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CHRISTIAAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE'S ADVICE TO THE DUTCH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES: AN EVALUATION

BY

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Art in Islamic and Other Civilization

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at exploring the merits and implications of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's advice to the Dutch colonial administration in the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia). According to Jan Just Witkam, many of Hurgronje's recommendation were adopted by the Dutch colonial authorities. This study explains how Hurgronje used his knowledge of Islam, which he learned in Makkah and the Netherlands East Indies, in delivering his advice. Moreover, the European ideas of modernism, evolution, civilization, and emancipation permeated most of his advice. Findings of this study demonstrate that although Hurgronje was a scholar and a professor at Leiden University, he supported and assisted colonialism and imperialism by using his knowledge and serving as official adviser to sustain the Dutch colony in the Netherlands East Indies. His primary interest seemed to have been protecting Dutch colonial interests in the whole region. This stance can be seen through his recommendations and in the policies adopted by the Dutch colonial administration. Throughout his career, Hurgronje had tried to inhibit 'radicalization' of Islam (*jihād*) by limiting the role of Islam in society. In fact, he prepared "the road map" for the Netherlands East Indies to become part of the Greater Netherlands - a westernizedsecular state. He could be categorized simply as a nationalist imperialist orientalist.

خلاصة البحث

تحدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف ما تتميّز به بل وما تتضمنه النصيحة التي قدّمها كريستيان سُنوك هورخرونيه لإدارة الاستعمار الهولندي في الهند الشرقية الهولندية (إندونيسيا). وحسبَ ما أفاده تصريحُ جان جست ويتكام فإنَّ سُلطات الاستعمار الهولندي قد تبنَّتْ جُلَّ ما تقدم به هورخرونيه كنصيحة. ومن هنا فإنَّ الدراسة هذه تبيَّن كيفَ استفاد هورخرونيه من معرفته للإسلام –التي نالها عندما كان في مكة وفي أثناء مكوثه في الهند الشرقية الهولندية- في تقديم النصيحة المذكورة. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك فقد طغتْ أفكار الحداثة، والتطور، والحضارة والتّحرّر على فحوى النصيحة. وتُبَرْهِن نتائجُ الدراسة أنّ هورخرونيه مع أنَّه كان عالماً وبروفسير في جامعة ليدن إلاَّ أنَّه قام بدعم ومساعدة بل ومساندة الاستعمار والإمبريالية الهولندية في الهند الشرقية الهولندية ؛ وذلك من خلال استخدام معرفته وعمله بوصفه مستشاراً رسمياً للاستعمار الهولندي. وكان هدفه الرئيس حماية مصالح الاستعمار الهولندي في جميع المنطقة. وهذا الموقف واضحٌ للعيان والذي يبدو جليًّا في عددٍ من المقترحات التي قدمها هورخرونيه بل وفي عددٍ من القرارات التي تبنَّثها إدارةُ الاستعمار الهولندي. وقد حاول أثناءَ حياته المهنية أنْ يجتتَّ "الأصولية" الإسلامية (أي الجهاد) وذلك من خلال تحديد دور الإسلام في المجتمع. وفي الواقع، قام هورخرونيه برسم "خارطة الطريق" لِلهند الشرقية الهولندية لِتكون جزءاً من هولندا العظمي – دولة علمانية مستغربة. وبمذا فيمكن وصفه بشكل بسيط على أنَّه مستشرق إمبريالي قومي.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Islamic and Other Civilizations

Abdullah al-Ahsan Supervisor

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Torla Haji Hassan Dean, International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Ahmad Nubail

Signature.....

Date.....

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In honour of my beloved parents:

Ahmad Munir

Mufarrokhah

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

Arabic Transliteration Scheme

(According to IIUM Thesis Manual)

Consonant

Consonant					
Arabic term	Transliteration	Arabic term	Transliteration	Arabic term	Transliteration
۶	,	ز	Z	ق	Q
ب	b	س	S	٤	K
ت	Т	ش	Sh	J	L
ث	Th	ص	Ş	٩	М
ج	J	ض	ģ	ن	N
5	ķ	ط	ţ	هر	Н
خ	kh	ظ	Ż	و	W
د	D	ع	د	ي	Y
ذ	Dh	ė	Gh		
ر	R	ف			

