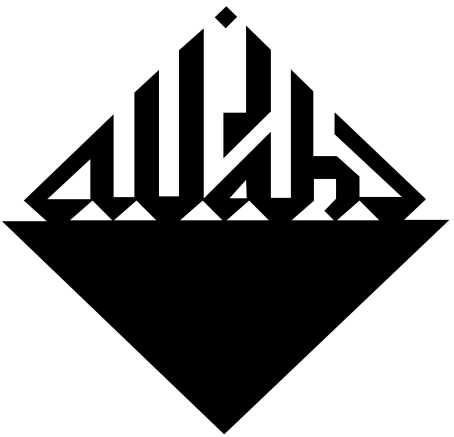
ستودي اسلاميكا

مجلة **إندونيسية** للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة الثانية والثلاثون، العدد ١، ٢٠٢٥



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Paradigms, Models, and Counterfactuals: Decolonializing the Study of Islam in Indonesia

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Ba ʻAlawi Women and the Development of Hadrami Studies in Indonesia

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 32, no. 1, 2025

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.
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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: bmriidja**

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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Mark Woodward

Paradigms, Models, and Counterfactuals: Decolonializing the Study of Islam in Indonesia

Abstract: *Decolonializing the study of Islam in Indonesia is a complex process. It involves not only the critique of colonial paradigms as instruments of domination and assessment of the ways in which they have shaped "normal science" (Kuhn 1962) research, but also the ways in which findings from them can contribute to the development of post-colonial, post-orientalist perspectives. This paper focuses on three themes. First: the ways in which research by two important colonial scholars concerned with Indonesian Islam, Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) contributed to the formation of paradigms that endured for more than a century; second: the ways in which these paradigms contributed to the development of models of Indonesian Islams and finally steps necessary for the development of genuinely post-colonial, post-orientalist models and paradigms. Exploration of these issues relies on analytic tools from cultural anthropology, the philosophy of science and political science.*

Keywords: Indonesia, Islam, Decolonialization, Counterfactuals, Models, Paradigms.

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

Abstrak: *Dekolonialisasi kajian Islam di Indonesia adalah sebuah proses kompleks. Hal ini tidak hanya mengkritikkan paradigma kolonial sebagai instrumen dominasi dan penilaian terhadap cara paradigma tersebut membentuk penelitian "normal science" (Kuhn 1962), tetapi juga cara temuan paradigma tersebut dapat berkontribusi pada pengembangan paradigma pasca-kolonial dan pasca-orientalis. Makalah ini berfokus pada tiga tema. Pertama: Tulisan oleh dua cendekiawan penting kolonial yang peduli dengan Islam Indonesia, Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) dan Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) berkontribusi pada pembentukan paradigma yang bertahan selama lebih dari satu abad; kedua: bagaimana paradigma-paradigma ini berkontribusi pada pengembangan model model Islam Indonesia dan pada akhirnya langkah-langkah yang diperlukan untuk pengembangan model dan paradigma pasca-kolonial dan pasca-orientalis yang sejati. Eksplorasi isu-isu ini bergantung pada alat analisis dari antropologi budaya, filsafat ilmu pengetahuan, dan ilmu politik.*

Kata kunci: Indonesia, Islam, Dekolonialisasi, Kontrafaktual, Model, Paradigma.

ملخص: يمثل تفكيك استعمار دراسة الإسلام في إندونيسيا عملية معقدة. فهي لا تقتصر فحسب على نقد النماذج الاستعمارية بوصفها أدوات للهيمنة وتقييم الطرق التي شكلت بها «العلم القياسي» (كوون، ١٩٦٢) في البحث، بل تتعدى ذلك إلى كيفية إسهام النتائج المنبثقة منها في تطوير منظورات ما بعد استعمارية وما بعد استشراقية. تركز هذه الورقة البحثية على ثلاثة محاور رئيسة. أولًا: الطرق التي أسهمت بها أبحاث اثنين من العلماء الاستعماريين البارزين المهتمين بالإسلام الإندونيسي، وهما ستامفورد رافلز (١٧٨١–١٨٢٦) وكريستيان سنوك هورخرونيه (١٨٥٧–١٩٣٦)، في تشكيل نماذج استمرت لأكثر من قرن؛ ثانيًا: الكيفية التي ساهمت بها هذه النماذج في تطوير تصورات للإسلام الإندونيسي؛ وأخيرًا: الخطوات الضرورية لتطوير نماذج ومفاهيم ما بعد استعمارية وما بعد استشراقية أصيلة. يعتمد استكشاف هذه القضايا على أدوات تحليلية مستقاة من علم الإنسان الثقافي وفلسفة العلوم والعلوم السياسية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: إندونيسيا، الإسلام، تفكيك الاستعمار، الافتراضات البديلة، النماذج، المفاهيم.

In 1950 Indonesia was a newly independent nation. Indonesia's first president Sukarno and vice president Mohammad Hatta had proclaimed it independence on August 17th 1945. The Netherlands, which had itself only been freed from German occupation of May 5th of that year, had no interest in decolonization. What followed was a four-year revolutionary struggle that ended with the formal transfer of sovereignty on December 27th 1949. That was not enough for Sukarno. He saw the process of decolonialization as being territorially, intellectually and culturally incomplete. Politically and territorially his ambition was to undo the Anglo-Dutch convention of 1824 that delineated Dutch and British spheres of influence and which became the boundary between Indonesia and Malaysia (van der Kroef 1973) and to incorporate Dutch New Guinea into the Indonesia (Penders 2021). Cultural and intellectual decolonialization was, and is, a more complex, but also more realistic, agenda. In the 1950s and early 1960s it involved ideological (Anderson 1983) and artistic (Woodward 2025) creativity and the implementation of education, language and religion policies promoting the imagination and construction of an Indonesian national identity. The decolonialization of the study of Islam in Indonesia is located in this context and also in the expansion of Islamic studies to include Muslim traditions located outside the Middle East.

Intellectual decolonialization cannot be just a political agenda. It must also lead to new research questions and to the development of theories and models with greater explanatory power and fewer unexplainable anomalies than those formulated in colonial contexts. In doing so it must also resist the temptation to discard theories simply because they were originally intended to serve colonial purposes (Asad 1982). Some remain useful despite, and even because, they were developed as instruments of domination. To discard them simply because they developed in colonial or neo-colonial contexts runs the risk of replacing Orientalist (Said 1978) misrepresentations of non-Western civilizations with what Alatas (2004) calls nativist misrepresentations that dismiss analytic constructs because of the social and geographic locations of scholars who devised them.

Intellectual decolonization also involves the development of academic communities in formerly colonized societies including scholars Gramsci called organic intellectuals (Hall, Lumley and McLennan 2007) with

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

deep roots in indigenous traditions and equally strong intellectual and professional relationships with global scholarly communities. The two processes are linked because organic intellectuals are less likely to be constrained by the residue of cultural and religious assumptions that guided the construction of colonial paradigms. This has certainly been the case with the decolonialization of the study of Indonesian Islam, a process that Indonesian scholars began in the 1960s long before the term was fashionable but that was largely ignored by western scholars.

In exploring these issues, I focus on works by two prominent colonial scholars Sir Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) who wrote about Java and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) who wrote about Aceh and their successors Clifford Geertz (1926-2006) and James Siegel (1937-...). I will be concerned with three basic questions: First: How scholarship contributed to colonial expansion and governance; Second: The persistence of colonial paradigms and the gradual development of alternatives; Third how postcolonial perspectives advance scientific understanding in each of three ways. First: They lead to clearer understanding of Indonesian Islams; Second: They broaden the scope of Islamic studies making it more fully comparative. Third: They make it possible for scholars concerned with Indonesia but whose primary interests are not in religion to assess the importance of Islam as an independent variable.

