



Evolution of Indonesian Islamic Intellectual Fashion in the Early 20th Century: A Visual Narrative Analysis

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Abstract

Throughout Indonesia's history, clothing has served multiple purposes, representing not only social status but also an individual's position in society. From the eras of Hindu-Buddhist influence to the advent of Islam and into the modern era, Indonesian attire has been a canvas colored by evolving customs and cultural shifts. As the 20th century began, a dynamic transformation in clothing styles emerged, spurred by the rise of Indonesian intellectuals in response to Dutch ethical policies. This change was evident among Indonesian Islamic intellectuals as well, where traditional robes and sarongs, once emblematic of Muslim attire, lost their primary significance. This study aims to delve into the fashion choices of Indonesian Islamic intellectuals during the early 20th century. Employing a historical research method comprising four stages—heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography—the research seeks to uncover the influence of Western fashion on these intellectuals' clothing choices. The findings of this study illuminate how Western fashion elements such as suits, ties, hats, and shirts became commonplace among Indonesian Islamic intellectuals during this transformative period.

Keywords *Fashion; Islamic Intellectual; Visual Narrative*

INTRODUCTION

Beyond sustenance and shelter, clothing stands as one of humanity's three fundamental necessities. Initially designed to shield individuals from the elements, the role of fashion has evolved in tandem with human civilization's progress. Beyond mere protection, fashion has come to signify the wearer's social status and position. Indonesia, a nation marked by diverse customs and cultures, manifests a wide array of clothing styles. Historically, Indonesia's fashion landscape has been enriched by various external influences, notably Indian, Islamic (Arabic and Persian), and European styles, each distinct and contributing to the nation's sartorial heritage.

In his work "*Asia Tenggara Dalam Kurun Niaga 1450-1680*," Reid (2014) depicts the Javanese populace adorning bare torsos with sarongs. Islamic influence subsequently led to Muslim women covering their chests, although this transformation did not extend uniformly to upper-class Javanese individuals who continued donning ornate clothing, underscoring disparities in social standing.

The advent of colonialism and interaction with Europeans introduced Indonesians to Western attire—suits, pants, shirts, shoes, and hats. This shift was not without resistance, particularly among the predominantly Muslim population who initially rejected Dutch-associated clothing. Sukarno's recollections in "*Bung Karno Penyambung Lidah Rakyat*" (Adams, 2014) illuminate such sentiments, recounting his dispute over wearing pants, considered foreign and irreligious. For Sukarno, Western attire symbolized authority and the upliftment of his people from

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colonial oppression.

The early 20th century saw the emergence of educated Indonesians, a consequence of Dutch ethical policies. Gradually, Western clothing found acceptance, particularly among these intellectuals, who would later spearhead the Indonesian National Awakening Movement. This attire became integral to the movement's identity (Nordholt, 2005). Islamic intellectuals also surfaced within this era, adopting a fusion of Western modernity and traditional Muslim identifiers, such as sarongs. This synthesis was pioneered by Islamic modernists hailing from organizations like Sarekat Islam (SI), Muhammadiyah, and Persatuan Islam (PERSIS). Traditionalists were initially resistant, but over time, modern elements infiltrated their attire (Nordholt, 2015).

This research aims to explore more deeply the role of clothing in social, cultural, and political developments in Indonesia at the beginning of the 20th century, especially focusing on the clothing styles of Muslim intellectuals. This research aims to answer the following questions: What was the role of Western clothing in communicating the identity and aspirations of Indonesian Islamic intellectuals at the beginning of the 20th century? How did the influence of Dutch ethical policies towards the assimilation of Western culture affect the acceptance and adaptation of Western clothing among educated Indonesians? How is conflict and resistance to Western clothing reflected in the political and cultural narratives of the period?

