

Hamka, Zhenghe, and Indonesian Islam

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Abstract

This study seeks to trace the centrality of the use of Zhenghe's notes and other Chinese documents in Hamka's work which discusses the development of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago (mainly in the book titled Sejarah Umat Islam). The study will focus on two things: first, discussing the central position of Zhenghe's notes for the development of historiography of Indonesian Islam in Hamka's work. Second, this study discusses the important role of Hamka in elevating the value of Chinese documents as an important historical source. Keep in mind that in the Hamka era, historical writing was still dominated by Eurocentric logic which tended to prioritise Western records compared to non-Western sources. In other words, there is a unique interaction between Hamka and Chinese records where on the one hand Chinese records can help Muslims in Indonesia reconstruct their history, but on the other hand, Indonesian Muslims elevate the value of Chinese documents in the academic world.

Kajian ini berupaya menelusuri sentralitas penggunaan catatan Zhenghe dan dokumen Tionghoa lainnya dalam karya Hamka yang membahas tentang perkembangan Islam di Nusantara (terutama dalam buku berjudul Sejarah Umat Islam). Kajian akan berfokus pada dua hal: pertama, membahas posisi sentral catatan Zhenghe bagi perkembangan historiografi Islam Indonesia dalam karya Hamka. Kedua, penelitian ini membahas tentang peran penting Hamka dalam mengangkat nilai dokumen Tionghoa sebagai sumber sejarah yang penting. Perlu diingat bahwa di era Hamka, penulisan sejarah masih didominasi oleh logika Eurosentris yang cenderung mengutamakan catatan Barat dibandingkan sumber non-Barat. Dengan kata lain, terdapat interaksi yang unik antara Hamka dan arsip Tionghoa dimana di satu sisi arsip Tionghoa dapat membantu umat Islam di Indonesia merekonstruksi sejarah mereka, namun di sisi lain, umat Islam Indonesia mengangkat nilai dokumen Tionghoa di dunia akademik.

Keywords: Zhenghe' notes; Hamka; Historiography; Indonesian Islam; Eurocentrism

"Suatu nama Muslim dari China yang amat erat sangkut pautnya dengan kemajuan Islam di Indonesia dan Tanah Melayu adalah Laksamana Cheng Ho [A Muslim name from China that is very closely related to the progress of Islam in Indonesia and the Malay Archipelago is Admiral Cheng Ho/Zheng He]" (Hamka, Star Weekly 18 Maret 1961)¹

Introduction: Zheng He Voyage In the Age of "Exclusivism"

An interesting fact was found from the CSIS survey - a famous think tank in Indonesia - which targeted Indonesian millennials. One of the important points revealed in the survey was about the perceptions of the millennial generation in interpreting cooperation between the Indonesian government and foreign countries. Interestingly, there is a strong negative sentiment among millennials when they view the relationship between Indonesia and the United States, and moreover the relationship between Indonesia and China. In the case of America around 29, 9% of respondents considered the relationship between Indonesia and America negatively while only 14, 3% considered that relations with uncle sam's country were beneficial to the Indonesian people.² Negative sentiment among millennials was higher in looking at the relationship between Indonesia and China, where more than 32, 8% of respondents considered the relationship between Indonesia and China to hurt Indonesia, and only 11, 7% of respondents considered that the relationship was beneficial for Indonesia.³ The findings of the CSIS survey above show one trend that is taking place in Indonesia. Negative sentiment towards foreign nations, as well as the emergence of cynicism towards relations with the outside world, became a kind of marker of the presence of a type of nationalism that was "exclusive" and "hard". This "new" nationalism cannot be separated from the electoral political event that takes place at the local and national level. Where the political effects generated during the electoral competition were very strong and even persisted even though the competition was over. For example, since the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional elections - which represent the face of Indonesia -⁴ anti "*asing*" and "*aseng*" slogans have emerged in the public sphere.⁵ The term "*asing*" refers to the West, while "*aseng*" refers to China.⁶ Another popular slogan is "*bani unta*" (the tribe of a camel) which refers to negative sentiments on Arabs - and myths about Arab conspiracies - that change the face of Indonesia to become more "intolerant".⁷

The trend of increasing negative sentiment towards foreign nations has the potential to produce major political consequences in the direction of state policy in the future. For example, if referring to a study conducted by Heru Prakosa in *Basis* magazine, he found a surprising fact that in 2015, the minister of labour had the ambition to ban all religious teachers from abroad.⁸ The

reason is that according to the ministry, the “non-indigenous” religious teachers will only enrich radicalism in Indonesia.⁹ In other words, it can be concluded that the minister's policy plan cannot be separated from the widespread development of a perspective that sees foreign nations as completely negative. Based on such sentiments, it is only natural for the ministry of labour to feel that even if the relations with foreign religious teachers are stopped, there will be no losses suffered by the Indonesian people if the policy is realised.

The explanation above shows that ideas have consequences. Although the desire of the ministry to ban the existence of foreign religious teachers in Indonesia has not been carried out until now, however, if negative sentiments towards foreign nations persist it is not impossible that a similar plan will re-emerge even though in a different form. Moreover, when referring to the CSIS survey, which shows that millennials are also “contaminated” by such ideas, it is not impossible that the idea of Indonesian nationalism is increasingly moving towards “exclusivism”.

The trend of increasing negative sentiment towards foreign entities in the Indonesian public is unhealthy because as revealed by the analysis of the effect of “hard” nationalism is not only external but also internal, where “hard” nationalism triggers the emergence of hatred of fellow nationals who are considered as “henchmen” from these foreigners.¹⁰ The vocabulary of “*antek asing*” (foreign accomplices), “*antek aseng*” (Chinese henchmen), and “*bani unta*” (Aran henchmen) and similar terms have become more common in contemporary Indonesian public spaces.¹¹ The vocabulary has destructive tendencies because in addition to suspecting foreigners but also fostering a sense of suspicion among fellow citizens who eventually become vulnerable to horizontal conflicts. At a minimum, we see the “war” that occurs on social media with various insults that are raised by each party. An alarming development, which began with the growth of “hard” nationalism that could end in the disintegration of the nation.