Decolonializing Anthropology and Islamic Studies

Decolonialization has been on the minds of anthropologists, other social scientists and humanities scholars since the 1970s (Asad 1973). It has recently become one of the central concerns of anthropology (Gupta & Stoolman 2022, Mogstad, & Tse 2018), critical social theory (Byrd & Miri 2023), religious (Nye 2019) and Islamic (Rizvi 2025) studies. The concept has been used in many ways. It has intellectual, political, sociological and theological dimensions that are often intertwined (Moll 2023, Rouse 2023). These include exploration of the ways in which theory construction has been informed by and used to advance imperial agendas, the development of alternatives that do not privilege western intellectual concerns, the use of Islamic and other indigenous concepts for theory building (Alatas 2006), developing Islamic and other religious social science paradigms (Moll 2023, Rajab 1999) and calls for more inclusive citation practices and systematic cooperation

between international and local scholars. In this paper I will be concerned primarily with two of these: The critique of colonial paradigms that marginalized Islam in the academic literature about Indonesia and, at the same time, marginalized Indonesia in the academic study of Islam and synergistic relationships between Indonesian and Western scholars in building a post-colonial paradigm that acknowledges the importance of Islam in Indonesian cultures and histories.

I will rely on three basic philosophy of science concepts: paradigms, models and counterfactuals. The sociology of knowledge is also important because the social location of scholarship, including where and by whom it is published, are often factors influencing the degree to which it contributes to paradigm formation.

Paradigms are "universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of researchers (Kuhn 1962/1996, x). They define the normal science questions investigators address or as Kuhn (1996, 35–42) puts it the puzzles they try to solve. They can also define other potential questions as non-issues. Paradigms are often located in great books such as *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (*On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*) by Nicolaus Copernicus (1534) which defined early modern astronomy or, for present purposes, Raffles' (1817) *The History of Java* and two works by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of the Nineteenth Century* (1888/1931) and *The Acehnese* (1906) that defined the questions asked in the study of Indonesian Islam for generations.[1] Scholarly, and often political, communities surrounding these ideas and the normal science questions they raise are equally important (Kuhn 1996, 12). Paradigms resist what Popper (1959) calls falsification, the process through which theories are discarded when they can be shown to make inaccurate predictions or explanations. They are resilient because they are located in, and defended by, social communities willing to defend them in spite of evidence that would discredit them in the ideal disembodied logical spaces Popper assumes. Anomalies that a dominant paradigm cannot account for can be ignored or dismissed as outliers. Only the accumulation of anomalies that poses serious problems for normal science puzzle solving threatens paradigm stability and precipitates what Kuhn called a scientific revolution. Scientific revolutions, however, need not be singularities where paradigms suddenly and dramatically collapse, nor need they be located in a

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

single great book. They can also come from the gradual accumulation of anomalies that, taken together are so troublesome that they cannot be ignored or explained away. This point is particularly important for understanding developments in the study of Indonesian Islam.

Models emerge from paradigms. They are abstract representations that simplify and generalize from empirical observations in ways that reveal patterns and generalities. Hawking and Mlodinow (2011, 51) describe a good model as one that is 1.) elegant; 2.) contains few arbitrary or adjustable elements; 3.) agrees with or explains existing observations and 4.) makes detailed predictions that can disprove or falsify the model if they are not borne out. Models, like the theories they are based on, are subject to falsification or what Bates calls model failure. Bates (1998, 11) builds on and moves beyond Popper's notion of falsification writing that: "For it is precisely when a model fails that we acquire new insights. When the model fails, we then recognize that there is something about the case that we do not understand. We can then return to the data to locate variables that have been omitted from the model and forces whose impact was not captured in the initial theory. We can use the failure to learn." Models, especially those that acquire paradigmatic status, can also define and limit the types of data researchers collect and where they look for it. Model failure can lead to the search for data in cultural and social locations that would have been unimaginable given the parameters of the previously dominant model.

Counterfactuals are "what if" thought experiments (Tetlock & Belkin 1996). Political scientists often use them to explore possible consequences of alternative histories. They are especially useful for exploring historical change and causal relationships in path dependency models. Gupta and Stoolman (2022) use them in their discussion of the possibility of reinventing anthropology as a decolonializing project. The development of approaches to the study of Islam in Indonesia can be understood in similar ways. For present purposes an interesting counterfactual is: How would Geertz have understood Javanese Islam if his analysis had been informed by Nicholson's (1914) *The Mystics of Islam* which focuses on Sufism in addition to or instead of Gibb's (1949) *Mohammedanism: A historical Survey* which is concerned primarily with theology and law?

Anthropology and Islamic Studies in Indonesia – Colonial Paradigms

The ethnographic study of Indonesian Islam began in the nineteenth century with studies by colonial officers who were Protestant Christians and by Protestant missionaries. It is likely that Protestant understandings of the nature of religion influenced the ways in which they understood Islam and the forms that it takes in Southeast Asia. Raffles' (1817) study of Javanese religion and culture and works by Dutch Protestant missionaries Harthoorn (1860) and Poensen (1864) all contributed to a paradigm that marginalized Islam for more than a century. All of them were committed to a Protestant Christian understanding of religion derivative of Luther's doctrine of sola *scriptura* (scriptural alone) including the idea that reading and "properly" understanding scripture is the hallmark of being a "good" Christian. Consequently, they understood Islam, and religions more generally, as being located in narrowly defined bodies of canonical texts. In the case of Islam this was the *Qur'an* and secondarily the *hadith* and *shari'ah*. This facilitated generally unfavorable comparisons of Islam as it was experienced in Indonesia with their own versions of Christianity.[2] Protestants consider tradition and other components of what Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians (and anthropologists) view as religion to be deviations and even heresies. An interesting counterfactual is: What if Roman Catholics had pioneered the ethnography of Islam in Southeast Asia? It is possible that they would have been more open to the investigation the role of saints (*wali*) and *Qur'an* recitation in Muslim devotionalism. Following in their footsteps subsequent generations of scholars might have been less inclined to understand Salafism and modernism as authentic Islam in the way that Geertz (1960, 1971) did.

Anglo-Dutch Orientalism

Early British and Dutch studies of Islam in Indonesia are nearly perfect examples of what Edward Said called Orientalism. Said famously wrote that: "To the West, Asia had once represented silent distance and alienation; Islam was militantly hostile to European Christianity. To overcome such redoubtable constants the Orient needed first to be known, then invaded and possessed, then recreated by scholars, soldiers, and judges ... (Said 1978, 91-92). Orientalism had two faces. One was Machiavellian, justifying colonial domination. The other was a paternalistic, romantic quest to recover the glories of lost, non-Islamic

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

civilizations (Pan 2022). Anglo-Dutch orientalism alternated between the two.

Orientalist studies of Islam in Southeast Asia began in the nineteenth century. British East India Company officer Sir Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) and Christian Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) who was adviser to the Netherlands Indies government had the most lasting influence. They are examples of the two faces of Orientalism. Raffles (1817) knew very little about Islam. He sought to expand the British Raj by constructing an Orientalist fantasy according to which Javanese are marginal Muslims. Snouck Hurgronje was one of the most erudite European Islamicists of his time. He used his knowledge of Islam as a tool for expanding and solidifying Dutch power.

