

Dutch Perspectives on the Image of Islam in the Dutch East Indies in the Second Half of the 19th Century – Early 20th Century

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ABSTRACT : To answer this main question, this paper will discuss several issues related to the Islamization and development of Islam in the Dutch East Indies. First, I will examine how Foucault's concepts of discourse, knowledge, and power provide insights into how power structures manifested in the Dutch East Indies and how these concepts contribute to a better understanding of Islamic discourse. Furthermore, I will investigate the role of colonial relations and their conceptualization, as outlined in Said's Orientalism, in the Dutch East Indies. Next, I will discuss the role of power structures, as outlined in Said's Orientalism, in the context of the work of Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg. This paper demonstrates that Snouck Hurgronje disrupted the conservative paradigm of the nineteenth century. First, ethical politics is to blame for this, but second, it also served as a way for Snouck Hurgronje to attack conservative research methods, of which Van den Berg was a direct target in Snouck Hurgronje's eyes. Maarten Kuitenbrouwer describes this shift as a shift from elimination to assimilation. Van den Berg remained open to the erasure of Islam, while Snouck Hurgronje sought greater cooperation with Islam. What is missing from the above works is the crucial aspect of the image of Islam that both men contributed. This has nothing to do with the emergence of Islamic discourse. The relationship between Van den Berg and Snouck Hurgronje is discussed, including what they wrote about Islamic law, how it was received at the time, what kind of people they were, and how they viewed Islam. Both men played a significant role in the image of Islam and therefore constitute a good case study for investigating the foundations of that image in the late nineteenth century.

KEYWORDS: Islamization, Dutch East Indies, Image of Islam, Orientalism, Snouck Hurgronje, Van den Berg

I. INTRODUCTION

The spread of Islam is one of the most important processes in Indonesian history, but also one of the most obscure. It is said that Muslim traders were present in parts of Indonesia for several centuries before Islam became an established religion among the local population. Several scholars have debated when, why, and how this conversion of the Indonesian population began. However, definitive conclusions are impossible to reach because sources on Islamization are scarce and often uninformative. In general, two processes may have occurred: first, the indigenous population came into contact with Islam and subsequently converted to Islam. Second, traders and foreigners from Arabia, India, China, and elsewhere who had already embraced Islam settled permanently in Indonesia and mingled with the local population (Ricklefs, 2001: 67). In general, it can be said that the spread of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago was driven by Westerners. Specifically, the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indonesian archipelago, which led to the widespread conversion of the region's kings to Islam, was a political countermeasure to Christian penetration. Foreign Islamic scribes and religious teachers, often present in trading cities in coastal areas of the Indonesian archipelago, played a decisive role in the kings' conversion to Islam. In this regard, the tradition that attributes a significant role in the Islamization process to the saints is certainly not incorrect. This transition was made easier for the saints and kings because Indonesian Islam in its early days closely followed the religious traditions of the Hindu period, as the Islam introduced there was already highly adapted to the religious climate of Western India (Hurgronje, 1924: 242).

However, the question that remains to be answered is what political considerations actually made the kings, under the influence of Portuguese penetration, willing to accept Islam. Was their primary concern the ability to recruit reliable soldiers from the urban population? Or was the opportunity to ally with the powerful Mughal king and other Muslim kings the key moment? Perhaps both considerations played a role. Although the army at that time was largely made up of slave soldiers, a reliable core was often crucial, as can be seen from the account of the Demak battle against Pajang, where the slave troops fled, but the native Demak population, presumably Muslim, continued to fight. (de Graaf, 1949:102). However, the overall urban atmosphere may have played a greater role in this than any rational consideration. We have seen that urban populations, especially in port cities, were often predominantly Muslim. This could have been an important incentive for kings in times of

Unrest to remain in power. Religious teachers could exert considerable influence on the bourgeoisie. By withdrawing their recognition of a king, they could seriously damage his position in wars against the Portuguese, against the rulers of coastal or neighboring kingdoms, or against pretenders to the throne. On the other hand, by recognizing him as an Islamic king, thus granting him a kind of coronation, these guardians were able to strengthen his authority. And the greater the amount of wealth that was Islamized in Indonesia, the greater the incentive for others to remain in power. Once the port rulers converted to Islam, it was in their interest to encourage the rural population to follow their example. Once again, religious teachers played a crucial role in this. The king granted them certain villages, exempt from taxes to the secular government, where they could establish schools. Through these schools, internal da'wah could be conducted, which in Islam must always follow external conversion. Sometimes these religious schools, called pesantren, were former Hindu or Buddhist monasteries, as their guardians were sometimes called Hindu sorcerers. In this way, Islam could also spread to the countryside and exert its civilizing influence in much the same way as the monasteries did in Northwest Europe.

