

## THE ROLES OF SNOUCK HURGRONJE IN REDUCING THE ACEHNESE'S RESISTANCE AGAINST THE DUTCH

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**Abstract:** *During the Dutch colonial period in Aceh, the social structure of society was reflected in the bureaucratic system of government of the king, ulama, uleebalang, and other bureaucratic apparatus. Of the several rulers in Aceh, the main base in opposing the Dutch were the ulama because the ulama played a very large role in the lives of the Acehnese people. Snouck is a prominent Western scientist and also a very influential actor in breaking the power of the ulama during the Dutch colonial period in Aceh. The results of the study show that Snouck's points of view on the Acehnese clerics are the ulama as an obstacle to the submission of Aceh's sovereignty to the Dutch, the ulama as a spiritual driving force in defending Aceh and its people and the Acehnese clerics are not easy to be deceived even though they prioritize Islam alone. The roles played by Snouck in quelling the struggle of the Acehnese people, namely approaching the ulama to invite peace with the Dutch, the uleebalang approach to cooperate in the fields of Dutch government, education, economics and religion. Placing trading centers in Ulhee Lheue and Kutaraja so that the Acehnese people can carry out their trade more easily. Based on the pacification policy of the Dutch government and supported by Snouck's ideas, advised the Governor of the Dutch military that there should be no more violence against the Acehnese people. This shows good intentions by building mosques, repairing roads, irrigation, and helping with social work in the lives of the Acehnese.*

**Keyword:** *Aceh; roles; snouck hurgronje; struggle*

**Abstrak:** *Pada masa penjajahan Belanda di Aceh, struktur sosial masyarakat tercermin dalam sistem birokrasi pemerintahan raja, ulama, uleebalang, dan aparat birokrasi lainnya. Dari beberapa penguasa di Aceh, basis utama penentang Belanda adalah para ulama karena ulama berperan sangat besar dalam kehidupan masyarakat Aceh. Snouck adalah seorang ilmuwan Barat terkemuka dan juga aktor yang sangat berpengaruh dalam mematahkan kekuasaan ulama pada masa penjajahan Belanda di Aceh. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pandangan Snouck terhadap ulama Aceh adalah sebagai penghambat penyerahan kedaulatan Aceh kepada Belanda. Ulama merupakan penggerak spiritual dalam membela Aceh dan rakyatnya serta tidak mudah ditipu. Peran yang dimainkan Snouck dalam menumpas perjuangan rakyat Aceh yaitu mendekati ulama untuk mengajak berdamai dengan Belanda, pendekatan uleebalang untuk bekerjasama dalam bidang pemerintahan Belanda, pendidikan, ekonomi dan agama. Belanda menempatkan pusat perdagangan di Ulhee Lheue dan Kutaraja agar masyarakat Aceh dapat lebih mudah melakukan perdagangannya. Berdasarkan kebijakan pasifikasi pemerintah Belanda dan didukung oleh ide-ide Snouck dengan menasehati Gubernur militer Belanda agar tidak ada lagi kekerasan terhadap rakyat Aceh. Ini menunjukkan niat baik dengan membangun masjid, memperbaiki jalan, irigasi, dan membantu bakti sosial dalam kehidupan masyarakat Aceh.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Aceh; peran; perlawanan; snouck hurgronje*

## A. Introduction

Before Aceh was controlled by the Dutch, the social structure in the government of the nobility, ulama, and other officials was the main support for the rulers in Aceh.<sup>1</sup> Referring to the description above, the social community of Aceh in the past can be divided into three groups, first, the ruling class of kings, sultans, and *uleebalang*, the second group of *ulama*, the *tengku* as leaders in the religious field, the three indigenous groups.<sup>2</sup> Half century to XIX AD, precisely in 1873 the beginning of the arrival of the Dutch in Aceh.<sup>3</sup> The first Dutch aggression failed, so the Dutch army was pulled back to Batavia on April 29, 1873. Furthermore, the second Dutch aggression began to change its strategy in fighting Aceh, at that time the Dutch succeeded in occupying part of the royal palace and the Baiturahman Grand Mosque in 1874.<sup>4</sup> In the same year the Dutch government also issued a political strategy in Aceh, as implemented in various other regions. Among the dignitaries of the Aceh kingdom, both kings, scholars, *uleebalang* and the people of Aceh who both defended Aceh's territory from Dutch attacks.<sup>5</sup> The *ulama* circles, began to play their role by calling for an obligation that was conveyed to the people of Aceh about a "sabil war" that could foster a sense of fighting spirit and unity on the awareness of the Acehnese people who are very fanatical about Islam. The first step to face the attack, the *ulama* and the people of Aceh were very firm in responding to the arrival of the Dutch. At that time the Acehnese fighters fled to the interior and continued to fight against the Dutch.<sup>6</sup>

In the heat of war, the position of the Dutch at that time had begun to become increasingly difficult to control the Aceh region. Behind that, the Dutch made a new strategy, namely "Stelsel Concentration" in Aceh. In order to resolve the war so that it did not continue to be prolonged between the Netherlands and Aceh. The Dutch ruler

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<sup>1</sup> A. Rani Usman, *Sejarah Peradaban Aceh* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2003), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Zakarya Ahmad, *Sekitar Sejarah Aceh, Dalam Tahun 1520-1675* (Medan: Manora, 1972), p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> M. Hasbi Amiruddin, *Aceh Dan Serambi Makkah* (Banda Aceh: Yayasan PeNa, 2006), p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Ismail Sofyan, *Perang Kolonial Belanda Di Aceh* (Banda Aceh: PDIA, 1990), p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Ibrahim et al., *Sejarah Daerah Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh* (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, 1991), p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Agus Budi Wibowo, Irini Dewi Wanti, and Iskandar Eko Priyotomo, *Dinamika Dan Peran Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Aceh (PUSA) Dalam Kehidupan Sosial Budaya Masyarakat Aceh* (Banda Aceh: BPNB Aceh, 2005), p. 16.

