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**PAN-ISLAMISM IN ACEH: ORIGINS AND IMPACT
DURING DUTCH COLONIAL ERA**

BY

NIA DELIANA

**A Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Human
Sciences
(History and Civilization)**

**Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and
Human Sciences
International Islamic University Malaysia**

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how Aceh Darussalam Sultanate constructed the Pan-Islamism phenomenon through its struggle against the Dutch and how the Acehnese accumulated it as part of their local contention to bridge the idea of freedom from colonization. Furthermore, it also highlights the impact of the Acehnese acculturated Pan-Islamism to other Muslim societies in the region. The study applied qualitative research method that utilized not only secondary sources written by contemporary scholars but also analyzed the primary sources such as *Basiret* (a newspaper in Ottoman era), *The Strait Times*, (a newspaper in the straits settlements in Malaya), correspondences between the Sultanate and the Dutch, and reports of the colonial officers in the region. The study shows that, in order to defend itself from the growing power of the Dutch, the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate sent envoys to the Ottoman for military aid. To some extent, the delegation's activities in Istanbul contributed to the rising demands towards the Ottoman of their responsibility as Caliph towards other Muslim states. The weakness of the Ottoman before the European states, unfortunately, prevented any significant development in the resistance of the Acehnese towards the Dutch. On the contrary, this failed mission was responded with a further accumulation of Pan-Islamism into cultural forces where the unity between local contentions was evident in the union of all men, women and children to fight against the colonialism for almost four decades. This resulted in not only the increase of sympathy and help towards the Acehnese, but also triggered more resistance towards the Dutch in other parts of Indonesia. The struggle also created the inconsistency of military policy of the Dutch because each policy demanded more and more financial fulfillment, which resulted in the financial crisis of the colonial regime. The study shows that the Acehnese acculturated Pan-Islamism, to some extent, has derailed the ambitions of the colonial regimes in the Aceh region. The study also provides alternative contribution on the unfinished debate of Pan-Islamism in the Muslim world, particularly in the Southeast Asian region.

ملخص البحث

تفحص هذه الدراسة كيف أنشأت السلطنة بأتجيه دار السلام الظاهرة عن الوحدة الإسلامية من خلال كفاحها ضد الهولنديين وكيف تراكم الأتجهينون تلك الوحدة كجزء من الخلاف المحليين لسد فكرة التحرر من الاستعمار. ثم تبرز هذه الدراسة التأثير الثقافي منها للمجتمعات الإسلامية الأخرى في المنطقة. وتطبق هذه الدراسة المنهج الكيفي الذي اختبر المصادر الثانوية كتبها العلماء المعاصرون كذلك حلل المصادر الأولية مثل قاعدة صحيفة العثمانية بصرت وقاعدة صحيفة ستريت تايمس والمرسلات بين السلطنة وهولندا وتقارير ضباط الإستعماري في المنطقة. تعرض هذه الدراسة على أن السلطنة أرسلت المبعوثين الخاصين إلى العثمانية للحصول على مساعدة عسكرية من أجل دفاع سلطتها من القوة المتزايدة للهولندية. ومن أنشطة الوفود في إسطنبول إلى حد ما قد ساهمت لرفع المطالب للمسؤولية من الخليفة العثمانية نحو الدول الإسلامية الأخرى. ومع ذلك الضعف عند العثمانية حوالي الدول الأوروبية قد منع من أي تطور هام في مقاومة الأتجهينين نحو هولندا. على العكس، كان الإستجاب من الإرسالية الفاشلية هو التراكم المزيد في الوحدة الإسلامية صادرا إلى القوات الثقافية عندما الوحدة بينالمعادات المحلية واضحة في الإتحاد من جميع الرجال والنساء والأطفال للمحاربة ضد الإستعمار لما يقرب من أربعة عقود. فليست هناك زيادة تعاطف و مساعدة غير مشروعية من المسلمين وغيرهم ضمن تلك العقود قط، ولكنأيضا ثورة مستمرة في أجزاء أخرى من الهند. وتسبب تلك المكافحة التناقض في السياسة العسكرية عند الهولنديين وطالب كل سياسة الوفاء المالي أكثر فأكثر مما أدى إلى الأزمة المالية للنظام الإستعماري الحكمي.

