

A Discursive Institutional Reading of Hamka's *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* (1963) and Ông Iòk-tek's *Taiwan: A History of Agonies* (1964)

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Abstract

Hamka (1908-1981) is a well-known Indonesian literary figure. However, he also wrote about Indonesian history. One of his famous history books is *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* (From olden treasury) which talks about his rejections of the Dutch way in writing the history of Indonesia. Using old literature of Indonesia, among other things, Hamka rewrote the history of his country. Ông Iòk-tek (1924-1985) is a famous Taiwanese man of letters. However, his book *Taiwan: A History of Agonies* is about the history of Taiwan. Like what Hamka did, Ông Iòk-tek used literary works, among other things, to reject the way Chinese imperialists wrote the history of his beloved country, Taiwan. This discursive institutional reading aims at examining how and why Hamka and Ông Iòk-tek both as popular literary authors rewrote the history in the aforementioned books. The reading found out, among other things, that Hamka started to discuss how Islam first entered Indonesia while Ông Iòk-tek began to write how his country got the name Taiwan. In conclusion, In Indonesia, the colonizer tries to weaken the role of Islam while the imperialist in Taiwan attempts to distort its identity.

Keywords: Hamka, Ông Iòk-tek, history, Taiwan, Indonesia

Introduction

What motivated Hamka (1908-1981) to write his history book *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* (From olden treasury) was like that of Ông Iòk-tek (1924-1985) when writing his history book *Taiwan: A History of Agonies*. Hamka (1982: viii-ix) pointed out that the Dutch scholars who wrote the history of Indonesia based on old records did not see what Hamka saw. They were proud of their victories over Indonesian ancestors, their smartness over Indonesian stupidity, and their greatness in conquering Indonesian tribes. Sometimes the Christian Dutch disclosed their hatred towards Indonesian muslims. Luckily, the Indonesian founding people kept on reminding to happily check and recheck the history of Indonesia as a nation, especially as a muslim who sees what others do not. This reobservation of the history enables us to evaluate history according to our own point of view as a nation.

Like Hamka, Ông Iòk-tek wrote the aforementioned book because he found out that the available history books about Taiwan were not written for the sake of Taiwanese. Ông Iòk-tek (2021: 23-25) contended that the rulers had manipulated and distorted history to fit their agenda, employing power, wealth, and other resources to present a highly skewed version of Taiwan's past. Therefore, it is improbable that individuals would inadvertently disregard such manipulations and distortions of Taiwanese history and then proceed to condemn Ông Iòk-tek for altering historical facts himself. One of the rulers, in this case, is the imperialist China.

The purpose of this article is to examine how Hamka and Ông Iòk-tek respond to the way the Dutch colonizer and the imperialist China wrote the history of Indonesia and Taiwan. This composition will focus on how these two authors begin what to discuss in their book. Hamka started to explain how Islam entered Indonesia while Ông Iòk-tek initiated to deal with how his country got the name Taiwan. The discursive institutionalist reading of Hamka's *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* and Ông Iòk-tek's *Taiwan: A History of Agonies* will consider both the text and the author as an institution to see how and why Hamka and Ông Iòk-tek made good use of literary narrative and poetry in their history book.

As a method, discourse analysis which scrutinizes literary text and institution has been applied before in, among other things, (Rose, 2016: 186-252; Aziz, 2023: 144-161). However, Schmidt (2008: 303-326) offers another more comprehensive way in reading both text and institution involved in the text publication. The method is called discursive institutionalism. It aims at demonstrating the great innovation of discursive institutionalism in terms of its ability to explain change and continuity on institutions. It strives to show how discursive institutionalism does so and to disclose the explanatory power of ideas and discourse.

This article consists of four parts. First, the introductory part demonstrates what motivated the authors to write the two history books under investigation, the purpose of this article and the method for analysis. Second, the analytical part concentrating on Hamka and Islam in Indonesia engages in explaining and discussing the findings from Hamka's book *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*. Third, another analytical part focusing on Ông Iòk-tek and Taiwan identity strives to elaborate and discuss the findings from Ông Iòk-tek's book *Taiwan: A History of Agonies*. Fourth, the concluding part consists of significance, implication and suggestion for further research.