This kind of trend is not exclusive to Indonesia alone. Along with the spread of populism trends¹² at the global level, similar events also occur in Europe and the United States. Interestingly in the context of the United States, negative sentiment towards China also grew as happened in Indonesia.¹³ For example, China has been accused of manipulating the development of global science, resulting in a conspiracy among academics to declare global warming. Even though for Trump, global warming is no more than a hoax intended to make the US and European industries as defendants because they are considered to contribute to the pollution of the global environment.¹⁴

This study departs from the socio-political context, where the study views

that negative sentiments towards foreign entities - including China - must be eroded in such a way. This study does not mean rejecting a critical attitude when a nation decides to build relationships with other foreign nations. Critical attitude certainly needs to be built when someone or a nation is related to other parties. However, as exemplified earlier about the plan of the Ministry of Manpower to make a total ban on religious leaders from abroad to teach in Indonesia, of course, that kind of thinking must be rejected. It is necessary to distinguish between critical attitude and scepticism, where scepticism is problematic because it considers that there is absolutely nothing positive when the Indonesian people establish relations with foreign entities. As part of the effort to eradicate the negative sentiment, this study raised the case of Cheng Ho's voyage to several Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, as an interesting topic for further study.

This study focuses on seeing how Zheng He's voyage was interpreted positively by Hamka, one of Indonesia's famous scholars. Hamka considered Zheng He's travel record as an important basis for building alternative historiography regarding the history of Muslims in Indonesia. One thing to be raised in this study is that great scholars such as Hamka, rather than suspecting foreign entities (Zheng He and his voyage), Hamka considered it an important historical source as a credible testimony about the condition of Muslims in Indonesia at that time. In other words, Hamka shows us all that the encounter with a foreign entity (in this case the witness of a foreign nation from China) but benefits the position of Indonesian Muslims who at that time were constructed in such a way in an Orientalist narrative. The orientalist narrative contains many problems because it portrays Muslims in Indonesia with a variety of negative attachments. We hoped that through this study, in addition to contributing to reducing negative sentiments towards foreign entities, it also has a contribution in the academic realm specifically within the scope of Zheng He studies. With the emphasis to see how Zheng He's record (testimony) is used as one of the important sources in building Hamka's alternative methodology in constructing the history of Muslims in Indonesia.¹⁵

Theoretical Background: the Problem of European Gaze and the Possibility of Alternative Representation of the East

This study emphasizes the important position of Zheng He's testimony (Chinese documents) in Hamka's alternative methodology. The alternative methodology was used as the basis for carrying out the historical reconstruction project of Muslims in Indonesia. The historical reconstruction project in Hamka's eyes is crucial because the mainstream historical narrative is influenced by orientalist bias, which positions Islam negatively, including Muslims in the

territory of Indonesia. Hamka's critical position is in line with developments in the global academic world, especially since the emergence of the postcolonialism school, which specifically seeks to examine the effects of colonialism in the non-Western world.¹⁶

One of the themes that had been discussed in postcolonial academics since Edward Said's era - which was considered an important figure for the school of postcolonialism was related to Eastern representation.¹⁷ One important concept that emerges related to Eastern representation is the existence of the European gaze / western gaze.¹⁸ The European gaze can be interpreted as coloured glasses that filter reality in such a way as to produce a Western-biased representation.¹⁹ The European gaze does not function like a camera that captures objects and produces a picture similar to reality. European gaze produces Eastern reality based on several "data" which are interpreted according to the Eurocentric framework.²⁰

The framework tends to work binary, placing the West as the centre while the east as the periphery, the West as a symbol of civilisation while the East as a symbol of barbarism.²¹ The Eastern construction in the Orientalist framework not only gives a negative Eastern picture in the academic realm. In postcolonial studies also known the concept of self-orientalization, where this concept refers to that the picture of the West about the East turned out to be internalised by the East people themselves so that they transformed themselves according to the image of orientalism.²² For example, in the case of China, the great wall of China used to mean a military building to guard China's territory against the attack of the Mongols.²³ But now the meaning of the great wall changes. This change occurred because they (Chinese people) internalised the Western image about the great wall. Jesuits, for example, as one of the early modern Western missions that visited China, regarded the wall as a unique eastern marker.²⁴ It turns out that until now, Chinese people themselves follow this mindset and consider the great wall as their "eastern" identity.²⁵

The case of the great wall may be in a certain degree, not too "negative" because it is only positioned as a symbol of Eastern exoticism. However, about Islam and Muslims since the beginning, Orientalism has positioned Islam as a completely negative one - and this religion is believed caused the Islamic world to be so barbaric and uncivilized.²⁶ The Arab region occupies an important position in the Islamic world because it is the location of the emergence of Islam. Europe also had several times the experience of fighting with Islamic kingdoms in the Middle East region, for example, during the crusade.²⁷ The negative sentiment towards Islam inherent in Orientalist lenses is what ultimately resulted in the representation of negative Islam and Muslims in the academic world and even the popular world today, including in representing

the history of Islam and Muslims in the territory of Indonesia.²⁸

The problem of Eastern construction due to the influence of Orientalism cannot be considered trivial about historical reconstruction. In historiography, the written data is the main source in constructing history in the past.²⁹ The problem arises when most academically recognised documents originate from the colonial documents themselves (colonial archives, or Western orientalist works that came to the East). The source certainly has a problem because of the Western bias contained in it.³⁰ The use of alternative historical sources is crucial for carrying out historical reconstruction that is free from orientalism bias.³¹ Interestingly when speaking of the search for this alternative historical source, Hamka made his choice in Chinese documents (in this case Zheng He's testimony) as one of the relevant historical sources.³²

Hamka's choice for using Chinese documents - if reviewed academically - is an attractive choice. Like western orientalists who see reality in the Western gaze framework, then seeing Zheng He reality should also be influenced by his lens, which can be called Chinese gaze. Related to the Chinese gaze, Ta Ta Sen conducted an interesting study about Zheng He. Sen tried to study Zheng He 's voyages out of Western construction and offered new ways of reading study Zheng He 's voyages based on the Chinese perspective.³³ According to Sen, based on Chinese documents that he studied, the Chinese state adopted a philosophy of Confucianism, which then divided the world into binary terms.³⁴

The Chinese binary logic has a significant difference with western dualism because China's philosophy is based on relational binary logic (Yin and Yang logic³⁵) while the west is based on strict binary logic (Cartesianism logic³⁶). In a Confucian-Chinese perspective, the world outside the kingdom is a "barbaric" region.³⁷ The term "barbarian" here at a glance is similar to the Western binary system which divides the world into civilized land and savage territory. But in building its relationship with the "barbaric" region, the logic of the dialogue should be used by the kingdom. It is different from the logic of imperialism, which underlies western state policies. It is wrong for China, for example, to arbitrarily destroy the "barbarian" order because it will produce "karma" for their kingdom.³⁸ The concept of "karma" is the doctrine of Confucianism, which believes that even the slightest bad deed will get a reward in this world or the next phase of reincarnation.³⁹ As a result, China will try to establish mutual relations with the surrounding region and avoid war as much as possible.⁴⁰

The existence of Chinese gaze which is influenced by Confucian philosophy is interesting because of the paradigm places "barbarians" as those who deserve to be "friends" and are positioned "in line" with the Chinese empire.