The novelty of this research is that it will explore in depth how clothing became a tool of social and political communication in this period, especially in the context of social and cultural changes triggered by interactions with Western culture and ongoing political changes. The research gap that this study will fill is that little research has explored the role of clothing in Indonesia's social and political development in the early 20th century, especially concerning Muslim educated and intellectual society. This research will provide deeper insight into how clothing reflects and influences cultural, social, and political dynamics at this important period in Indonesian history. In addition, this research will also combine perspectives from various disciplines, such as history, cultural anthropology, and cultural studies, to provide a more comprehensive view of this topic.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research is supported by various sources that have been carefully curated to increase the theoretical foundation and context before presenting findings and discussion. In total, this research relies on ten books, eight journals, one internet source, one film, and two photos as main sources that provide a variety of perspectives and insights. In the book category, two biographical works are very relevant, namely "Biography of Bung Karno: Mouthpiece of the Indonesian People" and "Anthology II". These two books provide crucial insights regarding the main sources in this research. They help provide important context in the analysis of photographs featuring Sarekat Islam members, helping to understand the clothing they wear. In addition, supporting texts such as "History of National Figures" and "History of Indonesian Intellectual Development to Contemporary Times" provide extensive historical background.

On the journal side, eight scientific papers have been selected to strengthen the research base. The journal "Indigenous Men's Dressing Styles in East Sumatra in the Early 20th Century: Narrative Analysis" by Lukitaningsih et al. (2022) provides a relevant view on this topic, although with a different focus. Internet sources also provide additional digital insights, and the film "Tjokroaminoto: Guru Bangsa" enriches the visual understanding of clothing styles in the period studied. Furthermore, four photos became important analysis elements in this research. These photos include the Sarekat Islam association, images of Hamka with Sukarno and Haji Abdul Karim Oei, members of the Jong Islamieten Bond, and K.H. Wahid Hasyim in a suit. When contextualized within a broader research framework, these photographs provide a significant addition to understanding the clothing styles of Indonesian Islamic intellectuals in the early 20th century.

Overall, these diverse sources are used to build a strong research foundation, strengthening the exploration of the complex aspects of Indonesian Islamic intellectual dress styles in this period.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study adopts a historical research methodology, encompassing four stages: heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The heuristic phase involves exhaustive source discovery, categorized into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources entail firsthand eyewitness accounts, while secondary sources encompass perspectives not directly from those involved or witnessing an event, including artifacts and photographic records (Kuntowijoyo, 2013). In this research, a majority of written sources are utilized, spanning books, journals, internet articles, films, and photo archives. Primary sources comprise photographs sourced from the KITLV archives and biographies of Soekarno and Muhammad Roem, accessed from the Batu Api Library in Jatinangor, Sumedang. Secondary sources include supportive texts acquired from various libraries, research journals from official journal websites, and online materials from platforms like alif.id.

Following the heuristic phase, the research advances to the critical examination stage, encompassing internal and external dimensions. External criticism assesses source authenticity and physical attributes, while internal criticism delves into the credibility of the source content (Kuntowijoyo, 2013). Key sources here comprise primary materials, such as the biographies of Sukarno and Muhammad Roem, replete with statements from pivotal figures in the studied events. Additionally, early 20th-century photographs from KITLV are considered primary sources, offering visual insights. Alongside these, secondary sources, including books, journals, and articles, contribute to the critical evaluation.

Subsequently, the interpretation stage ensues, involving the analysis of historical facts to ascertain their significance and interrelation. This step involves interpreting the contextual nuances of the gathered materials, shedding light on the broader narrative of Indonesian Islamic intellectual fashion in the early 20th century. Lastly, the historiography stage synthesizes the findings of the interpretation process into a cohesive written narrative, presenting a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter. As a culmination of the methodological journey, the historiography phase synthesizes historical facts, interpretations, and contextual insights to produce a comprehensive, well-informed written account that contributes to the scholarly discourse surrounding Indonesian Islamic intellectual fashion during this pivotal period.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

At the dawn of the 20th century, the Dutch unfolded a groundbreaking initiative for their colony: the Ethical Policy. This multifaceted strategy honed in on three pivotal domains to catalyze colonial progress—Education, Transmigration, and Irrigation. Within the education realm, the Dutch constructed schools and colleges across the Indies, nurturing a burgeoning cohort of educated Indonesians. Gradually emerging as a cohort of intellectuals, these individuals bore the indelible mark of modernity, imbued by the profound impact of Western education. Among the myriad facets of modernity that beckoned to them was the adoption of Western attire, symbolized by the likes of suits, ties, shoes, and hats (Nordholt, 2005).