The History of Java is a great book. It laid the foundations for a colonial cultural strategy that glorified an imagined "classical" Hindu or Buddhist past while rendering Islam and Muslims invisible (Florida 1995, Loc 817-819). Muslims who could not, or would not, be silenced were feared, marginalized, conquered or exiled. In the long run the political component of this strategy failed. Over the course of the following century Islam inspired rebellions, nationalist movements and political parties. It was also a major factor contributing to the success of the Indonesia revolution and most recently the 1998 democratic transition. Intellectually Raffles was much more successful. So much so that his work led to the development of a paradigm the assumptions of which were unchallengeable and that that defined normal science puzzles about Indonesian Islam for a century and a half. Raffles (1817, 5) wrote that: "Mahomedan religion, as it at present exists on Java, seems only to have penetrated the surface, and to have taken but little root in the heart of the Javans" and described Javanese as "very imperfect Mahometans". One hundred and forty-three years later Geertz (1960, 160) wrote: "It is very hard, given his tradition and his social structure, for a Javanese to be a "real Moslem". It follows from this set of assumptions that people, rituals, social movements and texts that are undeniably Muslim are not genuinely Javanese or Indonesian. As such, studies of them could be bracketed and defined as being outside the possibility space of intellectual puzzles defining Javanese and Indonesian studies.

Raffles was Lieutenant Governor of Java during British interregnum (1811-1816), an episode in the Napoleonic wars between Britain and

France that were fought in theatres everywhere from North America to Southeast Asia. He downplayed the importance of Islam in Java in an effort to promote the "forward policy" for the defense and expansion of the British Raj. Advocates of this policy sought to defend the empire by expanding it and by establishing a first line of defense far beyond its borders. The Napoleonic wars raised the specter of a French advance on India overland through Persia or by sea by way of the Malabar coast in Southwest India. This threat created an opportunity for the British to expand westward and eastward. Lord Minto, who was Governor General between 1807 and 1813, was particularly concerned with the overland threat. He proposed fighting "the battles of India on the banks of the Euphrates" (Alder 1972). Southeast Asia was an afterthought and a target of opportunity. When Napoleon seized Holland in 1806 the Netherlands Indies became a *de facto* French colony and, as such, attracted his attention. A British fleet seized the spice islands in Maluku in 1810. Minto and Raffles organized an invasion of Java the following year. Raffles became deeply involved in intrigues in the courts of the central Javanese Muslim kingdoms Surakarta and Yogyakarta. In the final battle British and Indian troops stormed the Yogyakarta *kraton* (palace) on June 20, 1812 (Carey 2008, 261-243).[3]

Raffles wrote *The History of Java* as an Orientalist fantasy in an attempt to make sure that they remained British. It is not clear when he started to write it, but Napoleon's escape from exile in Elba in 1815 encouraged him to finish it. He wrote that: "The reappearance of Buonaparte has, for all it horrors, shed one consoling ray on the sacred Isle: and Java may yet be permanently English" (Glendinning 2018, 144). Napoleon was exiled for a second time after the battle of Waterloo on June 18th 1815, a year after the British had returned Java to the Dutch. Raffles' hope of extending the borders of British Raj came to naught. The image of Java he created shaped the development on Indonesian studies in the nineteenth century in much the same way that Geertz's (1960) *Religion of Java* did in the mid-twentieth century.

Raffles shared Minto's distaste for Islam and his concern with its potential to motivate resistance (Al-Junied 2003). This was not an Orientalist fantasy. These concerns were very real because memories of the Tipu Sultan of Mysore (1751-1799) were fresh in the minds of British authorities. The Tipu Sultan had forged an alliance with France in a series of wars against the British East India Company that were

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among the last serious threats to British dominance of the subcontinent. Raffles' representation of Islam in Java was a carefully constructed, politically motivated narrative designed to mitigate genuine military and political concerns. He described Islam as a barbaric religion based on false doctrines that impeded the growth of civilization. He described Javanese as being "imperfect Mahometans" partly because, he thought that they did not hate Europeans as much as other Muslims did. It is clear from his correspondence that intellectually he took it upon himself to unearth, literally in the case of the excavation of Borobudur, their lost Buddhist civilization. He lamented the fact that the faith Borobudur was built to honor was shown none. He was also among the first to romanticize Bali as an image of Javanese civilization as it was before it was suppressed by Islam (Glendinning 2018, 143). Politically, this perspective suggested that unlike those in South Asia, Javanese Muslims would be docile and profitable subjects of what was then known self referentially as The Honorable the East India Company.[4]

Raffles representation of Java as superficially Islamic has endured. *The History of Java* was a standard reference for generations (Weatherbee 1978). Dutch scholars were quick to follow in Raffles' footsteps and searched for the "real Java" in an imaginary golden age of Javanese literature that, they claimed, faded with the coming of Islam. Florida (1987, 1-2) notes that in 1860 Cohen Stuart, who is widely regarded as having been among the founders of the Dutch philology, described eighteenth century retellings Old Javanese poetry as "decadent, confused and bastardized" partly because, as Arps (2019) notes, they framed them in terms Islamic concepts.[5] The study of Old Javanese literature developed as a distinct and highly productive field of study that has produced a monumental corpus of critical editions, translations and interpretive studies. Until the 1970's it retained the Orientalist perspective according to which there were authentic Sanskrit prototypes from which Javanese *literati* deviated to varying degrees (Creese 2001). The neglect of Islamic texts also contributed to the near exclusion of Southeast Asia from the burgeoning field of Islamic studies.[6] Here a counterfactual is: How would Indonesian studies have developed differently if these scholars had paid equal attention to Islamic texts. There are (at least) two possibilities: First: western scholars concerned with Southeast Asian Muslim cultures would not have been so obsessed with questions of Islamic "authenticity". Second: scholars concerned

with this history of Islamic civilizations would have paid greater attention to Southeast Asian texts and (perhaps) learned Javanese and Malay as well as Arabic, Bengali, Persian and Urdu.

Mekka in the Later Part of the Nineteenth Century and *The Acehnese* are great books. Snouk Hurgronje was a very different sort of Orientalist than Raffles and Dutch philologists concerned with Old Javanese texts. Raffles was concerned with expanding a colonial empire. Snouck Hurgronje was concerned with governing one. He was also one of the most distinguished Arabists of his day and a meticulous ethnographer (Bowen 2021). While he did not use the term, portions of his analysis constituted a global model of governance in Muslim societies based the distinction between religious (*ulama/shari'ah*) and political (royal/customary law) authority. *Mekka* focuses on Indonesian and other religious elites. *The Acehnese* (1906) considers relationships between aristocratic (*uleebelang*) and religious (*ulama*) elites. Snouck Hurgronje was also a "military anthropologist" and advisor to the Dutch colonial government whose responsibilities included developing counterinsurgency strategies for the Aceh war (1873-1904). He was also one of the architects of associationism, a set of policies designed to drive a wedge between aristocratic and Muslim elites (Burhanudin 2014). This involved promoting local cultures and Dutch education for the *priyayi* (administrative) elite and discouraging them from studying Islam in any depth (Sutherland 1979). Its purpose was to create of a secular elite that would actively and willingly participants in the colonial project (Benda 1958). Both parts of Snouck Hurgronje's agenda required accurate information. He had no use for the kind of Orientalist fantasies Raffles promoted and was harshly critical of those who did. From the beginning of his career, he insisted that it was essential to treat Indonesians as "proper" Muslims (Laffan 2022).

