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Indonesian Islam Between Particularity and Universality*

Abstraksi: *Persoalan apakah dan sejauh mana Islam Indonesia adalah bagian dari agama dan peradaban universal Islam atau merupakan gejala khas setempat, telah dijawab dengan cara yang berbeda oleh berbagai ilmuwan dan politisi. Perdebatan tentang masalah ini pernah muncul pada masa penjajahan dan terus berlanjut sampai kini.*

Artikel ini mulai dengan analisis tentang perdebatan tersebut pada masa penjajahan. Penulis membandingkan antara pendirian L. W. C. van den Berg dan C. Snouck Hurgronje. Yang pertama mendekati Islam di Hindia Belanda pada paruh kedua abad XIX melalui berbagai tulisan hukum klasik yang berasal dari Timur Tengah. Oleh karena itu, ia memandang Islam Nusantara sebagai bagian integral dari Islam universal. Sementara itu, Snouck Hurgronje menekankan bahwa kehidupan nyata umat Islam Hindia Belanda jauh berbeda dari aturan Islam yang "resmi"; ia memandang bahwa kehidupan mereka justru ditentukan oleh "adat" dengan tambahan unsur sangat terbatas dari fikih Islam. Ia tidak menganggap Islam Nusantara sebagai bagian dari Islam universal, tetapi sebaliknya menekankan kekhususannya. Maka dari itu ia menaruh perhatian besar pada kenyataan sosial umat Islam di Hindia Belanda dan mengembangkan paradigma keilmuan bahwa teks-teks lama yang berasal dari Timur Tengah tidak mewakili Islam secara sempurna. Di situlah terletak sumbangannya yang besar kepada kajian Islam. Namun, dari sisi lain, ia terperangkap dalam kelemahan dan kesalahan Islamologi Barat tradisional. Di sini, penulis menjelaskan hubungan erat

antara pandangan Snouck Hurgronje sebagai ilmuwan dan kebijakan kolonial.

Selanjutnya, penulis menjelaskan bahwa berbagai aspek visi Snouck Hurgronje masih bertahan dalam kajian ilmiah pada masa lebih belakangan, meskipun pada saat yang sama juga telah terjadi berbagai pergeseran metode dan tema penelitian. Kecenderungan umum tetap sama, yaitu mempertentangkan antara Islam Timur Tengah dan Islam Nusantara, antara "teori" dan "praktek", serta antara "ortodoksi" dan "heterodoksi". Ketiga pertentangan "biner" tersebut bukan tidak berkaitan sama sekali dan sejumlah peneliti sampai-sampai menyamakan ortodoksi, Islam Timur Tengah atau Arab, dan/atau teori di satu pihak, serta heterodoksi, Islam Indonesia, dan/atau praktek di lain pihak.

Penulis kemudian menunjukkan bahwa kontroversi tentang kekhususan dan keuniversalan Islam Indonesia terus berlanjut sampai dewasa ini. Diskusi tercermin dalam berbagai perdebatan ilmiah, terutama menyangkut sejarah Islam Indonesia. Namun, kontroversi tidak terbatas pada diskusi yang bercorak ilmiah, melainkan juga menjangkau perdebatan politis. Sebagaimana halnya pada masa penjajahan, diskusi ilmiah dan diskusi politis bukan tidak berkaitan. Penulis mengemukakan bahwa faktor penting dalam perdebatan adalah adanya dua kecenderungan yang berlawanan di kalangan umat Islam Indonesia dewasa ini. Di satu pihak, terdapat kelompok yang, sebagai reaksi terhadap berbagai tuduhan dari zaman penjajahan dan periode lebih belakangan, cenderung menekankan "kemurnian" Islam Indonesia. Kebanyakan kelompok ini mengaitkan penilaian tersebut dengan kenyataan bahwa Islam Indonesia adalah bagian dari Islam universal, sehingga sesuai dengannya. Sedangkan sebagian umat Islam Indonesia yang lain lebih didorong kebanggaan nasional. Mereka cenderung menekankan kekhususan Islam Indonesia dan mempertentangkannya dengan Islam di Timur Tengah.

Menurut penulis, suatu pendekatan yang lebih bernuansa terhadap Islam Indonesia, yang memberi ruang untuk kekhususan maupun keuniversalan, akan membantu untuk keluar dari kontroversi lama yang menjadi objek bahasan ini.

الإسلام في اندونيسيا بين الخصوصية والعالمية

خلاصة: إن السؤال عما إذا كان الإسلام في اندونيسيا جزءاً من الإسلامى العالمى وحضارته العالمية أم أنه كان ظاهرة خاصة، قد لقي إجابات مختلفة سواء تلك التى قدمها عدد من رجال العلم أم الساسة؛ ولقد بدأ الجدل (حول هذا الموضوع) فى عهد الاستعمار ومازال مستمرا حتى الآن.

استهلت المقالة بتحليل القضية فى عهد الاستعمار حيث قام الكاتب بمواجهة بين موقف ل.و.ك. فان دين بيرخ (L.W.C. van den Berg) من ناحية وموقف ك. سنوك هرخرونجى (Snouck Hurgronje) من ناحية أخرى، وقد كان الأول يدرس الإسلام فى الهند الهولندية (اندونيسيا) فى النصف الثانى من القرن العشرين الميلادى من خلال مختلف الكتب والمؤلفات القديمة الواردة من الشرق الأوسط، وهكذا اعتبر الإسلام فى الارخبيل الإندونسي جزءاً من الإسلام العالمى؛ وأما موقف سنوك

هرخرونيى فمختلف، إذ يؤكد أن واقع الأمة الاسلامية (باندونيسيا) بعيد كل البعد عن الاسلام "الرسمى": فإن ما التزموا به فى حياتهم هو أحكام "العادة" (العرف) مع إضافة عدد محدود جدا من الفقه الاسلامى، ولهذا انتهى إلى عدم اعتبار الاسلام فى الارخبيل الاندونيسى جزءا من الاسلام العالمى، بل على العكس من ذلك أصر فى رأيه عن خصوصيته، فكانت النتيجة أن كان اهتمامه الكبير منصبا على واقع الأوضاع الاجتماعية للمسلمين فى الهند الهولندية محاولا إرساء الفكرة بأن النصوص القديمة أو الواردة من الشرق الأوسط لا تمثل الاسلام بشكل كامل، وتلك مساهمة منه كبيرة فى تطور الدراسات الاسلامية؛ بيد أنه من جهة أخرى مازال واقعا فيما عانت منه الدراسات الاسلامية الغربية التقليدية من نقائص وأخطاء؛ لقد بين المؤلف العلاقة الوثيقة بين تصور سنوك هرخرونيى كرجل العلم وبين السياسة الاستعمارية.