Beyond educational reformation, the Ethical Policy played a pivotal role in ushering forth a novel wave of Muslim intellectuals deeply steeped in Western education. These intellectuals found themselves profoundly influenced by Western customs, including the distinctive Dutch fashion style. However, what sets them apart is their ingenious fusion of Western attire with an array of clothing emblematic of Indonesian Muslim identity—such as the revered sarong. This nuanced choice not only signaled an embrace of modernity but also showcased an unwavering commitment

to preserving local customs and heritage.

A significant number of these pioneering Muslim intellectuals gravitated towards modernist Islamic organizations like Sarekat Islam (SI), Muhammadiyah, and Persatuan Islam (PERSIS), while some embarked on creating their own associations, exemplified by Jong Islamieten Bond (JIB). In stark contrast, traditional Muslims initially exhibited strong reservations towards Western clothing. Notably, a watershed moment transpired during a conference of the Nahdlatul Ulama in 1927, wherein a fatwa was issued decreeing Western-style clothing as unlawful (*tasyabbuh*). However, a recent shift has seen traditionalists gradually embracing this modern sartorial transformation (Nordholt, 2005).

This transformative period resonates with a complex tapestry of cultural, religious, and societal dynamics encapsulated within the evolving fashion choices of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals. It reflects a profound narrative of adaptation, juxtaposing Western influences with intrinsic values, as they navigated the multifaceted interplay of modernity and tradition, local and global, to forge an identity uniquely their own. In the forthcoming sections, the focus will shift to examining three compelling photographs featuring Indonesia's Muslim intellectuals. Within this visual exploration, a meticulous analysis will be undertaken to discern the nuances of their attire, deciphering its origins and contextual significance that propelled their adoption.



Figure 1. Tjokroaminoto with members of Sarekat Islam. (Source: KITLV)

Initiating with Figure 1, a photograph dating back to 1914 and extracted from the KITLV archives, it captures Raden Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, the Chairman of the Central Sarekat Islam (CSI) association, during a party meeting in Blitar, East Java. Evident in this portrayal is the eclectic array of clothing choices among the members of Sarekat Islam. Amid this diversity, an unmistakable interplay unfolds between modern and traditional elements in their attire. Western influences manifest through the presence of suits, ties, and shirts, while an iconic thick mustache underscores the era's modern identity. Counterbalancing these Western elements, traditional garbs such as the sarong, *beskap*, and *blangkon* simultaneously project an image of heritage and tradition. This amalgamation of clothing holds manifold connotations. Primarily, incorporating Western apparel underscores Sarekat Islam's contemporary and progressive orientation, reflective of modern organizational practices (Marihandono et al., 2015). Notably, it also serves as a subtle repudiation

of the Dutch colonial mindset that perpetuated hierarchical divisions, positioning Western clothing as a marker of superiority. Through this sartorial choice, members of Sarekat Islam assert their parity with the Dutch colonialists (Roem, 1977).

In a pivotal scene from the film "Tjokroaminoto: Guru Bangsa" (Nugroho, 2015), a conversation unfolds between an ordinary Sarekat Islam member and his peers. This dialogue holds immense symbolic weight, echoing the ethos of equality propagated by the organization. While a fictional portrayal, this interaction encapsulates the transformative era in which the previously marginalized populace, through the adoption of modern attire, is presented as peers to the aristocracy and colonialists. This aligns with Sarekat Islam's doctrine that the resurgence of Islam extends beyond spiritual realms to encompass tangible facets like clothing, language, and daily practices—a vision that aspires to emancipate the indigenous population from subjugation, elevating them to full-fledged human beings.