We now come to the VOC period. For centuries, the political situation in Indonesia was dominated by a triangular relationship between the three most powerful groups: the Indonesian royal family, the Dutch rulers, and the religious teachers. On the one hand, the centuries since Vasco da Gama's first voyage were dominated by the struggle between Christian and Islamic rulers. This struggle could take the form of open warfare, or the more covert forms of "piracy" and "smuggling" by Indonesian kings to harm the VOC. But more often the struggle played out politically, as the Dutch exerted pressure on the Indonesian royal houses to keep hostile Islamic elements within their kingdoms under control. These hardline Islamic elements were usually led by religious teachers, who, as throughout the Islamic world, were the main opponents of secular Islamic rule. The Islamization of the archipelago strengthened ties with Arabia through pilgrimages and brought many Arab scholars to Islamic centers. Under their influence, a harsh undercurrent, sharply contrasting with the secular government and its splendor, and soon ready to brand court customs as superstition and heresy, gained strength. They were the Company's fiercest enemies. On the other hand, among the Indonesian kings, there were those who had converted to Islam in name, but feared the influence and criticism of the strict gods, who remained strong in Hindu-anist traditions. Notable are the massacres carried out by Sunan Amangkurat I among the so-called "popes," and the subsequent Dutch attack, at the instigation of Mataram, on the "Priest King" Giri – the "Pope of Islam."

Colonial government policy consistently favored these elements of the Indonesian nobility, who lived within the Hindu tradition, against those who took Islam seriously and were prepared to tolerate the feared "pope" within their realm. Whenever possible, in succession disputes, we always supported the party that considered Islam more external and formal, and that did not take religion seriously. However, in the 19th century, a new factor came into play. In various regions of Indonesia, such as Minangkabau and Aceh, but also in parts of Java, the agricultural population was now also being converted to Islam. This greatly strengthened the position of the religious teachers, as they could count on a strong following. This was demonstrated more than once. The Dutch government had repeatedly clashed with Indonesian kings. By allying with the religious teachers and raising the Islamic flag, these princes were now able to launch a general popular uprising. This was the case in the Javanese war against Prince Diponegoro (1825-1830), as well as in the Banjar war (1859 and subsequent years) and in the Aceh war in the last quarter of the last century. Moreover, it turned out that the conditions of war caused the prestige and power of the most fierce religious teachers, who could proclaim the struggle as a "holy war", to be strengthened.

Therefore, it became more than ever the policy of the Dutch government to ally itself with the secular rulers of Indonesia's kingdoms and traditional chiefs and to respect their position vis-à-vis the population. This policy was followed in the wars waged in the second quarter of the last century against the rigid Padri faction in Central Sumatra, but also, on the advice of Snouck Hurgronje, in the final phase of the Aceh War. Van den Bosch's cultural system also implied a return to a policy of cooperation with the feudal nobility in Java after the lessons of the Java War. However, it was dangerous for Indonesian kings and leaders, as well as for the Dutch, to oppose Islam. That is why, based on experience, a modus vivendi with Islam was repeatedly sought. This modus vivendi was of the same nature as those found in other Islamic territories: some scribes were willing to ally themselves with and support the secular government to some extent. Under the influence of Snouck Hurgronje's ideas, the government dispensed with Islamic practices in their more traditional forms, also no longer obstructing the Hajj pilgrimage, and instead adopted the legal ruling that a Muslim, if he was unable to establish an Islamic kingdom, must submit to a non-Islamic government. The government remained only to act against expressions of so-called fanaticism and to be suspicious of overly strict performance of religious duties

by colonial government officials, as Snouck Hurgronje explained in his famous work, "Brieven van een Wedono-Pensioen" (Hurgronje, 1883). Meanwhile, Islam has also had a certain psychological and social impact on the population. It is true that scholars such as Snouck Hurgronje and Van Vollenhoven have convincingly shown that the Islamic doctrine of obligation as a system of teachings in Indonesia and other Islamic countries has penetrated social life only to a very small extent. People act according to their customs and project this behavior onto Islam, assuming that one is thus acting in accordance with religious teachings. But in other respects, Islam has clearly had a social influence. It has given many Indonesians, including ordinary farmers, a sense of self-worth and belonging. Islam in Indonesia, as in ancient Arabia, has attempted to hedge against regional particularism and genealogy by creating a single Islamic bond. It is the traditional leaders whose position is most threatened by Islam. Their local patriotism has been the target of criticism from hardline Islamists, who see in Islam a powerful unifying element - a kind of pre-nationalism.