وأما الجزء التالى فى هذه المقالة فقد تعرض لبيان أن كثيرا من عناصر تصور سنوك هرخرونيى ما زال محتفظا بها فى الدراسات الاسلامية اللاحقة، على الرغم مما طرأ على مناهج البحوث وموضوعاتها من تغيرات مختلفة فكلها تتسم بالاتجاه نفسه وهو القيام بالمعارضة بين كل من الاسلام فى الشرق الأوسط والاسلام فى الارخبيل، والنظرية والواقع، والارثودكسية والهيترودكسية؛ والعلاقة بين هذه التعارضات الثلاثة ليست ببعيدة بل وصل الأمر بعدد من الباحثين إلى المماثلة بين الأرثودكسية والاسلام فى الشرق الأوسط - أو الاسلام العربى - أو النظرية من ناحية وبين الهيترودكسية، الاسلام فى اندونيسيا (أو فى جنوب شرقى آسيا) أو الواقع من ناحية أخرى.

ثم أشار الجزء اللاحق في المقالة إلى أن الجدل حول الطبيعة الخاصة للإسلام في اندونيسيا أو انضوائه تحت الإسلام العالمي مستمر حتى اليوم؛ ويظهر الخلاف في مختلف المناقشات العلمية، خاصة فيما يتعلق بتاريخ الإسلام في اندونيسيا، بيد أن أثر الخلاف لم يكن قاصرا على النقاش - الذي يتسم بعضه على الأقل بالصبغة العلمية - إنما تعدى ذلك ليمتد إلى الجدل السياسي؛ وكما كانت الحال في عهد الاستعمار، فإن بين النقاش العلمي والجدل السياسي صلة وثيقة؛ ويبين المؤلف أن عاملا من أهم العوامل في هذا الخلاف هو وجود اتجاهين متعارضين في أوساط المسلمين الإندونيسيين حاليا؛ فمن ناحية يوجد منهم فئة يميلون إلى التأكيد على "صفاء" الإسلام في اندونيسيا، وذلك كرد فعل لما يواجهونه من اتهامات أثناء العهد الاستعماري، وفي الأزمنة اللاحقة، وكان أكثرهم يصلون نظرهم في ذلك بالواقع، كما يقولون، وهو أن الإسلام في اندونيسيا جزء من الإسلام العالمي ومنطبق عليه؛ بينما يسيطر على البعض الآخر من المسلمين الافتخار بالاحساس الوطني، وهؤلاء يميلون إلى التأكيد على خصوصية الإسلام في اندونيسيا، واختلافه عن الشكل الذي ظهر به في الشرق الأوسط.

وطبقا لرأي المؤلف، فإن تناول الإسلام في اندونيسيا بمنهج أكثر دقة وتفصيلا، ويأخذ بعين الاعتبار الجوانب العامة العالمية من جهة، والجوانب الخاصة من جهة أخرى، سوف يسهم في التغلب على الجدل القديم الذي هو موضوع هذا البحث.

The question whether — or to what extent — Indonesian Islam is part of a universal religion and civilization or a particular, isolated phenomenon has been answered in different ways by various scholars and politicians. The debate appeared in colonial times, but has not ceased until the present.

The Colonial Discourse

Let us start our analysis of this controversy with Lodewijk Willem Christiaan van den Berg (1845-1927). Van den Berg was a Dutch specialist of Islamic studies and in this capacity was nominated “officer for the use of indigenous languages” and “adviser for Eastern Languages and Muhammadan Law” to the Dutch colonial administration. He wrote a book on the principles of Islamic Law according to al-Shâfi‘î and Abû Hanîfah, which was meant as a manual for Dutch civil servants in their work among the Muslim indigenous population of the Netherlands Indies.¹ In other words, Van den Berg approached Islam, in the Netherlands Indies and in the second half of the 19th century, through a number of classical texts, originating from the Middle East, and he considered a number of legal rules as the essence of Islam. In this, he was a typical representative of the classical tradition of Islamic studies, which, according to Mohammed Arkoun, approaches its object — Islam — through texts, and more precisely through texts considered classical and “representative”.² In the framework of our main theme, one might say that Van den Berg regarded Indonesian Islam as a part of universal Islam, which he understood as classical, Middle Eastern Islam, and tended not to consider any particularity of Indonesian Islam. Van den Berg’s publication is no isolated case. The study of classical *fiqh* handbooks formed part of the curriculum in the institutions where civil servants of the Dutch colonial administration were trained.³

However, shortly after Van den Berg published his book, his successor as colonial adviser, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) launched a vehement criticism of Van den Berg’s approach. Snouck Hurgronje admitted that classical works of Islamic law remained references that few Muslims dared to question openly and he called upon his own and other European governments not to neglect the potential influence of the doctrines contained therein concerning matters as Holy War (*jihâd*) against non-Muslim governments and the contempt of unbelievers (*kâfirs*).⁴ However, he emphasized that actual life of Muslims — in the Netherlands Indies, but also on the Arabian

Peninsula and elsewhere - was at great variance with the "official" rules of Islamic Law; their life, he argued, was dominated by *adat* with a very limited addition of *fiqh*.⁵ Therefore, he did not consider Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago as just a part of universal Islam and, on the contrary, precisely emphasized its particularity. He became interested in the social reality of the Muslim population of the Indies. For his studies in this field, and because he brought awareness that old texts do not represent Islam in a sufficient way and that the Middle East does not represent Muslim societies in general, Snouck Hurgronje made a great step forwards in Western studies on Islam and contributed to the development of a more accurate image of Islam in the West. However, in other regards, he remained caught in the shortcomings of the traditional Western studies of and ideas about Islam. He still considered Islam as, essentially, a set of legal rules. Indeed, he diametrically opposed Islam and *adat* as two, more or less isolated and often contradictory, sets of fixed legal rules, the first one ideal and the second one actual. Another salient feature of Snouck Hurgronje's vision was that he considered Islam — and *adat* for that matter — as something static and fossilized and that, although he paid attention to social context, he was not aware of the existence of any dynamical process caused by the interaction between Islam and its local context.⁶ From the viewpoint of our main theme, one might say that Snouck Hurgronje emphasized the particularity of social life and legal tradition in the Indonesian Archipelago. However, precisely because of this particularity, he considered the life of the Muslims in the archipelago unIslamic. For him, Islam was a set of rules and dogmas found in classical, Middle Eastern books and hardly in the later practice of Muslim peoples. For Snouck Hurgronje Islam was universal in the sense that it was fixed and dogmatic, not in the sense that it was omnipresent in the reality of the Muslim world. Particularity was a main characteristic of this reality, not something existing within Islam.

