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From Abdulhamid II until Erdoğan: Pan-Islamism Movement in Indonesia and Turkey

Cover Page Footnote

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ABDULHAMID II AND PAN-ISLAMISM MOVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA (1876-1909)

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Abstract

This paper investigates the relationship between Indonesia and Turkey in the late nineteenth century, especially in the era of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) in the framework of Pan-Islamism approach. Pan-Islamism term has been explored by scientiests in the Western or non-Western world. Mostly, scientiests consider that Pan-Islamism is the act of radical in order to to West domination in Muslim countries. In this paper author argues that Pan-Islamism is not a conservative ideology to expell West domination, but the approach adopted by Muslims in order to adapt with global challange since nineteenth century. This paper is written from historical approach and based on primary and secondary sources. Ottoman Turkish documents, manuscripts, and Turkish literature played important role to achieve the aim of this paper. It concludes that Abdulhamid II's policy in Southeast Asia was influenced by the social and political dynamic in Southeast Asia. His policy played a mere symbolic role, as manifested by his appointment of the Ottoman consul in Batavia and the creation of educational facilities for Jawi students.

Keywords: Abdhulhamid II, Pan-Islamism, Indonesia, Turkey

Abstrak

Tulisan ini mengkaji hubungan antara Indonesia dan Turki pada akhir abad ke-19, khususnya pada era Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) dalam kerangka pendekatan Pan-Islamisme. Istilah Pan-Islamisme telah dieksplorasi oleh para ilmuwan di dunia Barat atau non-Barat. Sebagian besar ilmuwan menganggap bahwa Pan-Islamisme adalah tindakan radikal untuk mendominasi dominasi Barat di negara-negara Muslim. Dalam tulisan ini penulis berpendapat bahwa Pan-Islamisme bukanlah ideologi konservatif untuk mengusir dominasi Barat, tetapi pendekatan yang diadopsi oleh umat Islam untuk beradaptasi dengan tantangan global sejak abad kesembilan belas. Makalah ini ditulis dari pendekatan sejarah dan berdasarkan sumber primer dan sekunder. Dokumen, manuskrip, dan literatur Turki Utsmaniyah memainkan peran penting untuk mencapai tujuan makalah ini.

Kata Kunci: Abdulhamid II, Pan-Islamisme, Indonesia, Turki

INTRODUCTION

Final statement signed by several Istanbul physicians declaring it unlikely that Murat would ever recover. The next day, all notable dignitaries assembled in the Imperial Works on Sultan Abdulhamid II have been analyzed and written about by many historians. Such writings covering the rule of Sultan Abdulhamid II impart a

comprehensive view of the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Ottoman Empire, in the late ninteenth century, experienced several changes. Inside the Ottoman domain, modernisation efforts produced changed to several aspects of life. In the education field, in order to adapt to the changes of the outside world, the Ottoman Empire established schools exemplifying a modern ethos. Beyond Ottoman's core determine the future of the ancient Ottoman dynasty founded in the late medieval period. Sultan Abdulhamid II was a sultan who—both during periods of strengths and weaknesses—ruled the Ottoman empire in the late nineteenth century. The long lasting reign of Abdulhamid (1876-1909) has attracted researchers to scrutinize all aspects of the Hamidian era. The most interesting topic of the Hamidian era is Pan-Islamism policy. Historians such as Jacob Landau, Cezmi Eraslan and Azmi Ozcan have extensively scrutinized Pan-Islamism policy, but few historians have examined Pan-Islamism in Southeast Asia. Several historians have attempted to reconstruct and investigate the relationship between Ottoman and Southeast Asia, either from the historical point of view of Ottoman or of Southeast Asia. Even in Cezmi Eraslan and Kemal Karpat's works which focus on Abdulhamid II and the Pan-Islam policy, they write about the Ottomans by emphasizing the role of the Sultan in Istanbul, ignoring the social and political context in Southeast Asia (Eraslan 1992; Karpat 2001). That is why the role of Hadrami communities is only considered by political agents such as Abdurahman al-Zahir and Seyyid Fadl Pasha. How Hadrami communities developed an entirely significant role through marriage, education, and trade was almost ignored. Cemil Aydın (2007) contributes alternative notions about Pan Islamism and Pan Asianism, but he does not focus on Southeast Asia. Southeast Asian states are only mentioned in passing in the context of the Aceh War. Anthony Reid (2003a) and Michael Laffan (2003a) scrutinize Pan-Islam from the Southeast Asian perspective. They discuss how Ottoman-Turkey influenced Southeast Asians; however, they ignore the internal dynamics of the Ottomans in the

domains—Istanbul and Anatolia—the Empire had to face the pressure of political changes from western states. Crises in the Balkans and Arab states caused Ottoman to adapt to the new balance of the power in the world. Wars and rebellions in the Ottoman realm had influenced Ottoman attitudes in the international political arena. Such attitudes—and the policies they produced—would

nineteenth century, so according to their works, the Islamic movement in Southeast Asia still focused on the intellectual connection between Hijaz and Southeast Asia, thanks to Islamic scholars such as Ahmad Khatib, Imam Nawawi Banten, etc.