The adoption of Western clothing intertwines with the educational and social backstories of Sarekat Islam's leaders. For instance, Tjokroaminoto's lineage traces back to the Regent of Madiun, affording him the privilege of studying at the Dutch East Indies Civil Service Candidate School (OSVIA)—an elite institution (Marihandono et al., 2015). The educational trajectory of Tjokroaminoto, alongside figures like Haji Agus Salim and Abdul Muis, exemplifies the imprint of Dutch education upon the organization's leadership. A parallel facet surfaces, concerning the incorporation of traditional clothing, notably the *blangkon* and sarong. During Indonesia's colonial epoch, these garments were emblematic of commoners, indicative of underdevelopment and social subordination. While Sarekat Islam proclaims modernism, its central mission centers on emancipating native individuals from backwardness (Marihandono et al., 2015). Paradoxically, the adoption of the sarong, as a representation of commoner's attire, serves as a visual testament to their elevation into modern human beings, equivalent to their colonial rulers—a strategic statement of parity and liberation. The perspective of Mohammad Roem, as outlined in his work "*Bunga Rampai dari Sejarah II*" (Roem, 1977), further adds depth to this discourse. Roem contends that donning a sarong does not diminish one's stature. Tjokroaminoto, despite his aristocratic origins, eschews the promotion of pants to commoners, opting instead for the sarong. This choice emanates from a belief in the sarong's honorability and its capacity to dissolve societal stratifications.

This intricate tapestry of clothing choices among Sarekat Islam members reflects a layered interplay of historical, social, and ideological factors. It encapsulates a synthesis of the modern and the traditional, the local and the global, as these intellectuals carved a distinct identity amidst a dynamically evolving era that should be clear and concise.



Figure 2. Hamka with Sukarno and Oei Tjeng Hien (Abdoel Karim Oei). (Source: Rush, 2017).

The subsequent depiction emerges from James R. Rush's book "Adicerita Hamka," encapsulating a photograph featuring Abdul Karim Amrullah, commonly known as Hamka, alongside Sukarno, the future President of Indonesia, and Oei Tjeng Hien or Abdul Karim Oei in 1941 (Rush, 2017). This snapshot was taken during a rendezvous of the three individuals in Bung Karno's exile in Bengkulu in 1941. At the time, Hamka, an eminent Islamic intellectual, was a member of the Muhammadiyah, an organization founded by K.H Ahmad Dahlan (Bashri & Suffatni, 2012). Conversely, Sukarno, initially renowned as a nationalist, utilized his exile in Ende and Bengkulu to delve into Islamic studies, exchanging letters with Ahmad Hassan, a charismatic scholar from Persatuan Islam (PERSIS). This exchange often revolved around Islamic literature and scriptures. Notably, Sukarno's affiliation with the Bengkulu branch of Muhammadiyah burgeoned, signifying his alignment with Islamic principles (Muchlas et al., 2018). Also present in the photograph is Abdul Karim Oei, a Muhammadiyah figure of Chinese descent from Bengkulu.

Upon close examination of the image, it is evident that Hamka, Sukarno, and Oei Tjeng Hien don modern attire encompassing shoes, jackets, pants, ties, and shirts. The sole elements of traditional attire are the caps they don, underscoring the harmonious fusion of traditional and contemporary elements. This portrayal brings to light Hamka's deviation from the norm—despite being a modernist, he displays an uncharacteristic preference for Western trousers. This divergence has its roots in a past incident during his youth. Legend has it that Hamka initially favored pants over sarongs while in Medan. However, his preference was quashed when his Dutch-educated peers ridiculed him due to his inability to converse in Dutch. As wearing pants was customary for those educated in Dutch schools, the incident led Hamka to refrain from wearing them, preferring sarongs instead—a choice that persists, accompanied by suits, shirts, and ties (Rush, 2017).

Hamka's educational background differs significantly from a Western education. Limited to education at the Sumatra Thawalib, Hamka's learning was predominantly self-driven. His family, rooted in the lineage of influential Ulama, steered him toward an autodidactic path. Notably, his father played a pioneering role in introducing trousers and shirts into religious sermons and establishing modern educational institutions, such as the Sumatra Thawalib School in West Sumatra. Hamka's exposure to the thoughts of renowned figures like Jamalludin Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Ridha during his Middle Eastern studies amplified his openness to foreign cultures, including Western clothing, despite the absence of a formal Western education (Muchlas, 2018).

Sukarno, originally characterized as a nationalist, engaged in discourse with modernist Islamic figures like Ahmad Hassan from PERSIS during his exile in Ende and Bengkulu. Notably, his alignment with Bengkulu's Muhammadiyah marked a significant shift in his ideological orientation (Muchlas, 2018). Sukarno's fervent advocacy for Western or modern clothing is intertwined with his desire to elevate the dignity of a colonized nation. In an era where Dutch colonialists employed clothing as a symbol of haughty dominance, Sukarno's affinity for Western attire stood as an assertion of parity and resistance against colonial humiliation. Sukarno's convictions were so resolute that he even had a clash with a penghulu who sought to arrange a marriage between him and Oetari, one of Tjokroaminoto's daughters, due to their differing views on clothing (Adams, 2014).