The political consequences of these conceptions were far-reaching. In the first place, they formed the theoretical foundation of the new principle that *adat* should be the primary reference in legal affairs concerning the indigenous Muslim population and of the division of the Netherlands Indies into a large number of "*adat* circles". This Dutch version of the Roman *divide et impera* principle not only isolated the Muslim community in the Netherlands Indies from the Muslim world as a whole by emphasizing its particularity, but split

the Muslim community of the colony, for its part, into a large number of smaller groups, each with their own particularities, relating to their respective customary law, hardly bound together by universal Islam. In the second place, these conceptions formed the basis of the idea that the only way to progress for the Muslim indigenous population was the adoption of the Western model of social and cultural life. Cornelis van Vollenhoven (1874-1933), the great specialist of *adat* law, also played a prominent role in these theoretical and administrative developments. As for the training of Dutch colonial civil servants, as a consequence of these developments, *adat* law was established as a separate discipline.⁷

The political dimension of the scholarly conceptions of people like Snouck Hurgronje and Van Vollenhoven becomes still clearer if one places them in the context of the decentralization and intensification of Dutch administration that took place, at that period, in the Netherlands Indies, in particular in the Outer Districts. The idea of assimilation - whose application remained very limited in actual Dutch colonial policy - and the administrative intensification, for their part, became cornerstones of the so-called Ethical Policy. Snouck Hurgronje and Van Vollenhoven were among the most prominent advocates of this policy. As such, they belonged to a group of Dutch politicians and intellectuals who took a relatively positive standpoint towards the indigenous population of the colony and their interests.⁸ At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, very few Dutchmen indeed went as far as putting into question their very presence in the colony. The desire to protect colonial power from any imaginary or real Pan-Islamist threat was another political factor which contributed to the development of the scholarly conceptions mentioned.

Later Scholarly Developments

If we compare Snouck Hurgronje's views with those of still later scholars on Islam in South-East Asia, we notice the survival of particular shortcomings, in spite of changes in other aspects of their analyses. John R. Bowen has shown that Snouck Hurgronje, Richard Winstedt (1878-1966) in his analysis of Malay culture, and Clifford Geertz (born 1926) in his study of Islam in Java, although their work is based on different theoretical and methodological principles, basically represent South-East Asian Islam in the same way: all three contrast the theory of Islam (which they understand as a set of fixed rules found

in texts) and the practice of life (which in general does not conform to these rules).⁹ One may add that all stress the particularity of Islam in this region.

In addition to the difference between the Middle East and Indonesia — or South-East Asia in general — and between theory and practice, several authors emphasize another contrast: between “orthodox” and “heterodox” Islam. These three binary distinctions are not unrelated and a number of authors even tend to equalize orthodoxy, Middle Eastern — or Arab — Islam and/or theory, on the one hand, and heterodoxy, Indonesian Islam and practical life, on the other. Geertz is a prominent example of those scholars who stress the unorthodox character of Indonesian Islam, more in particular of that majority of Javanese Muslims whom he labelled *abangan*.¹⁰ As we shall see below, Geertz’s controversial analysis is a frequent reference in contemporary discussions on and within Indonesian Islam and even references to Snouck Hurgronje’s work are not absent from these debates.

In Geertz’s analysis, the equation of Indonesian Islam with heterodoxy joins another series of binary oppositions, namely the opposition between a form of Islam that is usually characterized with a set of attributes such as “scripturalist”, “orthodox”, “urban” and “official” and a second form of Islam, which is described with adjectives like “oral”, “heterodox”, “rural”, “popular” and often also “mystical”. In this context the attribute “scripturalist” refers to those persons who make frequent reference to scriptures. In the case of Islam these are the Koran, Hadith collections and several classical and traditional works of Islamic law and theology. However, the term also contains the meaning of adhering to a strict, more or less literal implementation of these scriptures. Therefore, a close association exists between “scripturalist” and “orthodox” (or pure/puritan) Islam, that, according to Geertz and others, is found especially in urban communities, where relatively many people can read (a precondition of scripturalism) and, often mutually supporting, state and religious authorities are concentrated. Hence the term “official” Islam. As for mysticism, in his *The Religion of Java*, Geertz mentions its existence among all religious subtraditions, including the most “orthodox” one, the *santri*. However, even among *santri* he considers mysticism, present primarily in the form of *tarekat* (Arabic *ṭarīqah*) or mystical orders, as a relatively unorthodox element and particular to rural religious life.¹¹

Robert Redfield played a prominent role in the creation of these

oppositions by introducing the contrast between “great tradition” and “little tradition”.¹² Although Redfield’s distinction between “great tradition” and “little tradition” was not limited to the Muslim world — and was even developed in another context — the influence of these concepts on Islamic studies was tremendous. Gustav von Grunebaum adopted them in a study of the relation between “orthodoxy” and the veneration of holy men in Muslim societies.¹³ In a response to Von Grunebaum’s analysis, Redfield, in turn, called Morocco a clear example of the interaction of what he had baptized as “great tradition” and “little tradition”.¹⁴ In this he was later followed by Ernest Gellner, who, with a slight difference, used the expressions “Great Tradition” and “folk tradition”.¹⁵ As said above, this same opposition between two types of Islam is reflected in the work of Geertz on Java.¹⁶

In the vision of all these authors then, the “great tradition” of Muslim societies, which tends to be linked to scriptures, urban society, theory, orthodoxy and/or the Middle East, stands for the universality of Islam. The various “little traditions”, linked to oral civilization, rural society, heterodoxy and/or Indonesia — or other regions outside the core land of Islam — stand for particularity, not within Islam, but within Muslim societies.

This approach to Islam was challenged by Marshall G.S. Hodgson, who tried to work out in a more refined way the relation between the religion of Islam, the society of what he called Islamdom, and the culture which, with an adjective of his own creation, he labelled “Islamicate”. He explained that these three should be distinguished, but not separated.¹⁷ This perspective opened the way for a more dynamic understanding of the development of Islam, in continuous interaction with its social and cultural environment. However, Hodgson himself only took a few steps in this direction. His book is essentially on the dynamics of Islamdom and Islamicate culture throughout the ages. Islam as a religion is reduced almost to a set of so-called formative ideals, which provide the society and culture with its particular character.¹⁸ This is why Edmund Burke, as cited and endorsed by Dale F. Eickelman, argues that Hodgson’s image of Islam remains close to the essentialist vision of the scholars he criticizes.¹⁹

Whereas Hodgson’s criticism of mainstream scholars of Islam is not totally satisfying for the reason just mentioned, his vision is interesting for another reason. Speaking about (Islamicate) “high culture” and “folk culture” — terms closely related to those of “great”

and “little tradition” — he emphasized that both have always shown a dynamic process of change.²⁰ He considered this process, which he pictured in detail in his three-volume book, not as something lying outside Islam as a religion or even contrary to Islam. An additional point of interest is that Hodgson concentrated on the process of change in the — literate, urban — “high culture”, as distinguished from the “folk culture” of peasants and non-lettered people. This is, as he explains in a footnote, because as a historian, contrary to anthropologists, he is dealing primarily with “high culture”.²¹ Most of the scholars mentioned earlier who, in one form or another, contrast “great” and “little tradition” within Muslim society, are anthropologists and all of them tended to consider the latter rather than the former one subject to change.