Snouck Hurgronje's motives and many of his research strategies including masquerading as a Muslim, abandoning his Indonesian wife when she was no longer useful and not acknowledging the contributions of his Indonesian collaborators were reprehensible. Despite these ethical failings, Snouck Hurgronje was decades ahead of his time methodologically and theoretically. His commitment to sustained participant observation research prefigured Malinowski's. In this respect his studies of Mecca and Aceh can be compared with Malinowski's (1922) classic *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. Not

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being an anthropologist was actually an advantage because he was not constrained by the cultural evolutionist theories of the time. Both as a scholar and a colonial officer Snouck Hurgronje was concerned with the Islamic textual tradition and the ways in which it informs daily life in Muslim societies. He took both seriously as research subjects (Drewes 1957, 2). Like other Orientalists of his time, and many contemporary Islamic studies scholars, Snouck Hurgronje considered Arabic textual traditions to be the *locus* of Islamic authenticity and regarded lived Islams as, to greater or lesser degrees, departures from it. He was, however, an equal opportunity critic and observed that this is as true of Arab Muslims as it is of Southeast Asians, Turks and Africans. In this respect his analysis prefigured Rahman's (1982) distinction between normative and historical Islam and the now extensive literature on local Islams that did not appear until the 1980s (Eickelman 1982; Martin 2010).

Snouck Hurgronje's account of Mecca is significant for its contribution to understanding the cultural and religious dynamics of the early modern Muslim community and for dispelling Arabo-centrism. He described Mecca in the late ninetieth century as a cosmopolitical community that was the center of a global religious and intellectual network. He described a basic distinction between pilgrims and scholars. Pilgrims came only to perform the *hajj,* visit the graves of the Prophet's companions, perhaps attend a few lectures and buy *barakah* (blessing) charged souvenirs. They formed temporary ethnically distinct communities led by pilgrimage sheikhs. The scholarly community included teachers and students from all parts of the Muslim world. Snouck Hurgronje (1931, 8) observed that there were "no sharp dividing lines" among ethnic groups. The flow ideas was not simply one from the center to peripheries. Rather ideas originated at multiple points in a dynamic system. Schools located within the Great Mosque were the point to which they flowed into and out from towards multiple regional centers. Snouck Hurgronje (1931, 307) made three other observations concerning this system that are critical for understanding the history of Islam in Indonesia. The first is that many of the most influential teachers in Mecca were from Southeast Asia. Others were from Central Asia, North and Sub-Saharan Africa (Umar and Woodward 2020). The second is that the system collapsed with the Wahabi conquest of Mecca in 1924 (Snouck Hurgronje 1931, viii).

The strengthening of local centers of Muslim scholarship in Indonesia and elsewhere was among the consequences of this development. The third was that students in Mecca followed an informally defined and self-directed curriculum combing theology, law and mysticism in which the Naqshbandi *tariqah* and al-Ghazali's classic thirteenth century compendium of Islamic thought *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (Revival of religious sciences) figured significantly. He later observed similar patterns in Java (Drewes 1957). It became a basic feature of *pesantren* education (Dhofier 1999, van Bruinessen 1990). This is not surprising because Hasyim Asyari (1871-1947) who shaped the *pesantren* system in the twentieth century and was one of the founders of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) studied with some of the teachers Snouck Hurgronje knew in Mecca.

Counterfactuals arising from Snouck Hurgronje's studies of Indonesian Islam are of nearly epic proportion. He posited that distinctions between secular and religious elites and between *shari'ah* and customary law are deeply embedded in Muslim political cultures. This could have, and still could, provide an analytic frame work for understanding politics in historical and contemporary Muslim societies. Republican Turkey could be located at one end of a continuum and post-revolutionary Iran at the other. Applied to Indonesian it parallels Kumar's (1980) observation that the *kraton* (palace) and the mosque were the two poles of precolonial Javanese Islamic civilization. It could also be a viable alternative to Geertz's (1967) *aliran* model of Indonesian politics that is based on religiously defined categorial variables. In a more limited sense, it has survived as a paradigm for studies of *adat* and Islam in Sumatran cultures (Abdullah 1966, Biezeveld 2007). As Bowen (2021) observes, it is also useful for understanding *shari'ah* politics in western countries with substantial Muslim minorities. Snouck Hurgronje's observation that that distinction between textual and lived Islam is a universal feature of Muslim societies could have led to the establishment of Islam as what Josselin de Jong (1980) termed a "field of ethnological study" much earlier than it actually did.

Christian missionaries were as interested as Raffles was in promoting the Orientalist fantasy that Javanese and other Indonesians are not "real" Muslims. There were two reasons. First: They believed that Muslims were "impervious to the Gospel" making them nearly impossible to convert (Poensen 1864). Second: Prior to the mid-nineteenth century,

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

the colonial government limited missionary activity in Java for fear that it might incite rebellion. Describing Javanese as marginal Muslims (Harthoorn 1860) was a missionary strategy for convincing themselves that there was hope for bringing Java to Christ and European Christians donors that their efforts were worthy of support (Kruithof 2014). Some went so far as to argue that because most Javanese were not Muslim at all restrictions of Christian missions should be eliminated (van Dijk 2005).

After Colonialism: Continuities and Decolonialization

In the immediate post World War II era anthropology, Southeast Asian and Islamic studies were not well prepared for understanding Islam outside the Middle East or relationships between religious texts and lived experience. The emerging fields of Indonesian and Southeast Asian studies were largely concerned with issues of nationalism, nation building and economic development. With few exceptions anthropological studies of religion concerned nonliterate, indigenous societies. Robert Redfield (1897-1958) was an exception, but he was concerned primarily with "little traditions" located in largely self-contained village communities (Redfield 1956). Islamic studies, and the academic study of religion more generally, remained focused "great traditions" defined by "classical" texts. Colonial disregard for the study of Southeast Asian Muslim texts contributed to the near invisibility of the region in monumental studies of Sufism and Islamic civilizations challenging this assumption that appeared in 1970s. Schimmel's (1975) *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* and Hodgson's (1974) *The Venture of Islam* are examples. Both are great books that pushed the boundaries of Islamic studies to include Persian and South Asian traditions. Hodgson and Schimmel were aware of Southeast Asian Islams but did have access to material that would have enabled them to them to bring them into their comparative studies. Schimmel (1973) described Alatas' (1970) study of the 16th century Sumatran Sufi Hamza Fansuri as a "very valuable work especially for scholars who do not read Malay". She references it briefly in a normal science sort of way in *Mystical Dimensions*.[7] In what may be the most frequently quoted footnote in Indonesian studies Hodgson (1974, 551) mentions that Geertz (1960) did not know enough about Islam to distinguish it from Animism and Hinduism. He did not however, and probably could not have, include

Mataram or other Southeast Asian Muslim states in his discussion of early modern Islamic Gunpowder Empires. The source materials that would have been required were not available when he wrote in the late 1960s.

Clifford Geertz and James Siegel were among the first anthropologists to write about Islam in newly independent Indonesia. Both deserve credit for opening anthropology up to the study of Islam in much the same way that McKim Marriot (1952) and Harold Gould (1964) did for Hinduism in India. Geertz conducted ethnographic research in East Java in the early 1950s. Siegel first worked in Aceh in North Sumatra a decade later. Geertz is also often credited with pioneering the anthropology of Islam (Eickelman 2005). This is an exaggeration. A case can be made that he shares this distinction with Snouck Hurgronje and Siegel. Siegel's *The Rope of God* engages Islam in a more sustained way than Geertz's *The Religion of Java*. Owing to his rising, and entirely justified, status as the pioneer of interpretive anthropology Geertz's works overshadowed those by Siegel and others working on Indonesian Islam in the 1960s.

