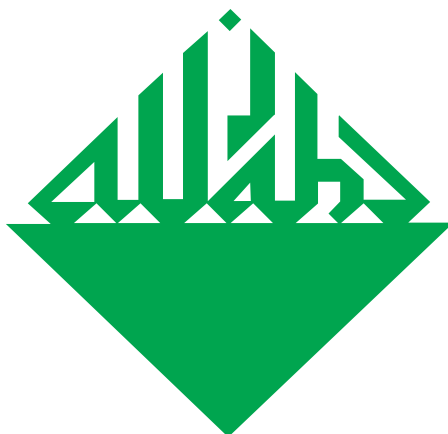


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 30, Number 2, 2023



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Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 30, no. 2, 2023

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492; E-ISSN: 2355-6145) is an international journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, INDONESIA. It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and Southeast Asian Islamic studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines. All submitted papers are subject to double-blind review process.

STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (Decree No. 32a/E/KPT/2017).

STUDIA ISLAMIKA has become a CrossRef Member since year 2014. Therefore, all articles published by STUDIA ISLAMIKA will have unique Digital Object Identifier (DOI) number.

STUDIA ISLAMIKA is indexed in Scopus since 30 May 2015.

Editorial Office:

STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,
Ciputat 15419, Jakarta, Indonesia.
Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;
E-mail: studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id
Website: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika>

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia, institution:
US\$ 75,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$ 25,00;
individual: US\$ 50,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$
20,00. Rates do not include international postage and
handling.

Please make all payment through bank transfer to: **PPIM,
Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia,**
account No. **101-00-0514550-1 (USD),**
Swift Code: bmrriidja

Harga berlangganan di Indonesia untuk satu tahun, lembaga:
Rp. 150.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 50.000,-; individu:
Rp. 100.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 40.000,-. Harga belum
termasuk ongkos kirim.



Pembayaran melalui **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang
Graha Karnos, No. Rek: 128-00-0105080-3**

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Exploring Modernity, Nurturing Tradition:
The Pesantren Leaders' Journey in Japan

Yon Machmudi & Frial Ramadhan Supratman

Islam, Modern Turkey, and a Javanese Intellectual: The Sutomo's Visit to Turkey in 1937

Abstract: *The early twentieth century served as a dynamic age for various modern movement intellectuals. The steamboat discovery enabled people to rush from one place to another, allowing a more active exchange of ideas and insights. Sutomo was a Javanese intellectual playing an essential role in Indonesia's modern history. In 1936-1937 he travelled around the world and visited several countries, one of which was Turkey. This article discussed Sutomo's views on modernization processes taking place in Turkey. This study employed a historical method by using articles from Soeara Oemoem's newspaper from 1936-1937. That newspaper elaborately described Sutomo's journey while he was in Turkey. In this article, we argued that social and economic situations influenced Sutomo's views on Turkey's modernization in the Dutch East Indies. His experiences abroad influenced his further involvement in the discourse of Indonesian secular and Islamic nationalism.*

Keywords: Sutomo, Modern Turkey, Javanese Intellectual, Islam, the Dutch East Indies.

Abstrak: Awal abad ke-21 merupakan periode yang sangat dinamis bagi gerakan para intelektual modern. Ditemukannya kapal uap telah memudahkan orang-orang untuk melakukan perjalanan dari suatu tempat ke tempat lain yang menjadikan pertukaran ide dan gagasan lebih dinamis. Sutomo adalah seorang intelektual Jawa yang memainkan peran penting dalam sejarah modern Indonesia. Pada 1936-1937 dia melakukan perjalanan keliling dunia dan mengunjungi beberapa negara termasuk Turki. Artikel ini mendiskusikan pandangan-pandangan Sutomo tentang proses modernisasi yang terjadi di Turki. Metode sejarah digunakan dalam penelitian ini dengan menggunakan berita-berita di Majalah Soeara Oemoem tahun 1936-1937. Majalah ini memberitakan perjalanan Sutomo ketika di Turki. Dalam artikel ini, kami berargumentasi bahwa pandangan-pandangan Sutomo tentang modernisasi di Turki dipengaruhi oleh situasi sosial dan ekonomi in Hindia Belanda. Pengalamannya di Turki telah mempengaruhi ketelibatannya lebih jauh dalam wacana nasionalisme Islam dan sekuler di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Sutomo, Turki Modern, Intelektual Jawa, Islam, Hindia Belanda.

ملخص: تعتبر بداية القرن الحادي والعشرين فترة ديناميكية للغاية بالنسبة للحركة الفكرية الحديثة. لقد سهّل اختراع البواخر على الناس السفر من مكان إلى آخر، مما جعل تبادل الأفكار أكثر ديناميكية. كان سوتومو مثقفًا جاويًا لعب دورًا مهمًا في التاريخ الإندونيسي الحديث. في ١٩٣٦-١٩٣٧ سافر حول العالم وزار عدة دول بما في ذلك تركيا. يناقش هذا المقال آراء سوتومو حول عملية التحديث التي تجري في تركيا. تم استخدام المنهج التاريخي في هذا البحث باستخدام القصص الإخبارية في مجلة "سوارا عموم" Soeara Oemoem من عام ١٩٣٦-١٩٣٧. تتناول هذه المجلة رحلة سوتومو أثناء وجوده في تركيا. في هذا المقال، نؤكد أن آراء سوتومو حول التحديث في تركيا تأثرت بالوضع الاجتماعي والاقتصادي في الهند الشرقية الهولندية. وقد أثرت تجربته في تركيا على مشاركته الإضافية في خطاب القومية الإسلامية والعلمانية في إندونيسيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: سوتومو، تركيا الحديثة، المثقف الجاوي، الإسلام، الهند الشرقية الهولندية.

Sutomo was an Indonesian intellectual who influenced the national movement activists' circle at the beginning of the twentieth century. He co-founded Budi Utomo, a modern national movement organization, and one of the initiators of *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Pledge) declared in 1928. Budi Utomo was a socio-cultural organization founded by Javanese aristocrats studying at the Medical School for Training Native Doctors (School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen- STOVIA) in Batavia (Jakarta) in 1908. Wahidin Sudirohusodo initially founded this organization to raise education funds for Javanese youths. This organization aimed to awaken the noble values of Javanese culture, which were neglected due to European colonialism or the strength of Islam in Indonesia. Some founding members of Budi Utomo considered the Islamization of the Javanese as a mistake (Ricklefs 2012, 39).