After Hodgson, a contribution of some importance to the debate on universality and particularity in Islam was made by Eickelman. Fifteen years ago he published a plea for the study of Islam in local contexts.²² He started his article with a short reflection on the relationship between Islam as a universal religion and the multiplicity of its manifestations in different historical and cultural contexts as well as a critical discussion of some visions concerning the degree to which the former universal religion is real or the latter manifestations represent “true” Islam. After a short argument that Islam, although not reduced to a series of different manifestations, can only be studied in a meaningful way by analyzing its realization in various local contexts, the bulk of his article discusses how such an analysis should be undertaken.

The present article returns to the question addressed only briefly in the opening section of Eickelman’s article, i.e. the relationship between universality and particularity in Islam. It concentrates on Indonesia and, after discussing the colonial discourse and later scholarly developments, will now proceed with an analysis of the contemporary debate within and concerning this country.

The Contemporary Controversy: Scholarly and Political Aspects

Geertz’s theory on Javanese Islam is a piece of scholarly argument. However, the persistent reference to his analysis clearly shows that the whole debate on the character of Indonesian Islam not only is not limited to the colonial period, but also stretches beyond the domain of pure scholarly analysis. Leaving aside the question of whether a value judgment was part of Geertz’s theory, his contention that

the majority of Javanese Muslims belong to the less pure *abangan* category has generally been understood to imply that most Javanese Muslims — and Indonesian Muslims in general — are less than good Muslims.²³

A case in point was a discussion that took place at the end of 1993. The Indonesian Protestant theologian, Victor Tanja, expressed his satisfaction with the fact that most Indonesian citizens were *abangan* Muslims because, he stated, that was the main reason why the relations between the different religious communities of the country were so harmonious.²⁴ This argument was protested against in a reader's letter published in the daily *Kompas*. The Muslim author of this letter argued that Indonesian Muslims are tolerant towards the other religious communities not because they are less pure Muslims, but precisely because they are good Muslims.

The scholarly-cum-political controversy on the universal versus particular nature of Indonesian Islam is reflected in several other debates relating to Indonesian Islam, in particular concerning its history.

Firstly, one should mention the discussion on the arrival of Islam in Indonesia — when did it arrive, from where did it come, who brought it. Until now these questions are much debated. This debate more often is inspired by feelings of religious, national or regional pride than by purely scholarly motives. Moreover, essential distinctions as those between the first contact with a Muslim traveller and the conversion of the original inhabitants of the country or between several stages of the Islamization process are usually disregarded.²⁵ From colonial times up to the present, this debate has been contaminated by the doubtful hypothesis that Arab Islam, especially in its earliest form, is the purest and highest form of Islam and that, as a consequence, an early Islamization of the Indonesian Archipelago, especially if achieved directly by Arabs, would enhance the status of Indonesian Islam.²⁶ Therefore, it is not without ideological and political reasons that most Dutch scholars, in colonial times, emphasized that Islam had only spread in the region at a relatively late period and had been brought from India, whereas many Indonesians, after recovering their independence, reacted by stating that Islam had been brought to the archipelago during the first century of Islam and directly from the Arab region.²⁷

Another discussion worth mentioning concerns the origins of Islamic reformism in the archipelago. Christine Dobbin and Adrianus Chatib, each in their own way, do not deny a certain influence from

previous developments in the Middle East, but they emphasize local conflicts and transformations as the main factors leading to the Padri movement, which was active in the Minangkabau at the beginning of the 19th century, with some preliminary agitation at the end of the 18th century, and which is often considered as a precursor of 20th century reformist movements in the archipelago.²⁸ Azyumardi Azra, on the other hand, in his recent dissertation stresses the fundamental role of the contact between the Middle East and South-East Asia in the development of Islamic reformism in the latter region, which, he adds, already started in the 17th century.²⁹

Thirdly, there is the classical debate on the relation between *adat* and Islam. We have already discussed the vision of Snouck Hurgronje, who regards the relation between *adat* and Islam basically as a conflict between a set of rules of behavior which determine actual social life and a set of ideal values. Speaking on Aceh, he adds that each one of both sets is supported by a different social group: *adat* by the *uleëbalang* and Islam by the '*ulamâ*'.³⁰ Later, his vision was corrected in several ways. James T. Siegel argued that the structure of Acehese society was more complicated than Snouck Hurgronje assumed and that all of the various social groups it was composed of adhered to both *adat* and Islam, but understood them in different ways.³¹ Other authors, especially Indonesians eager to defend their Islam against compromising theories, tend to depict the tension between *adat* and Islam as very limited, if not to deny its existence altogether. HAMKA is an example of this group.³² An interesting step forwards in the debate was taken by Taufik Abdullah, who did not deny the contrast between *adat* and Islam, but precisely evaluated it positively as a source of social and religious dynamism. He rejects Snouck Hurgronje's conception at two important points: firstly, *adat* as well as Islam are not limited to the mere domain of law and rules; secondly, the relation between both cannot be characterized as a relation between practice and ideal.³³ In addition, Taufik Abdullah's vision contrasts with Snouck Hurgronje's conception of Islam — and *adat* — as something static and with the view that the oldest, "original" or the Arab form of Islam is its highest form.³⁴

Finally, one might mention the debate on the place and nature of mysticism in Indonesian Islam. The general opinion among Western scholars is that, after a possible earlier wave of Islamization which left no noteworthy traces, Islam spread to the Indonesian Archipelago from about the 13th century of the Christian era in a form domi-

nated by mysticism. Most add that this mystical form of Islam was very remote from "orthodox" Islam and full of Hindu and Buddhist ingredients. This vision became an element of the idea, referred to earlier, that Islam in the Archipelago was different from and of a lower calibre than "normal" Islam. For others, the mystical tradition of Indonesian Islam accounted for its particular tolerance. This is the case for Victor Tanja, who makes this theory of the mystical character of Indonesian Islam part of his argument on *abangan* and tolerance mentioned above.³⁵

The contemporary Dutch scholar, Karel Steenbrink, rejects these ideas, stating that mysticism was not the only aspect of Islam that took root in the archipelago from the 13th century and that those mystical elements that were introduced during this period were not so unorthodox as many contend.³⁶ He is joined by the American scholar, Mark Woodward, who in a recent dissertation on Islam in Java — considered by many as the region *par excellence* of unorthodox, mystical, and syncretic Islam —, concluded that Hindu or Buddhist elements are insignificant in Javanese Islam and that, moreover, mysticism cannot rightly be contrasted with "orthodox" Islam.³⁷ There are two other interesting aspects to Woodward's study. Firstly, he draws our attention to the fact that, at least before the Wahhabite ideology became established in the Arabian peninsula, intensive relations between the Indonesian Archipelago and Mecca not only concerned the legal and doctrinal side of Islam, but also the mystical side.³⁸ This thesis was confirmed by Azyumardi Azra, whose work offers many details.³⁹ On the other side, Woodward, contrary to those authors who tend to contrast the mystical (and rural or popular) tradition of Islam with the written (and scripturalist, orthodox) one, precisely refers to many written texts in his study of the mystical tradition of Islam.⁴⁰

In addition, in their case studies a number of contemporary Indonesian Muslim scholars have tried to correct the traditional view that Indonesian, and especially Javanese, mysticism is unorthodox. One may mention the dissertations of Simuh and Moh. Ardani, analyzing the mystical works of the 19th century Javanese court poet, Ngabehi Ranggawarsita, and of the 19th century Javanese prince Mangkunagara IV, respectively.⁴¹

Not only in debates of a basically scholarly nature, but also in contemporary discussions with a more direct political dimension the question of the universality versus the particularity of Indonesian Islam manifests itself.