who was domiciled in Batavia sent a scientist, Christian Snouck Hurgronje, to conduct research on the people of Aceh. Snouck saw that the condition of the Acehnese people was not easy to conquer. Finally, the Dutch government changed its political policy in an effort to control the Aceh region. Snouck gave birth to an idea about the politics of pacification which was then implemented in Aceh. The basis of this idea was a politics that showed the peaceful attitude of the Dutch towards the Acehnese people through various fields; politics, economics, and culture. The implementation of this policy, the Netherlands began to show a good attitude to the people of Aceh. This means that they no longer carried out attacks, but the Dutch continued to try to carry out new strategies to attract the sympathy of the Acehnese people.

*Ulama* for the people of Aceh are very important figures and are always needed to solve problems that occur in the midst of society.<sup>7</sup> *Ulama* are considered capable of thinking wisely, but historically the existence of *ulama* in the Acehnese community had a cooperative relationship with the local government.<sup>8</sup> *Ulama* have a deep spiritual influence with their expertise in religious knowledge, because they carry out the teachings of Islam. In the view of traditional Acehnese society, *ulama* have the friendliness and advantages given by Allah SWT. *Umara* can be interpreted as a government or bureaucrat, the implementation of the wheels of government in a unit of power. Just like the sultan as the leader or the highest official in the kingdom, meanwhile, the *ulama* are the companion and advisory apparatus for the *umara* or traditional leaders in carrying out their duties. The ideas or views of the *ulama* are especially needed by the *umara* when solving various problems related to sharia and Islamic law.<sup>9</sup> In addition to advisors to government leaders, *ulama* also have other duties related to the positions they hold. Among these tasks, for example, can be seen in the village government units such as educating, nurturing, and forming recitations for the community in *pesantren* or *meunasah*.

The close cooperation between *ulama* and *umara* in Aceh is reflected in a very popular expression in the life of the Acehnese people about law and customs which are closely related to Islam. In the explanation referred to, law is an Islamic teaching taught

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<sup>7</sup> Amiruddin, *Aceh Dan Serambi Makkah*, P. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Ismuha, *Ulama Aceh Dalam Perspektif Sejarah* (Jakarta: LEKNAS-LIPI, 1976), pp. 7-8.

<sup>9</sup> Taufik Abdullah, *Islam Dan Masyarakat* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987), p. 171.

by scholars. Meanwhile, what is meant by *adat* are the habits carried out by the local community, or the rules managed by government agencies and authorities in an area. The name of Snouck Hurgronje is not strange to Indonesian Muslims in general and the people of Aceh in particular. Among the people of Aceh, Snouck was seen as a person who understands the teachings of Islam and had served as an advisor to the Dutch military governor. The name Snouck was called by the Acehnese with the nickname, "Tuan or Tengku Puteuh".

In Ibrahim Alfian's book, *Perang Di Jalan Allah* "War in the Way of Allah", it was emphasized like anything else felt by the Dutch that the Acehnese people showed strength in the war against the Dutch. This was because there was a call from Islam and motivation from the *ulama* in the midst of the Acehnese life.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, in the book of Muliadi Kurdi, *Aceh Di Mata Sejarawan* "Aceh in the eyes of historian", emphasized that the Acehnese clerics were challenges or obstacles for the Dutch to control the Aceh region.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the book of Munawiah, *Birokrasi Kolonial Belanda 1903-1942* "Dutch colonial bureaucracy 1903-1942" explained that in the context of Aceh's history. The position of the *ulama* was divided into two, namely the *ulama* who were directly involved in the government bureaucracy, there were also scholars who are not at all involved but from the *ulama* have other duties in society. It is clear that the Acehnese *ulama* had a high reputation in resisting Dutch colonialism.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, in the work of E Gobee and C Andriaanse, *Nasehat-Nasehat C. Snouck Hurgronje Semasa Kepegawaian di Hindia Belanda 1889-1936* emphasized that before the arrival of the Dutch the *ulama* had played such an important role in Aceh. Ulama showed personality in the field of religious knowledge and raised the banner of faith in improving the concept of religion among the people. From this point of view, Snouck also explained that it was the *ulama* who governed the people and the assistance of the *uleebalang* in Aceh.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Muhammad Fajar explained in his thesis that the *ulama* called for the Acehnese people to expel the Dutch by prioritizing the principle of

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<sup>10</sup> Ibrahim Alfian, *Perang Di Jalan Allah* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1987), p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> Muliadi Kurdi, *Aceh Di Mata Sejarawan* (Banda Aceh: LKAS & Pemerintah Aceh, 2009), p. 178.

<sup>12</sup> Munawiah, *Birokrasi Kolonial Belanda 1903-1942* (Yogyakarta: AK Group & Ar-Raniry Press, 2007), p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> E. Gobee and C. Andriaanse, *Nasehat-Nasehat C. Snouck Hurgronje Semasa Kepegawaian Di Hindia Belanda 1889-1936*, vol. 1 (Jakarta: INIS, 1990), p. 25.

