

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ISLAM AND
CULTURE IN TWO DISTRICTS OF INDONESIA**

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Dissertation entitled "A Comparative Study of Islam and Culture in Two District of Indonesia" submitted by Iskandar in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) of the university is an original work and has not been submitted for the award of any other degrees of this university or any other to the best of my knowledge.

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INTRODUCTION

In Western societies people marry one spouse at a time, whereas in many African and Asian societies it is common to be married to several spouses simultaneously. Children in Western societies generally live with families rather than in large communal groups. Women in Western societies take their freedom of movement for granted; women in Saudi Arabia are not even permitted to drive. These social practices are part of what we call culture. Where do these patterns of social practices come from, and why are they different in different societies?

Theoretical Concepts Of Culture

When sociologists use the term of culture, they are generally referring to a shared way of life among the members of a society. Culture is an agreement among a society's members about appropriate behavior, values, history and heritages, rituals that should be respected and observed and so on. The members of a society share a way of life described by a set of blueprints that show "What must be done, ought to be done, should be done, may be done, and must not be done".¹ These blueprints are learned understanding of acceptable and expected patterns of behaviors.

¹ Williams, Rabin M. Jr. *American Society: A Sociological interpretation*, Khopf, New York, 1965. P. 23.

It would perhaps be generally admitted that culture is not a part of nature.² For culture is something learned. Nor is it simply an individual acquisition, for an acquired feature of life which begins and ends with the individual will hardly qualify for being included in culture; it must in some sense be handed down to be considered a part of culture which is thus at once an individual acquisition and a social tradition, something which guides and improves and fulfills the individual and at the same time constitute the inner meaning of social experience.

“Culture is a tradition of values, of self – realization”.³ Every culture possesses a body of ideas and values, which guide people’s behavior.⁴ It refers to all “the accepted and patterned ways of behavior of a given people. It is a body of common understandings. It is the sum total and the organization or arrangement of all the group’s ways of thinking, feeling and acting. It also includes the physical manifestations of the group as exhibited in the objects they make-the clothing, shelter, tools, weapons, implements, utensils, and so on. In this sense of course every people-however has a culture, and no individual can live without culture”.⁵

Culture is realization of values. Culture is one word for realization of values in theory and practice. ‘Value’, according to him, is thus one word for subject’s attitudes to object, ‘realization’ for the turning of a possible experience into an actual one; theory is assimilation of objects by subjects; ‘practice’ is one word for ‘subjects’ getting assimilated into object,⁶ for values are many, so they must be put in the right order and

² The words ‘culture’ and civilization first came to be used in an idealistic sense in Western Europe from the second half of the 18th century.

³ Pande G. Chandra, *The Meaning and Process of Culture*, Shiva Lal Agarwala, Jaipur. 1972. p.1.

⁴ Honigmann J. Jhon, *Understanding Culture*, Oxford IBH Publishing Co. Calcutta, 1967.

⁵ Brown. I.C, *Understanding Other Culture*, Prentice Hall, The Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 1963. p.4.

⁶ B.S Sanyal. “Culture”, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962. p. 44-45.

needs to be graded. That which is the highest is the religious value. Religion is the realization of the highest value in theory. Religion being the highest constituent of culture regulates the other constituents of culture and unifies them into a cultural system. This is the function of the highest value.⁷

Religious culture, in its most simple form consists of conduct related to man's physical and even physiological life, such as food, clothing, sexuality, and death. Practices in these areas are closely related to social life, especially to birth, marriage, and burial ceremonies, and also seasonal feasts and so on. The religious culture then spreads progressively over a variety of other areas of human life to become a general culture and, in some cases, a secular one.⁸

In every major religious community there exists a gap, more or less great, between the beliefs and practices of what may be called 'official' religion and the piety of common people. This is nowhere more true than in Islam. While most Muslims are vaguely aware of the fundamental theological position adopted by the community in the course of its development, only a small number, those who have had the privilege of advance training in a traditional school of religious instruction, or *madrasa*, know these matters in detail from first hand acquaintance with the works of the great religious leaders of the past. The Islamic community is second to none in the richness and depth of its intellectual heritage and one of the areas where that legacy is the strongest is the field of religious speculation.⁹

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Roger Arnaldez, "Religion, Religious Culture, and Culture", in Richard G. Hovannision and George Sabagh (eds.), *Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999. p. 94.

⁹ J. Adams Charles, "Islamic faith" in Savory, R.M, *Introduction to Islamic Civilization*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976. p. 33.

According to Charles, there are two Islams, or more properly, two levels of Islamic life that are of interests to one who wishes to know about the religion. On the one hand is the 'high Islam' of the learned and of the religious class, and on the other is Islam of everyday life as it is appropriated and lived by the vast majority of members of the community. Both levels of religious expression are vital to an understanding of Islamic culture; they are showing the effort of the community to be clear and firm about its spiritual foundations, and the other showing the way in which Islamic spiritual values affect the lives of people, what it means and how it feels actually to be a Muslim.¹⁰ The reasons for the great difference between 'high Islam' and the religion of ordinary Muslim are to be found largely in the sophistication and complexity of Islamic religious thought in its higher levels of development and the consequent loss of emotional content.¹¹

There is a belief that Islam is a comprehensive way of life, which includes society, politics, and economics.¹² Each of the main forms of Islam is influenced to a large degree by its cultural and geographical context.¹³

Some western scholars of Islam talk of many Islam, a Moroccan Islam, an Indian Islam and so on, which is inaccurate and misleading. There is one Islam only. Throughout the world Muslims accept that it is rooted in the Koran and the *sunnah*, the life of Prophet. Together they point to the *shariat*, the Islamic path. However, culture, history and ecology have affected how Muslims live their lives.¹⁴

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Akbar. S Ahmed, *Islam Today: A Short Introduction To The Muslim World*, I. B. Tauris Publisher, London, 1999. p. 226.

¹³ Ibid. p.232.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 6.

Again the affirmative attitude toward other Muslims is almost instinctive, for religion and tradition have taught that Muslims are an *ummah* or community different from all other. Members of the *ummah* must be brothers to one another in adversity and difficulty in order that the cause of right will not suffer.¹⁵

The assurance that Islam holds out to the faithful comprehends not only the eventual destiny of mankind in another world to come but has meaning in this world as well. The way of the Muslim is the best way of life, necessarily so, because it reflects an ageless divinely ordained pattern. It follows, therefore, that it must also be a successful mode of life for those who follow it truly.¹⁶

The revelation in the Koran is the divine method of letting men know what they need to know in order to live properly. Even with the revelation man may not understand the mysteries of the character of God, but they know enough in order to please God, to live successful lives in his earthly existence and to attain paradise in another.¹⁷

Religion is a subject of great concern even in an advanced society of today. Supernatural beliefs are present in every known society. The simple and the most obvious definition of religion is the belief in the supernatural, which however, fails to incorporate the idea that supernatural forces have some influence or control over the world, a notion that always accompanies beliefs in the supernatural. Robertson defines religion as that which "refers to the existence of supernatural beings which have a governing effect on

¹⁵ J. Adam, Charles, 'Islamic Faith' in Savory R. M, *Introduction to Islamic Civilization*, Cambridge University Press Cambridge. 1976. p.37.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 39.

life”.¹⁸ Another in the same vein is that of Melford & Spiro, which states that religion, is based on “beliefs in superhuman beings and in the power to assist or harm man”.¹⁹

The community in Islam is not founded on race, nationality, locality, occupations, kinships, or special interests. It does not take its name after the name of a leader or founder or an event. It transcends national borders and political boundaries. The foundation of the community in Islam is based on the principles, which designates submission to the will of Allah, obedience to His law and commitment to His cause. In short, an Islamic community is present only when it is nourished and fostered by Islam.²⁰

Ever since Max Muller delivered his lecture in Westminster Abbey, on the day of intercession for missions, in December 1873, it has been a literary commonplace, that the six great religions of the world may be divided into missionary and non-missionary; under the latter head fall Judaism, Brahmanism, and Zoroastrianism, and under first the Christianity and Islam; and he well defined what the term, a missionary religion, should be taken to mean, viz. “one in which the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to the rank of a sacred duty by the founder or his immediate successor. It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which can not rest, unless it manifest itself in thought, word and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every human soul, till what it believes to be the truth is accepted as the truth by all members of the human family”.²¹

¹⁸ Haralambos, M, *Sociology: Themes and Perspective*, Oxford University Press, 1981. p. 453.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Hammudah Abdalati, “Islam in Focus” in Jamil Farooqi, *The Islamic Quarterly*, Volume XLVI Number 3 Third Quarter 2002. p.263.

²¹ A note on Mr. Lyall’s article : “Missionary religions”. *Fortnightly Review*, July, 1874, in T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching on Islam*, Low Price Publication, Delhi. 1997, p.1.

The Word Islam

The Arabic word “Islam” means “to turn oneself over to, to resign oneself, to submit”. In religious terminology, it means submission or surrendering to God, or to God’s will. In the broadest sense, Islam means “submission to God” as an undeniable fact of existence. If God is understood as the only reality truly worthy of the name or Reality with an uppercase religion then nothing else is truly real. In other words, everything else is dependent upon God for its reality. Or to use less philosophical and more theological language, all things in the universe, and the universe itself, are creations of God. Since God made them the way they are, they depend totally upon God. Hence they are “submitted” to God.

The heart of the Islamic faith is the belief in one God who is directly involved in the affairs of humanity. God is seen as requiring submission to his will and as having made that will known to mankind through revelations to a series of prophets. For Muslim, the final and complete form of those revelations was given to the prophet Muhammad in the seventh century. It was carefully recorded in the Koran, the foundation of Islam. Muslim, then, are those people who accept the unique oneness of God and recognize that Muhammad was the messenger of God.

The simple foundation for faith and experience has significance for all aspects of life. The revelation did not define a creed or a set of beliefs; it sets forth the basic blue print by which humanity should live. In this way, the Koran is the foundation for an ideal society, which Muslim beliefs will result from submission to God and His will. To be a Muslim is not simply a matter of individual belief; it means participating in the effort to implement God’s will on earth. As one modern Muslim explains it, “Islam teaches not

only that the realization of the good is possible in this world but that to bring it about here and now is precisely the duty of every man and woman.²² In the broadest sense, the Islamic community is that community which works to implement God's will as defined in the Koran here on earth in the contexts of history and society.

Islam is a way of life which has three main aspects; religious, political and cultural. The three overlap and interact, sometimes imperceptibly passing from one to other. Islam, the religion, is a system of beliefs and practices initially revealed by Allah to Muhammad, enshrined in the Arabic Koran, supplemented by tradition, and modified through the ages in response to changes in time and place. It is the third and last major monotheistic religion. A historical offshoot of Judaism and Christianity, it is most closely related to them. Originally the simple, humble, religion of a few unsophisticated tribes in Arabia, Islam swelled in the course of time to become the faith of some of the most cultured peoples in the medieval times.

Islam as a state is a political entity with an aggregate of institutions based on Koranic law, founded by Muhammad in Medina, developed by his successors (Caliphs, Ar, Sing, Khalifah) at the expense of the Persian and East Roman empires to a height unattained in medieval or ancient times, and then fragmented into splinter states in western Asia, northern Africa, and southwestern Europe. Certain Arab and non-Arab states today are evolving new Islamic style by themselves.

Islam, the culture is a compound of varied elements of ancient Semitic, Indo-Persian, classical Greek-synthesized under the caliphate and expressed primarily through the medium of the Arabic tongue. Unlike the other two, Islam, the culture, was mainly

²² Ismail R. Al Faruqi, "Islam" in John Obert. *Islam, Continuity and Change in the Modern World*. Vol. 1 Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1982. p.8.

having been, from the-eight century to the end of twelfth century, unmatched in its brilliance and unsurpassed in its literary, scientific, and philosophic output.

Islam is in fact plural: it consists of many sects, schools of thought and law and traditions. It knows no unity of interpretation. So no *ulama* rises to prominence without having other ones countering his views and offering a different interpretation of the text. This is ill understood by non-Moslems, who tend to dramatize *fatwas* issued by *ulamas* whose field of influence is often not larger than that of a mosque congregation.

The Five Pillars of Islam

They are the framework of the Muslim life: faith, prayer, concern for the needy, self-purification, and the pilgrimage to Mecca for those who are able.

1. Faith (*shahadah*)

There is no go worthy worship except God and Muhammad is His messenger. The declaration of faith is called the *Shahadah*, a simple formula which all the faithful pronounce. In Arabic, the first part is *la ilaha illa'Llah*- 'there is no god except God' *ilaha* (God) can refer to anything which we may be tempted to put in place of God: wealth, power, and the like. Then comes *illa'Llah*: 'except God', the source of a Creation. The second part of the *Shahada* is *Muhammadun rasulu'Llah*: 'Muhammad is the messenger of God.' A message of guidance has come through a man like ourselves

2. Prayer (*salat*)

Salat is the name for the obligatory prayers which are performed five times a day. It is a direct link between the worshipper and God. There is no hierarchical authority in

Islam, and no priests, so the prayers are led by a learned person who knows the Quran, chosen by the congregation. These five prayers contain verses from the Quran, and are said in Arabic, the language of the Revelation, but personal supplication can be offered in one's own language.

Prayers are said at dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset and nightfall, and thus determine the rhythm of the entire day. Although it is preferable to worship together in a mosque, a Muslim may pray almost anywhere, such as in fields, offices, factories and universities. Visitors to the Muslim world are struck by the centrality of prayers in daily life.

3. The Legal Almsgiving (*zakat*)

One of the most important principles of Islam is that all things belong to God, and that wealth is therefore held by human beings in trust. The word *zakat* means both 'purification' and 'growth'. Our possessions are purified by setting aside a portion for those in need, and, like the pruning of plants, this cutting back balances and encourages new growth.

4. The Fast (*sawm*)

Every year in the month of Ramadan, all Muslims fast from first light until sundown, abstaining from food, drink, and sexual relations. Those who are sick, elderly, or on journey, and women who are pregnant or nursing are permitted to break the fast and make up an equal number of days later in the year. If they are physically unable to do this, they must feed a needy person for every day missed. Children begin to fast (and to observe the prayer) from puberty, although many start earlier.

5. Pilgrimage (*Hajj*)

The annual pilgrimage to Makkah- the *Hajj*- is an obligation only for those who are physically and financially able to perform it. Nevertheless, about two million people go to Makkah each year from every corner of the globe providing a unique opportunity for those of different nations to meet one another. Although Makkah is always filled with visitors, the annual *Hajj* begins in the twelfth month of the Islamic year (which is lunar, not solar, so that *Hajj* and Ramadan fall sometimes in summer, sometimes in winter). Pilgrims wear special clothes: simple garments which strip away distinctions of class and culture, so that all stand equal before God.

Some Basic Islamic Beliefs

1. Belief in God

Muslims believe in one, unique, incomparable God, Who has neither son nor partner, and that none has the right to be worshipped but Him alone. He is the true God, and every other deity is false. He has the most magnificent names and sublime perfect attributes. No one shares His divinity, nor His attributes. The Arabic word *Allah* means God (the one and only true God who created the whole universe). This word *Allah* is a name for God, which is used by Arabic speakers, both Arab Muslims and Arab Christians. This word cannot be used to designate anything other than the one true God.

2. Belief in the Angels

Muslims believe in the existence of the angels and that they are honored creatures. The angels worship God alone, obey Him, and act only by His command. Among the angels is Gabriel, who brought down the Koran to Muhammad

3. Beliefs in the God's revealed book.

Muslims believe that God revealed books to His messengers as proof for mankind and as guidance for them. Among these books is the Koran, which God revealed to the Prophet Muhammad.

4. Belief in the Prophets and the messengers of God

Muslims believe in the prophets and messengers of God, starting with Adam, including Noah, Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Jesus (peace be upon them). But God's final message to man, a reconfirmation of the eternal message, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. Muslims believe that Muhammad is the last prophet sent by God. Muslims believe that all the prophets and messengers were created human beings who had none of the divine qualities of God.

5. Belief on the day of the Judgment.

Muslims believe in the Day of Judgment (the Day of Resurrection) when all people will be resurrected for God's judgment according to their beliefs and deeds.

6. Belief in Al-Qadar

Muslims believe in *Al-Qadar*, which is Divine Predestination, but this belief in Divine Predestination does not mean that human beings do not have freewill. Rather, Muslims believe that God has given human beings freewill. This means that they can choose right or wrong and that they are responsible for their choices.

The belief in Divine Predestination includes belief in four things: 1) God knows everything. He knows what has happened and what will happen. 2) God has recorded all that has happened and all that will happen. 3) Whatever God wills to happen happens,

and whatever He wills not to happen does not happen. 4) God is the Creator of everything.