Clifford Geertz and *The Religion of Java*

The Religion of Java is a great book. After its publication in 1960 it rapidly acquired paradigmatic status and shaped the ways in which generations of scholars have understood Islam in Indonesia (Ricklefs 2014). Geertz was the last, and with the exception of Snouck Hurgronje, the greatest of the colonial ethnographers. He was not a colonialist in the political sense like Snouck Hurgronje nor was he afflicted by Islamophobia in the way that Raffles was. He can be described as a colonial anthropologist because he reworked Orientalist fantasies to make them compatible with social science theory. It is difficult to determine precisely how he balanced social science theory and colonial scholarship because *Religion of Java* does not include a bibliography. It makes only occasional references to Gibb's (1949) introductory text on Islam, Snouck Hurgronje's (1931) study of Indonesians in Mecca and Redfield's (1956) distinction between great and little traditions. This much is clear. Geertz's analyses of Javanese Islam (1960, 1971) were shaped by the modernization theories current at the time. He expanded on them by adapting Weber's (1904) theories concerning religion and economy to analysis of newly postcolonial societies. He

was particularly concerned with applying Weber's (1921) thesis that Calvinism contributed to the rise of capitalism to Muslim societies (Handler 1991). Methodologically he combined Kluckholm's (1936) wholistic approach to ethnography with Redfield's (1956) dictum that "little" traditions are the proper subjects for ethnographic research (Handler 1991). The extent to which he was influenced by colonial scholarship is unclear. There are, however, what van den Boogert (2023) calls "uncanny" parallels with representations of Java by Raffles and missionary scholars. His statement that conversion to Islam meant that "Buddhist mystical practices got Arabic names, Hindu radjas suffered a change of titles to become Moeslim Sultans and the common people called some of their wood spirits jinns but little else changed" (1960, 125) mirrors Raffles' assessment. The distinction between *abangan* (animist) and *santri* (Muslim) was first mentioned by Poensen (1864) and syncretism by Harthoorn (1860). His account of the *slametan*, which he describes as the core ritual of *abangan* religion, is strikingly similar to that of Mayer and van Moll (1909). His conflation of Buddhism and Hinduism is nearly identical with Raffles' (Aljunied 2005, 5).

Geertz pushed numerous elements of Javanese culture and religion into a combination of colonial and Weberian categories. The result of these categorial gymnastics was the now famous *abangan* (peasant/animist), *santri* (Muslim/merchant), *priyayi* (Hindu-Buddhist/aristocracy) model.[8] At the time it appeared to be a good model in the sense that it meet Hawking and Mlodinow's (2011) criteria including falsifiability. *The Religion of Java* was positively reviewed especially by scholars with limited backgrounds in Islamic or Javanese studies. Du Bois (1961), however, pointed to a shortcoming that proved to be of great importance. That is that while he wrote extensively about Javanese mysticism, Geertz did not explore its roots in either Hinduism or Islam. The proposition that Islam is marginally significant except among a mercantile middle class led to a kind of model dependent realism (Hawking, Hertog & van Biezen 2021) in which it was possible to write about some of the most strongly Islamic societies in Southeast Asia (South Sulawesi) without mentioning Islam (Errington 1989, Fox 1991). Simply put, because the model assumes that Islam is not important, normal science research need not consider it.

Defining Islam as a nonquestion had a major impact on graduate

education in the 1970s. Bowen (2012) and Nakamura (2020) observe that when many of us who are now senior scholars were embarking on our initial forays into Indonesian ethnography we had little, if any, background in Islamic studies. This was certain true in my case. At the time, I was more concerned with general questions about relationships between cosmology and political authority than with a particular country or religious tradition. The books and articles that influenced me most were Coedes' (1968) *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Cunningham's (1964) Order in the Atoni House, Heine-Geldern's (1942) *Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia* and Tambiah's (1976) *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*. I devoted nearly as much to studying Buddhism and Hinduism as I did to anthropology. The prospect of doing field work in Burma, Cambodia or Laos was unimaginable. Rather, you could imagine it, but actually doing it was outside the universe of possibilities. Thailand was not very attractive because it seemed to be overcrowded with anthropologists and because Tambiah's study of Buddhism and Thai kingship is so rich that I could not imagine adding much to it. So, I set might sights on Indonesia and Java. I was intrigued by the fact that while Geertz wrote the about Hindu and Buddhist aspects of Javanese culture, he was never specific about what that meant. Yogyakarta seemed to be the perfect place to explore these issues. It was, though not for the reasons I expected.

James Siegel and *The Rope of God*

The Rope of God is a great book, although it has been not nearly as influential as *Religion of Java*. It is a normal science exercise located within, but critical of, Snouck Hurgronje' paradigm. It is also an exercise in decolonialization because Siegel's sympathies are clearly with the Acehnese. It is a historically and theoretically informed study of Islam, economy, politics, gender and social structure. Siegel operates within Snouck Hurgronje's *uleebelang/ulama* model of authority but faults him for underestimating the importance of the *ulama*. Early reviews are illustrative of the marginality of anthropological concern with Islam in the early 1970s. While they mention his analysis of reformist Islam, they are concerned primarily with topics that were of more general concern in anthropology. Tanner's (1971) addressed issues related to economic development. Buner's (1970) applauds his use of Turner's (1967) concept of liminality as a lens through which to view historical

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

developments as well as transitions in life cycle. Cunningham (1972) was among the few scholars who realized its potential to establish a paradigm for the comparative study of Muslim societies. Siegel later (1979) translated a collection of Acehnese texts making him one of the few anthropologists to engage directly with Islamic textual materials. He was also one of the first anthropologists to address gender related issues in Muslim societies. His model continues to motivate normal science research by Indonesian and international scholars.

Model Failure and the Persistence of Paradigms

Model failure is among the ways in which science progresses. It requires re-examining old questions and asking new ones that would not have been possible given the constraints of existing models. Siegel's model has survived the tests of time and continues to inform research in Aceh and elsewhere in Indonesia. Geertz's began to fail almost as soon as it was constructed. That is has survived as more than an artifact of intellectual history has more to do with the sociology and politics of knowledge than with its analytic utility. Geertz (1960, 234) apparently had doubts about his model when he described *priyayi* and *abangan* as "genteel and vulgar versions of one another". To have investigated this further would, however, have precipitated model failure, because the model assumes that *abangan* are animists and *priyayi* are Hindu or Buddhist. Two prominent Indonesian scholars Koentjaraningrat (1963) Harsja Bachtiar (1964/1973) wrote reviews that raised serious theoretical and empirical questions about Geertz's model. Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1958) presented an alternative shortly after Geertz's first articles on Javanese Islam (1956, 1957) appeared and two years before *Religion of Java* was published.[9]

Djajadiningrat's article in a concise historical and ethnographic account of Indonesian Islam. It could have been a template for the study of Islam and Muslim civilizations in Indonesia and neighboring Malaysia. It is not a model, but includes analytic statements that could be used to build one. Some of these are directly at odds with Geertz's interpretations. Three of these are particularly significant. First: That the distinction between *abang* (red) Geertz's *abangan* and *putih* (white) Geertz's *santri* refers to degrees of religiosity and not religious orientations. Second: Modernist claims to monopolize Islamic authenticity are theological polemics. Third: Traditional Indonesian