Vowel

Arabic term	Transliteration	Arabic term	Transliteration
<u> </u>	а	۱+ <u>´</u>	Ā
~	i	_ + ي	Ī
٤	u	<u>*</u> + و	Ū
اي	ay	او	Aw

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

The age of European colonialism began around the late 15th century. During this period, various European nations explored, conquered, settled, and exploited large areas of Asia and Africa. By discovery, they meant to conquer and settle. Moreover, they expanded and colonized nations throughout the world, their spreading culture and European institutions. Indonesia is one of the countries colonized by European nations such as Portuguese and the Netherlands. In the 17th century, the Dutch emerged as the strongest among all European colonizers and arrived in Indonesia, which was formerly called as the Dutch East Indies or the Netherlands East Indies.¹ At that time, they brought Christianity to Indonesia to support one of the old imperialist missions known as 3G (Gold, Glory, and Gospel). The Dutch controlled Indonesia as a colony until World War II, initially through the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (The Dutch East Indie Company),² and later directly by the Dutch government since the beginning of the 19th century.

Since their arrival in Indonesia, local Muslims regularly showed hostility and resistance to the Dutch. Moreover, the unrest increased and climaxed with the outbreak of war led by Muslim leaders in all districts of Dutch colonies. The fierce resistance further increased in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Numerous

¹ It was also well known in Dutch: *Nederlands-Oost-Indië* and in Indonesian: *Hindia Belanda*.

² Henceforth cited VOC. The company was established on March 20, 1602 is a Dutch trade union, which had a monopoly on trading activities in Asia. The company is regarded as the first multinational corporation in the world as well as the first company to issue a stock distribution system. It was also arguably the first mega corporation, possessing quasi-governmental powers, including the ability to wage war, imprison and execute convicts, negotiate treaties, coin money and establish colonies.

important wars occurred over Indonesian districts such as the Padri War or Minangkabau War (1803-1837), the Diponegoro War or the Java War (1825-1830), the Bone War (1825-1826), the Aceh War or the Infidel War (1873-1903) and the Tapanuli War or Batak War (1876-1907).

In the Dutch East Indies, Islamic revivalism played a significant role in anticolonial mobilization. Ideas about reform and anti-colonialism such as Pan Islamism were growing and gaining significant response to colonial occupation of Muslim lands. Widespread wars and revolts throughout the archipelago especially, Java and Sumatra had been troublesome for the Dutch colonial regime to maintain order and peace in their colony. At that time, the level of Muslim resistance rose to a very critical condition, which Harry J. Benda depicted as contradictory combination of exaggerated fears and hopes.³

Based on those facts, the Dutch administration invited Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje,⁴ who was familiar with Islām, to find solutions to the problems faced by the Dutch East Indies. Then they appointed him as official advisor of the office for Islamic and Native Affairs in 1889. This proved that the Dutch did not have enough knowledge or were completely ignorant about Islām and the Muslim community in Indonesia. In fact, they started to believe that Islām was a threat to colonialism. Hurgronje argued that the more intimate the relation between Europe with Muslim East became, the more the Muslim countries fell under European suzerainty. It was imperative for the Europeans to become acquainted with the intellectual life, the religious law, and the conceptual background of Islām.⁵

 ³ Harry J. Benda, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundation of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia," in *Continuity and Change in Southeast Asia*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1972), 83.
⁴ Henceforth cited as Hurgronje.

⁵ G.H. Bousquet& J. Schacth (ed.), Selected Works of C. Snouck Hurgronje, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957), 267.

Hurgronje, a Dutch Orientalist and an advisor of the Dutch colonial, was a student of Theology and Semitic languages at Leiden University in 1874. He earned his doctoral degree with a dissertation entitled *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (The Makkah Festival) in 1880. A year later, he became a lecturer at the Leiden School for Colonial Civil Servants. In 1884, he went to Makkah in order to improve his Arabic language and deepen his knowledge of Islām by carrying specific mission. Moreover, he changed his name to Abdul Ghaffar after converting to Islām. In Makkah, he established good relationships with scholars who came from the Dutch East Indies. Due to his good knowledge of Islām and familiarity with Indonesian Muslims he was elected as Muftī of Batavia, Muftī of Dutch East Indies, Muftī of the Dutch imperialist and even as *Shaikh al-Islām* of Java.