Islamic Institutions in Java and West Sumatra

The Mosque

The Mosque traditionally had played an extremely important role in Islamic society. It is not only a house of worship; it has been center of Islamic Learning, a locus of political activity, a haven from the press of everyday life, and a place where Muslims join together to share in the community of Islam as well as a retreat where it is possible to rest in individual silence. This heritage of the significance of the mosque in the Islamic world as a whole, combined with the importance of maintaining a locus for Muslims identification in those society.

Structure and Establishment of the Mosque

An impressive building in every city or small focus, noteworthy for its large domed roof planked on either side by long, thin tower or minaret, proclaims by its traditional Islamic architecture that the structure is a mosque.

Inside there is a large hall, well carpeted or not but without seats, where worshipers sit, stand, or kneel for prayer services, sermon and instructions. Off this hall are several other sizable room as well as smaller space for men and women to perform ablutions (*wudhuk*) and to put on proper attire. There is also used as an Islamic center where society can congregate for other religious activities. Some Muslims use the term

mosque for a building that is used exclusively for worship whereas for still others it is used only when the structure includes a distinctive Islamic architectural feature such as a minaret or a dome.

Functions

Most Muslims believe that the family is the single most important element in keeping Muslims identified with the faith. Muslims seem to feel that, although the family may be the most important institution in raising children to Muslim, the mosque provides not only instruction and a place for children to meet but also a place for many adults to help them maintain their faith.

In fact, the mosque functions for not only its prayer services and sermons for adults and its educational classes for children but it also serves as a locus for socialization and interaction. Particularly important for all society those who attend the mosque regularly and those who do not are the celebrations for the EID or religious festivals. These holidays provide an opportunity for Muslims of all persuasions to mingle with one another and to reaffirm their own sense of what it means to be Muslims.

One of the main functions of the mosque is providing the context for prayer on Friday. Older persons are more likely than younger ones to stress the importance of the Friday service at the mosque, and men are more likely than women to emphasize its value.

Historically in the Muslim world mosques have functioned as centers of political activity and debate as well as house of worships. In Indonesia, they normally do play this role, some mosques do provide instruction in current affairs by engaging speakers

(*Khatib*) on such topic as national and international politics and speaking about Islamic countries.

Madrasa and Pesantren

The Islamic schools namely *Pesantren*, and *Madrasa*, played and still play in absolutely critical role in the Indonesian society. Without these schools, Indonesia could not have become even a normally Islamic society from the single circumstances of context.

Although Islamic education encompassed the whole life of the traditional Muslim, there are distinct phases and periods to be detected in this organic whole. There was, first of all, the primary period of early family education in which the father and mother both played the role of teacher and educator in religions matters as well as in matters relating to language culture, social customs, etc. After this period, which was usually longer than the remainder- harden in the West today, the growing child went on to one of the Koranic schools, *Madrasa*.²³ Most of *Madrasa* function financially and administratively independent of the government for imparting traditional Islamic education.

Spread of Islam in Indonesia

The spread of Islam is one of the most significant processes of Indonesian history, but also one of the most obscure. Muslim traders had apparently been present in some parts of Indonesia for several centuries before Islam became established within the local

²³ *Madrasa* (literally the place of teaching); Muslim religions school where Islamic law and theology are taught predominantly; Darul Ulum, the home of learning, a *madrasa*.

communities. When, why and how the conversion of Indonesia began has been debated by several scholars, but no definite conclusions have been possible because the records of Islamization which survive are so few, and often so uninformative. In general, two processes probably occurred. On the one hand, indigenous Indonesians came into contact with Islam and converted. On the other, foreign Asian (Arabs, Indians, Chinese, etc) who were already Muslim settled permanently in Indonesia, intermarried and adopted local lifestyles to such a degree that in effect they became Javanese or Malay or whatever. These two processes may have often occurred in conjunction with each other, and when a piece of evidence survives indicating, for instance, that a Muslim dynasty had been established in some area.

The most reliable evidence for the spread of Islam consist of Islamic inscriptions (mostly tombstones) and a few travelers' accounts. The earliest surviving Muslim gravestones on which the date is clear is found at Leran in East Java and is dated AH 475 (AD 1082). This was a gravestone of a woman, a daughter of someone named Maimun. It has, however, been doubted whether the grave to which the stone belongs was actually in Java (for instance, as ballast on ship) sometime after the lady's death. In any case, since the deceased appears to have been a non-Indonesian Muslim, this stone sheds no light on the establishment of Islam among Indonesians.

The first evidence of Indonesian Muslim concerns the northern part of Sumatra. When the Venetian traveler Marco Polo touched at Sumatra on his way home from China in 1292, he found that the Perlak was a Muslim town, while two nearby places which he called "Basma (N)" and "Samara" were not. "Basma (N) and Samara" have often been identified with Pasai and Samudra. It is possible either that "Samara" is not Samudra, or

if it is that Marco Polo was wrong in saying that it was non-Muslim. For the gravestone of the first Muslim ruler of Samudra, Sultan Malik as-Saleh, has been found and is dated AH 696 (AD 1297). This is the first clear evidence of the existence of a Muslim dynasty in the Indonesia-Malay area, and further gravestones demonstrate that from the late thirteenth century this part of North Sumatra remained under Islamic rule.

Indonesia, the largest archipelago in the world is composed of five main islands and about thirty smaller archipelagoes totalling 17, 518 islands of which 6 thousands are inhabited. Indonesia's five main islands are Kalimantan, Sumatra, Irian Jaya, Sulawesi and Java.²⁴ Lying between the mainland Asia and Australia, it separates the Indian Ocean from the Pacific and sits astride the main trade route between Asia and West. The country has naturally a very strategic military and commercial location. Because of its unique location wave of people have funneled through her islands.

In the first century AD, Hindu traders arrived from India introducing to the scattered settlements the first elements of Hindu-Buddhist culture which left a lasting influence upon the social, economic and religious life. In the seventh Century AD, a great naval power, the kingdom of Shriwijaya arose in southern Sumatra. This period witnessed the dominance of the Buddhist religion, impressively illustrated by the Borobudur temple built in 770 AD.²⁵ In 1293 Prince Vijaya established the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, which by fourteenth century under the leadership of its Prime Minister Gadjah Mada reached its zenith.²⁶

²⁴ Indonesian Handbook, Jakarta, 2002, p.10.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ B. H. M. Vlekke, Nusantara : A History of Indonesia, The Haque, 1959, p.68.

European traders landed in Indonesia in the early part of the 16th century. This marks the beginning of the colonial period which lasted till the middle of the 20th century, which left a lasting impact and indirectly still affects many facets of Indonesian life.²⁷

The Indonesian people practice different religion, namely, Islam, Hinduism, Protestant Christians and Roman Catholics. The geographical distribution reflects the three broad types of Indonesian society.

1. The strongly Hinduised island of Java, Bali and western part of Lombok.
2. Islamic coastal people scattered in Sumatra, Borneo Makassarese of south Sulawesi, and western Java.
3. Pagan tribal groups of the mountainous interior region.²⁸

Hinduism brought from India was a much departed religion from the one that existed in India. Caste system and untouchability never got its root in Indonesia.²⁹ Hinduism flourished and developed within the fold of native beliefs. Similarly Buddhism, mainly the tantric form, developed paralleled to Hinduism and both bore striking similarities.

The growth of Islam brought by the Gujarati merchants and Arab traders was accelerated because of the Portuguese crusading zeal. To them Islam was their archenemy, and their anti-Islamic feelings being related to their nationalism. And thus all believers of Islam were 'moors' and 'enemies'³⁰, and therefore must be destroyed. But this attitude of the Portuguese had quite the opposite effect. The Indonesians instead took recourse to Islam and guarded it zealously.

²⁷ Basic Information on Indonesia, Ministry of Information, Republic of Indonesia. (n. d), p.12.

²⁸ Ahmad Mugalih, *The Struggle for National Integration in Indonesia, 1927-1945*, M. Phil dissertation, submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, School of International Studies, New Delhi, 1978, p.19.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ B.H.J. Vlekke, *Nusantara, A History of Indonesia*. The Hague. 1959. p.87

Majority of the population retain connection with an ancient religious communal pattern centered on the village, the territory or the kinship group.³¹ Common store of belief and customs, traditions remain to be a strong binding force. They are referred under the generic name of *adat* (translated as customary law).

The beliefs were inspired by the animistic, religious traditions which believed that everything on earth was inhabited by a spirit. These spirits could help or hinder the efforts of mankind according to the behavior of man towards them; if they were propitiated they would be helpful, if something was done to annoy them they would prove harmful. These, in substance, are the animistic beliefs that still exert powerful influence on the subconscious mind of Indonesians, though Islam and contact with the modern world have eroded their hold on the conscious mind. These beliefs have a strong impact on the institutions that have emerged through the centuries all over the archipelago.

Pantheistic, dynastic and animistic elements predominate in incredible variety. They were not affected by the coming of Islam. More often instead a harmonious blend of the two was achieved. But in some areas such as Minangkabau region of West Sumatra, Islam waged a determined battle against communal traditions. In other areas, such as Aceh, part of South Sulawesi and West Java a more intense Islamization took place. In still other regions e.g. Lesser Sunda Islands Islam never got its roots. The process of Islamization is impregnated with seeds of assimilation and conflict.³²

Uneven pattern of the spread of Islam affected scattered regions of Indonesia differently it also acquired different characteristics due to historical reasons. In its long

³¹ Justus Van Der Kraff, "Conflicts of Religious Policy", *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol XXII, No.10, p.121.

³² Satyawati. S. Jhavery, *The Presidency in Indonesia, Dilemmas of Democracy*, Bombay, 1975, p.15.

journey to Indonesia from the Middle East via Persia and India, Islam lost its proselytizing fervor and vigor. In the process it acquired certain mystic characteristics which made it easier for the Hinduised regions of Indonesia to accept the faith readily. In Java and other parts of Sumatra it was this Islam with mystic elements and not the orthodox Islam of the Middle East that held sway for a long time. But in other parts of Indonesia such as Aceh and Minangkabau region in west Sumatra and Banten in west Java, Islam in its purer form found adherents. Spread of Islam was an event and dispensed. A more rigid conversion to Islam took place, in the rest of Java, Islam was combined with Hindu-Buddhistic as well as animistic influence. The ensuing outcome results in the syncretic religion known as Agama Jawa (religion of Java).³³

The process of assimilation of Islam and the intermingling of Islam with the indigenous cultures created distinct cultural types which are still to be found in one form or the other in Indonesia. These three types are, the *Priyayi*, the *abangan*, and the *santri*. The *priyayi* comprising the aristocracy were superficially influenced by Islam. It continued to hold dear the 'adat' values and beliefs. The *abagan* representing the common people were nominal followers of Islam, drawn towards the ritual rather than the principle aspects of the religion. The *santri* were the rigid followers, accepting the Islamic way of life to greater fullness, imbibed its principles and passionately advocated their acceptance by all the Indonesians who professed the faith of Islam.

There is a social cleavage between the devotedly Islamic communities-the *santri* who are often associated with town or village trade and the communities of *priyayi* or *abagans*-aristocratic or peasants in the Javanese context who are nominally Islamic but

³³ W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition*, Hague, 1956, p10.

critical of Islam at the same time. Their real religious beliefs and practices are strongly influence by Hinduism and animism rather than Islam.³⁴ There is also cleavage, both social as well as religious inside the community of devotedly Muslim *santri*.³⁵

Minangkabau matriarchy is based largely on *adat*, Islam also plays a role—but not in the way one might expect. Islam arrived in West Sumatra sometime in the 16th century; long after *adat* customs and philosophy had been established. At first there was an uneasy relationship between *adat* and Islam and, in the 19th century, a war broke out between adherents of *adat* customs and fundamentalist beliefs imported from Mecca. Both sides making accommodations resolved the conflict. Today, matrilineal *adat* and Islam are accepted as equally sacred and inviolate, handed down from the godhead. "At a time when consumerism is more prevalent in Indonesia than ever before, these sacred principles of Minangkabau culture and society act to support one another. Resurgent Islamic fundamentalism, nationalism, and expanding capitalism—all are realities that acknowledges can erode the Minangkabau's nature-based matriarchal culture and the *adat* that infuses meaning into their lives.



Muslim Heteroproxy in Indonesia

A general impression is that Muslims in Indonesia (as in other parts of the globe) strictly adhered to Islamic tenets, i.e. the *shariat* laws, particularly when it involves marriage, divorce, inheritance, death and religious rituals. However the impression does not bear testimony to sociological enquiry. Though there is no denying the fact that the

³⁴ Satyawati. S. Jhavery, *The Presidency in Indonesia, Dilemmas of Democracy*, Bombay, 1975, p.15.

³⁵ Clifford Geertz, "Religious Beliefs and Economic Behaviors In Central Javanese Town Economic Development and cultural Change", Vol. IV (January 1956) pp.134-158.

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Muslim in Indonesia do have a “personal law” based on the *shariat* but it does not mean that in practice they adhere to it with utmost severity.

Taking the Koran and the *hadith* as given, the’ *ulama* piled on top of them’ the *shariat*, a complex codification of legislation covering almost every field of social life, but particularly emphasizing the domestic. The law has been for the Muslims as Jewish law has been for the Jews, a substitute for the formal church organization they have never been able or willing to erect. Without priest and without popes the *ulama*, a class of experts professionally occupied with the interpretation of the Koran and the *hadith* become the heart and soul of Muslim orthodoxy. The lawyer who is at the same time a teacher has set the form and determined much of the content of Islam.³⁶

It is this apparent diversity of social conditions and the impact they have had on the working of this institution that should be the real concern of the sociologists or for that matter the social anthropologists. “A sociological approach should concentrate first and foremost on a theoretical understanding of institution, and of their mutual inter-connection, within the local setting and context”.³⁷ On the contrary, the Islamic approach would proceed to separate law and custom, or the Islamic theory and its local application in order to investigate the effects of their religious (and legal) system of Islam on the life organization of the societies, which acknowledge it.³⁸

³⁶ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion Of Java*, Cambridge 1959, p.122.

³⁷ J.P. Singh Uberoi, “Men, Women and Property in Northern Afghanistan” in T.S. Lakhandwalla’s *India and Contemporary Islam*, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla, 1971, p.399.

³⁸ Reuben, Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge University Press, 1957, p. v.

Shariat And Its Actual Translation Into Practice

The Muslim in Indonesia, as indeed the Muslims elsewhere in the Islamic world, believe in and adhere to the cardinal pillars of the faith. At the same time, a number of sociological studies based on field research implicitly or explicitly draws attention to the fact that Islam as practiced in Indonesia is heavily underlined and influenced by elements which are accretions drawn from local environment. These accretions often contradict the so-called fundamentalists views enshrined in the texts of the *shariat* or the Koran. The *shariat* has formally laid down prescriptions and an orthodox Islamic expectation from the faithful is to strictly conform to the injunctions of the *shariat*. But in practice it is found that *shariat* laws are rarely, if ever, followed or strictly adhered to.

An overall macro view makes one realize the historical fact that before the coming of Islam in Indonesia, the people of Indonesia had their beliefs and ritual that were deeply rooted in their culture. The sudden and "intrusive" arrival of Islam could not possibly uproot all these pre-Islamic customs and traditions of the people who had now converted to Islam. The permeation of Islamic culture was obviously gradual and in the process a large number of pre-Islamic cultural traits were assimilated with an apparently subtle Islamic garb into the aggregate Islamic system in Indonesia. Very often cultural practices approximate Hindu rituals rather than Islamic principles, though nowhere are they at direct loggerheads with the fundamentals of Islam.

For applying a sociological approach in the analysis of the Muslim social system in Indonesia, an attempt should be made to understand the process of compromise and accommodation between the *shariat*, which is the embodiment of the Islamic world view,

and the pre-Islamic cultural roots on Indonesia emanating from the Hindu beliefs and practice.

In common Indonesian society follow many Islamic practices;

Marriage

Like in the most Indonesian community, *berkeluarga, kawin* (marriage) among the Javanese is looked upon as essential for both males and females. Marriage for man and woman is one of the important stages in the person's life. Parents are said to be 'not free' unless they see their daughter and their sons are happily married. Marriage is a major change in the life of an individual.

Divorce

In Islam as well as in Javanese and Minangkabau society, ideally the Government of Religious Official Empowered (KUA) should be concerned with administration of the whole of the Islamic law, but in fact it is largely restricted to marriage, divorce, and remarriage. Under the Islamic law, a man who wishes to divorce his wife must pronounce the so-called "*talak*" phrase (I divorce you).

