

# Islamic Education: The Main Path of Islamization in Southeast Asia

**Nurbaiti**

Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia

e-mail: [nurbaiti.dpk@uinjkt.ac.id](mailto:nurbaiti.dpk@uinjkt.ac.id)

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## **Abstract**

*The debate about the arrival of Islam in Southeast Asia is usually related to three main issues, i.e., the time and place of origin of the arrival of Islam, and the person who brought the religion. At least, there are four main theories about the origins of Islam in the Archipelago, which are debated in discussing the arrival, spread, and Islamization of the Archipelago, i.e., "Indian Theory," "Arabic Theory," "Persian Theory," and "Chinese Theory." This study intends to examine the main pathway of Islamization through Islamic Education in Southeast Asia, then the political development of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia, and the challenges faced by Islamic schools in Southeast Asia. This research uses a qualitative method with the type of literature study. The results showed, first, that trade and ulama were moderating variables at the beginning of Islamization in the Archipelago, while the primary variable was Islamic Education taught by Ulama and traders who came to this region to the local population. Second, the development of Islamic Education is different from one country to another. This is undoubtedly influenced by the geographical location, the culture of society, to politics that influenced the existence of these differences. Third, school development, especially in Indonesia, is understood as a social movement that did not only succeed in educating students but also formed a network of social ideologies that would later influence social transformation, even national development. The implications of this study provide a deeper understanding of the History and dynamics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia.*

**Keywords:** *Islamic Education, Islamization, Southeast Asia, Politics, Islamic school.*

## **Abstrak**

*Perdebatan tentang kedatangan Islam di Asia Tenggara lazimnya terkait dengan tiga permasalahan pokok, yaitu: waktu dan tempat asal usul kedatangan Islam, serta orang yang membawanya. Setidaknya, ada empat teori utama tentang asal-usul Islam di Nusantara yang diperdebatkan dalam membahas kedatangan, penyebaran dan Islamisasi Nusantara, yaitu: "Teori India", "Teori Arab", "Teori Persia", dan "Teori Cina". Penelitian ini bermaksud untuk mengkaji jalur utama islamisasi melalui*

pendidikan Islam di Asia tenggara, kemudian perkembangan politik pendidikan Islam di Asia Tenggara dan tantangan-tantangan yang dihadapi madrasah di Asia Tenggara. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan jenis studi kepustakaan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan, pertama, bahwa perdagangan dan ulama adalah variabel perantara pada awal Islamisasi di Nusantara, sedangkan variabel utamanya adalah pendidikan Islam yang diajarkan oleh ulama dan pedagang yang datang ke wilayah ini kepada penduduk setempat. Kedua, perkembangan pendidikan Islam berbeda antara satu negara dengan negara lainnya. Hal ini tentunya dipengaruhi oleh letak geografis, budaya masyarakat, hingga politik yang memengaruhi adanya perbedaan tersebut. Ketiga, perkembangan sekolah khususnya di Indonesia dipahami sebagai social movement yang tidak hanya berhasil mendidik siswa, namun juga membentuk jaringan ideologi sosial yang kelak akan berpengaruh terhadap transformasi sosial, bahkan pembangunan nasional. Implikasi penelitian ini memberikan pemahaman lebih mendalam terhadap histori dan dinamika pendidikan Islam di Asia Tenggara.

**Kata Kunci:** Pendidikan Islam, Islamisasi, Asia Tenggara, Politik, Madrasah.

## Introduction

The Archipelago is a group of islands that stretch from Sumatra to Papua, which is now known as the territory of Indonesia. However, at the beginning of Islamization, the Archipelago also included the territory of Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. Therefore, Archipelago is part of the Southeast Asian region. Nusantara, according to Suhaimi Bin Haji Islam is a general term used to refer to the Malay population living in the Southeast Asian region which stretches from Vietnam, Cambodia, to Southern Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, and the Southern Philippines<sup>1</sup>. However, Hirschman and Teerawichitchainan (2003) stated Southeast Asia is an area that includes ten countries located between the Indian and Chinese subcontinent, i.e., Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, and Indonesia<sup>2</sup>.

Seen from another perspective, the word “Nusantara” itself is a compound noun derived from the Old Javanese language, Nusa (island), and between (located opposite). In the book *Negarakertagama* written around

<sup>1</sup> Mohd. Shuhaimi Ishak, “Nusantara and Islam: A Study of the History and Challenges in the Preservation of Faith and Identity,” *Australian Journal of Basic and Applied Sciences*, 2014, 351-59.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Hirschman and Bussarawan Teerawichitchainan, “Cultural and Socioeconomic Influences on Divorce During Modernization: Southeast Asia, 1940s to 1960s,” *Population and Development Review* 29, no. 2 (June 1, 2003): 218, doi:10.1111/j.1728-4457.2003.00215.x.

1365 AD, Empu Prapanca—a writer and Buddhist priest—described the national compilers of the Archipelago by including most of the islands in the territory of modern Indonesia (Sumatra, Java, Bali, the Lesser Sunda Islands, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, parts of the Moluccas, and West Papua), plus other vast enough territories which are now the territory of Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and the southern part of the Philippines<sup>3</sup>.

Before the arrival of Islam, the local people embraced animism, dynamism, and after the arrival of Hinduism and Buddhism, they became Hindus and Buddhists<sup>4</sup>. Arifin stated, although today, the people of Aceh are famous for their obedience to Islam, Islam is not the first religion in Aceh, so that until now, the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism has taken root in their traditions and beliefs<sup>5</sup>.

Islamization in the Archipelago, according to several opinions, occurs through several channels, i.e., marriage, trade, politics, and Education. However, according to the author, the main path of Islamization in the Archipelago occurs through Education, which is carried out by Muslim intellectuals and Sufis, who also work as traders. They carried out Islamization through informal Education. Informal Education, as stated by Noya et al., is an education whose implementation is not bound to a specific time or condition so that this Education can take place at any time and anywhere either in the family, work, or in everyday social relations<sup>6</sup>.

The Malay Peninsula is part of Southeast Asia, similar to Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand, including the Southeast Asian region. It can be interpreted that the beginning of Islamization in the Archipelago is also the beginning of Islamization in Southeast Asia. Islamization in the

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<sup>3</sup> A Murfi and Fitriyani, "Islam Nusantara: Religion Dialectic and Cultural for Pluralism-Democratic Society," *KnE Social Sciences* 3, no. 5 (May 23, 2018): 47, doi:10.18502/kss.v3i5.2324.

<sup>4</sup> Danny Naveh and Nurit Bird David, *Animism, Conservation and Imadiacy. The Handbook of Contemporary Animism* (New York: Reutledge, 2012), 11-12.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Arifin and Khadijah Binti Mohd Khambali, "Islam dan Akulturasi Budaya Lokal di Aceh (Studi Terhadap Ritual Rah Ulei di Kuburan Dalam Masyarakat Pidie Aceh)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 15, no. 2 (February 1, 2016): 253, doi:10.22373/jiif.v15i2.545.