*jihad fisabilillah*. The fighting spirit was accompanied by hatred for the Dutch, so that the Acehnese people called him "*kaphe*". Therefore, it was very difficult for the Dutch to step foot in Aceh because the resistance of the *ulama* and the Acehnese people did not stop to attack the Dutch.<sup>14</sup>

When the Dutch government experienced difficulties in facing resistance with the Acehnese fighters. Finally, Snouck came up with ideas along with the Islamic politics that he had studied while in Mecca to break the power of the people and attempted to conquer the Aceh region.<sup>15</sup> In connection with the determination of the struggle of the *ulama*, *uleebalang*, and the people of Aceh in the face of Dutch colonialism. This could be seen from the Acehnese fighters who were tough and brave in defending the land of Aceh under Dutch colonial rule, among others, namely Teuku Imeum Lueng Bata, Teuku Ibrahim Lam Nga (1878), Polem Mahmud Cut Banta (1879), Tuanku Hasyim (1891), Tengku Chik Di Tiro (1891), Tengku Muhammad Amin Tiro (1896), Teuku Umar (1899) and others. Based on the explanation above, it is necessary to know more deeply about the biography of Snouck Hurgronje, the effort to suppress the struggle of the Acehnese people and his point of view towards the Acehnese clerics.

## **B. Discussion**

### ***A Brief Biography of Snouck and His Motivations for Aceh***

#### **a. Education**

The life of Snouck Hurgronje from a Western orientalist point of view, Snouck occupied a separate position in researching the religion of Islam both during his stay in Mecca and after he lived in Aceh.<sup>16</sup> Snouck was born on February 8, 1857 in the village of Osterhout (Tholen) which is located in the northeast of the city of Breda, Netherlands. Snouck is the fourth child of the pastor JJ. Snouck Hurgronje and Anna

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<sup>14</sup> Muhammad Fajar, "Peran C. Snouck Hurgronje Dalam Usaha Menaklukkan Aceh" (IAIN Ar-Raniry, 2007), p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> Christian Snouck Hurgronje, *Aceh di mata kolonial*, trans. Aboebakar (Jakarta: Yayasan Soko Guru, 1985).

<sup>16</sup> Hasan Bakti Nasution, "Politik Penjajahan Hindia Belanda Di Indonesia," *Sinar Darussalam* (Banda Aceh, 1993), p. 7.

Maria. His first name was taken from the name of his grandfather the priest D. Christian de Visser, since childhood he was directed by his family to study theology.<sup>17</sup>

Snouck's father, a Hervormd pastor who was dismissed from his position, in the decision to dismiss the official board of the Zeeland Provincial Church on May 3, 1894. The reasons are listed below, leaving office in an unfaithful manner accompanied by aggravating actions. Some opinions that the passion that plunged and was criminal from Ds. J.J. Snouck Hurgronje was the reason for his departure from Tholen society. The Pastor, married with six children, began an affair with Anna Maria, the daughter of his colleague in Tholen. This was the reality that happened in his family so he wanted to close all these events from society. Snouck fosters'enthusiasm and had a great drive to gain knowledge both in the Western world and in the Islamic world. Snouck was born into the world carrying a heavy task, as expected by his family to become a priest in order to correct his parents' past mistakes.<sup>18</sup>

Snouck's primary education was passed in his hometown, then continued his high school in the city of Breda. As a child he studied Latin and Greek under a special teacher, as a preparation for entering college in the Netherlands.<sup>19</sup> In 1874 Snouck took the entrance examination to the University of Leiden, Faculty of Letters, Department of Theology and Arabic Literature. In 1876 Snouck took the candidate examination in classical Greek and Latin Philology, in 1876 he studied theology in depth. Set in November 1879, he was also recorded as one of the students who finished with the predicate (*cum loude*) obtaining a doctorate with the title of his treatise The Season of Hajj in Mecca. Snouck expressed the urgency of Hajj in Islam and the various ceremonial events and procedures for carrying out the rituals.<sup>20</sup> Snouck had attended Theodore Noldeke's lectures in Strassburg with his colleagues. Among these are the two famous orientalis C. Bezold who died in 1922 in Hedelburg and R. Bunnow who died in 1917 in America. In 1884 Snouck made an adventure to the Arabian Peninsula and

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<sup>17</sup> Abdurrahman Badawi, *Ensiklopedi Tokoh Orientalis* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2003), p. 252.

<sup>18</sup> Sulaiman Tripa, "Snouck Dan Implikasi Sejarah Aceh," Scribd, 2015, <https://www.scribd.com/doc/261941344/Snouck-Dan-Implikasi-Sejarah-Aceh>.

<sup>19</sup> Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), p. 120.

<sup>20</sup> Badawi, *Ensiklopedi Tokoh Orientalis*, p. 263.

settled in Jeddah from August to February 1885 in preparation for Mecca which was the main goal of his adventure.

Snouck arrived in Mecca on February 22, 1885 under the pseudonym of Abdul Ghafar. He stayed in Mecca for eight months and produced a work entitled Mecca. Finally, in August Snouck was forced out from Mecca by the French consul. He came home with four camels carrying the things that were collected while there. Snouck lamented that the order to leave Mecca coincided with the start of the Hajj season. Even though the doctoral treatise that he had written was related to the pilgrimage season, based on literary sources, manuscripts, and the experiences of people who made pilgrimages there, not on the basis of their own experiences. Snouck began his teaching activities in Leiden and Delf at the Prospective Employee School in Indonesia with the death of A.W.T Joynboll in 1887. Snouck was assigned to replace his position at Delf, but he preferred to teach in the field of Islamic law at Leiden University. Since 1889 Snouck started his activities as an adviser to the Dutch in Indonesia, as an adviser to the Dutch government on Islamic issues on the island of Java, in 1891 he became an advisor in Eastern languages and Islamic Sharia then in 1891-1892 he became an advisor to the Dutch military in Aceh.