In 2015, the British Academy published a remarkable work on the history of the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Southeast Asia. However, according to writers contributing in the publication, there is none who wants to focus on the Hamidian period. Only one article written by İsmail Hakkı Kadı emphasizes Ottoman interest in Southeast Asia pre-dating the Hamidian period (Kadı 2015 Ch.VII).1 Although many writers focus excessively on the Hamidian period, the Hamidian period is an important phase in the relationship between the Ottomans and Southeast Asia. In this period, there was a symbiotic mutualism between the Ottomans and Southeast Asians. Accordingly, the Hamidian period is a complicated period. It is unclear whether the Hadrami voice was the Ottoman voice or the Southeast Asian voice: even the position of Hadhrami as collaborators in the Ottoman bid to renew the Caliph's socio-religion needs to be evaluated further (Wells 2015, Ch. V) because, at the time, the social structure of Southeast Asians was still under negotiation. In addition, Hadhrami communities had complex activities in the Indian Ocean, and we cannot impose the Hadhrami stand on either the Ottoman or the Southeast Asian side. They spread across the Indian Ocean with various motivations, purposes and backgrounds (Berg 2010; Bang 2005; Ho 2006).

METHOD

This paper attempts to reconstruct, investigate Ottoman Empire policy in Southeast Asia especially with respect to the Hamidian era. It will cover the relationship between Ottoman and Southeast Asia from the Ottoman perspective and transnational approach2, especially during Abdulhamid II's reign.

[1] In the article, Kadı argues that "nineteenth-century awakening of Ottoman interest in the wider Islamic world in general, and in Southeast Asia especially, pre-dates the Hamidian era. Moreover, Ottoman involvement in Southeast Asia in this period was not inaugurated by the Ottomans, but was prompted by various initiatives from the region." It seems that Kadı ignores the Hamidian period because he would like to pose Hadhrami initiatives in order to create Southeast Asian voices in Istanbul and avoid the excessive emphasis placed on Abdulhamid II (1876–1909).

[2] Global History provides several approaches such as comparative history, transnational history, world-systems theory, postcolonial studies, and multiple modernity. This study attempts to use transnational approach to reconstruct and investigate relationship between Ottoman and Southeast Asia in Hamidian Period (1876-1909). By doing so, it gives particular attention to the role of mobility, circulation and transferred. (Conrad 2016)

Abdulhamid II was viewed as a dictatorial ruler because he censored press and abolished parliament. Additionally, Abdulhamid was also considered as a mediator of modernity for the Muslim world. He built a modern education system and invited foreign students from other states to travel to Istanbul. Such students enjoyed a modern education in Istanbul.

In this paper, the author argues that to view the Ottoman policy in Southeast Asia is to integrate the dynamics of the Ottoman government in Istanbul with the social and political structure in Southeast Asia. Secondly, the Hadhrami role in the relationship between the Ottomans and Southeast Asia is complicated. They cannot be viewed simply either as Ottoman voices in Southeast Asia or Southeast Asian voices in Istanbul because they had complex roles. Even the Hadhrami position must be evaluated further. Rather than considering the Hadhrami as mediators or collaborators, the author considers the Hadhrami as agents of modernization, because they had complex roles in regions of the Indian Ocean, especially in Southeast Asia. Thirdly, the existence of the Ottoman policy in Southeast Asia stimulated colonial governments, such as the Dutch, to launch modernization policies such as the Ethical Policy in the Dutch East Indies. In this paper, the author also emphasizes that the role of Istanbul as the central authority over Southeast Asia was not isolated: although Abdulhamid II had a pivotal role in waging his policy, the social and political dynamics of Southeast Asia played an important role too. This paper will scrutinize Ottoman policy and ideology in Southeast Asia amidst global. change in the Muslim world. Colonialism, technology, and international politics will be important factors in scrutinizing Ottoman policy and ideology in Southeast Asia.

DISCUSSION

International Politics And Pan-Islamism

Prior to the Hamidian era, Ottomans—especially in the elite circle of Istanbul—had started a debate about how Ottoman might be inspired by the West as a model for civilization3. Ottoman thinkers were looking for a formula for creating a new adaptable society in line with world conditions. This debate was initiated by intellectuals holding positions of statemen such as ambassadors. The role of ambassador became a pivotal position in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century because, at that time, Ottoman needed a political tool for fostering diplomacy. The Empire abandoned

[3] To understand how West civilization occupied the world, see (Ferguson 2012)

military policy in favour of the conduct of diplomatic activities. An important term introduced into intellectual debate by Ottoman officials such as ambassadors was 'civilization'. The first usage of the world civilization in Turkish text was dated 1834. The user was the Ottoman Ambassador to Paris, Mustafa Reşid Paşa, who included the word in some of his despatches; although not translated, it had a similiar pronounciation to sivilizasyon (Palabıyık 2010,168). Since then, debates were conducted on the quest for the concept of civilization which debates continued until the decline of the Empire. The emergence of the civilization concept in Ottoman signalled that Ottoman was looking for the road to modernization. The modern state became the goal of Ottoman policy and Europe became the focus of empire.

The term civilization came to the Ottoman Empire as a multilayer concept because it was influenced by the social and political situation in Europe and as well as the Ottoman world. Civilization in the western historical context creates segregation between state and religion. Religion was viewed as an obstacle to progress. Ottoman intellectuals argued vigorously in favour of the separation of church and state4. Reaction to the civilization debate split into two divisions: those who were receptive to western values and those who wanted to mix western value with other influences such as that of Islam.

