



Discourse Of Islamization In Indonesia: Hoesein Djajadiningrat's Vision In The Colonial And Postcolonial Periods

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Abstract: *Discourses on Islamization in Indonesia are quite varied, including giving birth to the opinion that Islam originated in Gujarat, Mecca, Persia and China. The problem is, the discourse about the opinion of the coming of Islam to Indonesia which later became a unified historical story is rarely found. The discourse on Islamization became a long discourse in the colonial and postcolonial periods. This paper aims to elaborate on the vision of Islamization according to Hoesein Djajadiningrat. Hoesein argues that Islam in Indonesia originates from Persia. The argument in this paper is that Hoesein as an intellectual can be aligned with scholars who give opinions on Islamization such as Snouck Hurgronje, Pijnappel, JP Moquette, Hamka, and Abu Bakar Aceh. This paper uses historical methods consisting of heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The results in this paper find that the Islamization discourse originating from Persia is a strengthening of the Islamization of Gujarat and a counter discourse of Arab Islamization. Therefore, this paper will analyze, first, the Islamization Debate in Western discourse. Second, the postcolonial Islamization Debate, and Third, the Arab vs Persian Islamization debate.*

Keywords: *Hoesein Djajadiningrat, Islam, Persian, Colonial, Postcolonial*

Wacana Islamisasi di Indonesia: Visi Hoesein Djajadiningrat di Indonesia Masa Kolonial dan Postkolonial

Abstrak: Diskursus mengenai Islamisasi di Indonesia cukup beragam, diantaranya melahirkan pendapat bahwa Islam berasal dari Gujarat, Mekkah, Persia dan Cina. Permasalahannya, diskursus soal pendapat datangnya Islam ke Indonesia tersebut yang kemudian menjadi satu kesatuan cerita sejarah jarang ditemukan. Adapun diskursus mengenai Islamisasi menjadi wacana panjang pada masa kolonial dan pascakolonial. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengelaborasi visi Islamisasi menurut Hoesein Djajadiningrat. Hoesein berpendapat bahwa Islam di Indonesia berasal dari Persia. Argumentasi dalam tulisan ini yakni Hoesein sebagai seorang intelektual dapat disejajarkan dengan para sarjana yang memberikan pendapat soal Islamisasi seperti Snouck Hurgronje, Pijnappel, JP Moquette, Hamka, dan Abu Bakar Aceh. Tulisan ini menggunakan metode sejarah yang terdiri dari heuristik, kritik, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa diskursus Islamisasi yang berasal dari Persia merupakan penguatan Islamisasi Gujarat dan wacana tandingan Islamisasi Arab. Oleh karena itu, tulisan ini akan menganalisis, pertama, Perdebatan Islamisasi dalam wacana Barat. Kedua, Perdebatan Islamisasi pascakolonial, dan Ketiga, Perdebatan Islamisasi Arab vs Persia.

Kata Kunci: Hoesein Djajadiningrat, Islam, Persia, Kolonial, Pascakolonial.



INTRODUCTION

Islam in Indonesia is an important and interesting discussion since the XIX century. Islam was symbolized as a great force capable of moving Indonesian society at that time. On the one hand, the colonial government aimed to strengthen and maintain its power. While on the other hand, Muslims are trying to break away from colonial rule (Benda, 1983). These quite different objectives resulted in Islam being seen as a threat. Therefore, the colonial government deemed it necessary to study the various forms of these threats. One of the attempts is the mastery of science. Therefore, Islam was studied scientifically, especially in the Netherlands (Pijper, 1961). To support knowledge of Islam in Indonesia, the colonial government brought in Snouck Hurgronje in 1889 (van Koningsveld, 1989). Researchers in the Dutch East Indies continued to emerge, including Pijnappel, JP Moquette, and RA Kern. Snouck then recruited natives to perpetuate his thoughts which were similar to the colonial discourse, one of which was Hoesein. Hoesein is a menak from Banten. He was born in Kramatwatu, Banten on 8 December 1886 (Pijper, 1961). On the recommendation of Snouck, Hoesein got access to education which was quite easy. He entered the Department of Oriental Literature at the University of Leiden in 1904. In addition, Hoesein was directly promoted by Snouck and graduated in 1913. This paper will discuss Hoesein's ideas which will be elaborated on by Snouck, Hamka and Abu Bakar Aceh's ideas.