From lineage, the Snouck family is Jewish but has assimilated into Protestant (orthodox) and fanatics in the Netherlands. Clearly, Snouck Hurgronje adheres to Christianity as inherited from his extended family. His mother's father (Snouck's grandfather) was named DS. J. Scharp was a fanatical evangelist in Rotterdam. In 1824 his grandfather completed a book entitled *Korte Schets over Mohammed en de Mohammadanen Handleiding voor de kwekelingen van het Nederlanche Zendelinggenootscap* (a brief sketch of Muhammad and Muhammad's followers, a guide for Dutch evangelists). This book is a mandatory manual for prospective Protestant evangelists who would be sent on missions to the Dutch East Indies.

Snouck was married 4 times, the first to a woman in Jeddah in 1890, the second he married Sangkana, daughter of Raden Haji Mohammad Taik, the head of Ciamis and had 4 children. In less than 2 years, Snouck remarried to Siti Sadiah, the daughter of Kalipah Apo, the deputy head of the village head office in Bandung. From that marriage they were blessed with a child named Raden Joesoef, after the marriage Snouck was

called back to the Netherlands to carry out his duties. In 1906 Snouck returned to the Netherlands, where he married Ida Maria, the daughter of a retired pastor at Zutphan, AJ Gort. After he was appointed professor of Leiden University in 1907 and pursued his profession as an advisor to the Minister of Colonial Affairs, this job was carried out until the end of his life July 16, 1936 at the age of 81 years.<sup>21</sup>

Snouck's scientific works are divided into two types, namely works in the form of books and in the form of small papers.<sup>22</sup> Among his major works is about the city of Mecca which consists of two parts, the first was published in the city of The Hag in 1888, the second part was also published in the same city in 1889. Another work entitled *De Atjehers*, in two parts was published in Batavia, about Leiden and the condition of the residents of the Gayo area. The first and second parts of *De Atjehers'* book, have been translated into English, the book contains a scientific report on the character of the Acehnese people. At the same time, he also wrote a report for the Dutch government entitled "The Crimes of Aceh," this book contains reasons for fighting the Acehnese people.<sup>23</sup>

Other works in the form of papers, *The Emergence of Islam*, *The Development of Islamic Religion*, *The Development of Islamic Politics*, and the last one is *Islam and Modern Thought*. All the papers were collected by his student, A.J. Wensinck under the title *Anthology of Snouck Hurgronje's writings*, in six volumes, in the fourth volume consisting of four parts. The systematics of the first collection of writings on Islam and its history, the second volume on Islamic law, the third volume on the Arabian Peninsula and Turkey, the fourth volume on Islam in Indonesia, the fifth volume on Language and literature, and the sixth volume on book criticism, index lists, and references.

Snouck's writings as part of the Western orientalist, namely.

1. SnouckHurgronje, *The Holy War, Made In Germany*, (New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1915).

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<sup>21</sup> Ahmad Abdul Hamid Ghurab, *Menyingkapi tabir orientalisme*, trans. AM. Basalamah (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 1992), pp. 97-98.

<sup>22</sup> Christian Snouck Hurgronje, *Kumpulan karangan Snouck Hurgronje*, trans. Soedarso Soekarno, vol. 10 (Jakarta: INIS, 2000), pp. 165-166.

<sup>23</sup> Badawi, *Ensiklopedi Tokoh Orientalis*, p. 264.

2. SnouckHurgronje, *The Revolt in Arabia*, (New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1917)
3. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam in the Dutch East Indies*, (Jakarta: Bratara Karya Asara, 1973).
4. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, (Jakarta: INIS, 1873).
5. Snouck Hurgronje, *Makkah in the Latter, Het Mekkaansche Feet*, translation by: Supardi, on "Mecca Celebration", (Jakarta: INIS 1989).
6. E. Gobee and C. Adiaanse (editors), *C. Snouck Hurgronje's Advice During His Service to the Dutch East Indies Government 1889-1 936, Volumes I-XI*, (Jakarta: INIS, 990-1995).

b. Snouck's Motivation for Aceh

The theories of the western world were greatly influenced by Snouck's attitudes and thoughts in researching Islam both in the Middle East and in Aceh. In 1876 while still a student he once said that our obligation was to help the people of the colonized country. It means that Indonesian Muslims, especially in Aceh, should be free from the grip of Islam, since then Snouck's attitude and views on Islam had never changed. This phenomenon he wanted to go to Aceh, because the people of Aceh were considered very fanatical in the practice of their religious teachings.<sup>24</sup> The driving factors for Snouck's research on Islam both in the Middle East and in Aceh, firstly, the cultural reality in his country had a major influence on Snouck's psychology and attitude in researching Islam, second, his father's will in developing science, third, to restore the good name of his former family, fourth, Snouck was sent by the Dutch government to Aceh, both in breaking the resistance of the Acehnese people and to destroy Islam in Aceh.

From some of the statements above can be drawn that Snouck's motivation to Aceh not only broke the resistance of the Acehnese people but also to destroy Islam and divide the *ulama* with the *uleebalang*. Thus, from these steps Snouck began to go to Aceh according to his mission and determination. Chronologically, the beginning of Snouck's arrival to Aceh was as follows.

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<sup>24</sup> Nasution, "Politik Penjajahan Hindia Belanda Di Indonesia," pp. 7-8.