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 thesis for the degree of Master of Human Sciences (History and Civilization).

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Wan Suhana Wan Sulong
Supervisor

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 thesis for the degree of Master of Human Sciences (History and Civilization).

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Ibrahim Mohamed Zein
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Human Sciences

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 degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Nia Deliana

Signature.....

Date.....

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

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**PAN-ISLAMISM IN ACEH: ORIGINS AND IMPACT DURING DUTCH
COLONIAL ERA**

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

Arabic Transliteration Scheme (According to IIUM Thesis Manual)

Consonant

Arabic term	Transliteration	Arabic term	Transliteration	Arabic term	Transliteration
ء	'	ز	z	ق	q
ب	b	س	s	ك	k
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l
ث	th	ص	ṣ	م	m
ج	j	ض	ḏ	ن	n
ح	h	ط	ṭ	ه	h
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	و	w
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y
ذ	dh	غ	gh		
ر	r	ف	f		

Vowel

Arabic term	Transliteration	Arabic term	Transliteration
ـَ	a	ا +	ā
ـِ	i	ى +	ī
ـُ	u	و +	ū
ـِـَـِ	ay	او	aw

The transliteration above is not applied when the context is referred to a localized terminology for instance, Aceh Darussalam Sultanate, ulama, and adat.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Historically, Aceh which is today a province of Indonesia has been known for its contribution towards Islamic civilization in Southeast Asia. Not only progressively attached to Islamic intellectualism, Aceh was also popular for its resistance against colonialism, including the 40 years' war against the Dutch.

The Dutch declared open war against Aceh in 1873 CE. The war begun with the unjustified claim of the Dutch, impeaching that the Acehnese had been gathering efforts for foreign interventions against the infiltrating Dutch which continuously seized islands that was under the sovereignty of the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate. The war between the Acehnese and the Dutch in 1873 resulted in the withdrawal of the Dutch soldiers from the shores of Aceh.

When the second war started in 1874, there was a terrible cholera outbreak in Aceh. During this period of time, the Dutch had managed to capture the *dalam* (palace capital), and eventually followed up with the occupation of Proper Aceh. Then, the Acehnese chiefs in the region were forced to submit and recognize the sovereignty of the Dutch.

In 1880s, there were increasing resistances recorded. These resistances were religiously motivated under the tutelage of the ulama (religious scholars) and the Sultan. The continuous resistance dealt the Dutch with many difficulties as they were unable to counter act against the Acehnese. There were many instances where the

Achenese had actually managed to reclaim the Dutch occupied regions. The resistance which was launched in the form of guerilla attacks was not subdued until the end of the 19th century.

Many scholars labeled the resistance as a holy war because the motivation of the Acehnese was rooted in religious determination. The war, as called by the Acehnese as *prang kaphe* (the war of infidels) was responsible for the inconsistency of the Dutch colonial policies and financial crisis¹ whereby, it incurred losses of nearly half a billion of Netherlands guilders.²

Unlike the colonization history in other islands of the East Indies, the problem of colonizing Aceh had been significantly deliberated by many scholars. The thirty years of war against the Dutch had contributed to the unity of the Acehnese people. It makes one wonder how could the Acehnese people survive the war with the kind of problems they had faced. For instance, there were coastal blockade, arms restrictions, and social collapses which caused enormous hardships to the Acehnese. What could have supported the mentality of the Acehnese to fight the Dutch for that long? Was there any essential Pan-Islamism contact with the outside Muslim world such as the Ottoman? Thus, this research aims to provide alternative answers on how the Acehnese managed to resist the Dutch colonialism from 1873 to 1913.