Studies on the discourse of the spread of Islam into Indonesia have of course been widely studied. The earliest study discussing Islamization in Indonesia was written by Drewes entitled *New Light on Coming of Islam in Indonesia?*, this paper discusses the debate over the idea of Islamization in Indonesia originating from Gujarat. The most common studies can be found in MC Ricklefs' book entitled *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2008* (Ricklefs, 2008) and also in Michael Laffan's book *Sejarah Islam di Nusantara* (M. F. Laffan, 2015). These two books explain the process of the spread of Islam, but do not focus on one idea, but instead combine all the ideas of the spread of Islam to Indonesia, such as from Gujarat, Mecca, Persia, and China. The three discourses only briefly explain how the idea of the spread of Islam emerged in Indonesia without putting a holistic debate on it. This paper will focus more on the idea of the Islamization of Persia initiated by Hoesein. The Islamization of Persia initiated by Hoesein has actually been put forward by GF Pijper in his article entitled *Professor Dr. Pangeran Ario Hoesein Djajadiningrat 8 December 1886-12*

November 1960 (Pijper, 1961). Hoesein's vision was also written by Mohammad Refi Omar Ar Razy, Kunto Sofianto, and Gani Ahmad Jaelani under the title *Visi Orientalisme Hoesein Djajadiningrat Dalam Ilmu Pengetahuan dan Pemajuan Identitas Kebudayaan (1911-1960)* (Razy, Sofianto, & Jaelani, 2022). However, this paper also only focuses on Hoesein's ideas about history and ideas about culture originating from Hoesein. This article does touch on Hoesein's Islamic vision, especially the issue of Islamization originating from Persia. Therefore, this paper will try to elaborate on the debate over the idea of Islamization in Indonesia which is based on the process of Islamization of Persia initiated by Hoesein.

This paper is quite important because firstly, it aims to raise the study of Islamic history in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia. Hoesein, who is later discussed in this paper, shows the complexity of thought in Islamic ideas born of intellectual natives during the colonial and post-colonial periods. Second, Hoesein thoughts are quite unique because usually, orientalist who focus on Islamic studies come from the West. However, in this study, orientalist thought was born from an easterner who received western education and then used an orientalist framework in explaining Islam, especially in his idea of the Islamization of Persia. For these two reasons, this paper is expected to be able to contribute to the study of intellectual history during the colonial and post-colonial periods which has not been widely carried out.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method in this study uses historical methods which consist of heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography (Lubis, 2020). In the heuristic stage searching for and finding sources, information, traces of the past or historical traces, the projection of the search for sources regarding this writing is carried out by the author at various related institutions, including the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia and the Sonobudoyo Library. The author gets several references about Hoesein including books on the history of Banten and Aceh, *biography of J.P Moquette (1927)*, *Herinneringen van Prince Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat* which is the work of Achmad Djajadiningrat (1936), biography of Hoesein Djajadiningrat written by G.F. Pijper entitled *Professor Dr. Pangeran Ario Hoesein Djajadiningrat 8 December 1886-12 November 1960 (1960)*. In the critical stage, the writer criticizes the article by G.F. Pijper entitled *Professor Dr. Pangeran Ario Hoesein Djajadiningrat*

8 December 1886-12 November 1960 (1960). As explained above, this article can be accessed at the Sonobudoyo library and museum. The writing in this article uses a typewriter which can then be seen from the font and ink according to the use of the typewriter. The paper has started to turn brownish. This shows that the paper used is quite old and generally found similar papers in the same period. In addition, in terms of substance, this article by Pijper uses Dutch. From here then the author gets the necessary data. In the interpretation stage, the author obtained data from Pijper's work regarding the biography of Hoesein which then stated that Hoesein was a descendant of the Banten sultanate, reinforced by Achmad Djajadiningrat in his book entitled *Herinneringen van Prince Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat* (1936), which was later corroborated with other primary sources, such as archives, newspapers and magazines. From this interpretation stage, the writer then obtains historical facts (Lubis, 2020). The next stage is historiography which in this paper is entitled *Discourse Of Islamization In Indonesia: Hoesein Djajadiningrat's Vision In The Colonial And Postcolonial Periods*.