II. ISLAMIZATION IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

Islamization in the Dutch East Indies, now Indonesia, was a gradual process over centuries, beginning in the late thirteenth century and continuing throughout Dutch colonial rule (1605–1942), and continuing in varying ways to the present day. Islam replaced and synthesized pre-existing religions, particularly Hinduism and Buddhism, and was absorbed by kingdoms to increase their authority and prestige, and to forge alliances. Although this new religion did not save the Indonesian archipelago from the forces of European imperialism, Islam played a crucial role throughout the colonial period and up until the National Revolution for independence (1945–1949). Islam provided the local population with faith, indigenous identity, and self-determination, and offered the concept of social justice, a constitution, and the state ideology, Pancasila, which remains in force to this day. The main thesis of this paper is that despite the constraints of colonialism, Islam benefited from the Dutch presence through its recognition as the legitimate source of local authority and law, as well as through alliances, treaties, and concessions. Because the primary goal of the Dutch was initially to subdue local rulers in order to achieve trade monopolies and maintain "peace and order" (*rust en orde*), Islam was not only tolerated but often protected and supported by the Dutch. When Islam became a threat, the Dutch adapted to combat it. Consequently, contemporary moderate Islam in Indonesia is partly a legacy of Dutch efforts to support its moderate interpretation while silencing its radical forms. After the proclamation of independence in 1945, moderate Islam enabled Indonesia to embrace the idea of secularism and the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika," which respects minority groups, religions, and cultures.

The following will take a *longue durée* approach to Islam during the Dutch colonial period, which shaped Muslim society in the Dutch East Indies. It will focus on key historical events, which can broadly be divided into four periods: (1) the early Islamization of the Dutch East Indies and the arrival of the Dutch (1211–1619); (2) the relocation and consolidation of the Dutch in Java (1619–1842); (3) the Dutch understanding of Islam through scientific study (1842–1901); and (4) the rise of Islamic movements and political Islam following the development of the more liberal Ethical Policy (*Ethische Politiek*) (from 1901), which provided greater freedom and opportunity to the local population (Aritonang, Steenbrink, 2008). The narrative presented, based on specific events in these periods, traces the development of Islam and Dutch colonialism. The Dutch East Indies colonial government's policy regarding the spread of Christianity was not always clear, and was not even a priority. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) was formed to colonize the East Indies as detailed in its 1602 octrooi (patent), which contained no religious policy, likely because its goal was to achieve commercial dominance. A second octrooi, issued in 1622, stipulated that the VOC also had spiritual duties in addition to its commercial objectives. However, the spread of Christianity was not consistently implemented and was usually limited to areas where no major religion existed, to replace Catholicism, which had been introduced by the Portuguese, or at the request of local rulers seeking Dutch assistance to defeat their rivals. The peak period of Christianization occurred from 1900–1940, but it was the Ethical Policy that had the most dramatic effect by enabling Islamic groups to establish themselves (Niemeijer, 2001:253). Although not specifically directed at Islam, the policy was designed to improve the educational standards and social welfare of the local population, ultimately resulting in an educated indigenous population, who demanded independence. In the 1920s, there were only 279 graduates of Dutch-language schools, including Indonesia's future first president, Sukarno. However, this relatively small group proved sufficient to form the vanguard of the nationalist movement.

The purpose of this article is not to defend colonialism or whitewash its crimes. While the colonial government did suppress Islam, from a Dutch perspective, this was a form of guidance, and some modern Islamic societies in Indonesia were established before independence. In the early 20th century, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, Advisor for Native and Arab Affairs, encouraged good relations with indigenous elites to gain their support, thus countering radical forms of Islam and anti-colonialism. To further ease tensions, Indonesian Muslims were

permitted to perform the Hajj pilgrimage and established institutions that still exist today, such as the reformist Muhammadiyah, founded in 1912, and the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Awakening of Islamic Scholars), founded in 1926. In 1912, the Sarekat Islam Party (PSI) was founded, and although it later disbanded, it was the first form of politicized Islam.

✚ **Islamization and the Arrival of the Dutch :** The Islamic tomb of a Sultan on the north coast of Aceh, dating from 1211 CE, is evidence that Islamization in the East Indies began in the early 13th century. Over the next three centuries, the new religion spread eastward, with kingdoms willingly converting, while others were defeated and replaced by emerging Islamic kingdoms. In 1527, Java was conquered after the Islamic kingdom of Demak defeated Majapahit, the largest and most powerful pre-Islamic kingdom in the region (Pigeaud and de Graaf, 1976: 15). Islam in Java resonated throughout the archipelago, but Islamization reached even further east, to the Maluku Islands and the four kingdoms there - Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo, and Bacan - which had already adopted the new religion. Some had converted before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1511, but all had converted by the time the Dutch captured Ambon in 1605 (Vlekke, 1945: 60 – 67). The harsh interaction with the Catholic Portuguese led some kingdoms, such as Bacan, the southernmost kingdom in Maluku, to establish closer ties with Ternate and accept Islam.

Islamization in the Maluku Islands spread to conquered kingdoms, including the Ternate colony on the Hoamoal Peninsula, Seram. The islands of Buru, Amberlau, Manipa, Kelang, and Boano were also ruled by Muslim governors appointed by Ternate. The Sultanate of Tidore also spread Islam, including to its colonies in South Halmahera in North Maluku and the Raja Ampat Islands in Papua. The unifying force of Islam helped counter the continuing Portuguese and Spanish threats and served the Dutch goal of ensuring locals would only do business with the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The Dutch wanted a monopoly on the trade in nutmeg (mace), mace (fuli), pepper (pepper), and cloves. In fact, nutmeg was so sensitive to climate and soil conditions that it grew only in the Banda Islands. The "fragrant gold" made the region attractive to both local traders and European colonizers (Franklin, 2020: 5-6).