¹ “There were nearly 38.000 Royal Netherlands Indies Army soldiers and half of millions at least injured. The true cost of the war will never be known” *see*: Gregory W Swedberg, “Deeply wronged: American Diplomacy and the Origins of the Last Dutch War for Empire” in *Sumatra in Journal of Asian History*, edited by Denis Sinor, Vol 44 (Wiesbaden: HarrossowitzVerlag, 2010), 38. *See also*: W.F Wertheim, “Counter-Insurgency Research at the Turn of century SnouckHurgronje and the Aceh War” on *Sociologische Gids* 19, (1972), 320-328.

² Teungku Hasan Muhammad Ditiro, “Indonesian Nationalism: A western Intervention to Contain Islam” in *the Dutch Indies in the Impact of Nationalism on the Muslim World*, edited by M. Ghayasuddin, (London: the Open Press Al Hoda Publishers, 1986), 62.

1.2. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

This study examines how the Aceh war stimulated Pan-Islamism agenda in the Muslim world. It explores how unity under the basis of Islam accumulated through the local wisdom of the Acehnese. It also investigates to what extent the Acehnese resistance effected the other Muslim societies in the Archipelago.

There have been continuous researches on the native perspectives of the war, from the context of religio-political to the concept of religio-social contention. However, there has been definitely inadequate study on viewing the resistance from Pan-Islamism perspectives.

Pan-Islamism was believed to have started since the revolutionary ideas voiced up by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1897 CE) in the late quarters of the 19th century. The notion of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī was followed up with Sultan ‘Abdul Hamīd II’s (1876-1908 CE) declaration on unity of *ummah* as the political agenda against the imperialism in the Muslim world. Many scholars believed that the construction of Pan-Islamism episodes in Southeast Asia could have begun through the politicization of Sultan ‘Abdul Hamīd II’s declaration which took immediate effect in the political project in Africa and the Middle East. In fact, many literatures omitted the values of Pan-Islamism as the cultural phenomenon that helped to unify the society. The evidence from the movement of Aceh Darussalam Sultanate was one of the many representatives of the other communities in Southeast Asia.

There are some problems addressed in the topic of Pan-Islamism in Southeast Asia, in particular, Aceh. Berg (1932) mentioned that the lack of data makes it almost impossible to define how deep the Pan-Islamism current went to Indonesia.³ Berg’s statement refers to the debate whether the issue of Pan-Islamism influenced the Muslim communities since the middle of the 19th century.

Hence, it was not surprising that the narration of Pan-Islamism in Indonesia since the middle of the 19th century was infiltrated with the records of colonial fear over ‘possible threat’ of imported Pan-Islamism. For instance, in June, 1873, the Honorary Adviser of Native Issues, K.F. Holle was commanded to investigate how deep the Aceh war had affected the Muslims in Java and Singapore. The British was worried that the Muslims were collaborating to cause the collapse of the colonial rule.³ Similar concerns were also shown by the Dutch who later prohibited any kind of Pan-Islamist movements in the society. One of the preventive measures the Dutch implemented was the banning of two important journals in the beginning of 20th century, namely, *Pilihan Timoer* and *Seruan Azhar* which were claimed to be the vehicle of Pan-Islamism ideas.⁴ However, prior to the banning of the publications, the Dutch had ferociously confiscated and burned the *Hikayat Prang Sabi* and other such *hikayat* that were responsible for the fierce resistance of the Acehnese for decades.⁵ Although most of the primary sources among the correspondence between the colonial officers explained their fear of Pan-Islamism influence in Aceh, most of the scholars were not able to explain how this ideology was transferred.