With this kind of conception, it is possible for Zheng He to view reality in a way different from what is seen by Western orientalists. Of course, it does not mean that Zheng He's point of view becomes fully neutral, but at least his perspective influenced by Confucian values makes it possible to become an alternative perspective because different glasses drive it in seeing reality. In this context, we can appreciate Hamka for making Chinese documents an alternative historical source. This choice has a fairly strong academic foundation, as discussed in the previous explanation.

Finding(s) and Discussion: Hamka Meet Zheng He

Many aspects can be raised related to Hamka's explanation of Cheng Ho, for example, related to Cheng Ho's religious status or about Hamka's narrative of Cheng Ho's voyage of visiting several regions in Asia. However, one thing that concerns this paper is how important Cheng Ho was in the development of Hamka's alternative methodology in the field of history, how Cheng Ho played an important role in Hamka's efforts to fight the mainstream historical construction - at that time - which was Eurocentric in nature so that he tended to view Indonesian Islam negatively. The point regarding the position of Cheng Ho's alternative historical methodology developed by Hamka is what this paper tries to explore while other aspects will not be discussed in this paper.

As brief information for those who don't know Hamka. Hamka is a well-known Indonesian cleric who originated from the background of modernist Muslims.⁴¹ Hamka himself had interacted intensely with the Thawalib organisation in West Sumatra in his childhood period, which was known as one of the leading modernist Muslim organisations in the region.⁴² Hamka has also been involved in the Muhammadiyah organisation since his encounter with several Muhammadiyah exponents on Java.⁴³ Since the intense encounter with Muhammadiyah leaders, Hamka was recorded as one of the figures who contributed to developing the Muhammadiyah organisation in the Sumatra region.⁴⁴

One thing that should be understood, although Hamka was actively involved in Muhammadiyah or Thawalib organisations and was closely related to the tradition of modernist Islam, he was also known as a figure of scholars who were widely accepted in Indonesian society and even Southeast Asia.⁴⁵ Hamka's popularity is reflected by the popularity of the commentaries of Al Azhar and other Hamka works which were even printed by local publishers from Malaysia and Singapore. Also, personally, Hamka is often invited to give religious lectures for Islamic communities in Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand.⁴⁶ Even in the case of Malaysia, Hamka was also asked to fill in several

sessions on "*Syarahan Islam*" on Radio Televisi Malaysia (RTM).⁴⁷

One of the fields of interest that attracted the attention of Hamka was history. Hamka himself is known to the public with one of his monumental works, "The History of Muslims" who tried to record the history of the emergence of Islam in Arab land until its development in the territory of Indonesia.⁴⁸ Hamka also wrote other historical works with more memoir-style writing models such as *Ayahku* (My Father), *Kenang-kenangan Hidup* (Recollection of Life), and also *dari perbendaharaan lama* (from the old treasury). It is undeniable that the theme of Islam dominates Hamka's historical work. It is almost impossible to find Hamka's work that attempts to elaborate on other historical themes. However, this is understandable considering that he is also an Islamic scholar, where traditionally the field of study that has been studied by an Islamic cleric is certainly more concerned with discussing religious issues. Although in other works - for example, *falsafah hidup* (Philosophy of Life) and *renungan tasawuf* (Sufism Reflection)- he also showed his expertise in dialogue with the traditions of Western and Eastern philosophy (such as Indian philosophical traditions).

Hamka's Modernist Islam Background and The Making of "Critical" Historiography

One interesting thing about Hamka is that his formal education background is fairly low. He has never had a special study in history during his lifetime. Of course, it becomes a question of how the figure of Hamka can develop critical historical analysis and even try to develop an alternative historical methodology to counter the tradition of historiography which is much influenced by Eurocentric logic. But if we look critically at the informal educational background taken by Hamka, including the religious traditions that influence it, the question can be answered.

Although Hamka did not take formal education, he learned a lot from religious leaders - in Indonesia or the Middle East when he performed the Hajj there - as well as an important figure in the Indonesian national movement at that time. The encounter with these figures directly makes Hamka trained to recognize realities critically from a person who is directly involved with that reality. For example, meeting with the leaders of national movements such as Soekarno and Tjokroaminoto made him learn to understand the reality of colonialism in Indonesia, which might not be obtained if it was only based on the "textbook" of formal education in that era.⁴⁹

The informal education system can be said to form the spirit of Hamka to recognise the reality "as is" not the "constructed in such a way" especially in

the sense of colonial construction. Then it can be said that the spirit to understand reality is "critical" that is what he adopted when dealing with the field of history. One field of science which, although not studied formally, is a field that he has been engaged in since he was a child.

Moreover, he had the opportunity to learn from several Islamic leaders who seriously pursued historical studies such as Mas Mansur,⁵⁰ one of the early figures of Muhammadiyah.⁵¹ The experience of studying from the teachers is what contributes strongly to forming Hamka as a critical intellectual in the field of history against the historical construction of Orientalism.⁵²

In addition to his informal educational background that made Hamka more "critical" in looking at reality, it can be said that the "modernist" religious tradition also contributed to Hamka's critical attitude towards the design of historiography that rests on Eurocentric logic. The *tajdid* doctrine holds an important position in the religious traditions of "modernist" Muslims.⁵³ The term *tajdid* itself refers to two interrelated dimensions: first, *tajdid* as purification. The teaching of purification emphasises the importance of a Muslim to return to the Quran and the Sunnah as the main source of Islam.⁵⁴ The doctrine of purification has an important impact on modernists who will always be critical even of the traditions they have been carrying out because it might be contrary to the Quran and hadith.⁵⁵ Secondly, *tajdid* can be interpreted as dynamism. The dynamics referred to are related to non-religious realms/affairs. Based on this dynamism doctrine, a Muslim must be open to various traditions around him to improve the self condition of these Muslims.⁵⁶ In other words, a Muslim is required to be open to various other cultures and civilizations.⁵⁷

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that the first dimension of *tajdid* - related to the doctrine of purification - influences the Hamka mentality so that he will put forward a critical attitude when dealing with the historical construction of Indonesian Muslims influenced by the Eurocentric spirit. For Hamka, there is a huge potential distortion of reality in the construction of mainstream history due to the use of the Western paradigm that is used to read and construct reality.

On the other hand, the spirit of dynamism - in the sense of being open to other traditions in non-religious affairs - made Hamka feel confident to use non-western alternative sources. He chooses Chinese records, especially Zheng He's testimony - as an alternative historical source. He believes Chinese record will show reality more "objective" than the western record. But it should also be underlined that Hamka did not completely dispose of western documents, but he used them critically.