<sup>6</sup> Ferdinanda Sherly Noya, Supriyono Supriyono, and Sri Wahyuni, "Strategi Pembelajaran Pendidikan Informal pada Transfer Pengetahuan Kecakapan Ketog Magic," *Jurnal Pendidikan: Teori, Penelitian, dan Pengembangan* 2, no. 9 (September 1, 2017): 1244, doi:10.17977/JPTPP.V2I9.9986.

Archipelago was initially driven by an increase in trade networks outside the Archipelago. Traders and aristocrats from the Archipelago are usually the first to adopt Islam.

The spread of Islam in Southeast Asia began with the establishment of the first Islamic Kingdom in Indonesia, the Perlak Kingdom—at the end of the 7th century or early 8th century. After that, Islam spread to Malaysia and Singapore (9th century) and Pattani (10th century). As stated by Herawati, Islam came to Asia in the early stages of the VII century as the initial stage of the formation of the merchant community, and in the XIII and XVI centuries, there was an Islamic kingdom in the Archipelago.

Grajcevcı and Shala (2016) state that informal Education in the form of Education that does not have a curriculum can occur anywhere, and an informal education also does not issue evidence of graduation learning outcomes to students, and there is no agreement on learning activities<sup>7</sup>. Further, Azra (1999) stated that the spread of Islam was carried out by Sufis, who were traders. They introduced Islam by using attractive packaging. They also offered and provided some assistance, such as curing diseases and balancing the miracles that develop in society<sup>8</sup>.

Thus, Education has a significant role at the beginning of Islamization in the Archipelago. This is because the activities of traders are essential, and this shows that Education is the main channel of Islamization in the Archipelago. Since the activities of these traders were educational, these Islamic propagators taught the population about knowledge related to Islam. During the Islamization process, Islamic Education in the Archipelago was carried out employing informal education. Its application is prioritized on the personal contact and relationship between the *Ulama* and the community around them. It was at the time of the relationship between the *Ulama* and the population that an informal education process took place.

A previous study by Amin dan and Ananda (2018) highlights the arrival and spread of Islam in Southeast Asia: a theoretical study of the process of

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<sup>7</sup> Arif Shala and Albulene Grajcevcı, "Formal and Non-Formal Education in the New Era," *Action Researcher in Education*, No. 7 (2016): 119–30.

<sup>8</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII M* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999).

Islamization of the Archipelago. The study discusses five theories of the arrival and spread of Islam in Southeast Asia, i.e., Indian Theory, Arabian Theory, Persian Theory, Chinese Theory, and Accommodation theory. Overall, these theories are attempts to answer three main problems, i.e., when, from where, and who is the carrier of Islam to Southeast Asia. The debate about the main problem is incomplete because of the lack of data to support a particular theory and the partiality of certain theories that tend only to emphasize specific aspects of the three main problems. In addition to explaining accommodation theories that constitute a synthesis of previous theories, this article also explains several factors and channels of Islamization that form the basis of Islamic characteristics in Southeast Asia. This argument is used to place the position of Islam in Southeast Asia or Islam of the Archipelago as the domain of distinctive and equal Islamic culture in the Muslim world<sup>9</sup>.

Next on Education (school or Islamic school), Park & Niyozov (2008), based on anxieties and confusion from the author, explained about the number of madaris, reasons, goals, pedagogy, curriculum, funding, administration, relations with the state, and global violence, especially in madaris in South and Southeast Asia. This paper presents a report on the current debate on Islamic school education and reform that focuses on madarians in various schools of thought and Sunni denominations located in South and Southeast Asia. Based on extensive review and analysis of more than 90 articles, an overview of Islamic school education and an examination of the problems and challenges faced by Islamic schools struggling to uphold tradition, and those who have begun to embrace modernization and integration in the process of global change are given. To the extent that some Islamic education systems are willing to collaborate with non-Muslims and in the process have the potential to enrich their circle of interest while engaging with the rest of the world in dialogue offer a promising view and a sense of hope for faith-based Education in Muslim communities in the 21st century<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Faizal Amin and Rifki Abror Ananda, "Kedatangan dan Penyebaran Islam di Asia Tenggara: Telaah Teoritik Tentang Proses Islamisasi Nusantara," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 18, No. 2 (March 1, 2019): 67-100, doi:10.24042/ajsk.v18i2.3069.

<sup>10</sup> Jaddon Park and Sarfaroz Niyozov, "Madrassa Education in South Asia and Southeast Asia: Current Issues and Debates," *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 28, No. 4 (December 2008): 323-51, doi:10.1080/02188790802475372.

At the same time, Nor, Senin, Khambālī, & Halim (2008) make an effort to explore the transformation taken by Islamic schools, especially in preparing students in both the religious and academic fields. Besides, this paper shows the steps taken by Islamic schools in instilling religious and racial cohesion that are far from conservatism and extremism labeled to their students<sup>11</sup>. Their paper is qualitative with library research and uses historical methods in gathering data. Some relevant literature and data have been analyzed and presented in the paper. The findings in their study are that Islamic schools in Singapore are always considered to be in a negative nuance because of their ineffectiveness and irrelevant role in economic development. The conservative Islamic school education and the traditional system also seem to hamper Singapore's religious and racial cohesion. Islamic Education in Singapore can be observed as developing through three phases, the colonial period in which it adopted a secular system, post-colonial with a traditional system, and currently a period of transformation with an integrated syllabus.

Based on previous studies that showed that Education had a significant role at the beginning of Islamization in the Archipelago, the activities of traders were significant, and this showed that Education was the main channel of Islamization in the Archipelago. Since the activities of these traders were educational, these propagators of Islam teach residents about knowledge related to Islam.

This study, therefore, intends to examine the main path of Islamization through Islamic Education in Southeast Asia, then the political development of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia, and the challenges faced by Islamic schools in Southeast Asia. This study is significant as an effort to contribute a deeper understanding of the History and dynamics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia. This study uses a qualitative method with the type of literature study.

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<sup>11</sup> Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor et al., "Survival of Islamic Education in a Secular State: The Madrasah in Singapore," *Journal for Multicultural Education* 11, No. 4 (November 13, 2017): 238-49, doi:10.1108/JME-06-2016-0043.

## Who is Spreading Islam in Southeast Asia?

The debate about the arrival of Islam in Southeast Asia is usually related to three main issues, i.e., the time and place of origin of the arrival of Islam, and the person who brought it. The debate on this main problem has given rise to many theories and discussion that is due to complete due to lack of data in supporting a particular theory and the alignments of various existing theories. There is a strong tendency that a particular theory only emphasizes specific aspects of the three main problems while ignoring other aspects. As a result, most theories fail to explain the arrival of Islam, the conversion to Islam that took place, and the Islamization processes involved in it. Even so, usually an academic debate, a particular theory is not able to answer rival questions raised by other theories<sup>12</sup>.