Islam is deeply rooted in Islamic legal, theological and mystical traditions. Bachtiar and Koentjaraningrat show that *priyayi* is a social class, not a religious orientation. It includes people with both *santri* and *abangan* orientations. Examples from Yogyakarta illustrates this point. Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923), the foundered of the modernist Muhammadiyah movement, was a *priyayi*. So was Pangeran Joyokusumo (1955 – 2013) who was known for his support of traditional NU style Muslim piety and Javanese and Arabic performance traditions. All three make the point that many of the beliefs and practices Geertz describes as *abangan* animism including the *slametan* (prayer meals) and spirit beliefs are also *santri* and *priyayi*. Bachtiar and Koentjaraningrat both noted that traditional healers (*dukun*) are found in all social classes and religious groups. Both show that Geertz systematically confuses religious orientations with social groups. Bachtiar relies on a combination of Geertz's data and his own observations about *santri* villages clustered around *pesantren* and Muslim shrines to show that Geertz's association of religious and economic orientations is exaggerated. He draws on his knowledge of Weber to refute Geertz's effort to find a "Protestant Ethic" in Muslim modernism. He also identifies a complex of Javanese traditions that is congruent with what Hodgson later termed Islamicate Civilization. These include saint veneration and reverence for mystically/magically powerful heirlooms (*pusaka*) as elements of a cultural complex he refers to as *kejawen* (Javanist) or Agama Jawa (Javanese religion).[10] All three regard modernism as a new current in Indonesian Islam, but unlike Geertz do not see it as being more "orthodox" than others. Taken together these papers constitute a strenuous theoretically and ethnographically sophisticated critique of Geertz's model. They did not, however, prove to be greatly influential when they first appeared. Djajadiningrat's article was published in an edited volume (Morgan 1958) that attracted limited attention. Bachtiar and Koentjaraningrat's reviews were published in an Indonesian journal that at the time was accessible only in a small number of libraries. Here the counterfactual is: What if these reviews had appeared in *Man* or the *American Anthropologist*?

Hodgson (1974, 551) suggested that problems with Geertz's analysis resulted from his inability to distinguish Islam from modernist polemics about it. Geertz's cavalier, and at times sarcastic, discussion of traditional Javanese Islam and *pesantren* strengthens this conclusion.

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Three examples illustrate this point. First: He frequently refers to "chanting" the *Qur'an* without understanding its meaning. Here he missed two important points. Traditionalist and modern *ulama* have the linguistic skills necessary to read and understand the Quranic text. So do advanced *pesantren* students. Ordinary Muslims, of both orientations, do not. Geertz was simply incorrect. So was the modernist informant who told him this. Second: *Tajwid* (Quranic recitation) is a universal component of Muslim piety. It reproduces Allah's speech and puts those who hear it in his presence (Gade 2004). Here, Geertz assumed a Protestant Christian perspective on textuality that privileges understanding. Third: Geertz's quotes Snouck Hurgronje's statement that Mecca was "the heart of the religious life of the East-Indian archipelago, and numberless arteries pump thence fresh blood in ever accelerating tempo to the entire body of the Moslem populace in Indonesia." At the time Snouck Hurgronje wrote Mecca was the center of traditional Muslim learning of the sort taught in *pesantren*. Geertz suggests that the arteries were clogged and that teachers and students in "rural Koranic schools" could not understand what they taught and studied. This is also incorrect (Dhofier 1980/1999), but it does mirror modernist polemics. Taken together these critiques indicate that what Geertz gave us is not model of Javanese Islam. Rather it is a model of modernist polemics about Javanese Islam. Here the counterfactual is: What if Geertz had spent a month or so at the renowned Pesantren Lirboyo in Kediri which is only ten kilometers away from his field site in Pare (Mojokuto)?

Paradigms can be influential long after their assumptions and the predictions they make have been falsified. This is particularly true when they are associated with great books written by powerful people. This perspective on paradigm sifts was one of Kuhn's most important contributions to the philosophy of science. Three factors helps to explain the resilience the Geertzian paradigm. First: his prominence as a theorist meant that his earlier works were read uncritically; Second: legions of devoted followers echoed his views with what Nehring (2000) calls "pietistic" fervor; Third: elegant, engaging prose that many found convincing even when it was not supported by factual evidence.

Charting a New Course

In their contributions to this special issue Hefner and Ali note that in the late 1970s a younger (though now aging) generation of scholars

began to chip away the Raffles/Geertz paradigm. There have been no scholarly singularities or great books. What there has been is a steady stream of normal science research operating, implicitly in most cases, within Snouck Hurgronje's paradigm that, in simplest terms, states that when people say that they are Muslims it is necessary to take them seriously. In his study of agent-based modeling and paradigm formation De Langhe (2018) shows that paradigms can coalesce around similar ideas produced by scholars acting as autonomous agents who leave traces in intellectual space in the form of books and journal articles. This is, I think, the way in which the study of Islam in Indonesia has developed since the 1970s. The term decolonialization was not yet in vogue when this process began. Nor was this development a response to global events such as the Iranian revolution or as Geertz (1995) suggested, to Indonesian president Suharto's efforts to "redraw the boundaries between what is and what is not admissibly Muslim" or "re-reading Javanist texts" to make them seem Islamic (Geertz 1995, location 3550).[11] This chipping process was based on anthropologists, historians and textually oriented scholars working independently and arriving at similar conclusions concerning the diversity of Indonesian ways of being Muslim. It was a normal science puzzle solving process. Three of the most important books to emerge from this process are, I think, Zamakhsyari Dhofier's (1980/1999) *The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam*, Mitsuo Nakamura's (1976/1983) *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree*: *A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town* and Soebardi's (1967/1975) *The Book of Cabolek: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation and Notes. A Contribution to the Study of the Javanese Mystical Tradition.* All three refute the claim that it is difficult of a Javanese to be a real Muslim and that it is equally difficult for a real Muslim to be genuinely Javanese.

Dhofier describes the study of classical and contemporary (including some written by Indonesian *ulama*) Arabic texts on theology (*aqidah*), law (*fiqh*) and mysticism (*tasawuf*) as the core of *pesantren* education. He also the explores the ways in which life in a *pesantren* contributes to the construction of Islamic value systems. Especially when read together with Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka*, which he cites repeatedly, Dhofier's analysis reveals how thoroughly Javanese Muslim scholars (*kyai*) have preserved and expanded on legal, mystical and educational traditions

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

that were based in Mecca prior to the Wahabi conquest. Nakamura shows that in the Yogyakarta where the modernist Muhammadiyah movement was founded, it is deeply rooted in Javanese culture and values. *The Book of Cabolek* is what Hodgson later referred to as and Islamicate text. It is an eighteenth-century work attributed to the Surakarta court poet Yadispura I (1729-1802) one of the Javanese intellectuals Dutch philologists spoke about with such derision.[12] It is especially important because it reveals the ways in which pre-Islamic Javanese literary traditions, including *wayang* the narrative structures and characters of which are based on the Sanskrit Ramayana and Mahabharata epics, have been used as vehicles for conveying Islamic legal, theological and mystical traditions. NU's Islam Nusantara uses *wayang* in similar ways (Woodward 2017).

Taken together these books include so many anomalies for the Geertzian paradigm that no amount of categorial gymnastics can salvage it. It no longer meets the third of Bates' criteria for what a good model should be: agreeing with or explaining existing observations. Had these observations been brought together is a single volume, it might have been a great book. That is yet another counterfactual. Since the 1980s the number of scholars operating within the implicit paradigm that Islam must be taken seriously has grown exponentially. One of the reasons for this is the rapid expansion of Indonesian higher education system and especially its Islamic component that now includes twenty-seven Islamic universities. There has been a proportional increase in the number of Islamic studies journals. Indonesian and international scholars continue to address long established normal science questions and new ones driven by a combination of global and Indonesian concerns including gender, political Islam, Islamic textualities, ecology and climate change, state/society religion relations and inter and intra faith-tensions and cooperation. Studies of Muslim minorities including Salafis, Shia, Ahmadiyah and Hahdrami Arab communities are equally important.