Orientalist Negative construction of Indonesian Islam: the Case of Raffles

Raffles is one of the Western orientalist exponents who have a desire to construct the reality of Muslims in Indonesia negatively.⁵⁸ Of course, the negative construction of Muslims in Indonesia is not Raffles' sole work.⁵⁹ However, given the position of Raffles who at that time also served as general governor of the Dutch East Indies - in the brief period of British rule in the region - and he was known to be able to construct Javanese impressively. The phenomenal work of Raffles "*the History of Java*" became an important marker of the governor general's expertise in constructing Javanese reality based on the paradigm of Orientalism.⁶⁰ Related to the construction of Islam, Raffles can be categorised as the earliest figure popularising Majapahit's theory of collapse due to the attack of the Demak Islamic empire.⁶¹ The narrative created by Raffles has negative implications because it seems as if Islam is identical to the sword and the struggle for power to spread its influence.⁶² It should also be remembered that the narrative about the fall of Majapahit is not just a stand-alone idea but is part of a large narrative to construct Indonesian Islam negatively, including also strengthening the great narrative of "global" orientalism that Islam is a negative religion since its appearance in the Arab region.

Raffles' big role as a "true first orientalist" in Javanese land was to fill the void of the picture of the face of Islam in the territory of Indonesia. Interestingly, Raffles realised that although the construction of Islam produced by other western experts "succeeded" gave a negative picture of Islam in the Middle East region. But Raffles was aware of the reality that had not been "tamed" by the Western construction of Islam in the Southeast Asian region, especially in the territory of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) which at that time was part of his territory. For Raffles, the existence of Islam in Malay land raises a big question because there is no Middle Eastern Islamic empire that has expanded into this region so that it becomes a question of how Islam can spread in the region.⁶³

The puzzle certainly has the potential to damage the great narrative of the Islamic religion that has been codified in the "canon" of Orientalism. To "discipline" Islam in Java according to the "canon" of Orientalism, Raffles later developed a number of his distinctive narratives about Islam in the Indonesian region, especially Java which became a special area for his intellectual desires. Raffles developed the theory that Islam in Java was essentially a "thin layer" which did not penetrate the hearts of its adherents.⁶⁴ Based on these hypotheses, Raffles provided evidence that Muslims in Java tended to take a more "friendly" attitude towards Europeans compared to other Muslim

communities - which he considered more "fierce" because they were more "exposed" by Islamic influences.⁶⁵ In other words, he contributed to closing the "gap" of the academic narrative of orientalism which synonymous Islam and Muslims as a "barbaric" nation. Raffles contributed to the "canon" of orientalism by stating related "anomalies" of Islam in the case of Java - and the archipelago in general - caused by the influence of Islam which was not sufficiently embedded in the community. The weak influence of Islam on his followers in Southeast Asia made religion fail to transform the behaviour of its adherents. No wonder Raffles tend to be more "good" individuals than "their partners" in the Middle East. Raffles did not stop to the point of declaring that Islam did not pervade the Javanese community but also provided a discourse like Marsden that there was still the possibility of strengthening the influence of Islam in Javanese land along with contact with the Middle East region. Contact with the Middle East is seen as dangerous because it has the potential to make them more "pious" and ultimately transformations to become increasingly "barbaric".⁶⁶ Raffles himself quoted a case in which the contact of the Minangkabau Muslim with Islam in the Arab region made them a "devout" follower and later led to a change in their attitude - becoming "brutal" - when returning to the Minangkabau region.⁶⁷

Not enough to make Paderi as an example, the thesis of the Demak attack as the mastermind behind the destruction of Majapahit can actually be seen as Raffles' covert attempt to blame Walisongo as the mastermind of Islamization of Java, causing society to become more "obedient" and then become "violent" as Muslims in generally in the Middle East region.⁶⁸

If we look at the narrative constructed by Raffles, it shows similarities with Marsden. The difference is Raffles underlines the potential for changes in people's behaviour to be more "barbaric" because the influence of Islam is getting stronger while Marsden underlines the problem of the fading of the tradition of "original" society due to the increasing influence of Islam. Although it cannot be forgotten, the reason for Raffles underscoring the dangers of strong Islamic influence on Javanese society is related to his efforts to maintain the influence of Hindu Buddhism on Javanese society. Raffles had a political desire to re-activate the caste system that lived in the era of Hindu Buddhism for colonial interests.⁶⁹ In the eyes of Raffles, this caste order weakened and disappeared along with Islamic influence. According to Raffles, the colonial system would be more profitable if the caste system, which tended to divide the community hierarchically could be re-activated.⁷⁰ It is undeniable that the logic of strict community segregation based on skin colour is an important marker of the working of the colonial system in general.⁷¹ For Raffles, the nature of Islamic egalitarianism - coupled with a hatred of the West - made the religion a big threat to the continuation of the colonial system.⁷² So it is not surprising

that in addition to contributing to closing the "gap" about the "anomaly" of the face of Islam in Indonesia, Raffles' negative narrative about Islam is also related to his political de-Islamization project to support the continuity of the colonial system in the region.

Hamka against Orientalist Construction of Indonesian Islam: Zheng He as Reliable Eyewitness

Hamka in one of his most important historical works entitled "*Sejarah Umat Islam*" (The History of Muslims) sought to develop a rival narrative of the Orientalists in particular about the theory of the development of Islam in the territory of Indonesia. However, it should be emphasised that Hamka in his work did not specifically mention the name Raffles even though in his narrative about the collapse of Majapahit he appeared to counter the narrative developed by Raffles and those who were in line with it.⁷³

Zheng He's testimony is one of the important historical sources, where the testimony of Zheng He is central to portraying the faces of Muslims in the Majapahit era which are far from the image of Raffles. As explained earlier, Raffles believes in the theory of Islamic artificiality for the life of the Javanese people. For Raffles, Islam is not embraced wholeheartedly, but only on the surface without any influence on the life of its adherents. Hamka tried to oppose the construction of Raffles by giving testimony to Zheng He who visited the Java region in 1413.⁷⁴ Keep in mind that Zheng He's voyage to the Southeast Asian region was not once, but it seems that on this journey in 1413 Zheng He brought important testimony about Muslims in Majapahit.

Hamka said that Zeng He divided the people living under the Majapahit kingdom into three different groups.⁷⁵ The first group is the Chinese group who chose to settle in the Majapahit country after previously inhabiting mainland China.⁷⁶ According to Zheng He's testimony, many of the Chinese have embraced Islam.⁷⁷ Zheng He's testimony also shows how the influence of Islam is strong in Majapahit even to the extent that its influence can make Chinese circles who nomads choose to embrace Islam. More interesting when Zheng He testified that the Chinese were also fairly obedient in practising Islam.⁷⁸ The testimony of the first group witnessed by Zheng He can shake Raffles's argument. Evidently, in Java, Islam was strongly embraced by the Chinese, but at that time they were not described by Zheng He as "violent" and "bloodthirsty" or having a desire to overthrow the Majapahit kingdom for example.