There are at least four main theories about the origins of Islam in the Archipelago, which are debated in discussing the arrival, spread, and Islamization of the Archipelago, i.e., “Indian Theory,” “Arabic Theory,” “Persian Theory,” and “Theory of China.”<sup>13</sup> First, Indian Theory is carried by several Dutch scholars, including Pijnappel [Gujarat and Malabar], Snouck Hurgronje [Deccan], T.W. Arnold [Corommandel and Malabar], D.G.E Hall [Gujarat], R.O. Winstead [Gujarat], Brian Harrison [Gujarat], and H.E. Wilson [Gujarat], J.P. Moquette [Gujarat], G.E. Morrison [Corommandel], de Jong, W.F. Wertheim [Corommandel], S.Q. Fāṭimī (Bengal), Keyzer (Bengal), and G..W. Drewes (Bengal). Secondly, the Arabian theory was put forward by several Dutch, Indonesian, and Malaysian scholars such as Marsden [Arabia], Crawford [Arabia], Keijzer [Arabia], Niemman [Arabia], De Hollander [Arabia], al-’Aṭṭās [Arabic or Persian], Hashimi, and Saifudin Zuhri and Hamka (Arabia). Third, the Persian Theory was carried by Hoesin Djayadiningrat [Persia]. Fourth, Chinese Theory is carried by H.J. de Graaf, Slamet Muljana, and Denys Lombard<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenadamedia Group, 2013), 2–19.

<sup>13</sup> Nor Huda, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2015), 2.

<sup>14</sup> Amin and Ananda, “Kedatangan dan Penyebaran Islam di Asia Tenggara: Telaah Teoritik Tentang Proses Islamisasi Nusantara,” 77.

## 1. Indian Theory

Indian Theory generally states that Islam originated in India. However, scholars supporting this Theory are still debating on the areas in India (the Indian Continent), which became the origin, the bearers, and the time of the arrival of Islam. This difference is a consequence of differences in the historiographic evidence used and differences in interpretation. Most Orientalist scholars who pursue Islamic studies in Southeast Asia support the Indian Theory and argue that the origin of Islam in the Archipelago is from the Indian Continent—not Arabic or Persian<sup>15</sup>. This Theory was first revealed by Pijnappel who was the first professor of Malay studies at Leiden University,<sup>16</sup> Pijnappel argued that the spread of Islam throughout the Archipelago was affiliated with the Arabic Shāfiʿī fiqh from Gujarat and Malabar<sup>17</sup>. This is because these areas are very often found in the Early History of the Archipelago. However, Pijnappel still thinks that the proselytizers who first spread Islam were Arabs from Gujarat and Malabar, not Indians themselves<sup>18</sup>.

Pijnappel's Theory was later developed by another Dutch scholar Snouck Hurgronje who also argued that Islam was brought to the Archipelago from India and not directly from Arabia<sup>19</sup>. According to Hurgronje (1883), South India is the origin of Islam in the Archipelago. Hurgronje argued that when Islam had taken control of the port cities in South India, several Muslims from Decca who lived there were treated as “middlemen” (trade middlemen) in trade between Muslim Near Eastern countries (Near-Eastern Muslim states) and Nusantara (Malay Archipelago). These Muslim traders were the first to convert Muslims in the Archipelago. After that, the Arabs, mainly from Zuriat of the Prophet who completed the Islamic da'wah either as a “preacher,” “prince of the

<sup>15</sup> Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 2.

<sup>16</sup> G.J. W. Drewes, “New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia?,” in *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, ed. A. Ibrahim, S. Siddique, and Y. Hussein (Singapore: ISEAS, 1985), 440–41.

<sup>17</sup> Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Drewes, “New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia?,” 440–41.

<sup>19</sup> Isma'īl Hāmid, “A Survey of Theories on The Introduction of Islam In the Malay Archipelago,” *Islamic Studies* 21, no. 3 (1982): 90.



preacher,” or Sulṭān. According to Hurgronje, the year 1200 was the earliest possible time for the Islamization of the population of people of the Archipelago. The earliest Islamization process has been carried out by Indians who have had relations with the Archipelago for centuries<sup>20</sup>. The earliest disseminators of Islam to the Archipelago were traders-missionaries, and the religion entered peacefully because it was of interest to Indonesians who were culturally inferior<sup>21</sup>.

Unlike its predecessors, J.P. Moquette (1912) stated that the religion of Islam was brought to the Archipelago from Gujarat, India. The Moquette theory is based on the findings of the style of tombstones in Pasai, in particular, the year 1424, which is precisely the same as the tombstone style found at the grave of Maulana Malik Ibrahim (d. 1419) in Gresik. This evidence is reinforced by the findings which state that the tombstones in Pasai and Gresik are, in fact, similar to the tombstones found in Cambay, Gujarat. Based on these facts, Moquette assumed that the production of Gujarat tombstones is not only to meet the needs of the local market but has also been exported to foreign markets, especially markets in Sumatra and Java<sup>22</sup>. Based on examples of the findings in Pasai-Sumatra, Gresik-Java, and Cambay-Gujarat, Moquette concluded that by importing tombstones from Gujarat, the Archipelago also took Islam from Gujarat<sup>23</sup>.

Moquette’s conclusion that Islam in Southeast Asia originated in India, i.e., Gujarat, was vehemently opposed by Fatimi, who argued that it was wrong to associate all tombstones in Pasai, including the tombstone of Mālik al-Shālih with the tombstone of Gujarat. According to Fatimi’s research, the shape and style of Mālik al-Shālih tombstones are entirely different from the tombstones found in Gujarat and other tombstones found in the Archipelago. Fatimi thinks that the shape and

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<sup>20</sup> Drewes, “New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia?,” 441-43.

<sup>21</sup> D. G.E. Hall, “Looking at Southeast Asian History,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 19, no. 3 (1960): 250, doi:10.2307/2943485.

<sup>22</sup> S.Q. Fāṭimī, *Islam Comes to Malaysia* (Singapura: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 31-32.

<sup>23</sup> Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 3.

style of the Gujarat tombstone are similar to those found in Bengal<sup>24</sup>. For this reason, Fatimi concluded that Islam that came to the Archipelago came from the Bengal region, not Gujarat<sup>25</sup>. In connection with this “tombstone theory,” Fatimi also criticized scholars who seemed to ignore the existence of the Siti Fatimah tombstone (dated 475/1082) found in Laren, East Java<sup>26</sup>. The scholars who were criticized by Fatimi generally assumed that the tombstones found in the Archipelago’s seaside areas were stones that were used as ballast ships in shipping. These scholars have ignored a large number of tombstones found that share a resemblance as a Muslim burial complex<sup>27</sup>.