Inheritance

Inheritance is the mechanism regulating the transmission of property, rights, duties, and authority in a society from the dead to the living. It has been a central concern of anthropology and sociology because the rights and obligation and set forth by rules of inheritance underlie many social, economic, and political relationships. Generally, inheritance is based on the descent rules practiced by a particular society. There are two

types of descent: jural and biological. Jural descent is often based on biological descent and is the mechanism by which rank and property are handed down from one generation to the next. Biological descent, in colloquial language, means that there is a “relationships by blood” or that people share substance from previous generations.

Death Ritual

In Javanese or Minangkabau society if there is a death in a family the first thing they do is to send someone to call a *modin* (the official religious specialist), or *alim* and the second is to spread the word around the neighborhood that death has occurred. In Islam, there is a notion that one should go to the other people’s funeral so they will come to his.

Birth

There is no in Koran prescribed rite connected with birth of the first period of life, but there are certain *hadith* and customs concerning what Muslim should do. The *aqiga* sacrifice, as it is known, dates back pre-Islamic Arabia. The word *aqiga* refers to the infant’s hair, which is shaved off and weighed, after which an equivalent amount of silver or gold is given as alms.

Circumcision

Often, Muslim boys pass through their major status change circumcision (*khitan* / *sunat* / *Islaman*) when they have recited the entire Koran once through. In west Sumatra, Java and other regions where this procedure is followed, the boy undergoes the operation

childhood and introducing him into a new, higher status.³⁹ Circumcision one more often performed at home, clinic or hospital. In any event there is much festivity, with music, special foods, and many quests.

But the pre-Islamic culture influences these practices, which will discuss in the chapter two and chapter three in detail.

Purpose Of The Study

Though the field of the Javanese and Minangkabau has been well explored in the existing literature. Most of these writings are in the form of national specific profiles. But cross province comparisons are rare. The gap created by paucity of comparative writings in this field has not been filled by an upsurge of literature on Indonesia.

The main purpose of this dissertation is to provide a comparative analysis of certain aspects of Javanese and Minangkabau culture in Indonesia. An attempt has also been made to explore the extent to which the Javanese and Minangkabau traditional institutions of religion, life cycles, marriage, family, beliefs and so on which still exist today.

Methodology

The comparative perspective has been utilized while compiling and interpreting the data for this dissertation. The ideal technique of comparing two societies would be to analyze them as systems and not as a set of component parts. However, this form of

³⁹ Denny, For, *An Introduction to Islam*, Collier Macmillan Publisher, London, 1985, P. 298.

analysis would involve problems of great magnitude. In order to reduce our problems to manageable proportions we have decided to concentrate on a single frame of reference. Thus, an attempt has been made to compare certain selected aspects of the culture of the Javanese society in Java with that of the Minangkabau society in west Sumatra. The aspects of culture, which have been analyzed, are religion, life cycles, marriage, inheritance, divorce, and beliefs and so on.

Relevance Of The Study

The comparative perspective has been brought to play at every level of analysis. By studying the aspect of religion, marriage, family, kinships, divorce, and beliefs in the two societies, one is able to find how this institution has been organized. A comparison of the two becomes necessary in order to ascertain the similarities and the differences between them. An understanding of their similarities as well as of their differences enables to compare the extent to which these traditional institution have been re-created and preserved and the degree to which transformation and erosion has taken place among them.

This dissertation is based on secondary sources like books, journals of ethnographic details, magazines and websites. These 'paper' and digital sources have provided a wealth of usable material. These documents not only describe the contemporary events but also help to reveal how these events appeared to those living through them. They thus, have the straightforward function of providing facts and figures and the indirect function of helping the project our understanding into other times and places.

First hand preliminary observations would have been useful, as they tend to be more accurate and valid. However, empirical studies are time consuming and the present circumstances were not feasible. Therefore, despite their limitations (inaccuracies, discrepancies), secondary sources have been consulted.

The present study is divided into four chapters. Chapter one gives a brief introduction of the general information of religion of Islam, Islamic culture in Indonesia. It also briefly reviews the historical developments of the Islamic system in west Sumatra and Java and describes the social characteristics of Javanese and Minangkabau. The second and the third chapter give a detail description of traditional institution of religion, life cycles, and others in west Sumatra and Java respectively. The fourth chapter compares the selected institutions in the two cases, bringing out their similarities and differences to the forefront, and concluding comments for both societies, Javanese and Minangkabau, Islam, *Pancasila* and *Adat*

Chapter II

JAVANESE : THE LAND AND PEOPLE

Java is second in the chain of large islands that stretch out from Malay Peninsula towards Australia. In its greatest extent its length is over one thousand kilometers, a distance nearly equal to that from New York to Louisville or Charleston, or in the Old World, from Paris to Vienna. The breadth of the island, however, is in no place one-fifth of the length, so that the total area (including some neighboring islands) is only about fifty thousand square miles, almost exactly the same as that of England, or a little more than that of the state of New York.¹

The superiority in wealth and population that Java possesses over the other territories of Indonesia can be ascribed in large part to the remarkable fertility of the island. Due to geological constitution, it is said to contain more active volcanoes than any other known district of equal extent; the substances thrown out from these volcanoes are spread over the whole island obscuring in most places the extinct rocks, and forming a soil of exceptional fertility. The climate is also favorable. There is scarcely any variation in the mean temperature throughout the year, and the rainfall is heavy and regular. The combination of soil and climate has gained for the island the title of “the Garden of the East,” and has made its vegetation the type of tropical luxuriance. Much of the surface is covered by mountain and even now only about four-tenths of it is under cultivation. Thus,

¹ Clive Day, *The Dutch in Java*, Oxford University Press. Kuala Lumpur. 1972.p.1.

the mountain areas are on a low grade of the agricultural stage. The population is little less than the population of modern industrial England.²

Java is the political center of the Indonesian archipelago and the home to the largest and culturally most sophisticated ethnic group in the highly diversified Indonesian population. Ethnically, the Javanese constitute a majority in Indonesia but among themselves, they are religiously diversified in the sense that perhaps five to ten percent of them adhere to a rather purist form of Islam, while most of the remainder reckon themselves to be nominal Muslim, that is, adherents to Islam by confession, whose practices and thinking are closest to the old Javanese and India- Javanese traditions.³

The Javanese village is an old settlement for it is likely that the race Malayo-Polynesian who came to the Island already possessed knowledge of agriculture. The evolution of the Javanese village to its present form has at each stage been regulated and expressed by a more or less unified religious system, itself, of course evolving too. In the days before the Hindus, who began to come to the Island around 400 AD or before, it seems likely that the sort of "animism" common to many of the pagan tribes of Malaysia comprised the whole of religious tradition; but this tradition has proved, over the course of centuries, remarkably able to absorb into one syncretized whole elements from both Hinduistic and Islam, which followed it in the fifteenth century. Thus, today the village religious system commonly consists of a balanced integration of animistic, Hinduistic, and Islamic elements, a basic Javanese syncretism which is the islands true folk tradition substratum of its civilization, but the situation is more complex than this for not only as

² Ibid. p.3.

³ Niels Mulder, *Mysticism & Everyday Life In Cotemporary Java*, Singapore University Press, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1978. p.1.

we shall see, do many peasants not follow this syncretism, but many townsman – mostly lower class displaced peasants or sort of displaced peasants –do.

The *abangan* religious tradition made up, primarily of the ritual feast called the *slametan*, of an extensive and intricate complex of spirit beliefs, and of a whole set of theories and practices of curing sorcery and magic is the first sub variant within the general Javanese religious system and it is associated in a broad and general way with the Javanese community.

The purer Islam is the sub tradition, which Geertz called *santri*. Although in a broad and general way the *santri* sub variant is associated with the Javanese trading element, it is not confined to it nor are all traders by far adherents of it. There is a very strong *santri* element in the villages, often finding its leadership in the richer peasants who have been able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and set up religious schools upon their return. The *santris* religious tradition, consist not only of a careful and regular execution of the basic rituals of Islam the prayers, the fast, the pilgrimage – but also of a whole complex of social, charitable, and political Islamic organization.

The *priyayi* is the third. Originally referred only to the hereditary aristocracy, which is the product of the Dutch period. They are mostly remnants from the kings of the vanquished native states who had been turned into appointed salaried civil servants. This white collar elite, with its ultimate roots in the Hindu-Javanese courts of pre-colonial times, conserved and cultivated and highly refined court etiquette, a very complex art of dance, drama music, and poetry, and a Hindu-Buddhist mysticism. They stressed neither the animistic element in the over-all Javanese syncretism as did neither the *abangans*, nor the Islamic as did the *santri*'s but the Hindus.

Islam in Java

Islam in Java is extremely diverse in the manner of its expression, and highly variable in terms of depth of commitment to the religion. Muslims in Java are usually divided vertically according to their level of identification with Islam; that is, Geertz's *abangan / santri* dichotomy, with the *santri* much more closely identifying themselves as Muslim. In addition to this, there is also a horizontal traditionalist/modernist dimension within Javanese Islam.

Originally a *santri* was simply a student or follower within an Islamic school called a *pesantren* (literally, "place of the *santri*") headed by a *kyai* master. The word '*santri*' referred to persons who removed themselves from the secular world in order to concentrate on devotional activities and mystical matters, and *pesantren* were the focus of such devotion.⁴ It was only later that the word *santri* was used to describe that particular class within Javanese society that identified strongly with Islam, distinct from the more nominal Islam of the *abangan* and *priyayi*. And indeed, the word '*santri*' used to describe a class probably had a lot more to do with the influence of Geertz himself on how Javanese think about themselves. In fact, in common conversation, the word *muslimin*⁵ is far more likely to be used to distinguish '*santri*' Javanese from other groups within society.

Further complicating this matter is that not all *santri* are alike; within this group itself there exists a wide variety of beliefs and interpretation of what constitutes 'Islam'. To some extent this reflects the variety of beliefs held by Muslims the world over, and is

⁴ Robert J. Kyle, Honors thesis '*Rethinking Javanese Mysticism: A Case Study of Subud Mysticism*', Dept of Archaeology and Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, Australian National University, Canberra, 1995, http://artalpha.anu.edu.au/kylero/RJK_hp/chap1.htm

⁵ Or *muslimah* when referring to females

generally characterized by a division between 'traditionalist' and 'modernist' outlooks. It can also be depicted as a division between an Islam that has been absorbed to become an integral part of a local culture, and a 'puritan' Islam that sees such cultural adaptation as being contrary to the original aesthetic.

Islam in Java eventually developed into two Islamic traditions that are apparent today; a Javanese Islam with its syncretic characteristics, and a 'puritan', modernist Islam. The first is an Islam within which is infused with a complex mix of animist-Hindu-Buddhist beliefs and concepts, and which is inclined to mysticism. The second is relatively freer of these syncretic accretions, and is much closer to the dogma of the defining Arabian orthodoxy.⁶

Islam did not arrive in Java in its pure, Arabian form.⁷ One of the main reasons that Islam was able to take root in Java was due to the particular kind of Islam, Sufism that emphasized with local traditions and customs, and was itself quite compatible with the pre-existing and highly developed Javanese mystical outlook. Islam was thus introduced with relatively little upheaval into the existing cultural, social and political structures.⁸ In addition, amongst the Hindu-Buddhist nobility, Sufi Islam offered a credible mysticism as an alternative or additional source of mystical power and political legitimation⁹. Islam could be integrated into the wider Javanese search for magical powers¹⁰.

⁶Op.cit,Kyle. Honours thesis '*Rethinking Javanese Mysticism: A Case Study of Subud Mysticism*', 1995 http://artalpha.anu.edu.au/kylero/RJK_hp/chap1.htm

⁷ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Javanese Ethics and World-view: the Javanese Idea of the Good Life*, PT Gramedia, Jakarta.1997.p.35 <http://www.okusi.net/garydean/works/santri.html>

⁸ Ibid, p.35

⁹ Op.cit, Kyle. Honours thesis '*Rethinking Javanese Mysticism: A Case Study of Subud Mysticism*', 1995 http://artalpha.anu.edu.au/kylero/RJK_hp/chap1.htm

¹⁰Franz Magnis Suseno,(1997, *Javanese Ethics and World-view: the Javanese Idea of the Good Life*,1997,p.35

Because of its mystical outlook, Sufi Islam was more easily incorporated into the traditional Javanese worldview. Towards the end of the 19th century the whole of Java could be considered 'Islamised'¹¹, however the intensity of this process was uneven across the island. *Santri* culture was much more concentrated in the trading cities of the north coast, and in cities more generally rather than the countryside. *Santri* life-styles only really influenced those neighboring rural settlements where *pesantren* had been established.¹²

With the development of the modernist movement within Islam, starting with the Wahabie movement in Saudi Arabia, and with the increasing number of Javanese Muslims undertaking the Hajj to Mecca after the opening of the Suez Canal,¹³ came an increasing awareness that Javanese Islam had absorbed many elements which could be considered in opposition to the 'pure' Islam of Arabia. *Santri's* began to more consciously differentiate themselves from those holding traditional Javanese outlooks, considering them as irreconcilable with the teachings or the aesthetic expressed in the Koran, and thus increasingly polarising the *santri* from the *abangan*. Over the past two decades in particular Javanese society has undergone a process of Islamization, moving generally towards a deeper understanding and commitment to Islam in the modernist *santri* style.¹⁴ This has led to further polarisation of the *abangan* from the *santri* in contemporary Java.¹⁵

¹¹Ibid.p.37

¹²Ibid.p.38

¹³Ibid.p.39

¹⁴MC. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1300*, McMillan, London, 1993, p.308

¹⁵ Some authors take a quite different view of this, claiming (like Ricklefs: 308) that the divisions between the *aliran* are now less clear, and that such terms as *santri* and *abangan* are now anachronisms, *aliran* are alive and well in Javanese society. <http://www.okusi.net/garydean/works/santri.html>

However, the *santri* should not be considered as an homogenous group, as they are themselves polarised along traditionalist/modernist lines. It is usually difficult to immediately differentiate 'mystically inclined' traditionalist *santri* from modernist 'orthodox'¹⁶ *santri*. Both may well observe the five pillars of Islam, and just as importantly, strongly identify themselves as Muslim.

So what is it that differentiates the Javanese *santri* from the rest of the population? Essentially, differences can be reduced to identity. *Santri* consciously identify themselves as Muslims, and attempt as far as possible to live in accordance to their own understanding of Islam, whether this be the traditional *syncretic* Islam, the purist Islam of the modernist, or mixtures of both.

In terms of belief, the typical *santri* would adhere to the basic tenants of Islam as laid down within Koran, and the *sunnah*, which comprises the *shariat* (Mohammed's life story) and the *hadith* (Mohammad's saying and customs). The Koran is considered to be the literal word of God, and thus cannot be doubted in any way. The *hadith*, however, can be the subject of debate and difference of opinion, and it very often is. Consisting of literally hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of separate sayings and customs, and written or conveyed by numerous authors, the *hadith* is a hotbed of contradiction, dispute, xenophobia and occasionally, downright weirdness¹⁷.

In terms of their day-to-day behavior, the *santri* closely adhere to the formal requirements of the religion, the most obvious of which is *sholat*, the ritual prayer undertaken at specific times five times a day. More than anything else, it is the

¹⁶ The word 'orthodox' here to indicate the Arabian rather than the traditionalist Javanese orthodoxy

¹⁷ A few modernist Muslim authors, in all seriousness, go as far to say that the *hadith* should be completely abandoned. See Kassim Ahmad (1986), *Hadith: A Re-Evaluation*, Monotheist Productions International, Tucson. <http://www.okusi.net/garydean/works/santri.html>

conscientious performance of *sholat* that separates the *santri* from the *abangan*. According to Islamic law *sholat* is *wajib 'ain* (absolutely compulsory), gaining merit for performance, and punishment for its non-performance¹⁸ *santri* frequently live in areas surrounding mosques called *kauman*. Quite apart from providing a sense of community, living close to a mosque means that the calls to prayer are clearly heard to ensure that every *sholat* is performed.

Also *wajib 'ain* is fasting during the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic lunar calendar. During this month every able Muslim must abstain from food, drink, sex, immoral acts, and negative thinking from dawn to sunset. In contrast to *sholat* (prayer), many *abangan* also follow the fast during this month, though perhaps not as seriously as their *santri* cousins. Koentjaraningrat (1985) claims that *Agami Jawi* (religion of Java) Muslims who do not perform *sholat* or give *zakat* (alms giving) seldom neglect to fast during the entire month of Ramadan, because it is in accordance with the indigenous idea of *tarekat*, (path or way, Islamic brotherhood) of deliberately seeking out hardship and discomfort for religious reasons.¹⁹

The contemporary Javanese *santri* can aspire to performing the Hajj, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, at least once in their lifetime, usually when they are older. The Indonesian government through the Ministry of Religion provides highly organized packages to the Holy Land for reasonable cost.²⁰ As a consequence, the high status associated with someone who had undertaken the Hajj in days past has now diminished considerably. The honorific title '*Hajji*' is now very rarely used when addressing or

¹⁸Mohammed Rifa'I, *Risalah Tuntunan Shalat Lengkap*, CV Toha Putra, Semarang. 1976, p.9

¹⁹Koentjaraningrat, '*Javanese Religion*' in *Javanese Culture*, OUP Singapore, 1985
ch 5. p. 370

²⁰This last year the cost for an ordinary pilgrim was less than Rp25.000.000, covering air fares, accommodation, food, and guidance. Pilgrims usually stay in the Holy Land for a total of 36-40 days.

referring to someone verbally, though the abbreviated title ("H.") will often be used in written form.