Zheng He's testimony continued by mentioning the second group of Islamic societies which he said were not ethnic Chinese.⁷⁹ He contrasted this Islamic

community group with the third group from the Majapahit community who still adhered to the "original religion" of Majapahit.⁸⁰ According to Zheng He, the Islamic community as a neatly dressed group different from the non-Islamic groups in Majapahit who are considered not having the habit of dressing properly.⁸¹ The habit of "real-time" people who are dressed in "improperly" is explained in more detail by Zheng He, for example, they choose not to wear footwear and do not wear a head covering.⁸² Their bodies also smell bad.⁸³ Zheng He further mentions other characteristics of the non-Islamic group which he thinks are so afraid of ghosts and demons.⁸⁴ In other words, this kind of nature is not found in the Islamic community.

The important conclusion obtained from Zheng He's testimony is that in the Majapahit era, there were many Chinese and non-Chinese ethnic groups who were obedient in practising Islam. Even the obedience of the Islamic community is manifested in daily life, both in matters of physical nature (e.g. purification and wearing polite clothes) as well as those of inner nature (no longer afraid of Satan). In other words, Raffles's idea of Islam, which according to him was not taken seriously by the people in Java, was not based on reality but rather on his colonial image - at least in the Majapahit era.

Zheng He's testimony above also implied that there were no bloody conflicts between adherents of devout Islam against the non-Islamic population in the region. Zheng He's testimony again denied Raffles's thesis that the more obedient a person embraced Islam, the more he made him a "barbarian nation". In Zheng He's eyes, the conversion to Islam made them more civilised, visible from their daily morals.

The morality of Indonesian Muslims as witnessed by Zheng He was then used by Hamka to strengthen his thesis. According to Hamka, at that time the rulers of the Majapahit kingdom were respectful towards Muslims and with the ulama (*walisongo*) who were religious teachers in the region.⁸⁵ In fact, according to Hamka's study, along with the increasing position of Muslims and especially the scholars in the Majapahit community, the kingdom chose to embrace Muslims by giving them a strategic position in the Majapahit government.⁸⁶ For example, one area in Majapahit was given to Muslims as their territory - with Raden Patah as its ruler.⁸⁷ In other words, Raffles' arguments and academics that are in line with him that Islam is responsible for the collapse of Majapahit are not supported by strong evidence. The relationship between Muslims - who are classified as devout in carrying out their religion - with the Majapahit kingdom takes place in harmony. In fact, according to Hamka, in one of the dialogues with his teacher (Walisongo), Raden Patah, who at that time saw the condition of Majapahit getting weaker, had dreamed that he would take Majapahit. It should be remembered that Majapahit's power at that time was not in the hands of Raden Patah's father

but Prabu Udara who seized royal power from his father.⁸⁸ But Sunan Ngampel as Raden Patah's main teacher at that time advised himself to be patient.⁸⁹ It means that *Walisono*, who is obedient practising religion, is acting wisely, not as imagined by Raffles, where when more obedient people are in Islam, they are increasingly violent.

Hamka did not deny that after the death of Sunan Ngampel, Raden Patah's desire to attack Majapahit was allowed by Sunan Giri.⁹⁰ However, it should be remembered that the context that made Sunan Giri bless the attack on Majapahit. Not because of the sake of satisfying Raden Patah's desire to take revenge on Prabu Udara who couped his father's leadership. Sunan Giri permitted because he saw the political situation at that time where Prabu Udara was expected to make an agreement with the Portuguese that could potentially endanger the existence of Demak.⁹¹ Moreover, at that time, the Portuguese had markedly destroyed the Islamic kingdom in Melaka.⁹² So the effort to develop relations between Majapahit and Portuguese is very likely to be dangerous for the future of Demak. In other words, the attack on Majapahit was defensive because the kingdom felt threatened by the potential of Portuguese and Majapahit aggression in their territory. Demak's attack on Majapahit could not be attributed to the normal situation of the method of spreading Islam in Java at all.

Zheng He's testimony is not only important to give an overview of Islam in the Majapahit period, but Hamka more broadly also touched on the visits and relations initiated by Zheng He in several Islamic kingdoms that had grown around the Straits of Malacca such as Pasai and Melaka.⁹³ From relations established by Zheng He and Islamic kingdoms such as Pasai and Melaka showed that Orientalist images as believed by Raffles did not have a strong foundation. Pasai and Melaka are kingdoms, which are firm in carrying out Islam. But the two kingdoms did not have the desire to control other territories militarily.⁹⁴

Interestingly in the Pasai case, it was the kingdom that became a prisoner because they were helpless when they got an attack from the kingdom of Siam or Majapahit - which was a Buddhist-Hindu kingdom.⁹⁵ Even though in the case of Pasai or Melaka Hamka did not use Zheng He's testimony to explain the condition of the community in the territory of the two kingdoms - or it could be because Hamka did not have detailed records of Zheng He regarding the region. But at least from Zheng He's testimony when interacting with local authorities (who are classified as religious), we can conclude that these rulers did not represent the face of "violent" Islam as imagined by Raffles.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the use of Zheng He's testimony shows that negative Orientalist narratives towards Indonesian Islam are only based on mere assumptions without the support of strong evidence. Another conclusion that can be drawn is that Hamka helped raise Zheng He's position, as an eyewitness that is important in constructing an alternative history of Islam in Indonesia. In other words, it can be concluded that with the encounter of the two great Muslim figures (Indonesian clerics and Chinese admirals) finally led to the "creation" of an important civilisation alliance (between the civilizations of the archipelago, Islam, and China). This alliance of civilizations successfully resisted the dominance of colonial discourse in constructing the face of Islam in Indonesia. Another conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that Zheng He figure described by Hamka is a Chinese admiral who is friendly to other nations. This kind of positive depiction of Zheng He is also important in countering the negative construction of Zheng He. In other words, this intellectual encounter benefits the Islamic world in general, Indonesian Muslims in particular, and Zheng He himself, who until now is still overshadowed by the construction of (neo) orientalism which places him as an invader rather than as China's ambassador of peace.