## 1. Snouck's Beginnings in Exploring Aceh

In early 1884, Snouck began an adventure to the Arabian Peninsula and settled in Jeddah from the beginning of August 1884 until February 1885. From this adventure with the main aim of deepening the knowledge of the Arabic language. On February 22, 1885, he arrived in Mecca and then he declared that he converted to Islam, replacing his name with Abdul Ghafar, from that goal to make it easy to approach the scholars and study the science of Islam.<sup>25</sup> Having recognized Islam while in Mecca, Snouck began to seek information about the character of the Acehnese people. In the interest of the Dutch government, he put his roles in approaching the *ulama*, both Arab scholars and scholars from Aceh. With the help of Raden Abu Bakar, one of the noble Indonesian clerics in Jeddah, he finally met one of the highest scholars, namely Sheikh Ahmad bin Zaini Dahlan as Mufti of the kingdom of Mecca.

With the help of Raden Abu Bakar, Snouck received a recommendation from Ahmad bin Zaini Dahlan to get in touch with the Javanese and the Acehnese scholars.<sup>26</sup> Initially carrying out his mission, Snouck's business was not profitable for the Dutch because they still lacked information about Aceh. In the span of time, he met Habib Abdurrahman Az-Zahir, an Arab descendant who had previously been Mangkubumi in the kingdom of Aceh. Finally, Habib Abdurrahman was bought by the Dutch, then sent to Mecca, with the help of Habib Abdurrahman and the Dutch Consul in Jeddah, JA. Kruyt began to study colonial politics and efforts to win the Dutch battle against Aceh. Habib's suggestion was not responded by the Dutch Governor in the archipelago and caused a sense of disappointment, all the manuscripts of his research were submitted to Snouck.<sup>27</sup> Habib Abdurrahman's meeting with Snouck in Mecca, was the beginning of academic research and then turned into politics. Habib gave a lot of information, so that it became the basic reference for Snouck in compiling *Atjeh Verslag*. To divide the unity of the Acehnese people and he proposed to the Dutch government that there was no other way but to destroy the ranks of the *ulama* and *uleebalang*.

## 2. Snouck as an Envoy to Aceh

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<sup>25</sup> Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda*, p. 127.

<sup>26</sup> Qasim As-Samurai and Ismail Syuhudi, *Bukti-bukti kebohongan orientalis*, trans. Ismail Syuhudi (Jakarta: GIB, 1996), p. 158.

<sup>27</sup> Ghurab, *Menyingkapi tabir orientalisme*, p. 135.

After returning to Leiden Snouck offered to be assigned to Aceh, at that time he was still communicating with the Meccan scholars. The position of lector was released in mid-October 1887, the results of the research proposal were directly submitted to the Governor of the Netherlands on February 19, 1888. The target was fully supported by the Director of Religious Education and Industry (PAP), and the Minister of Colonialism of the Dutch Colonial Government. Observations of Aceh actually started while in Mecca, Snouck was interested in seeing Arabs often talk about the war in Aceh. The people of Aceh are quite numerous and so fanatical in fighting against Dutch colonialism, finally he submitted a scientific proposal to the Dutch government in order to subdue Aceh. For this submission, the Dutch government separated Islam and politics in its colony, the pilgrims were continuously monitored, because they had the potential to bring the idea of pan-Islamism among the people of Aceh. This condition, in fact, is very contrary to the smooth operation of the Dutch colonization in Aceh.<sup>28</sup>

Snouck went to Aceh, via the port of Penang (Malay) at that time Governor Van Teijin had forbidden him to enter Aceh, Snouck then joined the merchants to enter Aceh by stealth. Finally slid to Batavia (now Jakarta) and arrived on May 11, 1889, as an important task for Snouck to Aceh (1889) on the orders of the Dutch government, this mission became a secret. Snouck took a British postal ship to the coast of Sumatra through the port of Penang and then he entered the interior until he reached the royal palace of Aceh. Arriving there he took advantage of the tradition of mutual respect for fellow Muslims, this tradition has been studied since in Mecca. On the otherhandthe trip was considered a spy by the Dutch military in Aceh, this suspicion forced Snouck to be sent back to Batavia.<sup>29</sup>

While in Batavia, Snouck worked as an employee in the Dutch government for a short time in Batavia, he immediately became familiar with the indigenous population and the *ulama* in Java. This kind of situation impressed the PAP director and urged Gubjen C. Pijnacker Hordik to grant the research proposal, but Beslit allowed Snouck to conduct research for two years starting from May 16, 1889 to March 15, 1891. Snouck was even appointed as advisor in the field of research. Islamic language and law, since

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<sup>28</sup> Nasution, "Politik Penjajahan Hindia Belanda Di Indonesia," pp. 8-9.

<sup>29</sup> Nasution, p. 9.

becoming an advisor to political instincts greatly influenced his position as a Western scientist. According to Schroder, one of the Dutch scientists, Snouck's dirty hands had fallen into involvement in the political functions of the Dutch colonial government both in Java and in Aceh.

Before Snouck stepped foot into the Aceh region, he researched various languages, people, about the condition of the areas in Indonesia in accordance with his duties as a Dutch military advisor. Over time Snouck drafted a law on marriage, especially in the Indonesian archipelago, behind that he also explored the island of Sumatra which became the focal point in the Gayo area and studied the intricacies of the culture of the people. In the end he knew the condition of the population and mastered various languages, namely Malay and Arabic well.