The debate about civilization continued until the late ninteenth century. The political situation for Ottoman at the time was very complicated. Wars and rebellions in several areas such as in the Balkans created inauspicious conditions. Conflicts occurred not only outside but also inside the empire. In a matter of months, Ottoman had three sultans. Political intrigue inside the palace caused instability. In May 1876, Sultan Abdulaziz was deposed from the throne and Murat V replaced him as Sultan, (Shaw and Kural Shaw 2005, 163). However, Murat V's position as Sultan lasted only several months because, according to a Viannese doctor, Murat V was depressed and nervous. Afterward şeyhülislam issued a fetva justifying the act on grounds of

[4] Among the intellectuals who were fully receptive to western values was Ibrahim Şinasi. Characteristic of Şinasi's perception of civilization was his clear association of civilization with Europe. According to Şinasi, civilization could be transplanted only from Europe. In opposition to Şinasi's opinion was Ahmet Cevdet Paşa who was very wary of European civilization, a position which placed him at the opposite end of the spectrum from the pro-European elements who espoused western values. His perception of the concept of civilization was quite in line with that of Ibn Khaldun (Palabıyık.2010).

insanity, which was supported by a medical Council rooms of the Topkapı Palace. Murat was deposed, and all swore loyality to Abdulhamid II (Shaw and Kural Shaw 2005, 163).

The early reign of Abdulhamid II was reminiscent of the modern state. Prior to Abdulhamid II, Sulltan Abdulaziz (1861-1876) had faced opposition from the pro-constitution faction in the empire. Several Ottoman elites demanded that Ottoman adopt a constitution to sustain modern life. The Constitution was seen as the solution to several problems. Midhat Pasha, who served briefly as grand vizier, sought to separate religion from politics aiming to convert the caliphate into a national government guaranteed by parliamentary institutions (Farah 2008, 10-11). After helping Abdulhamid to ascend to the throne, he and Abdulhamid opened Ottoman to the parliamentary tradition for the first time. However, due to unstable political conditions, Abdulhamid was constrained to abolish parliament.

Abdulhamid II ruled Ottoman in conditions of instability. In 1897, he was obliged to face the threat posed by Greece. The war which developed with Greece undermined the stability of both the political system and the economy. In the nineteenth century, Abdulhamid also had to face rebellion and national debt which amounted to 2.528.010.85 Ottoman liras. Following organization of the Public Debt Commission, the debt was reduced to 106.437.234 Ottoman liras (Farah 2008, 13). The shortage of Ottoman financial Resources did not make elites such Midhat Pasha be aware (Farah 2008, 14). Shaw shows that Russian strategy in the west was to cross the Balkan Mountains and advance as rapidly as possible on Istanbul and the Straits. At the same time—with a view to forcing the Porte to accept the proposals it had rejected at the Istanbul Conference—Russia moved into northeastern Anatolia, taking Kars, Ardahan, and Erzurum (Shaw & Kural Shaw 2005, 183). In the Hamidan era, these teritorial losses included the following regions: Cyprus (British administration under Ottoman sovereignity,1878), Ardahan, Batum, and Kars (Russia, 1878), Montenegro, Romania and Serbia (all gaining independence in 1878), Austro-Hongaria (annexation 1908), Tunisia (Frenceh protectorate,1881), Egypt (British occupation 1882), Crete (Great powers impose autonomy 1898), and Bulgaria (independence 1908) (Aksakal 2008, 5). These problems could not be

separated from religion, ethnicity and provincial power. Rebellion in the Balkan areas showed that Christians no longer wanted to join Ottoman. Even Russia emerged as a new patron of Orthodox Christianity.

According to myth, legend, and history, criticisms of religious power emerged in the nationalist agenda prior to the Ottoman period. According to these sources, Ottoman always sought the best format for sustaining modernization. It had to choose, therefore, whether to become a multireligious empire that could support the Christian minority in Anatolia and majority in Rumelia or to become the patron of Muslims in Anatolia and in other areas such as South Asia and Southeast Asia. On the other hand, the Russo-Ottoman War 1877-1878, that had been accompanied by religious tension, had resulted in population change. Due to the loss of territory heavily populated by Christians and to the influx of Muslim refugees, the Muslim proportion of the Ottoman population had—according to the general censuses of 1881/2-1893 (Hanioğlu, 2008, 130)—grown to 73.3 percent. The war had sharpened the demarcation lines between religion, language and ethnicity that had shaped the future of nation states following the decline of the Empire. Nationalism and religion had intertwined becoming a catalyst in bringing about social and political change. The attitudes of non-Muslims toward Muslims in territories heavily populated by Christians showed how the war and rebellion had involved religious sentiment. Christians were seen as disloyal members of the Empire, especially following the independence of Greek and Serb. The independence or autonomy of Christian territories drove the Muslim minority from the Balkan areas to Anatolia. Ottoman statistics shows that, in the late Ottoman period, the total of Muslims in the population had increased. In 1893, the Muslim population was 12.587.137 people; meanwhile, the total of non-Muslims was 4.811.625 (Sonyel 1993, 260). According to the available evidence, Abdulhamid II had to persuade Muslims to be loyal to the palace, and to convince them that their enemy had a strong ideology and identity that contradicted palace ideology. From this point onwards, Abdulhamid, perceptively had regard to Muslims' background and the history of their oppression in Christian territories. From this background, Pan-Islamism ideology emerged as the medium of solidarity and loyalty.