Conclusion: Zheng He, Hamka, and the Possibility of Inter-civilizational Alliance

This study seeks to explore the relevance of Zheng He figure in the midst of strengthening populism trends in Indonesia and several other countries in the world. This trend of global populism triggered the birth of a form of closed nationalism mentality (which can be called "hard" nationalism). The outside world is assumed to be purely a threat so that the most rational attitude taken by society is to cut off the connection with the outside world. This study underlines that we must learn from the history of Zheng He's encounter with the Southeast Asian region. It can be said that precisely with the connection between the two different civilizations, Zheng He can position as an eyewitness about what happened in the Southeast Asian region, especially related to the condition of Muslims in the region. It was Zheng He's record while travelling in Southeast Asia which Hamka later used to become one of the historical sources he used to fight the mainstream Eurocentric methodology which tends to be anti-Islamic. Hamka's maneuver, which places Zheng He as an eyewitness, also has important value in the context of designing alternative historiography where placing travel records from non- Western explorers as a legitimate historical source.

This kind of intellectual cooperation between civilizations needs to be continuously developed in the future, both development regarding the study

of Zheng He's journey or the study of the development of Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. It is also important to strengthen intellectual cooperation in other fields that are useful for the benefit of global civilization. For example, in the realm of medicine, this collaboration between civilizations can be started from the development of a tradition of holistic medicine based on Chinese-Islamic tradition. The development of a holistic medical methodology is important to counter the dominance of Eurocentric medical methodologies that tend to be partial in understanding the body. The formation of alternative intellectual blocks in the future also seems to be one of the strategic steps that need to be taken in the future to erode the tendency of "hard" nationalism which is getting stronger in various parts of the world.

Endnotes

¹ Yuanzhi, Kong. *Cheng Ho Muslim Tionghoa: Misteri Perjalanan Muhibah di Nusantara*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2000, p. 238.

² Centre for Strategic and International Studies. *Ada Apa dengan Milenial? Orientasi Sosial, Ekonomi dan Politik*. Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 2017, p. 16

³ *Ibid*

⁴ During the DKI Jakarta regional elections, various anti-foreign sentiments emerged. This is reasonable considering that Anis Baswedan, who at that time challenged the incumbent Basuki Tjahaja (Ahok), was of Arab descent, while Ahok who was his rival was of Chinese descent. See: Lim, Merlyna. "Freedom to hate: social media, algorithmic enclaves, and the rise of tribal nationalism in Indonesia." *Critical Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (2017), p. 10-11

⁵ Dhani, Arman. *Sejarah Kebencian Terhadap Etnis Tionghoa*. 9 1, 2016. <https://tirto.id/sejarah-kebencian-terhadap-etnis-tionghoa-bFLp> (accessed 6 27, 2019)

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ BBC Indonesia. *Dari bani daster sampai IQ 200 sekolam, 'kamus nyinyir' berbagai istilah di medsos yang diperbarui*. 1 26, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/trensosial-42814349> (accessed 6 27, 2019)

⁸ Prakosa, Heru. "Orientalisme." *Basis*, 2018, p. 13

⁹ Rachman, Taufik. *Guru Agama dan Dosen Teologi Asing Dilarang Mengajar di Indonesia*. 1 3, 2015. <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/pendidikan/eduaction/15/01/03/nhkrpf-guru-agama-dan-dosen-teologi-asing-dilarang-mengajar-di-indonesia> (accessed 6 27, 2019)

¹⁰ Merlyna Lim uses the term tribal rationalism. Tribalism refers to plural ethnic ideas as opposed to a single unity of society as imagined in the conception of a modern state. Lim's term is interesting to illustrate that in the "hard" nationalism potential creates friction among people who live in the "hard" nationalism "shell". See: Lim, Merlyna. "Freedom to hate: social media, algorithmic enclaves, and the rise of tribal nationalism in Indonesia." *Critical Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (2017), p. 13-14

¹¹ Franciska, Christine. *Kamus Nyinyir 'Pilkada Jakarta' yang dipakai di media sosial*. 4 12, 2017. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/trensosial-39562532> (accessed 6 27, 2019)

¹² The idea of Populism can be positive or negative, but in the current global trend the term populism has a negative connotation as indicated by Donald Trump's populism in the US. Academics who view populism in a more positive sense, for example, are Laclau and Mouffe, who are important exponents of the postmarxist school. See: Agnew, John, and Michael Shin. *Mapping Populism: Taking Politics to the People*. Ithaca: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019, p. 89; Morrow, Raymond Allen, and Carlos Alberto Torres. *Social Theory and Education: A Critique of Theories of Social and Cultural Reproduction*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995, p.330

¹³ West, John. *Asian Century on a Knife-edge: A 360 Degree Analysis of Asia's Recent Economic Development*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 4

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 4-5

¹⁵ It should be emphasized here that Hamka did not explicitly use standard terms in the academic world such as historical sources, methodologies, and so on. Hamka's writing style is more flowing and is similar to the tradition of writing novels. This type of writing is understandable because Hamka intended his work to be read by the people in general, not just academics, but it does not mean that the meaning of Hamka's work is not feasible to categorize as an important work that talks about developing alternative methodologies for the sake of historical reconstruction. Our perspective on Hamka's work is what should be changed so that we capture the essence of Hamka's "popular" writing. The perspective on Eastern philosophy, for example, needs to be used to put Hamka's work more seriously. Eastern philosophy itself is characterized by the use of non-academic language according to modern western standards, such as for example rarely used the terms ontology and epistemology. But the essence of Eastern philosophy also addresses the problematics that are of concern to modern Western philosophy. So what is needed is an effort to abstract Eastern philosophy so that it is easily understood by readers in the academic world rather than throwing it away because it is considered unscientific. This kind of perspective is what we might use to read Hamka, not falling in a "reductive" assessment as done by Tiar Anwar Bachtiar - INSIST Jakarta researcher - who "lightly" stated that Hamka's methodology was not clear at all and his work did not give much "insight" for the development of alternative historiography. Actually, the inability of people like Tiar to collect Hamka's works is problematic. See: Bachtiar, Tiar Anwar. *Jas Mewah: Jangan sekali-kali Melupakan Sejarah & Dakwah*. Yogyakarta: Pro-U Media, 2018, p. 295-298

¹⁶ Hamka himself was aware of the Orientalist bias and tried to counter the narrative academically, of course, with all its limitations. See: Rusydi, Yusran. *Buya Hamka: Pribadi dan Martabat*. Jakarta: Noura, 2006, p. 115-116

¹⁷ Lewis, Reina. *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation*. London: Routledge, 2003, p. 16-17

¹⁵ Ntarangwi, Mwenda. *Reversed Gaze: An African Ethnography of American Anthropology*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010, p.13

¹⁶ Topping, Margaret. "Introduction." In *Eastern Voyages, Western Visions*, edited by Margaret Topping. Bern: Peter Lang, 2004, p. 18

²⁰ Kirsch, Griseldis. *Contemporary Sino-Japanese Relations on Screen: A History, 1989-2005*. London: Bloomsbury, 2016, p.27