RESULT & DISCUSSION

Islamization Discourse in Western Discourse

In the nineteenth century, a movement based on Islamic dogma became a force in Indonesia. One of them is influenced by Arab-Indonesian relations. This relationship was built because of the pilgrimage performed in Mecca. This interaction gave rise to knowledge about the process of Islamization that is believed to come from Arabia by the general public in Indonesia (M. F. Laffan, 2003b). In addition, from this interaction emerged an Islamic reformist movement against colonialism, one of which was carried out by the Dutch. These movements emerged massively and in 1881 rumors emerged about a new plan to massacre the colonial rulers of most of the Muslims in the world, including in Indonesia (M. F. Laffan, 2015). With such threats, the colonial government tried to separate Arabia from Indonesia, one of which was by reconstructing Islamization in Indonesia (M. F. Laffan, 2003a). Attempts made to separate Arabia and Indonesians then emerged in the idea of Islamization in Indonesia which originated from areas outside of Arabia, namely India. This idea was later developed by Snouck (Drewes, 1957).

Snouck's idea emerged in 1883, six years before he arrived in Indonesia. Drewes saw that Snouck's idea was a reinforcement of the idea put forward by Pijnappel in 1872 (Drewes, 1968). However, actually, Pijnappel only identified the idea of Arab Islamization in Indonesia which became the belief of the people in general that it would be replaced by the idea of Islamization from India or Persia (Pijnappel, 1872). Snouck delivered it for the first time at the Colonial Seminar in Amsterdam. Snouck delivered a speech entitled *The Meaning of Islam for Its Followers in the East Indies*. In this speech, his opinion regarding the process of Islamization in Indonesia can be identified more critically and analytically. It is not just word-of-mouth ideas practiced by Indonesian people in general (Hurgronje, 1923)

Snouck's interest in Islam in Indonesia began in the 1880s when he studied Oriental Literature with a concentration in Arabic. He went back and forth a lot and lived in Mecca with an Islamic name Dr. Abd Gaffar. Perhaps Snouck's ideas like that became an attraction for the colonial government to bring Snouck directly to Indonesia in 1889 (M. Laffan, 1999). The ideas of the Islamization of Gujarat originating from Snouck were later strengthened in his book entitled *Arabie en Oost Indie* (Hurgronje, 1907) and *Nederland en de Islam* (Hurgronje, 1911) as a result of Snouck's observations in Indonesia. It is very logical that Snouck then brought up this discourse which was in line with the colonial government's aim to separate Arab Islam from Indonesia. In his book, the discussion which pertains to the process of the Islamization of Gujarat is also important to note. His idea started from his views on the history of Islam in Indonesia (Rohmana, 2018). According to him, Islam has entered Indonesia since the XII century AD (Hurgronje, 1907). Snouck argues that the spread of Islam on a large scale occurred after the destruction of the Abbasid dynasty. Even though, Snouck sees that it is possible that Islam entered Indonesia from other regions (M. F. Laffan, 2003a). However, their role is no more significant than the Indians who brought Islam to Indonesia.

The idea of Snouck was then reinforced by JP Moquette who presented the results of archaeological research. This research was conducted in 1912, Moquette examined the tomb of the king of the Samudera Pasai kingdom named Malikussaleh which was dated 1297 and in the near future, Moquette also examined the tomb of Sultan Malik Ibrahim in Gresik (without year numbers), which according to him came from the XV century. Moquette concluded that the two people's burial patterns were from Gujarat. This can be seen in the

style of the tombstone which according to him is similar to the style of Cambay or Gujarat (H. Djajadiningrat, 1927). This archaeological discovery further strengthens Snouck's ideas about the spread of Islam which originated in the XII century and originated in India (Kern, 1947). Therefore, India can be defined as the main ideas of western orientalist, especially during the colonial period. This might have been strongly influenced by the discourse of "Greater India" which greatly influenced the ideas of orientalist on Asia which were centered on India-centric (Bayly, 2004).

It didn't end there, the idea of the Islamization of Gujarat was also reinforced by GE Morrison (1951). This idea emerged after Dutch colonialism. His argument is guided by the 19th century trying to link Islam in Indonesia with the existence of a majority of the Shafi'i school with the majority of Muslim communities in the Malabar and Coromandel regions, India (Morrison, 1951). The political factors of the colonial government at that time were important to pay attention to, especially the massive understanding of pan-Islamism. Pan-Islam emerged and developed in Arab lands, some of which were initiated by Muhammad Abduh and Jamaludin Al Afghani. The Dutch East Indies colonial government was still afraid of the power of pan-Islamism. However, this did not stop the pan-Islamic movement from spreading and expanding throughout Indonesia at that time.