Besides relying on the sources of official correspondence, numerous works about Pan-Islamism were written by Dutch officials who were appointed and based in various parts of Indonesia during the resistance period. Although in the context of this research, Aceh is viewed as a special point of Pan-Islamic threat for its Islamic fanaticism,⁶ the Acehnese native perspectives were not adequately consulted and as

³ Paul Van’t Veer, *Perang Aceh on Kisah Kegagalan Snouck Hurgronje*, Grafiti pers (trans.) Jakarta: Grafiti Pers 1985), 89.

⁴ Marina Samad, “Enter the Utusan: Malay Journalism and the 20s and 30s” on *Leader: Malay Journalism Review* (July 1972), pt. 2, 5.

⁵ H.T. Damste, *Hikayat Prang Sabi*, on BKI 84 (1928), 545.

⁶ Nicholas Tarling (ed), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia from 1800 to the 1930s*, (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 224.

the result, most of the Islamic resistance ideologies of the Acehnese were built from the fear and prejudices of colonial officers.

In fact, during this time, the Acehnese' link with other Muslim nations should be taken into consideration. In the 19th century, during the Dutch invasion, Aceh had a strong link with not only Muslims in Singapore and Penang, but also the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul and the *ulama* in haramayn.⁷ However, how the political and social awareness of the Acehnese were built among themselves, and the spirit of the 30 years war are yet to be answered.

Thus, this research will be tailored to address the following questions:

1. What was the origin of Pan-Islamism in Aceh during the war against the Dutch?
2. To what extent did the native perspectives influence the conduct of Pan-Islamism in Aceh?
3. What is the impact of the Aceh war on other Muslim communities in Southeast Asia?

1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The primary focus of this study is to reveal the origins and the impact of Pan-Islamism in Aceh during the Dutch colonial era. Specifically, the objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the origins of Pan-Islamism notion of the Acehnese, particularly during the war against the Dutch.
2. To investigate the extent of the native perspectives that influenced the spread of Pan-Islamism ideology during this period.

⁷ Anthony Reid, "Aceh and the Turkish Connection" in *Aceh on History, Politics, and Culture* edited by Arndt Graf, Susanne Schroter, and Edwin Wieringa, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing, 2010), 33.

3. To analyze the impact of the Aceh war on other Muslim communities in Southeast Asia.

However, this study will be limited to the following issues; firstly, the Acehese war from 1873 to 1920s; secondly, the Acehese links with Ottoman Empire and the general Muslims in the archipelago during the Dutch War; and thirdly, the role of local values that contributed to the spirit of the war.

1.4. JUSTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM

There are four crucial points of how this research will prevail. Firstly, since the period of colonization, the Acehese social and political development is viewed based on the writings of colonial agents. One of them is the father of orientalism, Snouck Hurgronje. His ideas are believed to contain ambiguities, as he was a Muslim impersonator who served the needs of the colonial force. His works have been widely referred to by not only senior scholars, but also young ones to construct the definition on identity of the Acehese and the Malays in the archipelago.

Secondly, it is essential to build a native-based idea by consulting authentic sources derived from Islamic local wisdom and values that have been inherited in social and administrative system of the sultanate. By enforcing this approach, the researcher will be able to establish an alternative view of Pan-Islamism in the Malay world.

Thirdly, in recent years, the Acehese have been facing a dilemma to define their identity as an Acehese and Muslim. Some scholars, either local or foreign ones believe that the history of Aceh has not begun without Islam. Since the establishment of Samudra Pasai in the 13th century until the end of the Dutch occupation in the 20th century Aceh, Islam has marked a strong foundation in each aspect of development.

However, during the occupation of Dutch in Aceh, Snouck Hurgronje implemented a successful colonial Islamic policy, where he encouraged separation between *adat* (customary law) and religion. Due to the attainable historical sources revolved around the 19th century colonization period, some secular intellectual groups that dominated government, political, and educational institutions today face difficulties to accept the significant role of Islam in the construction of the identity of Acehnese. Thus, this study will give some hindsight on the role of Islam that is viewed as an attempt for unity and freedom against imperialism and capitalism of the Dutch rule.