### 3. Snouck Hurgronje's Study in Aceh

For seven months Snouck was in Aceh, since July 8, 1891 he was assisted by several servants in carrying out his main duties. Only on May 23, 1892 submitted Atjeh Vesrlag, in the report listed various first things regarding culture, religion, and the military form of the Acehnese troops. As for most of Atjeh Vesrlag published in De Atjehers, which was collected in two volumes in 1893-1894, this was the first publication Snouck conveyed that the power box in Aceh would soon be split. The incident lasted a long time because until 1898 Snouck was still unable to carry out his mission in Aceh.

Its main mission, researching the ins and outs of the Acehnese people by conducting an in-depth study, then Snouck wrote a long report entitled Aceh crimes. This report later became a reference and basis for Dutch political and military policies in dealing with the Aceh problem, the first part, explaining the culture of the Acehnese people, the role of Islam, the ulama, and the roles of other leadership figures. He also emphasized in this section that those behind the devastating war in Aceh with the Netherlands were the ulama, while the formal figures could be brought to peace and made into allies. Snouck's explanation that Islam should be considered a negative factor, because it was Islam that created the spirit of fanaticism for the people of Aceh. At the same time, Islam aroused the hatred and hostility of the Acehnese against the Dutch,

The second part of this report is a strategic proposal regarding the military, Snouck proposes by implementing military operations in the villages. To paralyze the people's resistance which is the source of strength for the *ulama*, if this mission is successful, there will be opportunities to build cooperation with other local leaders. It should be mentioned here, that Snouck is supported by a spy intelligence network from among the natives. The method taken is the same as what he did before, namely building relationships and making contact with local residents. To get the information he needed, those who helped him considered Snouck a Muslim brother.

According to Snouck's observations, the first obstacle in subduing Aceh was because the war was still going on. The advice that must be followed by Van Heutsz as the Governor of the Netherlands in Aceh continued to take a hard approach with the people of Aceh. In his study, Snouck took an in-depth approach to Islam in Aceh, firstly, religion as ritual worship, religion as a social and political force. From these two fields, according to him, as enemies of the Dutch colonial era, Snouck further categorizes Islamic problems into three parts, namely the field of pure religion, the field of social society, and the field of politics.

From the results of Snouck's study while in Aceh, it could be reported to the Dutch colonial government in Batavia as the main center in Indonesia.<sup>30</sup>

1. In the field of pure religion and worship as long as it did not interfere with Dutch power. The Dutch government gave freedom to Muslims to carry out their religious teachings, from this they must show an attitude as if they pay attention to the Islamic religion by repairing places of worship. Snouck's suggestion that the government should provide convenience in carrying out the pilgrimage for every Acehnese.
2. In the social sector, the Dutch government took advantage of the customs prevailing in Acehnese society also helping the people to stick to their customs, this goal was to make it easier for the Acehnese people to get closer to European culture. Snouck recommended limiting the influence of Islamic teachings from outside, especially in Islamic law and customs in Aceh.

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<sup>30</sup> Badawi, *Ensiklopedi Tokoh Orientalis*, p. 269.

3. In the political field, the form of popular movement that led to fanaticism and Islamic revival must be crushed. The crackdown, if necessary, was carried out by force and force of arms. After obtaining peace, the Dutch government must provide education, welfare and the economy. So that the people believed in the good intentions and finally submit to the Dutch.

Snouck's strategy was then supported by the colonial government by applying the concept of *divide et impera* (combat) by utilizing the *ulama* and *uleebalangs* to dampen the power of Islam and its influence in the Acehnese society. Both parties were given the opportunity to pursue Western education as part of "Association Politics". The politics of association itself was a program that is run through Western-style education, the use of European culture for the Acehnese people to be more interested in European culture, finally the Dutch are easier to break Islam as the strength of the Acehnese people.

In researching Islam, according to G.W.J. Drewes, there were three important issues that were interesting for Snouck to study, both starting during his stay in Mecca and after arriving in Aceh.<sup>31</sup>

- a. First, the way in which the Islamic system was established.
- b. Second, what is the meaning of Islam in everyday life and its followers who believe.
- c. Third, how to govern Muslims, so as to pave the way for the modern world. If possible, invite Muslims to work together to build a universal civilization under Dutch rule.

While in Aceh, Snouck approached the *ulama* to be able to give a fatwa on religion, this mission could be carried out because he was considered a Muslim and had mature Islamic knowledge. However, the fatwas are based on the politics of *divide et impera*, Snouck once preached in the mosque explaining the function of the Qur'an only to be used as (amulet) and not for guidance in everyday life. As well as conveying about the prohibition to link the subject of Islam with politics among the people of Aceh

Based on this concept, the Dutch government could end the resistance of the Acehnese people, and could reduce the influence of the *ulama*. Snouck's thoughts based

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<sup>31</sup> Badawi, p. 270.

on his knowledge and experience became the basic foundation of the doctrine that, "the enemy of the Netherlands is not Islam as a religion, but Islam as a political doctrine." The concept was based on the fact that the Acehnese people did not have a universally structured organization, according to Snouck, the *ulama* in Aceh do not function and act like priests in the Catholic religion. Snouck's view was that not all Muslims in Aceh should be positioned as enemies, because some Muslims in Aceh were fanatics of religion and are hostile to the Dutch government. Even if their *ulama* were not disturbed as long as their activities were not disturbed, then the *ulama* would not move their people to revolt against the Dutch. On the other hand, Snouck found the fact that Islam had the potential to dominate all people's lives, both socially and politically.