Arab attention, especially from Egypt and Mecca, continued to arrive massively. Snouck's ideas regarding the Islamization of Gujarat were considered to be against Arab influence when Aceh was at war with the Dutch (Drewes, 1968). Some of these things were caused by the massive interaction of Indonesians and Arabia when they were performing the pilgrimage in Mecca (Hurgronje, 1907, 2007). They met with various Muslims around the world. Therefore, pan-Islamism could not recede from the struggle of Muslims at that time, including in Indonesia. The Islamization of Gujarat seems to be an alternative to several ways the colonial government stopped pan-Islamism (Ricklefs, 2008). In its development, Islamic movements at that time were well extinguished. The period of national movements in the early twentieth century in Indonesia is rarely found in resistance movements in the name of Islam (Suminto, 1985).

The idea of the Islamization of Gujarat is not without criticism. Hamka in 1945 criticized the existence of the Islamization of Gujarat in the debate over the spread of Islam into Indonesia. This debate arose when Indonesia became independent. Indonesia's

closeness to Arabia brought back strong Arab influence in Indonesia, one of which was by reconstructing Arab Islamization (M. F. Laffan, 2003b). In addition, the disappearance of Dutch influence gave local Indologists the freedom to (re)construct ideas that were previously mostly carried out by the colonial side. It is possible that Hamka did not express his Arab ideas before independence because of the protection provided by the colonial government. The reason is when conflicts arose by bumiputera, they were not free to carry out Islamic teachings. The protection and anti-Arab behavior carried out by the Netherlands were not in line with its foreign policy. In the early period of the XX century AD, the Netherlands had a fairly good relationship with the kingdom of Saudi Arabia compared to previous decades (M. F. Laffan, 2003a).

Hamka explained this in detail in his book entitled *History of Islam in Sumatra (1945/1950)*. According to Hamka, the spread of Islam originally came from Arab lands (Mecca) and then spread through various trade routes (Hamka, 1950). Hamka's idea was based on the trade route in the Malacca Strait which had been open since the 1st century AD and was gradually used by Islamic traders. In addition, the records of Islamic explorers to the Sumatra region did not escape Hamka's review. The activities of these Arab traders were later mentioned in many Chinese records which were later quoted by Hamka. From these records, Hamka then found the fact that in 684 AD the settlement of Arabia on the west coast of Sumatra had already been formed (Hamka, 1984). According to him, Snouck's ideas about the Islamization of Gujarat do not have strong arguments. He only looked at the results of Sheikh Muhammad Alkali's research regarding the establishment of the Pasai Sultanate without corroboration with other sources and phenomena in Sumatra (Hamka, 1950).

In 1958, Hamka expressed his opinion at the VIII Yogyakarta Islamic State University (PTAIN) Anniversary seminar in 1958 in Yogyakarta (Hamka, 2017). Hamka said that the spread of Islam to Indonesia came from Arabia. The idea of the spread of Islam into Indonesia from Arabic was then supported by several other experts such as Thomas W. Arnold, Sayyid Muhammad Naquib Al Attas, and A. Hasymi (Hamka, 2002). Hamka highlighted the history of the spread of Islam in an effort to dispel western orientalist ideas. According to him, these western orientalists are trying to obscure the history of Islam in Indonesia as something impure. India, which was used as the main benchmark for the spread of Islam into Indonesia during the colonial period, shows an attempt by orientalists to obscure Islamic history,

especially in Indonesia (Hamka, 2002). Hamka's opinion was also widely supported in the mid-1950s.

Postcolonial Islamization Discourse

The debate about the process of postcolonial Islamization is quite interesting to review. Hoesein's name appears in Islamization discourses to provide an alternative idea. He initiated the Islamization of Persia. His ideas are based more on criticism of the idea of Arab Islamization. Therefore, Hoesein indirectly seemed to criticize what was initiated by Hamka. Before the idea of the Islamization of Persia emerged, at first Hoesein had similar thoughts to western orientation. Hoesein supports the Islamization process that originated in Gujarat. His ideas are related to archaeological discoveries that confirm that Islam originated in Gujarat. In his dissertation, Hoesein mentioned the tombstone of Malik Ibrahim in Gresik. From there, he concluded that Islam entered Indonesia in the XI or XII centuries AD (H. Djajadiningrat, 1913, 1982). In his idea, Hoesein mentioned the discovery made by Moquette in 1912. Moquette argued that the tomb of Malik Ibrahim came from Cambay, Gujarat (H. Djajadiningrat, 1927). In addition, Hoesein also mentioned the tombstone of Fatimah bint Maimun which is dated 1082/83 AD or 1101/02 AD. Hoesein also believes that the tombstone has a quite important position in evidence of the spread of Islam into Indonesia (H. Djajadiningrat, 1995).