Banda, consisting of eleven islands, was neither fully Islamized nor a vassal kingdom of Maluku, but rather ruled by a wealthy oligarchy. Banda was a central market with many merchants from the Kei, Aru, Tanimbar, and Seram Laut Islands, who also traded with the Muslim kingdoms of Makassar and Java. In 1666, the Dutch escalated their war with Makassar, cutting off trade between Makassar and Java, which also hampered the Islamization of the region. Some Muslim communities, such as on the coastal Aru island of Ujir, sought a new source of Muslim scholars, who turned out to be the Hitu people of northern Ambon, but the Dutch governor of Banda sent a Protestant mission to Ujir to counter this. However, in general, such interventions were uncommon (Niemeijer, 2001; 257-259).

The Dutch had come a long way since their first expedition to the Dutch East Indies in 1595–1597, which nearly failed, despite being profitable by opening a route to the Dutch East Indies and the spice trade. Between 1599 and 1601, nine separate expeditions consisting of thirty-one ships sailed to the Dutch East Indies. Private investors financed these expeditions, and they hoped to make a profit. To end the competition among rival Dutch companies, the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC, was established with its first charter on March 20, 1602, which granted exclusive rights to the spice trade for twenty-one years to its seventeen-member council (De Heren XVII). From then on, the VOC effectively began to colonize the Dutch East Indies on behalf of the Dutch government. The charter granted the VOC administrative and military authority, making it a powerful entity, which it needed to counter the Portuguese, Spanish, and English, who also had interests in the region.

To achieve commercial supremacy in the Dutch East Indies, the 1602 charter anticipated Dutch military conflicts with the Portuguese and Spanish, and stipulated how losses would be reimbursed and booty distributed. There is no record of why religion was omitted, perhaps because it was simply forgotten, although the charter clearly focused on economic imperatives, given its extensive details about the rights and roles of directors and shareholders. Despite the absence of religion, colonial rivalries and hostility toward Catholicism led the VOC to exclude Roman Catholics from high positions and to prohibit Catholic missionary work, fearing they might sympathize with the Spanish and Portuguese. However, the VOC was never restricted to members of the Dutch Reformed Church, as army and naval personnel, and later some governors-general, were Lutheran and even Catholic. Nevertheless, anyone working for the VOC was required to swear an oath of loyalty to the Dutch government and the company.

Within three years of its founding, the VOC sent thirty-eight ships to the East Indies. They quickly expelled the Portuguese, with most accounts indicating that the local population preferred the Dutch because the Portuguese were more brutal and less tolerant, especially in matters of religion. The Portuguese had a reputation for hating the Islamic view that Muslims worshipped only one God and not wooden or stone statues like Catholics or pagans; and the Dutch used this to vilify their trading competitors, saying that when it came to the Trinity and idolatry, "that's what the Portuguese do, not us" (Boland, and Farjon, 1983: 2). The Portuguese were the first Europeans to sail to the Banda Islands (1511) and established a trading network that ended four centuries of Venetian monopoly on the spice trade. However, on February 23, 1605, Portuguese forts on the islands of Ambon and Tidore surrendered almost without resistance, and Ambon became the first Dutch colony in the Dutch East Indies (Vlekke, 1945:77). As documented by Hendrik Niemeijer in "Dividing the Archipelago," the Dutch pursued exclusive contracts, using military surrender if necessary, to establish their monopoly on spices, but avoided religious wars with the Muslim sultans and village chiefs of Maluku. There was mutual respect between Dutch Protestants and Maluku Muslims because the Dutch were struggling to break free from Catholic Spain, and both resented forced conversions to Catholicism. The importance of religion is evident in early spice trade contracts with local leaders, which stipulated that neither party was allowed to convert the other's people. On January 6, 1613, a contract was signed between the Dutch Governor-General and the Sultan of Ternate and his vassal king, Makian, which contained a statement that became standard in subsequent contracts, namely that both parties would respect each other as free and independent in their beliefs.

In 1621, after a long battle with the English, the Dutch conquered the Banda Islands, and a treaty was ratified recognizing the VOC's monopoly on trade. The treaty included concessions on local religious matters, promising religious freedom for all, including Muslims, Catholics, and Protestants. Territories allied with the Dutch without military surrender were not subject to Dutch Christian proselytization, and even in areas that fell to the Dutch through military conquest, such as Banda and Ambon, there was no active Christian proselytization. When villages wanted to convert, the Dutch sent Christian schoolteachers, and only with government approval did Dutch Calvinists preach to Catholics and pagans in the Ambon region. Contracts and styles of proselytization similar to those practiced by the Dutch in the first quarter of the sixteenth century continued for decades until the 1660s and 1670s, when large numbers of locals sought Dutch protection. The Dutch imposed all contractual obligations on the local population; They viewed Muslims ("Muhammad") with suspicion, as they considered them to be idolaters.³⁵ An English trader noted that their behavior towards the local population and their attitude towards other monotheistic religions was "a disgrace and a disgrace to Christianity" (Bernard H.M.Vlekke, 1945: 80) This was a harsh assessment, as the Portuguese attitude was even worse: in 1570 the locals had forced them out of Ambon after they had killed a sultan in Ternate (Franklin, 2020: 8).