Fourthly, as mentioned earlier in the text, the field of this research has been inadequately studied. There have been numerous works written on history of the Acehnese but little attention is given to the role of Islamic native wisdoms as the main social and political conduct which construct the ideas of Pan-Islamism in the 19th century. Furthermore, from most of available sources, Anthony Reid's work on "Nineteenth century Pan-Islamism in Malaysia and Indonesia" is the only one that explains one step further on Pan Islamism in Aceh. Thus, it is expected that this research would provide a different perspective and further understanding pertaining to the meaning and existence of Pan-Islamism through the spectacle of cultural forces in the region, as well as, in the Malay world.

1.5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Islamic union or *ukhuwwa* in Arabic refers to a concept that is strongly recommended in the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadīth*. This concept can be implemented in all social relationships, not only individual Muslims, but also political unions between states. Notwithstanding, there are also certain concepts borrowed from other civilizations such as Europe and South Asia. One such concept is Pan-Islamism. The word '*Pan*' is

originally a product of the 19th century German political ideology that can be seen in the usage of Pan-Slavism. This concept was also commonly used by the Muslim statesmen and intellectuals in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In this context and from the perspective of Islam, the notion of Pan-Islamism is recognized to contribute much to the concept of '*ummah*'. The phenomenon of Pan-Islamism is applied as a guideline when there is a strong alliance or union among Muslims. This concept became a very useful leverage during the history of the caliphates of Islam. The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed a significant promotion of this concept by Jamāl Al-Dīn al-Afghānī and his students. It was further extended by Sultan 'Abd al-Hamīd II who sought to re-establish the union of *ummah* in the Muslim world. Southeast Asia was not delineated from the dissemination of this political concept.

In contrast, in global affairs, various types of conditions emerged and the Islamic world has attempted to quote various concepts from the western civilization such as Pan-Islamism. The misperception of the western world over the meaning of Pan-Islamism is evident when they labeled *jihād* as an attempt of unity through spilling of blood. This kind of misperception has left a long unwavering paradigm among the ignorant non-Muslims and the uneducated Muslims until present day. Although the concept has been defined in such manner for the Acehnese struggle, the way it was put into practice by the Acehnese was more than just war. It bore not only ideas against colonialism, but also an attempt to protect the basis right of all humanity.

Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch oracle of Islam was seen as the most capable one concerning the theory and practices of the Pan-Islamic movement in the Indies.⁸ His ideas on the development of Pan-Islamism from the Middle East to Malay

⁸ Dwight Lee, "Notes and Suggestions: the Origins of Pan-Islamism", in *the American Historical Review*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Jan., 1942), 279.

Archipelago are great influence either to the studies of foreign scholars or local ones.⁹ On the other hand, his ideology had also indirectly narrowed the meaning and the implementation of Pan-Islamism itself to the extent of political propaganda that was assumed to have only been started by the Ottoman. In fact, the witness of Snouck Hurgronje or his ‘drank ear’ during his stay in Mecca in 1885-6 CE, pertaining to the struggle of the Acehnese against the Dutch and the reactions of the other pilgrims from different countries, was the result of the continuity of the mindset of the Acehnese towards unity in resisting the imperialism and colonization.¹⁰ Dwight Lee correctly believes that the phenomenon of Pan-Islamism had actually occurred long before the name became diffused.¹¹

The evolution of Pan-Islamism as discussed above shows that it is better to look at the usage of this concept in the context of the Southeast Asian Muslim states. There are contemporary academics and researchers such as Anthony Reid, Michael Francis Laffan, Jan Schmidt and others who have tried to define the concept of Pan-Islamism in Aceh. Reid, for instance, remarks that:

“...A movement is taken to be Pan-Islamic if it provides an ideological basis from the cooperation between, or beyond, individual political units in a political struggle under the banner of Islam”¹²

Along the history of Aceh under the banner of Islam, Pan-Islamism can be viewed through three aspects: Islamic alliance, native perspective of unity and the importance of land or islamically known as *dār al-Islām*.