Externally, differences in dress are nearly always apparent in the contemporary *santri*. *Muslimah* (female Muslim) in particular stand apart from non-*santri* by the wearing of a *jilbab* (full headdress covering the head, ears, and neck, leaving only the face visible). Older *muslimah*, or for the more 'liberal' female *santri*, a less severe *kerudung* is often substituted, covering only the head leaving much of the hair, neck and ears still visible. Headdress is worn whenever the *muslimah* is outside the house, or whenever she is in the presence of any males apart from her husband, sons, father and brothers. (some *muslimah* are less strict about this within their own home.) *Muslimah* will frequently absent themselves whenever male guests come to visit, partly due to the reserve that the *muslimah* is expected to show, but often also because they do not want to go to the trouble of wearing their head-dress in order to meet the guest.

Islam defines an *aurat*, or areas of the body considered 'private', for both sexes. The *muslimah* must cover all her body, except for her face and hands. Long, loose-fitting dresses or slacks are usually worn, though in Java many *muslimah* also commonly wear jeans along with a long, loose-fitting shirt. Basically, the female form must be so covered as to obscure the shape of the breasts, hips and buttocks, so as not to arouse the passions or attention of males. This concept of the *aurat* is also extended to female behavior, with the *muslimah* expected to guard ('cover') her voice and her physical movements, and to avoid drawing undue attention to her.

The Javanese *santri* male also wears certain types of clothing, however these are not prescribed by Islam, traditional or otherwise, nor are they worn all the time. The

male *aurat* is much less restrictive, between the waist and the thighs, but it is generally considered more polite to completely cover the body, arms and legs. The *gamis* is a type of loose-fitting, long-sleeved, round-collared shirt worn by *santri* men, often for formal religious occasions or for Friday Prayers where it is accompanied with a *sarung* (sarong). The *peci*, (cap) though not traditionally associated with Javanese Islam, must nowadays be considered part of male *santri* dress, although *abangan* Muslims also frequently wear it.²¹

Santri will frequently pepper their speech with expressions of an Arabic flavour, even (perhaps especially) when communicating with non-Muslims or *abangan*. *Bismillahirrohmannirrahim* ('In the name of God the All Merciful') is an expression used before the commencement of any task, however large or small. This phrase precedes every *surah* within the Koran. The use of this phrase is, however, not limited to *santri* Muslims; *abangan* Muslims also frequently use it. Tasks such as starting a motorbike, driving a nail into a wall, sex, speeches, and the slaughtering of animals for meat, will all be preceded with *Bismillah* as a remembrance that everything, every action and every word, should be done for God in the name of God.

Assalamuallaikum, along with its reply, *Wa'allaikumsalam*, is used when meeting, greeting and farewelling people, and is also frequently used as a formal opening greeting for speeches.

Santri consider any expression of certainty about the future to be slightly arrogant, and very often use the term *Insyallah* ("God willing") to prefix any statement of positive intent or prediction, or an agreement to do something. This expression is also sometimes used as a polite way of saying 'no', or for expressing ambiguity in answer to a

²¹It would be difficult nowadays to find a non-Muslim wearing a *peci*.

question pertaining to something to be done in the future. *Insyah Allah* also expresses what some see as a rather negative fatalism, allowing Muslims to avoid personal responsibility.²²

Contemporary *santri* Islam, in fact modernist Islam in general, is very much an 'outward' religion. The inner dimensions are generally not stressed, and when they are spoken of it is in terms of a very separate 'compartment' of Islam. The modernist aesthetic has had a big impact upon the more mystically-inclined traditionalist Islam, especially over the past two decades. Ritual, outward social behavior, language and religious identity overshadow the inner dimensions. Sufism and the *tarekat*, (Islamic brotherhood) although acknowledged, are now viewed with either suspicion or awe. For the vast majority of *santri* Muslims the only link to mystical dimensions and practices is at funeral ceremonies, where *dhikir* mediation is performed.

Santri Islam in general emphasizes ritual, whilst mysticism, in whatever its form, stresses inner, spiritual, or the vertical axis of religion. *Santri* are thus often perceived as emphasizing the material, literal, or the horizontal axis. The mystic aspires to direct experience with God rather than mere belief or mechanical ritual. Sufi texts make a distinction between *lahir* (outer aspects) and *batin* (inner aspects), and that the outer meaning of the Koran concerns the regulation of outward behavior (*lahir*), whilst its inner meaning (*batin*) concerns the mystical path and the quest for knowledge about Allah.²³

Mysticism and magic have always formed a basis of culture for all Javanese, irrespective of their professed outlook. *Santri* Muslims will often make reference to

²² John Bousfield, "Islamic Philosophy in Southeast Asia", in MB Hooker ed, *Islam in Southeast Asia*, Brill, Leiden, 1983, p. 99

²³ Op.cit. Kyle. Honors thesis 'Rethinking Javanese Mysticism: A Case Study of Subud Mysticism', 1995 http://artalpha.anu.edu.au/kylero/RJK_hp/chap1.htm. 1995

indigenous beliefs, even whilst at the same time invoking the superiority of Islamic belief. Many avowedly modernist Muslims sometimes ascribe matters to Islam that in fact have their basis within traditional beliefs. At the unconscious level many Javanese beliefs linger in the minds of the *santri*; Nyi Rorol Kidul, the Goddess of the Southern Sea, can still strike fear into their hearts, as can the power of *Kejawen* mystics. Many *santri* see no contradiction in consulting a *dukun* (magician) to cure their ailments, or in believing that *guna-guna* ("black magic") is often used in matters concerning love relationships, or that *manusia harimau*, people who transform themselves into tigers, inhabit some villages. Indigenous beliefs may tend to fill some of the spiritual vacuum left behind by modernist Islam.

Javanese *santri* Islam is not monochromatic; there is great variability in the way that it is expressed, and in the depth of commitment and knowledge of its *adherents*. However indigenous mystical beliefs persist in the subconscious of all Javanese, and many traditional practices and ceremonies are still performed.²⁴ Albeit only in a formal manner. Javanese society has become increasingly '*santrified*' over the past few decades, and the modernist expression of the religion has greatly influenced, outwardly at least, the more mystically inclined traditionalist Islam. Despite this apparent modernity, however, Indonesian Islam needs to be considered on its own terms, and not just as a branch of Middle Eastern Islam.

²⁴One such example is the *tingkeban* ritual marking the passing of six months of pregnancy that is celebrated by many *santri* women

Pesantren

Pesantren, “place of religious students” (*santri*) is the generic name for the traditional Muslim school in Indonesia. This school grew out of the Hindu-Buddhist Monasteries of medieval Java and not out of the classical Islamic academy, the *madrassa*. At first these groups were highly syncretic and mystical, but by the eighteenth century a more scriptural tradition was developing, more clearly distinguished *kejawenism*.²⁵

Except that the scriptures involved were later Koranic rather than tantric and permanent residents *ulama* rather than monks, the traditional *pesantren*, or *pondok* was and in some places still is essentially the same institution. This early Javanese Islam school is a walled compound of student dormitories centered on a Mosque, usually in a wooded glade at the edge of a village and is composed of a religious teacher called a *kiyayi*, and a number of young. Mostly unmarried male students known as the *santris*, who chanted the Koran engaged in mystical exercise. The *Primbon* or the student notebook from this period are pre-meated with a heterodox mystical mohism directed toward the same sort of personal release as were the explicitly Hindu-Buddhist writings that proceeded them.

However, by the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century didactic poem *Serat Tjentini* was written, a more orthodox tradition that demanded a closer observance of the law written, began to appear. This was stimulated by the improvement of communications – resulting in the custom of returning hajjis opening a *pesantren*, of their

²⁵ On the development of the Pasantren Pattern see Geertz 1960a: 231-234; 1968: 115.

own, as well as the religious publications and Arab immigration, with the Near Eastern heartland of Islamic civilization. Thus, the *pesantren* became a much more proper Koranic school, and many of these *pesantren* are usually headed by a returning hajjis and are supported by a religious foundation of the local affluent.

Although, mysticism is not completely absent contemporary Javanese *santris* of scripturalist persuasion generally accept a total role for religion in life, and have developed notion of fate underpinned by scholasticism. The predominant concern for modern Javanese *santris* is with the life in the hereafter, ceremony, blessings from God and the immediate consummator aspects of religion.

Madrasa

Islamic practices labeled 'reformist' emerged in Indonesia by the late nineteenth century. The reformist deemed it necessary to purify Islam and launched the reformist attack upon *pesantren* and upon the intellectual tradition for which it stood. At the same time, the content of the reform movement is a return to the simple pure Koranic guide, which was seen as being scientifically appropriate to modern life.

The reformers called their schools *madrasa*. The object was to stress the fact (as they saw it) that the *pesantren* tradition had been seriously compromised by too intimate contact with heterodox local and India traditions and that through going purification of these "backward" or "old-fashioned" institutions was essential in order to qualify for the title of "genuine" Muslim schools.

The *madrasa* school (where understanding was stressed) providing half of their instruction in religious subjects and with a character that generally appealed to the traditionalists. The movement introduced in Indonesia, the modern, graded, partly socialized, formally organized, and rationalized school into the established Islamic educational tradition.

The major innovations, the *madrasa* introduced included the teaching of secular subjects like arithmetic, Latin characters, national history and literature geography it. The *madrasa* followed a systemized curriculum which were organized along a strict subject, grades textbook pattern, complete with class hours, examinations, marks, diplomas and soon. The teachers at the *madrasa* though believing Muslims were not necessarily or were especially learned in the scriptures and the low. *Madrasas* are a day school rather than a boarding school pattern of *pesantren*, and perhaps the most radical of all, the education (sometimes even the co-education) of girls. Nevertheless, religious instruction continued occupy a major part of the curriculum, about one-third to three-quarters and this too was conducted in a novel-manner.

The school of *pesantren* followed the chant-and-echo pattern in which the *santri* were ignorant of the meaning of the Arabic words he was chanting and his limited understanding of the text was derived from cryptic annotations offered ex cathedra by the *alim*, whose own Arabic was often hardly more than rudimentary. On the other hand, in the *madrasa* an attempt was made either to understand the Arabic text directly or to work with vernacular translations. Thus, the *madrasa*, to some extent democratized the religious knowledge and the predominant role of hajji *alim*'s as privileged adopt was effectively undercut. Considering that before the first decade of this century, there were

virtually no *madrasa*, by 1954 there were about 12,000 *madrasa* with about a million and a half pupils, compared to 53,000 *pesantren* with nearly two million pupils.²⁶ The impact upon Indonesian Islam of this most recent transformation in the country's most venerable educational system can hardly have been trivial. Whether or not the *madrasa* has made Indonesian Islam modern, it has surely made it, for what must be the first time in its history, critically, even painfully, self-reflective.

Javanese Social Structure

Marriage

Like in the most Indonesian community, *berkeluarga, kawin* (marriage) among the Javanese is looked upon as essential for both males and females. Marriage for man and woman is one of the important stages in the person's life. Parents are said to be 'not free' unless they see their daughter and their sons are happily married. Marriage is a major change in the life of an individual. Persons who do not get married are not respected as full adults. Marriage is look upon by the Muslim as *sunat* (*sunnah* in Arabic) and it is regarded an important obligation which must be fulfilled. They say without marriage he/she will not reach a heaven (*syorga* in Sanskrit or *jannah* in Arabic), however pious he/she may be, for not having performed the important obligation as a Muslim. Only physically and mentally handicapped persons who cannot carry on day-to-day activities remain unmarried.

Marriage in Islam is a contract and apparently liable to be broken with a simple divorce. In real practice, however, marriage is not as easily broken as it seems possible

²⁶ Indonesia, Subcontractor's Monograph, Human Relations Area Files, 11 (New Haven: 1956), 422.

according to the *shariat*. Islam considers marriage, which is an important safeguard for chastity, to be incumbent on every Muslim man and women unless they are physically or financially unable to lead conjugal life.²⁷ The central role of marriage in Islam is avoidance of celibacy, thereby facilitating the continuous growth of the Muslim family. Marriage is the means for procreation. Marriage, therefore, is life affirming rather than life denying. Though according to the '*shariat*' marriage is mere contract, nevertheless marriage (*Nikah*) in Islam is recognized as a highly religious sacred covenant. However, it is not religious in the sense of realizing the essence of Islam. Marriage reflecting the practical bent of Islam combines the nature of both "*Ibadat*" (worship) and "*muamalat*" (Social relations).²⁸

Until recently in Java, most first marriages were arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Even when a boy had some ideas of his own as to which girl he would prefer to marry, he would work for his aims through the good auspices of his parents- if he could convince them of the wisdom of his choice. This is still the pattern among many of the more traditional and "old-fashioned" groups, but the pattern of romantic love is nonetheless making rapid and ready encroachments in Java.²⁹

The Regulation of Marriage

There are various conceptions of the criteria for choosing a spouse in the Javanese society. The rules these conceptions express are separate and partially exclusive, and they carry differential normative weight among different sectors of the society. The first conception is the rule of being identified equally as national law and as *hukum* that

²⁷ Jhon. L. Esposito, *Women in Muslim family Law*, Syracuse University Press, 1982. p. 15.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.15.

²⁹ Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java*, Cambridge. P. 53,

PROHIBITS AN INDIVIDUAL FROM marrying any kinsman directly related to him/her through the male line, out to the third collateral degree. Such a category of an individual's kinsman is known as his *pantjer wali*. In explanation, this marriage rule was always conceptually connected with a self-contained set of relations holding more generally among these kinsmen. One's *pantjer wali*, it was explained, are those males who can act in place of the bride's father as her required legal representative (*wali*) in the signing of the marriage contract. This is part of the theory, always identified with orthodox Islam, that sees males as responsible for females and the signing of the marriage contract as the act by which the bride's responsible kinsmen turns her over to the groom as his future responsibility.

Another rule which is found among the syncretistic oriented villagers was that a man should not marry a kinswoman who is genealogically his senior (*sepuh istri*), that is, a kinswoman his senior in generation, or his own generation a kinswoman he addresses as an "older sister".³⁰

A restriction of another order that was common among all the Javanese was an informal yet strongly held notion-opposing marriage between individuals separated in age. This feeling was expressed at only low conceptual levels, usually in reference to specific cases. It included opposition to marriage between kinsmen across generation lines when the genealogical difference was matched by a corresponding difference in age. When there was no age difference there seem to be no objection.

A comparable restriction was that against marriage between two people widely separated in social rank. Here, there was no sense the public would be outraged but rather that their parents and closed kinsmen would be unwilling to see their prospective bride or

³⁰Rebert, R. Jay, *Javanese Villages, Social relations in Rural Modjokuto*, The MIT Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, London, 1969. p. 128.

groom married to someone of much lower social rank. Both syncretistic and orthodox Javanese agreed that these conceptions were more characteristic of syncretic families than orthodox.

The converse conception and the most popular of the well-to-do orthodox Javanese was their desirability of marrying one's daughter either to a poorest close kinsmen or to a good, hard working man. There was a strongly held consensus that marriage between the kinsmen is unwise. Although less strongly disapproved, marriage between neighbors was also not favored. This last restriction had a close fit with the actual selection of spouses in Javanese society. It is not strange for Javanese in their actual social relations are above all else pragmatic. For this reason it is difficult to assess the actual affects of the *pantjerwali* and *sepuh istri* restrictions; marriage between kinsmen are so infrequent in proportion to total marriages that the frequencies of kin marriage, both proscribed and not proscribed, have no clear statistical significance.³¹

A Javanese Muslim can enter into marriage contract with any one except a few very closely related kin. The prohibitive categories as determined by "Muslim law", for persons may not marry. (i) a sibling (or step sibling), (ii) a descent or descendant of sibling, (iii) an ascendant or sibling of ascendant and (iv) a man may not marry his wife's mother and during the lifetime of his wife, his wife's sister. A foster sister /brother also came under the prohibitive category, to whom the mother has given a suck. A Muslim male can marry a Jew or Christian female, though he is forbidden to marry an idolatress or a fire worshipper. A Muslim female, however, is prohibited from marrying any male who is not a Muslim.