As for Hoesein's idea that Islam entered Indonesia at that time from Persia, it occurred postcolonial. His ideas were explicitly stated in an article entitled *Islam in Indonesia* (H. Djajadiningrat, 1958). Hoesein's article is contained in a collection of articles compiled by Kenneth W. Morgan in his book entitled *The Straight Path: Islam Interpreted by Muslim* (Morgan, 1958). The aim is to explain Islam from various regions, especially Africa, Turkey, Pakistan, India, China, and Indonesia. This can be seen from the origin of the author whose articles are also included in the book. The target readers of this book are Westerners, so the author in this book shows the intellectual manifestations of Islam in the various areas mentioned (Morgan, 1958). In this collection of articles, Hoesein was a representative from Indonesia together with Mohammad Rasjidi who was then the Indonesian ambassador to Pakistan. "Hoesein is a senior Muslim scholar in Indonesia who is highly respected and valued by his nation" (Morgan, 1958, p. 13). In the discourse on the spread of Islam into

Indonesia, Hoesein's idea is almost the same as the ideas of other Islamization that Islam entered Indonesia through trade flows. Many of these traders then carried out the amalgamation process so that the territory of Indonesia was Islamized at that time.

Although, during the colonial period, Hoesein also strengthened the idea of the Islamization of Gujarat. Hoesein's strengthening of the Islamization of Gujarat during the colonial period was inseparable from Snouck's influence on him. This happened because Snouck was Hoesein's teacher during his higher education in the Netherlands (A. Djajadiningrat, 1927). Until finally Hoesein initiated a new alternative regarding the spread of Islam to Indonesia originating from Persia. The idea sparked by Hoesein then focused his review on Islamic thought and culture, which is often found in Indonesia, has many similarities with Islam in Persia, especially what he later found in Java and the Banten area in particular (H. Djajadiningrat, 1913).

Hoesein's idea departs from the thoughts initiated by Al-Hallaj who was a leading scholar in Persia in the X century AD. Hoesein leaned on Al-Hallaj's thoughts about "Ana al-Haq" (I am the truth) to Indonesia and was continued by Syekh Siti Jenar in his idea of "Manunggaling Kawula Gusti" (H. Djajadiningrat, 1958). Apart from that, some other evidence put forward by Hoesein regarding Islam in Indonesia comes from Persia, namely: First, commemorating Husein's death in the month of Suro (*Muharram*). Some of the things that are done include Shia customs such as making Suro porridge (*Asbura*) or carrying around Husayn's coffin which was made symbolically and then throwing it into the river. Second, the use of Persian language terms in education to spell the letters of the Qur'an, such as *Jabar-Jabar (Fathah)*, *Jer-zer-er (Kasrah)*, and *P'es-py'es (Dommah)*. Hoesein discovered these two things when he was in Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, and Banten. Hoesein lived in Aceh for one year (1914-1915) in order to learn the local Acehnese language to make an Acehnese dictionary. He succeeded in writing up the dictionary with the help of several of his colleagues such as Mohammad Nurdin, Abu Bakar Aceh, and GAJ Hazeu (H. Djajadiningrat, 1934). While Banten is the birth and living place of Hoesein (Razy et al., 2022). Hoesein grew and developed in Banten with a fairly devout Islamic character. According to Achmad Djajadiningrat, all of his siblings including Hoesein were educated extensively about Islam. Therefore, it seems that since he was young until adult, he always witnessed the development of Islam in Banten (A. Djajadiningrat, 1936).