Achmad Siddiq, one of the most prominent Indonesian religious scholars and older members of the large "traditionalist" Muslim organization of the country, the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), made very clear his viewpoint in the following statement:

Islam is universal. Therefore, and up to certain limits, Islam precisely offers the opportunity of (and even pushes towards) growth and development of human creativity in the application of its rules so that all human groups and not just one may be able to follow its teaching. Therefore, up to certain limits, each Muslim group may possess particular features⁴²

On this basis he defended Indonesian Islam against the opinion that, if or because it was different, it was of lower value than Islam elsewhere. On the contrary, he argued, Indonesian Muslims were more disciplined in practising their religion, more tolerant against differences of opinion, and were faithful to their nation and state, without diminishing their loyalty towards universal Islam.⁴³ Achmad Siddiq had elaborated these ideas during the great debate on whether the NU could accept, as demanded by the Indonesian authorities, *Pancasila*, the Indonesian official ideology, as its "sole basis". He was one of the main NU figures who persuaded the organization to accept this sole basis.⁴⁴

In this vision of Indonesian Islam and political attitude, Achmad Siddiq had a close adherent in Abdurrahman Wahid, a leading NU figure of a younger generation.⁴⁵ He even manifested himself as a supporter of *pribumisasi*, or the process of developing Islam to bring it in conformity with national conditions, and opposed the strong trend towards the accentuation of Arab elements in several aspects of life — outfit, language, literature, architecture and so forth — which in the last two decades has been spreading in other Indonesian Muslim circles.⁴⁶

Still more directly related to political objectives was the question of the "codification" of Indonesian Islamic Law. In 1983, the Minister of Religious Affairs, Munawir Sjadzali, and the Junior President of the Supreme Court in charge of its Department of Religious Justice, Busthanul Arifin, launched a project to codify Islamic Law to be applied in the country. Their objectives were, firstly, to unify the Islamic Law throughout the country and, secondly, to develop Islamic Law in conformity with Indonesian customs and contemporary Indonesian conditions. In this context, Munawir Sjadzali often used the term *reaktualisasi* ("re-actualization") of Islamic Law, a no-

tion close to the *pribumisasi* mentioned above. However, this aspiration met strong opposition from a large number of religious scholars and, due to their pressure, the first objective was much better realized than the second one and the project was rebaptized, in a less ambitious wording, "compilation" of Indonesian Islamic Law. Among the opponents of the project were many NU members, less open to particular Indonesian values and needs than the group of Achmad Siddiq and Abdurrahman Wahid.⁴⁷

In order to avoid wrong understanding in this debate, one should be aware that, except for some extreme views, the fact that certain persons lay much stress on particularity within Islam does not mean that they deny the existence of a universal side to Islam.⁴⁸ This is particularly clear in the attitude of Indonesian Muslim feminists, i.e. women — supported by several men — who aspire at an improvement of the social position of women from a specifically Islamic perspective. In a recent study, concentrating on Indonesian Muslim women leaders, Andrée Feillard has shown that they stress the superiority of Indonesian Islam compared to Islam as it has developed elsewhere. They do not consider Indonesian Islam as something alien to Islam, but as a better interpretation or implementation of Islam.⁴⁹ Parallel to this attitude, they mostly oppose the current trend of "Arabization" in social life, which they do not consider as Islamization in the true sense of the word.⁵⁰ The political aspect of their aspirations is clear too: they react to a combination of growing conservatism in gender issues, growing materialism, and the double role — of active participant in national development and as social worker in support of, but inferior to, their husbands — demanded from them by state policy.⁵¹ Interesting to note is that these Muslim women, who tend to stress the superiority of Indonesian Islam, refer very much to publications by Muslim feminists from Pakistan, Morocco and elsewhere. In this sense, they are part of universal Islam and they are aware of this.⁵²

In addition to scholarly and political discussions, in general discourse the question of the universality versus particularity of Indonesian Islam continues to be debated. An important factor in this debate is the existence of two conflicting tendencies among contemporary Indonesian Muslims.

On the one hand, there are those who, in reaction to colonial and later contentions to the contrary, tend to stress the "purity" of their religion. Most of them link this judgment to the fact, as they stress,

that Indonesian Islam is part of and conforms to universal Islam. In this framework, the Middle East, more especially Saudi Arabia, often functions as the fundamental reference for universal Islam. A part of this group aspires to strengthening the universal features of Islam still further in Indonesia. Usually this means the adoption of Middle Eastern features, but there are other ways of manifesting the participation of Indonesia in universal Islam, such as solidarity with the struggle of various Muslim minorities.⁵³ For some Indonesian Muslims, the aspiration of developing the universal features of Islam is partly aroused by the desire to distinguish themselves from the other religious communities in the country. The political import of this issue is evident.

On the other hand, part of the Indonesian Muslim community is rather inspired by national pride. This group tends to emphasize the particular character of Indonesian Islam. This attitude often goes together with a negative opinion of Middle Eastern, and in particular Saudi Arabian, Islam and social traditions. In a positive sense, the attitude of the latter group inspires a serious study of the history of Islam as well as efforts to "contextualize" Islam in conformity with contemporary Indonesian conditions.⁵⁴ Here again, the political dimension of the question, relating in particular to national development, is obvious.

A factor which complicates the whole controversy on the universality and particularity of Indonesian Islam and the related reference to or rejection of the Arab model is the complexity of the relations between the Indonesian Republic and the Saudi Arabian Kingdom. In principle, all Indonesian Muslims dream of visiting the Holy Country at least once in their life and ever growing numbers realize this dream. On the other hand, the difference in cultural and religious traditions, which nobody can reasonably deny, and still more the bad treatment of some of the numerous Indonesian female immigrant workers in Saudi Arabia, are factors of strong disapprobation of this country.⁵⁵

Some Observations in Support of a more Balanced Judgment

In reality, neither the attribute universality nor particularity on their own are satisfying. A combination of both seems more appropriate to describe the unique situation of Islam in Indonesia. Without any pretension of detailed analysis, a few short remarks may suffice to suggest so.