²¹ *Ibid*

²² Yan, Grace, and Carla Almeida Santos. "'CHINA, FOREVER'" Tourism Discourse and Self- Orientalism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 36, no. 2 (2009), p. 297-299

²³ *Ibid*, p. 298

²⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵ *Ibid*

²⁶ Zubaida, Sami. *Beyond Islam: A New Understanding of the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011, p. 122

²⁷ See Sardar's interesting explanation about the connection between the crusade and the proto- architecture of orientalism. See: Sardar, Ziauddin. *Orientalism*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999, p. 19-20

²⁸ Kucich, John. "Edward W. Said." In *Modern North American Criticism and Theory: A Critical Guide: A Critical Guide*, edited by Julian Wolfreys. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006, p. 66

²⁹ Nordholt, Henk Schulte, Bambang Purwanto, and Ratna Saptari. "Memikir Ulang Historiografi Indonesia." In *Perspektif baru penulisan sejarah Indonesia*, edited by Henk Schulte Nordholt, Bambang Purwanto and Ratna Saptari. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2008,p. 29

³⁰ Njoku, Raphael Chijioke. "Catholicism, Protestantism, and Imperial Claims in Kabaka's Buganda, 1860-1907." In *Missions, States, and European Expansion in Africa*, edited by Chima Jacob Korieh and Raphael Chijioke Njoku. New York: Routledge, 2007,p. 53

³¹ Ali, Mohammad. "Historiographical Problems." In *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, edited by Soedjatmoko. Jakarta: Equinox, 2007,hlm.18

³² Rusydi, Yusran. *Buya Hamka: Pribadi dan Martabat*. Jakarta: Noura, 2006,p. 115

³³ Sen, Ta Ta. "Did Zheng He Set Out to Colonize Southeast Asia?" In *Admiral Zheng He & Southeast Asia*, edited by Leo Suryadinata. Singapore: ISEAS, 2005,p. 55-56

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 51

³⁵ In the Yin and Yang conception, although there is a distinction between one entity and another entity (eg, male and female), in essence, both are one (mutual need, complementary). See: Henderson, John B. "Cosmology." In *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Antonio S. Cua. New York: Routledge, 2003, p.90-91

³⁶ In the Cartesianism conception there is a strict demarcation between the subject and the object. The effect of this logic is clearly seen in the design of modern science which tries to draw a clear line between the researcher and the object under study. There is a clear distance separating the researcher and the phenomenon under study. See: Kerridge, Richard. "Nature

in English Novel." In *Literature of Nature: An International Sourcebook*, edited by Patrick D. Murphy. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearbon Publishers, 1998, p.149

³⁷ Sen, Ta Ta. "Did Zheng He Set Out to Colonize Southeast Asia?" In *Admiral Zheng He & Southeast Asia*, edited by Leo Suryadinata. Singapore: ISEAS, 2005, p.51

³⁸ *Ibid*

³⁹ Tang, Yijie. *Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity and Chinese Culture*. Heidelberg: Springer, 2015, p. 146

⁴⁰ *Op.cit*

⁴¹ The term modernist and traditionalist Muslims was one of them popularized by Deliar Noer and then was widely used to categorize Muslim identities in the territory of Indonesia. Traditionalists refer to those who maintain the traditional pesantren tradition and usually adhere to one of the schools of fiqh (Syafiiyah) and are thick with the taqlid tradition of the ulama (kyai) - this Taqlid tradition which causes the growth of many congregations. Traditionalists are known to be more aspirational towards pre-Islamic local culture. While the modernists refer to those who place more emphasis on the Quran and Hadith as sources of Islamic teachings and are more reactive to pre-Islamic local culture. Although modernists do not reject pesantren, the learning system becomes their "characteristic" - at least in the Indonesian region - tends to adopt a modern western education style based on a strict curriculum, in contrast to the tradition of a salaf boarding school based on personal teacher figures. See: Noer, Deliar. *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1973, p. 10-19; Cribb, Robert. "Nahdatul Ulama." In *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia, from Angkor Wat to East Timor*, edited by OOi Keat Gin. California: ABC-CLIO, 2004, p. 929-930

⁴² Hamka's father (Haji Rasul) was one of the founders of the modernist Islamic organization. Hamka herself had taken basic education at a school run by Thawalib. See: Remiswal, and Arham Junaidi Firman. *Konsep Fitrah dalam Pendidikan Islam (Paradigma Membangun Sekolah Ramah Anak)*. Yogyakarta: Diandra, 2018, p. 146-147

⁴³ Rush, James R. *Hamka's Great Story: A Master Writer's Vision of Islam for Modern Indonesia*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2016, p. 62

⁴⁴ Isnaeni, Hendri F. *Buya Hamka di Bawah Panji Muhammadiyah*. 8 3, 2015. <https://historia.id/agama/articles/buya-hamka-di-bawah-panji-muhammadiyah-PRgn9> (accessed 6 27, 2019)

⁴⁵ In Indonesia, for example, Hamka has regular studies at the Al Azhar mosque in Jakarta, including also filling out routines on Indonesian national radio and television. In addition to his busy filling in routine studies in Hamka's national media, he also remained in the habit of giving recitation in various regions in Indonesia. Hamka was regarded as a respected cleric by the New Order government at the time, so he was asked to serve as the head of the first MUI (Indonesian Ulama Council) formed by the state to deal with matters of fatwa for Muslims. See: Rusydi, Yusran. *Buya Hamka: Pribadi dan Martabat*. Jakarta: Noura, 2006, p. 197-198; Bowen, John R. *Islam, Law, and Equality in Indonesia: An Anthropology of Public Reasoning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 230

⁴⁶ Tun Abdul Razak, one of the most prominent Malaysian prime ministers, once said that Hamka not only belongs to Indonesia but also belongs to the Southeast Asian nations. See:

Hamka. *Tafsir Al-Azhar Karya Agung Ulama Nusantara Juzuk 1, 2, 3*. Batu Caves: PTS Islamika, 2015, p.x

⁴⁷ Noor, Acep Zamzam, et al. *33 Tokoh Sastra Indonesia Paling Berpengaruh*. Jakarta: KPG, 2014, p. 84

⁴⁸ Tim Historia. *Hamka Ulama Serba Bisa dalam Sejarah Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kompas, 2018, p. 115

⁴⁹ Hamka, for example, once admitted that his journey on Java made him aware of the effects of colonialism on society. For example in the land issue in the Java region many people do not own land for farming purposes so that poverty is rampant. The different conditions he found in his home region (Minangkabau) where the poorest people can still live from the fields they have. see: Hamka. *Kenang-Kenangan Hidup*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2018, p. 64