The Fatimi theory which states that Islam Nusantara originated in Bengal is also not free from criticism, for example, related to the differences in the Islamic school of fiqh adhered to by the Muslims in the Archipelago, which is of Syāfi’ī, the Islamic school of fiqh of Muslims in Bengal is Hambālī. Therefore, Fatimi’s Theory failed to undermine the Moquette theory because several other Western scholars who came later actually took over the Moquette theory and made Moquette’s evidence the basis of their theories about the origins of Islam in the Archipelago. Amongst these scholars are R.A. Kern, R.O. Winstead, Schrieke, Brian Harrison, G.H. Bousquet, B.H.M. Viekke, J. Gonda, H.E. Wilson, and D.G.E Hall<sup>28</sup>. They support the Gujarat theory because it uses evidence found by Moquette, which states the similarity of tombstones in Gujarat, Sumatra, and Java<sup>29</sup>. However, some of their arguments were added to support Moquette’s Theory. R.O. Winstead, for example, presents the discovery of a tombstone that is similar in shape and style to Bruas, the center of an ancient Malay kingdom in Perak, the Malay Peninsula. Based on this additional evidence, Winstead argued that because all gravestones in Bruas, Pasai, and Gresik had been imported from Gujarat, Islam should have also been brought from Gujarat. Winstead added that

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<sup>24</sup> Fāṭimī, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, 5–6.

<sup>25</sup> Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Fāṭimī, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, 31–32.

<sup>27</sup> Budi Sulistio, *Majapahit dan Islam Nusantara* (Jakarta: SPs UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2017).

<sup>28</sup> Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 91–92.

<sup>29</sup> D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1964), 190–91.

the Malay History manuscript (Part VII) provided evidence confirming the custom of the past in Malay countries to import tombstones from India.

Furthermore, Schrieke, who supported this Theory, emphasizes his argument on the significance of the vital role played by Gujarat Muslim traders in trading in the Archipelago and its possible contribution to the spread of Islam<sup>30</sup>. Brian Harrison, who also supported the Gujarat theory, stated that in the past, India was seen by Southeast Asia as a cultural inspiration. This is evidenced by India, which has begun to change the belief of the population of the Archipelago with religions in India, i.e., Hinduism and Buddhism. Then when Islam entered India, Islam was also brought to the Archipelago by Indian Muslims<sup>31</sup>. H.E. Wilson also concurred with the Theory of Islam coming to the Archipelago from India.

The Gujarat theory, as the place of origin of Islam in the Archipelago, also has some weaknesses. This was proven by G.E. Morrison, who questioned the validity of the proposition that Islam had come to the Archipelago from Gujarat. Morrison argued that although the headstones of the Islam Nusantara leaders came from Gujarat—or Bengal as stated by Fatimi—this did not mean that Islam had come from Gujarat. Morrison refuted the Gujarat theory by pointing out that during the Islamization of the Samudra-Pasai kingdom, with its first king who died in 698H/1297 M, Gujarat was still a Hindu kingdom. Besides, according to Cambay, Gujarat was conquered by Islamic rule only in 1298, a year later. If Gujarat is the center of Islam, which is a haven for Islamic preachers to travel to the Archipelago, then Islam should have been established, colored, and ruled Gujarat before the death of Malik al-Sālih in 1297 AD<sup>32</sup>. According to Morrison, before succeeding in conquering Gujarat, Muslim forces had attacked Gujarat several times, respectively 415H/1024M, 574H/1178M, and 595H/1197M, but the Hindu king there was able to maintain his power until it fell in 698H/1297M.

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<sup>30</sup> Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 5.

<sup>31</sup> Brian Harrison, *South-East Asia, A Short History* (London, 1957), 43.

<sup>32</sup> G. E. Marrison, "The Coming of Islam to the East Indies," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24, no. 1 (1951): 31-36, doi:10.2307/41502969.

Morrison also added that Bengal was a coastal area in the Indian subcontinent which was conquered by Muslims at the beginning of the 13th century and which later began to emerge as a center of Islamic da'wah brought to the Archipelago<sup>33</sup>. Based on this evidence, Morison put forward his Theory that Islam in the Archipelago did not originate from Gujarat but rather from the Coromandel coast, which arrived at the end of the 13th century<sup>34</sup>. Morrison's opinion is supported by de Jong and W.F. Wertheim<sup>35</sup>, who argued that since the Pasai ruler, Merah Silu, based on contemporary Chinese sources, used the title Thakur from Bengali, then Merah Silu should have been a Bengali (Bengali stock). Morrison's argument is based on Tom Pires' report<sup>36</sup>.

Morison's Theory is supported by T.W. Arnold, who also claimed that Islam was brought to the Archipelago from Coromandel and Malabar India. Arnold supports Morison's Theory based on evidence of similarities in the schools of fiqh schools found in the Archipelago, Coromandel, and Malabar. Until now, the majority of Muslims in the Archipelago adhere to the Shāfi'ī school of fiqh, which also dominates the Coromandel and Malabar regions of India. The dominance of the Syāfi'ī school has spread since Ibn Baṭṭūṭah visited these places<sup>37</sup>. The similarities in the Syāfi'ī school of fiqh within the two regions are the basis of Arnold's argument to state that Islam has initially been brought to the Archipelago from Coromandel and Malabar, as well as some from Arabia. According to Arnold, traders from Coromandel and Malabar played an essential role in the trade of India and the Archipelago. A large number of these traders came to various trading ports in the Malay-Indonesian world, where they turned out not only to be involved in trade but also in the spread of Islam<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 5-6.

<sup>35</sup> Fāṭimī, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, 6.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>37</sup> T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1975), 368.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 364-65.

## 2. Arab Theory

However, Coromandel and Malabar are not the only places that become the origins of Islam in the Archipelago, but the religion of Islam also originated directly from Arabia. According to Arnold, as quoted by Azra, Arab traders also spread Islam when they dominated trade in the East-West since the early centuries of the Hijri or seventh and 8th centuries A.D.<sup>39</sup> Although there is no historical record of their activities in the spread of Islam, we can assume that they were also involved in spreading Islam to the local population in the Archipelago. This assumption is supported by facts mentioned by Chinese sources which explain that an Arab trader became the leader of a Muslim Arab settlement on the coast of Sumatra in the last quarter of the 7th century. Some of these Arab traders were reported to have married residents, so they formed a Muslim community that was a mixture of immigrants from Arabia and residents. Members of the Muslim community are also active in spreading Islam<sup>40</sup>.