⁹ Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic nationhood and colonial Indonesia on the Umma below the Winds*, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 55.

¹⁰ Snouck Hurgronje eye witnessed an argumentation between Acehnese and the Javanese in Mecca about their resistance against the Dutch: The Javanese urged for a disobligation attempt to fight against the colonial regimes while the Acehnese responded in contrast. See : Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of Nineteenth Century on Daily Life, Custom and learning the Muslim of East Indian Archipelago*, J.H Monahan (trans),(Leiden: Late E.J. Brill , 1970), 245.

¹¹ Lee..., 280.

¹² Reid, 267

Diplomatic relationships with numerous significant Muslim countries are not unfamiliar development for the Acehnese. It has long been known for its paternal connection with the Ottoman and other Muslim nations since the 16th century. The relationship continued prior to the breakout of war against the Dutch. The Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam sent its representative to Ottoman, Singapore, and Penang to seek help to fight against the Dutch. In addition, the Acehnese pilgrims and community in Mecca and Hijaz had become the major link for the spreading of ideologies which include Pan-Islamism.

The ideas of unity then was mobilized through the concept of *prang sabi*. *Prang sabi* in Acehnese society has been significant since its battle against the gospel of Portuguese during the Islamization period of other non-Muslim areas in Sumatra island, particularly in the 16th century.¹³ It is not surprising then in the 19th century, the word of *prang sabi* appeared in many local literatures written during the war. It was the only vehicle to maintain the spirit of war. Due to depression towards battle and multiple style of application of warring against the infidels emerged, the resistance group was compelled to seek a solution from Mecca.¹⁴ The release of *fatwā* as the answer to the problems is the evidence of Mecca's involvement in Aceh war against the Dutch.¹⁵

The concept of *dār al-Islām* in Aceh is another factor that encouraged the practices of Pan-Islamism. Johannes Kramers, an eminent Dutch historian commented upon the political state structures in medieval Islam arguing that the political unity

¹³ Alfian, "Aceh and the Holy War (Prang Sabil)" on *verandah of violence the background of the Aceh problem*, (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press 2007), 111.

¹⁴ Nico Kaptein, "Meccan Fatwas from the end of nineteenth century on Indonesian Affairs" on *Studi Islamika*, Volume 2 Number 3 (1995), 149, 150. *See also*: Laffan, *Islamic...*, 72.

¹⁵ Koningsveld, P. Sj. Van. "Beberapa Kajian Indonesia dan Islam" in *Some religious aspect of the Aceh-War as reflected in three unpublished Arabic documents*, W.A.L. Stokhof and N.J.G. Kaptein (eds). (Jakarta: INIS 1990), 88-99.

was ideological but powerful concept of the House of Islam (*dār al-Islām*), the common homeland of all the Muslims.¹⁶ Although some scholars argued that there are no clear definitions of *dār al-Islām*, the common usage of this term in most Muslim countries as a political symbol is hardly neglected. Aceh Darussalam Sultanate bore this label since its foundation in the 16th century until the beginning of the 20th century. The concept of *dār al-Islām* was mentioned through variant names to show territorial boundaries written in diplomatic letters between the kingdoms. Gallop, for instance, argues this variant concept can be traced back to official letters during Iskandar Muda's reign of Aceh.¹⁷ Furthermore, based on Proudfoot's Malay Project concordance, Laffan believes that there were 337 references involving the word *dār*, all of which seem to antedate and emulate the Acehnese pattern.¹⁸ Indeed, the Aceh War in the nineteenth century was a war to defend part of *dār al-Islām* against the attack of the unbelievers.¹⁹ The process of how these three aspects have contributed to the existence of Pan-Islamism among the Acehnese will be explained further in the coming chapters.

