P "Nationalism and Communism in Southeast Asia" *JSAH* 3 (March 1962): 56-66

Situmorang, T D and Teeuw, A *Sedjarah Melaju Menurut Terbitan Abdullah (ibn Abdulkadir Munsji)* Amsterdam Djambatan, 1958

Smith, Anthony D *Theories on Nationalism* New York Harper Torchbook, 1972

Smith, W C *Islam in Modern History* Princeton Princeton University Press, 1957

Snouck Hurgonje, C *The Achehnese* Translated by A W S Sullivan Leiden E J Brill 1906, 2 vols

-------- *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C Snouck Hurgronje* 's-Gravenhage Martinus Nijhoff, 1959 3 vols

------- *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* Leiden E J Brill, 1970

-------- *Mohammedanism, Lectures on Its Origin, Its Religion, and Political Growth, and Its Present State* New York G P Putnam's Sons, 1916

-------- "Het Mohammedanisme" In *Verspreide Geschriften IV, 2 219-220* Bonn: Kurt Schroeder Verlag, 1924

-------- *Nederland en de Islam* Leiden E J Brill, 1915

-------- *Politique musulmane de la Hollande* Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911

------- *Selected Works, Edited in English and French* ed Bousquet G.H. and J Schacht. Leiden E J Brill, 1957

Spykman, N *Hindia Zelbestuur* Batavia G Kolff, 1919

Steenbrink, Karel A *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* Jakarta Bulan Bintang, 1984

-------- *Mencari Tuhan dengan Kacamata Barat, Kajian Kritis mengenai Agama di Indonesia.* Yogyakarta IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 1988

Steinberg, D J *In Search of Southeast Asia. A Modern History.* New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971

Stuart, Cohen "Eroe Tjakra" *BKI* 19 (1872) 284-288

Sudibjo, Z H , romanizer and ed *Babad Tanah Jawi* Jakarta Dep PK, Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia Daerah, 1980

Sukarno (Bung Karno) "Mencapai Indonesia Merdeka " *Pamphlet*, Bandung, March, 1933

Suminto, Aqib *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* Jakarta LP3ES, 1985 reprinted 1986

Teeuw, A "The Malay Sha'ir, Problems of Origin and Tradition " *BKI* 12 (1966) 429 446

-------- *Modern Indonesian Literature* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1967

Tibbetts, G R "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia " *JMBRAS* 30 (May 1956) 1-45

Tjandrasasmita, Uka "Peranan dan Sumbangan Islam dalam Sejarah Maluku " A paper presented in Seminar Sedjarah Maluku on October 5 10, 1971 held at Lembaga Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional Dep PK, Jakarta

-------- *Sepintas mengenai Peninggalan Kepurbakalaan Islam di Pesisir Utara Jawa* Jakarta PPPKPN Dep P & K, 1976

Van Bruinessen, Martin "Kitab Kuning Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu " *BKI* 146 (1990) 226-269

Van der Aa, P J B C Robide "De Grote Bantamsche Opstand in het Midden van de Vorige Eeuw " *BKI* 29 (1881) 1-127

Van der Kroef, J M *Indonesia in the Modern World* Bandung Masa Baru, 1954 2 vols

-------- "Indonesian Nationalism Reconsidered " *Pacific Affairs* 45 (Spring 1972) 42-59

-------- "Prince Diponegoro Progenitor of Indonesian Nationalism " *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 8 (1949) 424-450

Van Der Meulen, D *Don't You Hear the Thunder, a Dutchman's Life Story* Leiden E J Brill, 1981

Van der Veur, Paul W *Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia* Athens, Ohio Ohio University, Center for International Studies Southeast Asia Program, 1969

Van Doorenbos, J *De Geschriften van Hamzah Fansuri* Leiden Batteljee, 1933

Van Helsdingen, C W , and Hoegenberg, H , eds *Daar werd wat groots verricht Nederlandsch-Indie in de XXste Eeuww* Amsterdam, 1941

-------- *Mission Interrupted The Dutch in the East Indies and Their Work in the XXth Century* Translated by Duyvendok Amsterdam Elsevier, 1945

Van Klaveren, J J *The Dutch Colonial System in the East Indies* 's-Gravenhage Martinus Nijhoff, 1953

Van Leur, J C *Indonesian Trade and Society Essay in Social and Economic History* Translated by James S Holmes and A Van Marle The Hague W van Hoeve, 1967

Van Niel, Robert *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesia Elite* The Hague W van Hoeve,

1970

-------- *Java under the Cultivation System* Leiden KITLV, 1992

Van Nieuwenhuijze, C A O *Samsu'l Din van Pasai Bijdrage tot de kennis der Sumatransche Mystiek* Leiden E J Brill, 1945

Van Rees, W A *De Bandjermasin Krijk* Arahem Thieme, 1865

Van Ronkel "Het heiligdom te Oelakan " *TBG* 56 (1914) 281-316.

-------- *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts Preserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society* Batavia Albrecht & Co , 1913

Vlekke, Bernard H M *Nusantara, A History of Indonesia* The Hague W van Hoeve, 1959.

Von Der Mehden, Fred *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines* Madison The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968

Voorhoeve, P "Atjeh " In *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2nd ed E J Brill, 1960

-------- "List of Malay Manuscripts which were formerly kept at the General Secretariat in Batavia " *Archipel* 20 (1980) 71-77

Wertheim, W F *Indonesian Society in Transition A Study of Social Change* The Hague. W. van Hoeve, 1964

-------- *Indonesie van vorstenrijk tot Neo-kolonie* Meppel Boom, 1979

Winstedt, R O *A History of Malaya* Singapore Marican & Sons, 1962

-------- *A History of Classical Malay Literature* Singapore MBRAS, 1961.

-------- *A History of Malay Literature* Singapore MBRAS, 1940

Woelders, M O *Het Sultanaat Palembang 1811-1825* Jakarta VKI, 1975

Yoder, Lawrence McCulloh, "The Introduction and Impression of Islam and Christianity in the Cultural Context of North Central Java " Ph D diss , Faculty of the School of World Mission Fuller Theological Seminary, 1987

Zainu'ddin, Ailsa *A Short History of Indonesia* New York Praeger Publishers, 1970.

el-Zamzami, Abdul Malek, ed *H O S Tjokroaminoto, Hidup dan Perdjuangannja* Djakarta. Bulan Bintang, 1952

Zuhri, Saifuddin *Guruku Orang-orang dari Pesantren* Bandung al-Ma'arif, 1974.

-------- *Sejarah Kebangkitan Islam dan Berkembangnya di Indonesia* Bandung: al-Ma'arif, 1981