In this context, the book 'Ajāib al-Hind is the earliest Middle Eastern source (originally in Persian) about the Archipelago, which explains the existence of the local Muslim community in the Hindu-Buddhist Kingdom Zabaj (Sriwijaya). The book, written by Buzurg bin Shahriyar al-Rahurmuzi around 390/1000, narrates the visit of Muslim traders to the Kingdom of Zabaj who witnessed the inhabitants' "cross-legged" (برسيلا) habit when they present before the king<sup>41</sup>. The word "cross-legged" written in Arabic indicates the influence of Islam in the Malay Archipelago culture.

The Arab Theory is also held by Crawfurd, who states that the interaction of the Nusantara population with Muslims originating from the east coast of India is also an essential factor in the spread of Islam in the Archipelago. Meanwhile, Keijzer views Islam in the Archipelago as originating from Egypt based on consideration of the equality of embracing Muslim populations in both regions in the Syāfi'ī school of

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<sup>39</sup> Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 6.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

fiqh. This Arab Theory was also held by Niemann and de Hollander, who made a slight revision by stating that Islam in the Archipelago did not originate from Egypt, but originated from Haḍramawt. Some Indonesian experts agree with this Arab Theory which states that Islam in the Archipelago came directly from Arabia, not from India, not in the 12th or 13th century, but in the first century of the Hijriyah or 7th century A.D., This conclusion resulted from seminars on the arrival of Islam to Indonesia held in 1969 and 1978<sup>42</sup>. In this case, Hamka strongly rejects the Gujarat theory, as stated in the Seminar on the History on the Entry of Islam in Indonesia, which was held in Medan from 17 to 20 March 1963. Hamka also rejects the Theory that Islam entered Indonesia in the 13th century. Because of that, he argued that Islam had come to Indonesia long before, i.e., in the 7th century A.D.<sup>43</sup>.

Further, G.W.J. Drewes also seemed to support the Arab Theory. Referring to the Theory of Keyzer, an early scholar of Islamic Law in England, Drewes stated that there had been a relationship between Egypt and the Archipelago in the past, which was proven by observing that the Syāfi'ī school of fiqh had occupied important positions in both the Egyptian and Archipelago regions. Niemann (d. 1861) and de Hollander (d. 1861) also mention the role of Arabs in the Islamization of the Archipelago<sup>44</sup>. John Crawford is another scholar who made the same claim and stated that Islam might have been brought to the Archipelago by Arab preachers from the Arabian Peninsula because of its dominant sea power<sup>45</sup>. Marsden has noted the same role of Arab preachers in changing the beliefs of the Malays into Islam. Marsden cited evidence of his statement from Diego de Couto, a Portuguese historian who had conducted research in India and had reported that Arab preachers had converted the rulers of Malacca<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>43</sup> M Natsir, "Sekilas Proses Masuknya Islam di Kalimantan Barat (Kalbar)," in *Seminar Serantau Perkembangan Islam Borneo 1*, ed. Jamil Hj. Hamali (Universiti Teknologi MARA Serawak: Pusat Penerbit Universiti (UPENA) UT MARA, 2008), 52–53.

<sup>44</sup> Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia?," 439.

<sup>45</sup> John Crawford, *History of Indian Archipelago* (Edinburg, 1820), 259–60.

<sup>46</sup> William Marsden, *The History of Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966), 344.

Among the defenders of the “Arab theory,” who also opposed the “Indian theory,” was S.M.N. al-'Aṭṭās. Morison al-Aṭṭās could not accept the Moquette epigraphic findings on tombstones in Pasai and Gresik from Gujarat to serve as direct evidence that Islam had been brought to Pasai and Gresik by Indian Muslims. Tombstones and other items needed by residents of the region were deliberately brought from India because of their proximity to the Archipelago when compared to the Arabian Peninsula. However, al-'Aṭṭās states that the most crucial evidence that can be examined when considering the arrival of Islam to the Archipelago is based on the “internal” characteristics of the religion of Islam itself<sup>47</sup>.

Al-'Aṭṭās' argument, which states the continuity of Islamic origin in Southeast Asia from Arabia, is in harmony with local historiographic narratives about Islamization in their world that is often mixed with myths and legends. However, local historical data from several manuscripts/texts remain relevant such as the manuscript of the Kings of Pasai (> 1350), Malay History (> 1500), the Story of Merong Mahawangsa (> 1630), Tarsilah from the Sulu Sultanate, Tuhfah al-Nafis, Hikayat Habīb Husin al-Qadrī, and others. According to Azyumardi Azra, the classic historiography contains four main themes, i.e. (1) Islam was brought directly from Arabia, (2) Islam was introduced by “professional” teachers and poets who intended to spread Islam, (3) who first converted to Islam is the rulers, and (4) most of the “professional” propagators of Islam came to the Archipelago in the 12th and 13th centuries. This shows the genuine possibility that Islam was introduced to and existed in the Archipelago in the first centuries of Hijriyyah, and the process of Islamization experienced acceleration between the 12th and 16th centuries. (4) most of the “professional” propagators of Islam came to the Archipelago in the 12th and 13th centuries. This shows the actual possibility that Islam was introduced to and existed in the Archipelago in

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<sup>47</sup> S.M. Naguib Al-'Aṭṭās, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: UKM, 1972), 33-34.

the first centuries of Hijriyyah, and the process of Islamization experienced acceleration between the 12th and 16th centuries<sup>48</sup>.

According to al-'Aṭṭās, since the 17th century, no literary evidence has been found from Indian authors or works originating from India. Some authors who are described as "Indians" or works "from India" by Western scholars are Arabic or Persian ethnically or culturally. The names of the early preachers also showed that they were Arabs or Persians. Some preachers included those who came through India, as some came directly from Arabia or through Persia and then through China. Some works were written in India, but their origins were Arab or Persian, or they can be Turkish or African (Maghrībī), and the most important thing is that their religious content in the Middle East, not India<sup>49</sup>. Thus, the Arab Theory was put forward by T.W. Arnold, Crawford, Keijzer, Niemann, De Hollander, al-'Aṭṭās, Hashimi, and Hamka.

### 3. Persian Theory

This Theory states that Islam that arrived in the Archipelago came from Persia, not India or Arabia. The Theory is based on the similarity of Persian cultural elements, especially Shi'ites, that exist within the Islamic cultural elements of the Archipelago, especially in Indonesia and Persia. Among the supporters of this Theory is Hoesin Djajadiningra, who stated three rationales. First, the teachings of Manunggaling Kawula Gusti by Sheikh Siti Jenar and Waḥdah al-Wujūd Hamzah al-Fansūrī in Islamic mysticism (Sufism) in Indonesia are the influence of Persian Sufism from the teachings of Persian waḥdah al-Wujūd al-Hallāj. Second is the use of the Persian terms in the system of spelling Arabic letters, especially for harakat sound markings in the teaching of the Qur'an such as the word "jabar" in Persian for the word "fathah" in Arabic, the word "jer" in Persian for "kasrah" in Arabic, and pes in Persian for "ḍammah" in Arabic. The third is the 10th anniversary of Muharram or 'Ashshūrā as a Shi'a memorial day for the shahid of

<sup>48</sup> Azra, *Edisi Perennial Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad VII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, 10–12.