Intriguingly, Sukarno's endorsement of caps emerged as a unifying symbol among various nationalist, Islamist, Christian, and even Communist groups, underscoring his knack for bridging disparate ideological currents under the banner of Indonesian independence (Adams, 2014). Among the figures in the photograph, Oei Tjeng Hien, a Bengkulu-based Muhammadiyah member of Chinese descent, shares sartorial similarities with Hamka and Sukarno. However, it is his

distinctive sitting posture—cross-legged with one leg atop the other—that demands attention. Initially emblematic of European rulers, this posture gradually evolved into a form of equality adopted by native Indonesians, signifying the evolving sociocultural dynamics of the time (Adams, 2014).

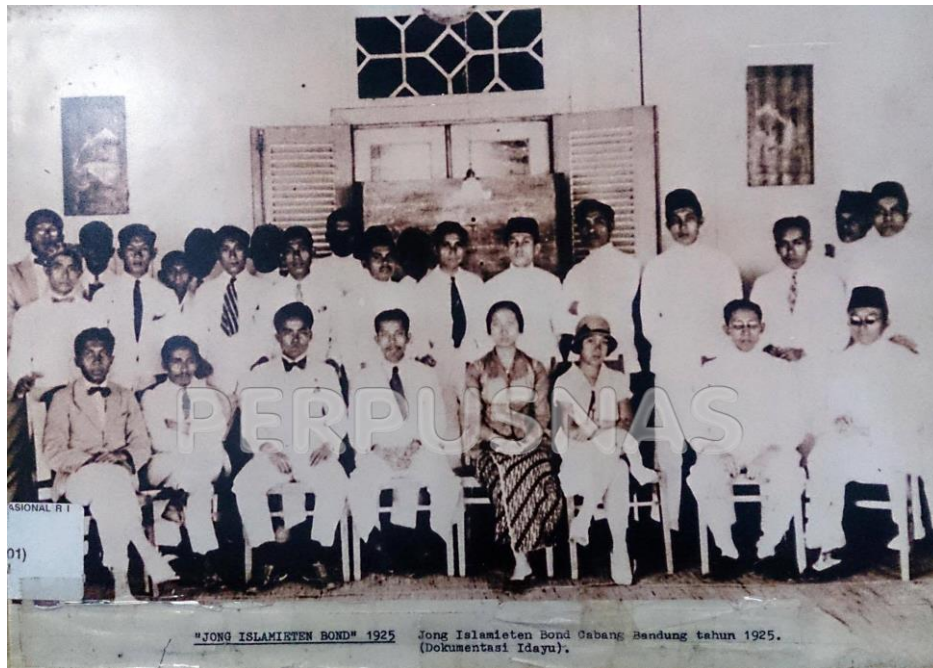


Figure 3. Jong Islamieten Branch Bandung. (Source: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia)

The third visual narrative encapsulates an image featuring members of the Jong Islamieten Bond (JIB), also known as the Islamic Youth Association. The source of this photograph is the Archives of The National Library of Indonesia with the Call Number FB (Idayu 01) JON. Established in Batavia, now Jakarta, in 1925, the seeds of JIB's creation were sown by Syamsuridjal, an elected leader of the Jong Java organization. Discontented with the Dutch Government's reluctance to facilitate Islamic education in schools, he proposed its integration into Jong Java—an idea met with resistance and rejection (Masruri, 1991). Syamsuridjal's disappointment led him to consult with luminaries like K.H Ahmad Dahlan, H.O.S Tjokroaminoto, and H. Agus Salim, who all endorsed his notion. Subsequently, around 200 Muslim youths, previously scattered in Dutch schools like AMS and MULO, coalesced under the banner of Jong Islamieten Bond (JIB), an Islamic youth association (Masruri, 1991).