The Dutch were aware of the devastation that religious wars could bring, as Calvinists and Reformers in the Netherlands had been locked in a decades-long struggle for independence from Catholic Spain. In 1581, with the overthrow of Philip II, the northern part, the Dutch Republic, became independent when it finally separated from the larger "Netherlands" ruled by Spain. In 1618–19, with the victory of the orthodox wing of the Reformed Church at the Synod of Dort, it was declared that the state should "guard the sacred ministry of the church, to prevent and eradicate every form of idolatry and false religion." As a sign of their commitment to Protestant Christianity, and to distinguish the Dutch from the Catholic Spanish and Portuguese, a section on religious obligations was included in the preamble to the second VOC patent issued on December 31, 1622 (Ricklefs, 2001:120) However, as history shows, implementing this in the East Indies was never a priority for the VOC.

Dutch Relocation and Consolidation : In 1619, the Dutch moved their headquarters from Ambon to Batavia (now Jakarta). Shortly thereafter, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) secured trading privileges along Java's northeastern coast, or pasisir, after the Mataram Kingdom failed to expel "infidel European invaders" from the island. By the 1670s, the Javanese coast, particularly the eastern part, had become the "rice granary and timber granary" for the VOC's trading activities in Asia. In 1746, the Dutch exercised their right to control the pasisir stretching from Madura, Surabaya, Lamongan, Rembang, and Jepara, as well as other ports, as part of the agreement between Pakubuwono II and the VOC, signed on November 11, 1743 (Ricklefs, 1974:39). Pakubuwono II had granted this territory to the Dutch in exchange for their assistance in eliminating enemies behind his throne, while the Dutch pursued a policy of stability by allying with a single king who could control all of Java and rule according to their interests. As in the Moluccas, the Javanese were free to practice Islam, but as the VOC achieved supremacy over much of the East Indies, they could not escape events at home.

Between December 1794 and January 1795, the Napoleonic Wars resulted in the successful French invasion of the Netherlands and the establishment of a pro-French regime. Meanwhile, the Dutch Prince of Orange, William Batavus V, fled to England and ordered Dutch colonial officers to hand over their territories to the British to escape French control. However, on January 1, 1800, the VOC was dissolved after an investigation revealed that scandals and mismanagement had led to its bankruptcy, and all its territories were transferred to the Dutch government. Finally, on August 4, 1811, 60 British ships arrived in Batavia, took control of Java on August 26, and Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Java. Although Britain returned the East Indies to the Dutch in 1816, its Sumatran enclave was not returned until 1824 (Ricklefs, 2001: 112-113).

During the interregnum, the British, namely William Marsden, Stamford Raffles, and John Crawfurd, were the first to study the culture and religion of the East Indies, its people, language, government, and history, thus improving their colonial governance and policies. Therefore, after the Dutch government replaced the VOC in governing the East Indies and regained control of the region, their governors also sought to study the geography, history, linguistics, and ethnology of their colonies in Asia. (Boland and Farjon, 1983: 4-5). For the Dutch rulers, Islam presented a politico-religious problem that had to be addressed by the military and civil service.

To better manage these and other colonial issues, they established the Royal Academy in Delft in 1842, which the following year began training civil servants to administer the Indies. Their training included study of the language, geography, and ethnography of the Indonesian archipelago, as well as "Muhammad Law" (Islamic Law) (Boland and Farjon, 1983: 4-5). This professionalization of colonial civil servants reflected the growing importance of understanding Islam and managing religious expectations. This became even more important after the Dutch took control of Islamized Java following the Java War (1826–30), which brought them into greater contact with Arab Muslims as a result of the increasing number of Indonesian Muslims performing the Hajj.

In 1848, the Dutch East Indies colonial government's more liberal policies, particularly regarding the Hajj, further increased the number of pilgrims. However, Dutch scholars feared that "the danger lay not in the Hajj pilgrims themselves, but in the spirit and principles of Islam, of which the Hajj pilgrims were now the main exponents." One Dutch parliamentarian attempted to justify limiting the number of pilgrims by arguing that Islam's influence and prestige had declined as their numbers increased (B.J. Boland and I. Farjon, 1983: 15). However, the Hajj was a religious obligation for all Muslims if physically possible, so denying this right could adversely affect relations with the local population, regardless of whether a Muslim could actually fulfill this obligation. The colonial authorities feared that the Hajj would allow anti-colonial ideas and sentiments about jihad (holy war) and demands for independence to spread back to the Dutch East Indies. This fear became a reality when a series of Islam-related incidents occurred in the late nineteenth century, the most prominent cases being the Aceh War in 1873 - 1910 and the Banten Rebellion in 1888. Faced with Islam which proved to be a powerful source of ideology, the Dutch then sought intellectual assistance to avoid mismanaging the situation and the destruction of local alliances (Franklin, 2020: 11).