Conditions of instability, either outside or inside the palace, made Abdulhamid II anxious and suspicious. He had to appear

strong to in order to preside over the vulnerable empire. To create stability in the empire, Abdulhamid II rendered Pan-Islamism as the medium for guaranteeing the loyalty of the Muslim population. According to this view, Abdulhamid had to evidence his superiority, chastity and piety to Muslims across the world. Manipulating Islamic sentiment became a principle of Ottoman foreign policy in colonial states such as Southeast Asia which were under colonialist pressure.

Pan-Islamism was used to balance the influence of international politics in the world. In the late nineteenth century, Ottoman, in international affairs, depended on its relationship with European states such as Great Britain. Colonialism and occupation had been important issues for the Muslim world; however, Ottoman had to be pragmatic amidst offers and demands by European states in the international arena. As mentioned by Hanioğlu, Abdulhamid II pursued a pragmatic policy of noncommitment. As the empire was militarily weak and domestically vulnerable, Ottoman leverage over the other Great Powers consisted in exploiting their common fear of a disruption of the balance of power in Europe as a result of any power gaining control or influence over the Ottoman territories (Hanioğlu 2008, 129).

During several Ottoman wars, European states had been invited to intervene with Ottoman positions. Ottoman had also been compelled to enter the Crimean war that ultimately culminated in the Treaty of Paris (1856). This treaty had guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but after 1870, following the unification of Germany, European states started to re-design their positions. Having been defeated by Prusia in 1871, France was obliged to concentrate on its internal affairs. England softened its approach towards the Middle East— which region had exposed Ottoman to Russian pressure. Russia had already been pursuing Pan-Slavic ambitions in the Ottoman Balkans (Özcan 1997, 41). Russian ambitions in the Ottoman Empire had yielded the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-1888 (Shaw and Kural Shaw 2005, 183). In the Russia-Ottoman war, the Sultan declared jihad against Russia (Shaw and Kural Shaw 2005, 183). Next to Russia, Ottoman saw British as the most dangerous state. In 1878, British took Cyprus and, in 1882, attacked Egypt (Engin 2005, 25). Because Ottoman viewed Russia, British, Italia and French as dangerous, the Empire sought an alliance with Germany (Engin 2005, 27).

In parallel with European intervention, Abdulhamid II created Pan-Islamism as an ideology mobilising people to oppose

western intervention. If we look at the history of Islam, prophet Muhammad had bounded all Muslims by the one concept of umma. Pan-Islamism became significant when it arose in the nineteenth century in an international political context. At the same time, there were also other political movements such as 'Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism'. With respect to Pan-Islamism, several writers have written on its central tenets. Vambrey ventured that there were two elements to Pan-Islamism: the conversion of 'Western' to 'Muslims states'5 and the expansion of communication in the modern period (Türköne-Özdağ 1993, 44). The majority of writers link anti-Westernism with Pan-Islamic policy. In the Netherland East Indies, Snouck Hurgronje became an important figure who warned of the dangers posed by Pan-Islamism to colonial governments. However, in this regard, it must be said that an anti-Westernist attitude also surfaced in noncolonized states such as Ottoman and Japan (Aydın 2007, 2). Therefore, anti-Westernism does not always occur in the context of colonialism. According to this argument, Pan-Islamism emerged in Ottoman and Pan Asia in Japan as a project for criticizing Eurocentric modernity. In the Ottoman context, the Pan-Islamic project could not be separated from the dynamic political and social conditions such as the influx of Muslim populations from the Balkans to Anatolia.

Abdulhamid advocated the strenghtening of Islamic ties with all Muslims in China Africa, India and Persia (Farah 2008, 99). In India, from 1849, Ottoman had appointed consuls. The presence of consuls was of great value for the Ottomans in obtaining first-hand, inside information regarding Indian Muslims and their attitude toward the Empire. Abdul Hak Hamid was a famous Turkish poet who served as the consul general at Bombay in 1883. He wrote:

"India is providing a new horizon to the political ideas in my mind…The khilafat, here, is the only means to accomplish the most sacred idea of unity. We…must be able to be more awake than the English so that it would be possible to make use of this medium" (Özcan 1997, 111-115).

To preserve Ottoman populations especially the Muslim majority in settled areas such as the Arab world, India and the Melayu kingdom, Abdulhamid II used the caliph title or the appellation "The Shelter of the Caliphate" (Hilafetpenah) (Hanioğlu 2008, 128). The caliph was the title used after Yavuz Sultan Selim (Selim I)

[5] I use 'western' and 'Muslims' here according to Vambrey's text. I do not intend to use arguments that 'west' and 'Muslims' are analogical to 'us-them'.

conquered Egypt in the sixteenth century6. Following the fall of Cairo, Selim I captured al-Mutawakkil, a descendant of Abassid caliphate (Eraslan 1992, 194). According to the historical record, Selim I installed himself as Caliph of Muslims. This title continued from generation to generation. In the period of Suleiman the Lawgiver, Selim I had the title of "hilafet-i Kubra". An agreement concluded between Ottoman and the ruler of Iran, Esref Han, affirmed the Ottoman ruler or Sultan as Caliph of Muslims (Emecen 2010, 322). The use of the title of Caliph always seemed to occur in conditions of crisis in Ottoman such as the period of Selim I. The latter used Caliph to counter Ismail from Safavid who collaborated with the Portuguese. This title was also revived under Sultan Abdulhamid II to bound Muslims as ummah amidst the crisis in the Balkan areas.