### ***Efforts to Quell Acehnese Resistance***

Snouck's relationship with the scholars and Muslims was very good, starting in Mecca and after arriving in Aceh. It was clear that Snouck was able to quell the atmosphere of the Aceh war with the Dutch that had been going on for years. Some accurate notes about completing the Aceh war, Snouck received a *fatwa* from Sayyid Uthman as Mufti of Johor who came from South Arabia. So Snouck had to stop the struggle of the Acehnese against the Dutch, because according to him, it would be a big loss for the Acehnese people if the war continued. Behind this prevention Snouck began to carry out a new strategy, the goal of which was to eradicate the holy war between the Dutch and the Acehnese people.<sup>32</sup>

Snouck's efforts in quelling Aceh's war with the Dutch included, first approaching the clerics and rulers in Aceh, (establishing cooperative relations with the Dutch in the fields of education, trade, and religion), secondly placing trade centers in Ulhee Lheue and Kutaraja, (so that the Acehnese could easily carry out their trade), thirdly advising the Dutch military Gubernur so that there would be no more violence against the people, along with showing Dutch goodwill such as building mosques, repairing roads, irrigation, and assisting social work in the lives of the people of Aceh.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje dan Islam: Delapan karangan tentang hidup dan karya seorang orientalis zaman kolonial*, trans. Soedarso Soekarno (Jakarta: INIS, 1989), p. 257.

<sup>33</sup> Salim Ibnu Ahmad, *Risalat at-taslim wa- 'aqital wa-r-eadd man afta bi-ghafy istidlal*, trans. Aboebakar (Jakarta: GIB, 1982), p. 258.

From Snouck's reasoning to quell the Acehnese struggle with the Dutch, behind that Snouck would approach the *uleebalang* and apply the politics of "fighting sheep". First, the increase in the feudal system among the people of Aceh, so that the people suffered huge losses in the economic field, secondly, disrupting the relationship between the *uleebalang* and the *ulama*, this became a disaster for the people of Aceh which eventually led to the *cumbok* war at the end of 1945-1946.<sup>34</sup> Recommendation from Snouck, stating that the Acehnese *ulama* were "hobbyists of Islam" and are obedient to the Sharia. This information was supported by the Dutch military Major, Van Heutsz, Snouck assessed that the Aceh war had only polluted the Dutch colonial. All this we showed to other countries that the Netherlands was capable of doing it, he also said, "only people who showed their power can be respected. Wherever, whenever and under any circumstances Snouck continued to use his iron fist, so that he is able to conquer Aceh which in the end the brave Acehnese would bend their knees to the Dutch". From efforts to quell the Acehnese struggle with the Dutch, then Snouck compiled a secret report, namely *Atjeh Verslag* (about politics and religion in Aceh). There were several statements in this report that, the Sultan of Aceh did not exercise real power over his area, the war movement was spearheaded by gangs who were the leaders of the *ulama*, so that they were instigated to carry out holy war against infidels (the Dutch), the funds for the war were extorted by their leaders.<sup>35</sup>

In Snouck's analysis, the approach without resorting to violence will automatically support the situation against the Acehnese. Finally the military strategy was changed by Snouck in 1903, some areas of Aceh were conquered by the Dutch but the Aceh problem was still not resolved. Seeing the condition of the Acehnese people continuing to attack the Dutch, Snouck changed the method of war again. Proposed to the Dutch Geburnur that the Aceh region be implemented a practical policy that could encourage the disappearance of the Acehnese people's hatred of the Dutch because the Dutch had previously carried out violent and armed actions.

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<sup>34</sup> Amirul Hadi, *Aceh: Sejarah, Budaya, Dan Tradisi* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2010), p. 56.

<sup>35</sup> van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje dan Islam: Delapan karangan tentang hidup dan karya seorang orientalis zaman kolonial*, p. 258.

According to Snouck, the real rulers in Aceh are the ulama because the ulama are close to the people. Meanwhile, the kings and *uleebalang* were easy to conquer by cooperating with the Dutch government. After that it was crushed and in the end became a loyal Dutch ally, in carrying out a system of pursuing the Acehnese war troop but could weaken their bigotry towards Islam as the main force against the Dutch. To continue to monitor, all the coast to the hinterland can be stopped guerrilla warfare. Snouck's suggestion in his report, regarding civilian targets must be respected also considering that Aceh has been conquered so it will be easy to govern.

Since his presence in Aceh, Snouck's advice to the Dutch military governor as well as a peaceful way of war between Aceh and the Netherlands left aside the group of sultans (i.e., sultans who are domiciled in the Keumala area),<sup>36</sup> they always attacked and continued to beat the *ulama*, and they were not allowed to negotiate with the leaders of the guerrilla war. The Acehnese *ulama* and their people fought voluntarily against the Dutch, so the interests of the *ulama* could not be carried out in negotiations against the Dutch.