Sutomo was also a medical doctor and a lecturer at a school of medicine for the *pribumi* (the natives), namely the Nederlandsch Indische Artsen School (NIAS), located in Surabaya. Not only was he well-known as an intellectual and an activist, but he was also famous as an astute politician, which he showed when he established the Parindra Party in the 1930s (Supardi 1951). As a modernist intellectual, he should be placed along with other senior prominent figures in Indonesia's national movement, such as Wahidin Sudirohusodo, Ki Hajar Dewantara, Setiabudi, and many more.

From 1936 to 1937, Sutomo traveled around the world by ship before the Second World War broke out. He visited Japan, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, India, Egypt, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Turkey, and Palestine. During his journey around the world, Sutomo wrote memoirs containing his impressions, messages, and views on the countries that he visited in the newspaper *Soeara Oemoem*. This newspaper was established by Sutomo on August 20, 1931, in the interest of enkindling the spirit of a secular nationalist movement.

Studies on the intellectual formation of Indonesia in the early days of the Indonesian nationalist movement have been carried out by Benda (1950), Boland (1985), Noer (1982), Takashi (1986), Federspiel (2006), Elson (2008) and Pols (2019). Latif (2006) also researched fairly comprehensively Indonesia's intellectual history. However, among the many studies, they need to pay more attention to the influence of Turkish dynamics on the development of Indonesian thought and

ideas. Sutomo's journey as a figure in the Indonesian movement to Turkey is significant must be elaborated more deeply.

This article discussed Sutomo's visit to Turkey, one of the most advanced Muslim countries at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although Sutomo had traveled to many countries, this article will elaborate on the memoirs of his visit to Turkey. It draws our interest because Turkey was a modern Muslim country founded on top of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, which existed for over 600 years. Furthermore, Turkey was also a Muslim-majority country daring to apply laicism in its state system and social, economic, and cultural life. Meanwhile, it had nurtured good relations with the Dutch East Indies for quite a long time. Therefore, the viewpoints of a Javanese intellectual who was a western-oriented secularist in Turkey, which, at that time, was undergoing significant changes in various sectors.

This article aims to elaborate on how Sutomo perceived The Republic of Turkey and how he compared Turkey to the Dutch East Indies. This article mainly focused on Sutomo's views on modern Turkey and the changes taking place there. Moreover, it also tried to observe how Sutomo's statements on Turkey affected his standpoint on the Dutch East Indies. In this regard, we would like to contribute to Indonesian historiography because, so far, rarely do Indonesian historians emphasize a prominent figure's views on the development of another country. By examining the history of Sutomo's short visit to Turkey, readers can understand the dynamics of intellectual formation in relations to Indonesian nation building. As Crouch (1986) stated, the ideological elements of Indonesian national movement consisted of three main groups including Islamist, nationalist and socialist.

This study employed a historical methodology by using articles found in *Soeara Oemoem*, a newspaper published in 1936-1937. That newspaper described Sutomo's journal while he was in Turkey. In analyzing the social context of Turkey in the era, we use the Ottoman manuscript. Through reading and studying the newspaper *Soeara Oemoem*, we focus on Sutomo's views on Turkey. Nevertheless, we would still elaborate on Sutomo's visits to several countries before he arrived in Turkey to provide context on what moved Sutomo to travel to several countries, including Turkey. In this article, the 1936-1937 period served as our focus of study because Sutomo started traveling around the world in 1936 and returned home to the Dutch East Indies in 1937.

Intellectual Background of Sutomo

Sutomo (1888–1938) was a medical doctor and lecturer at the Surabaya Medical School (NIAS). He was one of the Javanese *priyayi* (elite) who had the opportunity to study at the STOVIA Medical School, Batavia. He became the first generation of modern Indonesian elites with Western education. With Wahidin Sudirohusodo, Sutomo, as a medical student of STOVIA, participated in establishing the Budi Utomo organization to assist Javanese students in getting an education. In 1924, Sutomo founded a study group called the Surabaya Club Study. This study group later inspired Sukarno, a student at THS Bandung (Technische Hoogeschool te Bandung), to establish a similar group called the Algemeene Studie Club (ASC) in Bandung in 1926 (Ricklefs 2001, 229). Sutomo also lived on Amsterdam between 1919 and 1923. He became involved and became a member of an Indonesian student organization called Perhimpunan Indonesia (Ingleson 2008, 33).

During his career as a medical doctor and teacher, Sutomo was involved in many socio-political activities, especially in Surabaya. Sutomo's role must be connected to the very dynamic social conditions of the city of Surabaya. One of Sutomo's socio-political activities while in Surabaya was the founding of the Indonesian Study Club (Studi Klub Indonesia- SKI) on 11 July 1924. This organization spread across cities in Java between 1924 and 1926. Members of the modern elite were educated with a Western education, such as Sutomo himself. They usually worked as medical doctors, lawyers, journalists, and government employees. Some of them were also members of Budi Utomo. SKI members were a new generation educated by the West who would play a more critical role than the old generation led by aristocrats and planned to recreate society that would bring progress and prosperity (Ingleson 2008, 33). The focus of SKI was to play an anti-colonial political role. They recruited young Indonesians to learn about politics through educational activities, such as lectures and teaching, to achieve their goal. In addition, they also published magazines as a medium to convey their ideas. In addition to politics, SKI members responded to many socio-economic problems essential to creating a modern nation-state and an independent Indonesia (Ingleson 2008, 34).

In addition to establishing SKI, Sutomo's political involvement strengthened when he founded the Greater Indonesia Party (Partai Indonesia Raya-Parindra). The party was founded in December 1935

and was the result of a joint venture between the Indonesian National Union (Persatuan Bangsa Indonesia-PBI) and Budi Utomo. In this party, Sutomo was elected as its chairman. Among the other members who joined Parindra was M.H. Thamrin. Parindra was a neutral party in viewing religious issues and rejected conservative Islam. Parindra members tended to see the rise of Japan as a model for struggle. In 1937, the membership of Parindra reached 4,600 members and increased in 1939 to 11,250 members. Most members of Parindra were concentrated in East Java. In 1941, Parindra claimed 19,500 members (Ricklefs 2001, 239).