Hamka and Islam in Indonesia

Prof. Dr. Hamka (1908-1981), short for Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, is a well-known Indonesian Muslim cleric. He was appointed the Head of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian ulama council) in 1975-1981. He wrote books on Islam, such as the ten-volume interpretation of the holy Quran called *Tafsir Al-Azhar* and two famous novels entitled *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* (Under the protection of Ka'bah) and *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* (The sinking of Van Der Wijck ship). Due to his expertise in Islamic studies, he was motivated to correct the distortion of the history of Islam in Indonesia. Hamka explicitly mentioned that it was the European researchers, including the Dutchman Prof. Snouck Hurgronje, who were twisting the historical facts on when Islam first came to Indonesia (Hamka, 1950: 7). At least, Hamka wrote two history books on Islam in Indonesia: *Sedjarah Islam di Sumatera* (1950) and *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* (1963).

When writing history, Hamka used at least three methods. First, by performing field research. Hamka (1950: 12-13) pointed out that while living in Makassar (1931-1933), he was listening to stories from local people about their memories on three Muslim clerics who were spreading Islam there: *Datuk ri Bandang*, *Datuk Patimang*, and *Datuk ri Tiro*. Second, by

learning from historical narrative. Hamka (1950: 6-7) said that he had learned from Ibnu Batuta's notes that Islam had begun to enter Sumatra in the eighth century, even there had already existed a big Islamic kingdom. However, according to Prof. Snouck Hurgronje, Islam began to enter the land of Sumatra at the end of the twelfth century. Third, by learning from non-historical narrative. Hamka (1982: viii) contended that he wrote *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* based on fictional tales and then he emphasized that though the stories were fictitious, there were truth and philosophy in them. After retelling these stories in his book, he would comment on them scientifically and academically.

Hamka (1982: viii-ix) wrote his famous history book *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* (From olden treasury) from two sources. First, it was old books handed down from ancestors. These books were also read by the Dutch historians. Second, it was notes from the Dutch historians. These historians sometimes did not see what Hamka saw. Their perspective¹ is different from Hamka's. In 1955 Hamka began writing articles based on the olden treasury and these articles were routinely published in a weekly newspaper called *Mingguan Abadi* in Jakarta. Hamka stopped writing when the weekly newspaper gave up publishing in 1960. The collected articles were then put together in a book entitled *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* and was first published in 1963.

Dari Perbendaharaan Lama consists of six parts. In the first part, Hamka demonstrated when and how Islam entered Indonesia through Java, Sulawesi and Maluku province. This article focuses on Java province only because Java is believed to be the first to receive Islam. There were three places in Java which Hamka elaborated in his book: Kalingga, Giri and Madura. Islam began to enter Indonesia is not recorded in the history because muslim travelers who came to Indonesia were not on official expeditions sent by rulers in Damascus or in Baghdad and they were not carrying weapons. Instead, they were trading and they came to Indonesia voluntarily (Hamka, 1982: 3). Nevertheless, based on historical notes by a Chinese traveler I Tsing, Hamka (1982: 1-2) retold the following story which shed a light on when the first time Islam came to Indonesia:

“In Chinese historical records, in the midst of the 7th century, there was a kingdom called *Holing*, and there was a land called *Cho-p'o*. Then, the queen was called *Simo*.... Between 674 and 675 AD, there arrived a messenger from *Ta-Cheh* to *Holing*. How amazed the messenger was by the safety of *Holing* under the rule of Queen *Simo*. One day the *Ta-Cheh* messenger was trying to scatter gold on the street and no one dared to steal any of it. For the next three years, the pots of gold were remaining safe on the street.... Investigation results showed that *Cho-p'o* was the land of Java. *Holing* was Kalingga kingdom in Java in the midst of the 7th century and indeed there was a queen named *Sima* or *Simo*. The *Ta-Cheh* messenger was a rich trader from Arab.

At that time, *Ta-Cheh* was a Chinese terminology to refer to an Arab person or to Arab people as a nation.”

¹ For example, Hurgronje (1906: 121-128) retold a heroic Acehnese fiction story about Malem Diwa. After retelling it, he told the reader about the representation of the hero in real life named Teungku Tapa. Tapa and his followers were defeated by the Dutch troops after running away for a period of time. In 1899 Tapa came back and continued his performances with a group of followers and in 1900 Tapa was killed. Previously, Hurgronje showed how Acehnese glorified the heroic image of Malem Diwa, but then demonstrated someone who 'acted' like Malem Diwa lost and the Dutch won.