Since the first international congress of Orientalist held in 1873 in Paris, Orientalist scholars have known each other's work. Most of them discussed on the field of Islamic studies presented in journals. Edward Said stressed that the late 19th Orientalist scholars were bound to each other politically and Hurgronje was an example of this Orientalist scholarship as he combined his scholarship and his advisory role with the Dutch government.⁶ However, there have been debates about the characteristics of Hurgronje as a person, scholar and government advisor.

Furthermore, his analyses of Islām and its believers, which was based on his theoretical and empirical research were conducted and presented in various mediums such as books, papers, reports and official letters of advice (correspondent letters between the Dutch colonial administration and Hurgronje) in order to resolve problems and difficulties faced by the Dutch colonial administration Indonesia. The advice covered the period when he served as official advisor of Indonesia (1989-1906)

⁶ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (London: Penguin, 1977), 210.

until he went back to the Netherlands. The official letters that have been compiled by E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse under the title of *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889-1936* (the Official Advice of C. Snouck Hurgronje) in three volumes show how Hurgronje had great influence on the administration of the Netherlands East Indies.

As a matter of fact, the Dutch colonial administration applied various ideas of Hurgronje in order to maintain colonialism in Indonesia. Witkam stated that many of his recommendations were adopted by the colonial authorities in the Dutch East Indies and later by the government in The Hague.⁷ Moreover, Wertheim maintained that Hurgronje's ideas had formulated Dutch colonial policies during the colonization period, which subsequently influenced the Indonesian society. Indeed, he summarized that the policy toward Muslim political activities that was used by Suharto, the second president of Indonesia, was mainly influenced by Hurgronje's policy:

Just as during the colonial era, the government actually wants Islamic organizations to refrain from any political activity and to restrict themselves to serving purely religious interests. We might argue that in this respect the Suharto regime proves itself a worth disciple of the Dutch Islamologist Snouck Hurgronje who helped to develop the Dutch colonial policy toward Islām at the turn of the century.⁸

Although, there are some works pertaining to Hurgronje and the Dutch colonialism in Indonesia, no work examined and evaluated his official advice. However, many Indonesianists such as Donald Emmerson, Robin Bush, Greg Fealy, Robert Hefner, Andree Feillard and Greg Barton have drawn their views based on the facts that occur in contemporary Indonesian Muslims within the socio-political

⁷ Jan Just Witkam, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: A Tour D'Horizon of His Life and Workd, in *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Orientalist: Catalogue of an Exhibition on the Sesquicentenary of His Birth, 8 February 2007,* edited by Arnoud Vrolijk and Hans van de Velde, (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2007), 28.

⁸ W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesie van Vorstenrijk tot Neokolonie*, (Meppel: Boom, 1978), 20 cited in Karel Steenbrink, *Dutch Coloniallism and Indonesian Islam: Contacts and Conflics 1596-1950*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), 145.

context. Likewise, some works written by Indonesian scholars merely describe the thought of Hurgronje. Thus, this research not only analyses the official advice of Hurgronje to the Dutch colonial administration but also examines its impact on Dutch colonial policies in the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia).

1.2 SCOPE OF STUDY

This study examines Hurgronje's recommendations to the Dutch colonial administration in the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia) compiled in a series of books entitled *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889-1936*. Although this series has 11 volumes, where each volume consists of various issues, this study focuses on specific official advice on areas like Islamic and customary law, reformation of governmental system, education and Christianity. However, the issue on Islamic law is critically examined due to his position as advisor of Islamic and Native Affairs. These are considered as interrelated and pivotal issues that were affected in the Dutch colonial policies.

Moreover, in content analysis that consists of interpretative and historical analytic methods, his advice is placed in a political and academic framework in order to analyze the mainstream tendency. In addition, this study also presents its influence on the Dutch colonial policies.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Hurgronje is not only a famous *indologist*,⁹ but also one of the controversial figures in Dutch colonial history in the last 19th and the early 20th centuries. Numerous works and studies exist pertaining to the thoughts of Hurgronje as well as Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. However, there are a few studies concerning to the official advice in the series of book entitled *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889-1936* and the impact of those suggestions to the Dutch colonial administration as well as the Indonesian society, and more particularly to an education, politic administration, law and missionary works.