A Journey around Asia and Europe

In March 1936, *Soeara Oemoem* mentioned Sutomo's plan to go overseas. His purpose for going to Europe for a *studie-opdracht* (learning assignment). *Soeara Oemoem* stated, "Regarding Dr. Sutomo's plan to travel to Europe for the purpose of making a *studie-opdracht*, it would also be apparent who would replace him as a lecturer at NIAS in Surabaya (Sutomo 1936a)." Moreover, the newspaper mentioned that "not only was it meant to fulfill his obligation to his institution (NIAS), but he also felt obliged to serve his country and nation (Soeara Oemoem 1936b)." Sutomo, who was a medical doctor, was a lecturer at NIAS. NIAS was a school of medicine established in 1913 in Surabaya and founded to give more opportunities for the citizens to study medicine since, previously, Medical High School (*Geneeskundige Hooge School*) was already established in Batavia (Pols 2019, 71). Both schools were meant to contribute to the formation of modern Indonesian elites. As a native lecturer at NIAS, Sutomo played a crucial role since he could directly teach native college students in Indonesian. One of the biggest obstacles at the beginning of the twentieth century was the college students' inability to speak Dutch. The lecturers usually came from the Netherlands and spoke Dutch, so it would be difficult for them to educate their native college students. Therefore, a native lecturer such as Dr. Sutomo had such an important position that NIAS had to look for his replacement when he went overseas.

As previously mentioned, Sutomo traveled around the world by ship. His journey started in Tanjung Perak Harbor, Surabaya, on Sunday, March 22, 1936, at 11 AM. He traveled by a Japanese ship named *Nagoya Maru* (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936c)." From Surabaya, the ship crossed

the Pacific Ocean to Japan. Sutomo did not travel to Japan alone; Mrs. Gunawan Mangunkusumi and Sukarjo Wiryopranotos accompanied him. It was mentioned that when Sutomo was about to leave for Japan, he was seen off with “1500 old and young people”. Although the figure seemed to be exaggerated, the fact that many people saw Sutomo off showed his position as a prominent movement figure. That journey was undoubtedly a significant journey for the future of Indonesia.

Sutomo was well-known as a prominent leader of the Budi Utomo organization. The organization was initiated by Dr Wahidin Sudirohusodo and intended to raise a learning fund for Javanese *priyayi* (aristocrats) (Pols 2019, 97). Wahidin’s initiative was then implemented by Sutomo, a medical student at STOVIA, Batavia, together with Gunawan Mangunkusumo and Suraji, as the most important Javanese social and cultural organization at the beginning of the twentieth century. Sutomo’s involvement with Budi Utomo made him a prominent Javanese figure well-known among the community since Budi Utomo was rapidly developing. Moreover, with Budi Utomo rapidly growing, many of its members aspired to change Budi Utomo into a political party. Therefore, disputes broke out among the members of Budi Utomo regarding their organizational vision. Some members wanted to transform Budi Utomo into a political organization, while others still wished that Budi Utomo should remain a social and cultural organization.

Sutomo’s leadership role in Indonesia’s most prominent Javanese cultural organization made him well-known among the community. He became more famous when he served as a lecturer and an instructor at NIAS. As a NIAS instructor, he served as a mediator between the Dutch elites and the Javanese natives Indonesians. Consequently, he served as a mediator between the western and eastern cultures, especially the Javanese culture. As a *priyayi* (aristocrat), Sutomo verily understood the eastern values represented by the Javanese culture. The *priyayis* were deemed guardians of Javanese cultural heritage due to their lineage from the ancient Javanese nobility and kings. In the Javanese culture, the *priyayis* and the *kawulo* (ordinary people) had different statuses because the common people regarded the *priyayi* as God’s incarnation descendants, so the *priyayi* were made sacred. Furthermore, the *priyayi* were also middle-class people who had an opportunity to work for the colonial government (Shiraishi 1986, 54). In this regard, Sutomo

was a descendant of *priyayi*, so the ordinary people paid great respect to him. Meanwhile, among the Dutch elites, Sutomo was respected due to his position as a positivist and a modernist actively engaged in modern medical science activities. Therefore, Sutomo served as a mediator between the western civilization and the eastern (Javanese) civilization. Hence, it was no wonder if Sutomo's visit to Japan was warmly welcomed by both the ordinary people and the Dutch elites.

Having embarked on the *Nagoya Maru* for Japan, Sutomo started to write his memoirs on his journey around Asia and Europe. He wrote, "When I was writing this memoir, Nagoya Maru sailed very fast. I felt such a heartfelt sentiment reminiscing the farewell with all my beloved families, friends and acquaintances, and party colleagues that have established the party for a year together (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936d)." Sutomo's memoirs, published by *Soeara Oemoem*, started when he was on the ship. Sutomo wrote about whatever happened on his journey to Japan. It only took one week for Sutomo to arrive in Japan from Surabaya via the Pacific Ocean. On April 1, he arrived in Kobe, Japan. He wrote, "The first day in Japan. We have just arrived in Kobe. It is already spring, but the ocean breeze is still very cool (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936e)." From Kobe, Sutomo went to Osaka. In Osaka, he described his experience encountering "beautiful Japanese young women who look like angels who can predict all of our needs." Having enjoyed Osaka's scenic panoramas, he continued his trip to Tokyo, visiting Imperial Tokyo University. As usual, he elaborately wrote about his admiration for the Japanese educational system. Education and culture were what interested him most while he was in Japan. Not only was he interested in the Japanese educational system, but he also took an interest in the art and culture. In Tokyo, he was accompanied by Professor Seigo Minami and watched Japanese plays. Furthermore, the Japanese nobility's etiquette and traditions interested him, too.

He stayed in Japan for almost two months. On May 28, he embarked on the ship *Katori Maru* for India. Before arriving in India, the ship made several transits to places such as China, Singapore, and Sri Lanka. On June 2, the ship arrived in Shanghai. Then, it continued the journey to Taiwan and Hong Kong. Sutomo described the grandeur of Hong Kong harbor. He wrote, "when the ship disembarked, it was such a splendid scenery [sic], and I could not describe the beauty in words. Behind us loomed the blue and smooth ocean, while in front of us was

a green mountain covered with clouds (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936f).” He then wrote about the history of Hong Kong. He wrote about how the Chinese surrendered Hong Kong to the British in 1842. His opinions about the Chinese people living in Shanghai and Hong Kong were pessimistic, contrasting with that of Japanese society.

Having arrived in China, the *Katori Maru* continued its journey to Singapore. It arrived there on June 11. At first, Sutomo only saw how the Javanese people lived there. He met with someone working for the Dutch East Indies government. That person described the situations in plantations owned by the Javanese and the Malays in Singapore. From their conversation, Sutomo observed that many factors had made the Javanese lag behind other ethnic groups.