³¹Ibid. p. 130.

Essential Elements of Javanese Muslim Marriage

Essential to the marriage is the offer (*ijab*) of marriage by one contracting party and the acceptance (*qabul*) by the other, at the same meeting before two witnesses. This completes the 'Nikah' – the actual marriage. Dower (Mahar) is considered an essential factor in every marriage contract. It is a Koranic prescription, intended to safeguard the bride's economic position after marriage. It is paid to the women and not to her father or brother. Dower (Mahar) is a Koranic prescription and without it a Muslim marriage is impossible. Dower is usually payable in two installments, the 'prompt' *Mahar* being payable on the wife's demand or any time after the marriage, and 'deferred' *Mahar* being payable at the time when the marriage is dissolved by death or divorce.

Among the educated, Dutch influenced, upper class of the town one even finds engagement ceremonies now and then in which gold wedding bands are exchanged between a man and his fiancée called *tukar cincin* (to exchange rings), a term borrowed from Indonesian (Javanese) national language spoken mainly in the cities and larger towns. This ring ceremony seems so far to be largely confined to the students groups, who tend to have long engagement periods as a result of their extended schooling. For most people, even though in a great number of the cases the boy and girl have already come to a understanding of their own in this matter, the old *lamaran* pattern of formal request by the groom's parents to the bride's is still carried out, at least in form. In the *lamaran* the groom's family visits the bride's family and engages in an elaborate version of the kind of hypercorrect empty formalism practice of which the Javanese are past masters. After perhaps two or three visit-the matter will be settled one way or the other. A meeting is then arranged at the girl's house at which the groom, the bride, and all the

would-be parents-in-law are present. Called the *nontoni* – “the looking (over)” the occasion is marked with the same strained pretense: the conversation is about everything but marriage. The marriage ceremony is called the *kepanggih* “the meeting” and is always held at the home of the bride. All parents, the theory goes, have an inescapable obligation to provide one major festival for each of their children, for the boys this is their circumcision, for the girls their marriage.³² At some weddings little more than necessary is done; the bride and groom go to the mosque and pronounce the Muslim confession of faith, return home shake each other’s hand, and hold a secular reception for their guests. The other style of wedding is the groom goes off with his entourage to the office of the *naib*, the government of religious official empowered to legitimize and register marriages. The entire company is led by the Muslim, the village religious official, whom the boy has notified of his plans. The bride does not usually go along on this trip to the *naib*’s office, but is represented by her legal guardian under Muslim law, her *wali*. A girl’s *wali* is her nearest living male relative in her paternal line-either her father, father’s brother, brother, or paternal grandfather. If her paternal relatives are all dead or very distant from the scene of the marriage, then the *naib* himself may act as her *wali*, in which case he is called a *walihakim*, or “court appointed guardian”. The groom is requested to repeat the confession of faith word by word after the *naib*, first in Arabic and then in Javanese.³³

³²Ibid.p.54

³³Ibid.p.56

Divorce

In Islam as well as in Javanese society, ideally the Government of Religious Official Empowered (KUA) should, from a *santri* point of view, be concerned with administration of the whole of the Islamic law, but in fact it is largely restricted to marriage, divorce, and remarriage. Under the Islamic law, a man who wishes to divorce his wife must pronounce the so-called "*talak*" phrase (I divorce you). If he pronounce the *talak* only once, he may change his mind at any time within three menstruation periods and take his wife back, a process known as "*rujuk*". He then has two *talaks* left. He may, say ten years later, dismiss his wife again, and then remarry her within three menstruation periods. If after either of these first two *talaks* he does not remarry her within the prescribed three months period, the pair is irrevocably divorced and cannot remarry unless the women has in the meantime married and been divorced from another man. Similarly, after a third *talak* (i.e. after two *rujuk*) the pair cannot *rujuk* and so cannot remarry unless the women has married and been divorced from another man in the interval. It is also possible for a man who is particularly angry with his wife to issue two or even three *talaks* at one time, making *rujuk* impossible, but the *naib* usually attempts to discourage this latter practice as rash and unreasonable.³⁴

In spite of the economic solidarity of most nuclear families, there is high rate of divorce in Javanese society. Figures available from the Ministry of Religion, which registers marriages and divorces, showed for the year 1953 about one divorce for every two marriages. There is nothing to indicate that this rate has changed much in the last generation other than for a slump in divorces during the depression of the thirties, as cited

³⁴ Geertz, *Religion of Java*, Cambridge 1959. p. 203.

by Hildred Geertz. First marriages are frequently broken off unilaterally by either bride or groom for minor, even whimsical reasons. In such cases neither the bride nor the groom relatives are able to exert effective pressure to bear upon the two partners to remain together.³⁵

Inheritance

Since children are the sole heirs to their parents' estates, both conceptually and most often actually, descent line, defined as all the direct descendants of a single couple, forms the track down which property is inherited generation after generation. The Javanese called such an aggregate of kinsmen *urusan-waris*. They did not think of such an aggregate as a specific body of kinsmen or use it to refer specifically to a particular kinsman. Rather, they used the term in the general sense of a category of kinship, those kinship positions that possessed right, potential or direct, in the transmission of property from one generation to the next.³⁶

While the rights and goods each spouse brings to the marriage (*asal barang, barang gawan*) are pooled in maintaining the hearth of the household, but residual title is kept distinct. By both customary and national law either spouse may hold title to property independently of the other. The Javanese were consistent in their conceptions of the principles of ownership between spouses.³⁷

According to these conceptions a nuclear family's property rights fall into three categories of title. First, each spouse retains exclusive title to what property he or she has acquired prior to the marriage (*asal barang*). Second, each spouse also retains exclusive

³⁵ Robert. R. Jay, op. cit., p.62.

³⁶ Ibid, p.172

³⁷ Ibid, p.63

title to what property he or she inherits (*warisan*) during the marriage or receives, usually from his or her parents, as an advance on future inheritance (*siwen*). (This may be given either as a capital at the beginning of the marriage or as a gift later). Third, both spouses hold joint title to property acquired through the regular operation of their household (*gana-gini*).

In the event of divorce, *asal barang* or *siwen* property goes wholly with the spouse who holds residual title to it. Joint marital property, on the other hand, is divided between the two spouses. Among the Javanese, two principles for division were recognized: first, that the man receives two parts to the woman's one; and second, that the two share equally.

The two-for-one division is compatible with the national code, influence by Islamic family law, which also makes the husband responsible for the wife's maintenance for one hundred days after the divorce as well as for other contingencies. On first inquiry this principle was the one almost invariably cited by all informants at a high conceptual level. It was also stated at lower level of conception among *abangan* as among *santri*. For *abangan*, however, frequently denigrated this principle in favor of the alternative that such property should be divided equally between the two spouses. Invariably in such statements the two-to-one principle was identified with the *santri* and with *hukum*, that is, Islamic law, while the principle of equal division was identified as the "Javanese style".³⁸

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³⁸Ibid p.65

The Individual Life Cycles

The Javanese conceived of the individual as but a very small part of cosmic social and physical order that is essentially beyond his control, a conception that dates back to the philosophy of the Hindu-Buddhist “Indianized” kingdoms. In order to accommodate him to the cosmic order and assure the well being of his family, the Javanese strives to create within it a state of emotional quiescence and tranquility known as *slamet*, so that events will run their predestined course and nothing untoward will happen. Any kind of emotional irregularity possesses a potential threat to the well being of the individual and the family. In order to prevent misfortune the family attempt to achieve the spiritual state known as *prihatin*, awareness on the part of each member of the family of their range of possible disturbances and appropriate adaptation of individual behavior to that awareness. At various points in the life cycle when the individual is considered particularly vulnerable to disrupting influences, families will attempt to achieve a state of *prihatin* and to reinforce that state by holding the ritual *slametan*. This *slametan* punctuate the life cycle of the individual emphasizing the various stages through which he passes.

Childbirth And Infancy

The ritual round of *slametan* begins for the individual before he is even born. Around birth there are four major *slametan* and variable number minor ones cluster. The major ones are given at seven months of pregnancy (*tingkeban*). This one is only held when the child is the first for either the mother or the father or both, at birth itself (*babaran* or *brobokan*), five days after birth (*pasar*), and seven months after birth (*pitonan*).

Tingkeban

The *tingkeban* represents the introduction of the Javanese woman into motherhood. The *tingkeban* is not held on a fixed day corresponding to that on which the pregnancy began, but always on the closest Saturday to the beginning of the seventh month of the pregnancy. Insofar as that can be estimated, usually this *tingkeban* is held at the home of the unborn's maternal grandmother, and special *slametan* is prepared. A dish of the rice for each guest with white rice on the top and yellow underneath. The white rice symbolizes purity, the yellow love. Rice is mixed with grated coconut and the whole is stuffed into the chicken. This is intended both to honor the prophet Muhammad and to Dewi Fatimah (literally the Hindu goddess, Fatimah that is Muhammad's daughter with a Hindu title). Seven small pyramids of white rice mainly symbolizing the seventh months of pregnancy and intentions are added such as seven layers of heaven. Nine round balls of rice shaped with fish to symbolize the nine *walis*- the legendary bringers of Islam to Indonesia. A large rice pyramid called the 'strong' whose intent is to make the child strong is also prepared. Some food plants that grow below the ground (such as cassava) to symbolize the earth, and some, which grow above (such as fruits) to symbolize the sky, those conceived as having seven levels are also prepared. Three kinds of rice mush: plain white (represent the water of the mother) and red (represent the water of the water) and mixed of the two (called *bubur sengkala* literally meaning misfortune porridge) is considered for preventing the entrance of harmful spirits. *Rujak legi*, the most important as far as *tingkeban* is concerned, a very spicy concoction of various fruits, peppers, spice and sugar. This *rujak legi* occurs only in *tingkeban* if *rujak* is flat the mother's to be will have a boy but if the *rujak* is too hot and spicy the prospective mother will have a baby

girl. *Ujub* (introductory speech) to this *tingkeban* was led by an old man who dedicate the food and a good intention is extended to the Prophet Adam and Eve, to Prophet Muhammad, and his wife, his children and his companions to the *danjang* (midwives) of the village and to his children standing guard at the four corner of the village, to the twin guardian spirits, to the five senses and the four directions, to the ancestors, to the angels, to god under both his Javanese and Arabic names (*pangeran* and Allah) to the spirits, and animals, to mother earth, to the *walis*, guardian of the lands, water and to the as yet unborn child fasting and meditating in his mother's womb. The *tingkeban* will close with the Muslim confession of faith.

Pasaran (Naming)

This *slametan* take place five days after the first *slametan* for the new born baby is held, for the child name and usually the father give the name to the child in the *ujub*. At the *slametan* names are determined by the social categories into which the family falls.

Pitonun

The *slametan* takes place of three months after birth or even seven months. Directed by the midwives, as are postnatal ceremonies the aim of this ceremony is to allow the baby for the first time in his life to put his feet in the ground and having come down to the earth.

Circumcision

The ceremony celebrating the circumcision has been largely patterned after the marriage ceremony. Most Javanese boys are circumcised sometime between the ages of ten and fourteen. Thus, the food at the *Islaman* (circumcision also called *sunatan*) and this rite provide the primary for conspicuous spending in Javanese social life. Traditionally the operation was performed by a specialist called a *calak* (or *bong*) or a male nurse (*mantri*). On the other hand, the most active of this was also a curer and a *hajji*, who had learned the skill from his father. This *slametan* is given in the evening before the circumcision is to take place called *manggulan*. This *slametan* is intended to symbolize the idea that every one at the *slametan* is free of secret feelings to envy, hate, jealousy, and the like; that everyone's emotion had been flatten or to the point where all the present are calm, peaceful, and undisturbed within. The next morning the boy is ready for circumcision with the *calak*, and the boy reads the confession of faith. That evening the feast and entertainment takes place such a nightlong shadow play.

Death Ritual

In Javanese society if there is a death in a family the first thing they do is to send someone to call a *modin* (the official religious specialist), and the second is to spread the word around the neighborhood that death has occurred. In Javanese or in Islam as well, there is a notion that one should go to the other people's funeral so they will come to his. Javanese funeral occurred as quickly as possible after death because for them the spirit of the death man is flying around loose until he is buried, and this is dangerous to everyone, especially to the survivors. The sooner he is buried the sooner the spirit can return to its

natural place. When the *modin* arrives and with the relative of the deceased to wash the corpse, preferably by a woman if the deceased is female, a man if male under the direction of the *modin*. Three kinds of water usually are used; one with flower in it; one with money, a special kind of tree leaves and various kinds of herbs in it; and one plain without anything in it. During the washing of the corpse or near the corpse there are prohibition of shedding tears: it is believed to make the atmosphere dark and the deceased will have great difficulty in his or her path to the grave and it will upset the deceased that he or she cannot bear to leave the house. Usually children of the deceased ducked back and forth under the litter three times before the deceased is taken to the graveyard. This is to indicate that they are *ikhlas*- that the emotion had been quietly and have been flatten out into true detachment, that they feel no psychological or physical pain at the departure of the deceased and that their heart are already free. After the bathing the body is plugged with cotton dipped in perfume and wrapped with white muslin. Then the *modin* and others start chanting the Koran.

On the graveyard the body is taken of and handed down to three men standing in the grave and the body is laid to rest on seven stores with his head pointed to the north. All strings are loosened and the *modin* shout the confession of faith three times into the death man's ear. The planks are then laid in place. The dirt pushed into the grave and the grave marker is erected. The *modin* read the *telkim*, a sad funeral speech addressed to the deceased, first in Arabic and then in Javanese.

Geertz noted among the Javanese the notions of life after death. The first is the Islamic version of the concept of eternal retribution of punishment and reward in the afterworld for the sins and good deeds in this world. Second is the concept of

"sampurna", which mean literally perfect or complete but which indicates in this context that the individual personality completely disappears after that and nothing is left of the person but dust. Thirdly, is the notion of re-incarnation- that when a person dies his soul enters shortly thereafter into an embryo on its way to being born. Sometimes the Javanese have been said to worship their ancestor. The vague apostrophe to "the ancestor" is generally taken to mean one's own ancestors as a "grand father and grand mother" in spells at *slametan* during the burning of incense to "ancestor" on Thursday night by a few people and decorated the family graves.

Chapter III

MINANGKABAU : THE LAND AND PEOPLE

About the turn of the nineteenth century a trader from the highlands of west Sumatra constructed a map of the island of Sumatra. In the center he placed Mount Merapi, the highest volcanic peak of his own homeland, and around it in concentric circles he drew a fertile upland valley with their wet rice field characteristic of the area. The rest of Sumatra he depicted as a virtually undifferentiated mass, revolving around this pivot.¹ Observed on the modern map of the Indian Ocean region, however, the island of Sumatra appears to be distinguished from the neighboring Asian landmass not by the fertile valleys of its central island, but by the water that surrounds it. Sumatra through its coastline belong to the mercantile world of the Indian ocean; its northern most shores reached out to the Coromandel coast of India and the trade routes of the Middle East, its eastern shore line guard the straits leading to the world of the south China sea and beyond. Because of its geographical importance, two worlds battle for supremacy in Sumatra. The sober, regular tenor of farming life in the Sumatran highlands is in marked contrast to the bustling, competitive of the coastal traders. But in the central highlands which because of certain topographical peculiarities have ample access to the coast, agricultural change and innovation developed side by side with the ability to seize coastal trading opportunities, producing a people of peculiar dynamism and an adaptability, necessitating constant re-adjustment within their society. The inhabitants of the west

¹ The European accounts used here were largely written by a team of Dutch scientific investigators sent into Minangkabau by the Netherlands Indies government in 1833, and published right up to 1860. prior to this there is an English account of 1818 and a Dutch account of 1824.

Sumatra highlands, the Minangkabau, have become famous throughout the Indonesian world for their agricultural skills, for their commercial adaptability and for their general willingness to seize new opportunities and adapt to new mental horizons, whether introduced from India, from the Middle East or from Europe. This processes of change has simultaneously gone with the preservation of their own particular identity.

The traditional homeland of the Minangkabau is the highland of the central part of Sumatra, on either side of the very spot where the Equator passes through the island. Sumatra is an island with an area approximate to that of Sweden (160000 sq. m), stretching out into the Indian Ocean in the northwesterly direction from the South China Sea. It is about 1100 miles in length and straddles the Equator from 6° N to 6° S. Its greatest width being about 250 miles, roughly athwart the equator. Its position as one of the major islands in the discontinuous portion of the land bridge between continental Asia and Australia has ensured its importance in the sea communication network between India and China. Its fringes, the two main straits leading from the Indian ocean to the South China Sea, its eastern shoreline overlooking the Malacca strait which are bordered on the opposite side by the Malay Peninsula, and its western coastline terminating in the Sunda straits which separates Sumatra from Java. For this reason the island has long lain open to contact with the outside world, ports on both the east and the west coast of Sumatra being used for centuries by traders and men of culture and religion in search of both commercial and intellectual exchange.