Zooming into figure 3, these are members of the Bandung branch of Jong Islamieten Bond (JIB). A quick examination of their attire underscores the profound influence of Western clothing styles despite their affiliation with an Islamic organization. Nearly all JIB members in the photograph don suits, ties, shirts, and shoes, with only two women donning distinct dresses—a kebaya and a white ensemble accompanied by a white hat. Notably absent is the sarong, often emblematic of Islamic identity. This sartorial choice finds its roots in the members' educational backgrounds, predominantly forged in Dutch-founded institutions with Western curricula, such as MULO and AMS (Masruri, 1991). This educational backdrop profoundly shapes their clothing preferences, with suits, ties, shoes, and shirts becoming their daily attire. In fact, Dutch fluency often surpasses their command of Arabic, further underlining the impact of their Westernized education.

This stylistic affinity aligns with the prevailing milieu. Donning Western attire and

conversing fluently in Dutch epitomized modernity and societal stature (Bashri & Suffatni, 2012). Notably, the two women in the photograph, lacking hijabs, reflect the era's broader norms. During this time, the hijab was not yet integral to Javanese women's dress. It was Muhammadiyah in 1917 that initiated the gradual adoption of head coverings for women, albeit not universally (Muarif, 2023).

Conversely, the choice of kebaya attire carries cultural and practical significance. Kebaya became a vogue attire for women across the Indies, transcending ethnicities, even among Dutch women. This marked the emergence of "Indische culture," a fusion of Dutch colonial culture influenced by local customs. Beyond its cultural implications, the kebaya's popularity stemmed from its comfort in Indonesia's tropical climate.

It is worth noting that JIB members predominantly hail from backgrounds devoid of Madrasah or *Pesantren* education. As they matured, their affiliations often extended to Islamic organizations like Muhammadiyah, Sarekat Islam (SI), and Persatuan Islam (PERSIS). This trend is exemplified by later JIB figures, many of whom later joined the Masyumi Party, including notable names like Mohammad Natsir, Mohammad Roem, Prawoto Mangunsasmito, and Yusuf Wibisono (Masruri, 1991).



Figure 4. K.H Wahid Hasyim

Turning our attention to figure 4, a compelling portrayal emerges: one of the scions of the progenitor of Indonesia's largest Islamic organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), stands poised. This individual, K.H Wahid Hasyim, would go on to become the father of K.H Abdurrahman Wahid, Indonesia's future President. In this photograph, K.H Wahid Hasyim adorns a cap, jacket, pants, and shoes—an ensemble reflective of Western attire. This becomes intriguing when we consider his origins within traditional Islamic circles, predominantly populated by graduates of Islamic boarding schools, better known as santri (Bashri & Suffatni, 2012). In these circles, western education was a rarity, and the sarong was a common sight. However, the photograph distinctly deviates from this norm, showcasing Wahid Hasyim's impeccably elegant Western attire—a departure from the commonplace.

This divergence is noteworthy as Western clothing was initially anathema to traditionalists, being viewed as garments of the infidels. Notably, during NU's 2nd Congress in 1927, a prohibition was enacted against the donning of suits, ties, trousers, shoes, and hats—a move prompted by their

resemblance to non-believer attire, particularly that of the Dutch colonial government (Ayung Notongoro). This fervor extended to societal spheres, leading to instances such as Sukarno's altercation with a prince over his intention to marry Oetari, Tjokromanoto's daughter. Sukarno's resolve led to a threat to cancel the wedding should the religious leader persist in meddling in his personal choices (Adams, 2014).

Amidst this backdrop, a young member of NU, K.H Wahid Hasyim—son of the organization's founder—broke with convention. His penchant for Western clothing ran counter to senior Kiai (scholars) within NU. Despite this resistance, Wahid Hasyim's sartorial choices gradually resonated with the younger generation. Pandu Anshor, an NU youth wing, notably emulated his attire. This departure from tradition, undertaken by Wahid Hasyim, is rooted in his formative years—a period marked by autonomous study and intellectual exploration (Ayung Notonegoro). During his teens, he voraciously consumed a spectrum of literature, including newspapers like "Sovereign of the People," "Panji Pustaka," and "Sumber Knowledge," alongside Arabic-language magazines "Ummul Quro" and "Shantul Hijaz." Intriguingly, despite his lack of formal Western education, Wahid Hasyim exhibited proficiency in Dutch and English. In fact, he co-established Madrasah Nizamiyah in 1935 with K.H Ilyas—a school that imparted both Islamic and Western sciences, including Dutch and English (Bashri & Suffatni, 2012).