Moreover, he also met with Professor van Stein Callenfels, an archaeologist from the Raffles Institute. They shared ideas on the conditions of the Javanese ethnic group. As an archaeologist, van Stein Callenfels knew matters on the Javanese very well, especially that of Yogyakarta and Solo (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936g). Based on his talks with van Stein Callenfels, Sutomo learned a lot about foreign researchers’ perspectives on Java. In short, he learned a lot about Java in Singapore, including when he visited the Raffles Museum. Nevertheless, he also spent his time visiting the King Edward VII School of Medicine in Singapore (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936h), which became one of his most important parts since he was a medical doctor and a lecturer caring so much for the advancement of education.

Sutomo then continued his trip to India. On June 25, *Soeara Oemoem* informed Sutomo’s arrival in Calcutta, India (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936i). Having arrived in Calcutta, he sailed down the Ganges River. He compared it to that of Java and Sumatra. He wrote, “I have sailed down River Musi and River Barito, but this estuary of the Ganges River is much bigger than that of those two biggest rivers of our country (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936j).” There, he witnessed how industrialization shaped Calcutta. He wrote, “We are closing in on the city of Calcutta; it appears that the billowing smoke looming from a distance comes from the chimneys of the factories, and, verily, the housing complex will soon loom from a distance (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936j).” In India, he visited a missionary school named Ramakhrisna Mission School. He also visited the University of Calcutta Bengal Academy of Literature.

Nevertheless, societal realities also appealed to him very much. In Calcutta, he saw beggars, laborers, civil servants, bus drivers, college students, and professors (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936k). There, he certainly observed that Hinduism was the religion adhered to by most of the Indian people. However, the Muslims existed there since he became acquainted with Professor Maulvi Adib, who wrote a book titled *Islam's Contribution to Science and Civilization* (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936l). Furthermore, Sutomo also visited a well-known and advanced hospital, the Medical College Hospital.

Another visit Sutomo made that impressed him was his meeting with Rabindranath Tagore (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936m). As already mentioned previously, Tagore was an ardent supporter of Pan-Asianism. He was an Indian poet who received the Noble Prize in Literature. The meeting was not the first meeting since Tagore had once met Sutomo in Surabaya en route to his former trip to Japan. In his memoir, Sutomo wrote:

“Dr. Tagore received my visit in the morning in the *prieeltje* of his house. He looked older than he had been when I met with him in Surabaya. He talked much about our nations and praised our *cultureelenitingen* (cultural identity); moreover, he still hoped that one of our kings would lend a dance teacher in order that he or she could enrich his school with our art of dance (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936m).”

After visiting Tagore, Sutomo continued his trip to Gaya, where the Buddha had meditated. It was a sacred place for the Buddhists. Sutomo showed interest in this Buddhist holy place, writing of giant statues overlaid with gold and vandalism inflicting upon several Buddhist statues (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936n). After visiting Tagore, Sutomo also visited prominent Indian figures such as Jawaharlal Nehru. Sutomo wrote, “We were discussing matters cordially as if we had been friends for a long time and had never met each other for years (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936o).” Afterwards, he also planned to visit Mahatma Gandhi. Unfortunately, Gandhi was not at home. Sutomo’s meeting with prominent Indian figures such as Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru was crucial in his insights on world issues.

Having visited India, Sutomo traveled to Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka, he learned a lot about the Malay nation. He wrote about how the Malays had come to and lived in Sri Lanka. He mentioned a unique thing that Sri Lankans did; like Indonesians, they wore *kopiah* (headdress) and batik dress (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936p). Therefore, he learned what

Sri Lankan and Indonesian cultures had in common. He also visited several educational institutions and visited Malay students there.

Having visited Sri Lanka, Sutomo embarked on the Japanese ship *Suwa Maru* for Port Said, Egypt. On August 25, he arrived at Port Said. He then continued his trip to Cairo, the capital of Egypt famous for its Al Azhar University. He arrived in Cairo to a rapturous reception from the Javanese college students and professors from Al Azhar University. He wrote, “We heard people shouting ‘*Hidup Indonesia Merdeka* (Long Live Independent Indonesia)!’ several times at the station (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936q).” Sutomo stayed in Egypt for two weeks. There, he interacted with Indonesian college students. Most of them were *Azharis* (Al Azhar University students). One of the most memorable Islamic student organizations that Sutomo remembered was Jong Islamieten Bond. He also did not forget to visit the Bank of Egypt (a symbol of Egypt’s progress) and the pyramids (a symbol of Egypt’s ancient grandeur civilization). He also wrote about political developments, such as the emergence of the Young Egypt Movement and the Wafd Party. As a lecturer and a medical doctor, he visited King Fuad Hospital and the Kingdom’s School of Medicine.

Having visited Egypt, he continued his journey to the Netherlands. He had been to the Netherlands before. As in Egypt, he was also very well-known in the Netherlands. His agenda in the Netherlands was to give public lectures and speeches. *Soeara Oemoem* mentioned that Sutomo was invited to give lessons before Indonesian students in the Netherlands, the Educational Committee for the Dutch Indies Nation, and Amsterdam Lyceum (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936r). Sutomo’s trip to the Netherlands played a crucial role since he got an opportunity to express his aspirations, especially in education. There, he discussed educational problems that Indonesian people faced, such as a lack of literacy and the ability to read and write.

Moreover, he also proposed other visionary ideas, such as changing the medium language of education in Indonesia from Dutch to English (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936s). Reflecting on his visit to Japan, he also proposed that Indonesia select vocational schools in agriculture, trade, fishery, and industrial engineering. Having visited the Netherlands, Sutomo continued his journey to the United Kingdom.

In London, Sutomo witnessed the magnificent splendour of the British Empire, which had colonies almost worldwide. He wrote about

facilities in London with wonder and awe. He visited the best museum in the world, the British Museum. With such great admiration, he wrote, “British Museum, for instance, has no match since not only is it ancient, but various relics from all over the world are also displayed there (*Soeara Oemoem* 1936t).” Moreover, he also admired how great the researchers at The Royal Institute of International Affairs were. Furthermore, he witnessed the hustle and bustle of London, from crowded international students to political dynamics. In detail, he also elaborated on how the constitutional monarchy system worked. The relationship between the king and the prime minister attracted Sutomo’s attention since he was also a Parindra (Partai Indonesia Raya) party politician, besides being a medical doctor and a lecturer. Having visited the United Kingdom, he planned to continue his journey to the United States, but he canceled his plan, and no one knew why he withdrew it. Instead, he continued his trip to Turkey.

The cancellation of his plan to visit the United States was interesting because, from then on, he started to observe political situations in Turkey, which had a cultural relationship with the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies for a long time. At first, Sutomo did not plan to go to Turkey. However, his memoirs in Turkey played an important role since he could directly witness how Turkey was transformed. Sutomo showed his admiration for modern Turkey earlier than Sukarno, who, in 1940, wrote about the modernization processes in Turkey as conducted by Kemal Ataturk (Soekarno 2015, 451).