<sup>49</sup> S.M. Naguib Al-'Aṭṭās, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of Malay-Indonesian Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1969), 25.



Husein bin Ali ibn Abi Talib in Karbala. This Persian Theory was refuted by Saifuddin Zuhri, who stated that Islam entered the Archipelago in the seventh century Hijriyah, which was the reign of the Umayyads, so Islam could not come from Persia at a time when political power was held by the Arabs<sup>50</sup>.

#### 4. Chinese Theory

This Theory is based on an argument that is relatively the same as the Persian Theory, i.e., the many elements of Chinese culture in some elements of Islamic culture in Indonesia. H.J. de Graaf, who has edited several Javanese Classical kinds of literature (Malay Annual Notes), shows the role of the Chinese people in the development of Islam in Indonesia. In his literature, it is mentioned that significant figures such as Sunan Ampel (Raden Rahmat/Bong Swi Hoo) and Raja Demak (Raden Fatah/Jin Bun) are Chinese descent. This view is supported by Slemat Muljana in his controversial book, *The Collapse of the Hindu Kingdom of Java and the Emergence of Islam Nusantara Countries*. Also, Denys Lombard shows the many Chinese cross-culture in various aspects of Indonesian life, such as food, clothing, language, art, buildings, and so on<sup>51</sup>.

### **The Main Path of Islamization through Islamic Education in Southeast Asia**

Islamization is a long ongoing process that lasts for centuries, even until today. Islamization, besides, has the meaning of inviting to embrace Islam. It also implies efforts to purify Islam from the elements of non-Islamic beliefs and strive for Islam to be carried out in various aspects of life, which include religion, economy, social culture, politics, legal rituals, and government.

Islamization in the Archipelago took place peacefully. This is due to Islamization in the region was carried out through the spread of Islamic teachings to the local population, whether through trade, marriage, Sufism, and Education. Islam can be readily accepted as a religion because Islam

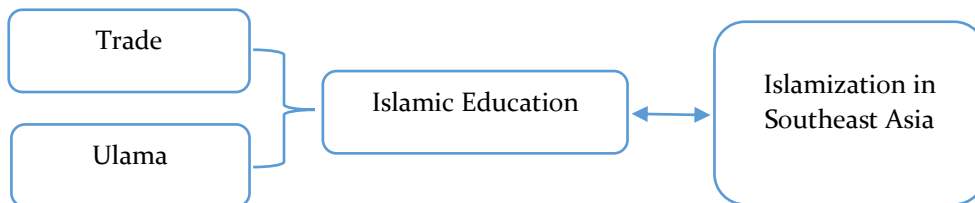
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<sup>50</sup> Natsir, "Sekilas Proses Masuknya Islam di Kalimantan Barat (Kalbar)," 52.

<sup>51</sup> Huda, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam di Indonesia*, 7-8.

teaches tolerance and equality, among others. Islam does not recognize the existence of caste or social stratification in society. Islam teaches that all humans are equal in society.

In the early stages of the spread of Islam, the process of Islamization was believed to occur through trade and marriage. The channel of



Islamization through this trade was very profitable because the kings and the aristocrats participated in trading activities. They even became trade owners and had their shares on ships. However, according to the author, Islamization was initially carried out through the channels of Education. Trade and marriage were the only influential variables that led to the process of Islamization. The actual variable that caused the Islamization process in the Archipelago is the Islamic education variable. This statement can be described as follows:

**Figure 1. Main lines of “Islamic Education” Islamization in Southeast Asia**

From Figure 1. it can be seen that trade and *ulama* were intermediary variables at the beginning of Islamization in the Archipelago. However, the primary variable was Islamic Education taught by *ulama* and traders who came to this area to the local population.

Most of the traders who come to the Archipelago have quite good knowledge about Islam so that they can introduce and teach Islam to the local population. As Abachi said, those who came to the Archipelago had various professions such as merchants, scholars, or Sufis, but they all had good knowledge about Islam, and they had a mission to spread Islam. Therefore, their activity in Islamization is Islamic Education. This shows that since the beginning of the arrival of Islam to the Archipelago, there has been a learning process carried out by Islamic propagators, either by those who work as traders, scholars, or Sufis.

Therefore, we conclude that Islamic Education in this study is the activities of Ulama in transferring intellectual knowledge and individual character. Education has a vital role in Islamization in the Southeast Asian region. This is because Education is a method used by Islamic propagators in the Islamization of the region. Education is the correct path in Islamization. They taught about Islam and, at the same time, provided examples and applications of Islamic teachings to the local population. Islamization through Education took place through the contacts of the Ulama with the community, after which they build a mosque as a place of Education and worship.

This indicates that at the beginning of the Islamization process, there had been an Islamic education process. Islamic Education in pre-Islamic times was inseparable from the process of Islamic development. Education is developing along with the process of Islamization in some areas that are part of the Archipelago, especially specific areas visited by preachers who also practiced the trade.

### **Political Development of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia**

To photograph how the political development of Islamic Education and the challenges facing Southeast Asian Islamic schools are, the book “Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia” is the main reference or primary data source in conducting analysis and discussing it with previous journal articles. This book is a compilation of the results of a research project funded by the National Bureau of Asian Research (N.B.R.) in Seattle, Washington, beginning from December 2004 to January 2007<sup>52</sup>.

This book outlines the political development of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia. Particularly in Muslim-majority countries, such as Malaysia (60%) and Indonesia (87.8%), added by Muslim minority countries, such as in Southern Thailand, the Philippines, and Cambodia.

The background of the emergence of research ideas began with the impact of terrorism, which resulted in Southeast Asia being labeled as Al-Qaeda’s right-hand man. Terrorism carried out by Abu Bakar Ba’asyir, who

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<sup>52</sup> Robert Hefner, *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia* (United States: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009).

was a graduate of Al-Mukmin Islamic boarding school, and other bomb terrorists have led Islamic Education in Southeast Asia to become a jihad training institution against the West under the Jemaah Islamiyah (J.I.) institution. This Western perception is further strengthened by the discovery of books about Al-Qaeda in two Islamic schools in Southern Thailand and the Muslim majority and other Muslim minority countries in Southeast Asia. Particularly in Malaysia and Indonesia, worries intensified when they prejudiced that educators began to incorporate the spirit of jihadism into the school curriculum.