Islam in Minangkabau Society

The historical study of peasant religion is extremely difficult. In Minangkabau, as in other parts of the Indonesian archipelago, peasant culture rested on a sub-stratum of animistic beliefs, which were still flourishing in the 19th century. Other strata of society may have adopted the forms and beliefs of outside cults, but some social groups- such as the royal family or artisan families-remained powerfully influential by the prevailing animism of the society in which they lived.

The key figure in the religion of the Minangkabau peasant is the shaman, for whom the Minangkabau term is *pawang*. Whenever the peasant household is visited in the course of the year by serious illness, death, danger to the harvest, and numerous other terrors, they turned to the *pawang*, who placate the invisible forces and bring comfort to the grief stricken family. The theoretical justification for the work of *pawang* is peasant belief in the dualism of the soul. Each individual is taught to have a real soul, and a soul, which could disappear, the latter called *semangat*, which represented life vital power. In this way illness can be explained as the capturing of the *semangat* by an evil spirit, and it was the role of the *pawang* to call on his or her familiar spirits to track down the lost *semangat* and returned it to the lost sufferer. The *pawang* would sometimes merely consult the spirits, but at other times he or she would become possessed, going into a trance generally accompanied by music and singing.² It was not only humans who possessed *semangat*; so do animals and plants. The *semangat* of rice was carefully

² J. L. Van der Toorn, "Minangkabauer der Padangsche Bovenlanden", in Christine Dubbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy*, Curzon Press, London, 1983. p. 119.

preserved by a variety of ceremonies at planting and harvesting, as was that of other crops.³

An implicit belief in spirit was an essential component of this explanation of the world and its ills. Everything was considered to harbor spirits, so that even the track in the jungle or a tree possesses its own spirit. To placate evil spirits sacrificial offerings were made. Spirits of mountains were particularly frightening, and a Minangkabau journeying to the top of Mount Merapi would first slaughter a buffalo to placate the spirits of the mountains, at the same time taking great care not to utter certain words which might be offensive to the spirits.

Beliefs in spirits led to attachment to the fetishes of spirits which were taught to reside in certain objects, so that individuals could protect themselves with amulets made of special stones to animal bones, whilst the community at large recognized objects with supernatural power or *sakti* which could perform good for the whole village.⁴

In every village the shaman was a person of considerable influence, and each shaman passed on his art to a heir, who got possession of a familiar spirit by inheritance.⁵ *sakti* was especially present in metal such as iron, and so blacksmiths were regarded as a magically dangerous, magically “charged” personalities, needing magic power in order to be able to cope with their tasks. Sacred rites of initiation attended the instruction of apprentice in the techniques of forging.⁶

³Ibid. pp. 61- 68

⁴Op.cit. pp.83-91.

⁵ C. K. Nicholson, *The Introduction of Islam into Sumatra and Java: A Study in Cultural Change*, Syracuse University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1965. pp. 17-18. in Op. cit. Christine Dubbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy*.

⁶ R. Winstedt, *The Malays: A Cultural History*, London, 1961. pp.23-24.

Overlying the religion of the Minangkabau peasant were certain cults, which had been introduced into Minangkabau from outside. Unlike peasant animism, these cults had altered markedly over the centuries with each fresh wave of foreign influence, though it should be remarked that much that has gone before was incorporated in the new.

The first evidence we have of Minangkabau 'higher religion' centers are the appearance of megaliths (large stones) erected about the beginning of our era in the course of rites designed to protect the soul from the dangers of the underworld or to ensure eternal life. Some of these megaliths were carved to represent human beings and female fertility symbols. With the intrusion into the Minangkabau world of Indian traders and Hindu Javanese court of Adityawarman, a new form of the higher religion was introduced. Where possible, however, this new religion was associated with the former megalithic cult. For instance, Adityawarman used these stone pillars for his inscriptions, or carved additional marking on their summits, and sacred centers such as the three stone seats near Lima Kaum were used by the king in his own court ceremonial.⁷ He also introduced the religion of which he was a devotee, a *tantric* form of demonic Buddhism with Shivaite elements. The most notorious aspects of this cult which flourished at the Javanese court of Majapahit, do not appear to have survived long in Minangkabau; they included rites of human sacrifice, the drinking of bloods and the rattling of human bones in ecstatic dances which took place at night in the graveyards, all as part of ceremonies design to produce mystic union with the godhead.⁸ What did survive however, was the concept of the divinity of the ruler, who was transformed by the miracle, of his accession into a divine being and became the sustainer of the cosmic order. The ruler could never

⁷ Op. cit. Nicholson, *The Introduction of Islam into Sumatra and Java: A Study in Cultural Change*. Pp.17-18

⁸ Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra*, Leiden, 1939. p.30.

afford to neglect magical ceremonies to sustain his power, and in Minangkabau this sacral character of the ruler remain very markedly through the centuries.⁹

Islam is the outside religion introduced into the Minangkabau world, which it had to contend with several factors, which hardly guaranteed its successful adaptation to the society. First of all, it was a religion very much associated with the city in its original environment and in its earliest years in the Indonesian archipelago. Indeed, it has been pointed out that Islam requires the city in order to realize its social and religious ideals. Its corner stone, communal prayer, requires a fixed and permanent mosque, and its other religious obligations too, are more suited to the rhythm of life of the town dweller than that of the peasant. The tradition of Islam is in fact filled with a spirit hostile to the peasantry.¹⁰

Furthermore, the well-developed religious system of the Minangkabau peasantry, with its own religious specialist, proved an obstacle to a religion that could never be satisfied with individual converts but stressed continually the *ummah*, the Islamic community. In addition, the Minangkabau royal family possessed its own sacral system and beliefs, which Islam would have in some way to adapt to if the ruling group was not to be alienated from the new religion.¹¹

It is hardly surprising that Islam achieved its first and most lasting success in the Minangkabau west coast entry ports, which most resembled in function the Islamic city of the Middle East, revolving as they did in the central market place. Tiku, the leading port for the west coast trade of Indian Muslims from Gujarat was Islamicized by the

⁹ Op.cit, R. Winstedt, *The Malays: A Cultural History*. Pp.63-66.

¹⁰X. de Planhol, *The World of Islam*, Ithaca, 1959. Pp.3-8, 42-43.

¹¹ Op. cit. Christine Dubbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy*. p.119

second decade of the Sixteenth century. The main administrative and the port officials all had Muslim titles, and Islamic teachers well versed in the Koran were in evidence in the port.

The conversion of Pariaman and Ulakan seems to have followed, particularly after the establishment of Acehenese control over the coast. The outer forms of Islam are easily learnt and adopted, and commercial relations with the Indian traders who poured onto the coast in the heydays of the pepper trade were greatly simplified when the local brokers adopted the religion of their trading partners. Their traditional roles were left undisturbed and no radical change in behavior was called for.¹² Later Islam was largely confined to the leading broker families of the ports. Islamic laws, particularly those connected with inheritance, proved suited to their needs, providing them with an alternative to the matrilineal system of inheritance of the uplands. The coastal peasants, however, remained attached to the animistic beliefs and to their own religious specialists.

As far as the Minangkabau interiors was concerned, conversion proceeded both by a way of the west coast and via east coast rivers. The conversion to Islam by the members of the Minangkabau royal family and by the other official of the different realms, however, did not caused them to abandon many of their earlier beliefs and practices. Items in the Minangkabau royal regalia retained their magical significance, and merely acquired an Islamic veneer; further items were sought for wealth after the conversion.¹³

As far as the numerous agricultural villages of Minangkabau were concerned, the relationship to Islam took two forms. Firstly, the affiliation to the new religion was able

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Op.cit, R. Winstedt, *The Malays: A Cultural History*, p. 66

to evolve with the family and the lineage system, and secondly, the relationship of Islam to the village community as a whole.¹⁴ Agricultural life persisted in the rhythm of planting and harvesting, its round of placation of spirits and consultation with the shaman. Islam seemed to have little to offer here, and it is not surprising that, even in the early Nineteenth century, there were whole villages with no connection at all with the Muslim faith.¹⁵ Where Islam made its initial impact, therefore was not at the level of the community, but rather within the lineage. Villages received their calling quite apart from the lineage system. However, the lineages which were prosperous and flourishing also desired to have their own religious functionary, which gave them added prestige in the eyes of fellow villagers. In pre-Islamic days, these functionaries appear to have been somewhat similar to the Brahman priest attached to the prosperous Indian households. Coincidentally, the functionary was also called *pandita*. Now this functionary gradually took on an Islamic veneer and adopted the title of the *malim*. Like the lineage *penghulu*, (leader or head of the clan) his installation was marked by expensive and ostentatious ceremony as befitting his prestige-giving role.¹⁶ However, it should be noted had no place whatever in the *penghulu* council and his religious role inside the lineage was more involved with matters of custom (*adat*) than with the enforcing the injunction of Islam. He was present at birth, deaths and family ceremonies such as the first bathing of a new born child, house moving, the start of the journey and so on. The *malim* had few opportunities to exercise wider village role, even though he might be the *imam* (leader of prayer) of the mosque.

¹⁴Op. cit. Christine Dubbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy*, p.120.

¹⁵E. Le Roy Ladurie, *The Peasants of Languadoc*, Urbana, 1974. Pp.205-206.

¹⁶Op. cit. Christine Dubbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy*, p.120

There was, however, another means by which Islam could penetrate the Minangkabau highlands, in a manner suited both to its own genius and that of the Minangkabau. In this way, two whole villages were involved in Islamic institution, although the village itself might not form a Muslim community. An important facet of life in any Minangkabau village was the *surau*, the house where young men lived after puberty away from the lineage house, which was the dwelling place of women and children. The position of men in Minangkabau society was always problematic, as they could never be more than guest in the house of their marriage partners. Although we know little Hindu-Buddhist period in Minangkabau, it is established that in 1356 Adityawarman established a Buddhist monastery in the vicinity of Bukit Gombak, and it seems that such gathering together of young men to learn sacred laws provide an ideal solution for a very definite social problem. In certain villages, therefore, Islam constructed a whole edifice of learning on the basis of the pre-Islamic *surau*.

This was made possible by the fact that, in the early Islamic centuries, Muslim brotherhood (*tarekat*) had sprung up in response to popular need for more intimate communion with god than that provided by the dry legalism of the official doctors of Islam. Devotees of this brotherhood, called Sufis, concentrated on following a *tarekat* (Arabic; path, way) laid down by a teacher or *syekh*, in whose school they gather, often for many years. This *tarekat* and their schools fit into the existing *surau* system of Minangkabau without the least disruption, and so become an acceptable addition to village life in certain villages. The brotherhoods were adapt in taking on a local coloring, and their stress on the inward condition of a man's heart rather than his act and on the spiritual progress on the individual rather than the ethical demands of the *ummah* posed

few problems for the host village, which need in no way function as an Islamic community.¹⁷ Moreover, certain religious exercises carried out in the *surau* in the hope of receiving visions, the repetition of the name of god, singing, swaying to music etc. had much in common with the ways a village shaman attained a trance and so continuity with village life was again preserved.¹⁸ There are three Sufi orders functioning in Minangkabau, the *naksyabandiyah*, the *syattariyah* and the *kadiriyah*. Generally speaking the teaching of the *tarekat* were very similar. All the *tarekat* represented orthodoxy in their thought in Minangkabau. Heterodox Sufism, which had caused pantheistic speculation to flourish in Aceh in the seventeenth century, was not represented in Minangkabau. In this Minangkabau followed the trend towards orthodoxy throughout the Malay world in the late eighteenth century, manifest in the numerous Malay translations of orthodox Sufi texts, from the Arabic made at that time.¹⁹ The beginning of all learning for every properly educated Muslim is the recitation of the Koran, with less stress placed on understanding and more on the correct intonation of the Arabic sounds. It then moved onto the study of Islamic laws, the *shariah* and then *fikh*. This branch of study called *fikh* was regarded as the most profound for any Muslim.

The ideal five pillars of Islam-the confession of faith, prayer, fasting, the pilgrimage and alms giving- can be subsumed under the heading of *ibadat* or the laws governing man's conduct towards god. Its study was never merely an empiric exercise, but was regarded rather as the practical aspect of their religious and social doctrine preached by Muhammad, deriving naturally from the Koran where God appears as commanding and forbidding, rewarding and punishing.

¹⁷M. Gilsean, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*, Oxford, 1973. p.10.

¹⁸Op.cit, R. Winstedt, *The Malays: A Cultural History*, pp.20-25.

¹⁹Ibid. p.42.

Islamic Education Schools

Madrasa

Education in Islam being incumbent upon every Muslim, man or woman, it had a great impact upon the learners who profess this faith. The family is the foundation of all sound education for the young, and Islam has taken great care of parents who are the providers and rulers of the family. Islam exhorts them to be seriously concerned with educating themselves and in acquisition of learning.²⁰

In Minangkabau society, traditionally there were two kinds of religious schools. The first was the *surau mangaji* (Koranic recital school), one of which was usually located in every subdivision of village (*kampung*). There children were taught elementary religious doctrines and practices. The second was the *madrasa*, where scriptural knowledge was taught.²¹

The tradition of *madrasa* began in the seventeenth century in the coastal town of Ulakan. Scriptural knowledge was taught at this *madrasa*. This was the first Islamic center in Minangkabau, where the early religious teachers received their training. According to early *madrasa* tradition Minangkabau itself represented the unity of the pillars of the religious sciences *fikh* (law), *tauhid* (theology), and *tasauf* (mysticism).²²

²⁰ Muhammad Wasiullah Khan (ed.), *Education and Society in the Muslim World*, Hodder and Stoughton. King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah, 1981, p. 34.

²¹ Surau has been defined as "a building where education in reading and understanding the Koran and other Islamic text is conducted. It is established by either an individual or member of families or the population of the whole Suku (Clan).

²² Datuk Mangkuto Alam, "Agama Islam di Minangkabau" *Pandji Islam*, June 2, 1941 in Taufik Abdullah: *Modernization in Minangkabau World*, in Claire Holt (ed). "Culture and Politics in Indonesia", Cornell University Press, Ithaca, and London 1972, p. 179-245.

Traditionally, early religious teachers excelled in one or two branches of the religious sciences. It is for this reason that the old Minangkabau *madrasa* was also highly specialized. The specialized character of a *madrasa* forced a religious student, or a *murid* (pupil), to attend several in order to complete his training. As a result, the *murid* also acted as a link between the scattered *madrasas*.

The guru of large *madrasa* usually belonged to the original inhabitants of the *Nagari* (Village). The guru (teacher) was a personification of the *madrasa* itself. The blessings of the guru could “open the mind and the heart” of the *murid*. The *guru-murid* network extended beyond a particular *madrasa*. The network as a basis of social relationship was more pronounced in a *madrasa* that was also a center of *tarekat* (Islamic brotherhood) teaching. The guru was not only the teacher but also the spiritual leader of those who wanted to intensify their religious devotion.

Although the position of the religious teacher was not included in the official *adat* (custom) hierarchy, his influence went beyond that prescribed by *adat* for a *Penghulu*. In his own *Nagari* a religious teacher could often command the loyalty of the people outside his own *suku* (clan). Unlike the jurisdiction of the *Penghulu*

The crucial position of the religious teacher also based on his acknowledges authority on religious law. This judgment on religious issues was theoretically binding. The *adat* religious functionaries, *imam*, *khatib* (who give the speech at the mosque) or *malim*, were only the executor of law. They were in charge of the mosque and religious rites, such as marriages, funerals and religious celebrations. The existing *madrasa*, with their *guru* and *murid*, gave spiritual backing to *adat* authorities in their attempt to maintain of social harmony and the ideal of consensus. Unlike the *balai* (communal hall)

or mosque, the *madrasas* was not an *adat* symbol of *nagari* (Village) unity that could not tolerate challenge. Since a new *madrasas* could always emerge with the appearance of a new qualified teacher, the *madrasa* was a continuing source of dynamism in the village

Minangkabau Social Structure

Marriage

The Minangkabau are the largest and most stable matrilineal society in the world today. Numbering some 4 million people in West Sumatra, the traditional homeland of their culture, the Minangkabau are the fourth largest ethnic group in the archipelago. They are a proud people well known in Indonesia for their literary flair, democratic leanings, business acumen, and "matriarchal" ways. Researcher encountered of the Minangkabau people who proudly referred a *matriarchaat* society, using the Dutch term for matriarchy. It can be understood that this term was adopted from Dutch colonial officials who used it in the 19th and early 20th centuries to describe the Minangkabau. However, it has long since been incorporated into the local lexicon so that today the term operates as an ethnic label marking the Minangkabau as distinct among Indonesia's 300 ethnic groups²³

Among the Minangkabau, the woman's family usually proposes marriage and negotiates the terms with the family of a prospective groom. The husband provides a bed, chairs and other furnishings for the room he will share with his wife in her family's

²³ Peggy Sanday, *Women at the Center: Life in a Modern Matriarchy* on <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/~psanday/sanday.htm>

house²⁴. Young men often send intermediaries to gain the approval of a girl guardian, who, following Islamic law, is usually her father or brother. Marriage is a protracted process of betrothal (negotiation, gift exchanges, formal announcement), setting the wedding date, holding the ceremony, paying the bride price, and possibly carrying out post-wedding familial exchanges. Women are usually 17 to 20 and men between 20 and 25 when they marry, especially in rural areas, and a newly married couple is usually not expected to be economically or residentially independent.