As for Giri, Hamka pointed out that it was the first center of Islamic religion in Java, but he did not specify when Islam first entered Giri (1982: 7). Giri, then, was called a place which was full of memories and greatness. The emphasis of the retelling of Giri can be seen in the following quotation:

“Not far from Surabaya city there was Giri hill. The sea scenery was beautiful and the breeze would be stroking our weary face. There you would find the tomb of one of the nine saints, Raden Paku who was well-known with the name Sunan Giri, son of Maulana Ishak, friend of Maulana Malik Ibrahim, the first people who spread Islam in Java.

Due to his father return to Pasai and long not coming back to Java, Raden Paku was adopted by a well-to-do woman named Nyi Gede Maloka.

Growing up, he was sent to study Islam at Ngampel with the son of Raden Rahmat (Sunan Ngampel) named Makhdum Ibrahim who was later known as Sunan Bonang.

Among the nine saints who spread Islam in Java, both Sunan Giri and Sunan Bonang had deeper knowledge about Islam. Knowing and hoping these two young men to know more about Islam, Sunan Ngampel sent them out of Java, performing pilgrimage to Mecca.

The two young men visited Pasai Aceh first, learning about Islam from Ulema in Aceh. And in Aceh, Raden Paku met his father again.”

Hamka very likely wanted to emphasize the strengths of Giri as the first center of Islam in Java, including the important role of Sunan Giri as one of the nine saints who spread Islam in Java. In 1679, so strong was the influence of Giri that the Dutch was able to see that it was from Giri, east Java, the never ending resistance originated. Pangeran Giri, the last descendant of Sunan Giri was arrested and sentenced to death. The historical Keris Giri weapon which beat Majapahit was kept in Mataram for years. Since then, Giri never woke up again (Hamka, 1982: 9). In the present time, however, the tomb of Sunan Giri in Giri Gresik becomes one of famous religious trip destinations in east Java.

About Islam in Madura island, Hamka (1982: 16) said that since the first time Islam entered Java in the 7th century, it happened in Madura too. Even before the fall of Majapahit kingdom, Madura had been one of coastal areas which received Islam as its guidance in freeing itself from the rule of Patih Gajah Mada. In addition, there was this story about a prominent muslim in Madura:

“When Sultan Terenggano became a king, he continued to execute his ancestors plan to expand Demak power to East Java and West Java. Terenggano was a smart king who had many daughters.... One of his son-in-laws was “Pangeran Langgar”, the hero of Madura! No one remembered his original name and he was a descendant of common people just like Gajah Mada of Majapahit. But in his official title “Pangeran Langgar” everybody knew who he was. He was a pious student who spent his time (*tafakkur*) in *langgar* (a small mosque), and had a high *Tauhid* (worshipping one God only) soul. And when *Tauhid* grew strong on one’s chest, he feared nothing but Allah!” (Hamka, 1982: 17).

Why Hamka mentioned the name Gajah Mada when talking about Islam in Madura? Gajah Mada was a hero of Majapahit while Pangeran Langgar was a hero of Madura. At that time Majapahit ruled Java island in an authoritarian way. No body should have disobeyed Majapahit. Madura, however, chose not to obey Majapahit. Hamka (1982: 16) pointed out that

the spread of Islam along the coast of East Java from Jaratan², Giri, Gresik and Tuban directly to Madura and finally to the establishment of Demak kingdom was a challenge and opportunity at the same time, due to the Islamic teaching of Tauhid, to go against the teaching of worshipping king which deeply rooted in Indonesian society generally and in Java island specifically from the era of Mataram I, Kalingga, Singasari to Majapahit.

Another role of Islam in Indonesia was that Islam made kebangsaan (nationalism) and Indonesia unity guaranteed. Hamka (1982: 12) emphasized that the attempts to twist the historical fact that Majapahit fell after being attacked by Islam was a deliberate mistake. Prof. Snouck Hurgronje had done this historical fact twist. Knowing the strength of Islam in Indonesia, Hurgronje advised the Dutch government to nurture “nationalism” in Indonesian nation. This intention succeeded in terms of the loss of appreciations for Sunan Ngampel and Sunan Giri and the bringing up of Gajah Mada name. Likewise, the sinking of Raden Patah and Patih Unus roles in attempting to drive away Portuguese colonizers from Malaka and the rising up of king Airlangga name³.