Hoesein also explained that Islam from Persia did not just come. Hoesein tried to elaborate on the idea of the Islamization of Gujarat. According to him, the Persians first passed through India and spread Persian-style Islam there. Those from India went to Sumatra which then spread to other parts of Indonesia including Java. This can be seen from the relics, such as the tombstones of Malik as-Saleh in Pasai and Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Gresik. Apart from that, the spread of the Shafi'i school actually came to Indonesia. The idea of the spread of Islam from Persia was also influenced by the Islamization of Gujarat. In this idea, it is very clear that Hoesein actually tried to legitimize the Islamization of Gujarat which was put forward by many other orientalist, especially during the colonial period (Pijper, 1961). The reason is Hoesein saw that Islam from Persia did not enter Indonesia directly, but through India and then Sumatra. India's position clearly reinforces what Snouck and other proponents of the Islamization of Gujarat have envisioned (H. Djajadiningrat, 1958). In his ideas, Hamka really highlighted that the Shafi'i school that entered Indonesia came from Mecca. In his argument, Hoesein completely rejected the idea. The reason is, Mecca is not a follower of the Shafi'i school as revealed by Hamka, but the majority of people adhere to the Hambali school (Hurgronje, 2007).

In contrast to Hoesein, Hamka saw that the Malabar meant by the orientalist was Mu'tabar which comes from the word Ma'bar which means a beach provided as a place to cross. Therefore, Hamka sees that Malabar as a stopover, not as a center of the teachings to originate (Hamka, 2002). Usually people who are sentimental about the idea of India as the main discourse in spreading religion also including Islam are people who are sentimental about colonial discourse. Hamka may be one of them. Hamka's closeness to Arab countries is one of the factors. As previously explained, early on in his education Hamka studied a lot in Arab areas, namely Mecca and Egypt. Besides that, in the 1950s to 1960s Hamka also often visited the Arab region. Hoesein's view of the Islamization of Persia seems to be a counter-discourse to what Hamka said and legitimates a new version of the idea of Islamization of Gujarat. If you look at this, of course, there has been a lot going on in the historical discourse of the spread of Islam in Indonesia, which actually happened from the 1950s to the 1960s. Apart from that, this discourse was also motivated by the search for the position and existence of Islam in Indonesia at that time (Chisaan, 2012). Bringing up the idea of the Islamization of Persia which re-legitimized the Islamization of Gujarat brought (back)

reinforcement to the orientalists, especially Hoesein's ideas were written in order to be presented to western people.

Arab vs Persian Islamization Discourse

The Islamization of Persia initiated by Hoesein in 1958 indirectly sparked a new discourse about the spread of Islam in Indonesia. The earliest response to the ideas expressed by Hoesein was when the Seminar on the History of the Entry of Islam to Indonesia was held in 1963 in Medan. The aim was to reclaim a post-colonial Islamic identity (Ali, 1963). The seminar was attended by various domestic experts who explained the spread of Islam to Indonesia, such as Hamka, Abu Bakar Aceh, MD Mansur, Haji Muhammad Said, and Ghazali Hasan. Hamka again became the main intellectual in seminars organized by the government at that time. This might have happened because the current nationalism that occurred in the 1960s was quite strong, and all forms of decolonization were carried out in various scientific forums (Jaelani, 2020). Those who support it are usually the initiators of the Islamization from Gujarat or Persia while those who oppose it are the initiators of the Islamization from Arabia (Sofianto, 2021).

From all speakers, a contrasting debate occurred between Hamka and Abu Bakar Aceh. Hamka reaffirmed his idea that Islam in Indonesia came from Mecca/Arabic. Therefore, in fact, the Arab nation has known Indonesia for a long time (Said, 1963). Hamka's idea was rejected by Abu Bakar Aceh. Abu Bakar Aceh was a student of Snouck and an old friend of Hoesein (Pijper, 1977). Together with Hoesein, he formulated the Aceh Dictionary in 1914-1915 (Pijper, 1961). At first, Abu Bakar Aceh explained that Islam in Indonesia did not always have to be interpreted as coming from India, but some could also come from Arabic. In this idea, Abu Bakar Aceh did not oppose the spread of Islam from Arabia and only added that part of it could have come from India. This idea is almost similar to that described by Hoesein. There has always been India in the minds of Hoesein and Abu Bakar Aceh. India was an idea put forward by Snouck at first. The pattern of ideas from Snouck's students is always oriented towards Indian ideas first without further criticizing them. Abu Bakar Aceh is also the same as Hoesein, he criticized the idea of the spread of Islam in Indonesia originating from Arabia (Aceh, 1963). Furthermore, Abu Bakar Aceh simply highlighted the development of the schools of thought that developed in Aceh. The reason is in line with

Hoesein's opinion. Abu Bakar Aceh sees that the existence of the Shia school in Aceh is a picture of how Islam entered Indonesia (Aceh, 1963).