Unlike most patrilineally based Muslims, who may include payment of a bride price as part of marital arrangements, the Minangkabau have a practice of giving a male dowry or groom price before marriage. This divergence results from the fact that the Minangkabau have largely retained their pre-Muslim matrilineal customs, despite their general conversion to Islam.

The Regulation of Marriage

The Minangkabau marriage tradition is exogamous, which means that the member of one clan has to marry with another clan's member. According to religion, marriage among the same clan is allowed, but on the other hand, it is prohibited by tradition. Since tradition is very strong, so violation against this tradition may bring about much risk, such as being expelled from the family.²⁵ In regard to other restrictions on marriage the Islamic law till the present time is still followed than the native *adat*. Thus, while a woman might marry a half-brother from a different father according to *adat*, this is seldom done.

²⁴ Michael Dorgan. "Sumatran Women Hold Land, Wild Power," Knight-Ridder Newspaper, 2/15/1998.

²⁵ Matrilineal: <http://www.rumahgadang-sphosting.com/matrilineal.htm>

For a married man, life is bilocal since he has to stay in his mother's house in the daytime, and at night in his wife's house. If his mother's house is located far from his wife's house, his life becomes matrilocal as he has to stay only in his wife's house. However, the husband or *sumando* (men's side) has no authority in his wife's *Rumah Gadang* (house). He is just an honorable guest for the continuance of descent, while the one who has a say in the house is the *mamak* or the brother of his wife.

The *sumando* becomes *mamak* in his mother's house where he has the responsibility to take care of his nephew, as clearly stipulated in the dictum "*Anak dipangku, kemenakan dibimbing, orang kampung dipertenggangkan*" which means that his own children have to be taken on his lap, while the nephew has to be guided, and the neighbors be considered.

In some cases related to traditions such as the marriage, the person coming to the fore is the *mamak*, and not the father. The Minangkabau community always obeys the marriage law on exogamy, so that in one *nagari* (smallest administrative unit) has to be inhabited by more than one clan. At least, four different clans are needed in one *nagari* in order to implement the inter-clan marriage.

In Muslim communities of Southeast Asia, residence patterns vary, with three kinship systems prevailing: patrilineal, matrilineal, and parental (bilateral). Of these parental is the most prevalent. Suwarni Salyo argues that the status of women depends on to which system they belong. Among the Minangkabau, who number about a million, for example, residence patterns are not in keeping with Islamic injunctions. Women have exclusive rights over the longhouses (a long communal dwelling), and most remain there throughout their lives. They also own rice paddies, orchards and all other major property.

Although each clan's administrator must be a man.²⁶ So far as worship is concerned, the Minangkabau are devout Muslims, but they tend to follow *adat* where property and residence are concerned. This is also seen in the fact that the Islamic procedure of unilateral divorce, and easy remarriage can be made to function in the interests of women as often as men, because women have a privileged position in the economic and trade activities compared to other Muslim communities in Indonesia.

Among the Malays and Javanese, households usually consist of one nuclear family, although one may also see uxori-local extended families (usually extended, nuclear, joint, and laterally joint families). Among the matrilineal Minangkabau, males tend to assume a partial father's role towards their sisters' children, while partially relinquishing paternal care of their own children to their wives' brothers.

In Minangkabau, marriage has a different texture and character in terms of relationships between spouses, rights over children, and choice of residence than is the case in many other Islamic societies. Marriage is a relatively egalitarian relationship promoted by kinship organization, the active participation of women in economic production, and access to rights over strategic resources. The difference stems from traditional customs, which are characteristic of the pre-Islamic lifestyle of the Indonesian communities. Although the institutions of marriage and divorce are primarily Islamic today, they still tend to incorporate pre-Islamic traditions. These societies offer institutionalized choices in such matters as entering and leaving marriages, marital

²⁶ Leela Dube. *Women and kinship: Comparative Perspectives on Gender in South and Southeast Asia*. UN. University Publication, 1997.p.88-89

residence, and the nurturing of children. These choices have been aided by the general absence of *pardah*²⁷.

Although Muslim communities in Indonesia are rooted in different kinship systems, all essentially base marriage on *shariah*, following and fulfilling the basic requirements of the law. However, in practice the way these requirements are applied in different Muslim communities is radically different from that visualized and emphasized by Islam. In the mainstream interpretation of Islam, Islam assumes patrilineal structure to be the natural form of social organization. In Indonesia there are specific Islamic courts, but *adat*, which has also influenced them together with modern demands, often guides people.

In rural areas early marriage is common. It may be decided by parents, or by partners with the consent of their parents. Marriage releases some of the constraints put on young women mobility. There is no stigma attached to divorce and remarriage is common. *Mahr* is usually small, and payment can be deferred²⁸, it does not act as a deterrent to divorce and does not establish a husband authority over his wife, in keeping with Koranic injunctions. In Indonesia, a woman needs a guardian or *wali* to give her away in marriage. In Indonesia, the husband is the head of the family who decides the place of the conjugal home Indonesian men are allowed to marry up to four wives without the consent of the previous wife or wives. Indonesia's 1974 Marriage Act outlines the procedure of divorce through the court; allows for a polygamous marriage with the court approval; states that both parties have a right to conduct legal actions; demands consent of the aspirant bride and groom; and provides a provision that overrules

²⁷ Ibid.p.65

²⁸ Ibid. p. 121-131.

the right of a family member to force any side into marriage. Muslim groups have mounted a campaign to overturn a 1973 rule that civil servants cannot enter polygamous marriages, arguing that the regulation gave rise to extramarital affairs and unregistered marriages performed only by Muslim clerics²⁹

Inheritance

Inheritance is the mechanism regulating the transmission of property, rights, duties, and authority in a society from the dead to the living. It has been a central concern of anthropology and sociology because the rights and obligation and set forth by rules of inheritance underlie many social, economic, and political relationships. Generally, inheritance is based on the descent rules practiced by a particular society. There are two types of descent: jural and biological. Jural descent is often based on biological descent and is the mechanism by which rank and property are handed down from one generation to the next. Biological descent, in colloquial language, means that there is a “relationships by blood” or that people share substance from previous generations.

In most part of the region, *adat* seems to take precedence over classical *shariat* in governing inheritance, with inheritance rights determined by a communities status as patrilineal, matrilineal, or bilateral. In matrilineal and parental kinship systems, women inherit either equally with men or a 2:1 share (according to the Koranic regulations or *adat*).

In Minangkabau, at the present time, property is divided into two classes: communal property (*harto pusako*), and private property (*harto pancarian*). The *harto*

²⁹ Asmarani Dewi, “Aisyah ponders New Gender Awareness in Islam”, Jakarta Post. 4/23/2000.

pusako maybe immovable possession, such as rice fields, cultivated field, brush or meadowland, houses, rice granaries, and stables. The *harto pancarian* likewise consists of both movable and immovable goods. The oldest *harto pusako* are known as *harto manah* and are inherited from the ancestral mother. According to the *adat*, the *harto pusako* can be sold for debts, which have been contracted in the following manners:

1. The cost of burial of a family member.
2. The cost of marrying out a virgin.
3. In order to prevent the family house falling into decay.
4. In former days to pay wergild when the slayer himself had not sufficient property.
5. At the present time a few families are willing to pay the expense of a trip to Mecca for their members out of the *harto pusako*³⁰.

Among the Javanese, emphasis is on patrilineal clans and patrilineal inheritance coincides with the patrilineal stress Islamic family law. In Minangkabau, by contrast, tradition was based on matrilineal clans and on passing property from man to his sisters' son.

In contrast however, the Minangkabau combine their matrilineal customs with the patrilineal-based Islam, resulting inheritance structures in which the right to use ancestral property, such as wet rice land or longhouse is inherited through females, while individual property, such as vehicles, maybe inherited through males in accordance with the Koranic rules of inheritance. In his wife's house a man holds no property, and at best, only exercises supervisory control over the affairs of his wife's property. In his own natal

³⁰ Edwin, M. Loeb. "Sumatra Its History and Peoples". Oxford University Press. Kuala Lumpur. 1972. p. 109.

home, a husband inherits property through his mother. Males do not directly inherit rights to ancestral property and cannot pass to heirs that which they do not possess.

However, what they possess through individual effort *harto pancarian* can be passed to heirs according to the Islamic rules of inheritance. More often than the house in the family in Minangkabau goes to the child (younger daughter usually) who looked after the parents, and shares of the various kinds of property are given to both female and male children. In Minangkabau *adat* tends to be more advantageous to women than *shariat* on the matter of inheritance. Its most important rule is inheritance of ancestral land from a mother to her daughters.

Divorce

The dissolution of a marriage while both parties are alive is called *bacarai hiduik* (to separate alive), while dissolution through death is called *bacarai mati* (separation by means of a spade).

Talaq is the most common form of divorce among the Indonesian Muslims. There are two other forms of divorce: *khula*, the purchase by wife of her freedom; and *fasaq*, pronounced by *khadi*, or judge on grounds such as lunacy, impotence, or disease. However, these two forms are rarely applied.³¹ Although the initiative in *talaq* formally lies with the husband, a woman may indicate to her husband that she does not want him to visit her anymore and thus create a situation in which he has no options but to pronounce *talaq*. Divorces of this type are common on the islands and in Southeast Asia in general.³²

³¹Op.cit, Leela Dubee, "Women and kinship: Comparative Perspectives on Gender in South and Southeast Asia". 1997, p.121-131

³²Ibid.

Historically it was difficult for an Indonesian wife to get a solution of marriage. However, the marriage act of 1974 does provide provisions under which a wife may seek judicial divorce, including conditions such as the other spouse's adultery or cruelty. While divorces is common, an usually based on incompatibility of the partners, and adultery. Its application varies within the communities, with divorce being equally accessible for males and females in Minangkabau community.

In case of divorce among Minangkabau, each spouse retains personal property. Women whose husbands divorce them receive the whole amount of their *mahr* usually in the form of jewelry. Women retain their right to ownership of the house in cases of divorce or separation.

Individual Life Cycle

Naming

Minangkabau society children receive their names at the time of their first bathe, at the latest days after their birth. While the names are actually bestowed by the *malim*. The parents offered a number of names as choice. The first name is called a "little name" (*nama ketek*). Later when the boys and the girls marry they received their inherited titles or "little titles" (*gelar ketek*) and this satisfy their vanity. Upon the assumption of the titles the childhood names are lost. The only real titles are those of the *penghulus* (head of the clan). Names and titles are of Hindu origin, and the present day people do not understand their meanings. The ceremony is similar to the Javanese and they called *aqiqah* with two sheep for male and one for female.

Circumcision

Another ritual act that is not prescribed or even mentioned in the Koran but that is treated universally as a requirement of the faith is circumcision of males before puberty and incision for female when she is a child.

And this rite is carried out with much public celebration and feasting as the family can afford. Circumcision is usually done between the ages of seven and twelve years. It constitutes as a rite of passage; it marks the transition of the boy from the private domain of the household to the public. Circumcision used to be done by the *mantri* (trained male nurse) at home or in the hospital. There is no ritual before circumcision is held. After the act the family prepares and invite the guests and relatives for ceremonial, usually dinner or lunch. The guest on such occasion would bring money or gift in kind for the boy. Simultaneously, this circumcision signals the separation of the young boy from his mother and his joining the world of the males. At this point he is likely to begin his formal religious education and is increasingly expected to identify and observe the male code of behavior. There is no equivalent rite of passage for the female.

Death Ritual

In Minangkabau society if a man becomes sick at the home of his wife, word is sent to his relatives. If he dies, the body is handed over to his own family. The widow and her relatives have nothing to do with the burial. Word will be spread to the neighbors and relatives that death has occurred. Members of the same sex wash the corpse or a *malim* (religious specialist) shrouded in a single clothe and interred by nightfall, if possible, and never later than the second day. Two kinds of water is usually used for washing the

corpse; one with the flowers and herbs in it and the other one plain without anything in it. After the bathing the body is plugged with cotton and wrapped with a seven layers of muslin, which is brought by the close relative. The people and the relative have no outward sign of mourning. Graves are dug, that the body can lie on each side facing Mecca, and care is taken that earth does not fall on the face of the corpse. There is a general agreement that the grave should be simple, and if adorned by a head stone or other marker, the ground immediately above the corpse should be left unobstructed (*lahat*). Under no circumstances is the death to be brought inside the mosque although the body may be carried into the mosque courtyard for a final prayer. A frequent sight alongside the inner walls of the mosque courtyard is a wooden litter, which serves to transport the death to the graveyard. After giving the last prayer (*shalat jenazah*) at the mosque the corpse is taken to the graveyard and buried with help of three relatives on the grave, and corpse will be put as the direction and *malim* will reading the confessional faith three times.

The funeral speech (*khutbah*) will be addressed to the deceased and some suggestions and warnings to those attending the funeral. The Minangkabau widow, however, wait hundred days as the ghost of the dead man is supposed to wander around in the form of a bird in his own dwelling and in hers. Then a big feast for the death is given and the ghost leaves for soul land (*kampung akhirat*). The widow at this pays her last visit to her husband's family and they visit the grave together. During such visits no offerings are made. Household implements such as mats and baskets, and food are given as presents to blood relatives. Direct offering to the death would be contrary to Islamic laws.

Chapter IV

Conclusion: A Comparison between Javanese and Minangkabau Society

Part I

The aim of the comparative study of religion according to Geertz is that; “it ought to be the scientific characterization of this perspective, a description of the wide variety of forms in which it appears; the uncovering of forces which brings these forms into existence, alter them, or destroy them; and their assessment of their influences, also various upon the behavior of men in everyday life”¹

Islamic culture is nonetheless a perspective on the values. The comparative study of religions, or of civilizations, is equally alleged to fall in most cases into the same predicament. Through and through it is, and should be, descriptive. It can only be report, analyze, compare, and contrast its findings in the various culture, religious or civilizations. But it cannot criticize, judge, or evaluate its data because the criteria by which such work is possible are themselves the data in question. Cultures, religions and civilizations are said to enjoy that same autonomy, which make each its own judge. Surely, each has laid claim to universalism, to address itself to man as such, to speak of religion as such.

In Indonesian, culture it was the great Indic states (kingdom) Mataram, Singosari, Kediri, and Majapahit – which, is shaped by local traditions, and were generally guided

¹ Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968, .96

by Indic theories of cosmic truth and metaphysical virtue. In Indonesia, Islam did not construct a civilization, it appropriate one.²

In every major religious community there exist a gap, more or less great, between the beliefs and practices of what may be called 'official' religion and the piety of common people. This is nowhere more true than in Islam.

While most Muslim are vaguely aware of the fundamental theological position adopted by the community in the course of its development, only a small number, those who have had the privilege of advance training in a traditional school of religious instructions, or *madrasa, pesantren*, know these matters in detail from first hand acquaintance with the works of the great religious leaders of the past. Islam has taken many forms, not al of them Koranic, and whatever it brought to the sprawling the archipelago, it *was not uniformity*. They absorbed Islamic concepts and practices, so far as it understood them, into the same general Southeast Asian folk religion into which it had previously absorbed Indian ones, locking ghost, Gods, Jinn, and prophets together into a strikingly contemplative, even philosophical, and animism.³ The identity of Islam is not just as a religion in general but also as the particular directives communicated by God to mankind through the prophecies of Muhammad and his tradition.

² Ibid.p.11

³ Ibid.p.13.

Part II Comparative Analysis of Javanese and Minangkabau Society.