Based on this issue, the National Bureau of Asian Research (N.B.R.) provides research funding to examine the political culture of Islamic schools in Southeast Asia. Some of the steps taken by Hefner et al. to prove the results of their research, i.e., first, they describe the diversity pattern of Islamic schools in Southeast Asia; and reinforce the assumption that the Middle East has a relationship and influence on the historical development of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia. Second, they look at the role of Muslims in the historical development of relations between the state and society since the colonial era. Third, they look at the dynamics of the role of Education in the Islamization effort that results in various forms of community patterns that continue to this day. Fourth, they analyze the typology of contemporary Islamic Education in various regions of Southeast Asia, and the efforts of Muslims in dealing with the issue of terrorism while maintaining and teaching religious teachings in the face of the modern era.

Next, Hefner et al. divided their tasks according to regional interests and their respective expertise. The researchers, who have backgrounds as anthropologists, Islamic Education, and politics, have made several findings. According to them, the development of Islamic Education in various countries in Southeast Asia has a close socio-historical background between one another.

For example, Kraince (2009) categorized Islamic Education in Malaysia. According to Kraince, the typology of Islamic Education in Malaysia can be categorized into two types, (1) traditional Islamic Education, which is very and more dominating, and (2) Islamic schools that are developed in a modern way. Initially, the education system used had similarities with Islamic schools in Indonesia. Malaysian Islamic leaders tend to side with and implement the

traditionalist education system of the Elders. They even avoided and prohibited general subjects if there was no written permission from the Sultan. However, after World War I, the Malaysian elite began to move and join the more modernist group of Young people. This is because elite leaders began to realize that Education organized by the British could provide great opportunities and the development of Islamic schools. Sometime later, the state became the main organizer of moral and religious education. Therefore, all students in Malaysia must take Islamic religion classes. As for non-Muslim citizens, the obligation must take moral education subjects.

Then in Southern Thailand, typologies of Islamic Education, according to Liow (2009), are categorized into two types, i.e. (1) Center for Islamic Learning or Islamic learning center, and (2) Pondok Educational Improvement Program. A total of 20 to 40 Islamic schools in Southern Thailand use the Wahabi learning system. This Salafi Wahabi does not distinguish between traditionalist and reformist scholars. This system ultimately affected the rapid growth of the Islam Tablighi Jamaat organization. However, when compared to Malaysia or Indonesia, Islamic Education held in Southern Thailand is in a 'less secure' country. Therefore, it cannot be said that schools are not the cause of discriminatory political violence against the people. However, Islamic Education remains an essential tool for Malay residents in Southern Thailand as a medium to distinguish between religious differences. This is also an effort to overcome the crisis that is currently plaguing regional conflicts in Thailand.

Next, in Cambodia, according to Blengli (2009), Islamic Education in Cambodia is only categorized into two forms, i.e. (1) Pondok and (2) Islamic school. Islamic Education in Cambodia arose from the influence of scholars who came from Malaysia and Southern Thailand. Cambodian Muslims have a unique village to memorize the Qur'an. However, they only have a few schools that can teach Islamic Sciences for the middle and upper levels. Therefore, ideas emerged to establish a *Pondok* as an effort to form educational institutions that also teach Islamic Sciences by using curriculum and textbooks. However, a few years later, new challenges emerged from the modernists who inspired the need for Islamic education reform; therefore, that the Islamic school was formed as an educational institution that combines general Education and religious Education.

Then in the Philippines, McKenna and Abdula (2009) categorized the typology of Islamic Education into two, (1) Pandhita School, and (2) Islamic school. Most Islamic schools in the Philippines are influenced by politics to become radical. There is plenty of evidence to indicate that the conflict in the south did not become an attempt to radicalize Islamic Education. Until the end of the 20th century, the Philippines did not have an Islamic educational institution for the middle to upper level when compared to *Islamic boarding school* or *Pondok*. However, the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) took action as an effort to strengthen Islamic Education in the Philippines by introducing an integrated curriculum that combines religious Education and General Education. Mindanao Muslims are also increasingly enthusiastic about reforming Islamic Education. Changes are also increasingly seen with many Mindanao Muslims returning from Mecca after performing the pilgrimage, then competing to build mosques and Islamic schools. Therefore, Islamic Education can be said as a close bond between the Philippines and the Middle East.

As for the case in Indonesia, Hefner classified the typology of Islamic educational institutions into three forms, i.e. (1) Qur'an study, devoted to reading and memorizing the Qur'an, but not yet to understanding; (2) Islamic schools, institutions to study and deepen Islamic understanding, and (3) Islamic schools as a new school that is equipped with facilities, such as classes, desks, blackboards, and so forth. This categorization illustrates that the development of Education in Indonesia is very complex and dynamic than other Muslim countries in Southeast Asia. This was preceded by a more developed Yellow Book curriculum in Indonesia, the emergence of ideological dualism between the reformist Young People, and the traditionalist Old People, which had an impact on the emergence of educational institutions in line with their respective ideologies.

The implementation of the development of Islamic Education in Indonesia, according to Hefner, has implications for changes in some aspects of the Islamic education system, such as the emergence of Education for women, adopting general Education, and the end of the dichotomy education system.

Islamic boarding school in Indonesia is a symbol of the success of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia that can maintain its education system.

One reason that can maintain an Islamic boarding school from the dynamics of change is the desire to continue to maintain a commitment to study classical texts.

However, around the 1910s, Islamic boarding schools began to experience changes by adopting a school education system. This has begun to be seen in several Islamic boarding school educational institutions, which have begun to introduce the use of classes and levels, as well as the implementation of Education for women.

Also, several Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra and Java began introducing several 'secular' courses in their teaching curriculum, such as mathematics, History, English, and science. Furthermore, around the 1950s, Islamic boarding schools began to compete in introducing non-religious Education in their teaching curriculum by building Islamic schools within the Islamic boarding schools.

Changes in Islamic Education continue until the end of the dualism of the education system. In 1975, through the stipulation of the Three Ministers Decree, religious Education in Indonesia was in line with general Education. This means that students study not only religious education but also general education. The comparison of the percentage is 30% religion, and 70% general education has an influence on curriculum changes, both in Islamic schools and public schools. The adoption of the Decree of the Three Ministerial Decrees carries a goal, i.e., that graduates of Islamic schools must have the same capabilities and rights to continue their Education to higher Education (universities).

However, not all Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia follow amendments to the law that recommends reforming the education system that applies a combined curriculum. Some Islamic boarding schools, for example, Lirboyo in Kediri, still apply their curriculum in the education system. This is what led to the division of Islamic boarding schools between the salaf Islamic boarding school, which teaches explicitly religious Education and the Khalaf Islamic boarding school, which combines the curriculum with the national curriculum.

In the development of Islamic schools in Indonesia, according to Hefner, since the 1900s have in common with the political Theory of "social

movements.” This social movement not only educates students but also forms a network of social ideologies that will later influence social transformation, even the state. This can be seen from the addition of vocational program material in the ongoing curriculum at that time. For example, social movements in P.K.S. and Hidayatullah target schools that influence the teaching curriculum of each institution.