As for features of Indonesian Islam that contribute to its particular character, in the first place one can mention the general fact that religions, including Islam, do evolve, contrary to the opinion of Snouck Hurgronje, many other specialists of Islamic studies, and a

number of Muslims. This implies that Islam changes — which does not automatically mean degenerates — in interaction with the particular conditions of each period and region. The particular situation of Indonesia has exposed Islam to various cultures and religious communities. This is one of the main factors of the relatively dynamic and tolerant character of Indonesian Islam. It also makes Indonesian Muslims, in comparison with most other Muslim communities, especially in the Middle East, relatively open to efforts of theological, legal and cultural development of their religion.

On the other hand, no serious observer can deny that Indonesian Islam is part of universal Islam. The unity of the Muslim world has been preserved by various mechanisms, in particular the hajj, the circulation of religious and/or scholarly texts, education in general and the mystical orders. Several studies show that the Indonesian Archipelago was not beyond the reach of these mechanisms, rather on the contrary. In recent times, the mechanisms that unify the Muslim world have become even stronger. For the last three years, Indonesia has totally used its quota of hajj pilgrims, the largest in the world. Furthermore, the circulation in Indonesia of foreign Islamic religious literature, both of a “fundamentalist” and of a more innovating nature, has grown tremendously during the last few decades.⁵⁶

Conclusion

At the end of this article, we conclude that the question to what extent Indonesian Islam is particular or part of universal Islam was not only controversial in the past, but remains so up to the present. Furthermore, I have shown that the debate took place both in scholarly and political circles and that the discussions in both spheres were not unrelated. Finally, I made some brief observations suggesting a more balanced approach to the controversial subject.

A great step forward in our insight into the universality and particularity within Islam would be made if the vision of Islam as a set of static rules and dogmas were given up and replaced by an understanding of Islam as a set of principles giving rise to an unending process of implementation and elaboration, in conformity with various contexts. This dynamic view of Islam, while maintaining universality, at the same time allows for particularity, not outside or in opposition to Islam, but within Islam.

End Notes

- * This article is an elaborated version of a paper presented at the workshop "Islam in South and Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Cultural Approaches" (convenor Charles Macdonald) of the joint AFEMAM-EURAMES conference held in Aix-en-Provence, 4-7 July 1996. Improved versions of other papers presented at the same workshop were published in the two preceding issues of *Studia Islamika*.
1. Berg, Lodewijk Willem Christiaan van den, *De beginselen van het mohammedaansche recht, volgens de imâm's Aboc Hanîfat en asj-Sjâfi'î* [The Principles of Muhammadan Law, According to the Imâms Abû Hanîfah and al-Shâfi'î], Batavia/'s-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1874, second, improved edition 1878, 1883.
 2. Arkoun, Mohammed, "Pour une islamologie appliquée", in Arkoun, Mohammed, *Pour une critique de la raison islamique*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1984, p. 43 ff.
 3. See Kaptein, Nico J.G., *Fatwas as a Unifying Factor in Indonesian History*, paper presented at the International Conference on Islam and the 21st Century, Leiden, 3-7 June 1996, p. 8 [to be published in the collection of papers of this conference by INIS, Leiden/Jakarta].
 4. Especially so regarding Aceh, as argued in Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan, *De Atjehers*, Batavia/Leiden, Landsdrukkerij/Brill, I (1893), p. 171 ff., II (1894), 381, 384 ff. (This work has been translated into English by A.W.S. O'Sullivan as *The Acehese*, Leiden, Brill, 1906) and still more outspokenly in his *Atjeh-verslag* (Aceh report) to the Netherlands Indies government (1892), of which *De Atjehers* is an elaboration for a wider public and of which the introduction was published in Snouck's official advices (Gob)é, E. and C. Adriaanse (eds), *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889-1936*, 's-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1957 ff., Vol. I (1957), p. 47 ff.; see especially p. 51 f., 55, 71 f.
 5. Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan, "Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht" [Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg's Practizing of Muhammadan Law], *De Indische Gids; staatkundig, economisch en letterkundig tijdschrift* (Amsterdam), 6 (1884), p. 363-434, 737-816, esp. p. 815; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan, *De Atjehers*, I, p. 12 f., 297 ff., II, p. 374; Drewes, Gerardus Willebrordus Joannes, "Snouck Hurgronje and the study of Islam", *BKI* ('s-Gravenhage), 113 (1957), p. 13; Alfian, *Muhammadiyah. The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism*, Yogyakarta, Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989, p. 19 ff.; Benda, Harry J., "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia", in Ibrahim, Ahmad; Siddique, Sharon; Hussain, Yasmin (eds), *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, s.a. [1986], p. 63 [reprint from *Journal of Modern History* (Chicago/London), 30 (1958)]. Kaptein, *i.e.* argues that further study of Van den Berg's writings might show that this scholar in fact had prepared the later vision on the relation of *adat* and Islam, adhered to by Snouck Hurgronje and others.
 6. As for the static character of *adat*, Snouck Hurgronje's vision may be stated more precisely as follows. On the one hand, refuting what he considers the superficial belief of some Europeans, he stresses that even the most primitive societies and their laws are not unchanging (Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, p. 9 f., 17). On the other hand, he states that, except for changes in details, contem-