The Absence of Indonesian Students in Turkey

In contrast to his visit to other countries where he met with and was warmly welcomed by Indonesian students, Sutomo did not meet with Indonesian students in Turkey. Indonesian students, especially the Indonesian natives, were more interested in studying Islam in Haramain (Mecca and Medina) and Cairo than studying Islam in Istanbul. Haramain served as an important place for forming Nusantara’s intellectual and ulama (cleric) network because Haramain was the intellectual center of the Muslims. Later, Cairo, with its famous Al Azhar University, served as the place of learning for many Indonesian students regarding their experience with modern thoughts and nationalism. In 1912, a small student association named Jamiah Setia Pelajar was established in Cairo. The presence of Indonesian native

students in both Haramain and Cairo uplifted the spirit of Indonesian nationalism. Therefore, it was no wonder that Sutomo's presence in Cairo received such a warm welcome from Indonesian students.

Haramain and Cairo were still part of the Ottoman Empire until the end of the First World War. They became the favorite regions for Indonesian students. Although Turkey attracted attention from Indonesia's Islamists regarding Pan Islamism, the Indonesian natives' intellectual orientation was not Istanbul. However, it did not mean that no Indonesian students were studying in Istanbul before the independence of Indonesia. Several Turkish archival documents containing correspondence between the Ottoman Consulate General in Batavia and the Ottoman government mentioned the presence of some students from the Dutch East Indies. It seemed that those students were not Indonesian natives but were of Arab descent and considered themselves the citizens of the Ottoman Empire, as significant parts of Arab lands at that time were under Ottoman rule.

The presence of students of Arab descent coming from the Dutch East Indies was traceable by Ottoman documents. Some studies on Indonesian Hadrami students in Turkey showed that only a small number of Hadramis studied in Istanbul. The sending of Indonesian Hadramis was finally discontinued in 1899 because of the lack of Ottoman funding (Alatas and Tekin 2022; Schmidt 1992). In an Ottoman document Number 50 of 1899, it was mentioned that two prominent Arab figures from Bogor, Java, Sheikh Bā Junayd and Abu Bakar. Sungkar wrote a letter to the Ottoman Sultan. In the letter, they informed the Ottoman Empire of the departure of 7 students to Istanbul to ensure those students were picked up at the harbor and enrolled them into a good school in Istanbul (Terzi, Alacagöz, and Ergun 2017, 450). In this era, those people of Arab descent in the Dutch East Indies identified themselves as citizens of the Ottoman Empire because their ancestors had come from territories belonging to the Ottoman Empire, especially Hadramaut, Yemen.

The Ottoman document Number 57 of 1902 confirmed that fact. In a letter titled "An Appeal to the Prevention of Injustice against Muslims in the Dutch Indies Archipelago and Citizens of the Ottoman Empire Resulting from the Dutch Colonial Policies," they reported to the Ottoman Sultan that the Dutch colonial government had discriminated against native Muslim citizens because those citizens were deprived of

their civil rights and did not have equal status with other Muslims and Christians (Tezir 2017, 498-499). When they encountered a Christian on the street, they had to kneel and salute him or her. They could not study at any schools or educational institutions. The natives were not allowed to communicate with fellow Muslims from other countries. Meanwhile, the Muslims who were citizens of the Ottoman Empire from Hadramaut, Lhasa, Najd and Baghdad could freely enter the territory of the Dutch East Indies. They were treated harshly and disrespectfully, just like the Dutch colonial government treated the natives. The letter contained a request to the Ottoman Empire to protect its citizens in Java and the surrounding regions, especially the sayyids' privileges. It was apparently obvious that Muslims of the Dutch Indies Archipelago meant native Muslims living in the Dutch East Indies. In contrast, the citizens of the Ottoman Empire told the Arabs living in the Dutch East Indies of the difficulties that those Arabs living in the Dutch East Indies had, which motivated them to draw closer ties to the Ottoman Empire. Their hopes were running high when, in 1898, Kamil Bey started to serve as the Ottoman Consul in Batavia and became an official envoy of the Ottoman Empire.

The status of those people of Arab descent before Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Pledge) in 1934 was unique. Although they identified themselves as citizens of the Ottoman Empire, their status was not fully recognized since they lived outside the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, when they sent their sons and daughters in hopes of studying in Istanbul, their requests were not readily accepted because those who could study at Istanbul institutes were only citizens of the Ottoman Empire. For instance, in archival document Number 52 of 1899, it was described that Mekteb-i Mulkiye Shahane School (Imperial School of Civil Service) in Istanbul wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education of the Ottoman Empire telling them that two students from Java named Osman and Muhammad b. Abdullah Al Attas, both brothers, had been registered as students in that school free of charge on the Sultan's order. Having graduated from the classes of the first level of that school, those two students wished to continue their study at the higher classes of the second level, which was a university level. It was just that their plan was hampered by the regulation stipulating that to receive higher education at Mekteb-i Mulkiye Shahane School, they had to be citizens of the Ottoman Empire. Eventually, they tried to obtain an identity

card from the Ottoman Empire to continue their studies at this school. Finally, upon the Sultan's approval, both were admitted to the second level of that school, which was like a department of political science at a university level in the Ottoman Empire (Terzi, Alacagöz, and Ergun 2017, 463).

When Sutomo arrived in Istanbul, it was clear why no Indonesian students welcomed him there like what he had received in Cairo, Egypt. No Indonesian native students were studying in Istanbul because Istanbul did not become a prioritized place of learning for them. Moreover, Istanbul was not a center of Islamic learning since the main centers were Haramain and Cairo. The number of Arabs from the Dutch East Indies who studied in Istanbul were relatively small, and they identified themselves more as citizens of the Ottoman Empire than as Indonesians. Furthermore, when Sutomo arrived in Turkey in 1937, none of the Indonesian Hadramis students stayed in Istanbul. In 1915, only one Indonesian Hadrami student named Said Ba Junaid lived in Istanbul, and he was the only student from the Dutch East Indies who was in Istanbul (Alatas and Tekin 2022, 44).