Similarities

1. A comparative analysis of the religious life and social structure of Javanese and Minangkabau reveals many astonishing fact of the culturally rich society of Indonesia. It also tarnishes same popular myths, which are associated with the Indonesian people.
2. In both societies, Javanese and Minangkabau, despite their differences of in actual culture and historical course and ultimate (i.e. contemporary) out come of their religious and culture development, Islamization has been two sided process. On the one hand, it had consisted of an effort to adopt a universal, in theory standardized an essentially unchangeable, and usually well-integrated system of ritual and belief to realities of local, even individual, moral and metaphysical perception. On the other hand, it has consisted of a struggle to maintain, the in the phase of this adaptive flexibility.
3. Beyond the variety of practices and customs that may distinguish one Islamic culture from Javanese to Minangkabau Muslim, a basic commonality is provided by the overall structure of Islam of Islam that binds the adherents together.

Differences

1. The Javanese Muslim is vertically divided with three levels of identification, *Priyayi*, *Santri* and *Abangan*. *Santri* a devout Muslim who is frequently associated

with prosperity from traded. The *priyayi* and *abangan* are more frequently either aristocrats or peasant or nominal that follow more moderate version of Islam.

2. In Minangkabau Muslim, there is no division of society as such compared to Javanese society. Islam could not make much impact either in the matriarchal lineages or day-to-day animistic beliefs of the peoples. Islam amalgamated with the centuries old Hindu culture; Islam could not penetrate and change intricately in west Sumatra's matriarchal society. Even after the coming of Islam. The social structure of Minangkabau it continues to be same till now.
3. Javanese peoples practice patriliney, which is very much in the basic principle to Islam.
4. Minangkabau women retained much power in relation to property and choice of residence as compare to their Javanese counterparts. Regarding division of property in case of divorce, while in west Sumatra a women retains an egalitarian hold of property, in the former it is biased towards the men to the women's one whereas the joint marital property is shared equally.
5. Motherhood has a special significance in Javanese society, which is quite interesting concept, because they practice patriliney. But there is no such ceremony for motherhood in Minangkabau society that is following matrilineal.
6. Regarding marriage, while the Javanese follow mainly by Islamic rules of marriage. The Minangkabau people in prefer exogamous marriages, i.e. marriage outside the clan. In doing so they follow more of their tradition rather than religion.

7. Death also assumes a special significance in both of societies. Javanese believe in the notion of life after death reincarnation and pay utmost respect to the corpse of the dead. They discourage the public display of grief of tears during the death and departure of the corpse. As direct offering to the death is considered as contrary to Islamic laws, it is discouraged in both these societies. But in Minangkabau completely adhere to Islamic laws of death rituals.
8. *Pesantren* in Javanese society, which is the tradition, had been seriously compromised by too intimate contact with heterodox local and India traditions, and not out of the classical Islamic academy. The Javanese prefer to go to *pesantren* rather than *madrasa* and Java as a center place for *pesantren* in Indonesia. In Minangkabau society the *madrasa* tradition itself represented the unity of the pillars of the religious sciences *fikh* (law), *tauhid* (theology) and *tassauf* (mysticism). Minangkabau peoples are likely preferred to go for *madrasa* for Islamic classical school rather than *pesantren*.
9. Javanese Islam is quite contrary; adaptive, absorbent, pragmatic, and gradualistic, a matter of partial compromise, half-way covenants, and outright evasions, which resulted did not even pretend to purity, it pretended to comprehensiveness, not to intensify but to a largeness.
10. Minangkabau Islam is quite strong or fundamental in the practice and interpretation of Islam is a much less austere form than that practice in the Middle East, but it pretends to purity.

Part III Concluding Comments

When we speak of comparing Muslims societies or districts it is unthinkable to overlook the classical work of Geertz, *Islam Observed* (1968). It was considered as a pioneering anthropological study of two Muslims societies. In spite of the critiques Geertz faced in constructing categories in his earlier, which might not have been appropriate to indigenous Indonesian society, the book is written in captivating metaphorical style. The book had the merit of being unprecedented in comparing the divergence of live of Islam into different Muslim societies, namely Indonesian and Morocco. It is an important contribution in terms of comparative of religion in third world countries. Geertz work could be criticized in that his comparison often mixed the high with the popular Islam in these two cultures. His perspectives falls into a general distinction between different patches of development of Islam in various regions; that is, dogmatic/rigorous versus syncretic/reflective. This is sometimes explained without giving reference to the interplay between class and religious style of life. Nevertheless, this does not contradict the fact that regional, generation wise and ideological differences within the cosmopolitan class of religious scholar always existed. This also in no contradiction with the fact that the local contextual application of tradition and habits defined as Islamic differed extensively from one region to another region.

The role played by established custom or tradition among Muslim is particularly important. There is *no complete homogeneity* or unity of social and various practices among the various Muslim peoples. Javanese, and those of Minangkabau for example, are sharply distinguished from one another in behaviors and even in some aspects of religious practice. In spite of their differences in attitude and behaviors, however, both

Minangkabau and Javanese Muslims have strong religious sense in common and hold the conviction that their way of life is an expression of Islam. It is often puzzling for foreigners/unbelievers to understand why the Muslims cling so tenaciously to some features of their manner of life when other ways would appear more rational or beneficial. It is equally puzzling to comprehend why many admirable schemes for helping peoples through the introduction of new modes of behavior have so abysmally failed. The cause of this unwillingness to change is often attributed simply to inherent conservatism. There is more profound reason, however, it lies in the fact that the time honored customs and culture of the Minangkabau and Javanese Muslim have their basis and their justification in religion. Although critically minded intellectuals and reformers may find much in traditional Minangkabau and Javanese Muslim life to disparage, in the understanding of the peoples / *ummah* the established ways of living is the Islamic way. To change these things deliberately is not simply to give up what is familiar; it is also to forsake what is known to be right and true.

There are few among Javanese and Minangkabau Muslims who can articulate change but it is some how understood that to forsake the way of the fathers, ancestors compromises and weakens the understanding of the world and of human life as an integral whole under the control of a divine power. Instinctively, the Javanese and Minangkabau and Minangkabau Muslim acts to preserve the spiritual foundation of his universe by clinging to the action, attitudes and institutions that symbolizes it.

For them, the religious dimension of existence extends to encompass the whole of life and not only that small segment of activity concerned with specific acts of workmanship or the fulfillment of religious duties. For this reason all issues of social

policy in Indonesia which is majority Muslims are also religious questions requiring to be examined in the light of tradition culture and religious teaching. The continual appeal to religion in matters that others would consider secular and of no religious relevance is another often-puzzling element Islamic life for the other religions. The teachings of the religious tradition and culture as they are mediated through the popular culture are the determinative and most important thing for the right conduct of human affairs in the eyes of Javanese and Minangkabau Muslims, and they can not be comfortable when religious injunctions are broken or ignored.

What mostly needed to be appreciated here in speaking of these Javanese and Minangkabau Muslims cultural tradition is that one is not only dealing merely with an intellectual construction with an idea that they may have learned from a book, a teacher or their parents, but with the way that they actually feel. It is their personal experience of life that produces their religious response. The religious attitude has of course, contributed fundamentally to the formation of Islamic culture as a whole, which in turn reinforces there typical Islamic perception of man, their nature, and their place in the scheme of things.

Along with the feelings of confidence and assurance there is another element in the Muslim's basic religious response. It is the feeling of obligation that is accompanied, on the one hand with the threat of punishment, and on the other, with the promise of reward. Islam, it has been said many times, is essentially a religion of law. The basic content of its religious teaching is a series of commands and prohibitions, do's and don'ts, that form the substance of the way a Muslim is to follow. The proper attitude

toward these divinely ordained rules and their divine author should be Islam. Obedience, submission or commitment, which is that sense in Arabic name of the religion itself.

Islam, Pancasila and Adat

For the people of Indonesia, religion is an important part of personal and social life. Indonesia's plural society, where Muslims account for as much as 90 percent of the population today, carefully avoid regarding Islam as the state religion. Nevertheless, the official position is that Indonesia is a religious rather than secular state.

Indonesian Muslim merchants incited by the lack of fair treatment under Dutch rule and influenced by early Islamic notions of nationalism acquired on pilgrimages to the Middle East formed Sarekat Islam,⁴ and one of the earliest association to combat colonial rule. Through seldom played up by the present day governments, the fires of nationalism were arguably kindled in the grounds of the temples or mosques.

Modern religion, specifically Islam has had a far greater impact an political culture in Indonesia than any secular teaching. Arguably, the introduction of Islam to Indonesia complicated the rigidly hierarchical relationship between rulers and the ruled that imported Hinduism had encouraged.

As A.C. Milner points out, the new religions at first appealed to local rulers; they attracted to the universal enlightenment imbued by its teaching. Later these rulers became vulnerable to reformist trends in the Islamic world attacked kingship and the lofty and inaccessible mysticism in which it was wrapped.⁵ There must be no obedience in

⁴ Founded in 1912, it was mainly concerned with the advancement of Indonesian commercial and Spritual interest.

⁵ M.B. Hooker, *Islam in Southeast Asia*, Leiden, E.J. Brill , Netherland, 1983, p. 35.

transgression (against God); runs a frequently cited traditional saying ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad.

Probably because of the historical potency of religion as a factor in politics, modern Indonesia has emulated its pre-modern forbears by circumscribing and co-opting religion under the umbrella of the state. In the modern period, where early attempts by Muslims activities to impose their imprint on the constitution of the new republic after 1945 were rebuffed, and religion was carefully corralled into a constricted space governed by more secular considerations of orders. Perhaps the most important function of Indonesia's *Pancasila*: state ideology is that it enjoins Islam, the religion of the majority, to tolerate other creeds;

- (1) The existence of one God.
- (2) Immunity which is just and civilized.
- (3) Unified Indonesia.
- (4) Democracy which is led by wisdom and Discretion in collection consultation and representation, and
- (5) Social justice for all Indonesia people.

Historically, religiously inspired political movement, in Indonesia thrived on social deprivation. Often these movements stemmed from attempts to reconcile traditional religious law or custom to new conditions. The inability to do this generated the urge to purify and reject all alien influences, what began as a desire to explain social and economic change, ended up as status quo and the outside world.

Hence the belief some puritanical Indonesian Muslims that the government's family planning programmed is a Christian Plot to reduce the number of Muslims.⁶

The difficulty for the politician knows where the danger lies. Some of these religions movements are more benign than aggressive; a product of material access and security reflecting a desire of a middle classes to validate their vow, more prosperous way of life using traditional values.

A former Indonesian religious affairs minister, Munawir Sjadzali, went so far as to suggest a reinterpretation of Islamic *shariat* law more suited to the local Asian context. Imported interpretation and dogma are important; but local customs and traditions have also influenced the development of Islam today, Islam in Indonesia resurgent primarily because of rapid changes in society. It is far more likely that Indonesia will become definably Islamic society (majority Muslims), rather than Islamic state (the constitution based on Islamic law and Koran). In which man might live according to the will of God.

When Indonesian nationalists drafting their first constitution in the early month of 1945, Islamic leaders wanted to stipulated that Muslims should adhere to the *shariat* law and that the head of the state should always be a Muslim.

This would have defined Indonesia an Islamic state, which seemed logical enough in a country where 90 % of the population professed Islam. But the Islamic lobby met with resistance from secular nationalists who were mainly drawn from less devout segments of Indonesian society, and were concerned that pre-dominantly Christian Eastern Indonesia, would opt out of the planned unitary republic. Rightly or wrongly their perception was that Indonesia defined, as an Islamic state would break intolerance.

⁶ Michael R.J. Vatikiotis, *Political change in Southeast Asia*. Routledge. London and New York, 1996, p. 138-146.

The formula, which is included in the compromised preamble, was what subsequently became known as “the seven little words”, belief in God, “with the obligation for adherents of Islam to practice Islamic law”. This formulation, with the seven little words did not appear in the final version. The formula without the seven little words adopted in the final draft, proclaimed in August 1945, Yet, by stating that every Indonesian should believe in God. Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa), the drafters established Indonesia as a religions state that tolerated all religions.

The “*shariat-minded*” took an increasingly important role in Islam, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as is well known. ‘A purification’ movement occurred, and this movement was to have an important impact on the Indonesia Lands. I an attempt to return to a traditional image of “primitive Islam” to a narrower definition of Islam, the religion was to be purged of its accretions. The Islamic community (*ummah*) would be governed by the one, divinely revealed law, a doctrine, which left no room for human intercessor between man and God.⁷

The divisions within the orthodox Islam community, between modern and traditional orthodoxy, are important, at the village level. Two points accordingly to Jacksons should be made at the outside. First “traditional or shades into syncretism second, the divisions among the result from the historic evolution that during the present time. The difference between modern and traditional reflects the degree of acceptance or rejection of the movements to reform and purify Islam that originated in Near East at the turn of the century.⁸

⁷ M.B. Hooker, *Islam in Southeast Asia*, Leiden, Netherland, E.J. Brill, 1983, p. 45-46.

⁸ Karl. D. Jackson, *Traditional Authority, Islam, and Rebellion*, University of California, Berkeley, 1980, p. 79-80.

In Java, the Sarekat Islam and the Muhammadiyah spread the concept that Islam must be purified and rationalized by stripping. It cleans of the tradition, pre-Islamic practices that had become attached to it during the gradual process of converting Indonesia to Islam. The whole impetus of modern orthodoxy was to cleanse the beliefs held by many traditional orthodox Muslims.

The second distinction between modernists and traditionalists is that the latter very more heavily, on the scholastic learning and commentaries for their interpretation of doctrinal question. The third major difference between traditional and modern orthodoxy is in the perception of what constitutes syncretism. For example, the traditionalists are more tolerance of mysticism in general because they believe that *tarekat*, Islamic brotherhood or mystical sects, fall within the bounds of orthodox Islam. Modernists on the other hand, have a more circumscribed definition of Islamic orthodoxy and reject mysticism as an addition to the true body of Islam.

The practice of Islam outside the Middle East is not the same and local, regional, cultural and religions elements are often incorporated in it. This is evident in the case studies from and in many other countries where the followers of Islam had either emigrated and settled or been converted. In the due course the setting up of a plural society has consciously incorporated local elements of the "little tradition" into the "normative or High" or "Great Tradition." Since the local forms of regional little traditions in a plural society are more or less incorporated into the great tradition of Islam this has required that the validity of Islam in terms of Islamic norms be proven. The outcome is the creation of a different form of Ijtihad, which has been responsible for identifying the Muslims in terms of regional identities. "It could be claimed that on the

eve of the 21st century there has been a resurgence of Islamic identity and developing some of sort of relationships, either hostile on friendly, with the non-Islamic world. These movements are labeled fundamentalist-cum-traditionalist moderates-cum-reformers, and the democratic-cum-secularists".⁹

Islamic in the Easter region is wide-spread not only in Indonesia but also in Philippines, Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore as well other countries. Though the model of these countries has been the classical Islam of the Middle East, in practice regionalisms differentiate them from each other. The process of legitimization and codification of Islam has a different connotation. For example, the concept of *fatwa*, a decision or opinion handed down by an Islamic court, *Iqta*, an administrative grant, (the term is used generically for a number of different types of grant each with its own designation, over lands that remained Indirectly the property of their previous owner, fiscal autonomy whereby the taxes for a region or group were commuted for a fixed annual payment). And *ummah* do not depend on Mecca but consider the extent of their operation to be within the confines of the entire archipelago of Indonesia. The concept of *ummah*, *dakwah*, *adat*, *Mahdhab* and *Jahiliyyah* in Indonesia strong then the local Muslim community's identity. They are given greater exposure through intellectual publications.

Because of the plural cultural heritage of Indonesia and many other similar countries. The council of Indonesian *ulama* accepts inter-religious harmony. Intriguingly, the Islamic diversities are unique which creates a global Islamic identity. On one hand, and functional regional identity on the other hand, such as, the Islamic identity of Javanese, Sundanese, Minangkabau and so forth.

⁹ Eastern. K. Mohan, Islam and 21st century. <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl/iiasn/iiasng/general/inis.html>.

Dr. Van Brinessen mentioned the relationship between the global and local aspects of the process of Islamization. Though *adat* (customs) are often used as a system competing with *shariat*, *adat* exist in every Islamic society not just Indonesia, Malaysia and others. Furthermore, people do not see any conflict between *adat* and *shariat* because some Islamic elements were also integrated into *adat*.

The national ideology of *Pancasila* of Nation Building can be viewed as an *adat* at the national level, or a super-*adat*. For all Indonesian people. It had been a form of localization of tradition that embraced universal civilization. Though *Pancasila* is considered to be an Indonesian way of interpreting Islam, many of its elements are based on Islam.¹⁰

¹⁰ Report on a lecture given by Dr. Van Brinessen literature department, Utrecht University, The Global and Local in Indonesian Islam. [http://www.i.u.tolego.ac.yv//IAS/japanese archives/2-han/english/103 report-e. html](http://www.i.u.tolego.ac.yv//IAS/japanese%20archives/2-han/english/103%20report-e.html).

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