- porary Acehnese *adat* law had existed for centuries (*op. cit.*, p. 17). Although Snouck Hurgronje's discussion of the matter lacks a clear elaboration, one concludes that he considers *adat* as static in its principles, not in its details.
7. Kaptein, *l.c.*
 8. Cf. Graaf, H.J. de, *Geschiedenis van Indonesie* [History of Indonesia], 's-Gravenhage/Bandung, Van Hoeve, 1949, p. 460; Niel, Robert van, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, 's-Gravenhage, Van Hoeve, 1960 [KITLV reprint 1984: Dordrecht/Cinnaminson, Foris, 1984], p. 31 ff., Nagazumi, Akira, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism: the Early Years of the Budi Utomo, 1908-1918*, Tokyo, Institute of Developing Economies, 1972, p. 18 ff.
 9. Bowen, John R., "Western Studies of Southeast Asian Islam: Problems of Theory and Practice", *Studia Islamika* (Jakarta), 2, 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1995), p. 69-86. Bowen refers in particular to Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*; Winstedt, Richard, *The Malays: A Cultural History*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1947; Geertz, Clifford, *The Religion of Java*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960.
 10. However, in contradistinction to lesser scholars and laymen, who readily equate orthodox Islam with Arab Islam, Geertz is to good an anthropologist to pretend that in the Arab world Islam is all pure "orthodoxy" (*cf.* his *Islam Observed: Religious Developments in Morocco and Indonesia*, Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press, 1968). Snouck Hurgronje, similarly, was of the opinion that his theory that actual life of Muslims was very little determined by orthodox scripture and very much by local *adat*, applied to the Arab peninsula as much as to the Indonesian archipelago. Geertz subdivides the Javanese religious tradition into three subtraditions, the *santri*, or purer Islamic one, the *prijaji* (*priyayi*) one, strongly related to the pre-colonial court tradition and Hindu-Buddhist mysticism, and the *abangan* one. The last-mentioned subvariant, Geertz argues, stresses the animistic aspects of the over-all Javanese syncretism and is especially, though not exclusively, related to the peasant population (Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, p. 5 f.).
 11. Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, p. 182 ff. As for the mysticism of *abangan*, this is related especially to several rites based on a belief in numerous spiritual forces (*op. cit.*, Part One, *passim*). Among *priyayi*, he presents mysticism as going back to the mystical tradition of Hindu-Buddhism (*op. cit.*, Part Three, esp. chapter 20 and 21).
 12. Redfield characterizes great traditions as traditions consciously cultivated and handed down by philosophers, theologians and/or literary men, connected to urban societies, more especially to schools and/or temples, and in many cases to writing. Little traditions, then, are the traditions of the unreflective masses of village communities. See Redfield, Robert, "The Natural History of the Folk Society", *Social Forces* (Chapel Hill), 31 (1952/1953), p. 224-228, esp. p. 228; Redfield, Robert, *Peasant Society and Culture*, Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press, 1960 [originally a lecture of 1955, published in one volume together with *The Little Community*], esp. p. 41 f.; *cf.* Redfield, Robert, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, Ithaca, 1954; *cf.* Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, p. 227-228.
 13. Grunebaum, Gustav Edward von, "The problem: Unity in Diversity", in Grunebaum, G.E. von (ed.), *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955 [paper presented at a seminar in Luik/Spa,

- 1953], p. 28; cf. the relevant footnote no. 19 at p. 35.
14. In Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture*, p. 48 ff.
 15. For example in Gellner, Ernest. "Flux and Reflux in the Faith of Men", in Gellner, Ernest, *Muslim Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 4 f. At some places Redfield also uses expressions such as "folk society", "folk culture" and "folk tradition". Although he devotes a separate paragraph to the apparent anomaly of "urban saints" (*op. cit.*, p. 48 ff.), Gellner is another example of those authors who put much stress on mysticism as one of the main elements of the "heterodox" form of Islam.
 16. Geertz, *loc. cit.*, refers explicitly to Redfield.
 17. Hodgson, Marshal G.S., *The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press, paperback edition 1977 [first edition 1961], Vol. I, p. 57 ff.
 18. Cf. *op. cit.*, I, p. 90 ff.
 19. Burke, Edmund (III), "Islamic History as World History: Marshal Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 10 (1979), p. 261-262 [review article], cited in Eickelman, Dale F., "The Study of Islam in Local Contexts", *Contributions to Asian Studies*, 17 (1982), p. 2 f.
 20. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 80.
 21. *Loc. cit.*
 22. Eickelman, *op. cit.*, p. 1-16.
 23. On *op. cit.*, p. 5, Geertz explicitly calls the *santri* minority "the purer Islam" - compared to the *abangan* and *priyayi* religious subtradition.
 24. Thus in Victor I. Tanja, "Perjumpaan Islam dan Kristen" [The Encounter of Islam and Christianity], *Republika* (daily newspaper, Jakarta), 13 August 1993, p. 6, where the author writes among other statements: "Without considering whether the existence of *abangan* within Islam is something good or bad, it is clear that it forms a rather strong factor of the way Islam manifests itself in Indonesia. Islam presents a peaceful and tolerant face, so that Islam can live in peace with other religions in Indonesia." (original in Indonesian). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find back the exact reference of the reader's letter, of about early November 1993.
 25. Cf. Johns, Anthony H., "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions", *Indonesta* (Ithaca), 19 (1975), p. 35 f.
 26. This type of reasoning is based on the tendency to consider Middle Eastern Muslims as better or stricter Muslims than those of regions where Islam was introduced more recently. Nikki R. Keddie draws attention to the fact that many Muslims and non-Muslims are inclined to this kind of judgment (Keddie, Nikki R., "Islam and Society in Minangkabau and in the Middle East: Comparative Reflections", *Sojourn* (Singapore), 2, 1 (Feb. 1987), p. 3 f.). However, she opposes this vision by stressing, like Snouck Hurgronje earlier, that the influence of local customs on the development of Muslim law is not limited to the Indonesian Archipelago or certain other regions, but exists also in the Middle East. Only, she adds, Islam developed first in the Arab Middle East and this is the main reason why the legal system that was shaped there, relatively early, under the influence of several customs, social conditions, and needs particular to that region, is often considered more authentically Islamic than legal systems that developed later in similar ways, in other regions of the Muslim world, such as the Indonesian Archipelago or one part of it, the Minangkabau (West Sumatra), which has her particular attention (*op. cit.*, p. 4 ff.).

27. As "officially" formulated as conclusion no. 1 of the "Seminar Masuknya Islam ke Indonesia" [Seminar on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia] organized in Medan, 17-20 March 1963: "[the participants conclude] that according to sources which we know, Islam entered for the first time in Indonesia during the first century of the *hijrah* (seventh/eighth century of the Christian era) and directly from Arabia" [original in Indonesian] (A. Hasyimi, *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia (Kumpulan Prasaran pada Seminar di Aceh)* [The History of the Arrival and Development of Islam in Indonesia (Collection of Preliminary Reports to the Aceh Seminar)] (s.l.: Almaarif, 19892), p. 7). Among the Dutch scholars who argued that Islam had been brought relatively late to the Indonesian archipelago and from India are Jan Pijnappel (who mentioned that Arabs from Gujarat and Malabar spread Islam here) and Snouck Hurgronje (who considers South India as the most probable origin of Indonesian Islam). They discarded opinions of earlier Dutch authors who had ascribed the spread of Islam in this region to Arabs from the Middle East. Later Dutch authors who surmised an Indian origin of Indonesian Islam are J.P. Moquette, R.A. Kern, B.H.M. Vlekke, J. Gonda and B.J.O. Schrieke. They assumed that Islam had arrived in the region from the 12th century of the Christian era or later. For a more detailed survey of the debate, two of the most useful references are Drewes, G.W.J., "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia?", *BKI*, 124 (1968), 433-459 and Azra, Azyumardi, *The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, unpublished dis. Columbia University, New York, 1992 [to be published by KITLV, Leiden; Indonesian translation: *Jaringan Ulama. Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII. Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*, Bandung, Mizan, 1994], chapter I.
28. Dobbin, Christine, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy. Central Sumatra, 1784-1847*, London/Malmö, Curzon, 1983; Chatib, Adrianus, *Kaum Padri dan Reformasi Keagamaan di Minangkabau* [The Padri Movement and Religious Reform in the Minangkabau], Jakarta, unpublished dis., IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, 1992.
29. Azra, *o.c.*
30. See among other places Snouck Hurgronje, *Atjeh-verslag*, in Gobée and Adriane (eds), *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, I, p. 50 f.; Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, I, p. 75, 163, 184. Although Snouck Hurgronje, in the framework of the political and military problems faced by the Dutch authorities, stresses the role of the *uleēbalang* as *adat* chiefs, he also mentions the *imeums* and the *keutjhi* (*keuchiks*) as *adat* leaders at the level of districts and villages, respectively (Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, I, p. 67 ff., 86 ss.).
31. Siegel, James, *The Rope of God*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969, esp. p. 9 ff.
32. Cf. Abdullah, Taufik, "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau" *Indonesia*, 2 (April 1966), p. 3, referring to HAMKA [Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah], *Ayahku: Riwayat hidup Dr. H. Abd. Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera* [My Father: a Biography of Dr. Abd. Karim Amrullah and the Struggle of the Religious People in Sumatra], Jakarta, 1958, p. 23-24. It should be added that at an earlier stage of his life HAMKA tended rather to contrast *adat* and Islam (cf. the (anonymous) "Pengantar" [Introduc-