This is because Hoesein did not mention the Shia school as the main idea in the spread of Islam into Indonesia. According to him, Hasan Husein's commemoration which is often done every Muharram is a tradition that is mostly carried out by adherents of the Shiite school, the majority of whom come from Persia. His argument is the same as that put forward by Hoesein, that according to Abu Bakar Aceh, adherents of the Shia school in Persia then traveled to the Indian region which was then passed on to Indonesia. Hoesein had similar thoughts when the Persians traveled to India and then continued on to Indonesia (Aceh, 1963). Of course, in this case, Hamka's ideas in the seminar on the spread of Islam in 1963 were tried to be opposed by Abu Bakar Aceh. One of them can be seen in the conclusion regarding the initial tempo of the spread of Islam to Indonesia. Islam entered Indonesia for the first time at the beginning of the first century of Hijriyah (VII century AD) and directly from Arabic (Hamka, 1963). The idea of the Islamization of Arabia was used as the main point at the conclusion of the seminar. The conclusions in the seminar were considered to ignore the existence of other Islamization such as Gujarat and Persia.

Arabia may become the main benchmark because of the strong relations between the Indonesian nation and several Arab countries after Indonesia's independence. Agus Salim's diplomacy with the Egyptian state with the aim of seeking recognition of sovereignty from Egypt for the newly independent Indonesia was one of the factors. Politically and in international relations, Arabia has contributed a lot to Indonesia (Fauzi, 2019). In addition, Arab ideas may also be aligned with anti-colonial discourse. This is because colonial discourse always uses the idea of India-Indonesia. Also, the Persian-Indonesian idea, as put forward by Hoesein and Abu Bakar Aceh, only strengthens the India-Indonesian idea. As seen by other orientalist, Hoesein only legitimized Snouck's ideas. Hoesein with his Islamization of Persia was not strong enough in providing new ideas about the spread of Islam into Indonesia. The idea of the Islamization of Persia can actually be compared with other orientalist who initiated the Islamization of Gujarat (Drewes, 1968). Another thing that can then be analyzed is that this might be in line with the reformist currents that were still strong in Indonesia in the 1950s-1960s. The reason is that within the two-decade deadline, the existence of Islam is still strong in various discourses within the Republican stream. Hoesein

highlighted the Masyumi party as the strongest Islamic reformist party in the 1950s (H. Djajadiningrat, 1958). Even though Masyumi was disbanded in 1960 by Soekarno, the reformist thoughts of Masyumi figures cannot be eliminated, especially Hamka (Remy, 2013).

The continuation of the Islamization discourse led to the emergence of the Islamization of China in the Islamization discourse of the spread of Islam into Indonesia. In their ideas, the originators of this Islamization such as Drewes (Drewes, 1968), Slamet Muljana (Muljana, 2013), and de Graaf and Pigeaud (Pigeaud & de Graaf, 1976) put more emphasis on new sources, namely sources originating from Chinese records. However, this idea of Islamization is actually implicitly against Hoesein's idea. This Islamization tends to be closer to Arab Islamization. The reason is, the main idea in this Islamization comes from the Arab-China relations which then occurs in the process of Islamization. However, the idea of Islam entering and developing from China did not become quite popular. This is due to the influence of New Order politics in limiting discourse on China in various aspects.

CONCLUSION

Hoesein Djajadiningrat as an influential person in the development of science in Indonesia is very little discussed. Even though his works made many contributions to Indonesia, especially in his views on Islam. Hoesein views Islam from an orientalist perspective, heavily influenced by the ideas of western orientalism. His idea of Islamization in Persia is a reinforcement of the ideas of other western orientalists who during the colonial period put forward the idea of the process of Islamization originating from Gujarat. The idea of the Islamization of Gujarat was then criticized by Hamka through the idea of Arab Islamization. Indirectly then Hoesein indirectly responded to the idea of Arab Islamization with an alternative idea of the process of Islamization originating from Persia. Hoesein's idea invited many responses. Hamka indirectly opposed it, while Abu Bakar Aceh opposed Hoesein who later strengthened Hoesein's ideas through the role of the Shia school in the process of Islamization in Aceh. This debate did not end there, as a result, a new idea emerged regarding the process of Islamization originating from China. Therefore, Hoesein's framework like this is then put into ideas that use the framework of western orientalists. Even so, Hoesein has made a significant contribution to views on Islam in Indonesia.

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