Islamic tendency was reflected in the first Ottoman constitution, adopted shortly after Abdulhamid's accession to the throne (Özcan 1997,40). According to Abdulhamid II, caliphate had four functions. First, "halifenin bir sözü bütün Müslümanları harekete geçirmeğe kafidir". (Caliphate institution is useful for mobilizing the solidarity of Muslims.) For instance, in the 93 war, Indian Muslims sent aid to Ottoman. Second, "Halife ünvanı dolasıyla Müslüman sömürgeleri olan İngiltere, Fransa, Rusya ve Hollanda karşısında kuvvetli durumdayız". (Caliphate is useful for fighting against colonial powers such as British, France, Rusia, and the Netherlands.) Landau argues that support for Abdulhamid's claim (as caliph) seemed more likely in his own time than previously as a result of foreign agression against Muslim lands (Landau 1990, 36). Third, "halifelik makamı Müslümanların hamisi olmak hasebiyle gruplar arasındaki anlaşmazlıkları çözmelidir". (Calip title, he may solve matters giving rise to misunderstandings among Muslims). Fourth, "Halife dine müteallik her hususta ve İslam aleminin her meselesinde ilk mercidir". (Caliph is the first authority for solving religious and other problems affecting Muslims) (Eraslan 1992, 199-200). Kemal Karpat rejects one of those functions. He argues that Abdulhamid II used the caliphate not only to unify Ottoman Muslims but also as an instrument for legitimizing his reforms, which produced profound changes in practically all fields of activity. At the

[6] In the early Ottoman period, especially before the fall of Constantinople in 1453, there was a *ghazi* concept of the Ottoman ruler spreading Islam in Anatolia and Central Asia. After Ottoman conquered Cairo in 1517, Sherif Mecca Berekat sent his son, Abu al-Numai to Cairo. This symbolized the obedience of Mecca-Medina (the holy cities of Islam) to the new ruler. He presented Ka'bah's key and holy stuffs as special gifts (*hediye*) to Selim I. (Emecen 2010).

same time, Karpat maintains that Abdulhamid II sought to maintain friendly relations with England and France which were effectively seeking to partition the Ottoman territories (Karpat 2001, 15). At times, the exigencies of international affairs caused Abdulhamid to adopt policies which were not in harmony with his Islamic ideas.

Motivated by Islamic zeal, Sultan Abdulhamid II issued policies to foster Islamic ideology. An array of different measures were adopted: increasing of nominations of devout Muslims to both the upper levels of the state bureaucracy and of the Sultan's court; appointing of qadis, teachers, and other Ulemas, in both the empire and in the territories which Ottoman had lost; increasing of pensions and salaries for Ulema; revival of religious institutions and construction of new ones; inauguration of religious schools and introduction of lessons in Islam into other schools; increasing of contributions to religious fraternities and charities; printing and distribution free of charge, or at low cost, basic books on Islam; and, introducing free school for Muslim families coming to Istanbul (Landau 1990, 38). In the Hamidian era, newspapers with Islamic ideology view emerged. Istanbul became the centre of political Islamic propaganda.

Media became a tool for propagating Pan-Islamism. Upon the accesion of Abdulhamid II to the throne in 1876, there were some 107 newspapers and periodicals in the Ottoman Empire (Landau 1990, 38). Newspapers in Istanbul reported news on Muslim matters. Prior to the Hamidian era, the Ottoman newspaper, Basiret, reported on Dutch aggression in Aceh or in the Aceh War. The Ottoman embassy in Batavia became the source of news regarding the war (Ozay 2011, 281). Prior to the Hamidian era, an awareness had already emerged of the necessity for keeping people informed about Muslim matters. However, in the Hamidian era, Islamic propaganda reached its peak. In Istanbul, a newaspaper, named Osmanlı, published from 29 July 1880 to 29 July 1885—although basically dedicated to serving the Ottoman Empire—asserted that it was aiming to defend the fatherland, familiy, and religion—the latter evidently referring to Islam (Landau 1990, 58). Other newspapers such as Malumat, Peik Islam, al-Jawaib, and Nibras al-Mashariqa wa'l Maghriba, also aimed at propagating Islamism. These publications used varied languages such as Arabic. Pan-Islamism and anti-colonialism ideology could not be excluded from the technological advances of print media in the global world. Media provided integrated-knowledge from

Istanbul, Cairo, Tunisia, India, Sumatra, and Java etc.