E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse produced an important work exploring the advice of Hurgronje in influencing of administration policies of the colonial government. This work has been published under the title of *Ambtelijke Advieven van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889-1936* (Official advice of C. Snouck Hurgronje) and translated to Indonesian language by Sukarsi entitled *Nasihat-Nasihat C. Snouck Hurgronje semasa Kepegawaiannya kepada Pemerintah Hindia Belanda, 1889-1936*. This collection shows the deep influence of Hurgronje in various decisions taken by the colonial government. There are several recommendations that have been given throughout the volumes (1-11) and they can be categorized as follows: his various official recommendations concerning his duties and positions; activities and publishing; reports on the situation on Aceh war and Tanah Gayo and correspondence letters between Hurgronje and the General Governor of the Dutch East Indies, J.B. van Hetez in 1904; reformation in the administration of the colonial government; Sultanate matters; indigenous customs (*adat*); criminal law; pilgrimage; mosques, *waqf* matter,

⁹ Indologie used to be the study of history, literature and philosophy of Indonesia. The study prepared Dutchmen for colonial civil service in the Netherlands Indies. It was taught in Delftand Utrecht. Nowadays, Indologie refers to the study of history, languages and religions in South-East Asia. It is taught at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands.

etc. The suggestions affected the social-political condition of some people or organizations in then controlling the Muslim community which was the dominant community. This book, however, describes the advice of Hurgronje without making any critical analysis.¹⁰

Edward Said in his *Orientalism* cited *L'Islam Dans Le Miroir De L' Occident* written by Jacques Waardenburg which mentions Ignaz Goldziher, Duncan Black Macdonald, Carl Becker, Louis Massignon as well as Hurgronje as the most influential Orientalists in understanding Islam in the Western society and colonialism in the 19th and 20th century. Moreover, Edward Said highlighted that most orientalists of the 19th century were involved in politics (colonial) such as Macdonald, Massingnon, Gibb and Hurgronje. For example, Hurgronje went directly from his studies on Islam to being an advisor to the Dutch government on handling its Muslim Indonesian colonies. Macdonald and Massignon were widely sought after as experts on Islamic matters by colonial administrators from North Africa to Pakistan.¹¹

There are works written by A.J. Wensinck and Jan Just Witkam pertaining to Hurgronje's biography. A.J. Wensinck describes concisely "the academic journey" of Hurgronje as his teacher from Leiden to Indonesia and an enclosed bibliography of his works. Wensinck argued that Hurgronje has knowledge of Islamic Law and was interested in scientific works. Moreover, Hurgronje supported the Indonesian interest in all aspects of life. This book has been regarded as too hagiographic but it is still acceptable as stated by Nico Kaptein due to the common platform of the Latin phrase

¹⁰ E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, *Nasihat-Nasihat C. Snouck Hurgronje semasa Kepegawaiannya kepada Pemerintah Hindia Belanda, 1889-1936*, translated from Dutch language by Sukarsi, (Jakarta: INIS, 1994).

¹¹ Edward Said, 209-210.

de mortuis nil nisi bene (of the dead, nothing (spoken) unless good).¹² Meanwhile Jan Just Witkam, in describing Hurgronje, not only presented his journey of life but also gave his opinion about Hurgronje's thoughts through exposing and analysing his voyage, works and suggestions.¹³

Karel Steenbrink mentioned the names of three advisors for native affairs (*Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken*) to the colonial government; Karel Frederick Holle, Snouck Hurgronje and Godard Arend Hazeu. He stated that they were special representatives as prominent civil officials in the period 1850-1940. Moreover, their activities and writings not only reflected the basic aspects of the changing attitudes towards Indonesian Muslims but also demonstrated the great influence on the colonial government's policy towards Islam. The author observed that their perceptions on understanding Islam and Indonesian Muslims are different from each other. Holle believed that *Huijāj* are the instigators of fanaticism and zealot, therefore, he advised the colonial government to ban the pilgrimage to Makkah. Meanwhile, Hurgronje viewed *Huijāj* not as a threat to the colonial government because the pilgrimage is a religious activity, not a political activity. Furthermore, Steenbrink stated that Holle counted Islam as a threat, while Hurgronje felt that Islam should be deprived of their political activities in order to be tamed.¹⁴

Another important book is *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda: Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche zaken* written by Aqib Suminto. The author focused his study on *Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken* (Office for Native Affairs) which was considered as one of the implementers of Dutch East Indies government policies. This office was actually

¹² A. J. Wensinck, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," in *Delapan Tokoh Ilmuwan Belanda bagi Pengkajian Islam di Indonesia*, edited by Nico Kaptein & Dick van der Meij, translated by Theresia Slamet, (Jakarta: INIS, 1995), 15-36.