The thing that needs to be underlined, according to Hefner is, since 1990, there are still some schools that still implement traditional systems and are far from the development and interference of politics and society. Besides, only a few of them follow the example of the figure of Abu Bakar Ba’asyir, who has ambitions to revolutionize the country and society. The growing generation of Islamic schools teaches even more about what is more needed to build a peaceful country and society. For example, at the end of this year, a new Islamic school emerged, known as the Integrated Islamic School, which became one of the new Islamic schools that experienced rapid development after the Soeharto era.

Early in the 20th century, there were still movements that claimed that nationalism conflicted with Islam, just as it was echoed by the Islamic Union (Persis). Although the schools that they build do not teach about violence, most teach that nationalism is not appropriate to be the basis of the state. This understanding was later developed with the emergence of the Islamic political party Hizbut-Tahrir, which initially started from the History of the emergence of Darul Islam (DI), who held fast and wanted to build an Islamic state in Indonesia.

Abu Bakar Ba’asyir’s Islamic boarding school is one of the Islamic boarding schools that applies this understanding. Therefore, the curriculum used is also radical. However, Ba’asyir and Sungkar were not radicals, but modernist conservatives. This is because they are graduates of the Gontor boarding school, which adheres to the modern curriculum, and the conservative Al-Mukmin boarding school. However, according to Hefner, Ngruki, and al-Mukmin Islamic boarding school graduates were not entirely radical and opposed to nationalism. From the results of his research in 2003, of the seven students graduating from the Islamic boarding schools, five of them were not radical and were not interested in joining groups who wanted to establish an Islamic state.



Another group that disagrees with nationalism but does not interfere in state affairs is the Salaf-Wahabi movement. Their fostered schools are spread throughout Indonesia but have limitations in social movements. This school has a relationship and is directly funded by Salafi-Wahabis in Saudi Arabia. In contrast to Saudi Arabia, in Indonesia, this movement was inspired by Saudi Salafists whose movements were not ambitious to establish an Islamic state, but rather the application of Islamic law in daily life. They are usually seen from a conservative way of dress and have gender restrictions. For example, women are characterized by wearing niqab if they are in a public place, while men are characterized by wearing a white turban, jalabiyya, and isbal, as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. According to them, committing to wearing jalabiyya and niqab is more important than taking part in politics.

Through this social movement phenomenon, according to Hefner, Muslim educators are faced with a variety of questions relating to democracy, pluralism, non-Muslims, and women's issues. The feeling of a dilemma arises even more between maintaining the spirit of nationalism, caring for the motherland, and establishing Islamic law and establishing an Islamic state. To address the concerns of these educators, Hefner worked together to survey with the Center for Study of Islam and Society (PPIM). The survey results show that 71.6% of the general public and 85.9% of educators agree that democracy is the best foundation for the Indonesian state. They also agreed that the state must be based on the Qur'an and Sunnah and implement Islamic law. However, if it is connected with an Islamic state, only less than 30% support an Islamic political party. According to Hefner, this implies that the Indonesian Islamic community does believe that Islamic law is a guide from God that needs to be upheld. However, if it is connected with radical groups and the application of Islamic law as a whole, there are still many of them who choose to use the politics of constitutional law in Indonesia.

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the equality of socio-historical backgrounds in various Islamic countries in Southeast Asia has increasingly strengthened the role of the Old and Young People, i.e., the beginning of the idea of the emergence of modern-day school (Islamic school) is the idea of the Youth. They oppose taqlid (Old People) and prioritize ijtihad.

## Islamic Schools in Southeast Asia

Islamic school is the latest typology of Islamic schools that emerged in the 20th century in Malay lands. This Islamic school adopts a modern education system, such as a curriculum, a class system, and exams. The first Islamic school to emerge was Al-Iqbal Islamic school in 1907 in Singapore, which then spread to the Malacca peninsula in the 1930s (Kushimoto, 2012).

Also, these reform movements in Islamic Education were socialized among Muslims at first in the Middle East during the Hajj season. Mecca was a gathering place for ideas that came from all parts of the Islamic world. Then, Mecca became a very dominant center for spreading ideas, as well as a melting pot area, which brought together a variety of ideas and sharing opinions.

Therefore, when viewed from relations between Southeast Asia and the Middle East, it has indeed occurred for a long time. This relationship is also explained in the book of Daulay (2009), which divides Southeast Asia and the Middle East into three lines. First, the relationship of worship, i.e., Mecca, is a place to hold the pilgrimage. Second is its relationship in terms of Mecca as a place to study. Therefore, since the 16th century, many people from Southeast Asia continued their studies to Mecca and settled for years there and then returned to Southeast Asia. Third, the relationship is seen from the perspective of the many Middle Eastern scholars who came to Southeast Asia who acted as missionaries, educators, and teachers.

Although this book is a collection of research results in various countries in Southeast Asia, which certainly has different cultural and geographical backgrounds, this book has a common thread that can connect and illustrate the socio-historical relevance between countries in Southeast Asia. In the field of Islamic Education, Southeast Asia, in contemporary times, is experiencing development and bringing new colors in the practice of Islamic Education. For example, in Indonesia, which is not only known by the existence of Islamic boarding schools, Islamic Education also began to develop with the existence of Islamic boarding schools, which is also competing to give their best to produce students in line with Islamic law. Therefore, the impact of modernization in Islamic Education is very influential and an essential role in national development.

Besides, in the case in Indonesia, other efforts that have developed, particularly in Islamic Schools, are the emergence of Integrated Islamic Schools (SDIT) from various levels, from elementary schools to secondary schools. There is also a Salafi Islamic school that has a Wahabism style, which is pioneered by Wahabi Salafis from the Middle East, who have a distinctive curriculum. These schools strive to integrate two different curricula, i.e., the national curriculum and a separate curriculum through one of its flagship programs such as the Qur'anic tahfidz program.

The development of Islamic schools above further strengthens that, from an ideological standpoint, Southeast Asia has a close relationship with the Middle East. Therefore, schools that have sprung up have begun to give their colors and patterns through superior programs in order to attract public interest to send their children to the school. Not only in terms of ideology, even at the political level, but the school is also the object of developing its role as a social movement that will produce a generation that develops in line with its ideology.

## **Conclusion**

Based on the results, this study proves, first, that trade and scholars are intermediary variables at the beginning of Islamization in the Archipelago. Then, the primary variable is the Islamic Education taught by scholars and traders who come to this region and introduced it to the local population. Second, the development of Islamic Education is different from one country to another. This is undoubtedly influenced by the geographical location, the culture of society, to politics that influence the existence of these differences. Third, school development, especially in Indonesia, is understood as a social movement that not only succeeded in educating students but also formed a network of social ideologies that would later influence social transformation—even national development. The implications of this study provide a deeper understanding of the History and dynamics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia.

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