⁵⁰ For information, in the history of the Muhammadiyah movement there were two figures named Mansur, where the first was named Mas Mansur, who was known for his knowledge of history and philosophy while there was another figure named A.R. Sutan Mansur who is known as an interpreter of the Quran. Both of them are influential figures for Hamka. See: Aqsa, Darul. K.H. Mas Mansur (1896-1946): *Perjuangan dan pemikiran*. Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005, p. 47

⁵¹ Hamka's own confession as recorded in one of his famous books titled *Falsafah Hidup* (Philosophy of Life). See: Hamka. *Falsafah Hidup*. Jakarta: Republika, 2018, p. v

⁵² Rusydi, Yusran. *Buya Hamka: Pribadi dan Martabat*. Jakarta: Noura, 2006, p. 115-116

⁵³ Asyari, Suaidi. *Nalar Politik NU-Muhammadiyah: Overcrossing Java Sentris*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2009, p. 59

⁵⁴ Majelis Diktilitbang & LPI PP Muhammadiyah. *1 abad Muhammadiyah: gagasan pembaruan sosial keagamaan*. Jakarta: Kompas, 2010, p. 352; Lihat pula: Saleh, Fauzan. *Modern Trends in Islamic Theological Discourse in 20th Century Indonesia: A Critical Survey*. Leiden: Brill, 2001, p. 82

⁵⁵ The teaching of purification for example becomes relevant to draw a clear line between local traditions that have a tendency to dehumanize humans with Islamic teachings. For example, when the boundaries between local traditions and Islamic teachings are blurred, negative sentiments towards Islam can emerge and result in people choosing to leave the religion, even though what he rejects is only local traditions that are not related to the Quran and Sunnah. Ayaan Ali Hirsi is an interesting example to show the relevance of purification teachings. Hirsi who did not realize that local female circumcision held in parts of Africa such as Somalia is a local tradition that is not related to Islam finally chose apostasy and became one of the leading anti-Islamic exponents in the Western world who is now carrying the narrative (neo) orientalis in various works. See: Afshar, Haleh. "Islam, Women, and The Politics of Violence: Illustrations from the Middle East." In *Religion and the Politics of Peace and Conflict*, edited by Linda Hogan and Dylan Lehrke. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2009, p. 209

⁵⁶ Nashir, Haedar. *Muhammadiyah Gerakan Pembaruan*. Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2016, p. 301-302

⁵⁷ *Ibid*

⁵⁸ Even on a "vulgar" level as voiced by academics such as Woodward, Islam is not only misrepresented but is even considered to not exist in Indonesia by these Orientalists. See: Woodward, Mark. *Java, Indonesia and Islam*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2011, p. 46

⁵⁹ There are many prominent Orientalist names whose works have become "canons" important in constructing the reality of Islam in Indonesia such as Hugronje and Marsden. Marsden for example discusses negative narratives about Islam which he considers abolishing the local culture of "original" communities in the archipelago. Furthermore, Marsden said that "poisons of Islam" had spread in such a way in the case of Aceh that they had completely lost their "originality" or in the case of Minagkabau it was increasingly eroded from its "original" local culture. Hugronje took a different step by categorizing Islam into two different entities namely "cultural" Islam and "political" Islam. Where according to him the colonial government must not provide space for the second form of Islam. Although it seemed different, both Marsden and Hugronje constructed Islam in such a way within the framework of colonialism where both tried to erode the influence of Islam on the Indonesian people or at least tamed it so that it did not pose a threat to colonial power. See: Laffan, Michael. *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past*. Princenton: Princenton University Press, 2011, p. 86; Bush, Robin. "Islam and Constitutionalism in Indonesia." In *Legitimacy, Legal Development and Change: Law and Modernization Reconsidered*, edited by David K. Linnan. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016, p. 174

⁶⁰ Irfan Afifi, one of the intellectuals who has dealt with Islam and Javanese relations, called Raffles the first person to construct what he called "Javanese religion" and was followed by other academics. For Afifi, Raffles had a central position in relation to western construction of Java to this day. So it is natural that many western academics dub Raffles as "the first true orientalist on Java". See: Afifi, Irfan. "Menelisik Karya Klasik Thomas Stamford Raffles." *Alif*. 9 29, 2018. <https://alif.id/read/irfan-afifi/menelisik-karya-klasik-thomas-stamford-raffles-b211967p/> (accessed 6 27, 2019)

⁶¹ Putri, Risa Herdahita. "Polemik Keruntuhan Majapahit." *Historia*. 3 28, 2018. <https://historia.id/kuno/articles/polemik-keruntuhan-majapahit-P3qpo> (accessed 6 27, 2019)

⁶² Bangura, Ahmed S. *Islam and the West African Novel: The Politics of Representation*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000, p. 131

⁶³ Aljuneid, Syed Muhd Khairudin. "From noble Muslims to saracen enemies: Thomas Stamford Raffles' discourse on Islam in the Malay world." *Sari* 21 (2003), p. 18

⁶⁴ *Ibid*

⁶⁵ *Ibid*

⁶⁶ Raffles suspects the Hajj in general and the *Padri* in particular as a dangerous entity because it has been "exposed" to Islam in such a way. See: *Ibid*, p. 20

⁶⁷ Actually Raffles hated *Paderi* because they were considered a threat to colonial power in the region. See: *Ibid*, p. 21

⁶⁸ Walisongo is a teacher for Raden Patah. Raden Patah was the leader of Demak and during his leadership he attacked the Majapahit kingdom.

⁶⁹ Aljuneid, Syed Muhd Khairudin. "Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles' Discourse on the Malay World: A Revisionist Perspective." *Sojourn* 20, no. 1 (2005), p. 7-8

⁷⁰ *Ibid*

⁷¹ Knight, Chris. *Blood Relations: Menstruation and the Origins of Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 199, p. 67-68; Flint, Karen. "Medicine." In *Colonialism: An International, Social, Cultural, and Political Encyclopedia*, edited by Melvin Eugene Page and Penny M. Sonnenburg. California: ABC-CLIO, 2003, p. 381

⁷² *Op.cit*

⁷³ Hamka. *Dari Perbedaharaan Lama*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1982, p. 12

⁷⁴ Hamka. *Sejarah Umat Islam*. Singapura: Pustaka Nasional Plt Ltd, 200,p. 2694

⁷⁵ *Ibid*

⁷⁶ *Ibid*

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 694-695

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 695

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 694-695

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 695

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 694-695

⁸² *Ibid*, p. 696

⁸³ *Ibid*

⁸⁴ *Ibid*

⁸⁵ Hamka. *Dari Perbedaharaan Lama*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1982,p. 12

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

⁸⁷ *Ibid*

⁸⁸ *Op.cit*,p. 760

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 757

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 758

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 760-761

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 760

⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 706-707

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 728-729

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 706-707

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