Modern Turkey and Sutomo

When Sutomo set foot in Turkey in March 1937, Turkey was undergoing a massive transformation under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal or Atatürk. At that time, the Turks had just witnessed the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, had ruled the country since 1302 and made Istanbul its capital after its conquest in 1453. After the First World War ended in 1918, the Allied Powers invaded Turkey. They occupied Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and the sultan was taken captive by the Allied Powers troops. Meanwhile, at the same time, Mustafa Kemal and the nationalists refused to surrender to the Allied Powers and tried to defend their Motherland from the Allied Powers' invasion. The nationalists led by Mustafa Kemal accused the Ottoman Sultan of collaborating with the Allied Powers since the Sultan allowed them to occupy Istanbul. Mustafa and other nationalist groups started their resistance from Anatolia. The Allied Powers even let Greece invade Izmir. The war between the nationalists and the Greek troops broke out in 1919 (Shaw 2005, 362). After the nationalists' victory in that war, their position was getting more robust in the eyes of the international world since they were deemed to defend Turkey successfully. In 1923,

the Republic of Turkey was established with Mustafa Kemal as the first president.

Modernization that occurred in the Republic of Turkey only happened in a short time. This had long roots, especially since the 19th century when the Ottoman State wanted to join European countries to protect itself from Russian attacks. The Gulhane Declaration of 1839 led the Ottomans to achieve an ideological transformation by emphasizing Ottomanism (*Osmanlıcilik*). The idea of Ottomanism was thought to define the Ottoman people as a single entity regardless of their religion (Hanioglu 2010, 74). The concept of Ottomanism was the forerunner to the growth of the idea of nationalism that would inspire the Turkish nation. In addition, the spread of the idea of Westernism in the Ottoman State has also influenced Ottoman intellectuals, philosophers, and statesmen. Many Western works, especially from France, were translated into Turkish during this period. Through this Westernism, the educated Ottoman elites got the idea to form nationalism. The military elite was the earliest to accept Western knowledge in their schools. For this reason, it is not surprising that when the Republic of Turkey was just established, many military elites filled essential posts in the government of Turkey.

A president led modern Turkey, and the government was run by a prime minister appointed from a political party. With the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the Ottoman Empire was eventually abolished in 1924, and the Sultan and his family members were exiled (Zürcher 2017, 169). The capital was also moved from Istanbul to Ankara. From then on, Turkey became a nation-state with its educational, health, social and political systems being European-oriented. Ottoman Turkish language, having been employed for hundreds of years, was replaced by the Turkish language with Latin alphabets. Moreover, many *madrasas* and religious schools were closed. On the other hand, the Turks witnessed various modern educational institutions established to teach modern science flourishing in the western world. Istanbul University and Ankara University were two universities established to support society's modernization and education programs in Turkey. Many lecturers in those universities were professors from European countries, especially Germany.

When Sutomo arrived in Turkey for the first time, the first aspect that he wrote about was educational matters. Turkey's education system

attracted his attention. He was so amazed by how Turkey developed its education. The Turks could go to school for free. He wrote, "Most of the professors were German intellectuals well-known in the international world. In Istanbul, there were 2000 medical students, and in Ankara, there were 900 students of faculties of agriculture, animal husbandry, law, literature, and so on (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937a)." When Sutomo arrived in Turkey, Turkish universities, especially Istanbul University, had many German professors. They were German academics seeking political asylum in Turkey to avoid being persecuted by the Nazis in Germany (Shaw 1993, 12).

While in Turkey, Sutomo visited Istanbul University in Istanbul after visiting Ankara. It was the oldest university in Turkey. The university was a symbol of Turkey's modern education system because the university adopted a current educational system different from the madrasa system, which had been adopted by the Ottoman Empire. The university taught fields such as pharmacy, chemistry, physics, medicine, history, geography, and other sciences. Moreover, the university also admitted Turkish women to study there. Sutomo's memoirs told us a lot about Istanbul University. As a medical doctor, Sutomo naturally paid much attention to the faculty of medicine and pharmacy. He wrote that he was invited to visit several modern laboratories. He even met with several professors, such as Professor Schwartz, a pathologist (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937b). He said that the medium language of the learning and teaching activities was German, which was then translated into Turkish.

Sutomo was so impressed with how Turkey eradicated illiteracy. At that time, Ataturk initiated extensive campaigns against Latin alphabet illiteracy among the Turks. Before the Republic of Turkey was established, the Turks were accustomed to reading and writing the Turkish language in Arabic-alphabets; however, this alphabet was deemed unfit for the modern world's needs that was dominated mainly by books with Latin alphabets. The alphabet change was also due to the structure of the Turkish language itself. It was argued from the late Ottoman period onwards that the Arabic alphabet was unsuitable for writing Turkish words because Arabic has only three vowels, but the Turkish language has eight. Sutomo might have unnoticed this fact, which was one of the main reasons for the change of the alphabet. Nevertheless, the use of the Turkish language with the Latin alphabet

is also related to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, which emphasizes the nationalism of the Turkish nation as a nation. They wanted to rediscover the original Turkish cultural heritage by eliminating Persian and Arabic influences in their language. Ataturk wanted the Turks to use the original Turkish language without Arab and Persian forces. But even so, Ataturk wanted the Turks to catch up in science and technology by adopting the Latin alphabet. Sutomo noted Turkey's efforts to introduce the Latin alphabet and eradicate illiteracy. He wrote:

“While the government eradicates illiteracy by establishing afternoon schools where the learned people teach there twice a week, every head of village has to inform the regional government on the number of people who cannot read in his village, and he will have to oblige them to attend the afternoon school twice a week for three months (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937a).”

Other than education, Sutomo paid attention to the progress of the Republic of Turkey under the principles of Kemalism. He was impressed with Ataturk's leadership, who led Turkey to make various advances (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937b). However, it seemed that Sutomo did not elaborate on the essence of Kemalism in detail. He only mentioned various developments of infrastructures and industries being built in Turkey. He then compared modern Turkey to the Ottoman Empire. He wrote that the National Bank was just established in the era of modern Turkey. At the same time, he said, “Before the Turkish revolution, the establishment of a national bank was considered as an uncommon stance (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937b).” He praised Ataturk, who was highly determined to establish a national bank. Sutomo wrote that, in 1937, 44 banks were operating in Turkey (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937c).

When perceiving Kemalism, Sutomo observed how Kemalism got rid of the Arabs' and Persians' influences. Arab, and Persian cultures had been strongly associated with the Turkish nation before the republic was established. The Ottoman Empire was a multicultural country that absorbed many Arab and Persian cultural values. For instance, the Ottoman Turkish language used the Arabic alphabet. Moreover, it borrowed many Arabic and Persian words from the Turks' daily conversation. Those things concerned Ataturk, so he urged that the Turkish culture and language be made room to flourish. Sutomo wrote, “Turkey has neglected its cultural treasures for such a long time, so it

becomes ingenuine (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937c).” When Sutomo visited Turkey, the government of Turkey was promoting its culture to an intense degree against Arabian and Persian elements, which dominated the Turks for centuries under the Ottoman Empire. At that time, those Arabian and Persian elements were considered a symbol of setbacks and the past that was contrary to the vision of the Republic of Turkey, which desired to achieve progress and modernity in various sectors. Therefore, it was no wonder that the Arabic alphabet was replaced by the Latin alphabet, widely used in multiple scientific books.