III. THE EMERGENCE OF THE IMAGE OF ISLAM CIRCA 1883–1920

The theoretical concepts discussed, such as Orientalism, power relations, and discourse, encompass the concept of image formation or representation. The greatest conflict between these concepts lies in the interaction between reality and a constructed reality, for example, based on a discourse. Therefore, this constructed reality is a representation of reality that does not necessarily correspond to reality, as is the case with Orientalism. This creates a constructed power relation that can only be active within a specific discourse, such as the discourse on Islam in the Dutch East Indies. For the remainder of this thesis, it is important to understand the context in which these images emerged, which is why I will discuss several key factors here (van Stam, 2015: 14). In 1900, the scramble for Africa was underway, and the word imperialism had its current meaning. Rudyard Kipling's poem, "White Man's Burden," had just been published a year earlier and was directed against American colonialism. The poem, among other things, addressed the burden on the shoulders of white men to bring Western civilization to Asia and Africa. The Dutch suffered most from the burden of the white man, not from imperialism. This "burden" was the first important factor in the image of Islam. After the Boer War in South Africa, the Dutch role there was marginalized. Imperialism was considered the domain of large powers, and Dutch expansion had nothing to do with it (Kuitenbrouwer, 1985: 17).

With the burden of the white man under their control, the Dutch had a role in the Dutch East Indies: as bearers of civilization. The Dutch owed this civilization to the development of science over the past three hundred years. The Dutch now had knowledge of the population and had realized that the East was still lagging behind: the East was ripe for Western civilization. In the Netherlands, this change of direction was called ethical policy, a term coined by journalist and writer Pieter Brooshooft and perhaps inspired by the book Max Havelaar and the

articles of the first Dutch historian Robert Fruin (Locher-Scholten, 1981:15). Fruin's final words in this article are words of criticism: 'We have experienced firsthand what it means to be dominated by foreigners. We thank God for our salvation. But how can this sacrifice be accepted if we treat those we dominate more harshly than ourselves?' (Fruin, 1865; 28-52). This quote highlights the pastoral power that Foucault saw as an important form of power. The redemption Fruin mentions refers to the freedom enjoyed by the people in the Netherlands. The Ethical Policy contained religious ideals of salvation. The colonial government presented itself as a "savior," a Jesus figure using religious jargon. The Dutch had to ensure that they educated the population of the Dutch East Indies, to be able to do this in order to create a civilized nation by Western standards.

A second factor contributing to this image before the early 20th century was the phenomenon of world exhibitions. Countries across Europe showcased their colonial wealth, including in Amsterdam in 1883. The Amsterdam World Exhibition was the first exhibition designed entirely for the colonies. It was intended to show the Dutch what the Netherlands had to offer and what it had achieved, but also to demonstrate to other countries that the Netherlands was still a powerful nation and had not lost all the glory of its Golden Age (Bloembergen, 2001; 62). The 1883 exhibition attracted nearly one million visitors, and subsequent exhibitions were held in Amsterdam in 1887 and 1895. The Amsterdam World Exhibition emphasized the Netherlands' position of power in relation to its colonies and was therefore a crucial part of this image. This second factor lay in the demonstration of the power of a developed nation. This is where Edward Said's orientalism comes to the fore: "The transfer of knowledge to Dutch society was presented in a Western manner. These World Exhibitions presented the East in its primitive and mysterious guise, which the public could admire" (Said, 1994).

The third factor was a number of (scientific) institutions that contributed to the image of the Dutch East Indies in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Royal Institute for Language, Geography and Ethnology (KITLV) was founded in 1851, at a time when the cultural system was being criticized. The cultural system was one in which the population had to produce for the European market, thus resulting in all kinds of exploitation. In 1849, ethnologist P.J. Veth criticized it in an article in the magazine *De Gids* (Veth, 1849: 245-286). KITLV developed during a time of change in the colonial system. This will become clear when examining Van den Berg and Snouck Hurgronje, both associated with KITLV, in more detail. Similarly, the Colonial Museum in Haarlem, founded in 1871, still stands as the Tropen Museum, now located in Amsterdam. These two institutions conducted extensive research on the East and contributed to the image of the Dutch East Indies. The question is to what extent these investigations were conducted in a valid manner. At that time, it was common for many scholars to lock themselves in libraries, believing they could find everything they needed to research Eastern society, religion, or other matters (Witkam, 2007; 20-21). Therefore, it can be said that they primarily focused on fixed ideas that emerged in their books. They may have found themselves within a paradigm that emphasized certain assumptions about the East, such as those mentioned by Said in his research: primitive, mysterious, and strange.