Methodological Integration and Model Building

In their papers in this special issue Ali and Hefner propose research strategies that have important implications for building models of contemporary Indonesian Islam. Ali proposes a strategy for de-Orientalizing Islamic studies. Hefner points to the importance of

linking qualitative and quantitative analyses.

Ali makes two basic points. The first is that Indonesian scholars trained in the *pesantren* tradition are particularly well positioned explore relationships between textual and lived Islams in ways Snouck Hurgronje might have imagined. They have trained in the study of Arabic texts from a young age. When combined with education in the social sciences this provides them with an analytic tool kit that few other scholars have. The second concerns the potential for the use of Islamic and other organic (in Gramsci's sense of the term) concepts as research tools and for model building. As he points out, there is an important distinction between using terms like *kebudayaan* instead of culture and pointing to potential powerful analytic tools that have been underappreciated because their social and historical locations. The Islamicization of knowledge project common in Malaysia (Badarussyamsi 2023) is an example of the first tendency. Particularly when coupled with a narrow understanding of Islam and failure to consider the multiplicity of Islamic philosophical traditions it can have deleterious consequences (Dzilo 2012, Nasr 1991). Under these circumstances decolonialization becomes an ideology instead of a scientific endeavor. Alatas moves the discussion of intellectual decolonialization in a more productive direction. He argues (2014, 2020) that Ibn Khaldun's theories should be included in the social science cannon not because they are Islamic, but because they can make scientific contributions. He also highlights the legacy of colonialism, by observing that they have been ignored for reasons rooted in the sociology of knowledge that exclude consideration of Islamic and other indigenous concepts from serious consideration.

Hefner's call for increased use of quantitative methods in the study of Indonesian Islam is equally important. The emergence of Jakarta as a megacity and the rapid growth of smaller ones including Medan, Surabaya and Yogyakarta together with the emergence of new urban fringe areas (Firman 2009, Mardiansjah, Rahayu & Rukmana, 2021) has rendered exclusive reliance on ethnographic methods insufficient for model construction. These developments have dramatically altered the social contexts in which Islam and debates about it are located. A mixed method approach to model building can be theoretically grounded in Levi Strauss's (1949) distinction between mechanical and statistical models and insights from complexity theory (Byrne & Callaghan 2023, Liu, Fisher-Onar & Woodward 2014).

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

Mechanical models capture and generalize about interactions among people located in fixed, socially recognized categories. Statistical models locate patterns and latent classes (groups of people with common characteristics but lacking collective consciousness) based on the analysis of data sets that are most commonly constructed from surveys. They are particularly useful for capturing the shift from what Durkheim (1893) called mechanical to organic solidarity that is typical of modern urban societies. Simply put mechanical solidarity is the replication of similarity. Organic solidarity is the integration of difference. A related development has been the emergence of massive "nonplaces" (Ague 1995) or vacant spaces in which mechanical solidarity has diminished and organic solidarity has not fully developed. He describes vacant spaces as features of "super modernity" characterized by high levels of ethnic and religious diversity, personal autonomy, low levels of social solidarity, transactional social relations, alienation and diminished traditional authority. They are located primarily in urban areas, but also in social spaces including university campuses. At the risk of over simplification, in Yogyakarta, the city I know best, *kampung* (traditional neighborhoods) are examples of mechanical solidarity, the Sultanate exemplifies organic solidarity, *perumahan* (housing estates) and areas surrounding the city's many universities are vacant spaces partly because NU, Muhammadiyah and other established Islamic organizations have not been as active in these spaces as they might have been.

The lack of either mode of solidarity in these spaces helps to explain the appeal of social practices including *mudik* or *balik kampung*, the time at the end of Ramadan when tens of millions of Indonesians visit their ancestral homes. It can be understood as being a return to the emotional security of mechanical solidarity. Vacant spaces also offer opportunities to religious entrepreneurs of all sorts. Salafi oriented groups including Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia that played a major role in organizing the campus based *Tarbiyah* movement that gave rise to Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party/PK) (Machmudi 2008, Noorhaidi 2009) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia that sought to establish a Caliphate by peaceful means (Hilmy 2020), celebrity preachers (Hoesterey 2015) and performers and urban Sufis (Zambari & Howell 2012) have all flourished in these spaces. So does the Muslim "lifestyle" *hijra* movement (Akmaliah 2020). All of them are what are called attractors, model configurations towards which

system can evolve over time, in complexity theory (Liu, Fisher-Onar & Woodward 2014). There have been detailed studies of particular cases. What is lacking are general studies of the ways in which these attractors interact and compete in geographically and social vacant spaces. Carefully designed surveys can measure these interactions and how they change over time.

Models and Decolonializations

Snouck Hurgronje's model of governance is still useful partly because it is a limited model and the fact that, despite his ideological biases Snouck, based it on solid, ethnographic research. Geertz's model has not stood the test of time so well. Constructing a macro, societal level model may have been an overly ambitious effort given the limitations of ethnographic field work in a single community at a point in time where religious differences were highly politicized. Despite its limitations, Geertz's observation that *abangan* and *priyayi* are "genteel and vulgar versions of one another" still rings true, although I doubt that any anthropologist working today would use the word vulgar to describe working class people. The basic problem with Geertz's model is that he seriously underestimated the degree to which both have been shaped by transcultural Muslim traditions. In Popper's idealized scientific universe, the appropriate measure would be to acknowledge these shortcomings and move forward towards a model capable of capturing what were anomalies in the existing one. That is not so easy to do in Kuhn's scientific universe in which paradigms are defined by combinations of ideas and social communities. Some political scientists (Fossati 2019) have clung to Geertz's model even while acknowledging its limited analytic utility. It is also useful as heuristic device for exploring questions about what is now commonly referred to as the "santrification" of Javanese Islam and for addressing questions such as "Where have all the *abangan* gone?" (Hefner 2011).

A new post-colonial or post-Orientalist societal level model of Javanese Islam that combines analysis of religious orientations and social groups, much less one of Islam in Indonesia which is far more complex and would need to consider ethnic as well as religious differences has yet to emerge. Combinations of qualitative and quantitative research informed by complexity theory may offer a solution to this problem. Complexity theory concerns the dynamics of change in emerging

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

or unstable systems. It can be used qualitatively as a heuristic device or special case of statistical analysis. It is, I think, both possible and necessary to link qualitative (mechanical) and statistical methods to develop what Bates would call a good model of something as complex as Islam in Indonesia. Specifically, surveys are only as good as the questions they ask. Formulating good survey questions requires two sets of methodological skills. First: Questions need to be written ways that produce unambiguous responses. This is a challenge for those of us who are more comfortable with the open-ended questions typically used in ethnographic research. Second: They also need to be informed by kinds of knowledge that can only be acquired using qualitative methods. This is an example. When I was teaching a research methods course at Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University in Yogyakarta, I asked my students to formulate a question that would unambiguously distinguish between Muhammadiyah and NU. I expected that they would respond with a *kiblat* (direction of prayer) question because that is often referred to in the academic literature. To my surprise the response was: "One *azan* or two?" This refers to the Muhammadiyah practice of reciting the *azan* (call to prayer) once for the Friday noon prayer and the NU practice of reciting it twice. This type of knowledge is also necessary to avoid "social desirability bias" which means the tendency people have to answer questions in what they think are socially acceptable ways. Asking Indonesian Muslims if they prayer five times per day produces unreliable positive responses because of the social desirability factor.