Without belittling the existing definition on Pan-Islamism, the researcher intends to look from the angle in which the native perspective towards the war will be consulted. And that will be tailored through their practices and efforts on Islamic alliances, the link of *prang sabi*, and the role of *dār al-Islām*.

¹⁶ Efraim Karsh, *Islamic imperialism a history*, (USA: Yale University Press New Haven and London 2007), 7.

¹⁷ Annabel Teh Gallop, *Gold, Silver, and Lapis Lazuli on Royal Letters from Aceh in the 17th century*, (presented in First International Conference of Aceh and Indian Ocean Studies, 24-27 February 2007, Banda Aceh Indonesia), 4-6.

¹⁸ Francis Micheal Laffan, "Dispersing God's Shadow on Reflection on the Translations into Indonesian and Malaysian languages", a paper written for the project *History of translations into Indonesian and Malaysian languages* led by Henri Chambert-Loir and Monique Zaini-Lajoubert, at www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/proudfoot/MCP/mmp/laffan_ape.html, accessed on December 2 2013, 7-8.

¹⁹ P.Sj. Van Koningsveld, "Some religious aspect of the Aceh-War as reflected in three unpublished Arabic documents" on *Beberapa Kajian Indonesia dan Islam*, edited by W.A.L. Stokhof and N.J.G. Kaptein (Jakarta: INIS, 1990), 89.

1.6. LITERATURE REVIEW

Numerous books have been written on Islamic reforms and socio-political history of Malay-Indonesian or the Indian Ocean societies; but very few are found to focus on the development of Pan-Islamism itself, particularly in the history of 19th century Indonesia.

Azyumardi Azra's *The origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay Indonesian and Middle Eastern ulama in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, is a text worth reviewing in the context of this study. This book narrates the key factors of transformation of ideas for reforms ranging from the Middle East to Malay-Indonesia. The literature took into account distinguished local and international personalities who had direct connections with the Middle East. Among the precursors are Al-Raniri and al-Singkili who were under the service of Aceh Darussalam Sultanate. He argued that the Middle East connections resulted in the emergence of Islamic reformations in Malay-Indonesia since the 17th century. He rejected the idea that Islamic reformism started at the beginning of the 19th century as proposed by previous scholars. Thus, Azra sees the attempt of Pan-Islamism that was considered as a threat by the Dutch did not merely come from the Middle East but was the result of an internal response to the prevailing religious conditions among the Muslim themselves.²⁰ However, the focus of this book on Islamic reforms or Pan-Islamism existence in the struggle of the Acehnese against the Dutch in the late 19th century is limitedly discussed.

²⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *the origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia: networks of Malay Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 64-5, 111.

Another significant study written on the related topic is the work authored by Francis Michael Laffan entitled *Islamic nationhood and colonial Indonesia: the Umma below the winds*. This book provides an analysis on Islam and the Muslims of the archipelago as the identity of nationalism during the colonial period. The author discusses the links between the relationships of the people of *bilād al-Jāwā* with the education and religious centers in the Middle East such as Hijaz, the haramayn, and Cairo as well as the Islamic conceptualization process in their own hometown as the vehicle to deal with colonialism. Laffan explained that Aceh's war was a renewed Islamic revivalism in the archipelago which resulted in a sympathetic expression or a construction of sense of unity among the Muslims against the colonial regimes in the archipelago. He said that the Acehese students and pilgrims who had been there were one of the unavoidable movers for Pan-Islamism expansions in the Indies.²¹ However, there were insignificant notes on how the ideas had been proposed among the Acehese and how they contributed to the social and political awareness of the Acehese to survive the most costly wars in the Indies.

A book entitled *Perang di jalan Allah: Perang Aceh 1873-1912* is one of the significant works written by an Acehese scholar. It describes the Aceh-Dutch War from the perspective of social movements and key figures from the view of native traditions such as the *ulama* and the *uleebalangs* who were the main vehicle of the resistance.²² There are important argumentations on unity among the society which is inspired from local literature such as the *Hikayat Prang Sabi*. He also believed that it contributed to strengthen *Jihadism* as the key spirit of the Acehese. But the attempts

²¹ Laffan, *Islamic...*, 67.