¹³ Jan Just Witkam, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: A tour d'horizon..., 11-31.

¹⁴ Karel Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam: Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950*, translated by Jan Steenbrink & Henry Jansen, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), 76-97.

founded in 1899 as a manifestation of the advisors on Native Affairs to the colonial government of the Netherlands East Indies, which was known as *Kantor Agama* (the Office of Religious Affairs). Officially, their duties were to give advice to the colonial government based on their research of Indonesian societies particularly the Muslim society and Hurgronje was the first advisor of this office.

Moreover, Suminto argues that Hurgronje is the most famous advisor for Native Affairs who served from 1899 until 1906. He was the founder of the Islamic Politics of Dutch government and had a major influence on the decisions made by the colonial government for the indigenous Muslims. The author studied the dynamics and development of the office until 1942 and discovered that toward the end of the Dutch governance, the function of the office was getting ineffective due to the lack of capability and competence of the advisor in understanding Indonesian Muslims. This shortcoming proved and affirmed the advice of Hurgronje, which says that the colonial government should receive the recommendations through their advisors who well comprehend Islam in order to domesticate Indonesian Muslim society.¹⁵

Hamid al Gadri wrote a book entitled *Snouck Hurgronje: Politik Belanda Terhadap Islam dan Keturunan Arab* (Snouck Hurgronje: The Dutch Politics toward Islām and Arab Descendants) in order to rectify the bad image of Arab descendants in Indonesia. Al-Gadri argued that the Dutch had created the marginalized image that most of Arab descendants were beneficiaries of Indonesian natives (*pribumi*) and had no role in the struggle for Indonesia's Independence. Moreover, there were many policies of the government, which were based on the directions of Hurgronje mainly to disintegrate Arab descendants from Indonesian native community. This is because Indonesian-Arab descendants had antagonized and fought against the colonizers since

¹⁵Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda: Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche zaken*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985).

their advent to Indonesia. Moreover, he claimed that Hurgronje had a significant role, as advisor of Native Affairs, in implanting Arab-phobia within the Indonesian society in order to keep them away from the influence of the Arab descendants.¹⁶

Ahmad Sauqi Sumbawi studied the consequence of Hurgronje's thoughts on the domestication of Islām as applied by the colonial government towards Islamic movements in Indonesia. The author found that the typology and characteristics of Indonesian movements, both Islamic and secular, were influenced by the Westernization of the Dutch colonial. This Westernization was amplified by the colonial government by giving more room of interaction to the Indonesian people, especially the elites. Based on Hurgronje's advice, the colonial government utilized education resulting in an increased number of natives working for the colonial government, more native students in colonial schools and other privileges. This penetration had not only produced Westernized people but also created influence on the inception of Indonesian movements with various typology. Eventually, those Westernized Indonesian movements had given pattern to Indonesian Muslim societies embracing all aspects of life such as politics, law, education and culture. Hence, Hurgronje believed that this kind of penetration was more effective than missionary work.¹⁷

Nurcholis Madjid wrote "Snouckisme: Pengalaman Berharga bagi Bangsa Indonesia" (Snouckism: Precious Experience for Indonesian People) in Islām Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan. He commented that Westernized intellectuals

¹⁶ Hamid al-Gadri, *Snouck Hurgronje: Politik Belanda Terhadap Islam dan Keturunan Arab, the 1st edition,* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984). Later in the 2nd and 3rd editions, the title of the book had been changed to *Politik Belanda terhadap Islam dan Keturunan Arab di Indonesia,* Jakarta: CV. Haji Masagung, 1988 and *Islam dan Keturunan Arab dalam Pemberontakan Melawan Belanda,* Bandung: Mizan, 1996 respectively.