When talking about Kemalism, Sutomo should have discussed the relations between Kemalism and Islam. However, in his memoirs, he did not have much to say about the impacts of Kemalism values on Islam, which was firmly entrenched in Turkey. In his memoirs titled “Kemalism ‘the religion’ of Turkey”, he talked more about politics than religion. He wrote more about mistakes made by the Ottoman sultans in the previous era than Islam’s position in modern Turkey (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937f).

In his notes, Sutomo praised the progress made in the Republic of Turkey under the government of Mustafa Kemal. He noted that the Republic of Turkey had gained its independence from capitalism. Sutomo equated Kemalism with the idea of rejecting capitalism. According to Sutomo:

“Kemalism in short is nothing but serving the masses and resisting the harsh influence of Capitalism. In government statements everyday people see and feel about their interests. They thanked Kemal and followed his orders, in other words the people made themselves available for the common good, and in this regard, Ataturk always set an example. He was offered the crown of the Sultan and the Caliph, but he refused the offer. Because in the interest of the people it can only progress in independence and in a democratic state. Ataturk is poor because all his life he gave his property to the people (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937f).”

Sutomo’s Views on the Ottomans

Referring to Sutomo’s memoirs during his visit to Turkey, we can understand that Sutomo was not so impressed with the splendor and the glory of the Ottoman Empire. On the contrary, he thought the Ottomans were one of the main factors causing the Turkish nation to decline. He instead praised Ataturk. He said that Ataturk, a new

modern Turkish leader, had made much progress and improvement. In his memoirs on educational, social, economic, political, and cultural aspects of Turkey, he was sympathetic to modern Turkey and condemned the Ottomans for making the Turkish nation decline. In his memoirs, Sutomo always compared modern Turkey to the Ottoman Empire; something which was very understandable at the beginning of the twentieth century since modern Turkey was in marked contrast with the Ottoman Empire. Everyone who visited Turkey at that time would usually make a note of and comment on the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of modern Turkey. Sutomo's criticism of the Ottomans represented modern Indonesian elites' views on the Ottomans before a dispute between Muhammad Natsir and Sukarno emerged.

One of Sutomo's criticisms of the Ottoman Empire regarded the country's agricultural economy. To Sutomo, the Ottomans' agricultural economy was one of the main factors causing the Turkish nation to decline. He then compared it to Turkey's economic progress when Turkey was transformed into a modern republic. Furthermore, he compared the Ottomans' decline to that of China, India, and other colonized nations (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937b). However, Sutomo's views were not correct. It was confirmed that the Ottomans based their economy on the agricultural sector, but since the nineteenth century, they had adapted to industrialization processes. It was evident that Sutomo did not know about factories established in Istanbul, especially those providing for the soldiers' needs. Moreover, the Ottomans had conducted mining exploration activities. Therefore, those facts showed that the Ottomans' economy was already open to international cooperation at that time. However, the Ottomans' economy did not progress well because the Ottoman Empire had been engaged in several wars since the nineteenth century, not because of the agricultural economy that it tried to maintain. The battles that broke out between the Ottomans and its neighbors since the nineteenth century had worsened its economic situation.

Besides the economy, Sutomo also thought that the Ottomans caused the Turkish nation to decline since they employed Arabic and Persian words in their language. (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937f). Both Arabic and Persian played a crucial role in promoting scientific progress in the Ottoman Empire in the Classical Age. However, those languages started

to face competitors since Western science and technology started to flourish rapidly, and scientific books were written in Western languages such as English, French, and German. In the Dutch East Indies, the modern educated elites preferred to use the Dutch to learn about science and technology. It is evident that Sutomo generalized the use of language so much. It seemed that Sutomo did not pay much attention in detail to intellectual dynamics, having taken place in the Ottoman Empire since the nineteenth century. For instance, in 1839, the Ottoman Empire declared Gulhane Hatti Sherif (Supreme Edict of Gulhane), desiring equality between Muslims and Non-Muslims. This declaration, also known as Tanzimat Fermanı (Firman of Reorganization), marked the Ottomans' admiration of Western civilization. From then on, Turkish intellectuals who admired Western civilization started to emerge. They were intellectuals good at speaking French, English, and German. In fact, the Ottoman military was one of the first to receive lessons in foreign languages such as French and German. The Ottoman Empire invited a German military expert named Colmar van Der Goltz. He was a lecturer who taught the Ottoman army officers who would, in turn, play an essential role in the First World War. Moreover, some Ottoman intellectuals like Dr. Abdullah Cevdet admired French philosophy and could read French books. It is evident that those facts went unnoticed by Sutomo when he talked about the Ottoman Empire.

Sutomo went on to discuss the situations of the women who were marginalized in the age of the Ottoman Empire. He even wrote that “the age of the Ottoman Empire was such a savage and cruel age to women, especially to those living in big cities and of the wealthier class (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937e)”. In his memoirs, Sutomo wanted to show that women in the age of the Ottoman Empire were socially, politically, and economically oppressed. He wrote that women were “exiled, not allowed to meet men in their houses except their husbands, fathers, and brothers, not allowed to go out alone without wearing *burqa* (veil) and covering their faces (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937e).” Sutomo’s negative views on women in the age of the Ottoman Empire were in stark contrast to his views on women in the Age of Hittite. Sutomo said that “in the age of Hittite, women were equally treated to men (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937e).” At that time, women played significant roles, such as becoming a soldier. Based on those memoirs, it is evident that Sutomo did not consider the age of the Ottoman Empire, based on Islamic

legitimacy, as the golden age for Turkish women. Sutomo assumed that the Ottoman Empire did not respect women's positions and roles.

Sutomo's views on women in the age of the Ottoman Empire were not based on adequate research on history; instead, they seemed to be based on prejudice prevailing at that time. Historically, many wealthy and devout women during the Ottoman period in Turkey played a crucial public role. They played an essential role in contributing to the construction of *waqf* institutions, such as building mosques and *madrasas* (Islamic schools) (Peirce 1993, 8). It was apparent that Sutomo overlooked these facts. It seemed that his strong convictions to modernism had biased his views on pre-modern Turkey, namely the age of the Ottoman Empire, having ruled the country for over 600 years.