Colonial governments such as the Dutch administration felt anxious about the development of media among indigenous populations. Ironically, the most avid consumers of Abdulhamid II's Pan-Islamic rhetoric abroad were not Muslims but Europeans. Pundits such as Valentine Chirol and Gabriel Charmers strove to convince their readers of the grave dangers posed by Pan-Islamism (Hanioğlu 2008, 131) In the Netherland East Indies, Snouck Hurgronje downplayed the fears that he had peddled in the press on either side of his journey to Mecca. He had come to see tariqa Sufism as less of a globally coordinated threat than an antiquated form of folk practice (Laffan 2014b, Ch I).

Finally, Pan Islamism was a primary tool used by Abdulhamid to create policies in every field. He also harbored the design to build a brotherhood policy with Asian states such as China, Japan and Southeast Asia (Engin 2005, 28)7. He further aspired to establish Ottoman sovereignity over the whole world with his title, Caliph. He also used Pan-Islamism to defend Ottoman in the fight against rebellion and Western anexation. Abdulhamid Islamic policy was established not only inside—but also outside—the Ottoman domain. Southeast Asia became a targeted area for propagating Islamic policy because Abdulhamid had both idealistic and pragmatic aims in Southeast Asia. As Caliph, he had to defend Muslim land from colonialist aggression. Prior to the Hamidian era, several pleas came from Southeast Asian for help against colonial powers. Not only did such people raise pleas in the fight against western powers but also appealed for aid in their efforts against other Southeast Asian kingdoms. In this paper, author does not only emphasize the role of Istanbul as central authority over Southeast Asia. Although Abdulhamid II had pivotal role to wage his policy, social and political dynamic of Southeast Asia played important role also.

Consuls And Donation

The concept of caliphate in the Hamidian era brought several impacts to the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Abdulhamid II declared that he was caliph and protector of Muslims in the world. The declaration of caliph had a great impact on all Ottoman policies, including foreign policy. Sultan Abdulhamid II felt obliged to protect

[7] Abdulhamid sent teachers (*hoca*) from Fatih Mosque in Istanbul to China to teach Chinesse Muslims in 1907 (Engin 2005).

Muslims, not only in—but beyond— the Ottoman domain. He not only gave attention to pivotal areas of the Ottoman domain such as the Balkans and the Middle East that had been encroached upon by European states, but also gave close scrutiny to predominantly Muslim areas and also to Muslims who lived in occupied areas. He wanted to conduct state affairs in accordance with Islam (Karpat 2001, 177). Sultan Abdulhamid considered that the title of Ottoman Sultan had to take second place; he was obliged to give to priority to ummah because he was a caliph—the protector of Muslims in the world.

To be a caliph, one was obliged to protect Muslims from dangers such as colonialism, exortion, injustice, and war. In Southeast Asia, Muslims experienced bad conditions caused by colonialism. The authority of local Muslim rulers such as kings or sultans had been usurped by colonial powers such as the Dutch and British. Several pleas by Southeast Asian Muslim rulers for assistance against colonialism were sent to Istanbul prior to the Hamidian era (Kadı et al. 2011, Ch VIII).8.

However, we cannot easily analyze disputes in Southeast Asia according to the religious point of view. When annexing the Philippines in the late nineteenth century, American non-Muslims used the Ottoman Sultan to tackle the ensuing rebellion. The Secretary of State, John Hay, proposed to ambassador Oscar Solomon Straus in Istanbul in March 1899, that Ottoman Sultan be asked to persuade the Moros of the Sulu sultanate to lay down their arms. In response to his cooperation in this regard, the President of America congratulated Straus for having saved the lives of at least 20.000 American troops, as well as many dollars (Smith 2015, Ch IX). This evidence shows that the relationship between Ottoman, Southeast Asians, and the colonial government cannot be easily analyzed by a "holy war" agenda. Diplomacy and international political negotiation were the main factors of the relationship. The relationship could be started by Ottoman consuls in Southeast Asia.

The first Ottoman consul in Southeast Asia was Syed Abdullah el-Juneyd. He was appointed as Ottoman ambassador to Singapore in 1864 (Göksöy 2004a, 94). He was a descendant of the Hadrami people who lived in Singapore. Singapore was the center of the Ottoman movement in

[8] Ottoman expanded Cher influence to Southeast Asia in the early modern period see (Casale 2009). The petition to Istanbul from Aceh, Riau and Jambi arrived in Istanbul in 1849-1872 (Kadı 2015, Ch VII)

Southeast Asia because the British government gave more freedom to the movement than the Dutch East Indies under Dutch government9. Many migrants, especially from Hadhramaut, came to Singapore in the nineteenth century. Many Hadrami came from Hadhramaut to Southeast Asian cities such as Singapore, Batavia, and Surabaya to seek opportunities, commonly as traders10. Hadhramis's child, who was born in Mahjar, was called Muwaliddin. Muwaliddin still has a connection with their balad or country. In the author's opinion, a Hadrami was picked out as the first Ottoman consul because a Hadrami was considered to be an appropriate agent for reinforcing Islamic solidarity among the indigenous population. The choice may also have been related to Berkes' argument that the Ottoman Hamidian era had supported the Arab civilization in removing European civilization colour (Berkes 1998, 262). However, it must be said that this support had occurred prior to the Hamidian era and continued under Abdulhamid.