The image of the colony was partly created by the displays of power at the World's Fairs, which were a source of pride for the Dutch. At the same time, those involved in the Dutch East Indies government recognized that they were not simply colonizers; they felt a responsibility to "educate" the population. Scientific institutions provided knowledge to the Dutch population. This knowledge was rooted in a paradigm where knowledge and power were the foundations of discourse. After all, the Netherlands stood above the Dutch East Indies in terms of civilization and development. From this attitude, knowledge about the Dutch East Indies was derived. This knowledge was based on power relations that, therefore, arose from colonialism. This emerging power expressed itself in the form of pastoral power: the savior saving his people from their sins (van Stam, 2015:16).

IV. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE AND L.W.C. VAN DEN BERG: SCIENTISTS AND IMAGERS

Researchers C. Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg are briefly introduced in the introduction. This chapter will discuss their research and views on Islam in the Dutch East Indies. We will also use various secondary literature to analyze how they have been characterized and discussed. This provides an overview of how they are viewed, but also highlights what has been researched and where there is still room for further research. The publications of Van den Berg and Snouck Hurgronje have been the subject of debate for many years. This debate provides a clear picture of their ideas about science and how they implemented it. In this chapter, I want to discuss four historians who have addressed these topics for both men in their recent works. In 1868, Van den Berg was one of the first scholars to conduct research on the Islamic legal system. That year, he graduated *summa cum laude* from Leiden University with a Latin dissertation on property law in Islam; *De contractu 'do ut des': jure mohammedano*.

This dissertation was soon translated into Italian, Russian, and then Dutch. Snouck Hurgronje earned his doctorate in 1880 with a dissertation on the Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, entitled *Het Mekkaansche feest* (Kuitenbrouwer, 2001:70). There was still no clear picture of what Islam really was, what Islam was like in the Dutch East Indies, and what its differences were. This created a need for a discourse where people could speak. First of all, the discussion about Maarten Kuitenbrouwer who wrote a book discussing orientalism and science in 2001, on the one hand he wrote the history of KITLV and on the other hand he looked for the relationship between science and the colony. The most important difference that Kuitenbrouwer made was that on the one hand he saw Van den Berg and Snouck Hurgronje as two different exponents of colonialism, while on the other hand both were the same representation of Edward Said's orientalism (Kuitenbrouwer, 2001: 66). Both of them can be labeled as imperialists, for example they developed ways to control power in Aceh. They are also both orientalists, but according to Maarten Kuitenbrouwer their starting points are different: "They seem to represent two very different variants of imperialism and orientalism, Van den Berg who mostly adheres to conservative ideology and Snouck Hurgronje who is predominantly conservative ethical-liberal variant."

According to Kuitenbrouwer, the difference lies in the fact that Van den Berg had conservative Protestant political preferences and Snouck Hurgronje was a vocal liberal. Van den Berg's religious background is also evident in the various positions he held as a religious scholar in the Dutch East Indies. Furthermore, in his articles, he often returned to preaching to the Muslim population as a solution to the problems in the Dutch East Indies (van den Berg, 1890: 67-101). This does not change the fact that both were prominent experts in the Indies (Fasseur, 2003; 310). Because their scientific approaches differed, they clashed, as seen in Witkam's lengthy introduction to his translation of Snouck Hurgronje's book *Mekka*, published in 2007. The translation's introduction is almost biographical and discusses, among other things, the relationship between Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg. The differences between the two researchers emphasized by Kuitenbrouwer are expressed even more clearly by Witkam: "Van den Berg was a typical exponent of the Dutch East Indies establishment that Snouck Hurgronje hated so much" (Witkam, 2007: 22).

By the establishment of the Dutch East Indies, Witkam was referring to the arts and sciences institutions of which Van den Berg was a member. Snouck Hurgronje called them "societies of admirers." In doing so, he portrayed Van den Berg as someone who primarily pursued science to enhance his reputation and exploit the ignorance of the Dutch. Van den Berg, on the other hand, responded by dismissing Snouck Hurgronje as a "young practitioner of Muhammadan law." Witkam saw Van den Berg's avoidance of substantive discussion, as he used his seniority as a weapon, as the beginning of the downfall of his scholarly reputation (Witkam, 2007; 22). Historian Michael Laffan's study on Islam in the Dutch East Indies, published in 2011, "The Making of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past," aligns with this view. Therefore, Van den Berg and Snouck Hurgronje were important researchers who often experienced conflicts between them, which were not only substantive but also personal. Michael Laffan discusses Snouck Hurgronje's motivation to study Islam. The reasons for this can be found among researchers, including Van den Berg, who often did not do so, gaining knowledge from practice and also consulting primarily European writings to gain knowledge about Islam (Laffan, 2011; 139).