¹⁷Ahmad Sauqi Sumbawi, "Pemikiran Domestikasi Islam Snouck Hurgronje dan ImplikasinyaTerhadap Pergerakan Islam Di Indonesia Era Kolonial (1889-1942)," (Master Dissertation, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2011).

worked their way into the Dutch colonial system of education given to Indonesian elites. Moreover, he argued that those Westernized intellectuals became some of the founding fathers of Indonesia. For him, the colonial education merely served to the colonial government's interests. Sarcastic values had been incorporated in the education on Islām and Indonesia, thereby stopping Indonesians from gaining their own identity.

Madjid also contended that the core of Hurgronje's philosophy on colonialism is to modernize Indonesia. Hurgronje believed that Indonesia will never be an Islamic nation or a nation led by nationalists; therefore, he proposed to westernize Indonesia. Here, Madjid, secular nationalist, had shown his hatred toward the Dutch colonial administration, particularly to Hurgronje. He believed that although colonial programmes did not succeed entirely but the effects could still be felt among the elite people who continued to dominate politics and education.¹⁸

There are various responses of Indonesian scholars to Hurgronje's thoughts. One such response is described in *Islām dan Kristen in Indonesia* (Islām and Christianity in Indonesia) written by Mohammad Natsir. This book provides three basic recommendations made by Hurgronje to the Dutch colonial administration in keeping their colonies. First, the Dutch government had to allow Muslims to perform their *'ibādah*. Second, Hurgronje proposed that the Dutch government should respect the social aspects of Muslims' life and strive to influence them with the Dutch's thoughts and ways. Third, the Dutch government had to refuse Pan-Islamism and fight aspirations toward Independence. He elucidated further that Hurgronje's success was based on his previous research in Turkey and Makkah. Natsir, however, analysed

¹⁸ Nurcholis Madjid, Islam Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan, (Jakarta: Mizan, 1993), 190-198.

these suggestions and considered them as the main keys of Hurgronje's thoughts towards Islām in Indonesia.¹⁹

Harry J. Benda in his book entitled *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945* stated that many of his contemporaries had proved the success of Hurgronje's policies. Moreover, his advice on religious neutrality in Java resulted in reducing the physical wars led by Indonesian Muslims against the Dutch colonial. Although he admitted that Hurgronje's suggestions were invaluable and laid the guideline for the policies on Muslims but they were in ethical. He also questioned Hurgronje's knowledge of the nature of Islām and Indonesian Muslims.

Furthermore, Benda viewed that Hurgronje's advice had been taken as reliable guide for the Dutch colonial policies. His knowledge on Islamic law and its relation with customary law in Indonesia showed how they influenced the Indonesian society by maintaining both laws did not clash with the Dutch colonial's interests. However, he believed that Hurgronje's prognosis and recommendations were irrelevant and obsolete in the first two decades of the 20th century.²⁰

Based on this literature review, we can see that Hurgronje was not only a central figure during the Dutch colonization period but he was also the man behind the Dutch colonial policies in keeping Dutch interest in the Netherlands East Indies intact. Hereby, his various recommendations based on his field investigation (ethnographic approach) and Western thought had formulated many of the Dutch policies. Besides his academic background, he had served as an official advisor for the Dutch

¹⁹ Mohammad Natsir,"Oleh-Oleh dari Algiers," in *Islam dan Kristen Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1968), 112-128.

²⁰ Harry J. Benda, *Continuity and change in Southeast Asia: collected journal articles,* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1972), 83-92 and *the Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945,* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1955), 32-99. Also in *The Journal of Modern History,* Vol. 30, No. 4 (Dec., 1958), 338-347

administration for about 47 years. This shows how deep Hurgronje was involved in several issues in the Netherlands East Indies. His official advice to the Dutch colonial administration in the Netherlands East Indies had become important for investigation, which shall reveal his 'footprint' in the Dutch colonial policies.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the discussion above, this study will try to answer the following questions:

- 1. Who is Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje?
- 2. What recommendations did he make to the Dutch colonial administration?
- 3. What are the impacts of his recommendations on the Dutch colonial policies in the Netherlands East Indies?
- 4. As academician, how did he serve his personal interests and the Dutch colonial's aims?

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In line with the background of study, the objectives of this study are:

- 1. To expose Hurgronje's identity.
- To discover the specific recommendations made by Hurgronje to the Dutch colonial administration.
- To investigate the impact of Hurgronje's recommendations on the Dutch colonial's policies in the Netherlands East Indies.
- 4. To understand the extent of Hurgronje's personal motivation in making his recommendations.