²² Ibrahim Alfian, *Perang di Jalan Allah on Perang Aceh 1873-1912*, Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan 1987, 23.

by the author to link the development of the Acehnese struggle within the scope of Pan Islamism can hardly be noticed.

Jan Schmidt's *Through the legation of window 1876-1926*, provides further explanations on Pan-Islamism in the Indies, especially in Chapter Three: *Pan-Islamism between the Porte, the Hague, and Buittenzorg*.²³ It shows the connection to Pan-Islamic movement through the Middle Eastern contacts with the Muslim pilgrims from Mecca, Hijaz, Cairo, the Netherlands, and Batavia whereby the inclusion of Acehnese links had been expanded. The consequences of the Pan-Islamic threat to the colonial administrations beginning from the Ottoman to the Hague and the Buittenzorg (today West Java, Indonesia) are clearly narrated. He also provides an extensive source describing the Ottoman initiative to spread the influence to the Indies through the existence of an Ottoman consul in Batavia and the progressive natives' educational relationship with Istanbul. Unfortunately, Schmidt believes that Pan-Islamism in the Indies only started in the late 19th century and its Middle East influence penetrated the Indies only in the beginning of 20th century.

Among the existing literature, *Nineteenth century Pan-Islamism in Indonesia and Malaysia* authored by Anthony Reid²⁴ is the only work written on the specifications of Pan-Islamism expansion in these regions; concentrating on the role of Aceh during the war period against the Dutch. Reid attempts to explain the process of exporting Pan-Islamism from the Middle East to these two areas by dividing the process into scopes of events which included: the importance of Hijaz; the pilgrimage influence on the natives' Islamic identity; the migration of the Hydramites Muslims to the archipelago; and the relationship from the central to the periphery. However,

²³ Jan Schmidt, *Through the Legation of Window 1876-1926 on Four Eassays on Dutch, Dutch-India and Ottoman History*, (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1992), 49.

²⁴ Anthony Reid, "Nineteenth century Pan-Islamism in Indonesia and Malaysia", *Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2. 267-283.

Reid's view on Pan-Islamism is limited to the perspective of external approaches. Thus, the perspective of reviewing internal factors which contributed to the existence of Pan-Islamism needs to be reconsidered.

Muhammad Daud Remantan's unpublished dissertation may be the only work specializing on the existence of modern religious *madrasah* (modern Islamic Schools) at the beginning of the 20th century which he believed to have been resulted from long period of Islamic reformism in Aceh. He provides an analysis on the chronological development of the *madrasah*. The author believes that such schools had been rooted from the development of Islamization in the archipelago, particularly since the 16th century and were not strongly affected by the Middle East.²⁵ He had maintained this argument mostly from an interview with a direct witness of the Dutch war who was born in the beginning of the 20th century. However, the sources that the researcher applied in his thesis are mostly secondary ones, and the discussions are limited to the development of *madrasah* at the beginning of the 20th century.

Another important dissertation is *Islam and politics in Aceh: A study on centre-periphery relations in Indonesia*, focuses on Acehnese political approaches internally and externally towards Islamic states since the first encounter with Ottoman in the 16th century leading to the development and change till the 20th century. In particular, in Chapters II and III, the writer attempted to analyze the identity and functions of the Sultan, the *ulama*, and the *uleebalangs* within the societal administration and social systems in the 19th century by commenting further on the previously built characters discussed by James T. Siegel and Snouck Hurgronje. He also looked into the role of the *ulama*, *uleebalangs* and the Dutch during the resistance against the Dutch

²⁵ M. Daud Remantan, "Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Aceh: 1914-1953", (Ph. D Thesis: Universiti of Syarif Hidayatullah in 1955), 10.