Ông Iòk-tek and Taiwan Identity

Prof. Dr. Ông Iòk-tek (1924-1985) is a famous Taiwanese linguist and man of letters. While taking his Ph.D. degree at Tokyo University, he wrote a dissertation called Study on the Phonetics of the Ming Language. In 1960 he established the magazine Taiwan Youth in Tokyo, Japan. The magazine aimed at “inspiring spiritual awareness of the Taiwanese” (Ng Chiau-tong, 2002). Ông was “a spiritual leader and the key man of the Taiwan independence movement”. In 1970 the name of the magazine became the World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI). His literary works, including poetry, plays and prose, are collected in The Complete Works of Ông Iòk-tek (in 15 volumes). Ông realized that study of language requires some knowledge on history. Thus, like Hamka, he at least has written two history books: Taiwan: A History of Agonies (1964) and A Historical Study of Taiwanese (1987). These history books were written to ignite Taiwanese awareness of the importance of independence.

Unlike Hamka who originally wrote his books in his own language, Ông Iòk-tek wrote his Taiwan: A History of Agonies in Japanese, not in Taiwanese. Ông wrote it while he was in Japan and he originally wrote it for Japanese readership. The book was so famous that it was then translated into English for international readership. The translator, Shimamura (2021: 328-329), pointed out that Ông’s syntax is “intact, his vocabulary abundant and ... his writing style faultless”. Ông Mei-ri (2021: 10-12), daughter of Ông Iòk-tek, emphasized that the book remains as a first class document because Ông wrote it objectively based on several documents in order to declare that “Taiwan’s clamor for independence is valid” due to its capability to be

² Hamka (1982: 22) explained that Gresik and Jaratan were destroyed by Sultan Agung in 1622. Thus, at the time when Hamka wrote the composition, the name Jaratan was not heard again, but Gresik still exists up to now (2024).

³ Hamka (1982: 209-212) proposed Islam-based nationalism instead of non-religion based nationalism. He argued that Islam emphasizes the devotion to the land where one lives. History of the world has proven this. One might compare this with what happened in the Middle East after pan-Islamism had been changed to pan-Arabism (Jawad, 1997: 140-161).

justified and substantiated by history and international law. Indeed, when one reads *Taiwan: A History of Agonies*, one will find various valid documents referred to by Ông Iók-tek. One of the documents is poetry and prose⁴. This article, however, pays more attention to poetry Ông wrote and quoted in the beginning part of the book.

Taiwan: A History of Agonies (2021) consists of one introductory chapter, eight body chapters and one concluding chapter. At least there are three sources that Ông used to write the book (2021: 25). First, it was historical data. In Taiwan, such data were quite a lot, but most of them were produced by people of power of the time or by people assigned by these people of power, commonly called the third parties. Their perspectives in writing the history served their own interests. Second, it was distinguished people. These people were happy to spend their time giving advice and guidance to Ông for the sake of completion of the book. Third, it was literary works either produced by Ông himself or by the imperialist. The following is an anecdote about Taiwan climate to be considered very carefully by people who come to Taiwan for the first time (2021: 91):

“Taiwan is now ‘opened’ for the first time, but its climate is hardly agreeable. Once taken ill there, one is certain to die. That is why our men are all hesitant to go [to Taiwan].”

The anecdotal side can be seen in the phrase “opened for the first time”. It means that Taiwan was opened for the first time after being invaded by Cheng Cheng-kung. The climate condition, however, was not a joke because indeed Taiwan climate was hardly agreeable. This is substantiated by a poem by Lu Jo-teng as follows:

“Surprised to learn of the vicious climate in the land to the east
Beyond the sea; nine out of ten whoever go there fall ill there.” (2021: 92)

The significance of both the anecdote and the poem most probably refers also to the meaning of the name “Taiwan”. Unlike Hamka, who started his book by discussing when and how Islam first time came to Indonesia, Ông (2021: 36-40) began his book by talking about how Taiwan got its name. “Taiwan” was an indigenous Takasago word whose sound “Taioan” in Chinese language means “burial afterwards”. Arriving in Taiwan, people understood that the climate was disagreeable, they then took ill, died and were buried in Taiwan. The good news, however, the word “Taiwan” does not originate in Chinese language⁵. Once again, it is from an indigenous language. The Chinese character 台灣 was just commonly used between 1573 and 1620 in the Wang-li period. A Chinese pirate Yen Su-chi came to a place near Tainan and called it Taiwan for the first time. The indigenous Siraya people usually called the aliens Tainan or Tayan, thus “Taiwan”. The immigrants called the place they settled in “Taiwan”. As such, the name Taiwan refers to either the people or the area.