Moreover, Sutomo criticized the sultanate system adopted by the Ottoman Empire. The Sultanate Era was an era in which the Turks had to owe complete subjection and sacrifice their souls and estates to the Sultans' interests. Sutomo went on to discuss the property ownership status in Turkey during the Ottoman period. He wrote, "In the previous government's era, private property was not indeterminate since everything belonged to the king. In fact, the Sultan and the *ulamas* (clerics) took advantage of works supposed to be dedicated for the people's sake, the country's progress, and the sake of the religion they adhered to. They abused them and made their people stupid and low (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937f)." Sutomo went on to write that the oppression perpetrated by the Ottoman sultans had made the people rise in resistance. For instance, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the people rebelled because the students were given illustrated textbooks. What happened was that, since the eighteenth century, western-oriented schools educated military officers and even schools of medicine had been established (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937f). However, Sutomo could not explain where the rebellion had taken place accurately and elaborately.

Moreover, Sutomo also claimed that the Ottoman Empire ignored its civil servants and military officers' prosperity. He wrote that, at that time, it was difficult for civil servants to receive their salary. He wrote:

"Salaries were not paid. On many occasions, the soldiers did not receive their foods and attires, so many of them died of hunger and cold. However, for centuries, people always praised the Ottoman soldiers' courage and loyalty despite their miserable condition (*Soeara Oemoem* 1937f)."

Sutomo's remarks on the Ottoman soldiers' condition seemed not specific. He only described the soldiers' situation without knowing what age those Ottoman soldiers were. It was obvious that the soldiers' conditions would be different from time to time. It was so difficult to generalize the Ottoman soldiers' condition. On the contrary, the Ottoman soldiers of the Classical Age (1300-1600) looked more prosperous and well-being than soldiers of the European kingdoms. At that time, the Janissary corps were a well-trained military corps in Europe. It is evident that those facts had escaped Sutomo's attention. Sutomo simply considered everything coming from the Ottoman Empire as bad. The Janissaries were the best soldiers on the European continent. Lawless (1980, 4) said the Ottoman military was well-organized, equipped with modern technology, and endowed with the best welfare, better than the Western military at that time.

It is evident that Sutomo did not base his remarks on the Ottoman Empire on scientific research of the history and culture of the Ottoman Empire. He did not base his opinions on certain books or specific research findings due to language constraints; he only spoke European languages, primarily Dutch, so it was difficult for him to assess the Ottoman Empire objectively. In fact, he tended to compare the age of the Ottoman Empire to the pre-Ottoman age, like the Hittite Age. It seemed that one could not compare the age of the Ottoman Empire to that of the Hittite in a careless manner, given that the Hittite civilization had existed long before Islam came to Turkey. Hence, their political, social, and cultural lives were also different.

Sutomo, who visited Turkey in 1937, was naturally influenced by what happened in Turkey at that time. Turkey was undergoing some character-building through various programs led by Ataturk. Ataturk tried to develop the Turkish nation's character and tried to break away from the shadow of the Ottoman Empire's glory. Therefore, Turkey revised its historical and cultural studies. At that time, many Turks still did not forget the Ottoman Empire's glory, but they became more swayed to forget its glory. It was natural that Sutomo was influenced by what happened in Turkey at that time. Therefore, he had negative views of the Ottoman Empire.

Conclusion

Sutomo was a modern elite from a Javanese priyayi (aristocratic family). He had managed to integrate himself into modern Dutch society due to his educational background and his occupation as a medical doctor. He graduated from STOVIA (School of Medicine) in Batavia. Not only was Sutomo part of a modern Dutch Indies society, but he was also a secular nationalist who took part in striving for the natives' better well-being under Dutch colonial rule. Together with Wahidin and Cipto Mangunkusumo, Sutomo established Budi Utomo. Sutomo always focused on promoting the modernization process based on Western viewpoints. Therefore, it seemed that he did not have such an objective view of the Middle East affected by Islamic civilization. After the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East region was brought under the rule of colonial powers, so many opposing views on the Middle East region prevailed. The Middle East ceased to be respected by Europe since the Middle East had disintegrated into small countries. Therefore, as a region identical to Islam, the Middle East is deemed to be a symbol of setbacks. Thus, to a certain extent, this view affected Indonesian secular nationalists' views on Islam too.

Sutomo's visit to Turkey at the beginning of 1937 showed how a Javanese aristocrat perceived the Middle East and the Muslim world. In his memoirs published by Soeara Oemoem newspaper, Sutomo noticed that Turkey had made much progress, and he praised the progress of Turkey, which was just established in 1923 since Turkey had followed the European modernization course. On the other hand, he considered the Ottoman Empire a symbol of the Turkish nation's setbacks. He said that the Turks had undergone many declines. Accordingly, he thought Modern Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had successfully led Turkish society to a modern institution capable of competing with European society. Reading his memoirs, we found out that Sutomo's views had to do with his identity as a citizen of a colonized country and a medical doctor. While in Turkey, he often compared situations to those of the Dutch East Indies. He wished that the Dutch East Indies, the majority of which were Muslims, would also be able to make progress like Turkey. Moreover, as a medical doctor, he was also excited to pay attention to health facility conditions in Turkey. He was interested in the

Schools of Medicine in Turkey. As a modern elite, he also seriously paid attention to how education in Turkey had been transformed into modern education and how Turkey had left its traditional Islamic educational system.

Endnotes

- Authors would like to thank Universitas Indonesia for funding this research through the International Collaboration Grant Scheme (PUTI 2020-2021) with contract number NKB-808/UN2.RST/HKP.05.00/2020.

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The journal invites scholars and experts working in all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences pertaining to Islam or Muslim societies. Articles should be original, research-based, unpublished and not under review for possible publication in other journals. All submitted papers are subject to review of the editors, editorial board, and blind reviewers. Submissions that violate our guidelines on formatting or length will be rejected without review.

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2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
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7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,
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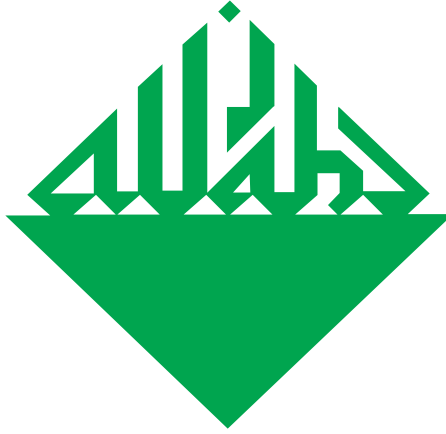
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