Actually, the opening of the Ottoman consulate in Singapore made the Dutch anxious because the Dutch considered the consulate was a symbol of unity of Muslims and could, therefore, act as a catalyst in reviving the Muslim spirit to fight against Dutch colonial power. Following the death of the first Ottoman consul in Singapore, Dutch requested the British to obstruct the presence of Ottoman consuls (Göksöy 2004a, 94). However, the Dutch could not fully refuse an Ottoman presence in Southeast Asia because the Dutch had an economic relationship with Ottoman. Opium was an important product that was brought by Dutch agents from Izmir to Java. The sale of opium in Java and Madura—which became the company's major activity as far as the drug trade was concerned—was implemented through a farming system. It consisted of leasing—often for a limited period—the right to collect taxes or to sell goods which were subject to a government monopoly, such as opium. This system existed in Southeast Asia, including Siam (Thailand), Vietnam, Pinang, several Malayan states, Singapore, and a number of islands of the Indonesian Archipelago (Schmidt 1998, 26).

After the death of al-Juneyd, the position of consul was replaced by a Hadrami family, Seyd Muhammad el-Sagoff in

[9] The early press in Singapore was mainly in the hands of Muslims of mixed Indian-Malay origins (so called *Jawi Peranakan*), whereas book printing seems to have been a privileged domain of Javanese Muslims (Freitag 2003).

[10] To the Hadhrami, the world was divided into two parts : the *balad* or homeland, and the *mahjar* or sphere of emigration (Boxberger 2002).

1876-1883 (Göksöy 2004a, 95). Also, the Dutch could not oppose the appointment of an Ottoman consul in Batavia. The first Ottoman consul to Batavia was appointed in 1883. His name was Seyd Aziz Efendi (Göksöy 2004a, 96). Further Ottoman consuls came to Batavia, and there were even exchanges of personnel between the Batavian and other consular offices. (BEO 694/50831; BEO 694/52002; BEO 1527/114461; BEO 2198/164839; BEO 2263/169665). The consuls, consequently, were watched with suspicion by the colonial authorities and were accepted only as "commercial agents" (handelsagenten) without diplomatic status (Schmidt 1998, 86).

Ottoman consuls in Batavia also played an important role in helping Ottoman merchants who traveled to regions in the Indian Ocean. Archives show how the Ottoman consul helped the Ottomans from Egypt in 1907. Cheated by a Greek captain, they were brought by ship to Siam, Singapore, and Australia. Eventually they arrived in Batavia, helped by the Ottoman consul (DH-MKT 1164/56). With the support of the Ottoman consul, Ottoman merchants could travel to Southeast Asia easily, although Dutch policy made trade activities slightly difficult for Ottomans because the Dutch and British also encountered colonial expansion inland.

Although Ottoman consuls acted as commercial agents, consuls in Southeast Asia had the main function of protecting Muslims from colonial exortion. According to the consuls, colonialism had created poverty. It was for this reason that Ottoman gave donations to decrease destitution in Far Eastern states (aksa şarktan ma'dud imlak) (YA.HUS 386/40). The author does not view Ottoman consuls merely as commercial agents, but contends that they acted as agents of modernization brought from Istanbul to Batavia. According to the archives mentioned above, Ottoman consuls acted as a bridge between the Ottomans and Southeast Asia. Poverty and colonialism became important issues which were brought to Sublime Porte, and excuses to wage the next policies in several fields, such as education.

Sultan Abdulhamid, as caliph, did not wish to abandon 10.000 muslim in Java (Eraslan 1992, 349). He aspired to solve the problems of Muslims who lived under colonial occupation. Many problems were experienced by Muslims in Southeast Asia such as those connected with pilgrimages. Ottoman under Sultan Abdulhamid desired to help Muslims to make pilgrimages to Hijaz (ibid.,351). Ottoman consuls also

imparted information about prevailing Southeast Asian conditions. For instance, Galib Bey, Ottoman consul in Batavia, distributed information about the Banten revolution and Javanesse pilgrimages in Jiddah11. Although the Ottomans had charismatic influence in Southeast Asia, they always kept order to avoid conditions of instability. One document shows that there was solicitation from people—namely Abdullah and 30 others—to obtain Ottoman citizenship. However, their solicitation was refused by Porte (DH-MKT 856/67).

The influence of consuls did not only encompass political and economic matters but also kinship relationships with rulers in Southeast Asia. Marriage seemed to be an effective diplomatic tool between the Ottoman and Malay worlds. In marriage, there was one actor who bridged the informal diplomatic divide and bound the relationship between two cultures. After completing his duty in Batavia, Kamil Bey was installed as Ottoman consul in Singapore. He also married a member of the family of Johor Kingdom (ibid.,95). There were other actors in marriage linkages between Ottoman and Southeast Asia. Rukiye and Hatice were the pivotal actors between two cultures and different political entities that bridged Ottoman and Southeast Asia. They were presented by Abdulhamid II to Sultan Abu Bakar who visited Istanbul in 1879 (Ozay and Saltık 2015, 66).