⁴ For example, Ông (2021: 206-207) quoted Wu Chuo-liu's novel *Hu Tai-ming* to exemplify language imperialism during Japanese occupation of Taiwan. Taiwanese people had to speak and write in Japanese and even had to follow Japanese customs. That was the original title of the novel. Its another title was *A Twisted Island*. Right now the English popular title of the novel is *Orphan of Asia* (亞細亞的孤兒).

⁵ Therefore, Ông Mei-ri, daughter of Ông Iók-tek, wanted people to know that “Taiwan is not China. The Taiwanese are not the Chinese. Taiwan should be ruled by Taiwanese themselves” (2021: 9-10).

Ông Iók-tek further pointed out that in the 1960s KMT did not let Taiwan be addressed as Taiwan in the Olympics⁶. They wanted Taiwan to be addressed as Republic of China (ROC). They detested the name Taiwan. Three hundred years before (in the 1660s), Cheng Cheng-kung detested the sound “Taiwan” too because it closely signifies “burial afterwards”. He changed “Taiwan” to “Tang-tou” which means “East Capital” to be similar to Peking and Nanking. Cheng Ching, son of Cheng Cheng-kung, later changed “Tang-tou” to “Tang-leng”. Defeating the Cheng family, the Qing dynasty thought to change “Tang-leng” to another name because they detested the legacy of the Cheng family, but they could not come up with any alternative. Finally, the Qing dynasty decided to return to the name “Taiwan”. Like Hamka who has demonstrated that the Dutch colonizer and Snouck Hurgronje twisted Indonesian historical facts, Ông has shown that the Chinese imperialist, including KMT, the Cheng family and the Qing dynasty, distorted Taiwan historical facts.

In *Taiwan: A History of Agonies*, Ông Iók-tek (2021: 98-101) does not only deal with the sufferings of the colonized but also the calamities on the part of the colonizer. Such life hardship can be seen in the following death poem:

“I sought shelter overseas
Solely for the sake of these few lines of hair,
Now all is over,
May my ancestors accommodate me.”

The colonizer’s agony is brought out by the speaker’s imitating Cheng Cheng-kung’s lamentation, “By wishing to retain these few lines of hair of mine I have forced sufferings on my people back home.” Chu Shu-kui wrote the above poem about the same time as Cheng Cheng-kung made such lamentation after the Qing dynasty’s boundary decree had been created as a result of the Qing’s success in hitting hard the coastal residents. The Qing approached the Cheng for reaching a peace agreement on the condition that the Cheng accepted wearing alien costumes and queue. The queue is a male hairstyle by which the hair is shaved off on both sides with the central part is braided into a long pigtail. The Cheng rejected the peace proposal. The Qing dynasty repeatedly proposed peace terms with the Cheng. In 1679 the Qing’s last peace proposal was submitted to Cheng Ching where the Qing wrote, among other things, these few sentences:

“Taiwan is not a territory of China but a land cultivated by your father and you. You do not seem content only with Taiwan and rise up against this court, presumably because of your lingering attachment to your homeland.... If Your Excellency should choose to retreat to Taiwan, this court will ceasefire. Never again attempt to invade China. Your Excellency need not wear queue. Whether or not to submit and pay tribute is entirely your own choice. This court wishes Taiwan to be another Korea, another Japan.”

The way Taiwan identity was constructed by the colonizers can be seen firstly in the Qing’s dynasty’s statement that Taiwan territory does not belong to China nor to the Cheng

⁶ Now (2024) Taiwan baseball team is addressed as Chinese Taipei national baseball team (中華臺北棒球代表隊).

family. According to the Qing, the Cheng is not the owner but the cultivators of Taiwan land. Secondly, the Cheng did not accept the peace terms. It means that the Cheng thought they were the owner of Taiwan territory. Even not only did the Cheng want to rule China but also Taiwan. Due to the failure of the negotiation, the Cheng and the Qing continued having a war. The Qing, in this case, won the war.

There is another poem about reluctance to go to Taiwan, but where there is the will of God, no human being can avoid what is about to occur. The poem is called “Don’t You Ever Go to Taiwan” and here is the complete poem quotation from Ông Iòk-tek’s book (2021: 109-110):

“Nothing to do at home,
Argue with wife—‘Why not to go to Taiwan?’
Straight to the shore you rush,
Beat down the boat fare to smuggle your way to Taiwan.
Pity the boat is too small for comfort.
What a Hell, it’s God’s will, live or die.
Dried potatoes and dried radishes is all you’ve got to eat,
Nine out of ten of greens are sure to vomit.
Ask boat-master for water to clean up with;
He blows up and throws back some vulgar curses.
Thank God, with a piece of luck
Made it to Taiwan.
Landed under cover of darkness;
Lost in darkness; can’t tell east from west.
Alas! Held up by bandits and
Robbed of all you have got...”