According to Laffan, Snouck Hurgronje ensured the professionalization of Oriental studies with his practical approach. In this way, Snouck Hurgronje followed the scientific trend of professionalization that had already emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. (F.M. Turner, 1978: 356-375). Snouck Hurgronje even argued that the observations of academics and church clergy should be combined with a more professionally developed Orientalism, as it would more effectively serve the empires that competed with Islam as its main threat. (Laffan, 2011: 146). Laffan, like Snouck Hurgronje, criticized Van den Berg's working methods. According to Laffan, Van den Berg did not take Islam seriously enough. Laffan quoted Van den Berg when he joked about the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca: "they have only empty wallets, a handful of holy soil and memories of many unpleasant things," according to Van den Berg. He argued that there was no need for a scientist to be sent to Mecca (Laffan, 2011: 129). Laffan appreciates Snouck Hurgronje's approach and describes Van den Berg as a conservative orientalist, thus aligning with Maarten Kuitenbrouwer's conclusions. In historian H.W. van den Doel's older work, published in 1994, "De stille macht" (The Stillness of the East), on colonial officials, Snouck Hurgronje is one of the most frequently mentioned figures, and Van den Berg is not significantly mentioned. Four years later, Van den Doel wrote an article about Snouck Hurgronje entitled "De stralende zon van het Leidse heelal" (Van den Doel, 1998; 215–226). This explains why Van den Doel pays so little attention to Snouck Hurgronje's great colleague in *De stille Kracht*; Van den Berg. The absence of figures like Van den Berg is also evident in Paul van 't Veer's work on the Aceh War, even though Van den Berg himself played a role in finding solutions to the problems in Aceh. In contrast,

Snouck Hurgronje is widely discussed, and in Van 't Veer's book he even compares him to someone like Multatuli (Van 't Veer, 1980). The above study demonstrates that Snouck Hurgronje shook the conservative paradigm of the nineteenth century. First, ethical politics is to blame for this, but second, it was also a way for Snouck Hurgronje to attack conservative research methods, of which Van den Berg was a direct target in Snouck Hurgronje's eyes. Maarten Kuitenbrouwer describes this shift as a shift from elimination to assimilation. Van den Berg remained open to the elimination of Islam, while Snouck Hurgronje sought greater cooperation with Islam. What is missing from the above works is the crucial aspect of the image of Islam that both men contributed. This has nothing to do with the emergence of discourses about Islam. The relationship between Van den Berg and Snouck Hurgronje is discussed, including what they wrote about Islamic law, how it was received at the time, what kind of people they were, and how they viewed Islam. Both men played a significant role in the image of Islam and therefore constitute a good case for investigating the foundations of that image in the late nineteenth century.

V. CONCLUSION

This paper demonstrates how the image of Islam developed in the Dutch East Indies. It examines the roles of Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg in contributing to the formation of Islamic discourse in the late 19th century. One key form of power highlighted in this thesis is pastoral power. This Foucaultian concept is used to demonstrate how religious rhetoric and religious power relations were used to label the population of the Dutch East Indies as a group that needed to be "liberated" from their immoral shackles. The Dutch were supposed to act as "saviors" to bring civilization to other parts of the world. In Christianity, God also saves humanity from its sins. By projecting God's role in Christianity onto colonial practices, these practices were justified. However, the consequence was the creation of an unequal power structure, a hallmark of the relationship between colonizer and colonized. Edward Said plays a crucial role in this final aspect of this paper. An explanation of how this relationship was reflected in how scholars viewed the inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies and how Orientalism was not limited to colonial powers like Britain and America (which is the main focus of Said's book) is presented. The Orientalist perspective employed by Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg can be seen as a paradigm within Oriental studies and ethnology. However, Foucault's approach to archaeology encourages us to explore differences within a paradigm, to look beyond its inherent assumptions. These assumptions become clear upon closer examination of Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg's studies. While both had Orientalist leanings, they often differed significantly in their responses to the differences between the inhabitants of the Netherlands and the Indies. By focusing on how the inhabitants of the Indies were treated as Muslims, I have shown how Orientalist perspectives contributed to perceptions of Islam.

Snouck Hurgronje's study of Islam in the Dutch East Indies demonstrates that Islam became part of an Orientalist discourse. As a result, Islam became a religion of inferior status compared to, for example, Christianity: an anachronistic religion, as evidenced by statements such as "medieval rubbish." Islam became a religion that, as in the Middle Ages, was seen as an enemy, not only of Christianity, but, for that matter, also of civilization and development in the Dutch East Indies. This created a negative image of Islam that did not contribute to the existing image at the time. Its pastoral power is evident in the religious rhetoric used by Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg when discussing Islam. I show how the image created by individuals like Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg influenced the Dutch population by examining media coverage of Islam. This demonstrates a significant fear of Islam and the potential consequences of Pan-Islamism, as well as the role of Islam during the Aceh War. Snouck Hurgronje and Van den Berg both contributed to how people in the Netherlands viewed Islam. They created an image of Islam that, thanks to their prestige and knowledge of the subject, was accepted as beneficial knowledge.

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