In addition, Ottoman consuls attached some importance to gaining caliphate institution legitimation from Southeast Asian Muslims. Consuls made charitable gestures to Muslims such as by giving Korans to local Muslims in the name of the Sultan or by arranging for theological works in Malay to be printed in Istanbul. In such works, the name of the Sultan was printed as "ruler of all Muslims" (Schmidt 1992, 86). According to Akbar, exchanges of the Koran between Southeast Asia and the Ottoman world did not take place solely via Mekka. There were also direct links with the Malay world, as evidenced by documents in the Ottoman archives recording requests for and shipments of hundreds copies of the Koran to various destinations, including Java, Sumatra and Bangkok. These documents dating from 1883, 1891, 1899, and 1900 record communications between the Ottoman authorities, Sultan, Grand Vizier, Foreign Ministry, and Ottoman consul general in Batavia. The documents state that, following despatch of the Koran to Southeast Asia, the Muslims who received

[11] Ottomans's Consul in Batavia had always built connections with Jedda because Jedda had the strategic position to bridge Istanbul and Southeast Asia. For further information about Southeast Asia in Jedda see (Göksoy 2004; Freitag 2011b)

and were able to read it would offer prayers for the well-being of Caliph12. Completing Akbar's discovery, Author shows that there was a solicitation from ikhwan al-Jawiyun (Brothers of Jawi) that requested 800 donation of Koran from Istanbul (HR-ID 1373/65).

CONCLUSION

Sultan Abdulhamid ruled Ottoman Empire in complicated conditions. He was required to face international pressure from the western word in times of crises such as during the events that unfolded in the Balkans and Arab states. In addition, his mentality and performance was taxed by the intrigue of political events in the Ottoman domain, especially in Istanbul.

In addition, Sultan Abdulhamid II declared himself as Caliph. Caliph and Pan Islamism were the key to conducting diplomatic activity in Southeast Asia. This was the term that sustained Ottoman policy in the Malay world. The emergence of caliph in Southeast Asia, evolving from the role of diplomat to educational benefactor to philanthropist coincided with the expansion of colonialism in Southeast Asia. Colonial governmental officials who understood the Islamic question, such as Snouck Hurgronje, became actors who protected Southeast Asia from caliph influence. The mistrustful attitude of Abdulhamid, who declared himself as caliph, coincided with international political questions in Europe and the Middle East. The conflict that developed in the Ottoman domain forced Abdulhamid II to seek to control the balance of power in the global arena.

Although Abdulhamid declared himself as caliph, Ottoman was not able to force Muslims that lived beyond her territories to rise against colonial governments because Ottoman needed the support of colonial states such as British to fight against her archenemy, Russia. Although Britain and France had kept a distance from Ottoman in the late nineteenth century, and Ottoman had made diplomatic overtures to Germany, the weakness of the Ottoman military had prevented Ottoman from declaring war. The effort of Fadl Pasha to persuade Abdulhamid II to take control of Dhofar was fruitless because Dhofar was not important to Ottoman—economically, strategically, or politically. This failure on the part of Abdulhamid showed the empty gesture of Ottoman foreign policy. Ottoman was not prepared to take a risk over a region which was economically and strategically useless for the Ottoman domain.

[12] This Koran was printed in Matbaa-Osmaniye (Akbar 2015, Ch XIV)

Similar conditions also prevailed in Southeast Asia. Ottoman's military and financial weaknesses meant it should have smartly manipulated the balance of power in Southeast Asia. In the author's opinion, first,Abdulhamid II's policy in Southeast Asia was influenced by the change of social and political conditions in Anatolia. After the turbulent years of upheaval, the population of Ottoman had changed the balance of religion. The majority of the Ottoman population were now Muslims and Abdulhamid II sought to reinforce his mental power over the population by use of his position as Caliph in order to elicit loyality from his subjects. To evidence his honor as Caliph, Abdulhamid created a Pan-Islamic policy in Southeast Asia. Therefore, Ottoman policy in Southeast Asia could not be identified with violence, coercion, rebellion, harshness, but rather with a desire to serve Muslims by forming an ummah, providing social and cultural assistance. Abdulhamid donated the Holy Koran and requested mosques to read hutbe on his behalf. However, Pan-Thirdly, Ottoman policy in Southeast Asia must be viewed in the larger context of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when Western civilizations occupied the rest of the world. The existence of Ottoman policy in Southeast Asia constituted a competition between Islam, represented by the Ottomans, and Western Islamism policy did not have the military power to help Muslims under colonialist pressure such as occurred in the Aceh War. Abdulhamid's policy played a mere symbolic role, as manifested by his appointment of the Ottoman consul in Batavia and the creation of educational facilities for Jawi students.

Secondly, Abdulhamid II's policy in Southeast Asia was influenced by the social and political dynamic in Southeast Asia. Hadhrami played an important role as mediators, regardless of whether they acted as Ottoman or Southeast Asian voices: their pragmatic role in the Indian Ocean was very significant because they had sources and connections to bridge the Southeast Asians and Ottomans. Indeed, the Hadhrami became the early agents of modernization because they had pragmatism and flexibility when encountering global changes. They could adapt to Islamic civilization, represented by the Ottomans, and Western civilization, represented by the colonial government.

civilization, represented by colonial governments such as the Dutch. Therefore, colonial governments launched better programs or policies, such as the Ethical Policy in the Dutch East Indies to attract the indigenous population so that they were integrated with the colonial government rather than the Ottomans. In

short, Ottoman policy in Southeast Asia stimulated colonial governments to undergo modernization in their areas, because they looked at the Ottomans as competitors in spreading civilization.

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