Despite the immigrants’ reluctance, they finally made it to come to Taiwan. Based on the poem which was written in Dao-kuan era, the strongest motivation on the part of the immigrants was the spirit to survive. They had nothing to do in China. No matter how hard it was, they had no choice but to go out for survival. Another strong reason to go to Taiwan was the will of God and the presence of luck. The Dao-kuan era might have something to do with Yi-guan Dao/I-kuan Tao 一貫道, a salvationist and syncretic religion whose origin can be traced back to Luo Jiao, a sectarian religion created by Luo Qing (1442-1527) during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The latter religion attributed its ancestry to Taiping Dao, the later Han dynasty (25-220) Daoist sect involved in the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans (Yong Chen, 2022). It goes without saying that the poem includes the presence of God in the act of human being. Probably, due to its connection with rebellion movement, KMT persecuted the steady Yi-guan Dao in Taiwan and this persecution was not abolished until the lifting of Martial Law in 1987.

Like Hamka who presented the purpose and context of the whole book in the first story he retold, Ông Iòk-tek put his own poem exactly after the inside cover of his book. But unlike

Hamka who proposed religion-based nationalism, Ông's spirituality very likely does not have to do with any religion. The poem reads:

Taiwan, O my homeland

Taiwan, O my homeland,
The soil I live and die on,
Where ten million of my fellow countrymen
With me forever share every joy and grief.

Every drop of blood, sweat and tears
Shed over the soil had my ancestors,
Solely in search of good fortune.

Let be past our humiliation-stained past
Let us pry open afresh today
A wholly new history of our own (Ông, 2021: 2).

Ông Iók-tek's spirituality has to do with the spirit of independence. Such spirit should be embraced and maintained because of at least three considerations: the homeland, the people and the past. Every nation has the past but these nations have their right to determine their independent national identity regardless of how shameful their past was because of colonization or imperialism. In addition, Hamka and Ông Iók-tek were aware that colonizers left behind two kinds of legacy: tangible and intangible legacy. The tangible legacies are like museums, statues, hospitals, schools and other physical entities. The intangible legacies are like ideology and spirituality for constructing and reconstructing identity. The latter legacies are far more long lasting than the former ones. As such, discourses and ideas produced by both Hamka and Ông Iók-tek must never be ignored by the present and future posterities of both Indonesian and Taiwanese.

Conclusion

The discursive institutionalist reading of *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama and Taiwan: A History of Agonies* is significant in revealing the idea that In Indonesia, the colonizer tries to weaken the role of Islam while the imperialist in Taiwan attempts to distort its identity. This idea is inseparable from Hamka and Ông Iók-tek as a writer/institution who has composed and designed the history book. Hamka was a famous Indonesian muslim cleric and a prolific literary author. Ông Iók-tek was a well-known Taiwanese spiritual leader and a great literary figure. In addition, both Hamka and Ông Iók-tek were university professors who were expert in Islamic studies (for Hamka) and linguistics (for Ông). Hamka's religiosity and Ông's spirituality exerts the notion of the importance of transcendence, in addition to physical entities, for nation building.

History is a relativist narrative. The inclusion of literary works in a history book cannot be exempted from context. Every literary work mentioned in *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama* and *Taiwan: A History of Agonies* is preceded or followed with historical contexts. These literary creations can serve as markers or indicators of the historical periods and facts being discussed in the investigated history books. As a matter of fact, the two books were published in the 1960s. What happened in Asia and specifically in Indonesia and Taiwan in the 1960s? Ông has answered this question in his book (2021: 32-33) and so has Hamka (1982: viii-ix). Both Ông and Hamka very likely agreed to say that it was the time for the preservation of the power of colonization and imperialism.

This article only deals with the beginning parts of the history books under investigation. As such, it is suggested that further research touch the middle and end parts of the books. This is in order to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the investigated discourse. The further study might come to the points where Hamka and Ông Iók-tek demonstrate how colonial discourse defines nationalism in Indonesia & independence in Taiwan. In addition, the further inquiry had better consult the original book and other references by Ông Iók-tek that were written in the Japanese language.

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Chit-ê lùn-bûn kan-tan hân-tiân tī Ông Iòk-tek giân-thó-hōe sū-iōng.
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