- tion] to HAMKA, *Islam dan Adat Minangkabau* [Islam and Minangkabau Adat; a collection of writings by HAMKA from different periods], Jakarta, Pustaka Panjimas, 1984).
33. Abdullah, *o.c.*, p. 1-24.
 34. Mona Abaza also points to the promotion of different views on the history of Islam in South-East Asia as part of the debate on cultural identity. She explains that within this discussion the relation of the region to the Middle East is the object of particular attention (Mona Abaza, "Islam in South-east Asia: Varying Impact and Images of the Middle East", in Hussin Mutalib and Taj ul-Islam Hashimi (eds), *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State; Case-studies of Muslims in Thirteen Countries*, London: MacMillan/New York: St. Martin Press, 1994, p. 148 f.).
 35. Tanja, *loc. cit.*; the same vision on the history of Islam is presented in Tanja, Victor I., *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, Jakarta, Sinar Harapan, 1982, p. 21.
 36. Steenbrink, Karel A., *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* [Some Aspects of Islam in 19th Century Indonesia], Jakarta, Bulan Bintang, 1984, p. 173 f.
 37. Woodward, Mark Rhey, *Islam in Java. Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1989.
 38. See esp. *op. cit.*, 244 ff.
 39. Azra, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
 40. See esp. Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 247, criticizing in particular Geertz.
 41. Simuh, *Mistik Islam Kejawaen Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita. Suatu Studi Terhadap Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati* [The Javanese Islamic Mysticism of Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita. A Study on the *Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati*], Jakarta, Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1988; Ardhani, Moh., *Al Qur'an dan Sufisme Mangkunagara IV (Studi Serat-Serat Piwulang)* [The Qur'an and the Sufism of Mangkunagara IV (A Study of the *Serat-Serat Piwulang*)], Dana Bhakti Wakaf, Yogyakarta, 1995. Interesting to note that, although both authors strive at the rehabilitation of Javanese Islamic mysticism, they do not agree on details: Ardhani contrasts "his" Mangkunagara IV, as a Sunnite sufi, with several sufis of less orthodox ideas, among whom Ranggawarsita, the demonstration of the "orthodox" character of whose works is precisely the objective of Simuh's book. Apparently, in his judgement on Ranggawarsita Ardhani is led by earlier work by the Dutch scholar, D.A. Rinke, without referring to Simuh's dissertation, already available at the time Ardhani finished his one (see Ardhani, *op. cit.*, p. 366, 369).
 42. Siddiq, Achmad, *Islam, Pancasila dan Ukhuwah Islamiyah* [Islam, Pancasila and *Ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Islamic Fraternity)], Jakarta, Lajnah Ta'lim wan Nasyr PBNU/Sumber Barokah (transcript of an interview of Achmad Siddiq with Fahmi Saifuddin), p. 25. See Feillard, Andrée, *Islam et armée dans l'Indonésie contemporaine. Les pionniers de la tradition*, Paris, Association Archipel/L'Harmattan, 1995, p. 184 f. Achmad Siddiq (1926-1992), was *rais aam* (*ra'is 'amm* - general chairman) of the (*Syuriah* [lajnah syar'iyah - Consultative Commission]) of the NU from 1983 until his death. The NU is called traditionalist because, more than adherents of Islamic reformism, it attaches particular value to the tradition of Islamic jurisprudence, theology and mysticism as developed during the long period of its existence. Obviously, at least for the NU figures referred to here, this traditionalism included a positive attitude to specifically Indonesian customs and values.

43. Siddiq, *loc. cit.*; Feillard, *loc. cit.*
44. See Feillard, *op. cit.*, p. 179 ff. for details.
45. Abdurrahman Wahid (born 1940) has been the general chairman of the *Tanfidziyah* (*lajnah tanfidhiyyah* - Executive Commission) of the NU since 1984.
46. Cf. Feillard, *op. cit.*, p. 200 f., 280.
47. Among the proposals rejected were those to give equal rights to men and women in heritage and to make adopted children eligible to heritage. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 291 ff.
48. Cf. Eickelman, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
49. Feillard, Andrée, "Indonesia's Emerging Muslim Feminism: Women Leaders on Equality, Inheritance and Other Gender Issues", *Studia Islamika*, p. 88 f., 103, 105.
50. *Op. cit.*, p. 103.
51. *Op. cit.*, p. 88, 101 ff.
52. *Op. cit.*, p. 102.
53. An example is the large movement of solidarity with the Bosnian Muslims (cf. Aqsha, Darul; Dick van der Meij and Johan Hendrik Meuleman, *Islam in Indonesia. A Survey of Events and Developments from 1988 to March 1993*, Jakarta, INIS, 1995, p. 26 ff., 50 ff.).
54. For example the efforts of Munawir Sjadzali, mentioned earlier.
55. Cf. Abaza, *op. cit.*, p. 139 ff. also points to the presence of conflicting images on the Middle East in South-East Asia --including Indonesia-- and their impact in political life.
56. Cf., in relation to literature concerning the Muslim woman, Meuleman, Johan Hendrik, "Analisis Buku-Buku tentang Wanita Islam yang Beredar di Indonesia", in Marcoes-Natsir, Lies; Meuleman, Johan Hendrik, *Wanita Islam Indonesia dalam Kajian Tekstual dan Kontekstual* [The Indonesian Muslim Woman Studied from a Textual and Contextual Point of View], Jakarta, INIS, 1993, p. 175-205; more in general, forthcoming publications by Jeroen Peeters, International Institute of Asian Studies, Leiden.

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