Conclusions

This paper has considered the ways in which two highly influential colonial paradigms and models based on them have shaped the ways in which scholars have studied and understood Islam in Indonesia. Snouck Hurgronje's model of Muslim governance has continues to inform normal science research (Bowen 2012, Siegel 1969). The influence of Raffles' orientalist fantasies about the marginality of Islam in Javanese culture led skilled ethnographers (Geertz 1960) to recast them in terms of social science theory. The neo-colonialist character of post Second World War scholarly community meant that competing voices of Indonesian scholars (Bachtiar 1963, Djajadiningrat 1958, Koentjaraningrat 1973) were ignored which led to deleterious consequences for the study of Islam in Indonesia and Islamic studies

more generally. A younger generation of Indonesian scholars (Dhofier 1980/199, Soebardi 1975) played critical roles in demonstrating the short coming of this model and in so doing advanced the intellectual decolonialization project Sukarno envisioned in the 1940s and 1950s.

As Bates's (1998) observed models are useful because they guide the course of normal science research. They can also be stifling because they prevent scholars from searching for new data and as time passes forces them to ask increasingly detailed, but ultimately trivial neo-scholastic, questions that serve only to confirm the existing model. Model failure contributes to the growth of scientific understanding because leads to new questions that could not be asked given the constraints of previously dominant models and paradigms. The study of Islam in Indonesia is currently in a model free, preparadigmatic (De Langhe 2018) intellectual space. This is a positive development because a younger generations of Indonesian and international scholars are equipped with theoretical and methodological tools that will allow them to ask previously unimaginable research questions. It is not possible to predict what courses their research will take and what sorts of models they will produce.

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i1.46005

Endnotes

1. Great books are highly influential. This does not mean that the claims they make are necessarily correct. Ptolemy's second century *Almagest* is a great book even though it places the earth at the center of the solar system. It was the dominant astronomical work in Arabic, Greek and Latin scientific traditions for fourteen centuries. It continued to be influential even after the publication of Copernicus's *Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (*On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*) because of the power of the community (the Roman Catholic church) that surrounded it (Kuhn 1957)
2. Where there were no such canonical texts, as with Hinduism, Orientalists invented the them, by designating variants of what are in reality open textual traditions in "classical" languages, such as Sanskrit to be canonical in the same sense that the Christian Bible came to be in the fourth century CE (Doniger 2009).
3. One of the consequences of what Carey described as "the rape of Yogyakarta" was that the British Library acquired a substantial collection of Javanese manuscripts that are among the primary sources for the study of Javanese history and religion. These manuscripts were from the collection of Sultan Hamengkubuwono II. In an act of partial symbolic decolonialization British Ambassador to Indonesia Dominic Jermey visited Yogyakarta to present digital copies to Sultan Hamengkubuwono X on November 16, 2023. https://en.antaranews.com/news/298866/uk-digitizes-120-javanese-manuscripts-for-yogyakarta More thorough decolonialization would have required the return of the manuscripts.
4. The outbreak of the Java War in 1825 showed just how wrong Raffles had been.
5. Denigrating "post-classical" Javanese literature is a persistent theme in Indonesian studies (Quinn 1983). I am not qualified to comment on the literary merits these texts but find the persistence of this colonial discourse disturbing.
6. Gerardus Drewes (1899-1992), who was one of Snouck Hurgronje's students, was one of the first Dutch philologists to pay serious attention to Javanese Islamic texts. Owing to his responsibilities as an editor and government linguist and his imprisonment by the Germans during the Second World War, many of his works on Indonesian Muslim texts did not appear until the 1960s and 1970s (Teeuw 1994).
7. Where scholarly works are published has considerable impact on how influential they becomes. Alatas's book was published by the University of Malaya Press. Schimmel's review appeared in the German Islamic studies journal *Die Welt des Islams.* Here counterfactuals are: What if Princeton or Harvard had published *The Mysticism of Hamza Fansuri*? and What if Schimmel's review had appeared in *The Journal of Asian Studies*?
8. Geertz later (1966) distinguished between models of and models for. He probably intended the *abangan*, *santri*, *priyayi* typology as a model of Javanese social organization.
9. Djajadiningrat (1886-1960) was Snouck Hurgronje's student and the first Indonesian to receive a PhD from Leiden University. He was a significant figure in Dutch, Japanese and Indonesian governments and subsequently professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Indonesia. Koentjaraningrat (1923-1999) is known as the father of Indonesian anthropology. He was George Murdock's student at Yale. He was concerned primarily with ethnicity and social structure and with applying anthropology to problems of national integration. Bachtiar (1934-1995) was a Harvard educated sociologist who, like Geertz, studied with Talcott Parsons. Like Koentjaraningrat he was instrumental in the development of higher education in Indonesia.
10. The term Agama Jawa was common in the late 1970s. This complex is now more

commonly referred to as Islam Jawa (Javanese Islam) or Kebudayaan Jawa (Javanese culture) (Woodward 2011). Bachtiar's reasons for including *ziyarah* (visiting graves) in this category are unclear. Most Muslims in Java and elsewhere regard it as an important component of Muslim piety. Salafis, who follow in the tradition of the 13th-14th century Hanbalite jurist Ibn Taymiyyah are the exceptions. These include Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam other modernist and Salafi groups. The Javanese theory of power (*kesekten*) and esoteric practices (*tapas*) associated with it are remnants of Saiva Hinduism.

11. These critical arrows were aimed at my (1989) study Islam in Yogyakarta but could just as well have been shot at any of his critics.
12. *Serat Cabolek* is definitely a Surakarta text but Ricklefs (1997) shows that there are questions about who wrote it.

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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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5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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تم اعتماد ستوديا إسلاميكا من قبل وزارة البحوث والتكنولوجيا والتعليم العالي بجمهورية إندونيسيا باعتبارها دورية علمية (رقم القرار: 32a/E/KPT/2017).

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للمؤسسات: ٧٥ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٥ دولار أمريكي.
للأفراد: ٥٠ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٠ دولار أمريكي.
والقيمة لا تشمل نفقة الإرسال بالبريد الجوي.

رقم الحساب:
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account No. 101-00-0514550-1 (USD).

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قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:
لسنة واحدة ١٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للمؤسسة) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية، ١٠٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للفرد) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٤٠,٠٠٠ روبية.
والقيمة لا تشتمل على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوى.

ستوديا إسلاميكا
مجلة إندونيسيا للدراسات الإسلامية
السنة الثانية والثلاثون، العدد ١، ٢٠٢٥

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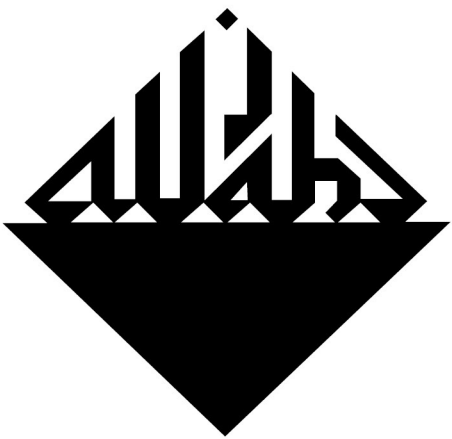
INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 32, Number 1, 2025



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ISSN: 0215-0492 E-ISSN: 2355-6145