Emanating from the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, Wahid Hasyim's alma mater is a trailblazing legacy. Regarded as one of the era's most progressive and receptive *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), Tebuireng took strides that incited criticism from fellow traditionalist counterparts. In these traditional circles, Dutch colonialism was resented, casting any Dutch imports—hats and jackets included—under the shadow of infidelity. Nevertheless, a gradual shift occurred as these traditional boarding schools began to open up, following the pioneering path charted by institutions like Tebuireng.

CONCLUSIONS

This research reveals that fashion trends among Indonesian Islamic intellectuals at the beginning of the 20th century reflect a dynamic and complex shifting landscape. One of the most striking aspects is the adoption of Western clothing by Muslims in Indonesia, which represents a significant change in clothing style. This transformation is seen through the combination of elements such as suits, trousers, and shoes, which are symbols of Western fashion, with traditional Indonesian clothing such as skullcaps and sarongs. The research results also show the emergence of hybrid clothing combining Western and traditional elements, such as jackets, ties, and trousers combined with sarongs and skullcaps. The popularity of Western clothing is closely related to the sociocultural context of its time.

The origins of Western clothing among Islamic intellectuals can be traced back to individuals who received education in Western countries or educational institutions established by the Dutch in Indonesia. This can be seen from the clothing choices of Sarekat Islam elites and Jong Islamieten Bond members, who often have Western educational backgrounds. However, there is also an assimilation of Western clothing into traditional clothing, which is influenced by Middle Eastern Islamic thinkers such as Jamalludin Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rasyid Ridha. Hamka's clothing is an example of this combination, even though he never received a Western education.

This research also illustrates two different approaches to Western clothing among Islamic traditionalists. While most of the Nahdlatul Ulama rejected Western clothing as resembling infidels, K.H. Wahid Hasyim, a founding member of the organization, tried to introduce Western clothing among the NU community. This move was met with resistance from senior circles within the organization, but Wahid Hasyim remained true to his acknowledged preference for Western dress in relation to literature, proficiency in English and Dutch, and his open mind.

This research succeeded in bridging the gap in literature related to fashion trends among Indonesian Islamic intellectuals at the beginning of the 20th century. It explores the role of clothing in the context of social and cultural change triggered by interactions with Western culture as well as ongoing political change. The theoretical implications of this research include a deeper understanding of how clothing can be a powerful social and political communication tool in a transforming society. The practical implications include recognition of the complexity of the development of fashion and identity in Indonesian history, which can provide valuable insights for contemporary cultural studies and cultural history.

LIMITATION & FURTHER RESEARCH

Although this research has explored various sources and provided valuable insights into fashion trends among Indonesian Islamic intellectuals in the early 20th century, several limitations need to be noted. First, this research has a more limited focus on Islamic intellectual circles, so it does not cover the entire spectrum of society in the same period. Further studies could expand its scope to include various social and cultural groups. Second, the sources used in this research are limited to available written sources, photos, and films. There is potential to explore other sources, such as interviews with descendants or parties who have valuable information about this period. Third, this research focuses more on the description and analysis of fashion trends rather than the social, political, or economic impacts that may result from changes in clothing styles. Further research could further explore this trend in Indonesian society at that time.

Recommendations for Further Research:

1. Expanding geographical coverage: Further research can explore fashion trends in various regions of Indonesia, considering the cultural and historical diversity that various regions in Indonesia have. This can provide a more comprehensive understanding of fashion developments in the country.
2. Exploring gender roles: Future research could explore how fashion trends relate to gender roles in Indonesian society during that period. Are there significant differences in clothing styles between male and female Islamic intellectuals? How did this influence gender norms at the time?
3. Interdisciplinary approach: Combining historical approaches with other disciplines such as cultural anthropology, sociology, or cultural studies can provide richer insights into the history of fashion in Indonesia. It can also help in further understanding the social construction of clothing styles. By considering the limitations of this study and adopting these recommendations for future research, we can further our understanding of historical fashion in Indonesia and its impact on society and culture. This will help realize the role of fashion in shaping identity, cultural norms and social change in Indonesia throughout history.

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