#### ***Snouck's Point of View on Acehnese Clerics***

As a prominent Western orientalist scientist, he also understood the religion of Islam in approaching scholars and researching the Aceh region in particular and Indonesia in general. Snouck used a sociological and anthropological approach, making it easier to research Aceh or position himself with the ulama. He had gained a lot of experience while in Mecca from Arab, Jeddah, Nusantara and Acehnese scholars. The scholars who were approached by Snouck in Mecca, namely Raden Abdurrahman, Raden Muhammad Nasir, Raden Hasan Mustapha, Raden Hasan Rusjidi and Raden Abdul Kadir all came from the Archipelago (Indonesian).<sup>37</sup>

Snouck had a different mission to more easily gain their sympathy. He was willing to marry the cleric's son, one of the above scholars, namely Raden Hasan Mustapha who later became Snouck's assistant in visiting various Islamic regions in Indonesian. In 1892 Hasan Mustapha was appointed as the chief of Ulhee Leue, assisted also by Teungku Nurdin Djambek alias Nyak Puteh, these two people from Aceh. From

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<sup>36</sup> Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>37</sup> Anthoni Reid, *Perjuangan Rakyat: Revolusi Dan Hancurnya Kerajaan Di Sumatra* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1987), p. 54.

here Snouck got a lot of information about the power of Islam in Aceh and about the development of cultural literature and customs. The process of approaching the *ulama*, especially while in Aceh, Snouck realized that his personality about Islam being embraced was not merely an embedded belief in the oneness of Allah SWT. Behind that, Snouck only used Islam as a status in destroying Aceh and its people. As far as Snouck had investigated, both during his time in Mecca and after he was in Aceh, to burn all the people of Aceh, Snouck used a very practical method.<sup>38</sup>

According to Snouck, the approach of the Acehnese *ulama* was very different from that of the *ulama* in Java. Because Acehnese clerics were not easy to influence, in addition to a high level of religious knowledge, Acehnese clerics were also very fanatical about Islam. Like Teungku Chik Di Tiro who succeeded in making war in the context of religion, Teuku Umar who was very cunning in his military politics so that the Dutch could be deceived.<sup>39</sup> In Snouck's view, the soul in the *sabil* war was embedded in Teungku Chik Di Tiro, at which time the Dutch tried to kill him by using the political tactic of "fighting sheep" between the *ulama* and the *uleebalang*.

Islam as the main force for the movement of the Acehnese people, the influence of the *ulama* in instilling the Islamic creed. About the concept of fighting foreign nations, defending the dignity of the nation, strengthening identity and putting all souls, assets, in order to fight for Islam as a religion and the earth of Aceh as a shelter. On that basis, all Acehnese have very high principles and personalities, in fighting the Dutch colonialism which intended to attack and conquer the Aceh region. According to Snouck, even though the people of Aceh are so fanatical about their Islam, they have not been able to break the Dutch resistance, because Snouck continues to try to divide the *ulama* with the *uleebalang*. It has been mentioned above that the main foundation is Islam, and the *ulama* as the driving force. From the method of approach, he carried out various kinds of political tactics, thoughts, military strategies by taking the sympathy of the Acehnese people. So that little by little the people of Aceh are separated from the influence of the *ulama* and the spirit in the war, finally Snouck can more easily carry out his mission in destroying Aceh. Syuhudi Ismail in his book, *Bukti-bukti Kebohongan*

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<sup>38</sup> Daud Rasyid, *Fenomena Sunnah Di Indonesia: Potret Pergulatan Melawan Konspirasi* (Jakarta: Usamah Press, 2003), p. 190.

<sup>39</sup> M. Thamrin, *Aceh Melawan Penjajahan Belanda* (Jakarta: Wahana, 2004), p. 115.

*Orientalis* "Evidence of Orientalist Lies", explained the views of Snouck Acehese scholars as an obstacle to the submission of Aceh's sovereignty to the Dutch government, ulama are the spiritual driving force in defending Aceh and its people, and Acehese scholars are not easy to be deceived even by prioritizing Islam alone.<sup>40</sup>

In this expression, Snouck also expressed his views on Acehese clerics.

"Indeed, the main enemies of the active are the scholars and adventurers who form strong bands. Even though their number is small, they grow among the layers of society. It is impossible to gain any benefit in negotiations with this enemy party. The influence of their *aqidah* and personal interests that required them not to submit to the Dutch. Except by means of violence against the ulama and their people. Indeed, the most basic requirement, is to restore regulations in the Aceh region. Must embrace the ulema with violence, so as to cause fear. This is a factor that prevents the Acehese from joining the ulema group. According to Snouck, this mission, must be carried out in an effective and organized manner, to approach Tuanku Kuta Karang (as leader of the *ulama* in 1892) and all his gangs. Even though I am not able to explain all the details, I dare say that the spying work is a possible success for the Dutch in controlling Aceh." From Snouck's approach with the *uleebalang*, then there were opportunities to establish cooperation with the Dutch. In this case, not all Acehese are willing to join, because the ulema remain steadfast in their stance, are loyal to the people and continue to fight for Aceh and the ulema are fighting not on the orders of the authorities, but on the call of religion.

### C. Conclusion

Snouck Hurgronje is a scientist from a respected family who has expertise in various sciences, so he was able to become a missionary from the Dutch East Indies military and weaken the people's resistance to Dutch aggression in Aceh. His efforts to quell the resistance of the Acehese people by approaching the *ulama* (in the form of cooperation in the fields of Dutch government, education, economics and religion), placing trade centers in Ulhee Lheue and Kutaraja, (so that the Acehese people can easily carry out their trade), advising the military governor the Netherlands so that there was no more violence against the people of Aceh. This showed the political policy of

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<sup>40</sup> As-Samurai and Syuhudi, *Bukti-bukti kebohongan orientalis*, p. 139.

the Dutch government and was supported by Snouck's ideas by building mosques, repairing roads, irrigation, and helping the social work of the Acehnese. Snouck Hurgronje's point of view towards Acehnese's *ulama*, namely the *ulama* had an important role in the war against the Dutch, but from Snouck's point of view, the *ulama* as an obstacle to the submission of sovereignty to the Dutch, the *ulama* were a spiritual driving force in defending Aceh and its people, the Acehnese clerics were not easy to be deceived even with the promote Islam only.

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